

C. Raj Kumar
Mousumi Mukherjee
Tatiana Belousova
Nisha Nair *Editors*

Global Higher Education During and Beyond COVID-19

Perspectives and Challenges

 Springer

Global Higher Education During and Beyond COVID-19

“An inspiring analysis of how universities worldwide have responded to the devastation caused by the global pandemic. Conceptualising the pandemic as a portal to evaluate the past of higher education and steer it towards reform, the book brings together contributions from university leaders, teachers and students from the global north and south to highlight how transformations of the university in the midst of the pandemic can be carried into the future. The book is unique in its focus on theoretical, empirical and practical considerations and creative solutions, including reference to a COVID-19 Response toolkit. This book is essential reading for government policy makers, university leaders and scholars of higher education worldwide who wish to understand the role of universities in contributing to inclusive and more equitable knowledge societies in the present and who wish to sustain the public good role of higher education into the future.”

—Prof. Rajani Naidoo, *Vice-President (Community and Inclusion); UNESCO Chair in Higher Education Management; Director, International Centre for HE Management, School of Management, University of Bath, UK*

“This edited volume helps illuminate how the global higher education sector was and continues to be at the frontier of negotiating and mitigating the global COVID-19 pandemic. Drawing on authors (e.g. scholars, leaders, practitioners), empirical examples, and theories from around the world, it helps to address whether the global pandemic can instigate much-needed reforms in the global higher education sector. Furthermore, it sheds light on the following issues by privileging the voices of students, instructors, administrators, and various stakeholders, such as: how did this massive online transition happen in the middle of the pandemic in various institutions? What are the similarities and differences? What possible solutions did different stakeholders come up with to deal with the challenges? Overall, this edited volume is a must read for anyone who is involved in global higher education.”

—Riyad A. Shahjahan, *Associate Professor of Higher, Adult, and Lifelong Education (HALE) at Michigan State University*

“*Global Higher Education During and Beyond COVID-19* is an insightful exploration of the impact of the pandemic on universities across continents. It offers a well-balanced combination of perspectives from higher education researchers and university leaders. Chapters demonstrate striking global similarities in the response to COVID-19 and emphasize growing disparities among students, faculty, universities and higher education systems. The book highlights the great resilience of university communities and gives hope for a better post-pandemic future in higher education.”

—Igor Chirikov, *Director, SERU Consortium and Senior Researcher, Center for Studies in Higher Education, University of California, Berkeley*

“This book is an outstanding contribution of scholars around the world to global higher education particularly on resilience and flexibility of teaching and learning during the COVID-19 and beyond. As a community of scholars, both authors and editors offer a set of tools and perspectives to frame a new set of scenarios, trends, and the future of higher education throughout the book. A must-read volume that helps scholars to reimagine a traffic circle of pandemic and its chaos in higher education with multiple exits.”

—Krishna Bista, *Professor of Higher Education, Morgan State University, Maryland, US*

“There is no question that the COVID-19 pandemic brought about profound changes to universities worldwide. The authors in this comprehensive volume offer insights and analysis that allow readers to reimagine a more accessible and equitable future if we reckon with the starkness of the inequalities the pandemic laid bare.”

—Chris Glass, *Professor of the Practice in the Department of Educational Leadership and Higher Education at Boston College, USA*

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Foreword

The global pandemic laid bare the fractures in our fragile global social, political, and economic systems. It also demonstrates the promise and potential of global research universities in addressing problems that cross border. As we emerge from this dark chapter in world history, analyzes of new ways forward have proliferated offering prescriptions for the future of higher education. I find these analyses often fall short: they are often premature in their analysis and offer insufficient prescriptions to the task before higher education leaders who care about reconstructing a more equitable future. Moreover, and more importantly, these analyzes often fail to capture the imagination. The focus is often on the problem of the past or a return to normal without a compelling vision that captures the imagination of leaders, policymakers, and government officials. They may be clear in what happened; but they lack a compelling vision of why change is urgent and how to achieve it. It is critical to be clear on the problems in order to imagine alternative futures for higher education. Indeed, realizing that future depends not on what happened during the pandemic but what investments we make and actions we take today.

The future of global higher education is for higher education leaders who can imagine it and execute it. The future is something we actively create, not something we passively await. We must stand in the tragic gap between the trauma we have experienced and the future we can imagine. This book stands in that gap; it is what is most refreshing about this comprehensive volume, *Global Higher Education During and Beyond COVID-19: Perspectives and Challenges*. Each of the authors speak with analytical clarity and precision, with a future-focused imagination that outlines *why* change is necessary and *how* to mobilize change. They outline the stark realities of the pandemic with bright lines and bold contrasts without falling into dour pessimism. I believe the volume offers the single most important contribution to the field to date that outlines a vision that will spark dialogue, discussion, and debate among higher education leaders, policymakers, and government officials.

There are books that sit on our shelves; then there are books that have a long shelf life. This volume is a comprehensive reference that will inform leadership and policy for years to come. The chapters looks at systemic issues that are embedded in the current logic of our higher education systems; and they outline a future for higher

education *beyond* the pandemic. In fact, the volume redefines how we imagine the term *post-pandemic*, not merely as the marking of a point in time, but the *dawning of a new generation for global higher education*. All of the authors are leaders in the field who speak with clarity and insight; they offer a bold and compelling vision for the future of higher education. If readers take the bold actions outlined; a new more equitable era of higher education indeed awaits.

Chris R. Glass, Ph.D.
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Abbreviations

ACE	The American Council on Education
AI	Artificial Intelligence
AISHE	All India Survey on Higher Education
AIU	Association of Indian Universities
APRU	The Association of Pacific Rim Universities
AUM	American University of the Middle East
CARES Act	The Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security Act
CDC	Centers for Disease Control
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CIRGE	Centre of Innovation in Graduate Education
COI	Community of Inquiry
DBR	Doing Business Report
DEI	Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion
DNA	Deoxyribonucleic acid
ECDPC	European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control
EDI	Equity Diversity and Inclusion
EO	Executive Order
ERT	Emergency Remote Teaching
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
GSMA	Global System for Mobile Communications Association
HE	Higher Education
HEERF	Higher Education Emergency Relief Fund
HEFA	Higher Education Financing Agency
HEI	Higher Education Institutions
HVAC	Heating, ventilation, and air conditioning
IHEs	Institutes for Higher Education
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IRCC	Internal Revenue Service
KPMG	Klynveld Peat Marwick and Goerdeler

LGBTQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MOOC	Massive Open Online Courses
MSW	Masters in Social Work
NCR	National Capital Region
NEP	National Education Policy
NSB	National Science Board
NSF	National Science Foundation
NSS	National Survey Sample
ODL	Open Distance Learning
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OIF	Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie
ONS	Office of National Statistics
OSAP	Ontario Students Assistance Plan
OSHE	The Office of the Secretary of Higher Education
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
QS	Quantum satis
SC	Schedule Caste
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SERU	Students Experience in the Research University
ST	Schedule Tribe
STAR	Society of Transnational Academic Researchers
STEM	Science Technology Engineering Mathematics
UBC	University of British Columbia
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Emergency Fund
UW	University of Washington
VSE	Virtual Student Exchange
WEF	World Economic Forum
WHO	World Health Organization

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Part I
Institutional Responses to the Pandemic

Chapter 1

Global Higher Education During and Beyond COVID-19: Perspectives and Challenges



C. Raj Kumar, Mousumi Mukherjee, Tatiana Belousova, and Nisha Nair

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic ushered unprecedented challenges globally. The disruption and damage to human life and organizations caused by the pandemic are global in scale. Though pandemics are not new in human history, this is the first time the pandemic spread around the world within a few months. Shutting down all educational institutions with nationwide lockdowns in countries around the world was the only way to contain the spread of the virus.

However, educational institutions and particularly higher educational institutions are the incubators for the future citizens and professionals of this world. Even if we were forced to shut down physical classrooms and campuses, we realized soon that it was not possible to stop all teaching and learning activities for a long time. We must adapt our modes of operation and think about alternative ways in which we could resume educational activities.

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Slowly, higher educational institutions began turning to online mode of teaching and learning. All other administrative activities—admissions, internships, examinations, and graduation ceremonies—also took online turn to leverage new technological resources to manage remote teaching and learning, as well as administrative work. Researchers also began exploring new ways of knowing and doing research to document and analyze the rapid changes happening in the society, economy, environment, and organizations in the middle of the pandemic.

At O.P. Jindal Global University, we constituted a university-wide COVID-19 emergency committee to deliberate upon the action plan for resuming classes and all other regular activities of the university in an online mode. It has been a huge learning curve for all of us within the University community. However, despite the COVID norm of “social distancing”, this experience has brought our university community together in new ways as staff members in each university department worked remotely with their colleagues to draft a COVID action plan. Based on the deliberations and actions taken at our university and a few other leading universities within India, we also drafted a COVID-19 Response toolkit for Indian Higher Education Institutions in collaboration with the Association of the Indian Universities (AIU). We called for institutional resilience for academic planning and continuity.

We have also observed a wide range of innovative initiatives undertaken by universities around the world over the past 16 months. In fact, higher educational institutions have indeed exhibited great resilience to adapt and transform in the middle of the pandemic. Higher education experts around the world have been deliberating for a long time about the need to reform the sector, both in the Global North and South. In a collectively written article “Reimagining the new pedagogical possibilities for universities post-Covid-19”, several higher education experts, Peters and Rizvi et al. (2020, p. 1) have quoted noted Indian author, Arundhati Roy, to argue that this pandemic could be “a portal” to steer the much-needed reform in the higher education sector:

Our minds are still racing back and forth, longing for a return to ‘normality’, trying to stitch our future to our past and refusing to acknowledge the rupture. But the rupture exists. And in the midst of this terrible despair, it offers us a chance to rethink the doomsday machine we have built for ourselves. Nothing could be worse than a return to normality. Historically, pandemics have forced humans to break with the past and imagine their world anew. This one is no different. It is a portal, a gateway between one world and the next. We can choose to walk through it, dragging the carcasses of our prejudice and hatred, our avarice, our data banks and dead ideas, our dead rivers and smoky skies behind us. Or we can walk through lightly, with little luggage, ready to imagine another world. And ready to fight for it.

Arundhati Roy, Pandemic is a Portal, The Financial Times, <https://www.ft.com/content/10d8f5e8-74eb-11ea-95fe-fcd274e920ca>.

Could this disruption, therefore, become a creative disruption in the future, ushering in much-needed reforms in the global higher education sector? This has been the most pressing question on the minds of higher education experts and leaders over the past 16 months, in the middle of the pandemic.

Moreover, how did this massive online transition happen in the middle of the pandemic in various institutions around the world? What are the experiences of

different universities in different parts of the world? What kinds of challenges did students, teachers, administrators, and various stakeholders experience as universities transitioned into fully online modes of operation in the middle of the pandemic? What possible solutions have different stakeholders come up with to deal with the challenges? It became necessary to deliberate on these questions and share each other's experiences after transitioning to fully online modes of operation for a few months.

Hence, we planned to organize a Global Virtual conference on the theme "Reimagining and Transforming the University: Confluence of Ideas during and beyond Covid-19", 6–7 August 2020. The aim of this event was to bring together university leaders, administrators, teachers, students, and various stakeholders around the world to share their experiences online. The aim was to share knowledge about the historic shifts the global higher education sector is experiencing in the middle of the pandemic. The objective was to also share knowledge about the ways in which global higher education experts and leaders are reimagining and transforming the university in the middle of the pandemic and to deliberate about its consequences for the future.

This book is an outcome of the deliberations at the above-mentioned global virtual conference. The book attempts to address the most important question raised above, i.e. how global higher education is being shaped and reimagined in the middle of the pandemic and how the higher education sector is becoming transformed for a post-pandemic world. The scope of the crisis has already shown us that there is no going back to the "old normal", and creative solutions are needed to solve the newly emerging challenges. In the future, universities across the globe will need to become more responsive to possible emergencies like the current pandemic and be ready to experiment and promote innovation.

In the following chapters, the renowned higher education experts, scholars, and leaders share their experiences of managing the disruptions caused by the pandemic. Some of them provide their theoretical insights and conceptual analysis of the emerging trends in global higher education. Others focus on the practical aspects of the challenges and possible ways of addressing them to minimize the negative outcomes and set new paths for the sector going forward. Findings from empirical research conducted in the middle of the pandemic are also presented in some of the chapters. Hence, the chapters also exhibit different styles of writing.

Structure and Content

The entire book has been divided into five sub-sections. The papers in each sub-section have been organized around the main theme. The theme of the Part I of the book is *Regional Responses to the Pandemic*. In this section, there are four papers including the current chapter. The first chapter introduces the *raison d'être* and the overall engagement of the work, offering critical perspectives on the way the COVID-19 Pandemic is shaping Higher Education systems with ramifications for

the present and future, globally. The second paper in this section is by global higher education expert, Simon Marginson, who provides a global comparative perspective of countries and regions to argue that the higher education systems and the healthcare systems of countries (i.e. from East Asia and Central and Northern Europe) with strong public and government support have comparatively fared well in the middle of the pandemic, unlike Anglo-American countries, where the market-rules have subordinated larger concern for the public good. Here, Marginson also raises an alarm for India, since “India’s experience has paralleled the Anglo-American approach, not the East Asian approach.”

The third paper in this sub-section by Rocky S. Tuan provides a university leader’s perspective of ways to transform the Asian universities during these troubled times. In this chapter, Tuan discusses particularly the way in which the Universities in Asia can come together to share experiences and learn from each other because of similar growth trajectories, cultures, beliefs, habits, and customs. He discusses how universities can play a vital role in societal restoration in the post-pandemic world drawing on research-based knowledge and resources. The fourth paper in this sub-section is co-authored by Mohamed Lachemi and Anver Saloojee, two senior administrators and top leadership of Ryerson University, Canada. They discuss how the pandemic has deepened all kinds of social divides—race, class, gender, etc. that existed in the pre-pandemic world and the ways in which their own university and universities around the world are dealing with this massive disruption. They also deliberate on the question of whether the universities will return to the “old normal” as campuses in Canada reopen with the spread of vaccination.

The Part II of the book deals with the most important challenge for universities in the middle of the pandemic—*Challenges of Digital Transformation*. In this section, there are four papers. The first three papers by Marvin Krislov, Rekha Datta, and Georges Yahchouchi discuss the challenges of digital transformations from their perspectives as senior university administrators and academics in the United States and the Middle East. Speaking from the perspective of the American higher education system, the President of Pace University, Marvin Krislov, raises his concern about the challenge of imparting citizenship education through remote digital mode, since most students in the United States receive it in college campuses through their socialization process.

On the other hand, in the second paper from the US context, Rekha Datta, Interim Provost and Senior Vice President for Academic Affairs, Monmouth University, raises the issue of intersectional challenges of access to online education with regards to race, gender, and class of students in the United States. Based on lessons learned during the pandemic, Datta calls for a more proactive role for public policy in the future to address these issues of equity and access. In the third paper in this section, Georges Yahchouchi, President of the American University of the Middle East, AUM-Kuwait, discusses how their university’s focus on diversity and inclusion in the pre-pandemic era shifted to also e-inclusion in the middle of the pandemic. He particularly discusses the roles and responsibilities of the senior administration of universities in the promotion of diversity and inclusion while being mindful of the contextual needs because of unexpected sudden transition to fully online classes.

The fourth paper in this section is co-authored by three academic researchers within the Indian context and presents empirical findings from the SERU-INDIA COVID-19 National survey conducted in the middle of the pandemic by the International Institute for Higher Education Research and Capacity Building at O.P. Jindal Global University in collaboration with the SERU Consortium, University of California, Berkley, and the Association of the Indian Universities (AIU) to learn about student experiences in research universities within India (Mukherjee et al., 2022). This chapter based on an analysis of large-scale data from the survey suggests that, despite the commendable efforts by the teachers, the students did not find online teaching and learning as engaging as real classroom experience. The SERU COVID-19 survey data from India also brought forward some of the intersectional challenges of equity and access with regards to social class and gender, similar to what Datta discussed in her chapter on the United States. These issues were also raised by the SERU COVID-19 survey in the US (Soria & Hogos, 2020).

The Part III of the book is titled *Social Justice, Equity and University Social Responsibility*. The first chapter is authored by two higher education experts, Maresi Nerad from the College of Education, University of Washington (USA), and Roxana Chiappa from Rhodes University (South Africa). The scholars discuss doctoral education through the lenses of social justice and equality. They made a strong argument, arguing that at the time of multiple crises, “doctoral education can play a crucial role in questioning the existing social norms, that (re)produce inequity at the local, national, and global levels.” The authors acknowledge the unique role of doctoral education, which implies the extra responsibility of working towards democracy, inclusion, and diversity.

In the second chapter in this sub-section, Nisha Nair from the O.P. Jindal Global University focuses on another set of issues, related to social justice and equity in higher education. The author provides a comprehensive account of gender disparities, and how these were exacerbated during the COVID-19 pandemic. She compares the gendered impact of the pandemic with the virus itself, an “invisible enemy that is all around us, and can only be defeated by a constant corrective action.” By analysing both quantitative and qualitative data from her research conducted within the Indian context, Nair has uncovered the multiple challenges faced by women in academia. According to the author, it is the “need of the hour to have a policy approach that recognises the disadvantages faced by the women and encourage a wider participation of all genders in the processes leading to a policy formulation.”

This sub-section is concluded with a chapter co-authored by Mousumi Mukherjee and Raju Karjigi from the International Institute for Higher Education Research and Capacity Building (IIHED), O.P. Jindal Global University. In their chapter, titled “Research and University Social Responsibility: During and Beyond COVID-19”, the authors view the University Social Responsibility (USR) as an ethical perspective, whereby universities become the places that nurture positive social, environmental, technological, and economic growth. They discuss the concept of Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) that “can be an organic way in which universities can connect with the local community and garner their resources for local community development.”

The Part IV, titled *Rethinking Performativity, Finance and Entrepreneurship*, consists of four corresponding chapters. The first one, authored by Anamika Srivastava, encourages the reader to take a critical perspective on universities' performance and early responses during the pandemic. After providing some strong arguments, the author concluded that "performativity is not only irrelevant during a crisis, but also fervently perilous." As students and faculty were forced to completely shift to the home environment, universities need to acknowledge the limitations of the newly emerging realities. This chapter is followed by a chapter on the challenges in higher education financing, both in public and private universities by Saumen Chattopadhyay from the School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU). In his paper, the author addresses the issue of achieving equity and excellence through the prism of public and private funding of higher education. One of the main arguments, put forward by Chattopadhyay, is that "private funding can foster public good character of higher education as long as the funding support is adequate, and motive is philanthropic."

The third chapter in this sub-section by Uttam Gaulee and Pedro Villarreal III discusses the advantages of making entrepreneurship central to the university curricula. The main themes of the paper sought to deal with the creation of entrepreneurship ecosystem, and entrepreneurial thinking, as well as career counselling, and required networks. While mapping their study with the Indian context, the authors conclude that "choosing to integrate entrepreneurial training in higher and postsecondary education would do much to improve the economic and social well-being of millions of Indians."

The final chapter in this sub-section presents collective writing co-authored by three research fellows from O.P. Jindal Global University along with four panelists from the US, Canada, and India. This chapter is based on a moderated discussion, held during the Global Virtual Conference "Reimagining and Transforming the University: Confluence of Ideas during and beyond Covid-19" in August 2020. The chapter discuss employment, entrepreneurship, and socio-economic mobility related to higher education, arguing that the ongoing pandemic has brought uncertainties, in terms of the expectations and socio-economic prospects of the learner.

The Part IV of the book focuses on the *Future Trajectories of Internationalization* and consists of three corresponding chapters. The first one, by Mohan Kumar, the Dean of the Office of International Affairs in O.P. Jindal Global University, sought to establish a causal connection between the future of education and the fate of globalization. In particular, the former diplomat turned academic argues that "while the COVID-19 will impact the process of globalisation in some ways, it is not going to completely upend it, as was feared in the beginning of the pandemic." His account is followed by the chapter titled "Challenges to Internationalization in Education and Research During and After the Pandemic" written by comparative and international education expert, Ratna Ghosh from McGill University, Canada. Ghosh begins her analysis with the basic questions of "what internationalization is" and "what its foundational values are." This is followed by a discussion on the benefits and challenges of student mobility, whereby Ghosh identifies social justice as one of the major challenges in the existing patterns of academic exchanges.

The final chapter presents the scholarship of two renowned “gurus” in the field of international higher education, Philip Altbach and Hans de Wit. They offer a multidimensional analysis of the impact of COVID-19 on the internationalization of higher education. The authors dissect the devastating effect of the pandemic on higher education, bringing to the spotlight the challenges of research, equity, students and faculty members, student mobility, and ethical internationalization. At the end of the paper, they express their doubt, in terms of the future of international education. According to them, we should not be too optimistic, and expect some significant transformations in the post-pandemic internationalization.

Academic and Stylistic Contribution

This book makes a major contribution by providing a diversity of perspectives from the field of global higher education in the middle of the pandemic. As stated above, it brings together voices, perspectives, and research from global higher education experts along with young emerging scholars in the field of higher education. This book also includes chapters written by senior academics and university leaders (Presidents, Vice-Presidents/Provost, and Vice-Chancellors) from diverse higher education institutions around the world. Hence, the book will provide diversity of perspectives and insights to future researchers about the transformations happening in the field of global higher education in the middle of the pandemic.

Readers of this book will find a diversity of writing styles while perusing the chapters. All the authors in this book do not come from the field of global higher education. The senior university leaders and higher education administrators come from diverse disciplinary backgrounds, and they bring their interdisciplinary perspectives while writing their chapters. These chapters are written more in a narrative style by these university leaders on the administrative actions taken by their universities in the middle of the pandemic, whereas the chapters written by global higher education experts and emerging scholars provide more empirical and theoretical insights about the transformations happening in the field of global higher education in the middle of the pandemic. Collectively, these chapters will provide a holistic understanding of the ways in which global higher education is being reimagined and transformed in the middle of the unprecedented situations created by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Global Higher Education Post Pandemic

The chapters in this book suggest that the global higher education community has exhibited great resilience and flexibility in dealing with the crisis created by the pandemic. Though it has been reported that many higher education institutions have been struggling in the middle of the pandemic with the additional health infrastructural demands on the higher education sector to create a safe university community,

yet it has been also suggested that resilient Institutional leadership and processes led by out-of-the-box innovative thinking will be the key to steering the global higher education sector out of this crisis.

In his recent book, *The New Power University*, Jonathan Grant affirms his faith in universities to re-discover their original mission that puts social responsibility at the core of the academic mission, in order to become an advocate of the policies and political issues that matter to its communities (Grant, 2021). Despite the devastation caused by the global COVID-19 pandemic to human life around the world, the way in which the university administration and academics around the world have responded to it does show us a ray of hope. In fact, this is the first time in human history vaccines have been produced as an outcome of globally collaborative research at universities within a year since the pandemic hit.

The global higher education sector needed transformation for a long time to align its goals with community needs and the sustainability of the planet earth. The pandemic has indeed provided us with “a portal”/“a gateway” to move ahead with new imagination, policies, and processes to realign universities with their core mission of higher learning and research for human development and sustainability of the planet earth.

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Chapter 2

Challenges and Possibilities for Higher Education in India During and Beyond the Covid-19 Pandemic



Simon Marginson

Abstract Participation in higher education is expanding throughout the world, a function of urbanisation and of rising social aspirations for higher education. However, the extent of expansion and the quality of the higher education experience are highly variable. India's capacity to reach the NEP target of 50% cohort participation by 2035 will be limited by the rate of urbanisation, and online education cannot make up the gap in the absence of comprehensive Internet infrastructure and the availability of computers. The quality of education is ultimately determined by the political culture, especially the extent to which the state is authentically committed to the common good. The chapter discusses components of a common good approach to government and higher education policy and provision. Turning to the pandemic experience, the chapter argues that on the whole higher education has handled the pandemic better than government, but again the political culture and the conduct of government are decisive, both in relation to public health outcomes and in higher education. The chapter compares the experience of East Asia and Central and Northern Europe, with modest death tolls (especially in East Asia) and stable higher education systems, with the experience of the marketised societies and higher education systems in the United States and the United Kingdom. In the latter countries government commitment to the common good and social discipline have both faltered, and the market-competitive higher education systems have been unstable and chaotic. Unfortunately, India's experience has paralleled the Anglo-American approach not the East Asian approach.

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Introduction¹

In 2019 prior to the pandemic, there were 228 million tertiary students in the world, 80% at degree level. Of these, more than one in ten, 35 million, were in India. In total, 29% of the youth cohort in India was enrolled in tertiary education of some kind, the majority in small private colleges. It is telling no secret to say that many colleges are of doubtful educational quality, but that Gross Enrolment Ratio of 29% is a sharp rise from less than 10% in the year 2000 (UNESCO, 2021). Demand for tertiary and higher education is growing rapidly in India despite the constraints on public and private funding. In this, India is not different from the rest of the world. Higher education everywhere is expanding not so much because of economic development—education is expanding in both high-growth and low-growth economies (Cantwell et al., 2018)—but with modernisation, urbanisation and rising social demand from families for a better future for their children.

Higher education in every country carries out a great range of social, economic and cultural functions, regardless of the wealth of the country and the state, and the size and the resources of the institutions of higher education. Nowhere else in the world are higher education's mission, responsibilities and challenges greater than in India.

Higher education enhances the intellectual and social attributes of students and prepares them for lifelong learning. It helps people to form themselves. It prepares graduates for all professional occupations and many fields of skilled work and certifies them for work and further study. It provides other conditions for economic activity, through the dissemination of social networks, technological literacy, information and imagination. It fosters the capacity to deal with change, and relate effectively to others, augmenting openness and flexibility, tolerance and collective creativity. It encourages reasoned criticism and civil discussion, and if it is doing its job it implants a deep responsibility to others. At best, its graduates absorb citizenship, humanism, social justice and a passion for the common good, for sustainable communities and shared ecological survival. Teaching and learning is the most important part of higher education, but faculty and research students also produce, organise and disseminate knowledge, and are sources of dispassionate truth and reasoned wisdom within a public discourse which is often confused and rife with shallow ideology. Through all these activities, higher education helps to build cities and communities and contributes to global awareness and cooperation. All universities, colleges and institutes carry out at least some of these functions and some carry out all of them. The Covid-19 pandemic, which locked down India on 25 March 2020, has stopped economies in their tracks and dramatically reduced national and international mobility of persons. However, it has not reduced the demand for higher education. It has made it more difficult to provide, not just as face-to-face learning but also as work experience in vocational programmes. Nevertheless, because there are

¹ Parts of this chapter were first developed for a keynote address to a O.P. Jindal Global University conference, 6 August 2020, though that material has been much supplemented and updated.

few jobs for young people during the pandemic, social demand for higher education has increased overall.

The great mission of higher education is especially challenging in countries such as India in which many basic needs are unmet, infrastructure and trained personnel lag behind needs and in many communities the commitment essential to higher education as a social project is just becoming apparent. Nowhere else are the unmet needs for higher education greater, the policy challenges larger and more complex, the gap between needs and allocated resources greater or the obstacles more formidable. Fortunately, however, nowhere else in the world is there a larger untapped reservoir of intelligence and energy that can be brought to bear on those challenges. Arguably, in India there is greater aggregated human cognitive potential not yet fully fulfilled or utilised, than anywhere else.

Amartya Sen argued brilliantly in his path-setting book *Development as Freedom* (1999) that the key to development is self-determining *human capability*, and the scope for that human capability, working collectively and democratically, to be brought to bear on society's problems. And the key to building human agency, said Amartya Sen, is education. In turn, the advance in collective capability can be brought to bear on further improving education itself, triggering a continuous feedback loop that brings the whole society forward. This is why the growth and improvement of higher education has become a core objective in most countries. It carries the potential for growth and improvement in all other social and economic sectors. And more and better schooling, and higher education are the hope of India and the hope of the world. And that means students, and the people who work in education, are the hope of the world. But to bring us all forward, they need resources, support, respect for the rights of all social groups and both women and men in education, and freedom from the fears and distortions induced by cultural conflict, arbitrary political intervention and corrupt administration. They must be able to get on with the job, at a high level of professionalism and quality, with goodwill and the best hopes of success.

Good Government is Essential to Good Higher Education

Although India has the third largest GDP in Purchasing Power Parity terms (World Bank, 2021) and is the third largest producer of published science (NSB, 2020), the country has yet to build a coordinated national higher education system grounded in robust institutions with a mix of comprehensive and specialist missions, supported by honest and effective cultures of institutional management and professional academic labour. Nor has the higher education policy in India yet found a way to compensate effectively for inequalities between the states in economic capacity, so that provision is highly uneven. Social inequalities are of equal concern, and the heritage of gender inequality has not been put to rest.

A strong effective endogenous national higher education system can only be conceived and designed on the basis of the national political culture. It cannot be achieved by borrowing one or another international blueprint for 'World Class

University' performance, such as that suggested by the Times Higher or QS global rankings. In any case, rankings drive the leading Indian institutions into a global competition they cannot win at this stage of economic and educational development, while those same institutions would cut loose from supporting the rest of the system. Still less can a strong endogenous system be derived from the 'stimulus' of foreign providers within India. Universities that establish branch campuses rarely bring their A-game to the foreign country. At best, foreign providers can provide competent teaching institutions, learn for themselves about cross-cultural problems and establish a pipeline into their main campus in the home country for selected Indian families. While there is nothing intrinsically wrong with inviting in foreign campuses, this should not be presented as a quality driver, or as the proxy for a strategy of reform, and still less as a source of local ideas, or a solution for local gaps. Indian higher education policy makers and institutional leaders have many better ways to observe international models of provision, than inviting in foreign providers. And the country has more than enough collective intelligence to devise a system and institutional blueprints fit for purpose.

What then are the necessary components of national political culture in higher education? Here, by 'political culture' I mean the compound of words, ideas, policies, institutions, regulatory structures, resource configurations and behavioural norms that together constitute the role of collective public authorities to social order. In higher education policy, this goes to the issue of the mission of higher education in creating collective public and common goods of value to the whole of Indian society. However, it must be said immediately that there is no shared understanding of what constitutes the essential components of national political culture in higher education. As yet there is no framework sufficiently agreed, practical and robust to guide policies, outcomes and behaviours. Yet this will not appear spontaneously—and still less will it evolve from the workings of market forces. Leaving fundamental values to the workings of competition between individuals and institutions may be adequate for a bond market, but cannot be optimal for higher education, teaching, equitable social access, and research and science; or guide the contribution of higher education to economic activity, cities, local communities and the democratic 'public sphere' in social development (Marginson, 2020).

Letting the Market Determine Fundamental Values?

In market-based societies like the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States (US), the policy conversation about public good or goods in higher education has become narrowly focused on Samuelson's (1954) influential economic argument about public and private goods (Marginson, 2016, 2018). Samuelson establishes a minimalist definition of public goods based on non-rivalry and non-excludability. Goods produced under both of these conditions are subject to market failure and if their provision is desired, they must be financed by the state or philanthropy. All other goods are private goods in whole or in part. They can be produced, or part produced in competitive

markets. As is well known, higher education fulfils the first condition, non-rivalry, but not the second, excludability. Access is rationed and places in elite universities have private value. Hence, higher education is a Samuelson mixed good and might be funded on a mixed public/private basis. Samuelson's argument about market failure is useful for policy makers because it identifies a category of goods that must be supported, for example, basic research, and socially equitable access for students who cannot self-finance their education. However, it is basically a funding formula (and a normative argument for the maximum extension of market capitalism) rather than a holistic basis for a policy on the combined public good. It is paper thin as a basis for an endogenous social philosophy in higher education, absolutely insufficient.

Samuelson pushes policy makers towards the idea that even public goods should be understood as individualised spill-overs from market transactions. Hence in a Samuelson framework, outcomes such as tolerance or political connectedness acquired in higher education become seen not as the combined relational qualities that they are, but as portable goods carried by individuals, parallel to private human capital. They are only characterised as 'public goods' because they are being not directly rewarded in labour markets and so subject to market failure. The point is that they are defined as individual benefits rather than collective benefits. However, the real issue is the provision of collective goods. The nature of collective goods is partly policy determined. For example, societies can decide to provide free universal primary education of good quality because that helps to build the kind of community they want. Nordic societies do this. At that point, primary education becomes a public good in Samuelson's sense. Likewise, government can decide on the appropriate mix of public and private institutions, and public and private financing, on the basis of the social outcomes that society wants to achieve from education.

Common Goods in Higher Education

However, there is a larger problem with policy on public goods. History has repeatedly shown that even free public goods are readily seized by powerful social groups, and their shared character is frequently impeded in distribution (Marginson, 2016). For example, access to elite universities is free or low cost in many countries, but they are nevertheless largely occupied by students from the affluent middle class. This shows that providing higher education places as nominal public goods in the Samuelson sense does not necessarily regulate the sector's contribution to the combined public good. A deeper policy is needed, rather than just shifting the balance between public and private costs—a policy that focuses on the desired kind of society, and on the political culture that can achieve it. Here, the ultimate challenges of higher education policy in India become apparent.

To achieve the necessary policy framework, it seems better to move from the American economic idea of Samuelson public goods to the grass-roots Western European communitarian idea of 'common goods' which has been adopted by

UNESCO (Locatelli, 2018). ‘Common goods’ introduces new strands into the discussion. Common goods are broadly beneficial by definition, and subject to democratic processes of determination, which diminish the potential for capture of elite social groups. Common goods adds to sociable human agency, social welfare and associations of solidarity, tolerance, inclusion, equality, universal freedoms, human rights and the attainment of individual capability democratically. One such example is Equal opportunity in education. Another example of common good is the British National Health Service which provides all universal health care free of cost. It works on the principle of priority for people who are in greatest need owing to accidents or critical illness. Common goods are non-market collective goods, but not necessarily provided by government. Since the term ‘common’ is defined by the content of the activity, government and non-government organisations, voluntary local cooperation (Ostrom, 1990) and private corporations, all can contribute to common goods, though ‘some kinds of private participation are more defensible than others’; and state funding and regulation could be required to guarantee commonality (Locatelli, 2018, pp. 8, 13).

This then has two implications for higher education policy in India. First, UNESCO’s concept indicates that non-state institutions can contribute to socially common goods in higher education. Second, however, it is necessary to regulate the private sector in higher education more closely to ensure its contribution to a common policy of equitable higher education of adequate quality to all students in all communities. Here, one useful example is the regulatory framework used in South Korea and Japan. Both countries, partly under US influence in the post-World War II period, established majority private sectors in higher education. Both are largely self-funding and subject to market forces. Large numbers of private colleges close during periods of demographic downturn, and large numbers have shut down during the pandemic. However, unlike the situation in the US, Korea and Japan closely regulate quality in private universities and colleges, and these institutions contribute to the high overall quality of both education systems at all levels, as indicated by the performance of each education system in the OECD’s regular PISA tests.

The Ethics of Public Governance

Could regulation in India carry out such a policy effectively? That goes to the question of political culture. Like some Western European countries, the East Asian jurisdictions are notable for their commitment to policy goals and commitment to continuous improvement towards those goals. That is, policy is treated as authentic. Targets are real, transparent and actually achieved—something that does not happen in every country across the world. These systems of government, whether the economy is capitalist or communist, are also vigilant in policing corruption in government. Officials are caught pursuing their self-interest illegally in Korea, Japan and China, and such cases often receive extensive national and international publicity. This is healthy,

indicating that a clear moral framework is operating. But when officials and educational institutions operate on the basis of personal self-interest, rather than organisational self-interest, and corruption of rules, laws and core mission and values is normal, the good of students and the public is routinely pushed aside.

The long-run challenge in India is to establish a new normative climate in which the common good is genuinely uppermost in policy implementation and administration, and those empowered by the state to serve the general welfare are high-minded and fully committed to the task. Higher education educates the middle and upper layers of state officials. In achieving ethical public governance, all of government, university leaders and bottom-up teaching faculty and students have equal contributions to make.

Setting Honest and Realistic Educational Targets

An important part of the ethics of government is the authenticity of public discourse. Public statements made to maximise electoral support are as authentic as the commercial marketing of products. In other words, such statements cannot be trusted. Public statements designed to lead, govern and empower people should be very different.

The National Education Plan of 2019 set a national target of 50% enrolment—half of all young people—by the year 2035. That would bring India to the level of participation already reached in China. Yet in India this target will be difficult to achieve, I think it is impossible. At present, there are two overarching constraints. Higher education cannot move too far in advance of the national resource base, and the pace of modernisation. The first constraint is the limited capacity of poorer families to pay tuition and the costs of student living support, which, in the absence of adequate public funding, determines both the poor quality of college provision and less than the full-time character of many enrolments, and altogether stops many other families from participating. The second constraint is India's relatively low rate of urbanisation compared to the world as a whole.

Figure 2.1 compares the trend line during 2000–2019 in the rate of urbanisation, meaning the proportion of people who live in cities, and the Gross Tertiary Enrolment Ratio, the proportion of the youth age cohort that enters post-school education. Urbanisation increases over time, and enrolment in tertiary education increases over time. This is not a coincidence. Tertiary and higher education is primarily an urban phenomenon. In cities, the demand for higher education becomes concentrated on a large scale. People can put effective pressure on governments to expand access, and market-based providers have large numbers of potential customers. Cities also enable the provision of education on the basis of economies of size and scope. Universities and colleges are larger and more expensive to provide than primary schools and need more specialist staff. So, the same pattern shows in country after country. As societies modernise and economies develop urbanisation increases, and after a lag tertiary enrolment rate moves upwards towards the level of urbanisation, the proportion of the population in cities.

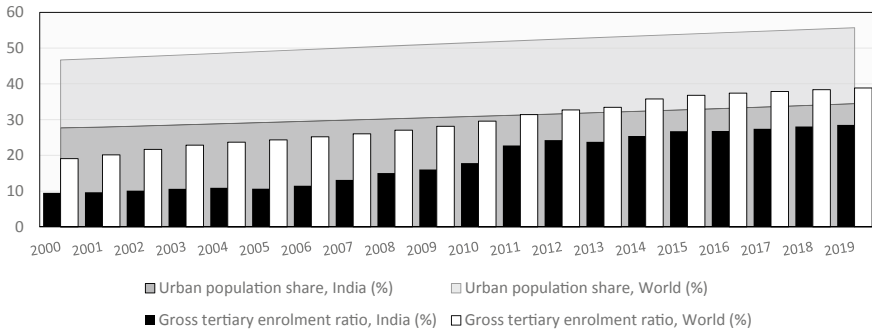


Fig. 2.1 Proportion of the population living in cities compared to gross tertiary enrolment ratio, India and World: 2000–2019. *Source* Created by the Author, drawing on World Bank (2021)

Figure 2.1 shows that in the world as a whole, both urbanisation and the rate of educational enrolment are increasing. This is true also in India. In fact, the gap between the urbanisation ratio and the enrolment rate has shrunk dramatically. In 2015, India had 180 cities with a population of more than 300,000 people, led by Delhi with over 26 million people, Mumbai, Kolkata and Bangalore. India's cities will continue to draw more people from the countryside and into the urban capitalist economy. As the cities grow, the effective demand for higher education will continue to expand. Numbers will rise towards that year 2035 target of 50% which is still 21% away. But the target will not be reached by 2035. India's rate of urbanisation is lower than that of the world as a whole. Two-thirds of the national population are still outside the cities and while this continues the national enrolment rate cannot reach 50%. The government's target means little. It can be seen as essentially rhetorical, designed to achieve a political useful connection to popular aspirations. The bottom line is this - the target is not supported by the massive investment in economic and social infrastructure that would be needed to achieve it by natural means. I fear that this is not honest policy making; though the aspiration looks good on paper and is widely shared, it is essentially a fake target propagated for electoral purposes.

Can online education into rural areas make up the gap? The government implies this, but here again the extent of modernisation sets a constraint. In this case, the limitation is the reach of communications infrastructure. Across the world, higher education has spread in an uneven manner to rural areas. Physical institutions are difficult to sustain at low levels of enrolment, especially when communities have prior needs for clean water, sustainable food supplies, ecological stabilisation of the land and basic healthcare facilities. Though online education can do some things well, it is less effective overall than good quality face-to-face learning, being less potent in socialisation and cohort effects. The period of the pandemic has seen advances in online provision in every national system. At the same time, its educational limitations have been apparent. First, it is limited pedagogically because social relations are an essential part of learning. Students in most locations emphasise a preference for onsite education. Second, as is well understood by educators in India, and has

been very apparent during the pandemic, online education is seriously constrained by the lack of bandwidth, reliable electricity supply and Internet-receiving devices.

According to World Bank (2021) data, in India in 2018, 65.5% of the population had no Internet access. The ratio was much higher in rural areas. Even among enrolled students, according to the NSS 75th round data for 2017–18, 32% of students in urban areas had no Internet access, and 58% in rural areas. ST and SC students were 58% without any Internet access. It is not just a matter of Internet access in itself. The same survey found that 55% of urban students did not possess a device adequate for online higher education, and that ratio was 83% in rural areas. Of course, it is poorer communities and poor families that lack access. So, to expect online education to stretch India to that 50% target is to buy into a highly inequitable approach to education provision. But the government is not serious about reaching the 50% target through online education. It is not putting the money on the table to extend Internet access—and the necessary computers—into the rural sector on the scale needed.

The Pandemic, Government and Higher Education

The pandemic has provided all governments with a tougher test of their intrinsic approach than does higher education policy. The first lesson of the pandemic period is that on the whole, with the exception of the few countries with a strong commitment to the common good, higher education institutions have handled the pandemic better than their governments. The second lesson is that it is what governments do that is decisive in all sectors, including higher education. An institution that is committed towards common good cannot overcome the fact of a government that lacks commitment to the common good.

Overall, universities and colleges have handled the pandemic well, in many if not most cases, in most countries, and often under exceptional pressure. Many higher education institutions have been great resources for their societies. This is very much the case in India where desperately hard-working faculty and graduate students have struggled to plug the gaps in health care created by poor government.

In the early weeks, many institutions made a quick move to shift teaching, curricula, communication and administration to the online modes. New strong online delivery models came out or were enhanced. Web-related skills are now more widely dispersed. The commitment of academic and administrative staff responsible for student welfare emerged as a crucial element, while for a few academics work from home may have reduced the load, but not for the academic leaders, or for dealing with students and online delivery, and for frontline professors and teachers. Several people had to work for an exceptional number of hours to keep the systems going while retooling them at the same time.

However, at the level of meta-policy—how higher education is financed during the pandemic, when to close and open the institutions, social distancing and mask protocols—the outcomes have not been consistently good. They have radically varied

across the world. This is because the pandemic experience in higher education has mirrored the pandemic experience in societies as a whole, and the political culture in higher education is aligned with the political culture in relation to government as a whole, including public health.

In societies, in which the state is of high quality, takes a longer-term view, runs consistent and authentic policies, is neither over politicised, populist nor highly corrupted, and has a genuine commitment to the common public good as the framework for policy, the pandemic death toll has been lower, sometimes much lower, and higher education has been stable throughout the pandemic. Social discipline including mask and distancing protocols have been observed in society and higher education. Higher education has closed and opened according to the logic of public health requirements—it has been often open, because the pandemic has not been as rife, due to good public health policies—rather than opening dates being dictated by the need to sustain financial sustainability, because the institutions are supported where necessary by government funding. Generally, this is the picture in East Asia, where death tolls have been very low, and parts of Western Europe where death tolls have been higher (borders cannot be sealed) but for the most part people have the necessary collective commitment to social discipline—they understand that masking and isolation are not about their individual freedom but about the effects of their behaviour on others—and higher education has been managed well, for example, Finland and Norway. In those countries, higher education will come out of the pandemic in a strong condition.

As of 29 April 2021, after the pandemic had been running for 15 months, China, where Covid-19 first appeared, had suffered 4,845 deaths attributed to the virus. In Japan, the toll was 9,913, in South Korea 1,817, and in Taiwan, with 23.6 million people, only 12. Yet in India, with roughly the same population as China, it was 195,123 people and rising; in the UK with just 5% of the population of India, it was 127,428 people, and in the US, the figure had climbed to 572,674 (ECDPC, 2021). These contrasting outcomes are very important and should not be forgotten. They are a mirror of underlying differences in political cultures, differences that affect policies on higher education, and not just during a global pandemic.

It has gone wrong in countries whose political culture is motored by a high capitalist and individualist ideology, where the state is resented or discredited (the US is the extreme case), neoliberal ideology enables the state to minimise its responsibilities to the common good, politicians see politics as a competitive market not the pivot of common good and pursue a populist agenda, public services are under-provided—fatal in public health at present—and people are unable to accept social discipline protocols. As the above numbers show, in the US and the UK, where the neoliberal vision of government has a firm hold, the outcomes of the pandemic have been horrific. In the UK, the government has talked up the value of the National Health Service in rhetorical terms but left it severely under-funded for the task handed to it. In both countries, most politicians have regulated the pandemic in such a way as to minimise their unpopularity. Both countries provide marketized higher education systems, and higher education institutions have had to open more than they should have, to sustain their financial base. They have also used misleading marketing. For

example, prior to the 2020–21 academic year, UK institutions marketed themselves to both local and international students as offering a near-normal or normal higher education classroom. This caused enormous resentment among students when they arrived on campus in September 2020 only to find themselves locked in weeks of the time in student residences and doing all their classes online. In the US, where many institutions opened to normal social interaction too early, on some campuses there were many thousands of cases.

In India, under-funded public health facilities have been overrun, supplies have been monopolised or stolen and sold at exorbitant prices, the public discipline exerted by the union government and some state governments has been based on political factors, not public health, and higher education has been left to cope as best it may. Despite the enormous cultural differences between India and its former coloniser, it seems that in government there is more convergence than might be expected. India and the UK have had a similar pandemic experience. Essentially, the pandemic has done more damage in India only because of the lower level of per capita resources. If India had shared the same culture of government as South Korea, or Taiwan, or China, rather than the UK, hundreds of thousands of people in India would still be alive today, and universities and colleges would have opened again to almost normal educational activity by late 2020, as in East Asia.

Conclusion: Principles for Higher Education

In societies and higher education systems in which the public interest is uppermost in policy and the common good prevails, the following principles govern higher education:

- (1) Health and lives of staff and students is prioritised in policy making, and Government declares that education would continue only in the online mode till it is safe to reopen educational institutions keeping in mind public health policy, not individual institutions or universities.
- (2) Government extends support for the financial sustainability of universities for the necessary duration, while similar support is extended to other necessary sectors such as the healthcare system, food or banking.
- (3) Ensuring quality in both online education and administration which is aligned with economic delivery.
- (4) The cost of tuition charged by higher education institutions (in countries that charge fees from students) should be reduced to accommodate the reality of online education which can extend partial services in terms of cognitive learning, limited interaction, and credentialing, but lacks full sociability with students and teachers, physical facilities, extra-curricular activities and nested work experience. While good quality online education is not cheap, its cost cannot be the same as onsite education.

- (5) Additional support extended to students from poor financial backgrounds and who lack access to facilities required for online mode of education by Governments and universities.
- (6) Institutions implement a sound public health protocol, whenever they reopen and immediately shut down and move back to a fully online mode of education, if the number of cases owing to the pandemic spikes up again.

These principles are not utopian. Some countries have been able to achieve them during the pandemic period since February/March 2020. Most countries have not tried. It is not simply a matter of resources. Vietnam is a nation of 96.5 million people which had a PPP per capita income of \$8,317 in 2019, the year before the pandemic hit. This compares with India's per capita income of \$6,997 (World Bank, 2021). As of 29 April, Vietnam had suffered only 35 deaths attributed to Covid-19 (ECPDC, 2021). Its higher education system has been disrupted only to a limited degree and recovered quickly. It is not primarily about resources, it is about the political culture and the commitment to the common good—the will to devise and implement honest policies in the collective interest, the capacity to work together and the essential humanism that values the life and learning of every person.

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Chapter 3

COVID-19 and the Moment of Truth for Asian Universities



Rocky S. Tuan

Abstract The COVID-19 pandemic has ravaged the world and revealed the many disparities or inequities, related to economic, health, and societal infrastructures, that have rendered certain regions or groups of people more susceptible to the pandemic or other crises. The impact of the technological/digital divide is a case in point. Accessibility to technological tools can be a matter of life or death in the pandemic. Each society must identify and focus resources to overcome the critical challenges to safeguard its future. A key lesson learned during the pandemic is that knowledge gained in one society could be applicable in another society, and that the world needs to work together to enable the implementation of knowledge- and evidence-based policies. Universities are institutions of learning and knowledge and must therefore play significant roles in societal restoration in the post-pandemic world. This is particularly relevant in Asia as Asian countries are rapidly developing in the twenty-first century. Specifically, the correlation between cultures, beliefs, habits, and customs with health and disease susceptibility needs to be conceptualized and researched, analysed, and then formulated into policies and brought into practice.

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic will assuredly go down in history as one of the most severe challenges faced by mankind. As of late June 2020, there are more than 180 million positive infections globally, with almost 3.9 million fatalities (<https://www.worldometers.info/coronavirus/>). In addition, survivors of the COVID-19 infections (known as Long COVID) are reported to face long-term health challenges, including compromised neurological, cardiovascular, urological, mental, musculoskeletal, endocrine, and respiratory functions (Cabrera Martimbianco et al., 2021; Pavli et al., 2021; Raveendran et al., 2021). Although vaccination schemes have recently been implemented with apparent effectiveness (Haas et al., 2021), which have resulted in some

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degree of control of infection in countries that have access to vaccines, the pandemic continues to ravage large parts of the world.

A number of factors contribute to the observed disparities or inequities, and are related to economic, health, and societal infrastructures that have rendered certain regions or groups of people more susceptible to the pandemic or other crises. An additional contributing factor to this divide is the uneven and unequal access to requisite technologies and knowledge for the maintenance and effectiveness of public health measures and actions.

Universities have the civic responsibility to support the development of impactful and multidisciplinary research by experts and scholars from medicine and science, as well as from areas of public health, law, social sciences, and humanities, and to facilitate the translation of such research to the general public language and recommendations for policymakers.

Asian universities are rapidly gaining global prominence in the twenty-first century, and it is imperative that they pay special attention to societal and humanitarian/humanity-based values in addition to the professional/vocational skill sets. A primary mission of universities is to prepare tomorrow's global citizens of the world, with readiness in terms of knowledge, skills, and characters, to take on the multiple challenges the world is facing. Building technological capabilities to overcome the digital divide in higher education is a critical issue to be addressed by Asian universities. Some of these challenges include: (1) facilitating students to study online and interact with people of different cultures under the physical and resource constraints which have been exposed by the pandemic; and (2) enhancing global collaborations by developing quality and dual-degree programmes, joint research supervision, joint research labs, and other activities. Empowering existing international university networks and alliances thus deserves particular attention. The current pandemic-imposed global stress and the ensuing new normal represent an important moment of truth for Asian universities to anticipate and take on novel challenges that reflect the more collective cultural nature of Asian societies.

Universities and Actionable Knowledge

A key lesson learned during the pandemic is that knowledge gained in one society could be and should be applicable in another society, and that the world needs to work together to enable the implementation of knowledge- and evidence-based policies (Keenan et al., 2012). In other words, the world needs knowledge that is justifiably actionable. Universities are institutions of learning and knowledge and must therefore play significant roles in societal restoration in the post-pandemic world. Inter-disciplinary collaboration within and among higher education institutions has been increasingly emphasized as the key to addressing current and emerging global challenges. A paradigm shift has been called for to break the silos, structural norms, and policies that hinder inter-disciplinary practices, and to build an enabling environment for inter-disciplinary research and teaching (Bammer et al., 2020; Gombrich,

2018; Jacob, 2015). In the U.S., the National Research Council has championed trans-disciplinary integration of life sciences, physical sciences, engineering, and beyond (National Research Council 2014). Such a movement is particularly relevant in Asia as Asian countries are undergoing rapid development in the twenty-first century, and universities are increasingly serving as the incubators of new knowledge that drives innovation and technology development in Asia.

With respect to the COVID-19 pandemic, the following two areas are worthy of emphasis:

- (1). The correlation between cultures, beliefs, habits, and customs with health and disease susceptibility needs to be conceptualized, researched, and analysed as social determinants of health (Marmot and Wilkinson, 2006; Obinna, 2021), and then formulated into policies and brought into practice.
- (2). The public health practices that best prepare a community for health crises, such as COVID-19, need to be rigorously identified and delineated as a template for future adoption into practice.

Universities have the civic responsibility to support the development of impactful and multidisciplinary research by experts and scholars from medicine and science, as well as from areas of public health, law, social sciences, and humanities, and to facilitate the translation of such research to the general public language and recommendations for policymakers.

Roles of Universities in the New Normal

Building Human Capital

The early nineteenth-century German philosopher and education pioneer, Wilhelm von Humboldt, envisioned the contribution of university education as a means of realizing individual possibility, beyond vocational training (Fawcett, 2018) (Fig. 3.1). In a letter to the Prussian king, he wrote (Günther, 1988):

There are undeniably certain kinds of knowledge that must be general and, more importantly, a certain cultivation of the mind and character that nobody can afford to be without. People obviously cannot be good craftworkers, merchants, soldiers or businessmen unless, regardless of their occupation, they are good, upstanding and—according to their condition—well-informed human beings and citizens. If this basis is laid through schooling, vocational skills are easily acquired later on, and a person is always free to move from one occupation to another, as so often happens in life.

His concept of the autonomous individual and the world citizen as the central theme of university education is more relevant than ever today. Universities must not only pass on technical and practical knowledge to our students; we must also instill in our students the concept of civic responsibility and global citizenship. The metastatic spread of the COVID-19 pandemic and the ensuing urgent need for international cooperation powerfully illustrate the critical need for a generation of not

Fig. 3.1 Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), German man of letters extraordinaire, a close friend of the poets Goethe and Schiller, whose life's work encompasses the areas of philosophy, literature, linguistics, anthropology, education, and political thought as well as statesmanship



only technocrats, but instead individuals who are informed about and have compassion for global sustainable development. This is the human capital that the world demands of universities and institutions of higher education.

Breaking Down Academic Barriers

There is a well-known Chinese saying from the fourteenth-century classic novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (Chap. 1) by Luo Guanzhong:

That which is long divided must unify; that which is long unified must divide.

Development in academic research and scholarship has followed a similar historical trend as local and regional politics referred to in the classic novel. The reductionistic path has led to continuing focusing and specialization of knowledge. While such a trend better permits evaluation and credentialization, the broad and encompassing nature of current global societal needs, particularly in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic, cries out for multi- and inter-disciplinary knowledge that is applicable and relevant to address these needs. Universities must therefore re-direct our attention to



Fig. 3.2 The sustainable development goals (SDGs) of the United Nations

“integrating” knowledge, by examining the convergent characteristics of the current academic areas, in order to make actionable the knowledge generated and imparted by our research and research activities (Roco et al., 2013). The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) advanced by the United Nations (UN) and adopted by all UN member states in 2015 represent a blueprint for all countries to promote peace and prosperity while protecting the planet, now and into the future (UN General Assembly, 2015) (Fig. 3.2). It is noteworthy that the SDGs also provide a critical framework for post-COVID-19 recovery. In addition, rallying around the SDGs should serve to converge knowledge and “unify” the “long divided”. At The Chinese University of Hong Kong, we have set for ourselves concrete targets in alignment with the UN SDGs, which are being applied to all areas of the University’s endeavours in education, research, and community service.

Breaking Down Distance Barriers

The COVID-19 pandemic has severely hampered and restricted people movement; university education, in particular on-campus classes and activities have been and continue to be severely compromised. Fortunately, a large number of universities throughout the world have effectively transformed much of their educational content online, facilitated by the application of a number of now well-polished video conferencing platforms.

While these online efforts have been able to make up for the bulk of the academic requirements in many universities, there are various challenges in terms of delivering the desired learning outcomes, one of which being the lack of person-to-person interactions (Popovich & Neel, 2005; Ossiannilsoon, 2021). Students’ learning experience and satisfaction are often associated with their sense of social presence in classes,

through interactions with the instructors or other students, as well as other on- and off-campus activities (Wut & Xu, 2021). To advance online education, teachers, researchers, and software designers must develop more specialized tools and software and customized instructional designs to adapt to and support various forms of interactions in classes (Abrami et al., 2011).

Another aspect that has been severely challenged and short-changed by the restricted movement imposed by the pandemic for the higher education sector is international student exchange activities. The three main goals of international exchange, namely enrolment in international courses, exposure to international culture, and involvement in global social communities, cannot be easily achieved by regular online channels. To address this need, The Chinese University of Hong Kong has initiated, since Fall 2020, a Virtual Student Exchange (VSE) Programme, under the auspices of the Association of Pacific Rim Universities (APRU) (<https://vse.apru.org>) (Fig. 3.3). The hallmark of the VSE Programme consists of three components: (1) a portfolio of coursework highly tailored for international students, (2) co-curricular region-specific culture immersion activities, and (3) introduction to international social communities. Currently, 26 universities in 4 continents (Asia, Australia/New Zealand, North America, and South America) are active participants in the VSE Programme, offering more than 150 courses. The success of the APRU VSE Programme builds on (1) the broad base of international partner institutions, (2) carefully tailored academic and co-curricular contents, and (3) the establishment of a well-organized registration and processing mechanism. We expect to continue to make this original “Plan B” into a sustainable “Plan A” for international student exchange in the post-pandemic new normal, to break down distance barriers.

Promotion of Diversity, Inclusion, and Peacebuilding

Success in education, as in all human activities, is all about people. Universities therefore must embrace diversity and inclusiveness, the fundamental elements of peace and equality. At The Chinese University of Hong Kong, we developed and adopted a university-wide Policy of Diversity and Inclusion (2020a, b) and established the Office of Diversity and Inclusion in 2020. Building on the principles of community, The Chinese University of Hong Kong is committed to fostering academic excellence in an atmosphere of openness, respect, empathy, and inclusivity, and cherishing the richness contributed to our community by our diversity and individual differences. University life must be the bedrock upon which all members will be imbued with the spirit of peace and inclusiveness.

The COVID-19 pandemic and the recent surge in social unrest across the world are further flared by widespread protectionism, tribalism, and self-interest. Alarming as these signs are, they urge us to re-think the role universities can play and consider if we are empowering the students adequately to contribute to a world that seems



Universities have adopted technology into its teaching to enhance learning experience for students. Now, more than ever, digital technology is utilized to support international education. The Association of Pacific Rim Universities (APRU), a network of 56 leading universities in the Americas, Asia and Australasia, brings to its students an exclusive opportunity to **connect** with peers from **around the world** to learn new **knowledge** and **skills**, exchange **ideas** and **cultures**, and develop connections vital for **success** in the 21st Century.

The APRU Virtual Student Exchange (VSE) Program, led by **The Chinese University of Hong Kong**, makes international education accessible by allowing students to take **academic courses** and participate in **co-curricular programs** without the need to leave home. It opens up international education for all students by providing an immersive virtual student exchange experience through digital technologies and platforms and creating encounters with new ideas, cultures, experts, academics and students from **around the world**.



Fig. 3.3 APRU Virtual Student Exchange Programme. Started in Fall, 2020¹

to progressively emphasize individualism, self-sufficiency, nationalism, and protectionism. The dysfunctional, tribal-like divisiveness of the world, marked by geopolitical conflicts both before and during the COVID-19 pandemic, is a strong reminder that peacebuilding efforts are urgently needed. We must re-think the educational objectives and bring reforms in curricula to include aspects such as systematic efforts in peacebuilding. Students should be able to analyse, critique, and evaluate information, understand facts to arrive at the truth, and present ideas in a non-confrontational

¹ The VSE Programme, led by The Chinese University of Hong Kong, enables university students to access international education without leaving home. The VSE Programme content includes academic courses and co-curricular cultural immersion activities to introduce students to new knowledge, ideas, cultures, and social communities.

manner. It is equally important to enable students to understand and appreciate the humanities by teaching them about the history of peace and conflict. As the first important site of exposure to diversity, the university serves as an incubator to make this a life-changing and flourishing experience for students. We must strive to ensure that the future global citizens produced by universities will take up the responsibility of peacebuilding, a major sustainable development goal (SDG No. 16).

Conclusion

In summary, the current pandemic-imposed global stress and the ensuing new normal represent an important moment of truth for universities. In particular, Asian universities have the additional responsibility of nurturing the next generation of citizens for the most rapidly developing and changing region of the world. In fulfilling this responsibility, we must not simply copy the formulae of Western universities, regardless of how successful they have been or how long they have been in practice, but instead must innovate based on considerations that reflect the more collective cultural nature of Asian societies. These innovations ideally will be inter-disciplinary, inter-university, and inter-national in nature, and adopt the unique capabilities of the many “Plan B” approaches developed to combat pandemic-related restrictions. In other words, as Winston Churchill once famously said:

Never let a crisis go to waste!

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Chapter 4

Agility and Transformation: The University in the Age of the COVID-19 Pandemic and Beyond



Anver Saloojee and Mohamed Lachemi

Abstract The global coronavirus pandemic has been transformative and has had huge impacts on the education sector in general and on higher education institutions in particular. It has been disruptive to teaching and learning, to learners, faculty, research and researchers, and to the broad mandate of universities. It has deepened the racial, gender divides class and digital extant between the pre-pandemic society and university, and it has rendered millions of students without access to education, resulting in what the United Nations has described as a generational catastrophe. However, the pandemic has also opened up new possibilities for re-imagining and transforming the university. It has demonstrated the capacity of the university to be agile and responsive. This chapter explores the multiple complex ways in which Ryerson University in particular and universities globally have risen to the challenges posed by the pandemic. As vaccination rates in Canada and globally increase and societies and universities are poised to reopen, will the momentum for transformation be sustained, or will there be a tendency for universities to turn towards the familiar pre-pandemic ways of doing things?

Introduction¹

Responses by the higher education sector to the global pandemic have to be situated in the context of what the United Nations calls a generational catastrophe, the impact of the pandemic on our future learners—those currently in primary and high school. The pandemic opens up new possibilities for a re-imagined internationalization that is fundamentally rooted in globalizing access to education. This access to education

¹ We thank Nadia Singh (a MA student at Ryerson in the Immigration and Settlement MA program), who did exceptional work on an annotated bibliography for this chapter.

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requires universities to take education to students, rather than expecting students to come to the university. It turns mobility on its head and that, in turn, requires innovations in program and course delivery, pedagogy, global partnerships in research, and cooperative curriculum development. With progress being made and approvals finalized for two different COVID-19 vaccines, the world is on the cusp of the largest ever inoculation program and we now have increased optimism around re-imagining a post-pandemic university.

For Ryerson University, as well as for other universities in Canada, the global coronavirus pandemic has been transformative and has had a seismic impact on the very core of the institution. In the short term, Ryerson University demonstrated agility and enormous capacity to pivot in the face of the crisis. In the long term, the university needs to address the impact of the pandemic on increasing inequalities; its gendered and racialized impact; the impact on domestic economies, and the restructuring of the national and global labour market.

Universities are at a critical juncture and what the pandemic has starkly revealed is that while they operate in national spaces, they are subject to geopolitical pressures—including border closures, climate change, trade wars, and tensions between nation-states. The two largest source countries for international students are India and China. For universities dependent on international students from these countries, there will be no return to “normal”—the return of students from China to pre-pandemic numbers, for example, is at the heart of a question that sits firmly at the intersection of politics, trade, and soft diplomacy.

Undoubtedly, the pandemic has had far-reaching consequences for universities around the world. It has been hugely disruptive to teaching and learning, learners, faculty, research and researchers, and to the broad mandate of universities. However, the pandemic has also opened up new possibilities for re-imagining and transforming the university.

The Pandemic, Higher Education and the Global Context

On 11 March 2020, the World Health Organization declared the rapidly spreading coronavirus a pandemic. On that day, 114 countries reported that 118,000 people had contracted COVID-19, the disease caused by the virus, known as SARS-CoV2, and nearly 4,300 people had died (World Health Organization, 2020a, b). By 21 December 2020, there were 75,704,857 confirmed cases of COVID-19, including 1,690,061 deaths (World Health Organization, 2020a).

This health pandemic has resulted in a global and socio-economic crisis. It has resulted in border closures, business closures, restructured work, record levels of unemployment, political crises, and a huge debate about the very form and nature of public safety and the global good (the opening of businesses and economic well-being versus maintaining business closures as waves of the pandemic hit nation-states in varying degrees). The pandemic has exacerbated socio-economic inequalities (within a society and globally) and has heightened racism, sexism, and xenophobia. At the

same time, it has led to physical isolation, social distancing, the closure of the “commons”—those shared physical spaces so essential to an inclusive society, heightened stress and the resultant mental health issues, and raised the unacceptable reality of increased gender-based and domestic violence.

In the higher education sector, the pandemic has necessitated the physical closure of universities around the world (except for essential services) and moved to teaching and learning online. It has blurred the distinction between home and work for faculty and staff. Within two weeks of the declaration of the pandemic, post-secondary institutions in over 150 countries were closed, impacting over 80% of the world’s student population (Sahu, 2020).

In the education sector, the spread of the pandemic necessitated the largest-ever closure of kindergartens, primary and high schools, and universities and colleges. According to the United Nations, by April 2020 188 countries had imposed country-wide school closures—impacting 1.5 billion children and youth. The pandemic has exacerbated (1) hunger as children no longer have access to school feeding programs; (2) the number of children living in poverty—it is estimated that an additional 42–66 million children could fall into extreme poverty, adding to the approximately 386 million children currently living in poverty in 2019; and (3) the learning crisis and the digital divide as one-third of the world’s young people were already digitally excluded (United Nations, April 2020). This, as the United Nations has observed, is undoubtedly a generational catastrophe that the global post-secondary sector has to be cognizant of precisely because it impacts future generations who constitute our pipeline. The university sector cannot remain aloof from these critical issues. Central to the re-imagined university in the post-pandemic era is a conception of the global public good.

The core question is how universities are dealing with the crisis, as they continue to deliver on their broad commitments to teaching and research? Certainly, the shift to remote learning has been swift and the shift prompts a worldwide discussion about re-imagining pedagogical possibilities for universities post COVID-19 (Peters et al., 2020). The pandemic has exposed and deepened both racial and gender inequalities in society and within universities. These inequalities, which were present before the pandemic began, only deepened during the pandemic as people had to work and study from home. Issues of access to broadband; the gendered division of labour at home and in society; the spread of COVID in parts of the city where there are greater concentrations of poor people; racialized minority communities and communities where essential workers are located. Within the university, the move to online teaching coupled with children studying from home, the pandemic did not level the gendered division of labour at home; rather it had a deep and very unequal impact on female academics—particularly with respect to their research and publications.

Developments in Canada and Ryerson University's Response to the Pandemic

According to the Government of Canada, as of 21 December 2020, there were 507,795 cases and over 14,228 deaths in Canada, and of those, over 158,053 cases and 4,167 deaths were in the Province of Ontario (Government of Canada, 2020; Province of Ontario, 2020).

Over a two-week period in March 2020, more than 2.5 million individuals enrolled in universities, colleges, and apprenticeships (roughly 6.7% of the entire Canadian population) moved their learning online (Usher 2020). In contrast to the dramatic March 2020 shift to online learning, in 2019 only 16% of university and 12% of college students learned primarily online (Schrumm, 2020).

On 13 March 2020, Ryerson University, along with other institutions and businesses in the City of Toronto, shut down all operations (except for essential services). In the short term, Ryerson University demonstrated agility and an enormous capacity to pivot in the face of the crisis. The immediate short-term pivoting and agility found expression in.

- (1) The immediate shutdown of the university with the exception of essential services;
- (2) An overnight move from an in-class experience to remote teaching;
- (3) 95% of our workforce transitioning to working from home;
- (4) Over 45,000 students accessing the last few weeks of their courses online and faculty members moving rapidly to adjust their teaching to accommodate the new reality;
- (5) Utilizing innovative digital platforms to create opportunities for virtual experiential learning. For example, a virtual hospital to assist students in nursing and midwifery acquire and master professional skills;
- (6) Providing students in need of Wi-Fi hot spots and laptops;
- (7) Repatriation of hundreds of students, staff, and faculty who were abroad on university-sponsored study, research, or other related work;
- (8) Expanding the band-width capacity of the university;
- (9) Hundreds of students accessing counselling and wellness services online;
- (10) Both teachers and learners exploring new ways of engaging with education;
- (11) Global cooperation among researchers.

In the medium term, Ryerson University undertook a number of crucial steps including.

- (1) Establishing two groups responsible for charting our way forward: a Scenario Planning Committee to help navigate potential disruptions and challenges and an Opportunities Committee looking for opportunities within the disruption and recovery;
- (2) Reinforcing the important role of collegial governance by having Senate engaged in all critical academic decisions around going online (including changes to grading, proctoring exams, placements, etc.);

- (3) Undertaking extensive consultations by both the President and the Provost (including town hall meetings and unit-level meetings) on current issues, challenges, and solutions;
- (4) Providing substantial additional resources to faculty members to assist with developing courses that can be effectively delivered online;
- (5) Strengthening the capacity of the teaching and learning office to assist faculty with online delivery;
- (6) Developing a robust computing and technical infrastructure to ensure that courses can be offered online without interruption;
- (7) Developing an enhanced virtual tool to remain connected with our global partners;
- (8) Providing faculty and staff with extra days off;
- (9) Recognizing the impact of the pandemic and the social isolation on the mental health of staff, faculty, and students;
- (10) Thinking about the future of the workforce and undertaking a dialogue on what is needed to transform the university workplace into an agile workplace with an agile workforce;
- (11) Despite the challenges, moved forward with the launch of the strategic vision to reinvigorate the university community and set sights for a better, stronger future in the next decade.

As we reflect on our short- and medium-term strategies, what guided our approach was the following:

- (1) Putting the health and safety of our students, staff, and faculty first;
- (2) Remaining true to our values;
- (3) Supporting students generally and in particular supporting them through their online learning;
- (4) Supporting faculty and staff and redirecting resources to where they are needed;
- (5) Providing resources to strengthen our digital platform and support faculty with resources to develop and deliver courses online;
- (6) Listening and communicating regularly to all members of the community—holding town halls, other open consultations, and speaking to every department and unit and taking the time to talk with faculty, staff, and students;
- (7) Engaging with all levels of government and public health authorities;
- (8) Being mindful of the stress the pandemic is having on faculty, staff, and students and the toll it is taking on their mental and physical health;
- (9) Being open and transparent;
- (10) Remaining true to the Strategic Vision and Academic Plan of the university;
- (11) Being nimble, agile, strategic, and innovative;
- (12) Being highly respectful of collegial governance and the role of Senate in all academic matters;
- (13) Putting in place caring and compassionate measures to deal with stress;
- (14) Reaffirming the importance of Equity Diversity and Inclusion (EDI) as the pandemic heightened and accentuated anti-Asian racism and as the virus

took a disproportionate toll on racialized minority communities in the city of Toronto;

- (15) Working with other universities to lobby all levels of government to support students, particularly those in need to support universities that are hurting financially; and to make more seamless attracting, recruiting, and bringing international students back to study at Canadian universities.

What became clear is that universities across the country were amazingly agile as they found the strength and capacity to rapidly transform from the in-class, face-to-face experience to an online experience.

However, the rapid disruption of the university sector has come at huge costs. Consultations undertaken at Ryerson University bear out the broader research on the impact of the pandemic. These costs include (but are not limited to) the human costs to students, faculty, and staff; the economic costs of dealing with the pandemic (including the loss of a variety of forms of revenue); the impact on pedagogy; the exacerbation of socio-economic inequalities and tensions; the impact on equity, diversity, and inclusion (including ethno-racial and gender divides); and the impact on domestic and international student recruitment and retention.

COVID-19 Impact on Race and Gender

Ryerson University prides itself on being one of the most diverse universities in Canada. We see ourselves as a city building university embedded in the cityscape of Toronto—one of the most diverse cities in the world. We value EDI as an essential strand of our DNA, and EDI informs our Academic Plan and our Strategic Vision. We draw the overwhelming majority of our students from the City of Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area. It was therefore hugely distressing to the university community as a whole to assess the data on the spread of the pandemic in Canada and in the City of Toronto where Ryerson University is situated. By 6 December 2020, the City of Toronto had reported 45,486 cases and 1,671 deaths (Toronto.CA/COVID19).

As a university located in the heart of the city, we grieve for all the residents of our city affected by the virus, not just our graduates, students, and their families. The data has revealed the pandemic's drastically uneven impact on racialized and poor communities in the city (Subedi et al., 2020). A City of Toronto report found that 83% of COVID-19 cases in the city involved racialized Torontonians, even though people who identify with a racialized group only make up about half (52%) of our city's population. And 51% of COVID-19 cases involved people living below the low-income threshold—even though only 30% of residents in the city are categorized as low-income (Cressey, 2020). A Toronto Foundation study found similar results. People earning less than \$30,000 per annum were 5.3 times more likely to be affected by COVID-19 than those with annual incomes of \$150,000. And by the end of May 2020, the most racialized parts of Toronto had 10 times more cases than the least racialized parts—a trend that has continued throughout the pandemic (Datta-Ray,

2020). Statistics Canada in a report “COVID-19 Mortality Rates in Canada’s Ethno-Cultural Neighbourhoods” specifically pointed to the hugely disproportionate and disastrous impact of COVID-19 on South Asian communities in Toronto and the Black community in Montreal (Subedi et al., 2020).

For a university that sees itself as a city building university, each and every case is distressing. The ethno-racial dimensions of the spread are cause for concern and speak directly to where our graduates and their families—as well as our future students and their families—live and work. It points to the important role the university has to play as a city builder and as a site of interdisciplinary research to advance the greater good of the city. The university is a microcosm of the society of which it is a part, and to the extent, the virus has exposed the deeper socio-economic challenges in our society, so too it exposes the socio-economic challenges in our university.

There is also a significant gendered impact of the pandemic. Prior to COVID-19, the competition and distribution of resources within universities and academia had been heavily gendered, where male academics are reported to have the larger share of already very limited resources (e.g., grants, mentorship, and promotions). With the closure of universities since COVID-19, Duncanson et al. (2020) found many female academics are reporting exacerbated struggles of reconciling their excessive workloads (e.g., teaching, ongoing expectation of research) with their emerging family care responsibilities (overseeing their children’s remote learning, caring for dependent adults).

Duncanson et al. (2020) surveyed over 500 academics (men 51%, women 49%) in the STEMM (science, technology, engineering, mathematics, and medicine) and business disciplines across Australia and found the most important barrier to the career progression of women in academia is uneven resource distribution. Excessive workloads were the greatest constraint on undertaking research. In addition, the absence of academic mentoring coupled with family responsibilities constituted major barriers to publication and hence to academic career progression. The pandemic only accentuated these barriers. In a sign of the gendered nature of the pandemic’s impact on research outputs, Dr. Elizabeth Hannon, deputy editor of the *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science*, speaking with *The Guardian* indicated that the number of article submissions she was receiving from women had dropped dramatically while the same was not true for articles from men. On the other hand, David Samuels, co-editor of the leading research publication the *Comparative Political Studies*, found submissions from males were up almost 50% in April 2020 (Fazackerley, 2020). The division of labour and the reward systems at universities have long followed gendered lines and in the pandemic with an increased blurring of work-home life, these gendered inequities have become more entrenched.

Linking these findings back to the global picture, prior to COVID-19, equitable access to education was a crisis with the “girl child” traditionally facing the greatest barriers to education, as girls are twice as likely as boys to never step into a classroom. With the move to online education, the gender digital divide is exacerbated given that globally girls have less access to technology than men, boys, and women (International Labour Organization, 2020). Girls are not only at increased risk of not returning to complete their education but they are also at heightened risk of permanently

dropping out due to extra caregiving responsibilities during school closures and of being victimized by gender-based violence, pregnancy, and child marriage (Edwards, 2020; United Nations, August, 2020; International Labour Organization, 2020). At Ryerson, we came to understand these challenges and we increased counselling and other support to vulnerable students in need.

The post COVID re-imagined university concerned with the global public good must be cognizant of and address these gender and ethno-racial inequities in education and not just in post-secondary education.

Online Learning: Opportunities and Challenges

Over 2 million post-secondary students in Canada were thrust into learning online overnight. Fortunately for most, there was less than half the second semester remaining in their academic year. Universities had to develop solutions to provide online education and degrees. The solution they alighted on was digital technology and online education. Interestingly, it was the pandemic and not technological applications in higher education which have been around for well over a decade and a half that forced universities and their teaching faculty to utilize, adopt, and adapt these technologies overnight. At the same time, the swift and simultaneous global movement online of primary and secondary schools, colleges, and universities created the space for technology companies to “come to the rescue” of the global education system. As Williamson notes, education technology vendors immediately positioned themselves as the so-called education frontline first responders and service providers ready to help solve the disruption in education across the globe (Williamson, 2020).

According to Schrumm (2020), digital spending comprised only 2.5 per cent of global education expenditures during pre-pandemic lockdown. In most countries, including Canada, digital spending remains a small fraction of education budgets (Schrumm, 2020). It comes as no surprise therefore that universities are looking to public-private partnerships to assist with the provision of education in these challenging times.

Supranational agencies like the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and the World Bank have either individually or through education technology partnerships begun thinking and acting around new modes of education delivery. The United Nations brought together a coalition of supranational agencies and private sector companies to develop solutions to the largest disruption to education we have ever witnessed. The coalition included the International Labour Organization, the UN High Commission for Refugees, the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organization, the World Bank, the World Food Programme, and the International Telecommunication Union, as well as the Global Partnership for Education, Education Cannot Wait, the OIF (Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, along with private sector companies such as Microsoft, GSMA, Weidong,

Google, Facebook, Zoom, KPMG, and Coursera (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 2020b). Clearly, these public–private partnerships are the way of the future.

They can help mitigate disruption and provide new and innovative solutions long after the pandemic has ended. While these supranational bodies are advocating public–private partnerships as a way forward, as universities think about embracing these partnerships, they simultaneously need to be conscious of ensuring the primacy of collegial governance, respect for Senates and Boards, and the importance of democratic decision-making to advance the public good.

Universities across Canada had little choice but to adopt technology provided by Cisco Webex, Zoom, and Google Classroom as the remaining weeks of the Winter 2020 semester became the training and testing ground for innovations in online pedagogy. Over the spring and summer terms, Ryerson University provided workshops, tutorials, and full courses to faculty members who began the arduous task of preparing to offer their courses completely online in the 2020–21 academic year. It was a mass social experiment in innovations in pedagogy the likes of which the university had never seen. For the university, it required the mass mobilization of financial, technological, and human resources on a scale previously unthinkable. Inter- and intra-unit collegial cooperation became the norm.

Clearly, there are benefits and challenges associated with online learning. On the one hand, there is flexibility with asynchronous courses; students feel they can contribute more to discussions without drawing attention to themselves; travel time to and from university is eliminated. On the other hand, students come to university for the interactive socio-pedagogical experience to develop a sense of community and to participate in the education commons—that wonderful social experiment in global citizenship. Deprived of the on-campus, in-class experience, students face social isolation (compounded by physical distancing). Sahu (2020) found that studying online does not work for all subjects, faculty, and students. Students and faculty have expressed concern at not having access to or comfort with technology and some universities did not initially have the technological infrastructure or resources to make online learning seamless, while others have expressed concerns about the impact on experiential learning and not being able to complete their placements.

Preliminary research and findings from a number of international jurisdictions (the OECD, Canada, the United States, Australia) find that faculty and students alike have challenges with online learning. As a university, we are mindful that the students most vulnerable to the disruption and at higher risk of dropping out are those who are poor, racialized, indigenous, and rural—those who lack access to personal digital devices and/or strong and reliable Internet connections. It is estimated that one-quarter of lower-income Canadian households use their smartphone as their primary internet access and 10% of households in rural areas lack reliable broadband Internet (Indigenous students are overrepresented in these categories) (Schrumm, 2020).

For faculty and academic librarians, the flexibility of working from home is offset by challenges that include the absence of separation of work and home; disruption of the work-life balance; increased stress from being on “call” 24 h a day to meet the demands of students studying online; social and physical isolation; mental and

physical stress; and the increased workload (preparing courses to go online; dealing with the challenges and anxieties of students learning online; dealing with academic integrity, etc.); and ensuring that the learning experience is of high quality. Faculty and academic librarians, who worked incredibly hard to deliver exceptional online education, do not always feel they are meeting their own high standards. And a majority of faculty and academic librarians expressed concern about their capacity to continue to support students, their professional development, mental health, and managing non-academic responsibilities, including caregiving while working.

The primary concern for students includes access to financial aid programs such as OSAP (Ontario Students Assistance Plan); Internet access in certain communities (rural and First Nations communities); access to courses; course and degree completion; placement and co-op opportunities; their academic performance; financial security and employment opportunities; high tuition fees; diminishing opportunities to earn income during the summer months; mental health; campus health and safety; social isolation; and, like faculty and academic librarians, their capacity to study and juggle non-academic responsibilities, including elder and child care (Schrumm, 2020; Schleicher, 2020; Sahu, 2020; Datta-Ray, 2020; Coulton, 2020; Subedi, (2020); Statistics Canada (2020b, c); Barnett et al., 2020). The post-pandemic re-imagined university needs to be aware of these challenges and strengthen structures and support to mitigate them.

The Pandemic and International Students and Their Recruitment

The pandemic has profoundly affected international students and their mobility. They face all the stresses Canadian university students face with the added stresses associated with getting a visa, the cost of tuition, living expenses, and living in and acculturating to an entirely new country, city, and university (Firang, 2020; QS, 2020). As the pandemic spread and borders began to shut down while international airlines ceased operations, students found their mobility increasingly constricted. In addition, health and safety concerns, domestic politics, border restrictions, quarantine measures, visa restrictions, and outright bans on inbound mobility have all impacted international students and have influenced their choices and decisions about studying abroad at least in the short term. While international students enrolled at Canadian universities are now able to access courses online without jeopardizing their status in Canada, they nonetheless feel the isolation of studying from afar.

The impact of this on universities in Canada, the United States, Australia, and the United Kingdom as well as other countries in the OECD has meant both a decline in the number of physical inbound students and a corresponding decline in revenues.

In Ontario, even before the 2008 economic crisis, provincial government support for the university sector was declining. In 1982, government funding made up 82.7% of the total revenue of universities in Ontario, but by 2012, that percentage was

down to 54.9% and by 2019 had declined to 24% (Best, 2020). With these declining revenues, Canadian universities turned to the international market and international students became a major source of revenue. Between 2007–08 and 2018–19, international fee revenues grew from \$1.5 billion to \$6.9 billion (both figures in 2019 dollars), and from 4% of the system’s income to 13% (Usher 2020). The number of international students in Canada has doubled in the past 5 years (Schrumm, 2020), and according to Coulton (2020), Canada now ranks third globally as a destination for foreign students, welcoming roughly 642,000 international students in 2019. In 2018, it is estimated that international students contributed nearly \$22 billion to the Canadian economy and generated approximately 170,000 jobs. Many universities and colleges in Canada have come to rely on the revenue generated by international student fees, and Canadian society has come to rely on the skills that international students bring to the country.

This has proved to be a “double-edged sword”—in the good times with the numbers increasing, some universities and colleges benefitted greatly. Once the pandemic struck, numbers began to decline, visas were not being granted at the same rate, and international students who were in their home country either by choice or by circumstances stayed home. The crucial question is whether international students will return to study in Canada in the post-pandemic era. Certainly, the value proposition is that getting an education at a Canadian university is an important pathway to securing a post-graduation work permit and eventually permanent residence in Canada. Will this value proposition remain attractive? That question looms large for universities and colleges that have become reliant on international student fees.

The Government of Canada, recognizing the importance of international students to Canadian universities, Canadian society, and the economy, has sought to make Canada an attractive post-pandemic destination. On 14 July 2020, the IRCC announced that international students taking programs that are 8–12 months long can count their online studies towards their obtainment of a postgraduation work permit. Those registered in longer programs need to complete 50% of their degree in the country. In addition, the Government of Canada working with the provinces and universities agreed to post a list of designated learning institutions that are allowed to welcome back international students (through the IRCC approving these respective students’ study permits). To be on the list, universities need to demonstrate how they will protect the health and safety of all students and the surrounding community. These initiatives point to the importance of sector collaboration and to working closely with all levels of government to ensure that students can access education safely.

At Ryerson, we have been reasonably fortunate as we relied primarily on domestic growth and as such are cushioned from the downturn in international student enrollments. Nonetheless, we are left thinking about what the university in the new normal could look like.

Re-imagining a Post-COVID-19 Ryerson University

Today, the world watches with anticipation and optimism as the implementation of the largest global inoculation program might enable us to turn the corner on the pandemic. And as we can begin to think about the lessons learned and a re-imagined post-COVID university, we use as our touchstone our mission as articulated in our Strategic Vision 2020–2030, namely to serve societal needs and prepare students for careers.

As we articulate our conceptualization of an even more caring and compassionate re-imagined post-COVID Ryerson University, we emphasize the pursuit of excellence, the inclusion of the historically marginalized, the importance of teaching, research, and service for the advancement of the global public good and the importance of innovation to promote a better life for all.

In this pursuit, a re-imagined post-COVID Ryerson University is one that will be a city-based global university, grounded in its city building roots that puts access to a Ryerson education and access to Ryerson programs on the international stage. This is about globalizing access to education by taking education to where students are, rather than just bringing international students to the university. This means strengthening, utilizing, and continuing to invest in our digital platform to tear down barriers to education equity and to provide lifelong online learning. We will analyse the recommendations and best practices identified by scholars and practitioners who are already re-imagining pedagogy in a post-COVID-19 university (Peters et al., 2020). We will expand our conception of the public good to embrace the global public good including the health and well-being of the planet and the entirety of its biodiversity. We will be responsive to burgeoning crises including with respect to the environment, politics, the economy, culture, and inequalities. We will scale up and offer globally what we have and at the same time, we will work to scale down costs. As faculty, staff, and students return to campus, we will implement a strategy to ensure our capacity to be even more nimble is enhanced. We will revisit our past practices and subject them to the learnings we have accumulated over the period of the pandemic.

Teaching and learning will be face-to-face, blended, and online. And in each mode, we will implement the best practices that link both synchronous and asynchronous learning and access to learning tools and resources. Ryerson courses and programs will also become globally accessible as we take education to where students are at, rather than only relying on the old model of attracting international students to the physical campus. Developing a global community of online learnings is critical to the success of the multiple approaches to which the university is committed—including being innovative in the areas of pedagogy and research, and fostering global partnerships. The pedagogical shifts with respect to online and blended learning will foster increased collaborations among learners and faculty and will promote more intense cross-cultural and cross-national learning. Ryerson will be a university that offers innovative pedagogy utilizing digital platforms and will promote lifelong learning and interdisciplinary cross-sectoral learning.

In addition to advancing “blue sky” and individual faculty-driven research, we will seek to promote a global interdisciplinary research agenda that helps make sense of the enormous impact the pandemic has had on every sphere of life and every academic discipline. We need to understand the effects the pandemic has had on the global education sector, our society, and beyond—and in this, promoting interdisciplinary, cross-disciplinary research with global partners is indispensable.

Conclusion

The physical campus is a shared space that promotes inclusion, and so too must the online space. The latter must truly be promoted as a shared space unmediated by inequality, race, gender, and other forms of discrimination. The re-imagined Ryerson University will need to address the impact of the pandemic including with respect to increasing inequalities; and its gendered and racialized impact. A re-imagined innovative Ryerson will become even more agile and responsive in the development and delivery of niche programming to address the lasting impact of COVID-19 on local domestic economies and the restructuring of the national and global labour market. Remaining true to our commitments to being a city building university and to meeting societal needs, we will work with all levels of government, in the pursuit of a sustainable economic recovery for Canada and for its largest city—Toronto. The real challenge for Ryerson as it will be for universities around the world is whether the momentum for transformation can be sustained as society returns to a new normal, or will there be a tendency for universities to turn towards the familiar pre-pandemic ways of doing things? As vaccination rates in Canada and around the world increase, this question looms very large.

Throughout the ages, universities have been remarkably resilient institutions that have endured revolutions, military coups, dictators bent on their destruction, wars, pogroms, socio-economic crises, past pandemics, etc. They have survived, thrived, and transformed. The current crisis in education writ large is another historic moment when universities are being challenged to transform. Universities that rise to the occasion and move beyond the narrow confines of their own physical, national, and intellectual spaces will continue to thrive. Ryerson is such a university and we are inspired by the endless possibilities of innovative transformation along the path to becoming a truly global university.

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Part II
Challenges of Digital Transformations

Chapter 5

What Covid-19 Taught Us About the Opportunities and Obligations of Remote Learning



Marvin Krislov

Abstract When the Covid-19 pandemic reached the United States in March 2020, it forced a transformation in how we deliver higher education. Colleges and universities were forced to quickly adjust to fully remote teaching modalities, dispersed student bodies, and the challenges of maintaining academic focus during a time of profound health challenges and economic distress. Thanks to the disciplined effort and a strong commitment from faculty, students, and staff, they largely succeeded. Education continued. We learned that remote education can work at scale. But in the United States, undergraduate education teaches more than academics. While in other countries military service, national service, and even family relationships and obligations can help socialize young people into adulthood, in the United States that responsibility often falls to colleges. Colleges teach citizenship skills for a functioning democracy. Historically, bringing young people together has been a crucial part of college, teaching them how to work together, understand each other, and communicate effectively. For large-scale remote education to become an established part of the American college landscape, we must learn how to teach those citizenship skills remotely.

Introduction: In the United States, College Builds Citizenship

When the pandemic reached the United States in March 2020, it forced a sudden transformation in how we deliver higher education. In just a few weeks, instructors and students became experts in remote teaching and learning, in Zoom lectures and FaceTime office hours.

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Faculty accustomed to lecture halls learned to teach via laptop. Students remained engaged in their studies. Then, over the summer of 2020, schools invested in optimized remote learning systems and faculty learned how to best leverage the advantages of digital technology. We know now that remote education works.

But we haven't mastered how in a remote world we will continue to do the crucial work of bringing young people together. In the United States, a big part of college is teaching citizenship skills that are necessary to maintain a functioning democracy. In some other countries, national or military service or extended families fills that role. Here, we bring young people together on campus to help them learn to work with others, understand others, and communicate. This is as much a part of the American college experience as academic study.

And for remote education to become a significant part of the American college landscape, we must figure out how—even if—we'll be able to build citizens remotely.

This chapter will examine the U.S. experience with remote learning throughout the pandemic through the lens of the successful response at Pace University, in New York City and Westchester County, New York. It will also consider several issues raised by that experience, including the benefits of distance learning versus on-campus education, how to develop a sense of community within remote education spaces, and the challenge of developing citizenship skills when teaching to a remote student body.

Background: How We Navigated the Pandemic

Advanced Preparation

In late February 2020, the leadership of Pace University began holding emergency management meetings for pandemic planning. By early March, we put together a Task Force to guide our response, which began meeting each morning. (At the end of the year, it was continuing to meet weekly, with its core group meeting two additional times each week.) On March 11 2020, we moved all classes to remote learning, and the next day, March 12 2020, we instructed all faculty and staff to work remotely whenever feasible.

When the government of New York State ordered a full lockdown to begin the next week, our students and faculty were on spring break, having already shifted to remote working and learning. When spring break ended, we were fully remote—although we were careful not to fully close our residence halls because we knew some students, especially international students, had nowhere to go. Ultimately, about 250 students remained in residence across our three campuses, and we were pleased to be able to accommodate students who count on us for housing and food security.

Successful Spring Semester

In that new normal, Pace students, faculty, and staff displayed resilience, adaptability, and commitment. Our information technology department quickly ramped up teleconference capacity, and within a few weeks, we were hosting about 2,000 remote sessions each day. In addition to classes and academic work, we also moved student support services fully online, including advising, student accounts, and our counselling centres.

It was equally important to keep students involved in the campus community. Our Zoom license includes unlimited meetings, and we encouraged students and student groups to stay connected via virtual student events. Student life moved virtual, too; one student reported dozens of Zoom group meeting invitations during her lunch hour, too many to choose from. At the end of the 2019–2020 academic year, we produced school-by-school virtual commencement ceremonies, which both students and parents reported finding compelling and meaningful.

Because we had already become much more deliberate about our online offerings and already laid the groundwork for delivering crucial co-curricular services—academic support, student support, clubs, and events—digitally. Those elements are as important as academic instruction, and, unlike some other institutions, we did not have to invent virtual versions of them from whole cloth.

A Summer for Planning

With the academic year behind us, our focus shifted to planning for a very different kind of fall semester. Following the practice of many other colleges and universities, we decided to start and end our semester early, eliminating breaks to avoid the risk of students dispersing across the country and then returning to our campus, and also so they'd be finished with the semester before a projected wintertime resurgence of the virus. We knew some of our students would choose to study only remotely, but we were determined that everyone who wanted to would be able to return to our campus.

We put a great deal of focus on hybrid and HyFlex formats, classes that could be attended either in person or remotely. We invested in new technology, outfitting 150 classrooms across our three campuses with special Zoom stations that allow instructors to effectively teach students both in the classroom and participating remotely. We offered training sessions in remote pedagogy so that instructors could learn how to not simply replicate their in-person classes online but instead take full advantage of the new technology—and faculty turnout was tremendous.

Even so, student life would remain very different, because students, even those living on campus, would not be able to safely gather in large groups.

A Fall Semester Unlike Any Before

Our planning paid off. An impressive number of students enrolled for the distanced and masked Fall 2020 semester, despite all the challenges. The majority of our instruction moved remote, even among students living in residence halls but joining classes virtually. And we saw our community stay connected, taking part in meetings, events, community service, and even activism, all via teleconference meetings and in person with appropriate distance. We know now that we can do online education well.

I taught two courses in that fall semester, and I saw first-hand the opportunities brought on by these new formats, and also the challenges. While technology made instruction more accessible, some students struggled to remain fully engaged in lectures and seminars delivered via computer screen, especially in longer classes. I saw the importance of offering options for course delivery—some students chose a different format of attendance each week, and sometimes even breaking one long session into several smaller ones was helpful.

That year was emotionally hard for our students, whether they were on campus and in classrooms, on campus but learning remotely, or living and learning from other places. Students' lives were disrupted as the pandemic hit in the spring, and in some cases they or their family members got sick, lost jobs, or even lost lives. The United States faced a national reckoning about systemic racism. They face ongoing displacement, isolation, and confusion. There was a college mental health crisis in the United States before the pandemic, and now they have only increased.

A Boston University study over that summer found that depression symptoms tripled among American adults, including college students. At that time, 27.8% of American adults displayed symptoms of depression, the study found, compared to 8.5% prior to the pandemic (Ettman et al., 2020). And students faced special challenges. Besides American colleges and universities adapting to teaching online, we have more work to do on supporting our students holistically when they are not on campus and engaged in person.

Solution: Establishing “Presence”

For many years, we have offered Pace Online courses in specific areas, often with partners. In the last several years, we have worked to greatly expand those offerings. Nationally, about 32% of all students, which includes both undergraduates and graduate students, opt for a minimum of one distance education class. Out of these, approximately take distance courses exclusively which is more than 3 million students. During 2012–2016, there has been a drop of about 6.4% studying on campus (Seaman et al., 2018). Distance learning makes it easier for more students to take advantage of our educational opportunities, especially older and other non-traditional learners who have more demands on their time.

There is a growth in the online student population at Pace. For many years, we have offered distance learning, but now we are responding to growing demand with more than 17 new programmes set to launch or re-launch in the coming semesters.

The department that works with faculty across the University to develop online courses has grown in order to expand capabilities throughout our curriculum. This meant that by early 2020 we were far more equipped to handle remote instruction than we would have been just a year or two earlier. In fact, in the year prior, Pace had moved away from “snow days,” the cancelled classes due to inclement weather that have long been common during wintertime in the northern parts of the United States, and instead had worked with all faculty so that they were prepared to switch to remote instruction on days when conditions prevented meeting in person. Unknowingly, we’d also laid the groundwork for our March 2020 pivot to a remote university.

And one thing we know is that an effective remote learning requires the extra effort of working to maintain a sense of human interaction. The answer is designing remote experiences with what is referred to as in the digital world “presence.”

As I have previously discussed in a column for Forbes, presence means, essentially, being there.¹ It may manifest naturally in a physical classroom environment but has to be created by the instructor in the online setting. When constructed poorly, online courses can become impersonal and unengaging; faculty can feel alienated. Students can thrive in a well-designed course, when faculty work to be Present in class engagement. Studies indicate that by creating means for strong faculty presence and engagement during online class—mimicking that personal connection—can improve academic experience and outcome for students.

Educators can ensure and maintain presence in the online mode of education by adopting the following principles:

- (1) Adapt the syllabi to suit the virtual mode of education. For successful distance learning courses, inclusion and use of video presentations, multi-media, interactive lessons including discussion boards, wikis, and group projections are important.
- (2) Faculty has to make efforts to engage with students. Faculty must actively post on discussion boards, share updates regularly, promptly assess and return assignments, and set standards for responding to emails to keep the students engaged. In the absence of prompt and regular feedback, students may feel alienated. When faculty promotes conversation, appreciates interesting responses, and responds promptly to the questions raised, students remain engaged.
- (3) Wherever possible, include a synchronous component. Asynchronous distance learning allows students and faculty to participate as per their convenience. Though the addition of elements that require faculty and students to be present at the same time such as an optional online gathering in groups or keeping virtual office hours can add to a strong sense of presence. Another alternative

¹ <https://www.forbes.com/sites/marvinkrislov/2019/09/25/the-importance-of-presence-offline-and-online-in-higher-education/?sh=13365e212329>.

to this could be low-residency experiences that allow distance learners to study at the campus for a short term.

In our experience, there has been rapid growth in online education for graduate programmes. Graduate education is less tied to the social experience of being in the same place together with your classmates, and there has been a greater demand for a longer time to deliver graduate courses in ways that allow students more flexibility. It's now becoming a factor for undergraduates, too. The pandemic has shown us that undergraduate education can work with some of that same flexibility, and our increased technical expertise will make it easier for us to offer even more of an undergraduate experience remotely. For both graduate students and undergraduates, and especially for the latter, even as more education moves online it will be important to create opportunities to bring students together in person from time to time.

Each year, the graduation ceremony for Pace Online is one of my favourite events. It brings together students of different ages and backgrounds, who may have never met before. Some students travel to the New York City campus, while others join in through virtual mode.

The best faculty are those who, irrespective of being on campus or online, are engaged with their student and teaching. I'm also a big fan of hybrid programmes, as they combine the flexibility extended by the online mode of education with the perks of on-campus experiences. Digital tools such as discussion boards and virtual office hours are now becoming a regular part of the on-campus educational programmes.

Part of what we've learned over the time of the pandemic is that the idea of presence must be extended beyond the classroom. To make distance education work, faculty, administrators, and those who work in student support must reach out to students, ask questions, and find out what roadblocks students are facing, whether academically or otherwise. As the say goes, we must always remember that, "we don't know what we don't know"—that students may not advertise their struggles. The only way to keep them engaged in both their coursework and their larger project of a college education is to be proactive in finding and addressing concerns and challenges before they become problems.

We also learned that options and flexibility matter. Even in fully online classes, some students sometimes need in-person opportunities and connections. In-person students may have the need to attend classes remotely. To succeed, we must be able to meet students' varying needs.

Conclusion: Remote Education Works; Remote Citizenship is a Challenge

Undergraduate education, at least in the United States, has long been primarily in-person and place-based. In part, that is because college in the United States isn't only about knowledge acquisition, as important as that is. It's not only about teaching students how to be critical thinkers, effective communicators, and lifelong learners,

although those are key parts of what we do. It's about teaching students how to work together and how to relate to one another. In this country, college is also about moulding our students into effective adults. Part of the role of college in the United States is to help build our democratic society.

Historically, this has required that we gather our students together in one place and build a community in which those students work and often live along each other for a period of a few years. It's always seemed the best way to learn how to understand each other, respect each other, and effectively collaborate. The experience of being together, negotiating over finite space and conflicting interests, prioritizing responsibilities and activities, is the experience of being a productive and engaged citizen.

The pandemic has taught us that we must find ways to continue doing that important work even when our students are more dispersed. This will mean changing how we teach. At Pace, a key part of our education model is combining hands-on, practical experiences with classroom instruction. Through our Pace Path, our students don't just learn about concepts; they also do the things they're learning about, through internships or clinical experiences or academic research. They learn how to interact with others. Even in our remote period, we've worked hard to keep our students in their internships and other real-world experiences. Diving fully into remote undergraduate instruction would mean rethinking our signature educational model. It would mean re-evaluating our extra-curricular offerings. It would mean redefining what we mean by community and inventing new ways of building one. It would mean offering an array of options, not one-size-fits-all solutions or it could mean establishing a new way to build citizenship, separate from college. A broad shift to remote college education in the United States might be accompanied by a robust new national service programme, providing a different but equivalent opportunity for young adults to live and work together and forge those crucial communal experiences.

In summary, the wide adoption of online and remote learning, particularly in graduate education, will provide many opportunities for many more students, particularly in a changing economy. It also created challenges, particularly for first-generation, low-income, and other students who may rely on the support structures traditionally associated with the in-person experience.

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Chapter 6

Class Dismissed: Lessons of the COVID-19 Pandemic for Remote Learning, Equity, and Public Assistance in Higher Education in the United States



Rekha Datta

Abstract When COVID-19 forced campuses around the world to lock down, colleges and universities migrated to emergency remote instruction. This chapter analyses some lessons learned in this switch and its implications for higher education. It discusses how campuses switched to remote instruction to keep their communities safe, being more adaptive and flexible. Alongside, the intersectionality of race, class, access, and digital divide became evident. COVID-19 has also forced the government to provide resources and assistance to meet the challenges of equity and access. Early indications demonstrate that even though switching to remote learning seemed challenging, most campuses adapted with dexterity. Yet, the shift does not indicate a widespread move to remain online permanently or make it a standard mode of course delivery in post-secondary education. The chapter surmises that critical revelations of the pandemic in terms of lessons learned relate to what remote learning during the pandemic signals about the future of a more equitable higher education and a more proactive role of education policy to address issues of equity and access.

Introduction and Conceptual Framework

On 11 March 2020, the World Health Organization declared that COVID-19 constituted a global pandemic. News of the worldwide spread of the virus began to hit media headlines. As of June 2021, worldwide, close to 4 million lives were lost to COVID-19. The United States recorded 605,567 COVID deaths (JHU Coronavirus Resource Center, Updated). As governments and the public scrambled to stay safe, like many organizations, colleges and universities shuttered, de-densified their campuses, and switched to emergency remote instruction.

This chapter explores the pandemic-induced switch to online learning and what it means for teaching and learning in higher education in the longer run. The exploration is set in the context of the emergency switch to remote learning. This switch is

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intertwined with remote learning in such a way that we cannot examine the latter without contextualizing it in the scenario of the pandemic. Our analysis reveals that remote learning is not a matter of delivery modes alone; it exposed some deep-seated equity issues that came to the fore and need to be addressed. Hence, it might be premature to consider online learning as an antidote to cost, equity, and access that higher education has struggled with, even pre-COVID.

To contextualize this preliminary discussion and analysis of the impact of COVID-19 on higher education in the United States, the literature on epidemics, their biological origins, and social repercussions provides useful comparisons. Historically, epidemics have exposed disparities and fractures in equitable health care, capacities of public health systems, and systemic inequalities that affect people's access to treatment and resources. Scholars and medical experts have studied the systemic socio-economic disparities, racial effects, and how they impact the spread and stigma associated with epidemics throughout history (Wailoo, 2020). In 1989, social historian Charles E. Rosenberg identified epidemics as having dramaturgic forms as a medical as well as a social phenomenon. According to Rosenberg, "Epidemics start at a moment in time, proceed on a stage limited in space and duration, follow a plot line of increasing and revelatory tension, move to a crisis of individual and collective character, then drift toward closure" (Rosenberg, 1989, 2). Focusing on the impact of COVID-19 on higher education, Rosenberg's analysis provides an interesting model for reflecting on responses from a public health perspective and as a social phenomenon, especially the socio-economic and structural inequities that tend to be exposed during epidemics.

During the pandemic, teaching and learning had to carry on in the midst of a raging pandemic. It is apparent that the impact on and capacity of higher education to respond and adapt to the disruption caused by the pandemic depend on its ability to deliver quality instruction remotely. The pandemic has prompted us to think about some areas of higher education using new perspectives that may result in paradigm shifts and changes. In his seminal work, first published in (1962), *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Thomas Kuhn had introduced the notion of a period of a *paradigm shift* when sudden disruptions bring about paradigm shifts and fundamental changes in scientific discovery. In the context of COVID-19 and the disruptions it is causing to higher education, the academic community is bracing for some short-term responses as well as some longer term implications of the pandemic which could alter higher education in lasting ways. Is online learning here to stay and replace the traditional in-person college experience model? A question such as this would imply a paradigm shift. It might be premature to conclusively ascertain the lasting changes that will alter some prevailing notions and practices, but as our analysis will elicit, certain elements of equity and cost might affect the future of higher education causing paradigmatic shifts.

This chapter uses the four-act model of Charles Rosenberg in his examination of pandemics and attempts to draw some comparisons within higher education. In the past, the Rosenberg model has served to explain epidemics and the medical and socio-economic structural vulnerabilities associated with them. While there may not be direct parallels between the progression of epidemics and higher education, the

exercise will help us understand the institutional capacity for remote instruction, and social and economic inequities that are intertwined in higher education and how they might affect future trends. Thus, this chapter will deal with how COVID-19 has and continues to test the capacity of U.S. higher education and also expose its vulnerabilities and challenges, and what it bodes for future consideration by colleges and universities and for public policy. This is a preliminary exploration while data is still being collected. The hope is that more systematic data will provide a more comprehensive understanding of the efficacy of online learning and whether it will help address inequities in higher education. While this chapter is based on the experiences in the United States, it might provide benchmarks for assessing other countries and regions.

Act One: ‘Progressive Revelation’—Switch to Remote Learning

In the first stage in the Rosenberg four-act model, “... members of a community begin to acknowledge an increasing number of cases and/or deaths resulting from the spread of a particular contagious disease” (Markel, 2007). Staying within the theme of epidemics and the analogy of the sequence of acts in a dramatic production, and looking at the pandemic’s impact on higher education in the United States in particular, we find that as cases and reporting of the spread of COVID-19 increased, colleges and universities had little choice but to respond to the spread of the disease and how it would impact their campuses. With little scientific knowledge of the virus, no vaccines, and no pandemic playbook, University campuses around the country assembled their crisis management teams and created task forces to review steps and measures to respond to the pandemic.

Early on, guidance from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) indicated that social and physical distancing were critical to preventing infection and spread of this highly contagious disease. So, one of the first and almost ubiquitous measures that institutions took to prevent outbreaks, especially on residential campuses, where living, teaching, interpersonal interactions, and research activities were conducted in close proximity among its members, was to move to emergency remote instruction. Even though it required a considerable adjustment and adaptation for faculty and students, this move to remote instruction did not signify a seismic paradigm shift, because some degree of online instruction was not uncommon on most campuses. With varying degrees of faculty and student training and access to the needed technology, worldwide, all educational institutions had to either move to remote learning or suspend instruction. A preliminary online search for information on public and private colleges and universities in the United States and their response to the spread of COVID19 revealed that most had switched to some form of remote learning. Some analysts argued that remote instruction does not reach the levels of more effective online learning and have gone so far as to say that the time has come

to transform post-secondary education towards massive digitization of learning and credentialing (Gallagher and Palmer, 2020). However, the move to virtual learning during the pandemic does not signify a conscious and well-thought-out vision to back this outcome. As we have seen, disease mitigation was the primary impetus for switching to remote learning. Unlike earlier transitions of some universities to move to massive online operations as in MOOCs, this switch does not fall into the category of the careful decision-making by institutions about online instruction.

Most of the transition was done as an emergency measure. Administrators and faculty tried to make the best of the situation. In a recent publication, two sociologists culled their findings on some of the strategies that faculty used when switching to remote instruction and offered best practice analyses and suggestions (Gillis & Krull, 2020). They began their analysis thus: “In spring 2020, higher education experienced a huge disruption: All in-person courses transitioned to remote instruction due to the COVID-19 pandemic...” (Gillis & Krull, 2020: 283). At the same time, faculty wanted to maintain the quality and learning outcomes of their courses. In the same article, Gillis and Krull went on to say, “Many faculties also reported changing how students were assessed, such as modifying exam formats or reducing the number of assignments.” This constituted a shared experience not uncommon throughout the country. This kind of experience resonated on many campuses and among many faculties. In addition, they also struggled to continue to offer instruction while managing a health crisis which affected themselves, students, and families.

As the pandemic began its global spread like wildfire, campuses worldwide quickly began to realize that there was no certainty about how long the pandemic, and the emergency migration to online instruction, would continue. Two considerations in particular became critical—capacity to sustain online delivery for an indefinite period in the coming year as the pandemic rages on, and the need to focus on high-quality online courses. The trade press and analysts concluded that “Colleges and universities are starting to more fully deal with the question of quality of emergency online delivery of courses, as well as true contingency planning” (Hill, 2020). Faculty using learning management systems already in place could take attendance, post their syllabi, lecture outlines, recorded lectures, share electronic readings and resources, conduct group discussions and projects, conduct discussion forums, administer online exams, record and make available grades and feedback, and more. Online teaching using the asynchronous format, voice-over PowerPoint, SKYPE, or *YouTube* videos was already in use on many campuses and in many courses.

In some instances, there were a number of Hybrid courses that utilized a blend of online and in-person instruction. Faculty stepped up to the unprecedented task of converting their course materials for remote instruction. With the help of their instructional technology divisions, universities invested in securing a license for using the overnight sensation, the Zoom platform, to offer classes synchronously using video and audio options. After a few initial hiccups, Zoom became a staple in remote learning. For those using Zoom, expressions such as “you are muted”, “let me put it in chat”, and “breakout rooms” became part of the lexicon almost instantaneously. Even though the capacity to offer online classes varied across campuses, as some

universities had made more advances in this area over the years than others, most were able to offer instruction remotely so as to continue teaching and learning.

To be sure, despite an unplanned transition, after more than a year of hybrid and online learning, it was evident that both students and faculty were beginning to gain more familiarity with these formats. Flexibility became the new norm. On campuses that adopted the ‘HyFlex’ model, students could determine whether they attend in person or remotely. Faculty training and skill building in online instruction were enhanced (Miller, 2021). Furthermore, recognizing the uncharted territory, unexpected hardships, and challenges associated with continuing learning while dealing with COVID-19, some institutions adopted flexible grading policies which allowed students the flexibility of opting for a Pass/Fail grade after receiving their course grade for the semester. By and large, students welcomed this opportunity and option, especially given that everyone had to switch to emergency remote learning and continued to have to deal with the challenges of the pandemic. Hence, at this stage, campuses across the U.S. however reluctantly switched to remote instruction and adapted with many flexible policies and practices to enable learning to continue during the early surge of the pandemic. Perhaps more than assessing the efficacy of remote learning, the pandemic actually has opened up areas of teaching that call for more flexibility and adaptation, a theme we will return to.

Act Two: Managing Pandemic Randomness and Remote Learning, Equity, and Access

The second stage in Rosenberg’s four-act model suggests that historically, as an epidemic spread, it necessitated the “... creation of a framework within which its dismaying arbitrariness may be managed ...” (Rosenberg, 1989: 5). Was higher education equipped to manage the pandemic using remote instruction? As this discussion has already indicated, campuses did switch to remote instruction to respond to the pandemic. But it was not based on capacity to handle online education alone. Did remote learning provide an adequate framework for higher education to manage the pandemic? Early on, it became evident that along with the issue of capacity, higher education has to address inequities among students that affect affordability and access to technology and related connectivity issues. Since our focus is on higher education’s response to COVID-19, it seems appropriate at this stage to evaluate how higher education institutions met with the challenge of managing COVID-19, especially the transition to remote instruction in terms of capacity and access for all its students. In essence, even though it is not managing the randomness of the actual spread of the virus, response to the effects of COVID constitutes a significant aspect of operational plans of colleges and universities and what socio-economic and structural issues may be guiding some of these decisions and responses.

By the fall of 2020, following state and CDC guidelines, while larger institutions could remain largely or completely remote, many students at mid-sized and smaller

institutions preferred in-person experience. Some institutions responded by introducing limited, in-person instructional options. Following health guidelines, masks became mandatory, plexiglass barriers were put in classrooms to ensure separation between instructors and students, student desks were placed at a minimum of six feet distance, heating, ventilation, and air conditioning (HVAC) systems were overhauled, and additional cleaning protocols were put in place to ensure safety and health of those who chose to be on campus for in-person instruction. A very important aspect of managing the pandemic at this stage also meant frequent testing, contact tracing, and introducing quarantines and isolation for students who were exposed or demonstrating COVID symptoms. In most instances, given that students were willing to undergo these regimens to be on campus indicates that perhaps online education did not address the student needs for the in-person college experience. All these protocols also meant additional operational costs which have the potential to raise the cost of higher education further.

Historically, pandemics have revealed racial, ethnic, and socio-economic inequities (Wailoo, 2020). In order to understand the intersection of COVID-19 and socio-economic inequities, and some of the reigning barriers to access and rising costs in higher education in the United States, some context might be helpful. In the past three decades, in the United States, more people have opted to achieve a college education. Compared to 1980, in 2019, the percentage of Americans above the age of 25 who had completed college (4 years or more) had more than doubled. Previously, it was at 35%. While this trend may signify a positive trend in higher education, this review hastens to add that this development is accompanied by an almost parallel rise in the cost of attending college. “In 1985–86, the average total cost of tuition, fees, and room and boarding at four-year colleges and universities in the U.S. was \$5,504. By 2016–17, this figure had increased to \$26,593” (Dennon, 2020). Breaking it down further by private and public education, we find that the cost of attendance at private institutions has increased by 25.3% and almost 30% at public colleges. During 1978–1979, “it cost the modern equivalent of \$17,680 per year to attend a private college and \$8,250 per year to attend a public college. By the 2008–2009 school year those costs had grown to \$38,720 at private colleges and \$16,460 at public colleges. Today, those costs are closer to \$48,510 and \$21,370, respectively” (Hess, 2019).

Thus, even pre-COVID, the rising cost of a college education brought added pressure to low-income families and students, many of whom come from minority and diverse backgrounds. It will be interesting to explore if COVID-19 impacted this trend, and how American higher education was going to respond. Would offering more online programs truly reduce the cost of tuition, as some analysts have implied (Gallagher and Palmer, 2020)? Not unexpectedly, some of the rising costs are associated with providing for quality college experience for students, facilities, and support services for student success, among others. In the spring of 2020, as colleges switched to emergency remote instruction, demands for refunds came steadily from students

and families who argued that with online delivery, they were not getting the equivalent of what they had paid for in tuition and fees. Hence, this aspect of the debate is worth revisiting to assess the long-term future of online education replacing more in-person instruction as a cost-cutting measure.

In addition, after more than a year of largely remote instruction, disengagement and isolation would become major challenges in an environment where faculty and students do not get to interact in person. In a recent survey that the American Council on Education (ACE) conducted, 244 presidents identified the mental health of students as the most pressing issue that their institutions faced in the context of COVID. This concern was highest among presidents of public two-year institutions (79%), followed by public four-year (78%) and private four-year (70%) ones. Over half were concerned about their enrolment declines. Compared to the first part of the survey conducted a few months prior, only 32% of presidents indicated that longer term financial viability was a 'pressing issue,' down from 41% in a similar survey a few months prior. Perhaps one of the most revealing aspects of this survey was that 40% of leaders in higher education identified 'Racial equity issues' as one of the "top five most pressing concerns." In the previous survey, 37% presidents considered it among the topmost pressing concerns (Taylor and Chessman, 2021).

Understandably, university administrators were also concerned with enrolment; with trends being different in public and private institutions. Taking fall 2019 as a base year and comparing with 2021 numbers, 65% of Community college leaders, 49% public four-year presidents, and 35% of private four-year institutions noted a decline in enrolment. The leaders of institutions that witnessed an increase in enrolment attributed it to more robust marketing, generous financial aid packages, adopting standardized test-optional measures, and other relevant recruitment efforts and program options. Being closer to home was a factor unique to the COVID year. Among the reasons for decline in enrolments were "pandemic-related personal challenges, financial difficulties, and perceptions of online learning...". Especially for community college students and prospects, financial hardships, job losses, childcare and taking care of school-age children as they went into lockdown, and health and safety concerns were real and challenging. Finally, according to the analysis in the Report, the decline was most pronounced among the following cohorts of students: 34% of international students, 31% among low-income students, 28% Black or African American students. The community colleges experienced a more substantial loss in enrolment among the low-income and students of colour (Taylor and Chessman, 2021). In terms of cost, disengagement, and isolation, it is not yet clear if online instruction would be a panacea for low-income families and students.

Another cohort of students who have faced disruption of their education during the pandemic is international students. Some flexibility in policies allowed them to take online classes from their home countries. It is expected that with the virus receding and easing the way for international travel at pre-COVID levels, gradually international students would begin to re-emerge on American campuses. There might be more scope for altering delivery modes to make hybrid options available for international students. Hybrid options might also be more ubiquitous in that, they would provide institutions opportunities to experiment with new and innovative modes of

delivery and programming with cohorts of students being on campus at certain times during the semester and working online for the remaining time. This would provide cost savings for students, retain in-person learning and interaction opportunities with faculty, ease pressure on university housing, and enhance capacity for institutions to introduce new programs without significant additions to infrastructure and resource demands. Colleges and universities are therefore going to be challenged to address these trends and what their impact would mean longer term.

A big takeaway from COVID-19 has been the exposure of overall inequities that people and communities of colour face in American society. Does higher education have the capacity to provide an adequate framework and is remote or online learning effective in addressing access and cost issues? Like previous epidemics, this pandemic has also demonstrated healthcare inequities and their impact on people of colour. The digital divide is also evident in higher education. Along with that and national awareness and outcry against violence against Black lives, university leaders have overwhelmingly (85%—according to the ACE Survey, Part II cited previously in the report authored by Taylor and Chessman, 2021) felt and have begun to respond to the pressure and have become more eager to enhance efforts to promote diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI), and make public commitments towards anti-racist statements. Along with the rise of diversity in student bodies across the nation, university leaders have begun to realize the need to increase diversity and inclusion among faculty and staff. While such efforts are definitely much needed and long-awaited, the culture of inclusion will continue to be a challenge. Black, indigenous, Asian, and other people of colour often remain marginalized and have to carry on the burden of promoting inclusion and removing overt and subtle forms of microaggression that they often endure. Again, a switch to remote or online delivery modes will fail to address the nuances of such challenges and may also create roadblocks to DEI initiatives that may be lost in the virtual world.

Additionally, COVID-19 has exposed that living situations, childcare and family responsibilities, and pandemic-induced job losses have increased inequities that have had negative effects and caused disruption in learning for many minority and under-represented students. As already stated, the ACE survey also cited mental health as one of the leading concerns of university leaders.

Institutions have put in place resources, telehealth clinics, and other ways to reach out to vulnerable members of their communities. In all of these efforts, a slow but discernible paradigm shift needs to happen in that many of the stereotypical needs of institutions will be different for diverse populations. For example, institutions will be well served to introduce multi-lingual advising and mental health counselling, and address questions and unique needs of underrepresented and first-generation students and families. Even though, and perhaps because COVID has sent many international students home and prevented others from travelling back to the U.S., many of these students are continuing their studies remotely. Institutions need to keep them engaged and make concerted efforts to make sure they remain connected as much as possible with campus life.

Given these deep-seated issues of structural inequity and diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) initiatives, perhaps it is abundantly clear, at least at the undergraduate

level, that we may not be there yet for a more permanent and widespread switch to routine online instruction. The strength of the university experience, especially at the undergraduate level, and for diverse learners, may continue to lie in personalized and face-to-face interactions.

Act Three: Negotiating Public Response

When it came to a public response to COVID-19, higher education in the United States witnessed a two-pronged effort by the government to mitigate the deleterious effects of the pandemic. First came the state guidelines for de-densifying campuses while continuing to offer instruction. This was followed by assistance to institutions and to students who faced extraordinary financial hardships caused by the pandemic.

Since March 2020, state governments declared a state-wide lockdown which necessitated remote instruction. Institutions of higher education followed directives from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), office of the Governor, and regional and local health agencies. In the state of New Jersey, along with the Governor's administrative and executive orders, institutions of higher education followed guidelines and instructions from the Office of the Secretary of Higher Education (OSHE). Specifically, the New Jersey Governor issued an Executive Order (EO) #107, which preceded EO 104, on March 21, which stated that "... institutions of higher education shall continue to cease in-person instruction beginning on Wednesday, March 18, 2020 and shall cease such inperson instruction as long as Executive Order No. 107 remains in effect" (Coronavirus Guidance for Colleges and Universities, Updated, 3/26, 2020) (OSHE, 2020). In the context of this emergency switch to remote instruction, institutions offered training to their faculty, and carried out a technology needs assessment of students. Once again, equity was identified as an issue, especially in cases where low-income students were dependent on university computer labs, which were not always accessible during the lockdown. Several universities provided accessories and laptop computers as well as hot spot connections to students upon request.

As already discussed, while many colleges and universities had de-densified their campuses following guidelines and health protocols of national and local health agencies, some students, who faced extenuating circumstances at home, had to be accommodated on campus. This also meant that they needed access to the necessary technology and connectivity to conduct their remote course work. Initially, university libraries were allowed to offer limited service, but as the pandemic intensified, many University Libraries could not offer in-person services. They continued to offer access to online databases and electronic resources for students and faculty to continue their academic work. Throughout the academic year 2020–21, institutions continued to offer a majority of their instruction online, with some clinical and lab experiences held in-person, following strict COVID protocols.

The public policy response in terms of offering financial assistance to higher education was impressive and well received by students and institutions. On 27

March 2020. Congress passed the Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security Act (CARES). The \$2.2 trillion bill sought to extend fast and direct financial aid to Americans negatively affected by the COVID-19 pandemic. Of that apportionment, approximately \$14 billion was earmarked for the Office of Postsecondary Education as the Higher Education Emergency Relief Fund, or HEERF (CARES Act, Department of Education, Updated 2021). It has also demonstrated that remote instruction will not be a panacea to providing more access to students who come from marginalized and low-income households. More than remote learning options, there is a need to look at a more concerted approach to affordability and the role of public policy to address inequities in higher education.

Act Four: Vaccination, In-Person Instruction, and the Ambiguous Exit of the Virus and Emergency Remote Learning?

In 2020, as March crawled into April and May, and cases began to spike in the state and the country, the planning for the fall semester began in earnest. Colleges and Universities began scenario planning to explore course delivery modalities in the fall. Once again, the issue of equity intersected with remaining remote. To take one example, the state of New Jersey has 29 public institutions and 59 private institutions of higher education. Within the purview of the Office of the Secretary of Higher Education (OSHE), the state provided a restart template that institutions of higher education in the state would submit, with their reopening plans corresponding to the stages of opening that the Governor identified for the state at large. In May, when these directives were originally published, the state was in Stage 1, with most work being done remotely, and public health guidelines strictly in place (NJ Governor's Multistage Plan for Reopening, 05/18/2020). Through the summer, gradually the state allowed some relaxations through EO 155, which allowed for IHE's to apply to OSHE for waivers to allow for some clinicals and labs (EO 150, 06/18/2020). News from the state at this time also brought hope for campuses to start planning for reopening. Dr. Zakiya Smith Ellis, Secretary of Higher Education, announced that the state had entered Stage 2, and gradually, on the way to the 'new normal.' She also added, "An equitable restart of operations must be done carefully through an iterative, staged process that balances the desire to move forward with concerns for public health. We know many students prefer learning in-person, particularly those who experience hardship and whose home environments are not conducive to online education. As we seek to ensure appropriate measures are in place so educational activity can continue, the health and safety of the entire campus community will remain our priority" (NJ State announcement on EO 155, 06/28/2020). Thus, as the state moved to Stage 2, IHE's followed the template that OSHE issued, to prepare and submit their plans for reopening. On August 31, following the Governor's EO 155 and 175, which addressed IHEs reopening guidelines, OSHE published an updated template for IHE's to submit

their fall restart plans (OSHE Fall Restart Template, 08/31/2020). Through the fall and spring semesters, colleges and universities straddled between remote instruction, limited in-person offerings, gradual opening following state guidelines, constant testing, tracing, and safety protocols.

Fast forward to the spring of 2021. The United States government, under the Presidency of Joe Biden, undertook a pledge to fully vaccinate a majority of the adult population in the U.S. by July 4. So far, the vaccination rates seem to be going on at a steady pace. More and more universities are moving towards the vaccine mandate for their students and employees. Some are mandating only students get vaccinated. These mandates do have religious and medical exemptions, but the list of institutions with some form of vaccine mandate is growing (Burt, 2021). Vaccines provide hope for more in-person instruction. The fact that there is such widespread buy-in to the vaccine mandate to date on college campuses is an indication that students and faculty are hungry for the social college experience; they want to be back on campus. Alongside, the focus has also remained on the need for more public assistance for community colleges and historically Black colleges and universities (Kelderman, 2021).

Conclusion

More than a year into the pandemic, as the world wrestles between immunizing people against the virus, the latter reinforces itself through various variants. And higher education institutions continue to grapple with some of the lingering challenges. Amidst uncertainties and unpredictability, there is evidence that faculty workload has increased. As already pointed out, so did the faculty skill set to teach online classes. There is evidence that student stress levels have been on the rise. Whether it is time to move to massive online delivery is debatable. For one, the pandemic may not be the ideal scenario to assess virtual learning and take advantage of a health crisis and move more massively to online platforms.

However, there are other aspects of teaching that have also undergone a transformation that we should not lose sight of. The pandemic experience and teaching in multiple formats under unforeseen challenges have and might bring longer lasting changes to instruction and the core mission of education. Take the instance of deadlines and submissions, for example. Due to COVID, faculty have given extra time and given students compassionate extensions under the assumption that this will help build trust and allow both student and faculty flexible space. In general, educators rightfully struggle with the lifelong lessons that come with the values attached to respecting and fulfilling deadlines. Faculty want to teach the value of deadlines and punctuality, but the larger contexts of life situations and the challenges that their students go through, especially first-generation students and those who have family responsibilities of taking care of siblings or handling multiple jobs. Students and faculty alike, especially female educators who also serve as caregivers, have had to juggle multiple responsibilities during COVID-19 (Flaherty, 2021). Part of teaching

in a diverse environment is the reality that gender, race, equity, and class will intersect in our classrooms and beyond.

A good teacher will be able to meet their students where they are and the challenges they are handling. They will build trust, ownership, and create an environment for responsible learning. In the midst of inequities and challenges, educational outcomes will depend on how we ourselves navigate and help our students through them. At the core of effective teaching lies the student–teacher relationship, as reflected in Aristotle’s notion of *pedagogic friendship*. Aristotle “... claims that friendship lies at the very core of human life and is one of the main ingredients of happiness. The bond of friendship between citizens also constitutes the polis (city state). The crucial question nowadays is, what kind of friend teacher is with his or her pupils” (Kakkori and Hutunnen, 2007, p. 18). That is why rather than the pandemic serving as a clarion call for more online learning, higher education will be better served to look for effective teaching through *pedagogic friendship*, and equitable higher education backed by responsive public and education policy, using technology only as a tool, to enhance teaching and learning as needed. Perhaps more than shifting to more remote or online learning alone, that is our lesson learned from COVID-19.

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Chapter 7

Rethinking Diversity and Inclusion in the Wake of COVID19: Toward a More Resilient Institution



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Abstract Institutional efforts to address diversity and inclusion in HE increased in the recent years in response to the internationalization and globalization call. However, this focus on diversity and inclusion multiplied and shifted toward online/e-inclusion by the outbreak of the COVID19 pandemic. In this chapter, thoughts on the concepts, practices, contexts, and challenges of diversity and inclusion are shared, based on the experience of the American University of the Middle East, AUM-Kuwait, which is a leading institution in the world and a MENA region for international faculty according to QS World Ranking 2021, and which considers faculty diversity as a strategic asset to offer a global learning experience to students. The key points presented focus on the following: (1) the responsibility of the University President to value campus diversity and to promote inclusion, stressing on the fact that a diverse community, not supported by a culture of inclusion, will lead to the eruption of a toxic environment; (2) diversity and inclusion are always subject to contextualization; and (3) when different challenges arouse by the unanticipated shift to fully online classes, the concepts of diversity and inclusion have taken different dimensions and proved to be a strategic asset for the institution.

Introduction

When the topic of diversity and inclusion within the Higher Education sector is addressed, most often the attention is dragged toward the diversity of the students' population, in terms of the students' demographics, background, ethnicities, abilities, etc., whereas there is a broader perspective, so-called "campus diversity", which involves all the campus internal stakeholders, including faculty members, administrative and technical personnel, students, as well as the university top management and leadership—every individual on campus contributes to the enrichment of the campus diversity.

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In the recent years, the American University of the Middle East in Kuwait (AUM) has multiplied its efforts to build a sustainable, diverse, and inclusive campus in order to answer the internationalization and globalization call, while always being considerate and mindful of the context in which it operates. The outbreak of the COVID19, which started in the late 2019, has practically emphasized on the importance of having a diverse workforce that can operate under different circumstances and that can always enrich the students' learning experience especially after the unexpected shift to fully online education and the adoption of distant learning strategies and practices. AUM has long considered the diversity of its campus as a strategic asset that is always employed for the best benefit of its students and of the community it serves.

Institutional Context

AUM is a private university in Kuwait, with an enrollment of more than 10,000 students in two colleges that are very focused on innovation and technology: (1) College of Business Administration, and (2) College of Engineering and Technology. The fact that getting an international student visa is difficult has made it difficult to attract a highly diverse student body; nevertheless, its students come from 48 different nationalities (but with a low ratio compared to the overall enrollment).

Given this context, AUM's strategic focus is set toward the diversity of its faculty and administrative staff. Currently, AUM has a very diverse workforce coming from 70 different nationalities, while believing that there is a host of reasons why the diversity of faculty and staff is a valuable chase for universities and colleges, varying from (1) responding to students needs, (2) to enlarging the institutional pool of knowledge. This successful effort to build a diversified and inclusive campus has been mirrored in the latest QS World Ranking 2021 for international faculty, in which AUM was ranked third in the world. The diverse workforce is a strong asset at AUM that also drives activities, competitions, and events that are ongoing on campus all year long for faculty, staff, and students as part of AUM's efforts to celebrate diverse educational and cultural backgrounds, increase engagement, and promote the community wellbeing.

The inclusive environment at AUM is also promoted by the learning-centered educational philosophy that values all the people and incorporates the needs, assets, and perspectives into the design and delivery of the best learning and teaching experience. AUM is known for its unique Educational Philosophy that is integrated with its mission and which offers a well-crafted learning experience to cater to the learner-centered approach. Special attention is given to people with learning disabilities and physical impairments to provide an equal learning opportunity and full participation in life on campus for current and prospective students.

Creating Sense and Value of Diversity for an Inclusive Campus

The roadmap that moves an institution from being a “diverse institution” to being an “inclusive institution” is quite challenging and certainly needs planning and strong commitment from all stakeholders. When it comes to higher education institutions, this roadmap has to be delicately studied and implemented by the university leadership. So, at this level, the AUM top management took the responsibility of (1) making sure that diversity is highly valued on their campus, (2) rethinking the motives of diversification—these motives should primarily focus on serving pedagogical and educational goals, and (3) ensuring that strategies to foster inclusion and integration are well-structured and enforced.

When further reflections on the concepts of diversity and inclusion are done, it can never go out of attention the thought that diversity and inclusion are never to be separated. Based on previous experience, and while working in the Lebanese context for more than 20 years, the objective of diversity can't be reached without a strong inclusion strategy. Lebanon is a clear example of how people from different societal and religious backgrounds can be living together, yet their daily life is negatively dominated by stereotyping, misjudgement, and religious discrimination (Klarsfeld et al., 2016). This is to say that inclusion and integration are not easy to be achieved and that diversity and inclusion are subject to be contextualized depending on the institutional environment.

A diverse higher education institution is not much different than a diverse country. Studies have proved that having a highly diverse workforce or a highly diverse campus (faculty, students, staff...) can be harmful if there is no culture of inclusion that embraces and promotes diversity. Diversity without inclusion and without strategies to enforce integration can be a trigger and a cause for a very toxic environment that will impair any diverse institution or community (Roberson, 2006). While believing in the strong tie of diversity and inclusion, AUM leadership has set an objective to not only support diversity but to create sense and value of it, by making people on campus (faculty, staff, and students) feel the value of their contribution to any group they are part of and by highlighting the impact that diversity brings to their academic and personal development.

Faculty Diversity: Resilience and Competitive Advantage

In times when the diversification of the student body is a challenge, and when the spread of the COVID19 has enforced the shift to a fully online education, AUM leadership has thoroughly explored the faculty population at its campus and focused on leveraging its diverse teaching and administrative bodies to keep on providing a global and high-quality education to its students without putting their safety nor their education at risk.



Fig. 7.1 Impact of faculty diversity at AUM

AUM experience, pre and during COVID19, has proved that a diverse body of faculty members can highly contribute to the enhancement and amelioration of the overall student experience and the overall university performance and achievement of its educational mission.

The impact of faculty diversity was spotted on different levels and in different ways (Fig. 7.1).

Internationalization of Campus Life

The study conducted, (Sorensen et al., 2009), entitled: Taking a “Hands On” Approach to Diversity in Higher Education: A Critical-Dialogic Model for Effective Intergroup Interaction, has proved that the institutions that do not have a socially, demographically, and racially diverse student body can always achieve the educational and cultural benefits of diversity and a milieu of an international campus. Moreover, in the study entitled: Experiencing diversity: What can we learn from liberal arts colleges?, Kuh and Umbach (2005) demonstrated that the educational benefits of diversity can be achieved in such institutions (not having a very diverse student body) when the institutions offer other dimensions of diversity to the student.

The internationally diverse faculty body at AUM has clearly transformed the campus into an international hub and enhanced the internationalization of the campus life by bringing their multicultural backgrounds and customs to the campus and by sharing their home teaching experiences with their peers and students. The international dimension of the AUM campus was recently highlighted by the sign of solidarity and support that was sent from AUM faculty and staff to pay a special tribute to all the medical workers and front liners in Kuwait who are working around the clock to keep everyone safe, and this message was expressed in different languages; every member spoke their native language. In addition, the international faculty on campus get to be part of the organization of the “International Day Expo” and part of the talent shows and culinary competitions. Through these shows and competitions, the AUM community gets to know about the cultural backgrounds of everyone on campus through various forms of arts, which outline the international campus life that is brought by the diverse faculty and students’ bodies.

Enhanced Global Student Learning Experience and Employability

Faculty diversity is a strategic resource to students that contributes to their development and the enhancement of their skills. Faculty can bring new ideas, different expertise, and methods to the classroom. A diverse faculty body will certainly contribute to the creation of a balanced and diversified curriculum and education which is counted for the best benefit of the students, as found in the literature (Griffin et al., 2020; Turner et al., 2008); adding to that, international faculty mostly provide the courses in foreign languages, different from the students’ native language which will also prepare them to a more global and diverse learning experience.

Also, in a paper entitled: “Can higher education meet the needs of an increasingly diverse and global society? Campus diversity and cross-cultural workforce competencies”, it was found that the exposure of students, during their educational path, to diverse faculty and students’ bodies is positively associated with improved professional skills and competencies (Jayakumar, 2008), which will lead to enhanced students’ mobility and employability.

With the limitations and inadequacies of creating a participative, international, and diverse environment in the classroom that came along with the current crisis and pandemic, the concept of domestic internationalization, which currently relies on faculty and staff diversity, started to seem more meaningful than ever. It is non-negotiable how the presence of a diverse student body benefits the international students experiencing different cultures and environments; however, it does benefit the local students as well, and during such times with the decreased number of international students in the classroom needs to be “temporarily replaced” by international faculty presence.

AUM has highly profited from the existing faculty members that have answered the main challenges faced during the pandemic because it has long been believed that in order to create a global learning experience for the students, it needs to build a culturally knowledgeable and skilled learning community, rooted in the principles of diversity, integration, and global citizenship, so that it prepares its student to navigate multicultural environments that might encounter in the workplace.

Enhanced International Collaboration

Having a diverse faculty body definitely enhances the exposure of any higher education to different cultures and automatically to diverse markets. In different cases, the international faculty members tend to play the role of mediator when it comes to the recruitment of peer faculty members. International faculty members keep the contact with their home institutions and try to build a sustainable network between their home institution and their current employing institution; therefore, they try to launch collaboration and joint programs which will enhance the visibility of both institutions and which will serve as a strategic marketing approach to attract and recruit a more diverse student body and definitely a more diverse faculty body.

Serving Better the Community: Enhanced Decision-Making and Providing Local Solutions with Global Expertise

Moreover, the purpose of diversity was proved to be successful only by achieving integration through continuous collaborations and interactions among individuals with different backgrounds, skills, beliefs, and experiences and through dynamic exchange of ideas especially on topics challenging deeply held beliefs, and serious problems (Haring-Smith, 2012; Lehman, 2004). AUM was keen to make the best of its diverse and inclusive environment on its campus and to give the students and the faculty the space and platform to deliberately express their views and beliefs during different occasions and events and to be part of the solution when problems are encountered. Their contribution to the solution makes their sense of belonging to the community stronger yet gives the problem a global and more holistic answer.

There is mounting evidence showing how diversity is considered a global asset for any institution not only for higher education institutions, and also many studies showing how diversity fosters creativity and innovation and how it promotes critical thinking, problem-solving, and decision-making (Cummings, 2004; Smallbone et al., 2010). However, institutions need to make the best out of their diverse faculty and to always create opportunities for the students, faculty, and the leadership to interact and learn from each other—which will enhance the decision-making process that happens at any level of the university by giving it a global perspective (Sorensen et al., 2009).

Acculturation in the Online Class Setting

Learning experience and students' development is impoverished when happening in a homogenous group with like-minded people becomes mature and well developed, it is pointless to say how the interaction of students with diverse faculty members is crucial and how it can positively impact their education, while allowing them to develop their social views without prejudice, as it was demonstrated in different studies (Engberg & Hurtado, 2011; Espenshade & Radford, 2013; Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado & DeAngelo, 2012), and how the presence of international instructors tend to have an influence on their students (Martin et al., 1997).

Faculty diversity has helped to create a positive acculturation process that involves changes in the people's behavioral repertoires and their adaptation to intercultural encounters (Gibson, 2001; Schwartz et al., 2010). The shift toward online learning enhanced the interaction between students and faculty. In the case of AUM, and in the case of different Arab countries, some students, specifically, females, express difficulties interacting with faculty in normal classes setup due to the prevailing cultural customs. Online gives the possibility of one-to-one interaction without social exposure.

Closing Remarks

The importance of a diverse environment in higher education or at any other institution can never be questioned in normal times and in moments of crisis. Leadership should keep in mind the importance of diversity and inclusion. With the spread of COVID19 and the shift to fully online education, universities leadership should focus on online classroom diversity as much as they should focus on online inclusion so that no member is left behind. Diversity and inclusion are not just studied and considered from an ethical perspective but more as a competitive advantage that differentiates the university from its competitors (Porter, 2011). Resilience to face a crisis is crucial especially since it brings internationalization to campus when student mobility is not possible.

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Chapter 8

Students' Experiences with Online Teaching and Learning: Perspectives from India



Deepak Maun, Tatiana Belousova, and Mousumi Mukherjee

Abstract Under the shadow of Covid-19 pandemic, it is important to understand how students have coped with online teaching and learning when university campuses have been closed throughout India for over a year. This paper draws on a larger India-wide survey, conducted in collaboration with the Students Experience in the Research University (SERU) consortium in the US and the Association of Indian Universities (AIU) in India. Our analysis in this paper is also informed by the conceptual framework and findings from a pilot study conducted by us at a private multidisciplinary university in India. The pilot study specifically sought to understand students' learning experiences with the sudden digital transition during Spring 2020, while the larger India-wide survey conducted during Spring 2021 sought to gain a more holistic understanding of student experience in the middle of the pandemic across several research universities in India. However, it should be noted that the digital divide within India is very wide. There is a significant imbalance in terms of resource allocation among the student population in urban and rural India. The resource divide is also significant between those who study in public and private institutions. Hence, this paper is based on data only from those students who were able to participate in online surveys. The data has been analysed following Community of Inquiry (CoI) process-oriented model of the online learning experience. The findings suggest that despite the commendable efforts by the teachers, the students still did not find online teaching and learning as engaging as real classroom experience. This chapter, therefore, adds to the literature on the problem of Open Crisis Learning (OCL), as against a well-structured Open Distance Learning (ODL).

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Introduction: COVID-19 and Digital Challenges in Education

In 2020, International Labour Organization published a report titled “Youth & COVID-19: Impacts on Jobs, Education, Rights, and Mental Well-Being.” This study highlighted the national and regional digital divide among youth transitioning to online and distance learning across rich and poor countries, as well as between income brackets within countries (International Labour Organization, 2020, p.24). For example, most students in Slovenia (96.4%), Poland (96.1%), and Denmark (98.1%) have access to the Internet and laptops/computers. In comparison, only a small percentage of students in Morocco (35.3%), the Philippines (30.5%), and Indonesia (23.6%) have this access (OECD, 2021, p. 160).

The sharp digital divide is also visible in India. The National Sample Survey 2017–2018 found that more urban households had Internet access compared to rural households (42% vs 15%) (Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, 2019, p. 3). According to a June-2021 report by the Internet and Mobile Association of India, in 2020, 67% of urban population had Internet access compared to 31% of rural population. The divide is visible even within urban centres, with only 8 top metro cities accounting for 33% of all urban active Internet users. (Mihindukulasuriya, 2021). This distribution is crucial, for villages are home to almost 65% of India’s total population, and during the lockdown, as the universities closed, all students returned to their homes across the country. Thus, their educational experiences were impacted by Internet access at their native places.

Factors that Impact the Effectiveness of Online Learning

Access to the Internet and quality equipment (laptop/computer/tablet) is only one barrier for low-income students. Basic infrastructures, like reliable electricity, access to clean water, and availability of physical space conducive for learning, are as important as technology in the remote delivery of education (Bassett, 2021). The world’s poor simply do not have this infrastructure to benefit from the wonders of digitalization and remote learning. Even within the same university, students have differential access to resources, making it tough for universities to provide equal opportunities for students to complete their academic year (Marinoni et al., 2020).

Beaunoyer et al. (2020) also emphasize that in the context of the COVID-19-related quarantines, increased dependency on technology is deepening existing digital inequalities owing to the following four factors:

- (1) Technological: Slower/unreliable Internet connections and inequalities in access to personal technological equipment.
- (2) Autonomy of use: Inaccessibility to public spaces/workplace or conducive spaces at home to utilize the Internet for learning.

- (3) Social support networks: Access to social support and networks complicated by isolation/quarantine requirements.
- (4) Experience: Differential time spent online leading to differential opportunities to enhance users' skills.

Pedagogical Factors Hampering Effectiveness of Online Learning

Besides factors already stated, there are other pedagogical elements that create challenges for online learning experiences. For example, insufficient digital skill to learn and teach remotely, lack of ready materials for remote teaching, and absence of group work and social contact (International Labour Organization, 2020, p.24).

Teaching online is not just providing learning materials online. Faculty must modify the content and pedagogy according to the new mode of delivery. Else, students may feel isolated in the learning process (Aristovnik et al., 2020). Distance teaching and learning require a new pedagogy customized to the online world. To seamlessly make this sudden and unprepared shift from face-to-face to distance teaching and learning is also a challenge for the faculty (Marinoni et al., 2020).

Hodges et al. (2020, p.7) suggest a differentiation between experiences that are designed to be online from the beginning and emergency remote teaching (ERT), which is a temporary shift to an alternate delivery mode, due to the emergency circumstances. We, therefore, need to clearly distinguish between carefully crafted online learning and online crisis learning.

Online Distance Learning (ODL) Versus Online Crisis Learning (OCL)

Compared to the brick-and-mortar universities, online distance learning (ODL) plays a key role in enhancing access and equity by providing asynchronous access to resources at any time and nearly anywhere (Ossiannilsson et al., 2016; Kenzig, 2015, p. 625). It provides the opportunity to participate in the advanced academic study while remaining fully engaged in work and family (Caspers & Lagan, 2000). However, some view ODL violating the core tenets of higher education as a social and cultural change agent by removing the need for the tutor. Eringfeld argues that education is “an embodied and communal experience connected to real world” and considers fully online teaching as dystopian (2021, p.147). Researchers have criticized ODL for not being able to engage students amply, although myriads of research have proved that it can be action- and student-oriented, if applied effectively (Cleveland-Innes & Garrison, 2021; Larbi-Apau, 2021).

In general, the discourses on open and distance learning can be divided into pre-pandemic and post-pandemic. Before COVID-19, we had a choice between “face-to-face” and online courses. The pandemic left us with only one option due to the complete and abrupt closure of educational institutions worldwide. This, effectively, created a space for a different kind of scientific debates related to Open Distance Learning (ODL) and emergency remote teaching.

According to Veletsianos and Houlden (2020), what we are witnessing now is flexible digital education deployed in haste through “emergency remote teaching.” It is driven by an immediate need to adapt to rapid changes in delivery mode necessitated by the threat and uncertainty of a widely circulating, poorly understood pathogen. COVID-19 became an intensive test of organizational agility (Wu, 2020), with the main objective to transfer the educational content to students through the digital medium, as compared to the careful planning of the online course delivery. Most stakeholders within the higher education sector were unprepared for such a scenario and tried to ensure some form of sustainability under emergency circumstances. The current situation is unique. Hence, rather than digital learning, some scholars are referring to it as online “crisis learning” (OCL) (Adnan & Anwar, 2020, p. 46; Pace et al., 2020, p. 9).

Impact of Online Shift on Social Interactions and Learning

In the context of COVID-19, ODL (rather OCL) is riddled with multiple shortcomings with respect to teaching and learning processes. Students prefer two-way interaction which becomes a casualty in OCL. Sometimes, online content is all theoretical and does not let students practice and learn effectively, especially in courses requiring access to laboratories, workshops, or field sites. The learning process cannot reach its full potential until students practice what they learn. Menon (2020) argues for a central role of direct human engagement and social learning in ODL curricular communications. Lack of proper interaction with instructors and forced digital communication with peers impact socialization in ODL. Thus, real-time sharing of ideas, knowledge, and information is partially missing, and personal attention is a huge challenge in online learning (Dhawan, 2020). This is further exacerbated by the abrupt online transition and scarcity of resources in academic institutions. Social marginalization of students is also negatively impacting students’ capacity to participate effectively in digital learning.

Challenges of Online Education in India During COVID-19

According to the annual All-India Survey on Higher Education, there are 1,043 Universities, 42,343 Colleges, and 11,779 Stand Alone Institutions in India (AISHE, 2019–20). 60% of colleges are in the rural area. 16 universities were offering ODL

courses prior to the pandemic with distance enrolments accounting for only 11.1% of total enrolments. Besides, Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs), and some private universities had been offering fully online courses and online/hybrid degree programmes (Mukherjee et al., 2021, p. 202). Yet, most institutions and faculty members had no prior experience of teaching online before the pandemic struck and found themselves technologically unprepared to manage the transition (Chakraborty et al. 2021; Mishra et al., 2020). Despite being “digital natives,” the students were equally unprepared for the total transition to online learning (Mukherjee et al., 2022; Rayan, 2020).

When the pandemic struck, and a total national lockdown was enforced in March 2020, the universities and colleges in India were in the middle of the second semester of the academic year. It brought many anxieties, particularly among the graduating batches of students, lest the ongoing session should be declared a “zero semester” (Menon, 2020). A total of 320 million learners in Indian universities have been adversely affected by the COVID-19 pandemic and have transitioned to e-learning (Modi & Postaria, 2020). With huge regional and household disparities in access to the Internet and technology, this transition has not been possible for all students and educators. Even institutional resources and flexibility to garner and utilize financial resources for technology use have been different among higher education institutions. The rapid shift to e-learning has resurfaced the long-standing issues of inequality and digital divide in India that must be addressed by future economic, education, and digitalization policies (World Economic Forum, 2020).

SERU-INDIA COVID-19 Survey

There has been no shortage of discussions and debates during the pandemic aimed at identifying the major challenges faced by students during their transition to online learning. At the same time, there has been no large-scale study implemented across various higher education institutions in India. In this sense, it was very important to analyse the impact of the pandemic on Indian students and to map their responses with the broader theoretical and practical perspectives that had been accumulated so far.

Student Experience in the Research University (SERU) is a US-based consortium of research universities worldwide that conduct annual surveys of student experiences in university campuses. In the middle of the COVID-19 pandemic, the SERU consortium designed a particular survey to capture student experiences during the COVID-19 campus shutdown from a holistic perspective. In the survey, the students were asked to share their experiences regarding the quality of online learning, academic and social obstacles, access to necessary resources and infrastructure, as well as their emotional well-being during the global health crisis. The authors collaborated with the SERU consortium and the Association of Indian Universities (AIU) to adapt the SERU-COVID-19 survey designed by the consortium to administer it in India.

This paper analyses the multiple factors and their effects, particularly on students' forceful transition to online education, during the COVID-19 pandemic based on the SERU-INDIA COVID-19 survey data gathered during Spring 2021. Our analysis is also informed by our small pilot study conducted during Spring 2020 in India and the theoretical framework of the Community of Inquiry (CoI).

Community of Inquiry: A Framework for Online Learning Experience

Garrison (2017, p. 22) identified three key elements or presences that must be considered when planning and delivering an e-learning experience. The Community of Inquiry (CoI) theoretical framework represents “a process of creating a deep and meaningful learning experience through the development of three interdependent elements—social presence, cognitive presence, and teaching presence.” A presence is a sense of being/identity that gets created through interpersonal communication.

Social presence refers to the degree to which the students feel socially and emotionally connected to their peers and teachers. Cognitive presence refers to the degree to which the students are able to process information from the course content and activities to make meaning out of it. Teaching presence refers to the degree to which the teacher is able to facilitate and create meaningful learning outcomes for the students in the online environment. Figure 8.1 below provides a visual depiction of the CoI framework.

However, it is difficult to apply the community of inquiry (CoI) framework in the emergency environment of OCL. It requires the coordination of a number of factors, both on the part of students and a teacher, in order to establish a constructive Community of Inquiry (CoI) online. These factors are briefly summarized in Table 8.1.

Within an OCL environment, many of these factors are missing, creating a mixed learning experience for the students—positive for some students and negative for others. This was found during our Spring 2020 pilot study to understand the student learning experiences in the middle of the COVID-19 pandemic with the sudden transition to online teaching and learning (Mukherjee et al., 2021).

SERU-INDIA COVID-19 Data Analysis

The SERU-India COVID-19 survey was taken by 7688 students from 119 universities. After cleaning the dataset for missing data, 6425 responses from 38 universities¹ have been utilized to analyse for this paper. The survey data was analysed using IBM

¹ Since the analysis was at university level, those universities where less than 10 students completed the survey were dropped. Thus, data of only 38 of the 119 universities represented in the survey was used for analysis.

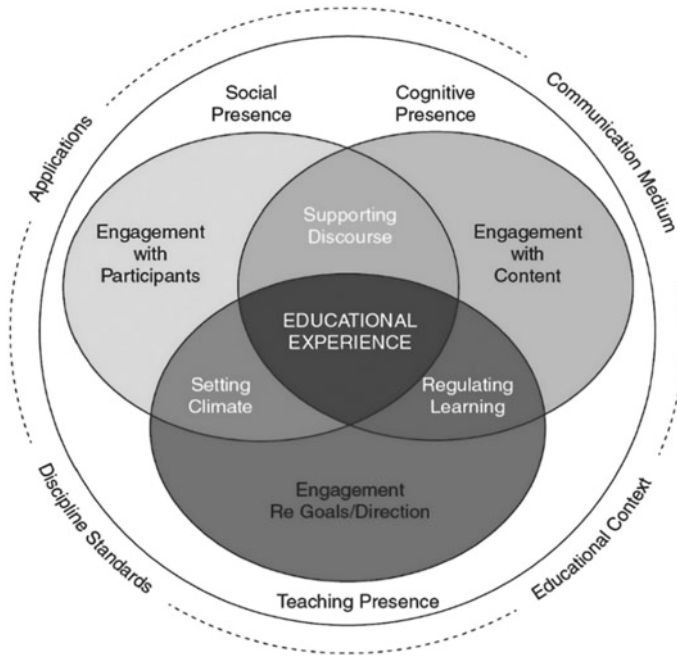


Fig. 8.1 The COI framework, Garrison (2017)

Table 8.1 Community of inquiry: facilitating factors

	Students	Teacher
Objective factors	Access to good-quality Internet and technology	
	No distractions within the home environment	
	Institutional support (e.g., student counselling and digital library)	
Subjective factors	Personal motivation and engagement	
		Course content
		Teaching methods (e.g., video and audio materials, online polling, and Q&A sessions)
		Interactive learning environment
	Prior experiences with online teaching and learning	

Source Adapted from Garrison (2017)

SPSS Statistics software (version 21), primarily using “multiple responses” cross-tabulation. The open-ended response from the survey data was analysed by coding in Microsoft Excel to identify key categories and concepts across demographics and university types. The students identified their university names, and these were

further divided into three categories²: Central Public University, State Public University, and State Private University. Respondents’ distribution across university type and degree programmes³ is given in Table 8.2.

Findings

Infrastructure Issues

University campuses in developed economies usually have a good Internet connectivity. But this is not true for most university campuses within India. The country faces a significant digital divide (Aswathi, 2019; India Today, 2020). Campus lockdown forced students and teachers to access the Internet from their homes which

Table 8.2 Survey respondents’ distribution across university type and university course specialization⁴

University type	University course specialization						Total
	Agriculture	Multidisciplinary	Law	Management	Medicine	Technical	
State private	0	4089	0	0	111	0	4200
State public	116	578	268	0	895	203	2060
Central public	0	68	0	23	0	74	165
Total	116	4735	268	23	1006	277	6425

Source SERU-INDIA COVID-19 Survey

² In India, there are almost 1000 universities and 39,000 colleges that are affiliated with one of the university. Union government can establish central public universities under union law. State governments can establish state public universities or allow state private universities to be established under state law. There are no central private universities. With exception of two universities, all central public universities are standalone institutions with multiple departments/schools but no independent colleges affiliated to the university. State private universities are also standalone universities and are not allowed to have affiliated colleges. State public universities, on the other hand, are allowed to have affiliated colleges within their jurisdiction. 85% of students study in state universities (public/private) and a majority are in affiliated colleges of state public university.

³ “Multidisciplinary” could include any degree offered by the university including law, medicine, management, etc.

⁴ In India, there are more than a dozen type of universities based on their governance structure, financing, laws under which they were created, etc. Not all are multidisciplinary. There are stand-alone law universities, management institutes, medical colleges, agriculture universities, i.e., focused on professional degrees, and then there are law, management, medicine, agriculture, etc. departments within multidisciplinary universities. Some universities are technical, with majority students in engineering courses but they also have management and pharmacy departments.

was often of poor quality. Several students found it difficult to afford the cost of high-speed Internet. A central public university student wrote:

I worry a lot about my education. With the online mode I am worried whether I will be able to submit my work on time because of the connectivity issues.

Another private university student wrote:

[University] should not have asked fees from students [like me] when we are finding it hard even to afford a proper data connection.

One state (Kashmir) was under lockdown since August 2019, due to political reasons, with Internet (and even mobile/telephone) access curtailed (Ashiq, 2020). Students and teachers there had no Internet access even during the pandemic (GK News Network, 2020). In a few states, two cyclones created havoc, resulting in a disruption in electricity and water supply, as well as Internet connectivity (Niyogi, 2020; PTI, 2020). Thus, lives, as well as online classes, were disrupted for a large student population. This had an obvious negative impact on the virtual/social presence of students in classrooms (inability to attend), as well as on their cognitive presence (ability to engage constructively in a class, even while attending) (Garrison et al., 1999). Diagram 1 summarizes the degree, to which the various obstacles hampered the students' successful transition to online learning (Fig. 8.2).

Figure 8.2 clearly indicates that two major obstacles are lack of interaction with other students and inability to learn effectively in the online format. These options were selected by 37 and 34% of the respondents. The other significant challenges are represented by the lack of an appropriate study place / destructing home environment

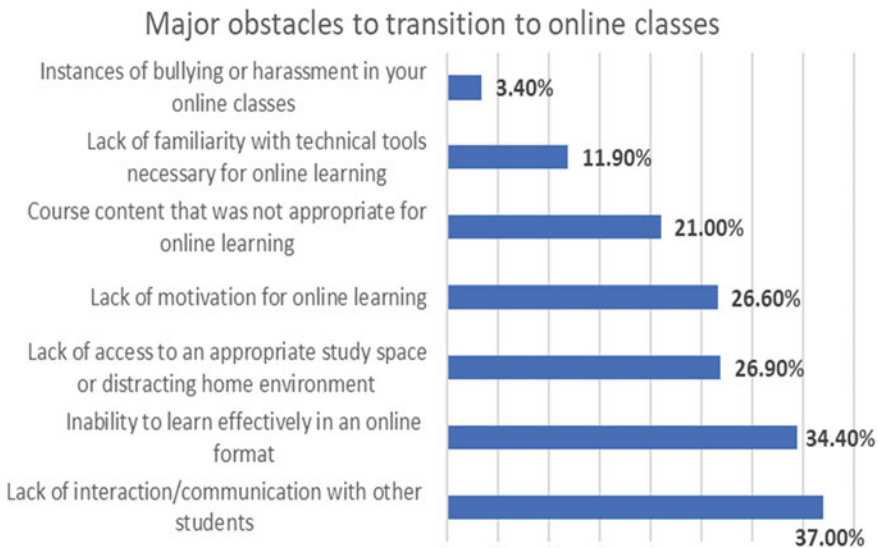


Fig. 8.2 Major obstacles to transition to online classes. *Source* The SERU-INDIA COVID-19 Survey

(26.9%), as well as lack of motivation for online learning (26.6%), and inadequate course content (21%). These findings once again showcase the importance of social presence during teaching and learning processes, since lack of communication with peers proved to be the major obstacle during the online learning transition.

Quality of Learning

Attending classes was one thing, but students were also concerned about the quality of their learning. 35% found themselves unable to learn effectively in the online format. This was despite the fact that 60% of students had already had prior exposure to online courses. The inappropriate course content for online learning was highlighted as the single biggest obstacle. Most university teachers in India were unprepared for online teaching and had no prior experience or any training in teaching online courses (Mishra et al., 2020). Hence, they ended up shifting existing course content and pedagogy online without any relevant modification. Thus, “teaching presence” for most faculty members was severely impaired, as they transitioned to online teaching during the pandemic. Further, the opportunities for internship/apprenticeship and access to workshops or laboratories for practical or research work were severely curtailed. In some courses, such activities (internships or research projects) are spread over a full semester or even a year. They form an integral part of the learning experience and are a part of a credit requirement. This created significant anxiety among graduating batch students in these programmes. One Bachelor of Veterinary Science student commented:

Instructors just wanted to finish topics and make us move to next step of internship. As Veterinary students, we are concerned about our practical knowledge.

Another MBBS student at a state public university wrote:

We couldn't finish up with our course, and lack of clinical exposure worsened the learning processes.

This statement from a medical student is indeed worrying. The educational gaps now will manifest in the future as a real shortage of effective medical and other professionals in the society.

An undergraduate science student lamented:

Our internship program experience is zero, which makes us feel low. We cannot experience real labs [like in physical classes].

The institutions are unable to maintain the desired rigour, due to restrictions on physical access to campuses and other learning opportunities. The pandemic has put pressure on medical/healthcare graduates, who are in high demand, but feel unprepared for employment, due to insufficient training. Many students were happy that, at least, they were able to continue their education during the pandemic. Other alternatives would have been to stay at home without studying, and that would result

in delayed completion of their degree programmes. The students clearly considered on-campus experience to be superior to the online experience. Across the board, students considered it unfair for universities to charge the same tuition fees as earlier. A state public university student argued:

I am satisfied with the current measures, taken by the University, but the University can reduce the fee structure, as students are not using any of the infrastructure, provided by the college.

While the students are demanding a fee reduction, the universities face a dilemma: their biggest expense, faculty and staff salaries, remains unchanged. Although students are not using hostels and classrooms, thus reducing operating expenses for universities, they are making additional expenses in acquiring new digital tools, upgrading to digital libraries, and strengthening digital infrastructure. In India, almost 70% of students are enrolled in private universities/colleges (AISHE, 2019–20) largely financed by student fees. As to the public universities, they receive government funding, albeit it is largely insufficient (Varghese & Panigrahi, 2019). Thus, the issue of fees reduction is nuanced and has implications for the survival of universities.

Challenges in Assessments and Scheduling

Within the Indian university system, especially within public universities with a large number of affiliated colleges, continuous assessment is very rare. Open book examinations are almost unheard of in state public universities, and even at central or private universities. Thus, end-semester examinations carry maximum weightage and importance. Faculty were never trained in online pedagogy or assessment before the pandemic. The need for transfer to the central, online examination system in public universities was a significant challenge.

While private universities quickly shifted to an online mode of teaching and assessment, public universities kept delaying their decision, especially at the beginning of the pandemic (March–April 2020). Thus, students were expected to take exams without attending any classes. In a state public university, no classes were held, and examinations were held in January 2021. A graduating batch agriculture student at the state public university stated:

The only thing they [university] did finally [during the whole semester] was to conduct an online exam and complete our semester by January, since there was an order to start the internship of the final years by January. All other experiences from there were frustrating for me.

Several universities, especially public, were not open to online assessments in the beginning. They had concerns about the integrity of assessment since students could engage in unfair means. Some universities forced students to come to physical examination centres to take examination, while the number of COVID-19 cases was rising across the country. An engineering student at the state public university said:

[The university] is trying to aggravate stress and [has] an absolute disregard for students' opinion. [The authorities have] instead left us alone in a position to choose between life and education.

In terms of the online examination, students had concerns about Internet or electricity disruption during the exams (it is not uncommon to have continuous 8–10 h power cuts in rural areas in some states). The continued delay of the examination schedule created significant anxiety and stress for students. A female student from an upper-middle-class family who studies law at a state public university commented:

There was lack of clarity regarding most of the academic activities, which triggered chronic anxiety in me, as well as a lot of my peers.

Remaining in this perpetual state of uncertainty had a negative impact on students' mental health, engagement, and performance in classes and exams. One state public university student from a middle-class family explained her situation:

[University] should understand that not everyone [has reliable] internet connection and good mental environment to attend classes for 8 hours every day. Moreover, [the way] they conducted semester and practical exams, and the syllabus content were hefty for online classes. At the same time, the university did not pay a due attention to students' mental state.

An upper-middle-class student from a private university argued:

Universities [should have taken] an empathetic, intersectional approach, providing concessions and exceptions in the present scenario. Expecting 100% in a mentally exhausting situation is unreasonable and elitist.

Differences Among Universities

There were noteworthy differences among various types of universities. Among undergraduate students, while 43% in central public universities found the course content to be inappropriate, only 18% in private universities found that to be a problem. Similarly, faculty at private universities could lay clear expectations for online learning, compared to the central public or state public universities (84%, 73%, and 50%, respectively). These problems were less pronounced for graduate students with a smaller percentage of students highlighting these challenges.

Despite all the challenges, 82% of the students were satisfied with the support they received from the faculty, and 77% were satisfied with the overall quality of courses that were moved online. A deeper analysis reveals almost 90% satisfaction among students in private universities, as opposed to approximately 50% in central public universities. In terms of disciplines, students from multidisciplinary universities were most satisfied (85%), while students at specialized universities (law, medicine, and engineering) were relatively less satisfied (45–70%), with law university students being the least satisfied. While all private universities in the sample were multidisciplinary, all law and engineering universities were state public universities. Medicine was represented by state public and state private universities.

The Challenge of Isolation

Universities do not just provide a classroom learning but play a significant social role in the lives of students, as well as teachers. University campuses provide a safe space and conducive environment for students to learn, especially to those who face poverty and/or physical/mental abuse at home. Students' social presence, their ability to identify with the community and communicate effectively within an environment that they can trust (Garrison et al., 1999), is dependent on the possibilities of social interactions with peers. Traditionally, much of this happens outside classrooms—in hostels, in canteens, playgrounds, and in university corridors. Garrison et al. (1999) do highlight the possibility of enabling social presence in a carefully designed online environment. This presupposes teachers skilled in digital pedagogies and high-quality digital infrastructure, which were absent in our study. Thus, in our sample, lack of social interactions with peers (37%) was most frequently cited as the obstacle, faced during the transition to online learning. Even in open-ended comments, students highlighted this issue.

Lack of Learning Spaces

During the lockdown, as university campuses and all workplaces were closed, students found themselves sharing home spaces with all other family members. 27% of students said that they could not find appropriate study space at home (more prominent for poor or working-class students). With no other options, they were studying in the suboptimal environment. The problem of physical space was further exacerbated by other family-related issues.

Facing Family Realities

Students across the board highlighted an unexpected increase in spending on technology to support the online mode of learning as a matter of concern (with higher percentages among poor and working-class students). Loss of family income was also cited as a significant concern by 30% of students, whereby a higher number of poor (35%) or working-class (37%) students were suffering, compared to their relatively well-off peers (22%). The major challenge arose since the students were living with their family members. Thus, they had direct, deep encounters with household realities that Indian parents often hide from their children to allow them to complete their education in an uninterrupted manner.

A middle-class student from a state public law university wrote about his experience:

Seeing my family's financial condition, I sometimes feel really anxious about my college fees and expenses. As I am staying at home, I could see them personally struggling to make

ends meet and [yet trying] not to [let us] worry about anything. So, I sometimes feel if it is really alright for me to enjoy all these facilities, that I have been provided with when my family is struggling.

Another 5-year veterinary course student, from a poor family, explained her problem:

I am a final year student of veterinary medicine. We were supposed to complete our course by September but still, we have not been able to start even the internship. Because of this, our chance to write the PSC exam (for a government job) and PG entrance exam is gone. [...] My parents are old, and I want to look after them. It has been 5-years since I am studying for graduation. Still [I have] not completed and not [been] able to get a job. It is really pathetic.

Additional Responsibilities and Challenges

Staying for a long time at home, with no other place to go for studies, presents its own challenges. An additional difficulty is added when students have to care for their family members full-time, along with their studies. 50% of the students across socio-economic strata said that they had childcare responsibilities during the pandemic, while 60% were caring for at least one adult. This was true across all genders and socio-economic classes.

Gender Identities and Close Encounters with Traditional Family Values

During the national lockdown and even after that, students had to stay with their families. For several months, most of them had no access to any alternate study spaces or relax, due to the curfew and movement restrictions. Under these circumstances, students who identified themselves as the ones outside the traditional male–female binaries⁵ faced significant challenges. 30% of such students said that they were living in homes, where they faced physical or emotional violence (equivalent figures for males was 17% and 19% for females). As opposed to 69% of male and 72% of female students, who said that they were living in a place where they often felt safe and protected, only 29% of non-male/non-female students had this positive experience. Similarly, 68% of male and 65% of female students lived in homes free of drug or alcohol abuse, but only 25% of third gender students lived in such safe spaces.

We need to recognize that a significant percentage of male and female students⁶ were forced to live in homes that had physical/emotional abuse (17% male; 19% female) or drug/alcohol abuse (15% male; 19% female). While 68% of male and 64% of female students reported living in homes where their gender identity, sexual

⁵ When third gender is mentioned, it also includes those individuals who preferred to self-describe their gender identity.

⁶ Although the percentages of male/female students facing such abuse is lower, their absolute numbers in the sample were much higher. Of 6425 respondents, only 1.1% identified themselves as “third gender” or “prefer to self-describe”, and 3.3% chose “prefer not to answer”.

orientation, etc. were respected, the corresponding figure for the third gender was 25% only.

Sense of Belonging

The percentage of students who agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that “I feel valued as an individual at the university” was almost 70% for private universities. This percentage was 60% for state public universities and 51% for central public universities among graduate students. Compared to masters/Ph.D. students, undergraduate students felt less valued at state public universities (51% vs 35%) and central public universities (60% vs 35%), while it was the same in private universities (70%) for both levels.

A similar pattern existed among graduate and undergraduate students across three types of universities when students responded to the question “I feel that I belong at this university.” Thus, despite online classes, most students felt valued as individuals and as members of the university community. A significantly greater proportion of students at private universities (70%-both UG and PG) felt that they were supported by the university compared to central public universities (23% UG and 38% PG). At state public universities, the corresponding percentages were 60% for PG and 40% for UG.

The first-year UG students, who joined university during the pandemic, were in a unique position. They were fresh out of schools, had never visited their university campus, and had never met their peers face-to-face. Universities, especially private universities, made extra efforts to organize orientation programmes to allow these students to become familiar with their institutions. These sessions also allowed them to meet their batchmates virtually. Several students highlighted orientation/induction programmes as being really helpful in their online learning journey.

Impact on Physical and Emotional Well-Being

Taking online classes for many continuous hours had detrimental effects on students' physical health. Irritation or dryness in eyes, pain in ears, and back and neck pain were very common challenges, highlighted by the students. A female student at a private university commented:

Online classes are not good for health too. The eyes started [having] irritation and by using earphones, my ears also [started experiencing] pain. Continued usage of gadgets may lead to health issue.

Students' personal struggles rarely get the attention of teachers. With reduced social interaction and increased time for online classes, students found it difficult to share their troubles with friends or teachers. In conjunction with an absence of

physical space, conducive for studying, and increased health concerns, 100% of the students reported that they had faced emotional stress. A private university student wrote:

Online class was a new experience, but [it was] stressful. [I was] not able to spend time with the family and friends [due to continuous online classes].

Answering the question on how frequently they faced emotional stress (e.g., loss of interest in doing things, feeling worried, anxious, depressed, hopeless, etc.), not even one student chose “not at all.” Almost 60% felt these symptoms on several days, 22% on more than half the days, and 18% faced these issues nearly every day. Individuals who self-identified as “third gender” felt depressed and nervous/anxious on more days (52% and 43%) than male and female students (23% and 22%). These conditions can certainly trigger a negative impact on students’ cognitive presence in online classrooms (Table 8.3).

Positive Experiences

Not all the students’ experiences were negative. Students could see the silver lining in the way universities operated during the pandemic. Despite the drawbacks, a significant number of the students believed that without online classes they would have been unable to complete the degree in time. This also reduced their possible exposure to the virus. One student explained:

As everything was online, it made very safe and convenient to take classes and give exams and tests. Instead of skipping a semester or two, [we could at least continue education].

Several students were able to attend classes more regularly, as compared to the pre-pandemic times, and 32% said that they actually enjoyed online learning.

Despite all the challenges, 82% of the respondents highlighted the support from the faculty as a positive experience. Students were also able to take more diverse courses, especially Massive Open Online Courses (MOOC) since universities actively encouraged these courses and provided credits for them. Since everything moved online, universities, especially the private ones, arranged many webinars, workshops, or mentorship sessions from discipline or industry experts. The expanded horizons from this exposure were considered as a key gain from the pandemic.

For most students, the pandemic resulted in reduced access to labs or workshops, i.e., practical learning experiences. At the same time, for some streams, it provided a perfect opportunity to gain greater, more relevant practical exposure. One female student from the state public university explained:

I am a [Masters in] Social Work [MSW] student. Before Covid-19, [I was] doing field work [along] with studies. And during the Covid-19 pandemic, [I am] doing volunteer work [along with my] studies.

Table 8.3 Health and well-being of students

Health and well-being of students							
Over the last two weeks, how often have you been bothered by any of the following problems?		Low income or poor (%)	Working class (%)	Middle class (%)	Upper middle or Professional middle	Wealthy (%)	Overall (%)
Little interest or pleasure in doing things	Several days	59	57	59	55	49	58
	More than half the days	20	26	24	27	30	25
	Nearly every day	22	18	17	18	21	18
Feeling down, depressed, or hopeless	Several days	59	57	60	57	58	59
	More than half the days	18	25	25	26	23	25
	Nearly every day	23	18	15	16	19	16
Feeling nervous, anxious, or on edge	Several days	59	59	64	57	64	62
	More than half the days	20	24	22	25	21	23
	Nearly every day	20	17	14	19	15	15
Not being able to stop worrying	Several days	61	56	61	53	53	59
	More than half the days	16	24	20	24	26	21
	Nearly every day	23	21	19	23	21	20

Source The SERU-INDIA COVID-19 Survey

Role of Teachers

In India, some faculty members were themselves facing physical and mental health challenges (Kumar et al., 2021) and financial difficulties (Borwankar et al., 2020). The online transition was difficult since most of the teachers had no prior training in digital pedagogies. Yet, they were appreciated by students for their efforts. Across universities, 87% of students were satisfied with the role, played by their professors, during the online transition. A higher proportion of private university students were

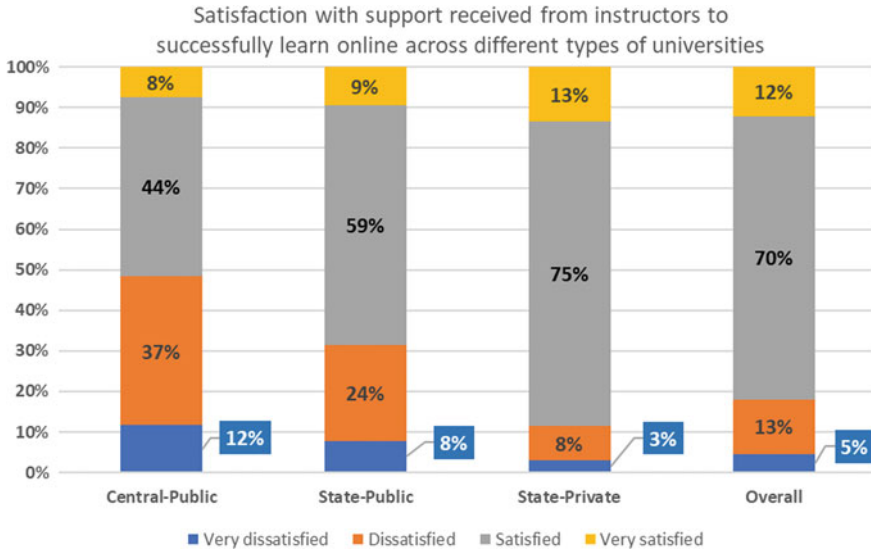


Fig. 8.3 Satisfaction with Instructors’ support during online teaching and learning. *Source* The SERU-INDIA COVID-19 Survey

satisfied or very satisfied, followed by state public universities and central public universities, respectively. Students highlighted that, besides academics, their teachers were understanding and provided them with the necessary help.

As Fig. 8.3 illustrates, the highest proportion of the students (75%), who were satisfied with their teachers’ support, belong to the state private universities, followed by the state public and central public (59 and 44%) universities. The relatively high number of dissatisfied students was reported from the Central Public and State Public universities (37 and 24%), whereas in the case of the State Private universities, this number is significantly lower (8%). Interestingly, there was only a small number of the respondents who turned out to be very satisfied with the provided support. In this regard, the average value for all the surveyed institutions stands at 12%.

Making Sense of the Differences Among Different Types of Universities

Overall, students at central public universities seem to be facing greater challenges, compared to state public universities, and are more dissatisfied with the response of their universities. This is counterintuitive for three reasons. One, in India, central public universities are better endowed in terms of resources, compared to state public universities. Two, central universities invariably attract much better faculty and students, as opposed to state public universities. Three, state public universities

are considered to be offering lower quality education vis a vis central university, as reflected in their rankings.

One possible explanation of this phenomenon could be the expectations of students. Being lower ranked and attracting lower calibre students (in terms of their ranks in high stake exams or university entrance tests) compared to central universities, the expectations of students from their state public university are lower. Thus, when the classes shifted online, the already low quality of education or paltry access to resources did not make much difference, compared to their physical classes. Central public university students, on the other hand, had higher expectations and became disenchanted when their “top ranked” universities did not adapt and respond appropriately.

Another explanation is the governance structure of universities. As opposed to public universities that depend on government funding, private universities depend almost entirely on student fees for their survival. Thus, they had to respond quickly to cater to the academic requirements of their students. Private universities are usually better endowed, and their nimble governance structures facilitate their effective responses to changing environments.

Conclusion

Our data analysis from the SERU-India COVID-19 Survey demonstrates that the pandemic created significant disruption in the lives of students, faculty, and universities. The ever-changing circumstances created uncertainty. Different types of institutions were able to respond with various speeds and effectiveness. Access to resources and their management did matter for institutions (public vs private). Private universities seem to have managed the situation significantly better than their public counterparts. The diversity of the student population and the geography of their homes made it more challenging for public universities to manage their responses.

Students also faced physical and/or emotional health issues arising from continued use of devices, uncertainty in academic scheduling, and financial hardships, due to the overall economic downturn. They also felt socially isolated from their friends and peers and had to shoulder greater caring responsibilities. The students, who faced difficult physical or emotional environments at homes, had no access to a safe space and were further disadvantaged. Though they faced harsh circumstances, they were expected to attend online classes, submit assignments, and complete exams as per schedules. Given the size of the student population, most public universities (except for a few private ones) lack any meaningful access to trained psychologists or counsellors. Thus, an effective online engagement on the part of these students became complicated. Overall, analysis of data from the SERU-INDIA COVID-19 survey suggests that the Open Crisis Learning (OCL) experience of the large masses of students, studying in public institutions in India, has been very challenging. The pandemic has indeed widened educational inequality.

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Part III
Social Justice, Equity and University Social
Responsibility

Chapter 9

Why Doctoral Education is a Place to be Committed to Social Justice: From Argument to Practice



Maresi Nerad and Roxana Chiappa

Abstract Doctoral education is the last formal step in a globally accepted higher education certification scheme. It has the formal responsibility of educating the next generation of scholars. This unique role gives doctoral education programs access to people who have, or will have, authority about specific subjects and would be able to make changes that contribute to socially just practices. This chapter is the beginning of an investigative journey to demonstrate that such changes can be executed not only in the research agenda but also in the doctorate research training processes—the research-training ecosystem itself. Using a few examples, we explain how a social justice approach can be used to scrutinize processes of doctoral recruitment and admission, preparation of doctoral candidates for the workplace, and pedagogical decisions exerted throughout the doctorate program. Particularly, in our current era of rising nationalist governments, an alarming environmental crisis, and the COVID-19 pandemic raging, we argue that doctoral education can play a critical role of making visible and questioning the norms and values that (re)produce inequity and exclusion in society at the local, national, and global levels.

Introduction

Doctoral education has become a key component of the postsecondary landscape everywhere.

With the rise of the global knowledge economy at the end of the twentieth century and the massification of higher education, doctoral education has expanded tremendously. The latest figures of doctorate recipients before the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic show that this expansion occurred in large countries such as China, India,

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Brazil, but also in smaller countries, such as Malaysia, Mexico, South Africa, Chile, and in nations with long-established doctoral programs, such as many European countries, the United States, and Canada (OECD, 2018; NSF, 2018). Often following the advice of the supranational agencies of the OECD and the World Bank, many governments have implemented national policies that seek to link doctoral education to innovation, economic growth, and their country's global competitiveness (Auriol et al., 2013; OECD, 2019; OECD & World Bank, 2010), despite an absence of clear evidence for such an immediate link.

Conjointly with the increase in the number of doctorate graduates, there have been significant changes in doctoral education worldwide in the twenty-first century. Globally, there is a greater focus on diverse employment prospects and transferable skills of doctorate holders and postdoctoral fellows (Nerad, 2020; LERU, 2016). At the same time, the world is changing faster than ever, especially in the wake of the pandemic. There are adverse developments, namely digitalization as a potential driver of progress and of more societal transparency, and simultaneously, the effects of the deterioration of democracies, aligned with the rise of populist or fundamentalist movements. We have more research and knowledge about climate change, but also a seemingly greater denial of scientific evidence. We experience new nationalism and hate speeches, but also more awareness of the need for effective societal integration. The pandemic unveiled deep societal inequity by race, class, and gender, bringing to light decades old unequal levels of opportunity and assistance for minority groups in societies. In summary, at the beginning of the third decade of the twenty-first century, grave political, economic, media-related and cultural tensions also challenge scientific work and the education of scholars across the globe.

We argue that in times when nationalistic agendas are prevalent, an environmental crisis is alarming, and a global pandemic is raging, doctoral education in many fields can play a crucial role in making visible and questioning the norms and values that (re)produce inequity in society at the local, national, and global levels. Doctoral education is not only a key space for educating the next generation of scholars and leaders, but it is also a place where different types of knowledge are discovered in systematic ways, passed on, and reinterpreted. These roles of a university, of preserving knowledge, passing on knowledge and creating new knowledge, give doctoral education unique access to individuals and institutions that are or will be in positions of authority in different political environments and institutional settings. Consequently, we argue, doctoral education has an extra responsibility to work toward implementation of democratic values, inclusion, diversity, and equity—in short, contributing to social justice worldwide.

But what does social justice mean? Is there a fitting definition? The meaning of social justice is highly contested and context specific. In the social sciences alone, different disciplinary traditions have theorized about the meaning of social justice in distinct manner. Political philosophers were among the first scholars to propose theories of justice based on the notion of social contract (See Hobbes, 1651; Locke, 1689; Rousseau, 1762, 1964). Following the same tradition, the political philosopher John Rawls (1971) posed the belief of justice as fairness, focusing on the redistributive

aspect of it. This view has become one of the most influential perspectives of justice in the Western world.

Following the tradition of the Frankfurt critical school, other social scientists have offered a notion of justice as participatory parity (Fraser, 1998, 2010; Fraser & Naples, 2004) and mutual recognition (Honneth, 1996). These definitions of social justice include aspects of economic redistribution, recognition of people identities and political participation (Fraser, 1998, 2010; Honneth, 1996, 2001). People identities became prominent in the third wave of feminism (Butler 1999; Crenshaw, 2017), queer studies (Jagose & Genschel, 1996; Msibi, 2013; Watson, 2005), and critical multicultural education studies (Banks, 2008; May, 2003). This group, often using the term “intersectionality” (coined by Crenshaw), argues that individual identities cannot be essentialized in isolated terms by gender, class, sexual orientation, ethnicity, or another category. For example, being a black, gay woman exposes her to different types of discrimination as compared to a white, gay woman. Decolonial studies (Grosfoguel, 2013; Stein et al., 2020) and some indigenous perspectives of justice from Latin America (Chassagne, 2018) highlight the epistemic domain of justice, as well as the responsibility of humans in their relationships to non-human species.

In the field of economy, some scholars have offered a notion of justice based on capabilities (Sen, 2008). This perspective poses that people need a set of minimum conditions to flourish in society that is more holistic than simply access to economic resources, changing the economic focus of justice from what people “have” toward what people “can do” under specific circumstances. This approach is used by the United Nation Human Development Reports to analyze the social and economic conditions underlying the wellbeing of people across different countries (UNDP, 2020). Other scholars in the field of education (Walker & Unterhalter, 2007), philosophy (Nussbaum, 2011), and environment studies (Schlosberg, 2012) have adopted the capability approach to their respective fields. In interdisciplinary studies about climate change, scholars argue that climate justice is a dimension of social justice since it is deeply embedded within the structure of socioeconomic inequalities (Harlan et al., 2015). Continuing on by discipline, we will find more definitions and approaches of what it means to live in a socially just society.

In this chapter, it is not our attempt to describe the different theoretical approaches of social justice across all disciplinary fields and contexts, but rather to make visible that actors in the doctorate education space—which we call an ecosystem of research-training—can take on the responsibility of actively questioning the structures and mechanisms that are causing injustices in societies, including in higher education itself.

In developing this argument, we structured this chapter into two sections: First, we discuss how the specific aspects of the organization of the research-training ecosystem in all fields can pursue a just doctoral education process from recruitment to graduation; second, we present how we tried to put into practice our argument and explain the development of an international webinar series—*Committing Ourselves*

to Social Justice: Doctoral Education for Complex Times—as well as the development of a seminar in higher education that makes social justice the center of its content.

The Practices of the Research-Training Ecosystem

In this chapter, we are calling the current doctoral education systems and their learning environments the “research-training ecosystem.” Such an ecosystem includes learning to undertake research, doing the research, and completing the process with a dissertation, publication, or equivalent product. It consists of the physical learning environment in a lab, in the library, at professional conferences, and in visits to other doctoral programs in other universities and countries.

This research-training ecosystem not only varies across discipline but also across the different models of doctorate education and respective changes. Until the end of the twentieth century, one could roughly discern two major models of doctoral education: the Anglo American model with departments, structured programs, and graduate schools; and the 19th German master–apprentice model with no specific program or structure, and a close personal relationship between the doctoral candidate and the supervisory professor. Starting in 1990 and continuing into the twenty-first century, many countries have altered the old models and created variations in form and structure. This happened in an attempt to remedy past criticism of their doctoral systems, to educate the new generation of Ph.D.s for a changed labor market, and to be in line with international doctoral education standards, generating a phenomenon of policy borrowing or isomorphism (Steiner-Khamsi, 2016). Doctoral education has moved from being an interest of academics to center stage for governmental agencies.

Since doctoral education is the last formal step in a globally accepted higher education certification scheme, it has the responsibility not only to educate the next generation of scholars, but to discover different types of knowledge in systematic ways, to pass them on, and to add to them. This unique role gives doctoral education the extra responsibility of working toward democracy, inclusion, diversity, and equity, in short: social justice as a core value in doctoral education.

Below we describe elements of the research-training ecosystem that allow for attentiveness to social justice aspects. While not all disciplines lend themselves to include topics of societal inequities in the content of their research, all doctoral programs can investigate rules, regulation, and organization of their research-training ecosystem for whether each step is fair and where to inject social justice awareness.

Recruitment, Admission, and Funding

In countries where data is available (North America, Europe, Australia/New Zealand, and South Africa), the uneven racial participation of doctorate recipients is known (Felder, 2019; Posselt & Grodsky, 2017). Yet during the recruitment stage and the admission process, admission committees and individual professors can be committed to a transparent selection process providing equitable access and funding. Admission committees can be trained to understand the structural inequity in the selection process. They need to understand that a socially just admission does not admit strictly risk-free doctoral students from other top-ranked institutions in order to attain world-class standing but considers promising first-generation domestic minority students who might come from lower-ranked universities. Further, a just program would provide these recruits with the necessary departmental resources, and perhaps additional faculty effort, to be successful and complete their degrees at similar rates as their more advantaged peers (Chiappa & Perez Mejias, 2019; Perez Mejias et al., 2018).

National or Supranational Doctoral Flagship Programs

During the last two decades, national doctoral flagship programs have emerged. These programs are administered by national or regional research councils as competitive grants¹ with the goals to train doctoral students for employment in multiple sectors and increase student mobility. Accordingly, the grant proposals require the development of structured doctoral programs with ample professional development opportunities. The research content and pedagogy are directed toward problem-solving approaches and often require that funded doctoral students connect with other universities, industries, businesses, and local communities during their research.

Unlike in many countries where doctoral students are admitted at no fixed time, in these flagship programs new doctoral students are admitted as a group, staying together as a cohort throughout the structured part of the program. In the process, they become peers, work together, assist each other, and become a moral support mechanism (Flores-Scott & Nerad, 2012). Often these programs have improved the lives of doctoral candidates and the quality of their education (Manathunga et al., 2012; Morris et al., 2012). While these programs are expensive, their structure can be catalysts for other programs, as not all aspects are dependent on financial resources but rather on creating conducive learning conditions and environments. Regular feedback is a hallmark of these programs and much appreciated, especially by first generation students.²

¹ The European International Training Network, the NSF National Research Training Programs in the United States, and the Japan Leading Graduate School are just three examples.

² CIRGE assessed some of these interdisciplinary doctoral programs, <https://www.education.uw.edu/cirge/>.

Institutional Support Structures, Inclusive Cultures, and Supportive Progress Monitoring

Central campus graduate schools or graduate divisions, common in North American research universities, the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand, and more recently established in European countries, contribute to the quality of the education and the general wellbeing of doctoral students. These university units collaborate and coordinate with other campus service units (such as career counselling, and teaching and learning centers) to provide professional competencies workshops with a strong emphasis on career development and intercultural communications skills to work effectively with people from different classes, races/ethnicities, cultures, religions, and perspectives. These units also distribute travel funds, collect graduate career path data, and generally act as advocates for doctoral students. They balance the notably negative effect of governmental innovation policies that focus funding solely on the STEM³ and health fields, and support the humanities, the arts, and the social sciences (exception: business administration) with dissertation writing fellowships, for example.

Graduate schools are tasked with monitoring a doctoral program's quality. Adherence to only efficiency principles, especially with respect to the length of doctoral degree programs, often discriminates against students from economically deprived social groups who must continue working while attaining their degree. Consequently, the short timeframe of many programs is often counterproductive to the goal of educating creative and innovative doctorate students. Doctoral programs may need to be flexible to allow for false starts and experiential learning, not be solely focused on pursuing a degree in the shortest possible time.

Advising/Supervision and Mentoring of Doctoral Students

Research (Yudkevich et al., 2020; Shin et al., 2018; Rudd et al., 2008; Nerad & Heggelung 2008; Nerad, 2015) has found that the shift in supervision from a single doctoral supervisor to two, or a committee of supervisors, has made doctoral candidates less dependent on one person and has provided them with more sources of expertise. It also has become clear that once a diverse doctoral student population has been admitted (women, minority students, older re-entry students, and international students), program and advisor behavior must adjust. In order to include a social justice thinking into a doctoral education, supervisor training might be considered in many countries as it has become mandatory in Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom.

³ STEM stands for science, technology, engineering, and mathematics.

Curriculum Pedagogy and Coursework

In an attempt to prepare all students for their research studies and provide them with an understanding of the strength and limits of their disciplines, some universities have introduced a basic philosophy of science course. This type of course exploring inquiries such as “what do we know, how do we know it, and what do we regard as evidence?” would provide first-year doctoral students with a more secure base for designing their research projects.

External changes and reforms discussed earlier require doctorate students to demonstrate more competencies to succeed in an increasingly competitive work environment. In well-structured doctoral programs, students receive greater levels of support and training beyond the traditional academic competencies, often called professional skills, in such areas as grant writing, presenting complicated scientific concepts and results to a diverse audience, working effectively in teams, applying for professional jobs, and managing people and budgets. The acquisition of such competencies makes doctoral students more likely to succeed in the job market.

Increased Responsibility to Support Workforce Preparedness

It is not sufficient anymore to accept a diverse doctoral student body, provide them with excellent research training and supervision, and not inform and prepare them for the changed job market in, and after, the COVID-19 pandemic. A social justice approach requires the doctoral program to critically scrutinize to what extent the research-training ecosystem is allowing students to succeed in their job search after completing their degrees. This includes providing data on different careers paths through local Ph.D. career surveys and connecting them to alumni in non-academic labor markets as well as advisors who actively advocate for their students.

This section of selected examples from the research-training ecosystem worldwide demonstrates that many aspects of a social justice approach are not monetary but require a commitment to questioning the norms and values that cause inequity and exclusion in the research-training process itself.

From Argument to Practice: Exploring the Meaning of Social Justice in Our Projects

“For something new to emerge, we must be open to change” (Ostseski, 2017, p. 10). Similarly, in doctoral education, if we see that things are not right, we must be open to change and act. As academics, we tend to look for theories that explain basic concepts. To understand social justice in doctoral education, we have to realize our ideas and our ideals through action.

The CIRGE International Webinar Series

We had the experience of organizing and participating in the conference *Forces and Forms in Doctoral Education in a Newly Configured and Constraint Context* in 2019 (in Hanover,

Germany). This conference aimed to carefully review the forces that were affecting doctorate education worldwide. After this inspiring discussion, we decided to continue the global discussion and create a platform to investigate what it means to create socially just doctoral education.

Under the auspices of the Centre of Innovation in Graduate Education (CIRGE) at the University of Washington (UW), and co-hosted since 2020 by the Centre for Studies in Higher Education at University of California, Berkeley, we created an international webinar series, *Committing Ourselves to Social Justice: Doctoral Education for Complex Times*. The different meanings of social justice in different disciplinary fields and different research-training ecosystems made us aware that, if our goal is to generate a genuine space of dialogue that makes visible the possibilities and challenges that doctoral education committed to social justice faces, we cannot begin with a fixed definition. Rather, we intended to use the webinar series as a platform to show how different actors involved in doctoral education—funders, researchers, university administrators, supervisors, doctoral students—understand and foster a socially just society in their respective disciplinary, institutional, and national contexts.

The first session, “Viewing the landscape of doctoral education against the horizon of policy: Placing ourselves in the academic arboretum,” hosted Professor Amy Scott Metcalfe from the University of British Columbia (UBC), Canada, who is a researcher in higher education with particular interest in visual research methods, such as photographic methodology and visual analysis through art history. Professor Metcalfe questioned the historical academic missions of “innovation” and “discovery” of the Pacific Northwest of Canada and the U.S. in the establishment of research universities (UBC and UW). She pointed out that universities in this area have justified settler/colonial actions of taking land from Indigenous peoples and subsequently excluding them within their admission policies and practices in the last century. We learned that higher education in both countries—under the rationale of innovation and discovery—participated in exploiting the local Indigenous population.

The second session was titled, “Practicing social justice during doctoral education: Insights from the physical sciences and engineering.” Assistant Physical Science Dean and Science Diversity Programs Director Colette Patt at the University of California, Berkeley, presented a special program that focused on increasing the diversity of the undergraduate, graduate, and post-doctoral populations in STEM fields, and on committing to enhance the long-term success in academia of people historically underrepresented in these fields. Khalid Kadir, in Engineering Education, illustrated the complex role that engineering expertise plays in the politics of international development and poverty alleviation, and how engineering education can make students

of this field aware that being an expert engineer implies adhering to professional, socially conscious ethics in their products.

The third session titled, “Beyond theory: Practicing social justice in the design and implementation of doctoral programs in education,” Professor Barbara Grant from the University of Auckland, New Zealand, and Professor Sioux McKenna from Rhodes University, South Africa, presented the development of their respective doctoral programs. In both programs, the research agenda cantered on issues of social justice, and structured courses and support for the fulltime worker that facilitated completion of their degrees.

As can be seen, inquiry into the understanding, definition, and practice of *Committing Ourselves to Social Justice: Doctoral Education for Complex Times* by colleagues of various disciplines and countries has only just begun. We encourage the reader of this chapter to connect with us and join our effort to collectively become inspired for improving social justice in doctoral education.

From Theory to Practice: Organizing a Syllabus on Theories of Social Justice in South Africa

Having moved to South Africa to work as an academic at Rhodes University, I (Roxana within this section) was asked to suggest a syllabus for an 8-week module on theories of social justice for a new doctoral program in higher education launched in 2020 whose focus is social justice and quality of higher education. This is one of the few Ph.D. programs in South Africa that includes structured coursework and a team of supervisors (as supposed to a solo supervisor). Let me explain the background leading to this doctoral program.

The apartheid regime ruling South African from 1948 to 1990 configured a society highly stratified by race that reinforced the supremacy of European colonizers—white European descendants—in all domains of society. In this country, and other African countries, demands to decolonize higher education dates to the 1960 and ’70 s (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015) and seeks to re-center Black African people and their knowledges at the core of the research, teaching, and learning activities (Heleta, 2016). Since South Africa returned to democracy and Nelson Mandela was elected president in 1994, successive government reforms tried to redress the racial and class disparities presented in higher education, yet the legacy of apartheid is still present in the highly stratified South African higher education system by race, class, and rural and urban areas (see Bozalek & Boughey, 2012; Badat, 2016). The eruption of student movements—signalled under the hashtag #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall in 2015 and 2016—showed that governmental and institutional policies have been insufficient to end the exclusionary practices in higher education, and demanded the decolonization of higher education (Badat, 2016; Gouws, 2017; Hlatshwayo & Fomunyan, 2019).

The program assembles academics from Rhodes, the University of Venda (both in South Africa), and the University of Lancaster (United Kingdom). It was structured in a hybrid format with most interactions online, a period of face-to-face interaction reserved for an annual summer school, and quarterly weeklong doctoral seminars. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, all interactions in 2020 happened online. Students in this program (18 at the time of this writing) are each working full-time at South African universities, most of them in academic positions.

In the process of designing the syllabus that I taught with three other facilitators, I had to confront my own colonization and inexperience navigating the academic field as an early-career international academic. Particularly, I faced the question of how to articulate a curriculum about theories of social justice responding to the demands of recentring South African, African, and subaltern knowledges and epistemologies, when I have been socialized in academic systems that barely questioned the superiority of Western philosophies and/or the absence of native American, Asian, and African philosophies.

To address this limitation, I developed a syllabus that included some of the most cited theories of social justice in the field of higher education, together with empirical studies coming from South Africa that either use or criticize these theories. Partially, this design follows what other scholars have called an attempt to recenter the South African experience into the curriculum (Heleta, 2016) but, in my mind, not necessarily calling into question the concepts and notions legitimized in the field.

I have been very interested in the decolonizing aspects and have been theorizing about the meaning of justice in the higher education space drawing from decolonial theories (Chiappa & Adams, 2020). Briefly explained here, decolonial studies point out that the social exclusion and injustices in modern societies are deeply intertwined with the colonization of European empires in the African, Asian, and American continents (Grosfoguel, 2013; Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Quijano, 2000, 2007; Santos, 2014). From this perspective, the processes of colonization imposed an order of hierarchies which is rooted in the racial difference between the European and non-European peoples that did not end with the independence of colonies. On the contrary, the system of hierarchies imposed during colonization, that some have called “the colonial matrix” (Quijano, 2000), has allowed the expansion of an economic system—global capitalism—that treats nature as a mere provider of resources and has naturalized the exploitation of Indigenous peoples as cheap labor (or slaves in the past). This colonial matrix operates as a system of relationships that disproportionately favors the superiority of Western–Europeans in the economic, racial, gender, class, sexual orientation, religious, and epistemic domains (Mignolo, 2000).

From a decolonial approach, the definition of “most cited research” is problematic. The concentration of research capacities and the number of journals of higher education and their respective visibility available around the globe is deeply intertwined with the colonial history of the country. Yet, the goal of exposing the Ph.D. candidates to these “highly cited theories in the field” is also a way to assure that they will have the knowledge to “become players” in the field of higher education and challenge it.

Each class was organized around a topic associated with a particular event of the South African higher education system and a critical review of one of the theories of justice. Here, I am presenting only one example of how the students and I grappled with existing theories in the light of South Africa's recent and current situation. For instance, the first session of the module examined Nancy Fraser's normative view of social justice (1998, 2010) conjointly with a reading that discussed the current government funding formula in South Africa that uses the lens of Fraser's theory of justice to argue that the government has mis-framed the demands for redressing racial gaps (Bozalek & Boughey, 2012). As earlier explained, this theory argues that to achieve participatory parity, social arrangements are needed in the economic domain, as well as recognition of cultural identities and political participation (Fraser, 1998, 2010; Fraser & Naples, 2004). This theoretical perspective was discussed together with a reading that calls into question the meaning of "social justice" when this definition does not address the return of land for indigenous communities (Patel, 2015).

This is one incidence where theories developed in the Global North were examined in the South Africa context. The experience encouraged me to call into question myself and my previously held notions, and at the same time, acknowledge how little I know about non-Western perspectives in the field of the social sciences.

Conclusion

We started this journey seeking to understand what social justice in doctoral education could mean and what actions could be taken by different disciplines, in different cultures, and for people with different characteristics. We authors both share the experiences of having grown up in societies stratified by class, gender, race, nationality, ability status, or religious faith.

We explored possible actions focusing on the processes of the research-training ecosystem in creating a platform for discussion through an international webinar and in teaching a seminar on social justice in higher education. In having undertaken these activities, we became aware that in one way or another, our actions and decisions have not been free from reproducing inequity in the academic spaces we inhabit.

Likewise, we understand that the processes and conditions needed to build a socially just world will not be achieved in one single event but will require ongoing efforts and critical interrogation of different sectors of society. We believe that doctorate education has a place in this effort, and we, as academics working in the research-training ecosystem, can play an active role in questioning and seeking to rectify the normalization of injustice.

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Chapter 10

Navigating the Labyrinths During the Pandemic: Women's Experiences in Higher Education



Nisha Nair

Abstract World over women's participation in the workforce has further reduced as a consequence of the ongoing pandemic. In India, the women's Labour Force Participation is as low as 20.5%, with a majority of women being employed in unorganised sectors (UNDP, 2020). In the context of higher education, according to the AISHE Report 2019, there are 63.35% male teachers as compared to 36.65% female ones. While in temporary appointments there are 98 female teachers per 100 male teachers, the number dwindles to 37 female teachers per 100 male teachers at the level of professors. A similar trend in gender distribution can be seen in non-teaching positions. Given these realities, the chapter focuses on the impact of the pandemic on women in academia. It shares the results of a study conducted among 100 women working in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in both, academic and non-academic (administrative) capacity. The findings of the study indicate a highly gendered experience and the differential impact of the pandemic on women, influenced mainly by institutional policies and family environment. This indicates the need for reform, driven by policy measures that correctively correspond with gendered realities of women's work at both State and institutional levels.

Introduction

The adversities brought by the Pandemic magnified pre-existing inequities, exacerbating its impact economically and socially, particularly on women. The government and policy-makers have strived to respond to the challenges of public health and the economy at large. The data gathered through the "Global Gender Response Tracker" post-COVID-19, launched by the UN Women and UNDP, reveals that the majority of countries have not taken adequate measures to protect women from social and economic consequences. Out of 206 countries only 25 countries have taken measures to deal with violence against women and unpaid care and extended economic support (UN Women, 2020). According to the ILO brief on Contribution of Social Dialogue

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to Gender Equality 2020, women are disproportionately affected by the pandemic in terms of being dismissed from work or having to leave employment due to increased care-giving work. Before the pandemic, two-thirds of the unpaid work amounting to 16.4 million hours were performed by women. Due to the closure of schools, and other care facilities, as well as “work from home” arrangements, the care-giving load has increased exponentially for women (ILO, 2020, 11).

The pandemic has made “shecession”¹ a global phenomenon, (she-recession) a term indicative of the greater rate of job-loss suffered by women as compared to men, reflecting the gendered impact of the pandemic. As per the analysis presented by the ILO on “COVID-19 and the World of Work,” a decline in employment of women has been greater than men (ILO, 2020). The Human Development Report 2020 indicates that the pandemic has obliterated years of progress made in the rate of female labour force participation by as high as 10% in several developing countries. The current female labour force participation in India stands at 20.5% against the global average of 40% (UNDP, 2020). A report published by the Institute of Women’s Policy Research indicates that in the United States, between February to May 2020, 11.5 million women have lost their job, as compared to men at nine million resulting in a “shecession” (Hegewisch, 2020; Mason et al., 2020).

On 24th of March 2020, the Government of India announced country-wide lock-down as a preventive measure against the spread of COVID-19. This brought an immediate and abrupt halt to the academic session in progress, as higher education institutions across the country ceased seized functioning in response to the lock-down mandate. In the months that followed, the “new normal” emerged resulting in an unprecedented and dramatic transformation in the way Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) functioned. Many HEIs adopted a blended mode, while others saw a complete transition to online mode of teaching. As “work from home” became the “new normal,” the personal and professional space collided for many. The pandemic obliterated the boundaries between the world of work and home. The pre-existing gender-based disparities in terms of the extent and nature of women’s participation exacerbated in all areas including academia in the post-pandemic world.

“Care-giving” or “invisible work”,² responsibilities associated with women at both personal and professional spheres acquired a new scale, with the displacement of binaries between home and work. The country-specific data of the ILO on the pandemic reveals that if the “gendered effect” of the pandemic is ignored there would be a long-lasting effect on the mental, social, and economic well-being of women and by extension countries.

¹ The President and Chief Executive of Institute of Women’s Policy Research, C Nicole Mason, coined the term “shecession”.

² Also identified as “care work” that includes mentoring, meeting with students, reading and commenting on drafts, and writing recommendation letters, inclusive of “teaching”, “chairing”, and “advising”. From “The Burden of Invisible Work in Academia: Social Inequalities and Time Use in Five. University Departments” by Social Sciences Feminist Network Research Interest Group. Department of Sociology, Humboldt State University.

Women in Higher Education

Higher education (HE) institutions are recognised as gendered spaces. (Social Sciences Feminist Network Research Interest, 2017). While in terms of student's enrolment in HE women marginally out-perform men with a gross enrolment ratio (GER) at 26.4% as compared to male GER at 26.3% (AISHE, 2019). There is a significant gap in the number of women working in HE as compared to men, particularly in permanent appointments. At senior academic positions, there is a significant absence of women. As the per All India Survey of Higher Education (AISHE) Report 2019, there are 37 female professor levels per 100 male professors. This scenario is also reflected in non-teaching positions. While the representation of women in higher education has improved over the years, and overt discrimination has reduced, now there exists a more insidious manifestation of gendered discrimination which goes unrecognised. Since the problem is not visible, a direct action (through policy measures) is not taken to resolve it. The gendered impact of the pandemic seems to work much like the virus itself, an invisible enemy that is all around us and affects us but can only be defeated by a constant corrective action. Due to the gap in policy formulations at the level of HEIs or State, and sensitisation at home, the gendered impact of the pandemic on women in higher education has increased.

In aftermath of the pandemic, discussions in academia moved towards recreating classroom experience in the online mode of education, inculcating effective pedagogy virtually, and enhancing student learning and participation while incorporating effective forms of assessment and evaluation. There has also been an increasing awareness and discussion on the psychological and emotional impact of social distancing and isolation. Discussions and recognition of mental health issues have come to the fore more prominently than before, and greater flexibility is being extended by HEIs, both private and government, to students, particularly in terms of conducting examinations and counselling. Another major point of consideration has been reassuming work in the physical mode, while maintaining health and safety protocol for all employees and students. Many HEIs directed staff and faculty to resume work onsite as early as August 2020, once the lockdown was lifted. Though, there has been a lack of consideration or discussion on the gendered impact of the pandemic on women. Genderblind policies in their appearance of neutrality have grave consequences for all. The gendered impact of the pandemic has to be truly understood and adequately responded to mitigate further strengthening and worsening of pre-pandemic inequities in higher education.

This chapter is based on the review of literature on the impact of the pandemic on women and presents the result of a study, conducted to assess the gendered impact of the pandemic on women working in higher education. The data was collected through online survey and telephonic interviews that aimed to capture the experience of 100 women engaged in academic and administrative roles in public and private higher education institutions in the Delhi and NCR region. 70% of respondents were in the teaching and research role, while 30% of respondents were in administrative role. The study attempted to record the experiences and challenges being faced by women

in Academia, to gauge the nature of institutional support being extended to women and further interventions required to mitigate the gendered impact of the pandemic on women.

Understanding the Labyrinth

At the onset, there is a recognition that “women” is not a uniform and linear category. Complexities are induced by the inter-sectionalities of caste, class, and cultural identity among others. These social identities are further affected by the presence and absence of a support structure in the form of partners, husbands, children and their age group, other members, or dependents and their attitude towards women’s work in the domestic and professional sphere. Another factor considered is the level at which women are working within an HEI, being an early career, mid-career, and senior professional. In the current study, 46% of the female participants were married, others were single or divorced. 51% of respondents had children living with them. The respondents fell within the age group of 24–56 with early, mid-career, and senior academics and administrators. All respondents indicated having dependents in the form of elderly parents or members of extended family (younger or older), children or spouse. 43.7% of respondents indicated that they do not have house help. 22.2% reported that their family had COVID positive cases. 31.7% of women stated that their husbands or partners do not help in household related work leaving them to shoulder the entire care work.

Where is the Time for Research?

According to studies conducted by UN Women and ILO, women spend 4.1 times more on unpaid domestic work. It is observed that while men have started shouldering more responsibilities at home, women are spending significantly more time on care work (Mercado et al., 2020; Nanthini & Nair, 2020). This disproportionate load of “care work” has resulted in a significant drop in the number of publications by women academia since the lockdowns began. In a pre-pandemic research conducted by sociologists in Germany, the researchers found that on an average women produced 20% less publication than men and that having children leads to a significant decline in research productivity of women academics while not affecting publication by men. The phenomenon was termed as “motherhood penalty.” The study also recognised that the gendered effect also depended on women’s academic credential before “motherhood” and institutional recognition of their work. Therefore, further foregrounding, the importance of institutional intervention to mitigate the gendered effect of motherhood on women’s research productivity has exacerbated during the pandemic.

In a working paper, “Gender Inequality in Research Productivity During the COVID-19 Pandemic,” the researchers found that in ten weeks after the lockdown was imposed, the research productivity of female academics decreased by 13.9%, whereas in the same period the research productivity of the male academics increased by 35% (Cui et al., 2020; Vincent-Lamarre, 2020). Research and publication are considered demonstrable academic work, which are counted for promotions and salary appraisal. Drop in research productivity during pandemic would adversely affect female academics, in terms of career progression. Minello suggests the period of pandemic should be considered as “care leave” to even out the inequities brought in women’s productivity in research which would have immediate and career-lasting impact. Even in double income households, most of the domestic work falls on women.

Work from Home: Where the Work Never Stops!

In the post-pandemic world, the home has become a site where the work never stops, particularly for the women. 89% of the respondents who participated in the survey declared that they are working from home. Among those working from home only 26.4% of respondents indicated that they preferred working from home as compared to the majority of respondents, who indicated that working from home has adversely impacted their health and general well-being. Though the majority of respondents have indicated that they are spending more time with their family, it has been at the cost of quality. Increased working hours owing to the disappearance of boundaries between housework and official work has greatly compromised the quality of life for women.

A mid-career female professional working in administrative role shared, “Working from home makes it difficult for people at home to understand that we need to give full time to the office work as our Boss pressurizes to be available for full 8 hours. There is a lot of disturbance at home, at times, for food, for household work and that too when you don’t have any support neither from home nor from office. If even once you are late in reverting to any email from the office, the behavior you get from your senior is so rude and the same is at home, you cannot be late in giving food to parents and spouse. This has increased my mental stress.”

The invisible care work carried out by women in homes is a continued expectation. These pressures of gender are often not acknowledged in the workplace. In the pre-pandemic scenario women’s contribution in the work outside of home was recognised by their families through their absence from home during the working hours. In the post-pandemic scenario, their physical presence in the house has become a proxy to their constant and continuous availability to shoulder household responsibilities. For families, in many instances, their professional responsibilities became secondary. “Interference of parents in work-life” and “questioning of long working hours and meetings in the evening” by their family members are concerns shared by most early and mid-career professionals.

Working from home during pandemic has increased workload significantly and there is no distinction between work hours and family time. I face difficulty in teaching during online classes, as I have to sit in the drawing room and teach. Elderly people in the house are constantly talking, the house help makes noise while doing housework. There is a need to reduce the number of meetings that are being held online for administration and planning related work.

A Case of Familial and Institutional Apathy: Physical, Mental, and Emotional Crises

Women professionals have been facing an increased apathy both from institution and family. A lack of dedicated space for carrying out work in the competing home environment, where, in some cases, other family members are also working/studying from home has increased challenges for women. Lack of focus and over-lapping commitments at home and work front have presented increased challenges for women. Though 68.4% of women respondents shared that even though their partners, spouses, and family members help with the housework, the larger portion of housework and care-giving work falls on them. More than 30% of the respondents suggested that they are not getting any support at home to fulfil the household responsibilities. The pandemic has resulted in the loss of an external support system for women in the form of creche or house-helps, further increasing the care-giving work at home. In the post-pandemic scenario, many women are experiencing inverse reality, where both paid and unpaid work are going unacknowledged by competing institutions, family, and HEI.

The creche was closed, although payments were being made by the parents. There was an issue regarding these payments not reaching the women who worked there. They were fired. University could have connected them to prospective parents who needed full-time help with the children for the same or slightly more wage. This was done on a personal level by some, but many of those care-givers are unemployed and many parents are still looking for help. Departmentally, the expectation of performance should also be lowered in relation to the employee's domestic situation. The demands to stay online/on call and be available for zoom meetings are not possible for everyone. Those with heavy administrative workload had to give more of themselves to work to organise everyday tasks. This is where a workflow management system, pre-planning and blocking interruptions or random decision changes should be avoided.

Mental health concerns ensuing from social isolation and increased workload such as frequent distractions, fatigue, high stress, irritability, anxiety, and loss of academic environment were reported by many respondents. 5.9% of respondents shared that they have suffered job-loss post-pandemic, 11% of respondents indicated that they have not been given the option of working from home, and 13.7% suggested that they have suffered a salary cut since the pandemic started. 20.9% of the respondents suggested that their employers have asked people to leave, adding further to the sense of uncertainties and lack of job insecurity.

There has been a massive transformation in the way educational activities, such as teaching, assessment, and examination are carried out in the post-pandemic scenario with most of these functions moving to the online mode. As the survey results suggests, there is no uniformity in the responses or practices adopted by HEIs to carry out their activities, post-pandemic. While efforts have been taken to observe social distancing norms, installation of sanitizers for public use, besides these institutional response to pandemic, has emerged to be gender blind. 40.8% of the survey respondents have indicated that they have not received any support from their institution in post-pandemic scenario. Even though they were expected to work from home, they have not been provided with reimbursement for Internet bill, access to wi-fi, technological equipment, or online support. Some institutions have insisted on both academic and administrative staff members to report to work daily, even though the classes have moved online. "It should be completely work from home, since there is no change in work we do at home or in office (classes and everything else is online); going to college is no special gain. Classes are better taken on home's Wi-Fi than in college on mobile's data." Another respondent shared, "Ours is a government college, so I don't expect much to be done as they are bound by the government rules and orders. Haryana government ordered teachers to come to college from August, so we are going there every day." The survey results indicated that for administrative staff members the work has proceeded as usual in most cases, once the lockdown was lifted.

An early career faculty shared, "My response is based on experience with 2 universities: 1. Where I am employed and am aware of all the developments taking place, owing to pandemic and 2. Where I am pursuing PhD. Both the universities have, in my opinion, provided best of facilities, flexibility and support as much possible in this difficult, unprecedented and uncertain times. I just hope the support continues, there are not any major pay cuts and no forced return to face to face mode of teaching since the fear and risk of COVID is quite real and each individual if put at risk is likely to affect his/her family at home. Faculty should be given individual choice and preference before switching to a full face to face teaching mode."

All participants of the survey suggested that they are not aware of any measure that has been taken to support the female employees in particular, during the pandemic. As shared by a respondent, "Nothing in particular. I know, that women with young infants have struggled, especially if their partners were frontline workers or in jobs with same requirements. Even with the help from partners, other works, such as research, were interrupted more for women parents than men, because for some reasons, children also seek out the female parent more." Another respondent shared, "Not specifically for female employees, but several measures for all, like increased insurance cover, home office set up allowance, reimbursements for Internet and mobile expenses, etc."

What Women Want?

A gender-sensitive approach towards policy formulation and managerial practices.

The participants of the study were asked about the nature of support they expect from their institutions. The responses indicated four main areas of support, (1) relief from excessive workload beyond office hours and scheduling meetings on the weekend, (2) acknowledgement and support for mental health concerns that faculty might be facing, (3) recognition of the disproportionate effect of the pandemic on the women, and (4) extending greater flexibility in terms of research, teaching, and administrative work.

The study found that women expect their organisations to recognise the disproportionate burden on them and allow for greater flexibility to manage their work, given the current realities, rather than adopting a one rule fits all approach. “Relief from workload and there should be a recognition that faculty can be as stressed as students, because of the pandemic. Flexible deadlines would be helpful.” Another added, “A relaxation with respect to publications for women, as our work has increased. A recognition, that women are more disproportionately affected and some compensation in terms of relaxing regular expectations on research, writing and teaching.”

Extra leaves for childcare, fixed working hours to avoid spill over and stretch. Special policies for working parents as attending to the demands of the online school gets very challenging with full time work.

The participants strongly felt that HEIs should adopt a consultative process, allowing female faculty members to have a say in policy formulation, not only in the context of pandemic response but also in general. A call for gender-sensitive approach to policy formulation emerged with a need to sensitise both male and female managers in HEIs. Considering there is an unequal representation of women in decision-making bodies, participants of the study suggested that a consultative process should be established where their voices are heard.

During the course of the study, the conversation with women working in HEIs also brought to light the need for gender sensitisation across levels and across gender in HEIs. The X and Xth five-year plan laid stress on increasing gender sensitisation, awareness, and to motivate women academics take managerial positions. Most of these engagements were directed towards female and the response from State governments and HEIs in adopting such initiatives varied.

While post-Saksham report, HEIs have started consciously working towards creating greater awareness against sexual harassment at workplace, though more effort should be made towards bringing gender sensitisation and inclusion in management and administrative practices and policies of the HEIs. Some respondents shared that their institution had conducted workshop on tackling sexual harassment in the

online mode and allowed all female staff and faculty to work from home throughout the Pandemic. Though this has been a rare experience. The call for greater gender sensitivity and greater flexibility towards women in institutional policy-making was emphasised by many. "Some level of sensitisation that woman still need to take care of lot of things in her house and hence it is important that they are given some level of flexibility."

A respondent in mid-level administration shared, "There is a lot of work pressure from seniors, I guess it should not be there. At least being a female, (reporting to a women manager) one should understand how difficult it is to balance both office and home life at this point of time, when you are the only one responsible for household and office work both."

The responses revealed that self-determination and flexibility to manage one's work increase for women in senior position, though their ability to extend the support to those in need is limited by institutional positions and need to implement institutional directives uniformly. As per a policy brief published by Overseas Development Institution, on women's decision-makers in leadership position, it was found that, while women acquired more control over decisions that affect their lives, increase in women's actual power even in leadership position is not uniform. It further notes women in decision-making position may not promote gender equality. They may identify more with men in their social group or may fear negative response from seniors for openly espousing equality agendas. Though the study identifies women as "critical actors" in furthering equality (O'Neil & Domingo, 2015). Interviews with women working in leadership positions revealed that while they try to be accommodative of individual needs of their team members, and take measures to support both male and female staff members, since their institution has resumed work in the physical mode, all are required to join back and while they empathise with female staff in junior positions, they have to answer to the higher authorities many of whom are also women, but insists that all staff members must report to work.

Sylvia Walby in 2009 developed an explanatory framework that relied on the relation between various kinds of equalities such as gender, ethnicity, and class. Walby identified increasing women's presence in decision-making upto 40% as a point which shook the status quo and led to the incorporation of women's needs in setting agenda setting in the political sphere in Sweden (Lombardo et al., 2012). The need for establishing a consultative process to accommodate the concerns of faculty and staff while acknowledging existing inequities of gender and added concerns imposed by the pandemic was a point highlighted by many participants. To this extent, a greater cognisance of existing social order and realities of pandemic has to be considered in day-to-day life. A more "what's the problem?" approach, attributed to Carol Bacchi, that allows for a discursive approach to understand the problem leading to the construction of policy, is required. According to Bacchi, an important aspect of this approach is to understand the gap and to question that which remains unquestioned. For example, associating a higher number of women in labour market as

women's liberation is problematic considering in many developing countries women have been a part of labour market for a long but cannot be considered liberated.

This discursive approach extended by Bacchi acquired a more reconciliatory dimension as evidenced by policy approach adopted by the EU. The EU experience where the policy framework first recognised the equal sharing of work at home as a precondition towards attaining equal opportunities later shifting considerations of employment and economic growth, unlike India where a reverse trend is noticeable, thus have been ineffective.

In the course of this study, interviews conducted with women in senior management role revealed that in their experience, State and institutional approach to policy formulation assumes that childcare is essentially women's work; therefore, only women should get some flexibility, not men. Such essentialising positions further strengthen the pre-existing notions of gendered division of labour, in terms of who is responsible for childcare? This has led to further marginalisation of women in the workforce. Therefore, the interviewees felt that a recognition and promotion of idea that men can/should be care-givers is equally important. A call for flexibility to manage work could be extended to all genders and not only women. Though considerations must be granted to women on a case-to-case basis. Respondents also agreed that there is a need for HEIs to adopt institutional measures and intervention to help women deal with existing inequities and provide them with a level playing field.

Women also held Governments accountable and sought intervention in terms of "a policy measure requiring employers to take into account women's extra burden to offer some relaxation during the pandemic." It was suggested that the "Ministry of Education can issue directives to private and government HEIs to take measures to maintain working hours and extend flexibility to manage work from home. Support both men and women against lay-offs and also, register all workers who are laid off and give them monthly allowance till they find work." Another point extended was "Government should make it mandatory for all academic institutions to provide Internet allowance each month as work from home option has led to increased Internet bills."

Conclusion

Therefore, at both the institutional and State level, two-pronged measure is required, (1) a move towards deeper gender sensitisation (across genders—male, female, transgender and genderqueer) and gender mainstreaming is required and (2) allow for a more discursive approach towards policy-making, that is gender conscious and inclusive of women across levels in HEIs. These two are not mutually exclusive, rather an extension of each other. An important question for HEIs to consider here is how gender manifests in day-to-day life for men and women? Therefore, how would their

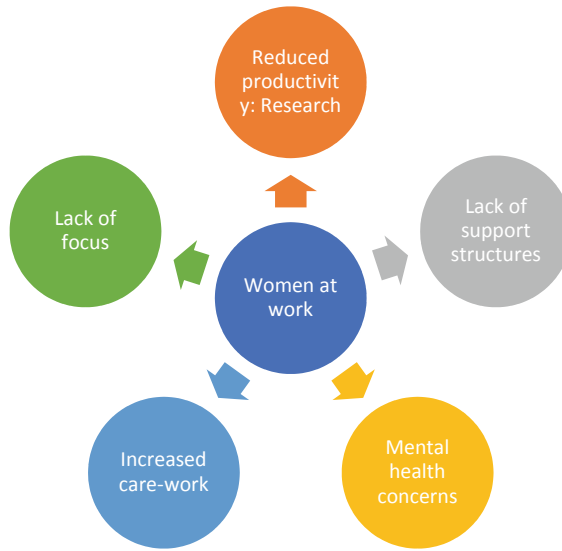


Fig. 10.1 Challenges faced by women in HE in the post-pandemic world. *Source* created by the author, based on the survey and interview responses

policies empower or disempower women from contributing and participating in the professional work, given the added challenges of the Pandemic whether working from home or office? HEIs should consider the practical implication of a policy on the lives of individuals on whom it applies. A gender-blind approach towards policy-making in the context of pandemic is as harmful as a “men-generic” or “men-static” approach to policy-making which assumes that all men are the same or that men would never change, as reflected in the existent policy-making approach (Barker et al.). The need of the hour is to have a policy approach that recognises the disadvantages faced by the women and encourage a wider participation and consultation of all genders in the processes leading to policy formulation. It is important for HEIs to allow their policies to reflect the gendered realities of the times, adopt a more discursive approach, and be led by local and ground realities in policy formulation.



Fig. 10.2 Recommendation from the ground for a gender-sensitive policy approach by HEIs. *Source* created by the author, based on the survey and interview responses

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Chapter 11

Research and University Social Responsibility: During and Beyond COVID-19



Mousumi Mukherjee and Raju Karjigi

Abstract In the popular imagination in many countries, Universities became associated with the notion of the “Ivory Tower”, i.e., a place where people can remain happily engrossed in their own intellectual, artistic or spiritual pursuits, disconnected from the rest of the world. The connection that we find in Tagore’s (1934) writings about the University’s social responsibility towards the local and the global community in its pursuit of knowledge and various forms of art and beauty to foster mutual understanding and progress of humanity, has been somehow missing in the popular imagination. Only recently, faced with the major sustainability challenge of our collective home, the planet Earth, global organisations, such as the UNESCO, have doubled up their efforts in advocating for realigning the mission and vision of the University to become more socially engaged in research, and other creative as well as artistic pursuits. The European Union has also come up with a Responsible Research and Innovation (RRI) 2020 framework to promote “science with and for society”. This chapter will discuss the key challenge for most Universities to make the connection with the community. It will discuss the role that practice-based teaching and community-based participatory research can play to make this connection with the community, as promoted by the UNESCO-Chair in community-based participatory research and social responsibility in higher education. This will help to identify research problems relevant to meet the community needs and to work with the communities to find relevant local solutions to solve global problems prioritised by the Sustainable Development Goals.

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Introduction

University is there to offer us opportunity for working together in a common pursuit of truth, sharing together our common intellectual heritage, to enable us to realize that artists in all parts of the world have created forms of beauty, scientists discovered secrets of the material universe, philosophers solved the problems of existence, saints made spiritual truths organic in their lives, not merely for some particular race to which they belonged, but for all mankind.

When we understand this truth in a disinterested spirit, it teaches us to respect all the differences in man that are real, yet remain conscious of our oneness, and to know that perfection of unity is not in uniformity, but in harmony.

—Tagore, “The Ideal of Education”, *Visva-Bharati News*, January 1934, p. 5

The above ideal of the University, envisioned by Tagore during colonial British India, has remained unfulfilled even in the postcolonial India. The modern Indian universities were built in the model of the University college, London during colonial British India. They were not built in the model of Humboldtian research universities that emerged in the early nineteenth century in Europe. In fact, as Macfarlane (2021) argues, even the oldest English universities, i.e. Oxford and Cambridge, were teaching and training establishments for clergy and various professionals in the field of medicine, law etc. “Research was not considered a priority and was even looked on with some suspicion as the refuge of academics with inferiority complexes stemming from humble backgrounds and those trying rather too hard to prove themselves in a leisurely culture rich in the traditions of British middle class and aristocratic life (Halsey & Trow, 1971)” writes Macfarlane (2021). Reform in the Humboldtian model emerged within British academia towards the end of the nineteenth century since the setting up of research laboratories in the 1870s and the Oxford university becoming the first British university offering research doctorate in 1917 (Macfarlane, 2021, p. 2).

Though reform within the colonial Indian context also emerged in the late nineteenth century with the Calcutta University granting its first Ph.D. in 1877 (Jalote, 2021), Indian Universities have remained primarily teaching-oriented “retailers of knowledge” (Jayaram, 2007) even in the contemporary times. This has led to a system of higher education, which has increasingly become disconnected from the needs and realities of the people, economy, society and the environment. In recent years, a number of scholars have highlighted the problems of many State-run public universities. In many of these higher educational institutions syllabus had not been changed for decades. Hence, the mainstream higher education system mainly produced unemployable graduates because of the textbook-oriented system that promotes rote-memorising textbook knowledge for gaining high scores in exams (Agarwal, 2009; Chandra 2017; Jayaram, 2003, 2007). However, the notion of a university is meant to bring about a culture of knowledge creation. When stakeholders do not take knowledge seriously, universities cannot create knowledge necessary to solve the problems of the world. In this age of sustainable development, generating knowledge through

research to solve the most pressing local and global problems will be the most important social responsibility of universities. We need to re-think the aims and objectives of the Universities in the twenty-first century. We need to transform the existing universities and establish new ones, not just with a Humboldtian ideal of holistic combination of research and higher studies but, with a twenty-first century vision of University Social Responsibility (USR).

USR aims to foster equity, justice, and academic freedom in higher education to promote a more prosperous knowledge society required for sustainable development. It should be applied to various aspects of the higher education experience, such as teaching, research, governance, community engagement, and environmental management, because universities have a real moral obligation to produce students, who will ultimately lead to a better world for current and future generations. University stakeholders can demonstrate good practices of social responsibility to their communities. They must be role models, demonstrating responsible behaviour to contribute to a better future for their universities and communities. In brief, USR is an ethical perspective that sees universities as places where positive social, environmental, technical, and economic growth can occur. USR can function as a major catalyst for social change, since it emphasises establishing an ethical standard of university management. Higher education management, in an interactive conversation with society and its communities, is used to support sustainable human development through education.

Practice-Based Teaching Pedagogy and USR

The role of contemporary universities in meeting the sustainable development goals has been widely acknowledged and accepted. Making social responsibility a priority across the university curriculum and activities can fulfil this role, and it should become essential metrics for universities' internal quality assurance. Practice-based teaching complements the curricular priorities, as it connects teaching and research with the needs of the society and economy.

Teaching at a university indirectly serves society by developing high-quality applied capabilities. Applied skills must develop robust humanistic values and theoretical knowledge. Practical teaching develops several applicable skills through diverse activities. Indirectly, practical teaching promotes scientific research. New ideas are discovered every day as the world around changes.

Academia's skills such as raising critical questions to research and find solutions to problems should be acquired at the lifelong learning level. First, instructional materials should limit the number of verification-based experiments. Students should be permitted to develop and carry out their own experiments. Different kinds of pedagogic approaches could be taken involving student activities in higher education. Project-based teaching includes projects and activities that integrate teaching and practise. Generally theory and practice are not always seen as aligned in the workplace. This creates all kinds of problems in the workplace when people enter

with just theoretical knowledge. Hence, students should engage, implement, and achieve diverse instructional tasks to apply theory into practise. Through practise based teaching, teachers can facilitate students to choose their own projects, develop their own materials, and use their own methods.

Science can be taught through the use of experiments, training, practise, and internships. Scientific findings may be obtained in class by doing experiments or off-campus field work. Practical teaching projects, course design, graduation thesis, and co-curricular research contests must match the professional training goals of students. This will help solve the major problem of unemployability of university graduates in countries, such as India to a great extent. Though people might fear Artificial Intelligence (AI) and robotics, nothing can yet replace the human brain. We need to realize that the unemployability problem is not directly connected to the technological developments. Rather, it is the failure of our education system to align with the priorities and needs of the contemporary times that has created these problems.

Teaching is one of the most convenient and inexpensive methods for higher education institutions to understand and serve society. It encourages teachers and students to build a cooperative community and introduce social practises that create epistemic and positive changes among communities. For incoming university students, their global orientation, outlook on life, and values are all at budding stages. Social duties are key to developing self-confidence. Universities may give students practical teaching services to the community as part of service-learning projects. It includes, for example, community projects, volunteering, and community training. The overall seamless development of practical teaching promotes social responsibility for universities and also help students gain necessary skills for their future workplace. Therefore social responsibility may be better realised through practical teaching, talent nurturing, scientific research, and service to society (Shen, 2019).

Role of Research

Many scholars, such as Tandon and Hall (2021), believe that if the heart of higher education is an epistemological contribution, then its influence is derived from its social value. Anything a teacher does should consider its social context, but everything teachers do should also be both socially conscious and sensitive to the environment they meet. Research should not be jeopardised at the price of a university's duties. Prioritizing higher education entails putting it first and prioritizing research. Research prioritisation provides a space for a philosophy of conversation. Research is critical for teaching and learning. Research helps universities maintain and progress their intellectual, social, and ethical projects into the sphere of the public (Davids & Waghid, 2018).

Universities are venues of socialisation for students, teachers, and scholars coming from diverse backgrounds. In this sense, universities can become platforms for providing education to become a global citizen capable of greater concern for and commitment to the needs of others (Martínez, 2010). Universities are places that support socially responsible acts with a primary focus on the educational community's constituent groups (González & Gómez, 2009). Within this environment, it is critical for the institution to build internal and external cooperation agendas, therefore fostering cooperation networks that have a positive societal effect.

The educational impact refers to the extent to which universities guide the development of experts in their educational and social environment, strengthen the research skills and abilities they have to contribute to the globalised world and focus their interests on increasing respect for each other and for life (Ayala-Rodríguez et al., 2017). de la Cruz-Ayuso and Santos (2008) say that one of the university's tasks is the promotion of social justice through teaching, enhancement and research. There has been rising awareness over the years, aimed at aligning teaching and research activities within Universities, and consequently mapping these activities with the needs of the society at large.

Universities and Society

According to the advocates of USR, education is supposed to be socially significant. There is a raging debate over the social and ecological relevance of academic work in the context of sustainable development goals. However, whether the pursuit of quality on theoretical and methodological grounds can co-exist with attempts to ensure social and ecological relevance of education is also a matter of debate. Most academics are regularly accused of being out of touch with the society living within their own "Ivory Towers" of theoretical knowledge (Teichler, 2015). These "Ivory Tower" academics believe that appeals to any kind of relevance attempt to subordinate higher education, rather than facilitating contributions to society.

However, in recent years, the phrase 'service function' or 'third function' has been often used by the proponents of USR (Teichler, 2015). They propose that education should serve society by doing more than only teaching and research, but also help in carrying out different social initiatives. Social responsibility demands colleges to investigate how active civic engagement can be incorporated into teaching, research and outreach activities of the university. The discourse on social relevance and social responsibility implies that higher education can only operate effectively when a balance of inward and outward gazing is sought. If inward-looking is dominant, as the phrase 'ivory tower university' implies, the world does not profit much from internal knowledge development. By contrast, if universities are only motivated by the need to 'deliver' to society, their real contributions to society may be devoid of creativity, innovation, and constructive criticism. Therefore, a balance approach is required between the internal logic of knowledge creation by universities and external

civic engagement. A creative balance of social isolation—von Humboldt’s ‘solitude and independence’—and social engagement is required (Teichler, 2015).

However, the concept of social in the age of globalisation is ever expanding. Every local problem in the twenty-first century has a global manifestation, as our lives are increasingly interconnected and interdependent. The recent COVID-19 pandemic and its disruptive impact on every walks of life, including higher education around the world, is a good example to prove this fact. Yet, higher education is seen as the locomotive of progress, a stronghold of the highest degree of human intellect, a source of investment, and a source of personal and social growth. With the consequences of the new global system, the acceleration of the ICT revolution, micro-electronics technology, and the rise of massive economic blocs, higher education must become more globally concerned, while being locally relevant (Khouj, 2020).

In recent years following the global UN mandate of the sustainable development goals, Social Responsibility (SR) has been driving organisational work being concerned about the good of society and accepting responsibility for the repercussions of its operations that affect consumers, staff, shareholders, the community, and the environment. This obligation goes beyond legal duties to include developing relationships with stakeholders. When it comes to USR, it is absolutely important for the University to establish a strong relationship with all internal stakeholders of the university, i.e. with the students, parents, teachers, administrative staff and, externally with the local community, where the university is located. This includes establishing relationships with local schools network and K-12 education system, healthcare system and local government. These relationships will help to establish an organic connection between the research, teaching, and outreach activities of the University and the needs of the community outside (Khouj, 2020).

EU-Horizon 2020 Responsible Research and Innovation Policy

Following a workshop for invited experts hosted by the European Commission’s Directorate General for Research and Innovation in May 2011, the EU launched the Responsible Research and Innovation (RRI) framework. RRI framework was incorporated into the EU’s Horizon 2020 as a policy framework for the European Research Area to ensure that technological innovation will be shaped towards social good. It implied that societal actors (researchers, citizens, policy makers, business, third sector organisations, etc.) should work together during the whole research and innovation process in order to better align both the process and its outcomes with the values, needs and expectations of society (Saille, 2015). Thereafter the EUUSR Benchmark Standards for University Social Responsibility across the European Higher Education Area have been developed for the purpose of measuring, assessing, and evidencing institutional progress and attainment in a manner that is compatible with the essentially autonomous nature of higher education institutions

while also taking into account the substantial amount of public funding and other support that these institutions receive. Thus, the Benchmark Standards provide a Common Reference Framework that is mainly concerned with self-assessment and ongoing (self-) development.

Simultaneously, it provides an opportunity for the further development of evidence based policy and practise in the specific sphere of University Social Responsibility, recognising the distinctive nature of the European University and the contribution it can make to the broader social responsibility agenda by exemplifying and modelling the sort of values, principles, and practises that are valued in the broader social responsibility agenda (Dima, 2017).

COVID-19 and USR

COVID-19 has disrupted the higher education experience of many first-generation learners, particularly those belonging to socially, economically poor and disadvantaged groups. As such, higher education stakeholders are dealing with how to best support first-generation students in adapting to a university environment during online education. First-generation learners are more likely than continuing-generation students to experience financial difficulties with increased living and technology expenses.

Universities, in collaboration with NGOs, government agencies, and external organisations, must train their faculty to understand the needs of the first generation learners while providing an online learning platform that is flexible, inclusive, and culturally relevant. It is really challenging for universities to deal with youngsters' transition to college and create a sense of community in a virtual mode.

According to a study of first-generation students in the Student Experience in a Research University (SERU) Consortium in the US, students are less likely to live in secure settings free from abuse (physical, emotional, drugs, or alcohol), and more likely to suffer from food and housing hardship. First-generation students have a greater incidence of mental health issues than their classmates. According to their research, first-generation students are more likely to face difficulties in adapting to online education, such as missing study places and lacking appropriate equipment (Soria et al., 2020). Similarly, universities need to provide a platform for first generation learners, including faculty, to share their difficulties during the pandemic and try to find solutions, as part of USR.

In the last decade, the discussion about higher education has revolved around quality, funding, and mobility. The recent series of extraordinary events, including the COVID-19 pandemic and the climate crisis has given rise to the call for decolonisation, end of gender violence and authoritarian regimes, since the lockdowns following the pandemic has witnessed a rise of authoritarian nationalism, gendered violence

and colonial tropes. We cannot see where we are headed, but we must have an unlimited ability to take care of each other and the earth, and we are only a small part of it (Hall & Tandon, 2021).

The 1997 White Paper published by the Department of Education, Pretoria explained that the university's wider transformation goal requires students and the community to collaborate and interact with each other through community university partnerships. Gandhi's and Ubuntu's philosophies emphasise individual growth, in accordance with natural and ethical principles, in order to create a better society. When it comes to South Africa's youth, these socially conscious characteristics provide them with a solid base to build on and get engaged with the community as part of University Social Responsibility (Padayachee et al., 2021). Even in the middle of the COVID-19 pandemic with lockdowns and restrictions of social distancing, CBPR was found to be a very useful approach of doing research with civil society organization founded by local HIV clinicians and people living with HIV, to understand the physical and psychosocial needs of the first cohort of aging HIV positive patients in the US (Nguyen et al. 2020).

Higher education institutions are places where new information, skilled people, instructors, and researchers congregate. They serve as a training ground for the future workforce, since they are also a place where theoretical information is taught. Higher Educational Institutions serves to educate and provide new knowledge that is of value to the greater community. The University must make an effort to create an impact on the society by using their expertise in the surrounding communities for sustainable development (Anand, 2021).

Importance of Community-Based Participatory Research

Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR) is a bridge between universities and the local community, in which researchers engage with people, who are impacted by the problem they are researching upon with the goal of making progress or making a difference. Hence, CBPR can be an organic way in which universities can connect with the local community and garner their resources for local community development. In addition, individuals from the community, who will utilise the findings to influence practise and shape policy, are welcome to participate. CBPR's main objective is to advance "Knowledge Democracy" and "Knowledge for Change" in the society for sustainable development. Most CBPR initiatives in collaboration with academic partners are financed through research grants. As academic and professional research institutions and researchers find it difficult to share information and resources or to directly interact with the community and other local stakeholders, community-based civil society organizations and other stakeholders must play a role in communication engagement. Intermediary partners, who are good friends with the local community and local government officials may have a significant impact in practice (Krishnan et al., 2020) (Table 11.1).

Rural communities have persisted for centuries by generating and sharing their own methods of creating knowledge through practise and apprenticeship within the family. Community-based participatory research begins with the recognition and appreciation of such knowledge as it is available in the community, whether practical, local, or indigenous (Krishnan et al., 2020).

Strong CBPR relationships are hard to build and sustain because they need a skill set that is also necessary for policymakers. The initial stages of establishing a partnership are networking with stakeholders and defining a “mutually beneficial agenda”. In addition to agreeing on goals, participants in the stages of CBPR engage in bargaining among their respective partners. These include prioritising projects based on their different goals and benefits, and coordinating schedules, as

Table 11.1 Comparison between traditional and community-based research (Krishnan et al., 2020, p. 259)

	Traditional research	Community-based participatory research
Research objective	Issues identified based on epidemiologic data and funding opportunities	Identifying issues of greatest importance to the community with their full participation
Study design	Design based entirely on scientific rigor and feasibility	Community representative involved with study design
Recruitment	Approaches based on scientific issues of random sampling and maintaining high response rate	Community representatives provide guidance on recruitment and retention strategies and aid in recruitment efforts
Instrument design	Instruments adopted/adapted from other studies; tested chiefly with psychometric analysis method	Instruments developed with community input and tested in similar populations
Needs assessment data collection	Academic institution’s responsibility	Academic institution and community’s responsibility
Intervention design	Researchers design interventions based on literature and theory	Community members help guide intervention development
Analysis and interpretation	Researchers own the data, conduct analysis, and interpret the findings	Data are shared; community members and researchers work together to interpret results
Sustainability	Usually sustainability plan is not included	Sustainability is a priority the begins at a program’s inception
Dissemination	Results disseminated in scientific forum, published in peer-reviewed academic journals	Community assists researchers to identify appropriate venues to disseminate results; community members involved in dissemination; results are also published in peer-reviewed journals

well as distributing resources fairly between academic and community researchers. The method of doing CBPR as an academic research, which naturally challenges both practitioners and policy makers, may offer an edge in influencing local policy. The effective management of research, as well as its translation into policy, relies on similar abilities (O'Brien & Whitaker, 2011).

To achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), social change is required. In order to achieve the SDGs by 2030, everyone in the society must participate. CBPR encourages this kind of broad based participation through partnerships between researchers, the community, and civil society. This contributes towards social impact of research. CBPR may be used to tackle local concerns, which can lead to increased ownership of those problems and solutions by local stakeholders to contribute towards the sustainable development goals.

Demand for research that focuses on community-based solutions to complex social problems has risen with academic and practitioner interest in devising novel methods of research and intervention. CBPR allows for collaborative and thorough research, with an emphasis on community needs. It encourages researchers to pay attention to, learn from, seek the views of, and share credit for successes with the populations with whom they are working.

In order to meet the SDGs, we need a significant social change and all stakeholders must be involved. Strong cooperation among academics, communities, and civil society is necessary in order to promote the social impact of research. CBPR helps society use new information and insights to face different problems, as well as offer long-term solutions. CBPR may be used for addressing local concerns, such as water, sanitation, resource management, gender equality, and, in that process, results in the acquisition of more control over local problems to generate locally relevant solutions, what is referred to as “sustainable development”, as opposed to growth (Hall & Tandon, 2017).

Three practical ways can be readily adopted under Community-based Participatory Research (CBPR) according to Hall and Tandon (2017, pp. 8–10).

1. Frame locally usable research

Topics and questions for research abound; the key to effective local framing is ‘stepping outside the boundary’ of HEIs to interact with local actors so that they become stake-holders in such research.

2. Build knowledge in partnership

If a mutually beneficial partnership with local communities and institutions—business, government, civil society—is built, research partnership may become supportive of new knowledge and its use.

3. Learn new competencies

In order to be able to undertake such partnerships and locally relevant research, students and researchers at HEIs need to develop certain additional competencies such as critical thinking, conscientization and ethical orientation.

Conclusion

Universities have a duty not only to the individuals who live on their campuses, namely the students, faculty and staff, but also to the area and the community within which they are located. In the event of a global pandemic, when communities must deal with issues like unemployment, the migrant crisis, and the digital divide, it is critical to examine what universities are doing to fulfil this duty. Universities are responsible for assisting students in their process of learning, not directing them. However, universities should avoid a rigid, formal teaching methodology and start rethinking of pedagogical methods and curricula that are required in universities to meet the practical demands of society.

It is significant for universities to disseminate accurate health and hygiene information, conduct post-crisis trans-disciplinary research to better understand the physical, mental, social, and economic consequences of the pandemic, and strengthen local institutions' capabilities to cope successfully with future uncertainties. The interconnected character of education, research and service makes higher education socially responsible. Society, its problems and demands should serve as the framework for self-assessment of the relevance of universities (Tandon & Hall, 2021). It would be critical for universities to be socially responsible by promoting community-based participatory research in the twenty-first century. In this way the universities can use their teaching, research knowledge, and public activities to serve the social and economic well-being of their local communities and meet the global Sustainable Development Goals.

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Part IV
Rethinking Performativity, Finance
and Entrepreneurship

Chapter 12

Rethinking Performativity in Higher Education in a Crisis: The Case of Performative Universities' Early Responses During the COVID-19 Pandemic



Anamika Srivastava

Abstract Notwithstanding the notion that there is a longingness for ‘normalcy’ in any crisis, yet, in such a quest, it is equally important to think about what aspects of the regular life should we aim to get back to. Is not a crisis also an opportune time for us to reflect on the existing social structures and agential responses that made the crisis inevitable, its solutions difficult and its impact severe? In the process, if certain lessons can be learnt, and specific actions can be taken for structural transformation then a crisis has the potential for human emancipation. The current chapter looks into the educational crisis during the COVID-19 pandemic by critically discussing the early responses of the universities. Undeniably, universities, across the board, rose to the occasion and displayed their resilience as well as strength to survive this difficult time. Yet, some universities emphasized the spectacle of continuity over any substantive pause and rethinking, rendering the universities’ responses formalistic and superficial. The chapter attributes these responses to the dominance of structures underscoring judgement, comparison and display of universities’ performance, prevalent in the higher educational landscape since the pre-pandemic times. Under performative pressure, universities are challenged to display their ‘quality’ and ‘perform’ their worth in front of their assessors—state, regulatory bodies, funding agencies as well as the market. One of the implications remains the overemphasis on tangibilization and factualisation of university activities as spectacles of their performance. Impeding the ability of universities to respond to a crisis like situation in a substantive manner, performativity in higher education warrants a critical rethinking.

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Introduction

A macro-level crisis by definition disrupts the accepted ways of the world. It might break in a moment but has the potential to make everlasting changes in how human life is imagined. Its trigger(s) may erupt in a particular sector; however, the ripples are experienced in almost every aspect of human existence. Irrespective of the fact, whether the genesis of the crisis was in the economic sphere or not, eventually, the economy is bound to take a hit. Also affected are the social, cultural, political and psychological facets of lives. When the everydayness of human existences is challenged, it is inevitable, albeit, after a period of setback, human lives and existing structures will fight back. More often than not, the quest for normalcy is seen as an accomplishment of human agency and a triumph of institutional resilience. Yet, what is given less attention is the fiery attempts of the restoration to 'normalcy' by the dominant social structures seeking privileges for a few. For instance, attempts are made, often frantically, to maintain the power positions of a select few in the capitalist mode of production, continuing the exploitation of the working class and the persistence of the process of accumulation of wealth.

The current chapter looks into the educational crisis during the COVID-19 pandemic by critically discussing the early responses of the universities. The chapter attributes these responses to the performative pressure grappling the higher education sector since the pre-pandemic times.

The COVID-19: A Case of the Triple Crises

While the origin of the COVID-19 pandemic is still debated, one can investigate the structural factors leading to the economic, health and educational crises following the outbreak of the pandemic. The novel-coronavirus became the causative agent of complex pulmonary disorder, resulting in highly contagious infection with 'diverse symptoms and morbidity depending on individual genetics, ethnicity, age, and geographic location' (Pollard et al., 2020: 549). 'On March 11, 2020, the World Health Organization (WHO) declared the coronavirus (COVID-19) outbreak a pandemic. COVID-19 has cost hundreds of thousands of human lives globally, presented healthcare professionals with pressing challenges, and exposed the weaknesses of national health systems worldwide' (Liu et al., 2020: 01). In the absence of any vaccination, medication and treatment, in the early phase of the pandemic, the only option left in the hands of the government was non-pharmaceutical interventions to slow down the rate of infection (Melnick & Loannidis, 2020). As a result, governments across the globe, in varying degrees, implemented the order of locking down regions, mainly cities and towns. The locked-down approach is argued to be problematic at various levels (Ren, 2020). Not only the economy takes a hit as businesses shut down but also it exacerbates inequality as 'the ability to work from home varies greatly across different socio-economic classes' (Ren, 2020: 423).

Not to forget, countries adopting a relational approach of mobilizing resources for mass-testing, contact training and quarantining were more successful in controlling the spread than the ones simply announcing the locked-down (Ren, 2020). While the economy took a hit and the hospitals were oversubscribed, disruption in the educational sector was inevitable. As a response, like any other institution involving large gathering, educational institutions, all over the world, were closed down leading to a global educational crisis, indeed, as a result of the ‘virus that shut down the world’ (UNICEF, 2020). The efforts towards resilience was particularly weightier in the higher education sector, as it withdrew more financial resources than the school education sector. Within a few weeks, universities, took teaching and learning to the online mode. While the solution itself was marred with several other challenges, at least, it allowed the possibility of a functional organization in a desperate time. However, the availability of the solution and its effectiveness varied across different regions and socio-economic categories. The shift from offline to online was navigated at the institutional level with little to no support from the governments. Whilst the government response to tackle the economic downturn varied across economies, depending on the level of development, the education sector was not a priority for most of them. After all the COVID-19 impact on the education sector was seen to be both temporary and temperate. Regrettably, what seemed to be a transitory jolt is now argued to be bear long term impact on a generation of people (UNICEF, 2020).

A Critical Look at the Early Responses of the Universities During the COVID-19 Crisis

Differential access to differential quality of online spaces is one of the characterizing features of digital education (Desrosiers, 2020). Not all universities, not all students and not all countries/regions get to access the required basic infrastructure for online education. Universities not only require some discretionary funds at hand but also need regulatory flexibility to adapt to and fit into the new space. This chapter is intrigued by the universities that were able to shift their base online and critically enquires the nature of the initiatives taken by them. These universities adapted the following steps for their continuity during the COVID-19 crisis. Three main activities of the universities, (i) teaching and learning; (ii) research and (iii) community engagement and participation, were carried out from home over the internet using a computer. When it came to the set of rules for the online world, universities adopted the following steps, among others. Classes, examinations and assessments were conducted and administered online. Research was expected to be conceptualised, continued and effectuated remotely and over the internet. While community engagement initiatives were affected, online community outreach and university volunteering were expected to be continued.

At a substantial level, however, these efforts panned out in specific ways. With regards to teaching and learning efforts, predominance was on the choice of learning

management system (LMS) and its operational efficacy. Excessive administrative resources were spent on monitoring if classes are held regularly. Conversely, what was missing was an ontological engagement with the new context of teaching and learning. Very few universities undertook this time to reflect on the pedagogical possibilities of the online platforms in their own right.

Coming to the new ways of doing research over the internet, it was realised that the ability to collect primary data over the internet was almost impossible in natural sciences and difficult in social sciences (Clay, 2020). Yet, many researchers who could continue to work on previous data or cull out new research, carried out their work. Not to forget the very important task of knowing more about the virus and the development of the vaccines continued in many prominent universities which has medical school. Some undertook a serious rethinking on ways of doing research online (Mourad et al., 2020). However, others managed to continue the pre-pandemic tendency of ‘salami slicing resulting in thin papers and over-reportage’ (Watson et al., 2015: 2457). There were concern that scientists and researchers are not able to keep up with the tsunami of papers published on COVID-19 (Brainard, 2020). Interestingly, according to a claim, all journals received more papers from all scientists in the year 2020 (Squazzoni et al., 2020). However, ‘the growth in submissions by female authors trailed behind the growth from male authors across all subject areas’ (Squazzoni et al., 2020 cited in Else, 2020). Further, in the rush to publish research related to COVID-19 pandemic, there are incidents of retraction of papers as well (Else, 2020).

As far as the third mission of the universities is concerned, undoubtedly, the lockdown brought the university and the community physically closer (Hall & Tandon, 2021). Certainly, ‘[a] Academics and universities also put their expertise to work to help understand, model, combat and ultimately prevent the spread of the virus’ (Brink, 2021). Yet, not all universities contributed to these pursuits. While not contributing at the cutting edge research frontiers, these universities could have used this opportunity to reach out to the community in real need. While some universities explored virtual volunteership, directing student energy towards data collection, analyses and contact tracing (Miller, 2020), many others missed the bus altogether. In a powerful article on Indian universities pretending normalcy during the COVID-19 crisis, Professor Apporvanand of University of Delhi, in the context of the migrant crisis in India, argues—‘Universities and colleges did not think it necessary to use their National Service Scheme to extend support to people who had suddenly become homeless’ (Apoorvanad, 2021). The COVID-19 crisis, especially in the context of developing countries, required the universities to step-up. Universities *should* and *could* have contributed more to the society than what they did.

Indeed, universities attempted to provide supportive channels to help its own community. Yet, they fell short of understanding the gravity of the situation. Over-archingly, faculty and students who form the core of the university were affected at various levels (Flaherty, 2020b). In the epilogue to their article on universities and COVID-19 crisis in Argentina, Perrotta (2021: 41) mentions—

I experienced many of the pressures...the need to continue with academic processes during isolation while carrying out care and related tasks; connectivity problems (poor internet service) and several times I had no electricity for more than 10 consecutive hours; the self-imposed pressures to achieve the pedagogical continuity of students (and my teaching partner with Covid-19); the general anxiety of meeting all productivity demands and requests for research grants, as well as participation in evaluation committees. Of course, this has also been accompanied by numerous spaces for joint reflection with colleagues, solidarity and support to facilitate tasks.

Why universities did not use their physical, human and knowledge resources to help the community in their or other countries in dire need of such a response? The home-context of the students and faculty did not get the attention, it deserved (Flaherty, 2020a). At worst, it was completely ignored forcing faculty and students to continue, disregarding the real challenges faced during the COVID-19 crisis. Apoorvanand (2021) asks—‘Why is it that universities and colleges have not opened up their spaces and offered them to be used as COVID-19 support centres?’. He continues to mention—

Last year, when the government announced a mindless lockdown, the first thing universities did was to shut down completely, have their hostels vacated and force their students out—students, many of them who had to go back to their crowded dwellings. We know so well that the majority of our students do not have the luxury of a separate corner for themselves. They get their own space for the first time in their lives when they get a seat in a college hostel. Apoorvanand (2021).

Universities’ Market-Based Responses

Universities, especially those which are tuition fee dependent for their financial survival, faced some real challenges to stay afloat during the pandemic. Some students begin to question not only high university fees but also the relevancy of university education, itself. Universities not only needed to be resilient adjusting quickly to the current situation but also required to package that ‘resilience’ and market it to the students. Particularly important was to ensure student intake and fill university seats during the admission season. Interestingly, in the absence of any physical outreach to the students, universities were required to market ‘online education’, online. The objective was to convince students that online education is worthy of their time and more importantly of their money. The so-called digital student recruitment entailed boosting of the budget on online marketing as well as virtual outreach; a sudden rise in email marketing and communications including social media presence. The emphasis was on digital outreach and virtual experiences. The importance of universities’ websites was realised like never before. However, web as a material platform has its own set of limitations (Srivastava, 2019) and therefore, it is inevitable that universities focus on tangibilization and factualisation of statements about its quality (Tam, 2001). In particular, discourse on rankings, accreditations and assessment is invoked to support their claims. However, not all universities do well in these metrics, yet find

themselves unable to escape the ‘rankings game’. The prevalence of manipulation and fabrication of statements about university ‘quality’ are possible outcomes (Srivastava, 2019).

A related issue was with the upsurge of university webinars during the COVID-19. Undeniably, technology allowed a continuity of academic discussions in the virtual conferences, seminars and workshops. Yet, the virtual interactions, until and unless carried out in a small group or on a one-to-one basis (with a conscience for well-being), were of limited value. The experience might be exhausting, daunting and invoked self-consciousness (Schroeder, 2021). Not everyone speaks and participates in virtual events, some are not able to write in the ‘chat box’ as they listen and think, others are not trained to look into a void-space and speak. Also noteworthy is the point that not all universities webinars were meant to provide a platform for academic discussion per se. In the absence of physical mobility, it could also be a part of university marketing strategy, not only towards prospective students but also towards potential funding agencies, research grants bodies and academic collaborations.

Taking advantage of economies of scope, in 2020–2021, many universities rolled out online degree courses, diploma courses, boot-camps as well as short-term courses to exploit the online educational market. The online space can be relatively new for university faculty and administrators; however, this has been a sought after platform for commercial educational providers for some time now. The upsurge of alternative credentials leading to non-degree yet practical know-how by commercial massive open online course providers is a case in point. They offer knowledge exposure if not knowledge itself, at a fraction of the fees of a university degree. Other selling points remain, them being self-paced, short and skill oriented. Some of them also club these courses with job consultancy including resume building. These courses claim tangible benefits at a convenience, whereas universities continue to thrust that they are not employment agencies.

Role of Performativity Shaping Universities’ Behaviour

The critics were quick to argue what seemed to be a functional university may not be running effectively on the ground. In the rush of carrying on with the *business as usual*, some if not all universities, chose to emphasise solutions that resulted in a spectacle of continuity instead of any *real* endurance of the institution. This chapter recognizes, universities that prioritizes ‘performance’ that can be measured, assessed and made available to the public for comparisons and judgments, can be called a performative university. It is these universities which the current chapter refers to as a ‘Performative University’. While ‘performativity’ is discussed in several ways as in Austin, Butler, Lyotard, in this chapter, one discusses ‘performativity’ as considered in Lyotard (1984) and contextualized in higher education as cogitated in Ball (2003). In Lyotard (1984) performativity is the idea how universities need to prove their worth on the basis of their performance. Here, ‘performance’ is usually measured in terms

of quantitative metrics determining not only the ‘quality’ of education provided by a university but also how much funding is deserved by it. University is no longer seen as an emancipatory institution which exist for its own sake with transcendental benefits to the society. Instead, pursuit of ‘quality’ by a university is seen synonymous with performance of the university when measured, monitored and reported. Performativity can be conceptualized as a technology or a mode of regulation that employs ‘judgements, comparisons and displays as means of control, attrition and change’ (Ball, 2003: 01). It is in this context, a performative university is characterized by “‘terror”, “target” and “taking back freedom” in academia’ (Jones et al., 2020: 363). In the case of a performative university, in effect, link three critical institutional mechanisms—its revenue and surplus, efficiency/effectiveness and ultimate truth on ‘quality’ (Ball, 2003). Performativity, although working at the structure level, also somewhere positioning an individual against each other, does have an impact at the agential resource of an individual. As individuals and organisations are held accountable to external inspectors, assessors as well as market, a spinoff element is that of fabrications. Fabrication here means the construction of the versions of the individuals and organisations that do not exist but are manufactured to please the assessor, inspector or a client (Ball, 2003).

As such, fabrications are paradoxical, because they signify both resistance and capitulation to the surveillance inherent in performativity, and they produce opacity rather than transparency as individuals and organisations take ever greater care in the construction and maintenance of artificial representations, crucial to their (financial) survival. (Jones et al., 2020: 06)

Performativity leads to fabrication are paradoxical because performativity emphasizes on accountability, answerability and transparency. Yet, in reality, pressure to perform engender tension, anxiety and fretfulness. Accountability is commanded through organisational design, implementation of set of rules and expectation of complying human behaviour. One of the ways to do this is through managerialism. Within organisations, managerialism entails adoption of management techniques to run an organisation. It is here ‘professional’ managerial cadre in the university, takes a commanding position to manage the performance of the university.

However, managerialism is fictitious based on the assumption of instrumental reasoning and tendency towards the universalization of managerial interests and knowledge (MacIntyre, 1984). It is highly reductionist and assumes law-like generalizations with strong predictive power. Managerial norms as they exist in the real-world organization are layered and complexed. The principal-agent model of neo-classical economics assumes rationality on the behalf of both principal and agents, ignoring the social positionalities of both. Further, it is assumed that principal has all the intention to maximize efficiency (and enhance quality), and agents will always try to shirk if not monitored. This is a strong assumption and may not hold true in many cases, including in HE. Universities as organizations may be involved in legitimacy-seeking instead of efficiency maximization only (Brignall & Modell, 2000). Ad-hocery, serendipity, complexity (at meso and micro level) may be prevalent (Ball, 1993). It is no surprise, therefore, within the performative structure, fabrication is not only instigated but also perpetuated by the effort of perfect control of a performative university.

Conclusion: Rethinking ‘Performativity’ in Higher Education in a Crisis

Not only performativity is irrelevant during a crisis, but it is also fervently perilous. Imagine a patient in a dire need of actual treatment is told by the hospital that how qualified their doctor is, how good the hospital building, air conditioning and cafeteria are, and how streamlined their blood-collection and billing processes are. When it is a question of life and death, do these even matter? What matters is the quality of actual treatment and that the patient survives. Educational crisis during the COVID-19 warrants systemic approach, where pursuit of education remains meaningful to the students and satisfying to the faculty as they stay at home. No doubt that universities need to survive this time, financially. They need to re-invent themselves and innovate possibilities of revenue stream during these difficult times. Yet, the well-being of its own community and the society at large cannot be ignored. As students and faculty continue teaching and learning from home, universities need to acknowledge the limitations of their home-context. Not everyone is privileged to have a quiet environment at home, conducive for productive activities. Further, given the power-dynamics at home, women are in a disadvantageous position vis-a-vis man. To ‘perform’, fetch quantifiable measures of success and remain accountable are less important than encouraging ways to meaningfully engage with education. Universities can use this time to reflect on the pedagogical possibilities of the online platforms in their own right. Universities can use their resources—physical, human and knowledge, to support the society at large.

This chapter was an attempt to critically discuss the early university efforts during the COVID-19, within the performative structure prevalent since the pre-pandemic times. Instead of giving into the performative pressure, this is the time for collective deliberation and action.

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Chapter 13

Funding of Higher Education in Pursuit of Excellence: Challenges Before Public and Private Funded Universities



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Abstract Though public and private funded universities are regulated on equal terms and they compete for achieving excellence in the same sphere, garnering resources pose different sets of challenges for these two broad categories of universities. Post-pandemic scenario would exacerbate these challenges and at the same time, new opportunities are likely to be opened up in the wake of rapid intrusion of technology in the classroom. This paper intends to examine how critical the task is for the universities, both public and private to raise resources, deliver quality education, undertake research and reach out to the community to contribute to the public good in a global market which is becoming more competitive with ranking and possible entry of the foreign universities.

Introduction

The debate on sources and mode of funding of higher education assumes a new dimension in the Post-Covid era characterised by rapid advancement in digital technology, accentuation of fiscal crisis and growing inequalities in various spheres of the socio-economic landscape of India and other Pandemic affected countries. The debate on funding has centred around the question of public–private divide in higher education amid the ongoing massification of Indian higher education in a globally competitive situation. Improving quality of Indian higher education has continued to remain a daunting challenge for the Indian policymakers given resource crunch and poor governance. As pointed out by Kapur and Mehta (2017), the Indian higher education is faced with the trilemma of costs (reduction), size (expansion) and quality (improvement) as only two out of these three can be achieved at a time and not all the three. The issues related to adequacy of public funding and the nature of private participation in higher education have been highlighted in the National Education Policy (NEP) (GoI, 2020). The NEP argues for raising public funding for education

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sector as a whole to 6 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) from around 4.4% in 2018–19. The NEP also points out that commercialisation is inimical to quality education, and there should be a push for more philanthropic participation in higher education.

The objective of this paper is to address the issue of achieving equity and excellence through the prism of public and private funding of higher education at a conceptual and analytical level. This paper begins with a brief analysis of the public good character of higher education as the issue of public–private divide is often sought to be related to the debate on higher education as a public or a private good. Related to this are two main issues, how and to what extent the public and private should fund higher education and the issues related to this divide. The paper ends with a brief discussion on the new sources of financing and engineering an institutional mechanism to allocate funding among the higher education institutions (HEI).

Conceptualising Higher Education as a Quasi-Public Good

Public–private divide in funding of higher education is generally linked with the characterisation of higher education as a public or a private good. Generally speaking, universities deliver three main output or services: teaching which includes imparting training to researchers, doing research for the purpose of generation of knowledge and outreach activities or connect with the society to address their needs.¹ We would however deal with two aspects, the issue of access to higher education for the purpose of learning and its certification and the other is knowledge as an outcome of research.

If we refer to the definition of public good as given by Samuelson (1954), public good has two main attributes, it is non-rival in consumption and it is non-excludable. The first attribute is determined by the technical property of the good which renders the consumption of the good non-excludable resulting in market failure. But this is not always the case as even if consumption is non-rival, it can be made excludable by suitable policy design² to overcome market failure and recover costs of production. This definition implies that higher education, in fact, is not a pure public good as it is neither non-rival nor is it non-excludable owing to the limited number of seats available for admission in a typical university. Higher education is best referred to as a quasi-public good or a mixed good because higher education generates externalities despite being a private good (Chattopadhyay, 2012; Marginson, 2014; Tilak, 2005). At the global level, higher education is identified as a global public good as evident from increasing cross-border flows of knowledge and human capital embodied, setting up of international branch campuses, research collaborations across the borders (Marginson, 2014). Technically speaking, non-rivalry is also

¹ Stiglitz (1975) points out dissemination of information through the evaluation of students for the employers or the industry. But grade inflation and unwarranted liberal marking weaken this signaling mechanism as it has happened in case of India. In addition, education is a process which effects transformation in the preferences of the students. ²For example, TV signals emitted by a service provider is non-rival but it is made excludable to recover the costs and make profit.

a case of externalities as consumption by one makes it possible for others to consume the same good in the same measure.² This is however not true for higher education as certificates are only awarded to the successful graduates which contributes to the privateness of higher education which is supposed to raise the future income profile of the students. But the graduates are also supposed to be transformed individuals who in turn are expected to contribute to the social and political order by virtue of being responsible citizens. This makes social demand for higher education exceed private demand and the gap is explained by the externalities which are not amenable to easy quantification (Musgrave & Musgrave, 1989).³ Socialisation in the campus contributes to the transformation of the students' understanding of the society, polity and the economy which have been widely discussed, investigated and quantified as forms of externalities (e.g., McMahan, 2004). The unrest and disorder in the society can be basically attributable to the poor formation of the self. Marginson (2014) argues that the collective outcomes of higher education remain grossly undermined and underestimated. Proper valuation of these collective outcomes and contributions to the sustenance of sociability is not only difficult in the absence of market, but the neo-liberal policy approach also tends to undermine these by focusing more on 'individualisable economic benefits' (*ibid.*). Broadly speaking, higher education contributes to nation building by spurring growth and effecting socio-economic and cultural transformation.

To reach social optimum, which is determined by social demand, public funding is advocated to make higher education affordable and realise the socially optimum level of enrolment. Theoretically, the volume of externalities which are not amenable to easy quantification, should determine the extent of public-private divide in funding higher education. Externalities, however, do not exhaust the scope of higher education contribution. It may be noted that there is significant inter-country as well as intra-country variations in the degree and nature of higher education as a quasipublic good as these are nested with a socio-economic cultural landscape (Marginson, 2014). Knowledge produced by university research is in the nature of a public good. Wider the consumption of knowledge, better it is for the society and the economy. Public funding of knowledge production is arguably favoured because patenting of knowledge blocks these possibilities and restrict wider circulation at least in the initial stage (Marginson, 2014).

We need to qualify this characterisation of higher education by drawing attention to the specific characteristics of higher education because it has a bearing on the debate on public-private funding of higher education.

- (1) Privateness in case of higher education reinforces publicness unlike what happens in Samuelson's (1954) framework where the nature of the good is

² Externalities generated by the graduates are not equally available to all in the society. Externalities generated by the graduates also vary depending on the values inculcated in the graduates and are not similar to what the private individual consumes.

³ Since externalities are cases of missing markets, proper valuation of externalities is difficult. It is also difficult to say whether a large majority of the Indian population value and appreciate what does higher education do for the society, polity and the economy.

determined by the given technical properties of the good. The content and the construct of higher education depends on quality and socio-economic and political context. As a way of illustration, extent of externalities generated by the educated youths depends on the quality of education embodied in the graduates in a given socio-cultural context. However, how students pay for their education determines how do they envisage their future roles in nation building. Sources of funding and university leadership, whether public or private would determine how universities contribute to the onerous task of nation building. Because of the possible variation in quasi-ness of higher education, the public–private institutional typology is ‘conceptually limiting’ (Pusser, 2014). The private benefits arising out of scarce places in reputed public universities accrue to the graduates are actually funded by the government. As Marginson (2014, p. 62) says, “There appears to be little fit between the public/private balance of costs and public/private balance of benefits”.

- (2) We need to distinguish between positive analysis and normative analysis, a distinction between what it actually is and what it ought to be respectively. In a positive sense and as the reality indicates, higher education is a private good as evident from the growing private sector participation in higher education. Normatively speaking, higher education should be more like a public good or publicness of higher education should be enhanced to contribute more to the society, polity and economy and achieve humane development. This is where the approach of policymakers is important. Extent of excludability in case of a potential public good is a socio-economic construct which is determined largely by the policymakers (Marginson, 2014). Quantum and mode of funding and regulatory interventions in higher education are therefore important policy instruments.

Public and Private Funding of Higher Education

The important issue is whether the implications of public and private funding for achieving equity and excellence are different. Though the differences may appear to be obvious and much discussed in the literature, it is pertinent to bring these issues to the fore.

Public–Private Funding and the Issue of Adequacy

The scope and limitations for private funding in comparison with public funding can be highlighted with the help of the financial balance identity proposed by Winston (1999), Cost of education (c) + dividend/surplus (v) = prices charged (p) + donative revenues (dr) + grants (gr)

$$c + v = p + dr + gr \quad (13.1)$$

If we assume $v = 0$ i.e., that profit making is not allowed,

For a public funded university with exclusive focus on teaching (T), the gap between costs incurred and costs recovered is met by grants.

$$(c-p)_T^g = gr$$

Similarly, for a private funded university,

$$(c-p)_T^p = dr$$

So as long as $dr = gr$, $(c-p)^p = (c-p)^g$.

The same balance between cost incurred and cost recovery (i.e., mainly fees) can be maintained as long as private financial support is equivalent to subsidies granted to a university of comparable configurations. This requires endowment of private university has to be so large that the interest income from endowment and/or per year private contribution has to be equal to the size of subsidies granted to that university.⁴ As long as the extent of private funding is substantial and comparable to the extent of public funding, *prima facie*, both public and private funded universities can pursue for excellence and inclusiveness in admission policy. A university, public or private can tap alumni contribution and corporate funding for specific programmes and scholarships. So for a private university, adequacy of private support becomes an important issue which the university leader can leverage to pursue university activities and do justice to the university mission. That is why some private universities in India with adequate private support are doing well in making higher education accessible to the needy and deserving and strive for excellence. This requires private universities to design a differentiated fee structure to strike a balance between cost recovery and ensuring diversity in the classroom.

Motive of Private Funding: Philanthropic Participation

The second related issue is the motive of the private participant. If $v = 0$ in Eq. (13.1), as education is not meant for business in the context of India unless the institutions are registered under the Companies Act, the question we need to confront is why should there be private funding at all and that too on a sustained basis? Ideally, therefore, the private support should remain motivated by philanthropy. However, if it is not the case, there would develop a tendency to cut costs and raise revenue by means which are unfair and detrimental to the objectives of equity and excellence. If profit has to be made albeit illegitimately but profit cannot be shown in the university

⁴ For a research university, the need for support is likely to be much larger than a teaching university where the scope for cost recovery is substantial and it can be sustainable.

accounts, accounting malpractices are resorted to (Chattopadhyay, 2012; Kapur & Mehta, 2017) generally in the form of artificial escalation of costs to siphon out as surplus, third-party profit making, and levying charges on the students other than periodic revision of tuition fees. This is why leadership and mission envisaged for a private university with assurance of sustained financial support are of vital importance to achieve excellence and address societal needs. There is in general 'public apathy for higher education' in India (Tilak, 2005), and the role of knowledge in society has not been adequately valued. The philanthropy in Indian higher education has therefore remained very limited.

Mobilising Resources, Promoting Online Education

For Universities of entrepreneurial type, new possibilities are opening up particularly for a diversified funding base by establishing new partnerships with the industry, encouraging startups to generate institutional income in a creative and flexible manner (Kehm, 2014). The private parties are being encouraged to establish partnership with the public funded universities which is referred to as PPPs. Though this arrangement of PPPs can synergise energy and enthusiasm of a typical private sector initiative with public funding, possible tradeoffs among cost, access and quality remain (Chattopadhyay, 2015).

With online education gaining momentum and popularity with active state support and encouragement as evident in the NEP 2020 (GoI, 2020), the universities will also be looking for the opportunities to enroll more students, and offer new courses online or in a blended mode. There are two major changes effected by the intrusion of the digital technology in the classroom. One, teaching is in the nature of a service but it does not require any longer any physical presence. Two, since service (e.g., teaching) can be digitised and stored in the server or in the cloud, the delivery of the service does not automatically extinguished after the delivery. This has expanded the purview of the classroom which can now be global, obliterating time and space constraints. For online education, given the high proportion of fixed costs in total costs and the possibility of large class size, the average costs can remain low. This is a new market sphere emerging at the global level which will be highly competitive as quality of teaching transcends the limitations imposed by the class size and the traditional imperative of simultaneous physical presence of the teachers and the students. Sovereignty being bestowed on the students to allow them to choose the duration and the basket of courses, new avenues emerge for the universities to 'unbundle' their offerings and price the courses accordingly to suit the specific needs of the students (McCowan, 2017). This market for online education is likely to be bi-polar as only the best of the universities will capture a larger share of the market and maximise revenue. Online education has ushered in significant changes some of which are likely to get embedded in the structure of university functioning and objectives in the Post-Pandemic era as blended mode is likely to be the preferred option for the most.

Mobilising Resources, Commoditising Knowledge

The growing prevalence of academic capitalism has been widely discussed in the literature mainly spearheaded by Slaughter and Leslie (1997). The propertisation of knowledge would require the universities to be largely research oriented and partner with industry to make research relevant and earn from patenting and consultancy. This will have implications for the autonomy of the faculty in choice of research areas and the purpose of research as the distinction between fundamental research and applied research remains vital despite blurring boundaries between the two modes.

Therefore, one way of overcoming the constraint imposed by fee-based cost recovery is to earn from research (R).

This opens up the possibility of cross-subsidisation of research by teaching or even *vice versa*. Equation (13.1) can be expanded to include research which would entail inclusion of costs of research, earnings from doing research and an annual contribution from the endowment for research earmarked by the university.

$$\{(c - R)_R - dr_R\} + \{(c-p)_T^p - dr\} = 0$$

If teaching programme is financially sustainable (i.e., $\{(c-p)_T^p = 0$ or even <0 , implying a surplus from teaching programme), the university can extend support to do research in addition to dr_R as $(c-R)$ is positive. If there arises a surplus even after financing of research, the university can invest and expand its activities too which is not shown in 13.2. Universities of repute can have high R and in addition, can also afford to support research in diverse areas where R can be insignificant. Funding for research raises two questions: how is research output measured and how is research quality assessed? If the research quality and output are measured more in line with the world ranking parameters, there is no guarantee that research is meant for serving the needs of the society as the universities need to negotiate with the imperatives of local, national and global needs. Industry based funding connects university with the industry. But not that all societal needs are addressed by the industry. It all depends.

Mode of Funding and Reforming University Governance

The debate on public funding is not merely an issue of its adequacy. Mode of funding universities has gained enough policy traction in the recent years. Typical functioning of a university makes financing of university tricky and challenging. Universities operate based on a customer-input technology where students are both the critical inputs, and they constitute part of university output. However, students are not the customers in the conventional sense of the term as students cannot buy their degrees, but they have to earn it by dint of hard effort.⁵ Further, quality of students as embodied

⁵ Treating students as customers can lead to serious compromise with quality teaching as students are keen for degrees rather than toiling hard for learning.

in them are not replicable unlike typical inputs which compels the universities to compete for good students and good faculty as they are prerequisites to produce good quality output which manifests in fixing fees and award of scholarships. Further, the students and the teachers who are the critical inputs are not only decision-making individuals, but they are essentially self-interest driven individuals which requires leveraging mode of funding to ensure optimal performance of the teachers who are at the core university operation. To overcome these challenges, market construction for setting up institutional mechanism for funding and veering towards student aid are increasingly being preferred by the policymakers.

An absence of market means an absence of an accountability mechanism for the universities which is argued to have led to suboptimal functioning resulting in delivery of poor quality of education as indicated by Smith (1776/2003) long ago and supported by Buchanan and Devletoglu (1970) and many others.⁶ The neoliberal approach to policymaking seeks to construct a quasi-market using financing as an important policy instrument to recover cost to the extent feasible and desirable given the university mission and in the process, accountability towards market is installed to improve university governance.

There are two issues related to this issue. One is what is funded, input or output (or programme) and how is it funded, or how funding is channelised (Jongbloed, 2007). There has been a shift from input-based funding to output or programme based funding to infuse accountability into the functioning of universities to achieve optimal functioning as input based funding requires the students and the teachers to remain intrinsically motivated in their discharge of respective responsibilities which unfortunately do not necessarily conform to the reality.

To fix accountability, the public funding in the form of grants can be directed towards (i) students and (ii) university output. The institutions can be offered loans at a rate which is concessional or cheaper than the market rate.⁷ This facilitates construction of a market banking upon students' sovereignty in making choices. In both the cases, the extent of revenue a university receives would depend on the performances of the institutions, either in the form of satisfying the students' need to attract them and/or to do more research and produce more output in line with the funding requirements.

⁶ In the Eighteenth Century England, Smith (1776) diagnosed the failure of the universities in a manner which was not very different from his approach to understand the economy and society. He made two major suggestions. One, students should pay for their teachers' salaries just as it happens in any other market for goods and services where the consumers pay for what they receive, and, two, the teachers should compete to attract the best of the students. Buchanan and Devletoglu (1970) argued that it was essentially an absence of market which has led to an abuse of academic freedom resulting in poor delivery of education and conduct of research.

⁷ Setting up of a Higher Education Financing Agency (HEFA) by the Government of India is an example of this. The interest accrued on the loans taken are paid by the government whereas, the institutions repay the capital part of the loans by adopting cost recovery measures. The budgetary allocation for HEFA indicates that this is being discontinued with by the Government of India.

Funding Students Instead of Funding Universities

The debate on public funding of higher education is being transformed to a debate on the manner in which the students can be supported. The students can be given education vouchers which is a sort of financial empowerment to make students free to decide their courses and to select their institutions to pursue their higher studies. This is also one way of market construction to infuse competitiveness among the HEIs and make them achieve efficiency and deliver quality. However, attainment of efficiency need not lead to delivery of quality and achieve excellence.⁸

It is being argued at the global level (Chapman et al., 2020) which also finds voices in the Indian context (Das and Ray, 2019) that the government should prefer to extend subsidised loans to the students preferably in the form of income contingent loans (ICL) as opposed to the prevalent mortgage based on education loans. Hence, the subsidies can be directed towards subsidisation of ICL. In case of ICL the graduates are required to pay back loans only if they earn beyond a threshold level as determined by the government (Chapman et al., 2020). There are two issues here. The proponents of income contingent loans (ICL) suggest that the fees can be kept at the minimum level or even it can be kept at zero at the entry level (Chapman et al., 2020). There are two issues here. One, students will be made to see their pursuit of higher studies as investment and not as a right or even as the responsibility of the state towards higher education. The students are likely to feel after attaining success that they had paid for their education and the state merely shouldered the risk. Two, there could be an implementation problem. Abolition of fees is not good enough as scholarship remains an instrument to attract merit and support the margins who have high opportunity costs of pursuing higher studies in the context of India.

Concluding Remarks

Public–private divide in funding of higher education is at the core of the debate on higher education policymaking. This paper sought to deal with possibilities and challenges faced in negotiating with public–private funding of universities and trace out the possible implications for equity and excellence. This entailed interrogation of the traditional view that a public good leads to market failure which necessitates public funding. Neither higher education is a pure public good in practice nor does it require only public ownership for public delivery. Public funding supports

⁸ Achieving technical efficiency is a prerequisite for the delivery of quality education but it provides no guarantee for achieving excellence. Excellence requires academic freedom to foster creativity and innovativeness in teaching and research. The requirements for ensuring optimum utilisation of resources by setting targets and imposing compliance requirements may constrict the space for faculty autonomy and stifle their creative academic engagements in addition to unwarranted curtailment of costs which can affect quality of education.

privateness of higher education and at the same time, private giving is being encouraged to support public funded universities. Quantum of public funding is not merely an important issue the policymakers should be concerned with. Mode of public funding has become an important policy tool to improve university functioning in the process of funding universities. Though broadly speaking, private higher education has not been able to deliver quality education barring in cases of a few excellent private universities, private funding can foster public good character of higher education as long as the funding support is adequate, and motive is philanthropic. Market construction by designing suitable funding mechanism can have adverse side-effects on the stakeholders and eventually on the goals of higher education, in particular how the notions of equity and excellence are conceived. As the universities diversify sources of mobilising resources and strive to remain locally relevant and globally competitive (Pusser, 2014), it is to be seen how both the public and private universities will be able to contribute to the civil society and enhance publicness of higher education for humane growth and not merely economic growth. The growing dominance of online academic transactions particularly in teaching, has the potential to transform the landscape of higher education as unbundling (McCowan 2017) and offering of online courses open up a new source of revenue for a university albeit in a highly competitive scenario, both at the national as well as at the global level as online education facilitates the emergence of global market in higher education.

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Chapter 14

Making Entrepreneurship Central to University Curricula



Uttam Gaulee and Pedro Villarreal III

Abstract Considering its vast land resource combined with a demographic advantage and the youngest population in the world, there is much potential for a country that has as many trade partners as India. For example, according to a recent analysis from [WorldsTopExports.com](https://www.worldstopexports.com), India exports have included petroleum oils, unmounted diamonds, medication mixes in dosages, jewelry, rice, cars, automobile parts, accessories, and crustaceans, among other goods. India's interests might be better served if it focused on greater economic and other policy efforts on its domestic front. For example, India ranks 63rd among 190 in the World Bank's 2020 Doing Business report. Yet, because India has turned into opportunity every difficulty from Nalanda to Takshashila, this apparent deficit in the economic opportunity of a national strategic benefit should be served through entrepreneurship in its higher education system.

Introduction

India is the largest democracy in the world and serves as a strong Asian partner to the USA, Europe, UK, Australia, and others. India is strategically located in peninsular South Asia, serving as a trade partner to China, Bangladesh, and Pakistan. As of 2019, India is responsible for shipping approximately \$323 billion worth of goods around the world (Workman, 2020).

Considering the vast land resource combined with a demographic advantage with the youngest population in the world, there is much potential for a country that has as many trade partners as India. For example, according to a recent analysis from [WorldsTopExports.com](https://www.worldstopexports.com), India exports included petroleum oils, unmounted diamonds, medication mixes in dosages, jewelry, rice, cars, automobile parts, or accessories, crustaceans, among other goods. India's interests might be better served if it focused on greater economic and other policy efforts on its domestic front. For example, India ranks 63rd among 190 in the World Bank's 2020 Doing Business

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report. Yet, because India has turned into opportunity every difficulty from Nalanda to Takshashila, this apparent deficit in the economic opportunity of a national strategic benefit and be served through entrepreneurship in its higher education system.

Education and Entrepreneurship

This chapter argues that entrepreneurial thinking and training should be a priority of government and institutional investments in the undergraduate education system of India, if it is to unlock the country's full economic potential. With an abundance of talent, there is no reason why India should lag behind 62 other countries. A new education policy should embrace entrepreneurship as a core aspect of the higher education curriculum.

Because entrepreneurship can be taught, we have the opportunity to graduate our young men and women who are ready to take initiatives, experiment, learn, pivot, and grow as successful people. These are necessary skills for a college graduate regardless of the kind of job they will do in the future. However, since entrepreneurship is not a part of institutional curricula, we do not have enough problem-solvers, leaders, and business owners.

There are five elements required to ensure successful implementation of this goal. These include (1) increase entrepreneurial education and training in India's higher education, (2) create an ecosystem of entrepreneurship that includes policy, (3) create career communities that enhance opportunities for individual growth, (4) prepare individuals for the unknown, and (5) tap the untapped resources in communities most likely to benefit.

In addition to these changes, there are barriers to these changes that need to be understood and discussed. They serve to explain the potential problems to be encountered and the potential solutions to these barriers. Connecting the elements and preparing for the possible barriers is critical to the successful implementation of the policy proposals discussed. Galvanizing the workforce of today to move forward and become the workforce of tomorrow requires a commitment by higher or tertiary education and business/industry, uniting to confront the challenges ahead. This is, in part, the spirit of entrepreneurship in practice. Long-term relationships sustain the curricular innovations that emerge from these partnerships. Finally, acquiring industry input in preparing students to be proactive, thoughtful, critical, and innovative must be central to more effective curricular designs.

Doing Business Report

The World Bank published the *Doing Business report* that offered a series of metrics designed to measure what policy levers nations employ to attract foreign money and investments. It offered a set of indicators relevant to business organizations, in

Table 14.1 Ease of doing business

Rank	Economy	DB score
1	New Zealand	86.8
2	Singapore	86.2
3	Hong Kong SAR, China	85.3
4	Denmark	85.3
5	Korea, Rep	84.0
6	United States	84.0
7	Georgia	83.7
8	United Kingdom	83.5
9	Norway	82.6
10	Sweden	82.0
...	...	
60	Mexico	72.4
61	Bulgaria	72.0
62	Saudi Arabia	71.6
63	India	71.0
...	...	
190	Somalia	20.0

particular regulations that are instituted as well as the employment of policies that are designed to protect private property rights. The report compared approximately 190 world economies over time. India has struggled to achieve significant economic returns despite its position. For example, according to the World Bank Group (2020) in the *Doing Business report*, India has trailed behind many nations in the economic environments conducive to business (Table 14.1).

Success as a Rarity

Munaf Kapadia left a Google job to start a Bohri Kitchen. Tilak Mehta, a 13-year-old, started the company Papers and Parcels that is now worth over 1 Crore. However, similar stories of success are few and far between. While there have been a large number of people of Indian origin who became successful in Silicon Valley, it appears to be most improbable that an Indian will achieve these goals in their home country.

Failing to provide people with relevant entrepreneurial education has left the nation with a dearth of leading examples. India lacks an ecosystem for and conducive to entrepreneurs. Therefore, it is incumbent upon India to adapt and find new ways of generating wealth domestically. Creating more generations of entrepreneurs from within will dampen the belief that success is a rarity domestically. There are ways that people can change their given circumstances if they invoke entrepreneurial interests.

Staking people's success on their innovativeness will diminish the remnants of the caste structure that has limited opportunities for too long.

Untapped Potential

India is known as a country sending talented young men and women to other developed countries. India topped the list of those countries, with 3.12 million migrants known to be residing in OECD nations as of 2015 to 2016 (OECD, 2016). India has 1.35 billion people and 638,000 villages (United Nations, 2019). Higher education is yet to reach the masses. India's higher education gross enrollment ratio (GER) still lags other countries, developed or otherwise (Gaulee, 2016).

The typical age of the typical student in higher (tertiary) education is between 18 and 22 years. As calculated, in India, the higher education GER is 30.6%. Conversely, according to UNESCO (2020), the average reported GER in the developed nations is more than twice that average or higher: USA is 88%, 60% in the UK, 70% in Germany, and 69% in Canada.

Start-up companies can create jobs and reform villages. A key message is to transform the education system to encourage

- (1) students to inquire, create, independently think, and challenge cross-frontiers, and
- (2) teachers to inspire students to explore.

India enjoys one of the youngest populations in the world, with an average national age of approximately 29 years. It is largely a young population where 41% of the population is under 18 years. India's young population will have considerable economic considerations given the significant proportion of the population that is young. Indeed, India will inure a relatively significant economic benefit and nation-building outcomes as this segment of the population comes into and through adulthood.

Social Mobility Index

A new index designed to measure social mobility internationally was created by The World Economic Forum. As per the newly released report, India's social mobility ranking is 72 out of the 82 economies measured. This finding illustrates the amount of growth potential in this area. India's greatest source of untapped resources, the presence of human capital, could serve to buoy the country.

According to the World Economic Forum (2020), most world economies struggle or fail to provide the environmental conditions necessary resulting in lost opportunities that lead to persistent historical inequalities in the social and economic status of their citizenry. Advancing a policy and practical agenda that prescribes an

entrepreneurial spirit democratizes participation in India's broader economy, thereby enhancing upward social mobility.

Solimano (2013) examines theories of entrepreneurship relating them to the sociological and economic literature on middle class and social mobility. The author also discusses their relevance to the promotion of economic development, sustainable growth, and social mobility in the Latin American and Caribbean regions. The social or class mobility process applies to India in similar ways.

Creating an Ecosystem of Entrepreneurship

We have seen a large majority of people of Indian origin who became successful in Silicon Valley. Why can they not be as successful in India? It is only because we did not provide them with entrepreneurial education and we did not create the ecosystem for entrepreneurs to grow. The ecosystem of entrepreneurship consists of industry, policy, education, government, etc. Together, these entities can improve the conditions that drive change, either positively or negatively. These can influence the direction of the business from within but also have the potential to influence the long-term prospects of the countries through the education and training of an entire generation of workers.

Partnerships between education and industry serve to promote outcomes for all involved. For example, Central Arizona College's innovative project "Education at the Speed of Industry," has been highly touted for excellence in establishing the types of strategic alliances that promote development, in the economy and community. The program exemplifies a successful industry partnership. If partnerships between industry and education can be replicated within India's context, the development of innovations and the jobs that empower these innovations could serve to power the next generation of economic development domestically.

Curriculum Effectuation: Entrepreneurial Thinking

The intentional engagement with a specific type of action such as one found in entrepreneurship is referred to as effectuation. In *Effectuation: Elements of Entrepreneurial Expertise* (2009), Sarasvathy develops a theory and technique of non-predictive control useful to recently created businesses. The theory underlies what is useful in developing new firms and markets. Along with Herbert Simon, Sarasvathy employed methods derived from other sciences such as the economic and cognitive sciences to establish how to use effectuation in entrepreneurship. This work serves as a basis for understanding and implementing effectuation within the entrepreneurship.

According to the author, effectuators complete tasks and find solutions that merely satisfice, and they create the conditions for making opportunities arise out of nowhere.

Effectuators are also known for understanding the potential risks and preparing for all potential scenarios in a given entrepreneurial situation. This serves as an immensely valuable text that highlights the source and the means of effectuating in action. Effectuation is likely to serve of critical value to those in the fields of management, cognitive sciences, and economics.

Innovations in the business industry will also require innovations in the education sector. An example of this type of innovation can be found in Alamo Community College in the USA. The new field of Industrial Technology which combines advances in technology with the latest manufacturing processes is one important example of this type of innovation found in the workplace. This evolution in the workplace has hastened the development of this new field, and institutions like Alamo Community College are innovating intentionally their offerings by exploring this and similar niche areas.

These recently developed strategies exemplify the application of unique perspectives in training and workforce development. Previously, very specialized technicians were needed. However, today's context ushers an era of competitiveness and innovation that strikes standard models down. Today's market within the industrial marketplace requires employees who have insights and training across varied fields. The cross-training can include expertise in electronic, fluid power, electrical, and other devices making obsolete traditional means of understanding such as mechanical and electrical engineering. As institutions of higher education consider the educational and training needs of the industries they come to serve, they will need to interact often with these new business sectors to develop innovative curricula that do not stagnate over time.

Create Career Communities

Of great value to the integration of the entrepreneurial approach is to reach out and create career communities. Career communities connect students with their ideal personalities through networks.

This pandemic has made it clear that you do not necessarily need to fly across continents to meet and interact with someone. The world has recently witnessed that as the world is plagued by the ravaging pandemic, India was able to connect its 330 million students online for remote instruction. The "Reimagining & Transforming the University" global conference exemplifies and demonstrates the intellect, enormity, courage, technology, and scintillating brilliance that can commune through electronic means, as needed.

India has the opportunity to unleash that potential by having its young men and women connect with their brothers and sisters who have been successful around the globe, particularly in developed countries like the USA.

Another way to build career communities would be to build the workforce in the slum communities throughout the country. As both higher education educates and trains people who are from the slums, they return home and become beacons

of success, sharing the stories that highlight their entrepreneurial journeys and provide narratives of hope and imitation. As more people from these slums become successful, more will consider higher education and entrepreneurship as a way out of poverty. With more people finding success, more people from poverty will seek to find similar people around them who can act as mentors and build value for each other.

Prepare for the Unknown

According to the World Economic Forum, over 65% of today's kids are going to work a job that has yet to be invented. Now we can't train people for jobs that don't exist.

But we can future-proof them by connecting them with people working in industries at the vanguard of change like ed-tech, fin-tech, med-tech, AI, robotics, nano-technology, brain research, 3D-printing, in combination with mobile networks and computing. These prospective industries are likely to create much of the innovation to come. While higher education can serve to be responsive to this development through research, industry will likely serve as the origin of much of this innovation. Finding the space to connect higher education and prospective industries or future jobs could serve to prepare the country for the unknowns now and in the future.

O.P. Jindal Global University serves as an example. The success of O.P. Jindal Global University, one of the fastest universities to rise in international rankings has delivered much to the country. If India is to continue to prepare for the unknowns of the future it will need to create the institutional infrastructures that will lead and innovate in the higher education space.

Career communities will create opportunities for people to be in touch with people several steps ahead of them, who can identify gaps, opportunities, and roles, and even give them access to jobs. Salesforce is a \$17 billion USD company that employs thousands of Indians. Salesforce has announced its plan to train 250,000 students in India over the next two years. The company is working hard to reskill people, thereby preparing them for the emerging job roles in an area of future need.

A recent projection by International Data Corporation, a research consulting firm, suggests that Salesforce technologies will create over 548 thousand jobs and drive \$67 billion in revenue in India by 2024 (IDC, 2019). These types of outcomes in the region illustrate the potential for India's future.

Power of Networks

Networking can have a profound effect on business opportunities and their sizing. Thus, entrepreneurs should seek to build capacity by growing their networks. Indeed,

networks are essential particularly among small businesses seeking to build opportunities and develop projects. Ordeñana and Arteaga (2013) have found that social capital is critical in the Ecuadorean business context.

Evidence from both survey and secondary data analyses offers support for the adage within the context of entrepreneurship: it is *who* you know that is as important as *what* you know (Ordeñana & Arteaga, 2013). Thus, it is critical that curricula on entrepreneurship encompass the methods and means of acquiring and sustaining these networks. Providing the tools that create and maintain these networks is also important to prospective entrepreneurs.

There should be an effort to emphasize a culture of celebrating entrepreneurs. The present role models such as Munaf Kapadia (Google to Samosa) and Tilak Mehta (a 13-year-old who started a 1 crore company delivering parcels) empowering the incubators like Professor Choudhari and Sandeep Maheshwari who exemplify the types of successful innovators can go a long way to achieving much.

Celebrating the success of the institutions of higher education such as O.P. Jindal Global University is not nearly enough. Empower them by providing research funding and provide them with scholarship monies so that they can reach out. These successes can serve as the early formation of communities who engage in the practice of a particular type of expertise or industry. They can serve to propagate powerful networks that open doors and filter opportunities to the right people.

Major Barriers

Under this subsection, we will discuss some major barriers to unlocking India's economic potential.

Mental Barriers

The mental barrier serves as the most significant barrier to entrepreneurial thinking. The syndrome of self-doubt is so endemic that it seeps into people working at the policy levels. This barrier hinders the potential for developing success. This dialogue is of particular crucial benefit at a time when India has released its National Education Policy (Government of India, 2020). The entire 65-page policy document peripherally mentions the word “entrepreneurship” four times but the idea needs to be foregrounded as a major pillar of government policies. Bridging this vision for the future of Indian Education requires understanding and limiting these barriers in practice while reifying those 10 bullets to success; these 10 ingredients include:

1. World-class education
2. Multidisciplinarity and liberal education
3. Regulated reforms—public and private

4. Expansion of quality, inclusion
5. Regional ecosystem
6. Faculty focus—empowering and retention, mentoring
7. Governance and leadership in institutional building efforts
8. Academic freedom
9. Public funding in private philanthropy
10. Internationalization, accreditation, ranking, and benchmarking.

However, we must raise several questions or we will be doing a disservice to this intellectual community. How does the National Education Policy look at the private institutions such as the O.P. Jindal Global University, which is now emerging as a jewel of India? Is the policy so heavy toward homogenization that it may stifle innovation? India has committed to invest 6% of GDP in higher education. Is that enough to build a brighter future for India?

Failing to Hire Entrepreneurial Thought Leaders

Hence to produce tomorrow's education leaders and ministers who can think in entrepreneurial ways, this subject should be made mandatory. If India's leadership values entrepreneurship, then these values will seep into the policy frameworks that policy leaders create. This enhances the likelihood of policy prescriptions that enhance the educational and societal relevance of entrepreneurship.

Additionally, making it a culture to celebrate emerging entrepreneurs would be beneficial nationally. Presenting role models such as Munaf Kapadia, Tilak Mehta, and Sandeep Maheshwari would serve to illustrate the role of entrepreneurship in the development of national pride, wealth creation, and technological innovations. Stories are powerful features leading to imitation.

As other parts of a nation's leadership begin to value the hiring of these thought leaders, the context for policy prescriptions and industry practices can allow startups and businesses the opportunity to overcome some of the challenges likely to be encountered. It is strategically a good thing to have innovators in the business in the government and other service areas. However, a country should be clear that industry actors can act to solidify their company's prominence in a sector leading to monopolies rather than helping an entire business sector or industry.

Failing to Integrate Data Science

We need to future-proof our students by teaching processes for data science. By familiarizing students with the emerging technology, we prepare them for the innovations that emerge over time. If we fail to integrate these skills, we fail to fully prepare students for future economies. Asking students to find the seams and

spaces to be disruptive is important. Understanding an organization's data is necessary for businesses to outperform the market competition, both domestically and internationally.

Data science is challenging assumptions in the business sector and finding spaces of opportunities where none previously existed, at least in the USA. Bringing these lessons to India could serve to ignite innovations in business processes, practices, and logistics. These could serve to increase national output. Data science will continue to increase in relevance in the future. Preparing people to function in this space should improve future outcomes, particularly for entrepreneurial businesses and startups.

Failing to Localize Research

Methodologically, we would suggest that research take an eclectic approach while remaining cognizant of the local context. Whether you use buzz mining, trend tracking, or competitive analysis, brainstorming, body storming, content analysis, expert interviews, social media research, it is important to remember the bottom line. Always ask yourself: Is the current approach working? Is it directing innovation and change? Is it producing the knowledge that is relevant within your community? Researchers must change their focus from a prescription in terms of "international" journal publications. Researchers should be able to tell a story, your story! After all, the end goal of your research should not just be academic accolades such as publications and/or citations. It should be the impact that your work will have in the real world context! Therefore, researchers should be concerned with how we can make it more consequential to people's lives.

Inadequate Government Policy

In the context of the newly released National Education Policy recommendations, we would like to commend India for a forward-thinking move. The commitment to academic freedom provides benefits to the institutional pursuits but also creates opportunities for broadening the scope of educators. This may include allowing higher education faculty to engage in service opportunities such as business and entrepreneurial relationships that connect higher education and the industrial and technological workforce communities.

Public policy implications raise issues including the following: (1) large-scale policy provides entrepreneurship much potential as well as many limitations; (2) there are questions about the processes and policies that could remove obstacles to and reduce restrictions in accessing credit, education, markets, and even technology and; (3) there remains an unknown as to whether policies can promote entrepreneurship, whether at small- or medium-scale levels. Such entrepreneurial ventures create new

jobs, enhance social mobility, and generate income that big corporations, conglomerates, and economic elites might not. Solimano (2013) argues that these large entities often impose pressure on governments, limiting the amount of competition within their marketplaces, thereby limiting the potential of entrepreneurship.

Conclusion

While this conversation has been about looking to change things now, India must be prepared for a different future. India's policymakers should implement these recommendations in conjunction before too much time elapses. However, we cannot and should not see education policy occurring inside a vacuum, outside of a nation's context. Education policy should be viewed in tandem with other national priorities such as labor policy, industrial policy, economic policy, and even foreign policy, which are important in determining a national market edge in this age of the interconnected knowledge economy.

India can choose to continue its current course or it may choose to implement significant policy, educational, industrial, social, and other changes that could potentially lead to significant economic benefit. Society in India has experienced rapid changes but these changes have had little positive return for the vast proportion of Indians throughout. What course India takes is largely in the hands of national leaders, education policymakers, industry leaders, and the people of India.

The newly released national education policy is ambitious with a plethora of programs aiming to bring about the economic potential of the country. Among many positive aspects of the new policy are the choices given to students, increasing the number of international students, and the introduction of an academic bank of credit. However, without integrating entrepreneurship as an integral part of education policy, the goals as envisaged in the national education policy may be difficult to achieve.

Choosing to integrate entrepreneurial training in higher and postsecondary education could do much to improve the economic and social well-being of millions of Indians. Imagine a place where Indians are able to improve the economic standing of their citizens by integrating small curricular changes that could spur innovation throughout the country, both domestically and regionally. These two paths come with a price for execution; however, the economic return of this choice will likely pay significant dividends.

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Chapter 15

Higher Education in a Post-COVID World: Employment, Entrepreneurship and Socio-Economic Mobility



Nisha Nair, Prerna Sharma, Sandal Agrawal, Rhonda L. Lenton, Ronita Choudhari, and Uttam Gaulee

Introduction

In the socio-economic context higher education has been viewed as a means for affecting upward social mobility, in both developed and developing nations of the world. Inculcating employability skills and the spirit of entrepreneurship has been viewed as an important contribution and outcome of higher education. The ongoing pandemic has not only changed the way higher education is delivered and accessed; it has also cast uncertainties on one of the important goals of higher education—improving the socio-economic prospects of the learner. While it can be argued that

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these are not the only aims that higher education strives to affect, they remain important in the light of predictions about negative growth rates and shrinking economies, globally.

As per the International Labour Organisation report on ‘World Employment and Social Outlook Trends (ILO 2020a, b)’, global unemployment will rise by 2.5 million in 2020. The ILO report states that about 188 million people are unemployed globally. Added to this are the challenges posed by the pandemic. Thus, the questions of employability, entrepreneurship and socio-economic mobility espouse new shapes and forms, given the crisis brought on by the pandemic. The Global Employment for Youth Trends Report, 2020 by ILO suggests that ‘while developing education and skills of young workers is key to progress unless such supply side measures are complemented or matched with demand-side measures for job creation, they risk fomenting discouragement among the young’.

Higher education institutions must pivot around to provide leadership in the areas of employment, entrepreneurship and socio-economic mobility as the global workplace gets transformed by the pandemic. To further examine the role universities can play in enhancing students’ employability, entrepreneurship and socio-economic mobility during and beyond the pandemic, we invited a set of expert scholars and academic leaders to reflect on the issue and share their experiences.

Professor Dr. Eduardo M. Penalver from Cornell Law School; Dr. Rhonda L. Lenton, President and Vice-Chancellor of York University; Professor Dr. Uttam Gaulee from Morgan State University; and Professor Ronita Choudhari from O. P. Jindal Global University engaged in an insightful discussion. The discussion brought forth various nuances related to the role of a university in promoting graduate employability, entrepreneurship and affecting social mobility. During the course of the discussion, they addressed the following questions:

- (1) How should universities evolve to help the youth build the required skills to secure themselves a future?
- (2) How can universities create a launchpad for successful entrepreneurs? What are some of the unique challenges faced by women entrepreneurs? How can universities enhance their entrepreneurship programmes to overcome these challenges?
- (3) Given that both leading and emerging economies have been trying to deal with the concern of educated unemployment, how do you think universities should be reimaged and transformed to respond to this concern more effectively? What approaches should universities adopt to overcome the concerns created particularly due to the employment competency gap?
- (4) What role do universities play in driving positive socio-economic mobility? How can universities integrate an entrepreneurial mindset across all disciplines, given that it allows students to grow as independent leaders and make them more ready for any form of employment?

President Lenton emphasised the need for universities to support students and workers in developing the broad and transferable skills needed to respond to a rapidly changing economy and society, including by providing opportunities for

workers to re-skill and up-skill. President Lenton added that universities must emerge as institutions of lifelong learning. Prof. Chaudhari focused on the role of the universities in promoting entrepreneurship and serving as a launchpad, for student entrepreneurs while instilling resilience in students to accept failure and prepare for future successes. She also highlighted the need to promote women entrepreneurs and the need for presenting them with role models who they can learn from and get inspired. Prof. Penalver foregrounded the overarching role that universities play in the holistic development of the students going beyond the ask of inculcating employability skills and the way a liberal education can promote both. Prof. Gaulee stressed on the importance of universities to act as a catalyst that produces socially relevant knowledge and take initiatives that harness the potential of its youth propelling social mobility. He also stressed on the need for universities to promote entrepreneurial mindset across disciplines rather than programmes. He identified the government's role through policy intervention and support as an important aspect of this mission, which would provide higher education institutions the freedom to contribute to the community effectively.

The discussants shed light on the potential for higher education innovation to solve these age-old concerns in a new environment. They also captured the imagination of what higher education institutions can learn and how they can prepare themselves and their students to handle these issues during and beyond the pandemic.

Universities as a Site for Lifelong Learning: Skilling, Re-Skilling and Up-Skilling

Rhonda L. Lenton

In recent years the labour market has been profoundly affected by technology and automation, as well as the globalisation of economic markets. In a RBC (2018) research paper titled, *Humans Wanted: How Canadian youth can thrive in the age of disruption*, it was reported that 50% of jobs will be disrupted by automation within the next decade, while other jobs will be de-skilled or eliminated altogether. The pandemic has served to accelerate many of these employment trends. Universities can respond to these challenges by supporting students who are entering directly from high school, while also expanding the role they play in supporting industry professionals who are upgrading and re-skilling.

The role of universities in a competitive labour market is to provide high-quality educational experiences that prepare students to apply their skills in a rapidly changing economy and society. Regardless of a student's area of study—whether it be in the humanities or social sciences or STEM—the roles they pursue in the workforce will require high levels of conceptual autonomy and complex skillsets.

Universities are well-positioned to prepare students to contribute to the global knowledge economy by nurturing digital fluencies and transferable skills such as critical thinking, social perceptiveness, active listening and complex problem-solving.

But universities must also recognise that as the labour market evolves, the need for responsive lifelong learning becomes greater. It is estimated that, on average, a person will have as many as seven different jobs over their lifetime. Increasingly, those in the workforce are revisiting postsecondary education to acquire or upgrade skills in order to meet current and emerging demands. Universities can support lifelong learners by developing accelerated professional programmes—designed in collaboration with industry leaders—that are tailored to the needs of employers and that feature experiential opportunities for learners, graduates and industry experts looking to enhance their professional and personal qualifications.

Ultimately, continuing education and lifelong learning go hand-in-hand with professional growth in a global knowledge economy.

Transforming University's Approach to Entrepreneurial Programmes: Guard-Rail for Student Entrepreneurs

Ronita Choudhari

I am thinking about the way we (universities) should look at the idea of providing a space for students to embark on an entrepreneurial journey. It is important for us to recognise that no matter at what age one is, there are going to be bumps that there are going to be failures on the road. We would have to pick ourselves up, continue to learn and keep going so that we can create an environment within a university which allows that to happen.

We have to make our students learn how to fail, how to try an idea out and to see if it works so that they can reflect on their learnings and continue. Entrepreneurial programmes would have to be different from the purely academic courses. They should instil resilience in our students. It has to be an ongoing and reiterative process. It is observed that those students who have graduated from college to become successful entrepreneurs are often those who have tried one or maybe two different business ideas during the university and then it clicked afterwards.

So universities have to provide a safe space for students to take on risks, failure and try out new ideas. This can be incorporated through career services offered by the universities as well for recent graduates. Given the volatile economies and current uncertainties, if there is a student who wants to take an entrepreneurial idea forward, perhaps the career services can provide a safe space for them to try out their ideas so that they can come back to the university afterwards and be supported by the university, it is all about creating a nurturing environment.

We should look at entrepreneurship in general like it is a highway, where each student is going to go in a different kind of car, with their own kind of machinery,

and universities can provide a certain amount of guardrail so that they can continue going forward. They might go off and exit on their own but we still provide those guardrails so that they just don't fall off the highway in general which is imperative here.

COVID-19 has accelerated the existing issues with contraction of the economy and the concomitant increase in unemployment and hiring freezes. Therefore, in the current times, such programmes assume even greater significance as these university incubation centres iron out entry barriers for students. I think this is a fabulous time for students to try out new ideas and use different open source tools and start their own businesses. Universities should support them and let them know that they are their guardrails and help their students attain their entrepreneurial dreams.

Plurality in the Ideas of 'Entrepreneurs': Indian Women Entrepreneurs in Search of Role Models

In the specific context of women entrepreneurs in India, the challenge at hand is not that women are genetically different entrepreneurs or different bosses than men. The challenge in the present scenario is that there are very few women role models in entrepreneurship in India. The women and students' body in the universities need to be made aware that there are different ways, possibilities and options for female entrepreneurs today. We cannot work with a singular understanding of how female entrepreneurs are supposed to be or should be. We have to make sure that all of our female students and everyone in the community realise that there are different ways to be a CEO or a founder or an entrepreneur or a community organiser and make sure that they are able to see and interact with the type of women that are out there to imagine what is possible.

We have incredibly smart women with great ideas and we need to work very closely with each of them. For example, there is this female student who is providing in-depth research and data on how to have more LGBTQ plus workspaces in India. Our entrepreneurial programmes have to reassure our female students that it is not only women entrepreneurs with more masculine traits and characteristics are desirable for entrepreneurship or can succeed at their entrepreneurial journeys, for then we run the risk of alienating women that do not see in themselves those masculine traits. Hence, as long as our programmes consistently provide exposure, communication, role models and different options to our women, we can have more female entrepreneurship.

Also, in the Indian context, we need to recognise the efforts of mothers and women who are working and running their small businesses, whether it is food catering or a garment store or anything else. We have to show appreciation for these kinds of entrepreneurs as well in addition to entrepreneurship that, for example, runs an app for a billion people. Hence, these are certain challenges that the women entrepreneurs

are facing and those which our entrepreneurial programmes are trying to overcome. There is no one way to be a woman entrepreneur or boss.

The Purpose of Higher Education and Graduate Employability

Eduardo M. Penalver

We need to commence by challenging the premises about the way universities are required to reimagine and transform themselves to respond to the concern of unemployment and consider if employment is the fundamental purpose of the university. There is a need to draw a distinction between professional schools and undergraduate education. Especially, in regards that universities have multiple goals, among them the most important is the production and transmission of knowledge for its own sake. Knowledge and education have an intrinsic value; apart from employment outcomes, that are at the heart of the university.

The professional schools are different, they serve as an entry point into a profession.; Employment is certainly one of their fundamental goals and also one of the key metrics that they use to assess themselves. We can say and see that we know the commission of universities in pursuit of knowledge for its own sake but employment matters. It is one of the reasons for which students come to college and also one of the reasons that they seek or university education, and we need to be attentive to it. This also connects to broader goals of education, as we educate our students not only to gain employment but also to become better human beings. We educate our students so that they can become well-rounded, fuller, individuals who can effectively engage with the world using the tools that we give them in their education and become better citizens.

One of the goals of liberal education is to produce free citizens who can understand and engage in political processes effectively, but these qualities also make our students more attractive employees. That is to say, the efforts we take to make the well-rounded and holistic human beings also make them critical thinkers, problem solvers and creative people who, therefore, are really suited for employment in a modern economy. A modern economy does not focus much on a specific set of skills as much as on the ability to engage broadly across a changing landscape with unpredictable challenges and shifting technologies. Therefore, it is not surprising that people with university education are doing significantly better in the employment market than those without one.

In the United States, people with a college degree have unemployment levels, which is about one-third of people without a college degree, and their income level is about three times higher than the income level of people without a college degree. This indicates that we are doing something right. The education that we are giving our students does make them very successful in the employment market. But we are

not trying to train them up for a particular set of skills, as much as giving them broad intellectual tools that they can be used in a whole range of settings over the course of their lifestyle (Hussar et al., 2020).

The rapidly changing technology has put a premium on education in the employment market in a way because it dissociates employment from knowledge of a specific set of facts or a specific set of skills. It pushes on the breadth of intellect and asks one to be flexible as technology keeps shifting. President Clinton once spoke about lifelong learning and the way the shifting technology landscape makes students continue to engage with schools not just as a network in the profession, but also as a place where they can come back and continue to hone their knowledge about shifting technologies (Office of the Press Secretary, 1996).

Role of Higher Education in Affecting Social Mobility

Uttam Gaulee

Over the decades there have been discerning phenomena that show stagnation, both at the bottom and the top end of income distribution around the world. The experts on social mobility describe this phenomenon as intergenerational stickiness. I make a clarion call for developing bolder, more multidimensional, and visionary action plans to address the existing inequality of opportunities (Gaulee, Sharma, and Bista, 2020). As per the projections of the World Economic forum, the person born at the bottom 10% income bracket in India is very likely to remain in the bracket for the next seven generations. The situation is the same in the United States and China as they are not doing much better either. Social mobility is better in Nordic countries. The role of intellectuals should be to critically assess and provide scenarios that help in understanding the problem and finding the solution.

Higher education institutions like O. P. Jindal Global University should start initiatives to promote social mobility and recruit students from the slum. The students from the slum have the energy, enthusiasm and talent but lack the opportunity and role models. STAR scholars network¹ gives a supportive hand to institutions that are willing to create those stories today that inspire the developing world tomorrow. There is a need for researchers to take an eclectic approach, whether they use Shamik Bose's⁸ mining trend to track competitive analysis or brainstorm, body storm or do social media research, they should not forget that the bottom line is of producing relevant knowledge for the community. We should always ask ourselves if it is working,

¹ The Society of Transnational Academic Researchers (STAR) leverages the power of transnational connections to support upward academic mobility for new generations of international scholars and graduate students through mentoring, open access publishing, leadership development, and community-building. ⁸ Shamik Bose is a market expert.

is it moving the needle, is it producing the knowledge that is relevant to our community? To provide impetus to entrepreneurship, one should reach out to create career opportunities, connect students with the right people through networks.

The pandemic has made it clear, that you do not necessarily need to fly across the continents to meet and interact with someone on this planet. You can be wherever you are and connect with the right set of people to achieve your career goals. India has the opportunity to unleash that potential, by having its young men and women connect with the successful people from across the globe, in countries like the United States who can help them grow.

According to the World Economic Forum, over 65% of today's children are going to work for a job that has not been invented yet. The Future of Jobs Report maps the jobs and skills of the future, tracking the pace of change. It aims to shed light on the pandemic-related disruptions in 2020, contextualised within a longer history of economic cycles and the expected outlook for technology adoption, jobs and skills in the next five years (World Economic Forum, 2020).

Universities Promoting Entrepreneurship: Developing Entrepreneurial Mindset

Entrepreneurship as a subject should be mandatory for all students because they are going to be tomorrow's leaders, politicians, policymakers and its executives and companies in organisations and institutions. We often think of policy as self-sustained in itself, like the release of the National Education Policy (National Education Policy 2020) but we forget that education does not work in a singular fashion. We cannot and we should not attempt to see educational policy in a vacuum. In fact, education policy should be in tandem with other national priorities like labour policy, industrial policy, fiscal policy, etc.

We must consider questions like, where does the country stand in World Bank reports on the ease of doing business? India currently ranks 63rd in the World Bank Report 2020 on ease of doing business (Source: Doing Business database 2020). India is one of the fastest-growing economies, and it has progressed immensely over the past decades, but there is huge scope for improvement. We have a long way to go and we need to empower the institutions which can provide that kind of opportunities to affect further growth.

India has been ranked 72 out of 82 economies in social mobility by World Economic Forum, which needs to improve (World Economic Forum 2020). India has a long way to go ahead but there are examples of people like Munaf Kapadia

who left his job at Google to start a food venture Bohri kitchen² or Tilak Mehta³ and his startup of carrying papers and parcels.

The pandemic presents us with an opportunity to tell our policymakers that India needs to be more business-friendly. The success of institutions like O.P. Jindal Global University should be celebrated and they should be empowered with research funding so that they can reach out to the slums. Universities can recruit other talents that are so abundantly available on Indian soil. There seems to be another problem in India. Talented Indians are leaving the country seeking higher education in other developing or developed countries with the hope of getting more opportunities than in India. The Indian government should commit to and encourage such universities like O. P. Jindal Global University that brings together policymakers, intellectuals from around the world to make history.

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² Munaf Kapadia worked at Wrigley and then Google before leaving it all to start The Bohri Kitchen with his mother from their home in Colaba. The Bohri Kitchen or TBK, is a small food venture founded by Munaf's mother and him in November 2014. The word 'Bohri' is slang for Bohra, the de rigueur classification for members of our community.

³ Tilak Mehta started his own business at the age of 13. He used to see his father coming home all tired after the whole day of working. That was the time when the idea of having a startup dedicated to carrying papers and small parcels across the city with an assured day delivery system struck his mind.

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Part V
Future Trajectories of Internationalization

Chapter 16

Is the Future of Higher Education Tied to the Fate of Globalisation?



Mohan Kumar

Abstract The COVID pandemic, considered more a “grey rhino” event than a “black swan” event, will most certainly affect the future trajectory of globalisation. Inasmuch as the boom in higher education was attributable, at least in part, to the process of globalisation, what might the future behold for education under a changed scenario? There will be both challenges and opportunities, and academic institutions which are nimble and agile will benefit much more than other institutions which prefer to remain rooted in the past.

Introduction

The COVID pandemic has had a negative impact on a whole range of human activities. Among the activities severely affected are travel, tourism and, of course, education. But education is an indispensable activity, especially for a developing country like India where the challenges are monumental. The enormous negative effects of COVID on education are only just beginning to be felt. Understandably, the focus has been on the short-term implications in terms of lost teaching, delivery of online lectures and take-home assessments. What would be more serious though is the impact on the mental health of students which will be felt over the medium to long term (Son et al., 2020).

COVID-19 is not going to be a one-off, black swan type of an event that is unlikely to recur. On the contrary, there is every possibility that pandemics of this kind are going to occur and occur frequently (Maxmen and Tollefson, 2020; Fischer and Katz, 2013). So, the methods used to adapt to this pandemic in the field of education and the lessons learnt will be extremely useful for the future.

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The phenomenon of globalisation has traversed, at least, three key phases. In the first phase, between 1870 and 1914, the steamship and telephone ensured that people and merchandise moved long distances. From 1945 to 1980, in the second phase of globalisation, high-speed railways, containers and aircrafts took the movement of people and goods to a whole different level. The third wave of globalisation since 1980 has been characterised by information and communications technology, the internet, mobile phones and e-commerce. The key question which needs to be posed is this: Is the COVID going to wreak lasting and irreversible changes in the process of globalisation which will then have a huge impact on higher education or will we simply go back to a “modified” status quo ante? It is a difficult question to answer, but the attempt needs to be made.

Phases of Higher Education

Establishment or Elite Phase of Higher Education (1870–1914)

The establishment of higher education coincided broadly with the first phase of globalisation, i.e. from 1870 to 1914. The universities in the UK, namely, Oxford and Cambridge, were of course set up much earlier in the thirteenth century. Harvard University, established in 1636, basically imported the “Ox-bridge” model from the UK (Duke, 1996). The first PhD at Yale was awarded in 1861. So, while higher education was getting established in this period, it is fair to say that only those who had the means to pay got the opportunity for higher education. In this sense, it was the elite who had the opportunity to get higher education even in the countries in which these universities were established. In countries like India, this became even more skewed in favour of the elite because the cost of travel and cost of boarding had to be added to the cost of tuition fees. Around 1833 though, at least in the United States, two things happened that countered the distinctly “elitist” trend of the period in question. In 1833, the Oberlin College was the first to admit women and in 1835, the same college admitted Blacks setting a huge precedent (Horton, 1985). In 1869, Cornell was the first Ivy League School to become co-ed setting another valuable precedent. One can already see that there were pressures for making education less elitist and more accessible to as many people as possible.

But the period 1890–1914 was a period which could be legitimately called the beginning of mass education in the form of the “State College” and then the “Community College”. The State College in the United States became synonymous with the opportunity for people to potentially gain access to higher education. This evolution of the State and Community College has sometimes been characterised as the fundamental transformation of the university as an institution of higher learning (Thelin, 2004).

Despite the above, the idea of foreign students coming in large numbers to gain access to higher education abroad was still a novel idea and was prohibitively expensive and time-consuming, given that air travel really became commercialised only by 1950.

Internationalisation of Higher Education (1945–1980)

It may be observed that the period between 1914 and 1945 (called the inter-war period) is not covered. This is deliberate because the process of globalisation took a backseat during the inter-war period. Besides, there was also the period of the “Great Recession” which put paid to efforts at globalisation. The period after the end of World War II, however, was a golden period for what is known as the internationalisation of higher education. Indeed, a lot of experts believe that this period may be well described as the “mass higher education era” at least in the United States and the West (Kromydas, 2017). This period was, first, characterised by the Truman Commission (1947) on higher education which made the key recommendation that the college-going rate in the United States must be doubled by 1960. The Commission members realised that the cost of going to college was the main barrier and if nothing was done about it, then the goal above was simply not realisable (Zook, 1947). So, the Commission recommended that the Federal Government needed to step in with financial assistance to expand the opportunities for those who otherwise may not be able to afford a college education. To summarise, the Truman Commission made some far-reaching recommendations: ending discrimination based on race; ending discrimination based on religion; eliminating anti-feminism and last but not least, eliminating financial barriers through the development of national scholarship (for undergraduate education) and fellowship programmes (for graduate education). There was also in 1944 the GI Bill in the United States which released billions of dollars for underwriting the cost of college for returning veterans who had never dreamt of going to college before (DOD, 2019). Just between 1945 and 1949, 2.2 million veterans attended college in what was the largest scholarship grant in the history of the United States of America. There was also the Harvard Report of 1945 titled, “General Education in a Free Society” which produced five consequences: first, it promoted concern for knowledge beyond the Western sphere; second, it spurred an increase in education budgets; third, it bestowed more freedom for students and professors in classrooms; fourth, it put an end to the old curriculum; and finally, it helped the United States become a frontrunner in higher education. The period between 1945 to say 1980 saw a 500% increase in enrolments in the United States. But by 1980, it was also true that the cost of tuition doubled in major American universities.

Globalisation of Education (1980 to Date)

The globalisation of higher education essentially meant three things: major educational institutions/universities in the West focused on increased enrolment by attracting international students through new programmes; second, universities went on a signing spree for global partnerships; and third an emphasis on institutional reputation (through international rankings) and quality. For India, this was the phase when student migration was at its height which is still showing no signs of slowing down. From India's perspective, consider the following statistics on the students currently studying in the major destinations, namely, the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia and Canada:

(1) United States of America:

- As per the report titled Open Doors, by 31 March 2020, the United States saw a drop in the total number of Indian students at 4.4% to 193,124 students. In the year 2012–2013, the United States had seen a drop of 3.5% in the number of Indian students.
- In 2018–2019, there were 202,014 Indian students in the United States as compared to 2017–2018 when there were 196,271 students. The drop in the number of students from India occurred because the United States saw a drop in enrolment of both cumulative and new foreign students.
- As opposed to the 29.4% growth in 2014–2015, and 24.9% in 2015–2016, although on a lower base.
- Despite this fall in enrolment, Indian students constitute 18% of international students in the United States, and after China at 34.6% with more than 372,000 students.
- Cumulatively, there were 1,075,496 international students in the United States universities in the year 2019–2020 which is 1.8% lower (Nanda, 2020).

(2) United Kingdom:

- As per the Office for National Statistics (ONS), in the year March 2020, Indian nationals accounted for 17% of the cumulative 299,023 sponsored study visas granted by the UK Home Office indicating a two-fold increase from 2019 with 49,844 grants indicating a continuous increase since 2016.
- The ONS data indicate that Indian students have increased Britain's international student population, thus increasing its migration statistics, after China, which contributes to 40% of all study visas.
- In the year 2019, 37,500 Indian students received study visas in the United Kingdom, a substantial increase from the year 2018 when it was 20,000 (Banchariya, 2020; PTI, 2020).

(3) Australia:

- As per the Australian Department of Home Affairs, in the year 2018–2019, more than 37,000 Indian students were granted student visas, indicating an increase of 32% from the previous year.
- There has been a 71% growth in the number of Indian students studying in Australia since 2014 to 107,673 students enrolled to study in 2018–2019. The enrolment number has increased by 39% in 2019 as compared to the previous year (Sen, 2021; Duttagupta, 2019).

(4) Canada:

- The number of Indian students studying in Canada has witnessed a steep rise, having tripled in three years, between 2015 and 2018 from 32,000 to 107,000.
- The number increased by 40% in 2018, as opposed to 2014 when the total overall growth was just under 35%. There were more than 172,600 Indian students in Canada last year, potentially surpassing the number of students from China. The numbers rose 2% last year for China taking it to 143,000 (Sekhon and Kaur, 2019).

It is obvious from the above that India is emerging as a huge market for education in the above countries and for the latter, it is an important source of foreign exchange earnings.

The relationship between globalisation and education is an important one and needs careful consideration. First off, globalisation increases the demand and the quality of education. Especially the period from 1980 to 2008 (when the financial crisis struck) could be considered the period of “hyper-globalisation” when people, goods, ideas and services moved easily, speedily and cheaply. The latter three criteria associated with the movement, namely, ease, speed and cost are still of great relevance when students move abroad for higher education. We see here the coming together of two trends: one, universities increasing their intake of foreign students for reasons of cost (foreign students pay invariably more than domestic students) and for reasons of internationalisation. The other globalisation aids this process by not just helping create demand for higher education but also helping student and faculty mobility in a big way. Globalisation has also implied a fair degree of “creative disruption” of the market, which has necessitated the acquisition of new skills as well as major re-skilling (Yeravdekar & Tiwari, 2014). Both these again can be executed only through higher education. A “knowledge economy”, which is a principal outcome of the process of hyper-globalisation by definition, means the people who run and drive such an economy have to be recipients of quality higher education.

It may thus be seen that globalisation has the effect of “internationalising” higher education. This internationalisation is now a key feature of all major universities, and indeed in all the world rankings, this aspect assumes great importance. Yet, it is important to understand what internationalisation is and what it is not! First, merely conducting the course in English is not “internationalisation”. That said, even

the most linguistically chauvinistic French have had to ask their premier institution Sciences Po, to conduct their courses in English so that foreign students from Europe and elsewhere can attend without too much trouble. Second, could studying abroad be considered equivalent to internationalisation? In my view, it is a necessary condition but not a sufficient one. Efforts need to be made to ensure that student mobility is better embedded into the internationalisation of education. Third, internationalisation is deemed to have taken place when subjects taught are “international” in character, for instance, international business/marketing, international relations and international organisations (De Wet, 2021). To an extent this may be unavoidable, but subject content needs to go beyond this. Fourth, the presence and the number of foreign students. Again, the mere presence of foreign students is not enough; efforts have to be made to integrate them in the classroom and the curriculum so that domestic students can benefit from the interaction and vice versa. Fifth, a university is considered “international” if it has signed a number of global partnerships with foreign universities. Again, the recent trend in top universities is to emphasise quality as much as quantity. Last, but not least, internationalisation must not be an end in itself. It has to contribute to scholarship, student diversity, inter-cultural learning and building of tolerance in students (De Wet, 2021). Without this, the embrace of internationalisation becomes less meaningful.

Backlash Against Globalisation

It is widely believed that the beginning of the backlash against globalisation may be traced to the global financial crisis which struck in 2008. While the backlash against globalisation may be attributed to many factors, there is little doubt that the primary reasons were economic in character. One of the main economic factors at work was the inequality in income and wealth that the forces of globalisation had allegedly engendered. The truth is that globalisation does produce winners and losers. When globalisation began as a phenomenon, it was conventional wisdom that the “winners” it would produce would far outnumber the “losers”. It was also believed that the impact of globalisation would largely conform to the theory: a rising tide lifts all boats! In actual practice, events from 2008 onwards when the financial crisis struck had a lot to do with the backlash against globalisation (Saval, 2017). For one thing, a lot of middle-class people saw their incomes either get wiped off or at best, stagnate. The rich, on the other hand, saw their wealth multiply many times. So, economic inequalities widened like never before. Second, technology and automation proved to be a huge disruptor of typical middle-class jobs. So, either jobs disappeared or wages took a hit. Third, thanks to globalisation factories and investments moved out of the West to emerging economies, particularly China.

This too led to job losses especially for the semi-skilled, non-college-educated middle-class (Rajan, 2011). All these factors led to the backlash against globalisation in the West. One serious political implication of this backlash was that politicians, rather than explain technology as a disruptor, found it expedient to blame the situation

on “immigrants” and spin the theory that immigrants have stolen the jobs of the natives.

So, one of the main outcomes of the backlash against globalisation is the anti-immigrant sentiment that has gathered steam. The big question for the purpose of this paper is: Has this anti-immigrant sentiment affected the intake of foreign students in these countries. The clear answer is: not yet! For instance, the statistics cited earlier demonstrated that, if anything, Indian students have gone in larger numbers than before the backlash began. How does one explain this? Well, for one thing, the West has consciously made a distinction between those foreign students who wish to study in their countries and those who may seek permanent residency. The former category brings a lot of revenue for the Universities. Take Canada for example. The difference in tuition fees between what a foreign student would pay, say at the University of Toronto and what a Canadian national would pay at the same institution for the same course could easily be a factor of five, if not more. So, what the University of Toronto does is “cross-subsidisation”, i.e., they are able to provide higher education to Canadian students at a reasonable cost mainly because the foreign students pay much more! The American and the Australian model is not very different. While the backlash against globalisation has not (yet?) affected foreign students studying in these countries, there has been a noticeable decrease in the West giving permanent residency to foreigners. This makes sense at one level since jobs are mainly “taken” by permanent residents and not students, at least in the short run. It remains to be seen what happens to these students after they finish the expensive education for which they have paid through their nose. Do they get to work in these countries, or will they have to return back to their country of origin? Sometimes we will have to elapse before we can see trends in this context.

Gray Rhino Rather Than a Black Swan

The COVID pandemic when it struck quickly attracted the label, Black Swan, meaning a totally unpredictable event. But in fact, a pandemic of this kind was predicted by various scientists and researchers for years before 2019. So, in truth, the COVID is best described by the other term, Gray Rhino, meaning an event that was likely to happen but the probability of which was seriously underestimated by all.

The COVID, of course, upended the full range of human activities: not only economic, social but also political. Among the sectors seriously affected was that of education in general and higher education, in particular. The decision to just shut down all educational institutions in the wake of COVID, while perfectly justifiable, was a sudden disruption of higher education caused, inter alia, by the brutal interruption of foreign student mobility. Universities had no choice but to quickly shift to online teaching. But this had huge implications for foreign students who, firstly, were paying through their nose to go abroad. Second, one of the primary motives for studying abroad is “experiential learning” and online learning runs counter to that

Wealle 2020. Be that as it may, it would appear that the academic period September 2020 to September 2021 is now practically lost to both universities and students. The larger question is of course what happens in the future.

Two developments augur rather well for the continuation of higher education as we pretty much know it. One, the plethora of vaccines that are under development with some already approved for emergency use. Two, the rapid conclusion of agreements with regard to “air bubble”. The vaccine story is hugely impressive; in normal circumstances, the invention and development of vaccines take years, literally! To find that scientists and inventors have risen to the challenge and to see that vaccines are already available for emergency use in virtually less than a year is nothing short of a miracle. With the widespread availability of vaccines (which remains a bit of a question mark with reports that the rich countries are cornering most of the vaccines), the risk of high contagion that was inherent in educational institutions may well be neutralised in substantial, if not full measure. The second is the agreement on “air bubble” which countries are beginning to sign among themselves. So much so, India has signed as many as 25 “air bubble” arrangements (Ministry of Civil Aviation, 2021). There are signs that students have started making plans for going abroad for the academic session beginning September 2021.

Future of Higher Education

It is now possible to say with reasonable certitude that while the COVID pandemic will impact the process of globalisation in some ways, it is not going to completely upend it, as was feared at the beginning of the outbreak. To be sure, there is no going back to the status quo ante, as it were. But a wholesale change is not on the horizon. That said, let me stick my neck out and make the following bold predictions about the future of higher education in the post-COVID context:

- (1) Generally, higher education will be sought after on the basis of three factors: quality of education, experiential learning and the reputation of academic institutions.
- (2) Online teaching and learning probably saved the day, for otherwise, it may well have been a lost year. But it is hard to completely replace face-to-face instruction and the future may be therefore some form of hybrid learning model.
- (3) Access to higher education may become unequal and this needs close watching. What if nationals from some countries are allowed unimpeded access to travel abroad for education compared to others who may have to suffer the impact of the pandemic much more?
- (4) Universities which have considered foreign students as a “cash cow” and show asymmetric dependence (lots of Chinese students coming for instance) on one country nationals may want to diversify the risk. Indeed, some amount

- of basic restructuring of universities may happen, with smaller universities having to shut down and others choosing to merge.
- (5) The cost of higher education will become a political issue. It already is in the United States, with mounting levels of student debt. Some of the present rates of tuition fees are both financially viable and morally unacceptable.
 - (6) Higher education curriculum across the board needs broad revision. There is an imperative need to focus on research (both basic and applied), on interdisciplinary studies and on imbuing real-life skills.
 - (7) Newer and younger universities will exploit their nimbleness and agility to challenge established academic institutions using innovation, creativity and providing demand-driven education.
 - (8) The faculty becomes hugely critical for the purpose of purveying education. And in many countries, the lack of adequately qualified faculty will be an important constraint. As the remuneration and conditions of employment become better, outstanding persons will be attracted to this noble profession.
 - (9) Higher education will increasingly use more and not less technology. This is vitally important if students have to imbibe the latest skills in order to be fully prepared to enter the knowledge economy.
 - (10) In the post-COVID world, demand for higher education is expected to increase significantly. This is mainly because the COVID may have wreaked havoc with labour markets and many may have lost their jobs. This, however, casts an important responsibility on the purveyors of higher education. At the end of the day, higher education has to provide ways and means for socio-economic mobility for its recipients.

To conclude, a “modified” globalisation in a post-COVID world will demand a “reformed” higher education model from academic institutions. Those institutions which can cope with this challenge will flourish; others, regretfully, will fall by the wayside.

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Chapter 17

Challenges to Internationalisation in Education During and After the Pandemic



Ratna Ghosh

Abstract This chapter is part of a discussion on how universities, especially global universities, are dealing with their internationalisation programs with an unprecedented curb on the mobility of their students and faculty. The answer lies to an extent on what is meant by internationalisation. Other important questions relate to the purpose of internationalisation: what are some of its benefits, and foundational values? Most importantly, what is the impact of the pandemic on cross border movement and what will the future hold? What are the challenges and impact of the pandemic for student mobility? What changes can be expected and what are some important considerations in the post-pandemic era?

Introduction

We are living in an unprecedented time. Several natural disasters in recent times (tsunamis, hurricanes, earthquakes) have been localized. Cholera, AIDS, SARS, Ebola, Zika, MERS were contained. The 1918–20 influenza pandemic which infected 500 million people (Taubenberger & Morens, 2006) and killed between 17 and 50 million people or more was one of the deadliest pandemics in human history (Spreeuwenberg, Kroneman & Paget, 2018). But COVID-19 has swept across the globe leaving in its wake death rates, unemployment and fear with unmatched speed reaching the rich and powerful like the poor and vulnerable. While the most marginalised groups are at greater risk than the privileged, amazingly, the most powerful countries have had remarkably lower rates of success in containing the spread of the virus than several smaller countries such as Thailand, Taiwan, Rwanda and New Zealand which have done remarkably well. More powerful countries with poor leadership found that they were being helped with equipment from unlikely sources reminding the *world community that humility and humanity will be necessary for social cohesion as we reshape our global future* (Ghosh, 2021). Because

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COVID-19 knows no borders, there has been an extraordinary level of collaboration across borders among scientists, health-care workers, volunteers, universities, governments and the private sector. It has never been clearer that we are all global citizens (Global Citizen, 2020) and we must fight together for survival against a common, invisible enemy.

What is Internationalisation? What Are Some of Its Foundational Values?

While globalization has made the world more vulnerable to the spread of infections with efficient transportation facilities and higher rates of travel among people, it has also brought people together and encouraged the internationalization of institutions, notably in higher education. Internationalisation is preparing students to comprehend and adjust to an interdependent world. It implies global integration, and in higher education through planned activities rather than a “catchall phrase for everything and anything international” (de Wit, 2002, p. 114). It involves several elements such as the curriculum (instructional content and planned student experiences), international students, exchange of students, researchers and faculty, international branch campuses and institutional partnerships. This chapter will focus on one aspect of internationalisation, namely, international student mobility.

The concept of Internationalisation has evolved. The exchange of ideas between countries has a long history and started with wandering scholars in Asia and Europe till the concept of foreign study became institutionalized as international mobility and study abroad programs of short or long durations. Throughout history, education has been used as a tool of cultural diplomacy with exchange programs and international study of students among countries to bring good will and build networks to help in trade and cross-cultural communication. Education is used by many countries as a tool of cultural diplomacy or “soft power” (e.g. Peace Corps programme in the US), which is the ability to attract and influence people’s thinking without directly exerting political or military power. Through cultural influence it appeals to the psychological, intellectual, and emotional states of young people by winning their “sympathy, support, and admiration” (Samuel, 2012, p. 5). Compared to the hard power of military or police force, soft power can be a powerful and subtle political tool. Many countries have concentrated a variety of resources to their educational programs to “win the hearts and minds” (Nye, 2004, p. 1) of young people such as institutes like the British Council, Goethe Institute, Alliance Française, Confucius Institute, and the Erasmus + and Erasmus Mundus programs in Europe.

As a process, internationalisation involves integrating an international dimension to all the functions of higher education—teaching, research and service. It is complex because it implies more than a one-way flow of ideas into an institution to include both inward and outward activities. Higher education institutions in India

tend to teach rather than produce original research which is essential for a knowledge-based society (Altbach, 2005). Internationalisation would require much more foreign collaboration than the few government programs such as GIAN, VAJRA, SPARC and a few individual university arrangements to attract foreign faculty. Moreover, they are not able to attract foreign students to the extent that they should although Indian students are the second largest group of globally mobile students after the Chinese. The overall low quality of higher education and the fierce competition for the elite institutions in India will drive more students abroad. Despite having one of the largest education systems in the world, with 993 universities and 39,931 colleges in 201,819 (AISHE, 2019), internationalisation is limited because India is able to attract only 1% of the global mobile student population amounting to 46,122 international students from neighbouring countries such as Nepal, Afghanistan and Bhutan and the African countries of Sudan and Nigeria. So, internationalisation in Indian universities is limited because they do not have the benefit of international students from a range of countries. This is in sharp contrast to China which not only sends the largest number of students abroad but also is a host country which is now ranked as one of the top 10 receiving countries for international students (OECD, 2014). Indian universities have the advantage that they use English in most higher education institutions (unlike China which uses Mandarin but has special programs for international students). Indian institutions tend not have aggressive recruitment strategies, very few have adequate housing or medical facilities for foreign students or programs that would assist them. Moreover, reports of racism and lack of safety in cities (especially for women) have worked unfavourably in attracting international students.

Since the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) of the World Trade Organisation made education a tradable commodity in 1995 internationalisation of higher education expanded very quickly. Before the 1990s there were around one million international students around the world but since GATS started to take effect the number of students studying in foreign institutions tripled by 2017 (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2018). Three overlapping waves of international student mobility have been identified (Choudaha, 2017): during the first wave (1999–2006) mostly Western universities were focused on attracting talent. The second wave (2006–2013) during the global financial crisis focused on recruiting foreign students with higher student fees which an increasing number of Chinese and Indian students could pay due to the rising middle classes in those countries. While Chinese and Indian students continue to be the largest groups of internationally mobile students, the numbers started levelling off in the third wave (2013–2019) due to global economic slow-down, the confusion caused by Brexit as well as anti-immigrant policies and attitudes especially in the US which is the largest host country for foreign students. Since 2020, we may now be in the fourth wave due to the tremendous challenges to international student mobility in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic which *has already had a profound impact on education, human capital formation and the welfare of people at all levels* (Ghosh & Jing, 2020). Despite the rapid development of vaccines and vaccination in all countries, there is without doubt, a significant disruption in student mobility.

Benefits and Challenges of Student Mobility

Although the reason for internationalisation is ostensibly to develop engaged and critical global minded citizens, additional benefits to internationalisation have motivated universities and governments to invest in this process. Not only does student mobility advance trade and business, international students generate economic activity, and bring both academic and cultural value to university campuses and local communities. In the US “International exchange programs are the backbone of American people-to-people diplomacy. They contribute \$45 billion to the U.S. economy and support 458,000 American jobs. Without these programs, the reach of U.S. foreign policy is diminished and national security is weakened” according to the Alliance for International Exchange (2020a). Countries like Canada have seen it as a key to technological and innovative growth. Businesses are seeking workers who can communicate in cross-cultural settings and appreciate different points of view (Curran, 2007).

For Universities and institutions of higher education, especially those which aspire to be global universities, internationalisation is imperative to be competitive locally and internationally. In knowledge-based economies advanced research in all fields is essential implying international exchange of researchers, faculty and students, and collaborations in teaching and research made increasingly viable with advances in transportation and communication technologies. The benefits of foreign collaborations and attracting foreign students for universities are higher visibility and prestige which attracts larger numbers of students, scholars, faculty of higher calibre and research funds so that they can contribute to knowledge creation, innovation, and development for the country and the world. Universities earn substantial funds from foreign students, and several Western universities are increasingly dependent on international student enrolments for a large portion of their budgets. Moreover, the larger its alumnus the more opportunities there are for institutions to get donations.

What are the benefits of internationalisation to students? The benefits of crossing borders to study have been tremendous because of the transformative effect of the experience on both the international as well as the local student (Ghosh & Jing, 2020). Students from various countries getting together academically and socially brings different people closer and facilitates cooperation (Marginson, 2020; Erasmus+Annual report, 2019). Moreover, the fundamental changes that are predicted by technological developments of the Fourth Industrial Revolution (e.g. Artificial Intelligence) at a time of heightened globalisation and international migrations, necessitate a response that must be integrated and interdependent involving all countries around the globe and all sectors of society (Schwab, 2017). Higher education has already been looking to *the scale, scope and complexity of the transformations that will shape our future* (Ghosh & Jing, 2020, 2) and internationalisation implies open-mindedness to different ideas and experiences in addition to various cultures, people, places. Education for global citizenship (rather than *about* global citizenship), critical multicultural education, intercultural communication and media

literacy have emerged as essential for students to be able to survive in global environments in their work be it business, professions, academic or artistic endeavours in order to create ethical, peaceful and sustainable societies.

Perhaps the most obvious challenge in mobility programs for students is one of social justice: in the absence of well-funded programs like Erasmus + students need to contribute financially and this prevents many students from participating. Another issue is access to well-structured programs (including orientation programs before the travel) which are reflective and critical in order to bring awareness of students' own biases, raise their consciousness by processing information and the ability to see others' points of view. Most importantly, the cultural baggage that students bring with them should not prevent them from connecting with the world and make the experience simply a sightseeing tour (Hoffa, 2007). Undoubtedly, international students face several challenges such as culture shock, encounter academic environments where teaching methods and classroom behaviour are very different from what they are used to, and experience racial discrimination, conscious or unconscious bias and micro-aggressions.

The Impact of the Current Pandemic on Student Mobility

The pandemic has shifted the ground for internationalisation, particularly student mobility in fundamental ways. The restrictions on international travel have suddenly immobilised traditional ways of internationalisation activities in higher education, most notably, student and faculty mobility. Ironically, this comes at a time when international collaboration and cohesion are essential because the COVID-19 virus has put the spotlight on the fact that we are all global citizens fighting together against an invisible common enemy. The virus has penetrated countries even when their borders and airports have been closed. The rapid escalation of the virus has led to an unprecedented level of civic engagement and cohesion within and among countries. We are all interconnected in this humanitarian emergency. It has never been clearer that the next generation will need to be resilient to adapt to a world of dramatic and unpredictable change. So, global universities, more than others, will need to focus on resilience building skills so that their students develop the capacity to adapt to transformative changes and acquire coping skills to defy destructive attitudes such as hate and discriminatory behaviour to overcome challenges by working in ethical and compassionate ways (Aldrich, 2012; Goldstein, 2011).

The World Health Organization (WHO) declared the novel coronavirus a global pandemic on March 11, 2019. This caused critical challenges for international students who were scattered around the globe when institutions of higher education had to suddenly close their campuses and switch to teaching online around mid-March.

Two important events made the situation critical for international students. First, traveling home became a problem not only because that was an extra cost, and especially difficult for lower income students, but also because of border closures and cancellation of flights. On the other hand, student residences were closed and students were asked to leave. Many students were stranded and encountered problems accessing basic necessities such as shelter, food, sanitary products and medical supplies (Gabriels & Benke-Åberg, 2020). In addition, visa restrictions and change in policy which threatened deportation of international students who would not have face-to-face classes was extremely stressful to all international students in the US (where the majority of international students go) till a court case resolved the issue when the government agreed to rescind the July 6, 2020 policy directive.

The second significant impact has been on the massive switch to virtual classrooms. While this has made higher education accessible to more people the quality of education has changed. The excitement of international student mobility is not only quality education but the whole experience of going to other universities in other countries—the idea of meeting other people, experiencing another culture. An amazing array of tools such as virtual tutoring, video conferencing on a variety of platforms, online learning software for students, and teaching tools attempt to make the experience interactive and qualitatively comparable to face-to-face teaching. But despite these great strides the online experience is not a proper substitute for a physical mobility experience (Gabriels & Benke-Åberg, 2020).

Most significantly, there are several practical challenges for going online. For one, technological hardware (computers, iPads, webcams) is an issue for many students—not only in countries of the Global South because there are pockets of the South in the Global North. Moreover, a large number of students do not have access to high speed internet, and for the most vulnerable students, a lack of access to the internet and a computer could result in dropping out or prevent them from enrolling. In the US, compared with 2019, 21.7 percent fewer high-school graduates went to college in 2020 and that figure is 32.6 percent in high poverty areas (Hoover, 2020). Time zones are different and many students cannot attend classes in Western universities if there are several hours of time difference. Moreover, many students, whether in countries of the North or the South, do not have the luxury of privacy so as to attend a class without disturbance. Many do not have technical competence. What has become evident is that along with economic, social and cultural capital, technical capital (the ability to use technical resources in the network to access and process information) is increasingly becoming an index of educational inequality.

Although many young people are very proficient in using social media these are used for social purposes (e.g. posting and viewing photos), and they are mainly consumers of the web (viewing consumer products) rather than using social media for healthcare, education, energy sustainability, economic development and other priorities (Preece & Shneiderman, 2009).

International travel is a defining feature of internationalisation. The current health crisis has highlighted inherent inequalities in cross-border movement of students and faculty when travel is not possible. Fortunately, technology has advanced to a stage when the required physical distancing does not inhibit virtual communication and

cohesion. So, travel is not the only feature of internationalisation, but as mentioned above, even with all the advances virtual interaction has inherent inequalities and cannot equal face-to-face contact.

To what extent were universities prepared to face financial challenges as a result of COVID19? As Altbach and de Wit (2020) have pointed out, universities around the globe are doing remarkably well in managing the crisis of the pandemic under very difficult circumstances at short notice but long-term strategic planning is another matter. Speedy set-ups were necessary but the quality is not ensured. With universities going on line for the entire fall semester (September–December 2020), and the likelihood of campuses being closed again for the Winter 2021 semester (January–May, 2021) especially with a second wave and mutations in the virus, borders are being closed once again. Moreover, foreign students are reluctant to go to international destinations to study for their degrees if they have to pay the same high fees for online learning as they do for the physical experience of classroom and social interaction. The pandemic has seen a dramatic reduction in earnings, and the International Monetary Fund has predicted that the world's economy will shrink 4.9% this year—the worst contraction since World War II (Crutsinger, 2020). So, less earnings (and unemployment) will mean less ability of parents to pay for education. It also means that universities will not only see a drop in their enrolments but their endowments will suffer so that they will have less money to spend on scholarships, student aid, student services and sports activities. World class universities imply well-funded research and facilities such as good faculty and equipment for teaching. All of this requires funds. Universities in many Western countries have relied increasingly on international student fees due to cuts in government funding, and many institutions of higher education are offering less courses and cutting the workforce to meet budget shortfalls. This is especially true of several Australian universities where 35% of students, mainly from China, make the revenue from international students a vital portion of their budgets (Rizvi, 2020). Australian universities would face a “shortfall of more than \$12 billion in Chinese student fees if Beijing maintains its travel ban on Australia next year” (Brown, 2020).

Possible Changes in the Mobility Patterns of International Students

There are several considerations that can lead to significant shifts in terms of destination countries for student and faculty mobility. The choices for quality education have increased considerably. With less money for expensive study abroad programs students are looking closer to home to South-South exchanges. Several countries of the Global South have invested heavily in higher education to build world-class universities. Asian universities (in Hong Kong, China, Japan, South Korea, Singapore) have risen significantly in the world rankings of universities, and 26 are listed among the top 100 institutions (QS World University Rankings, 2021). Many top

universities in the West have opened branch campuses in the Middle East and Asian countries which have become educational hubs and others have developed in Egypt, Botswana and Mauritius. Students would escape paying for expensive travel and stay in a Western country. The current pandemic will certainly change the direction of the flow of international students from the West to increasing numbers going to Eastern countries and to the Middle East (Dubai, Qatar, Abu Dhabi, Bahrain and Ras Al-Khaimah). This will coincide with the rebalancing of power in the global arena with China taking on greater influence in the economic arena.

Furthermore, geopolitical factors will play a distinct role in students' considerations of where to study. For example, disputes with the U.S., UK, Australia, and Canada may impact the number of Chinese students studying in those countries. The government of China is advising students to think carefully about going to study in Australia. Although the numbers of Chinese students studying in Australia have dropped after the COVID-19 breakout, Australia is still a popular destination for Chinese students. The situation may be different for Indian students going to China. Applications to Chinese universities where a large number of Indian students go to study has dropped sharply (Dennis, 2020).

A major disincentive for international students largely from East Asia or even Southeast Asia to study in Western countries is the fear of xenophobia they have faced which has affected them physically and psychologically. Several research studies have found that Chinese students have experienced high levels of anxiety, discrimination and racist remarks during the pandemic because the virus is thought to have originated in Wuhan, China. Parents fear for their children's safety and have encouraged them to return home (McKie, 2020).

In addition, neo-nationalist group activity (North America and Western Europe) and anti-immigration rhetoric can be a serious impediment to the future of academic mobility, particularly with regard to internationalisation. Several countries have anti-foreign policies that affect immigration, and in the US for example, certain categories of visas such as the Exchange Visitor Programme (J-1) were suspended in June, 2020. In a letter to the Congress on July 29, 2020 the Alliance for International Exchange (2020b) pointed out that "the impact on international exchange programs from the pandemic alone was projected to result in losses to the U.S. economy of more than \$233 million and nearly 7,000 American jobs". That estimate was early on in the first phase of the pandemic and may have now escalated.

Important Considerations for the Future

With an estimated \$300 billion-dollar global industry (Altbach and de Wit, 2020), the economic profit motive in international education seems to have taken the forefront. The pandemic has shown that the dependence of many Western universities on international students is dangerous and shaky especially when students now have alternative avenues for foreign studies. This is an opportune moment to rethink the purpose

of internationalisation and focus on soft diplomacy, global citizenship education and world-mindedness which were the original aims of internationalisation.

One thing that is crucial is leadership. Undoubtedly, strategic plans and vision are significant factors in leadership but some aspects of leadership which are often overlooked are essential for effective and successful governance. While leaders in crisis must in the least “stop a disaster from turning into catastrophe” because their aim is to survive in the short term, they must nevertheless plan to thrive in the long term (Rao and Sutton, 2020). The pandemic has made visible what has not been visible or in the consciousness of all—the social inequalities that shape health: unhealthy diets, insufficient exercise, and inadequate and unsanitary living conditions for many. For educational institutions social inequities have highlighted the importance of soft skills. A report by McKinsey and Company (2020) illuminates psychological safety and emotional intelligence as leadership imperatives in a time of crisis. The report goes on to point out that COVID-19 has accelerated a shift away from authoritarian to distributed decision making in the business sector, and leaders need to emphasise care and compassion. If businesses whose main aim is to profit are focusing on emotion and care, universities whose *raison d'être* is students and the production and dissemination of knowledge should certainly emphasise well-being (although many private universities now have profit as the primary motive). This is especially so when human interactions are online rather than face-to-face. While broader audiences are adopting technology to reach out to wider networks and this can help people feel part of the human experience at a time of isolation, all forms of electronic communication are nonetheless ‘alexithymic’ (unable to identify and describe emotions) (McKinsey, 2020). This creates stress and anxiety in people. So, leaders need to pay much greater attention to social and emotional aspects for the well-being of students and faculty. Cognitive skills and social/emotional skills are not mutually exclusive and leaders need to emphasise both. Social emotional learning (SEL) is crucial not only for student well-being but also for immediate and long term positive academic outcomes (Dusenbury and Weissberg, 2017). As a matter of fact, SEL has been called the missing link in education (Elias, 1997) because the neo-liberal model which emphasises work skills for economic success has pushed out humanistic aspects of education as exemplified by educators like Tagore. The well-being of staff, students and faculty should be uppermost in the minds of leaders.

Another area of transformation is to pay attention to the inequalities and demographic diversity in societies all around the globe which is mirrored in universities. International students too are from many countries, cultures, racial/ethnic groups, religions, linguistic backgrounds, socioeconomic classes (in India castes) and various sexual identities. Special attention should be paid to their differences and needs to integrate them in the university environment and inclusive classrooms. Differences can isolate students and diversity in identities often lead to tensions from conscious and unconscious bias resulting in discrimination, hate and violence. International students, particularly low-income students, are most vulnerable to these experiences and institutions must take proactive measures to prevent unpleasant experiences.

Best Practices

Some models that can be looked at are the European Commission's Erasmus + and Erasmus Mundus programs. Since 2014, the Erasmus + programme (which evolved from the initial Erasmus programme and several other student exchange programs) was started with the hope of the Erasmus generation positively contributing to European integration (Wilson, 2011; Feyen & Krzaklewska, 2013). It aims at "uniting people and creating a European sense of belonging and solidarity, through life-changing learning experiences" (Erasmus + Annual Report, 2019). A flagship programme that supports education, training, youth and sport with a budget of €3.37 billion and 940,000 learning experiences in 2019, Erasmus + and Erasmus Mundus (for non-Europeans) have simplified funding arrangements and have streamlined administration among 33 European countries. Spain's IE (Instituto de Empresa) University is organised with multiple partnerships in thirty-three countries from around the world to support cross-border knowledge by effectively using technology (blended learning), streamlining cross-border movements of talent and global collaboration. With an international faculty, its programs are largely in the area of Business and Economics and focus on innovation and entrepreneurship to create leaders around the globe.

The post-Brexit period is an opportunity for the UK government to attract the international talent it will need. The new Office for Talent is an effort to make Britain a science superpower and is aimed at attracting leading global talent (scientists, researchers, innovators and entrepreneurs), to work or study in the UK. New rules for immigration attempt to cut the red tape and make the path to the UK simpler in the post-Corona virus era.

Conclusion

"The way to cope with the future is to create it" (a quote attributed to Ilya Prigogine, Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1977), and as the patterns of mobility are dictated largely by the pandemic, the new normal can be created in a fundamentally different way. This is an opportune moment to rethink the business model to make internationalisation what it should be—inclusive (giving opportunities to many who have been left behind due to economic or social issues), integrative (incorporate multidisciplinary, multi/intercultural perspectives) and imaginative (creatively get cosmopolitan/international experiences with technological advances in the absence of travel). Higher education policy makers and leaders must look outside the box beyond just juggling to open their campuses. They need to search for new horizons and reshape student mobility and academic exchanges for more equitable and responsible internationalisation.

Undoubtedly, the inability to travel during the pandemics several waves and mutations has been drastic for international student mobility. The pandemic has transformed the way universities operate and the sudden shift from classrooms to online learning has changed the meaning and process of education and the student experience. All the development and investment in technology will certainly be maintained post-pandemic now that both students and teachers have become used to them. A full-scale return to the classroom is unlikely and hybrid models can be expected to evolve. It is uncertain how digital technology will impact student mobility in the long run. While digital learning can reach more students, the quality of education can range from bad to excellent. Leadership, funding, teacher training, the reach and availability of a variety of technologies are all factors that will impact quality. While the decline in human contact may remain a luxury, mobility patterns will nevertheless resurface in a very different form and the new normal must address the inequalities the pandemic has made visible for a sustainable and peaceful world.

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Chapter 18

The Impact of COVID-19 on the Internationalisation of Higher Education, Revolutionary or not?



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Abstract The COVID-19 crisis is upending higher education—as well as economies and lives of millions of individuals around the world. What will be the medium- and longer-term implications for international higher education? What will be the impact on international mobility and on internationalisation at home? Will online education take over or will it be more integrated in a hybrid form of education? In this chapter we will analyse internationalisation of higher education and address both degree mobility, study abroad as part of the home degree, online education, and internationalisation at home. Will this crisis be indeed both an end to internationalisation as tradeable commodity and its revival as internationalisation at home?

Introduction

The COVID-19 crisis is upending higher education—as well as economies and the lives of millions of individuals around the world. For most of 2020, universities have been closed, with teaching cancelled or put online. Conferences have been called off (Blanco & de Wit, 2020). Of direct relevance to international higher education, prospective students have been unable to take examinations, and international students have been unable to travel to their campuses or to return home. Study abroad programmes have been cancelled. Faculty members have been asked not to travel to

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affected countries—or to avoid foreign travel entirely. The implications and inconveniences have spread around the world affecting almost all countries and large numbers of people, with some countries hit harder than others, but overall, resulting in economic, social, and education crises everywhere. Although for 2022 there are some signals of hope for improvement, in particular the arrival of vaccines, for certain the first half of the year will continue to face challenges.

What will be the medium- and longer-term implications of the coronavirus crisis for international high education? At the start of the COVID-19 crisis, it was assumed that the realities in international higher education from before the crisis were likely to remain and that higher education would quickly return to normal routines—but with even less financial stability than before. With the crisis evolving and more countries and people affected, that opinion can no longer be sustained. It is likely that national governments and higher education leaders will try to push the reset button and return to business as usual, in terms of international students, for reasons of survival, and international educators will try to restart study abroad as part of the home degree, to keep their operations and jobs going. But will this be realistic? What will be the impact on another key component of internationalisation, internationalisation at home? And what will be the role of online delivery in internationalisation? (de Wit, 2020; de Wit and Altbach, 2020).

This chapter analyses the impact on internationalisation of higher education and addresses both degree mobility, study abroad as part of the home degree, online education and internationalisation at home. But first we look at the broader picture of international higher education and online education, as this context is of essence for what are the implications for its internationalisation.

Impact on International Higher Education

In the midst of the crisis, with the scope and outcomes largely unclear, it is too early to accurately predict the broader implications of the coronavirus pandemic for higher education or for society in general. We think that, broadly, global higher education will remain fundamentally stable, but with some lasting changes even in the longer term. But significant short-, medium-, and perhaps long-term consequences and disruptions are inevitable becoming increasingly serious as the crisis continues. Our purpose here is to outline what we think are likely implications.

It is of course folly to overgeneralise about the broad landscape of post-secondary education worldwide—with more than 20,000 universities and 260 million students. Higher education is everywhere segmented and differentiated, with public and private institutions serving different needs, and with vastly differing resources. This is true within countries and across borders. Thus, generalising about individual countries or about the world as a whole is not very useful.

Further, so much depends on the broader political and economic realities that will emerge from the crisis. Without question, the global and national economies will take a massive hit. Low per-capita income countries are likely to suffer more and

take longer to recover. Economic recovery will take time, with many arguing that implications will be more serious than the Great Recession, and it seems impossible that higher education will have a high priority in national recovery plans. Whether the current trends toward nationalism and populism in many countries will be strengthened by the crisis is unclear, but there are indications that these malign trends will continue. Nonetheless, it may be worth speculating about likely future trends. Considering possibilities is better than being blindsided.

The very future of globalisation may be called into question, although the underlying realities of the twenty-first century will make its survival likely. Significant aspects of contemporary higher education depend on globalisation and internationalisation: not only student mobility and internationalisation at home initiatives but also collaborative research, and, increasingly, global knowledge networks and other aspects.

Thus, fundamental elements of the global macro-environment in general and for higher education are being threatened by the COVID-19 crisis, and this might negatively impact on support for internationalisation—at a time when international cooperation is needed more than ever.

The Fittest Will Survive

Research universities and highly reputed institutions that are globally and nationally recognised and have stable income streams, such as the Indian Institutes of Technology and elite American private liberal arts colleges as well as most public and private research-intensive universities and similar institutions worldwide will recover more rapidly and emerge relatively unscathed from the crisis. Their role at the top of the higher education pyramid will remain and perhaps will even be strengthened—although even these institutions will suffer serious financial problems. They are in general better able to protect their staff and students during a crisis and will be able to attract new students, overcome admissions disruptions and other instabilities, and invest in new modes of teaching, learning, and research.

At the other end of the spectrum, those institutions that are most at risk are poorly funded private institutions depending entirely on income from tuition fees—and half the world's post-secondary institutions are private. This reality affects especially low income countries, where a low-quality private sector increasingly dominates higher education. Furthermore, much of the global massification, as well as international student mobility, has been driven by the emergence of a middle class—and this middle class is likely to be affected most by post-corona higher education adjustments, as Marginson (2020) pointed out. One estimate for the United States is that perhaps 20% of post-secondary institutions will close (Wescott, 2020).

Universities, public and private, face immediate financial problems during the COVID-19 crisis since they are no longer able to open their campuses and have to move to online delivery. It is not clear how admissions will be handled for the coming year or two, as it is also still unclear at the moment of writing this

Chapter, if universities will be able to open their doors in the academic year 2020–2021. While some universities and colleges have announced their reopening, others, including Cambridge University, have decided to continue to teach mostly online for the academic year 2020–2021. Many universities have already stopped hiring new staff, others are considering cutting benefits or even laying off staff. By the end of May, more than 40,000 staff members had been terminated in the United States alone. For prestigious private universities, mainly in the United States, endowments have lost value with declines in the stock market. Most of them will recover, but for the mid-term this will affect them. Because of massive expenditures aimed at stabilising economies during the crisis, it is likely that future public allocations to higher education will shrink.

Brown and Salmi (2020) state that “for most higher education institutions, especially the private ones that are fully dependent on tuition fees, financial survival will be a serious challenge during the deep recession many economists predict. It is realistic to expect that many private colleges and universities will close their doors for good”. They also explain that “millions of students with limited resources could drop out of higher education altogether, or at least shift to more affordable public institutions. Colleges and universities with high proportions of foreign students also will be vulnerable to fluctuations in demand” (Brown & Salmi, 2020). Of course, the impact will differ by institution, country, and region, and policies and practices may change over time, depending on the success of measures for the first wave and second wave of the virus, as well as the distribution of vaccines and its impact on society and economy.

Research

In the aftermath of the COVID-19 crisis, where the significance of research to manage and solve the crisis, invent vaccines, and support society with related crucial projects has become evident to policy makers and the public, it is possible that top research institutions, in particular those specialised in the life sciences, will receive greater emphasis and funding. An exclusive focus on the life sciences though is too narrow as Social Sciences and Humanities are needed to understand economic, social, cultural, and political implications of this crisis.

Increased Inequality

Higher education—globally and within countries—is characterised by inequalities of all kinds. The COVID-19 crisis is likely to exacerbate these inequalities, as highlighted above: Private institutions catering for the masses will suffer the brunt of the depression, while at the same time, there may be an increase in demand for community colleges in Canada and the United States and similar, less expensive professional

and vocational schools elsewhere. In times of unemployment, education is a choice, but it has to be affordable. Access to local higher education will be a serious challenge for the middle class in high tuition fee countries, as well as low- and mid-income countries, and international mobility will be even more of a challenge. As Brown and Salmi (2020) write: “The next six months will be a critical test of the capacity of the international community, national governments and higher education institutions to act swiftly and effectively in order to avoid a growing gap between rich and poor countries, between well-endowed and resource-limited institutions and among the students themselves.” At the start of 2022 one can question their ability and willingness to do so, and as a consequence, the gap will likely increase.

Online Education: Are We in a Transformative Moment?

With the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic, most of the world’s universities have had to close campuses and send their student’s home. The large majority have shifted to distance education in its various forms to allow classes to continue and students to complete their studies. Teachers and students alike have had to make considerable efforts to adjust. Information technology (IT) specialists at universities around the world have been in crisis mode and have done a remarkable job migrating many courses and programmes online, at least to a reasonable extent. The online industry is bombarding institutions and their teachers with tools, training modules, and other products. At least for the duration of the COVID-19 crisis, higher education is being forcibly transformed, with private providers hawking business models and IT evangelists heralding the revolution.

But questions must be asked: Is the distance education revolution working, and are we in a ‘transformative moment’? While data is largely missing, the answers to both of these questions are still open, but likely mixed at best, even though reports from China and other Asian countries are more optimistic. It is worth speculating on what seem to be relevant realities and trends, and likely future scenarios. We are aware that these observations are preliminary and based mainly on observational data. Nonetheless, it is worth pondering key points.

Inequalities

Without question, there are massive inequalities in the provision of higher education through distance education. This is true for countries, universities, and the academic community. There are significant variations in how distance education is received. In many lower-income countries, broadband is inadequate, spotty, or even largely absent. Reliable electricity is sometimes a problem. These issues are also problematic even in some rural areas of rich countries. Many students, especially in lower-income countries and from less well-off families everywhere, do not have access to

appropriate computers—efforts to use smartphones for instruction have been challenging. Less well-endowed universities in general have not developed the technical, curricular, or other infrastructural aspects necessary for quality distance education. This is especially true for the burgeoning private higher education sector, which now accounts for perhaps half of the global enrolments. Further, there are security, including assessment, and testing security issues, as well as politically motivated firewalls limiting access for groups of students and teachers. This implies that not only institutions but also governments have to be involved in addressing these concerns.

Students

Many students do not seem to be enthusiastic about the online courses that they are now forced to take. While data is only indicative, students seem overall unsatisfied. And they are more likely to avoid participating. This is the case, in particular, for undergraduate education, the level least familiar with online delivery but also where students prefer and need more interaction with their teachers and other students. This general unhappiness may be the result of courses having suddenly been moved online with little preparation either by professors or students. The lack of motivation of students for online delivery will become an issue with the cohort planning to enter higher education this fall. There are fears that many will postpone starting their studies as long as institutions only offer online instruction. This is particularly likely for international students.

Faculty

Faculty members are generally wary about teaching online. Before COVID-19, a significant minority in some countries had some experience with online teaching, but it is fair to say that the large majority did not, despite pressure in many universities to offer online courses. The COVID-19 crisis threw all faculty suddenly into the deep end of the online swimming pool, with no preparation. IT professionals and online experts have provided crash courses for faculty. Although most are trying, older faculty (still a majority) lack both experience and stamina to learn new and highly unfamiliar methods and technologies. The fact is that developing high-quality online courses requires skill, new ways of thinking about pedagogy, and money. In the current rush to quickly adapt to distance requirements, these are all in short supply. Further, most academics say that distance teaching requires more time than face-to-face instruction, with no improvement in the outcomes and with less satisfaction.

Courses that Do not Lend Themselves to Distance Education

Of course, a significant number of courses and subjects do not lend themselves well to distance education—or, at the very least, a great deal of ingenuity and resources are required. Laboratory-based courses in the sciences are at the top of the problematic list. Students need to use chemicals, conduct experiments, and in general get the feeling of lab work. Subjects in the humanities such as dance, music, and drama do not lend themselves either to online instruction.

The Community of Scholars—Or Lack Thereof

Large traditional undergraduate lecture courses do not lend themselves to deep intellectual pursuits, yet when linked to good discussion groups, they can be quite effective. A common complaint is that most distance courses do not easily cater for group work, community building, or much communication either among students or between students and teaching staff. Again, there are new technological tools as well as pedagogical innovations that can assist, but these are often unavailable or require significant investment by faculty—and by institutions.

Exams

A major problem is how to examine students. Written assignments can be done online, as well as theses, including their presentations and defences. But in case of exams (the most common form of assessment, in particular at the undergraduate level and for large cohorts), there are concerns about fraud but also about privacy (through use of software used to check online dishonesty during exams). There is serious concern about the use of algorithms by Google, Facebook, and by the leading European provider ProctorExam. If students are denied permission by the software, they will be unable to take their exams and delayed in their studies.

Opportunities

This discussion does not imply that the sudden rise in online education is entirely negative. There are opportunities as well, depending on how institutions make use of the accumulated experience. The use of IT in teaching and learning and in research can become a more integrated part of our work. Faculty can partner with colleagues abroad to provide guest lectures by experts who before were only available through

textbooks, thereby widening the scope of the curriculum. Collaborative Online International Learning (COIL), internationalisation at home, and internationalisation of the curriculum are alternatives to study abroad, but require leadership commitment, strategic planning, robust pedagogical support, funding, and time: They cannot be improvised.

A Dim Future

Today, distance education is ubiquitous—of necessity. But it is not necessarily very successful. There is already evidence that many undergraduate students are unhappy about completing their semester using distance education. Completion rates will likely suffer. For many reasons, undergraduate students prefer on-campus education. Most probably, though, hybrid education (distance courses integrated in campus-based programmes), already common in many countries, will expand. Master's degree programmes already widely using online courses, especially in professional fields such as business and management, are likely to expand in scope and number. But just as Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs), a decade or so ago, did not produce the educational revolution that many predicted, today's massive and hurried shift to distance education will not do so either. Hopefully, though, it will lead to an improvement in the quality and sophistication of courses and programmes by integrating the online dimension.

In summary, higher education around the world will face many challenges, both in access and equity, in funding and in terms of survival for the weakest: the lower end of public and private higher education. While it is impossible to make clear predictions in the midst of the most severe global health crisis in a century, implications for higher education will be considerable and mostly negative, amplifying gaps and inequalities between learners, institutions, and countries. There will be significant variations globally, with the likelihood that universities in the poorest part of the world will be affected more severely. Online education has become an alternative, but it is unclear how effective it is and whether or not it will be sustained or replace on-site education.

What does this all mean for internationalisation of higher education?

Impact on Internationalisation

Internationalisation has many dimensions: degree mobility of international students, study abroad for home degrees, mobility of faculty and administrators, internationalisation of research, internationalisation of the curriculum, as well as partnerships. We address some of these dimensions but place them first in the context of the development of internationalisation before COVID-19.

In 2011, Brandenburg and de Wit (2011) wrote an essay with the provocative title “The End of Internationalization”. They stated that although internationalisation “is claimed to be the last stand for humanistic ideas against the world of pure economic benefits,” the reality is that “this ignores the fact that activities more related to the concept of globalization (higher education as a tradeable commodity) are increasingly executed under the flag of Internationalization”. They expressed concern about the devaluation of internationalisation as it was meant to be and called for a critical reflection on its concept. Essentially, they said, “we need to reaffirm the core role of universities: to help understand this world and to improve our dealing with it”.

The optimism at the end of the 1980s that internationalisation would move from an ad hoc, marginalised and fragmented activity to a central point on the agenda of higher education, had resulted indeed in a broad acceptance of internationalisation as one of the core drivers of innovation and change in higher education. But the direction it took was one of copying the already prevalent competitive approach in the United Kingdom and Australia: recruitment of international students and development of cross-border education for revenue, competition for talents (skilled immigration) and reputation (rankings).

This 2011 critical reflection on the reality and direction of internationalisation as a tradeable commodity was not unique. Knight (2011) wrote in that same year about the myths of internationalisation, and de Wit (2011) about its misconceptions. In the United States, a call for ‘comprehensive internationalisation’ by organisations as the American Council on Education (ACE) and NAFSA (Hudzik, 2011) took place. And the critique on internationalisation as a Western paradigm became more prominent, calling for the emerging internationalisation in the Global South to take its own direction (Jones & de Wit, 2012). The International Association of Universities (IAU, 2012) started ten years ago an action to rethink the concept of internationalisation. And in 2015 this all culminated in an updated definition, highlighting internationalisation as an intentional process focused on quality, inclusion, and service to society (de Wit et al., 2015).

These appeals for a return to ethics and values of cooperation have to be seen as a wakeup call of the internationalisation at home movement in Europe at the end of the 1990s in reaction to the focus on Erasmus exchanges (what about the 95% non-mobile students?), and the call for internationalisation of the curriculum in the United Kingdom and Australia in reaction to the exclusive focus on international student recruitment and off-shore delivery.

At the beginning of 2020, although the critique on the notion of internationalisation as being competitive and exclusive became widely acknowledged and notions like ‘internationalisation at home’, ‘internationalisation of the curriculum’, ‘internationalisation for society’, ‘humanistic internationalisation’, ‘global learning for all’ have found ample support in reports, documents, statements, and even policies, the reality of internationalisation as a tradeable commodity was still strongly prevalent.

And then Came COVID-19!

The crisis resulting from COVID-19 made manifest the extent to which higher education in the world had become international, but even more how much the presence of international students impacts on the economy of countries, such as the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, and others, that currently attract most international students in absolute numbers. Student mobility and the differentiated fees charged had become a crucial source of income for higher education in these countries, compensating for reduction of public support by national and state governments. Warnings, such as the Asian crisis in the 1990s, 9/11/2001 in the United States, the financial crisis of 2008, and terrorist attacks, were ignored, as there was always a quick recovery. Now the whole business, including the industry surrounding it, is falling apart, and full recovery seems far away and most unlikely.

Student Mobility

Without question, there will be a decrease in mobility for years to come, with declines in global student mobility and with particular implications in the number of students coming from low- and, in particular, middle-income countries in the Global South to the rest of the world. This temporary decline accompanies an end to the Chinese student boom of the past two decades. Thus, there is likely to be a significant temporary decline and longer-term more modest but still substantive decrease, although China will remain the largest single sending country for the foreseeable future.

Following the end of the coronavirus crisis, there may be a restructuring of mobility patterns. Over time, there have been changes in patterns and flows of international students. At one time, Iran was one of the main sending countries—it no longer plays much of a role. Brazil and Saudi Arabia have declined, while Vietnam and to some extent India have increased. Future increases will come from Africa—mainly from Nigeria and Kenya. We have already seen destination patterns modestly swing away from Europe, North America, and Australia to Asia and the Middle East. Overall, numbers will not rapidly increase and may well somewhat decline and preferred destinations may change. The United States, increasingly seen as unwelcoming, will likely decline, and other leading destinations, Australia, United Kingdom and Canada, might also see a decline, although at first there might be a surge due to deferences of the previous year. There will be more inner-region mobility in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and some countries that have been successful in controlling COVID-19 might see a rise. The traditional pattern of international study will continue, but will be even less inclusive than already is the case and the already emerging trend of decreasing market share of the English-speaking countries will continue.

The impact of the technological transformation at the start of the COVID-19 crisis on international student mobility is uncertain. Institutions and countries that have

been dependent on revenue from international students will try as soon as possible to go back into the market. As Marginson (2020) observes, that market will become a buyer's market with institutions "hunting for scarce international students for some years to come". But that market will be far more vulnerable, more competitive, and less massive, and the provision may shift to some degree from high-income countries to middle-income countries that can offer lower costs. Marginson reckons that it will take at least five years to recover. Maybe, but we will not go back to the status quo ante. The industry that has developed over the past decades—agents, pathway programmes, recruitment companies—will decline drastically and will need to adapt to new models to survive. Issues such as cost, and student safety and well-being will become more important push and pull factors in decisions of students and their parents.

Some receiving countries, most notably Australia and to a lesser extent the United Kingdom, and some less prestigious colleges and universities in the United States have become dependent on international student tuition as an important part of their financial survival. After all, international education is an estimated US \$300 billion industry globally, if one accumulated data from leading countries such as the Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States. The coronavirus crisis shows that this dependence is deeply problematical. It is likely that institutions dependent on this income will face significant problems. The crisis might signal that seeing international education mainly as an income generator is undesirable from many viewpoints, but one has to fear it will not. Indeed, governments and academic institutions may double down on their recruitment efforts. The question is if they will be successful. A decline of 25% as some foresee for the coming period already has huge financial implications.

The Impact on Study Abroad

Thousands of students from North America and Europe who were engaged in carefully planned, semester-long or shorter study abroad programmes have been called home.

While temporarily problematical from many perspectives, it is unlikely that these programmes will suffer long-term declines. It will more likely increase the trend for shorter periods of mobility (less than eight weeks) and dependence on 'safe' countries. But it is also likely that study abroad for home credits will become even more elitist than already was the case, for financial reasons. Study abroad programmes in which students participate for a year, a semester, or even shorter periods, may suffer even greater problems as students assess possible risks and challenges for experiences that are mandatory for their academic success.

A Murky Path!

Over the past months many experts have predicted that this will be the end of internationalisation as largely seen as international student mobility and have expressed hope that it will pave the way towards a new paradigm, where the dominance of internationalisation abroad will be replaced by internationalisation at home. Will this be indeed both an end of internationalisation and its revival?

Let us not be too optimistic. The inclination of national governments and institutional leaders will be to push the reset button and return as quickly as possible to the glorious days of international trade before COVID-19. A number of surveys, such as those of QS and the Institute of Education spread optimism that international students, are still interested in studying abroad in the main English-speaking countries. That optimism is as naive as the hope that institutions will move to a more inclusive policy of internationalisation at home. Even if only 25% of the international students who had intended to study in another country would decide or—more likely—not be able to afford study abroad in the Global North, it will have an enormous financial impact on higher education. All the more likely, given that it is too early to tell if the reduction will be limited to 25%.

A Revival of Ethical Internationalisation?

Is the revival of inclusive, non-commercial, and high-quality internationalisation as identified in its 2015 definition more realistic? Not yet in the Global North, where commercialisation still dominates. But for sure it is the only way forward. What Knight and de Wit (2018) wrote two years before the crisis, is even more relevant today than before: *As we look backwards and forwards, it is thus important to ask one question. What are the core principles and values underpinning internationalization of higher education that 10 or 20 years from now will make us look back and be proud of the track record and contribution that international higher education has made to the more interdependent world we live in, the next generation of citizens, and the bottom billion people living in poverty on our planet?*

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