

PALGRAVE STUDIES IN GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP
EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY

ASSEMBLING AND
GOVERNING THE HIGHER
EDUCATION INSTITUTION

Democracy, Social Justice
and Leadership in Global
Higher Education

Edited by
Lynette Shultz,
Melody Viczko



Palgrave Studies in Global Citizenship
Education and Democracy

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Lynette Shultz • Melody Viczko
Editors

Assembling and Governing the Higher Education Institution

Democracy, Social Justice and Leadership in Global
Higher Education

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Global Social Justice, Democracy and Leadership of Higher Education: An Introduction

Lynette Shultz and Melody Viczko

As higher education institutions (HEIs) are faced with increasing pressures to restructure and change their organization in line with global institutional demands, the foundational assumptions on which their leadership and governance are based are called into question. The basis of this book initiates from an assumption about an inherent democratic nature of higher education governance, whereby those who practise in HEI institutions are involved in deciding, as well as questioning, the ways in which the foundations of higher education are materialized through reform processes. Much leadership literature is focused on building a corporate university that is able to respond to market principles, economic ideology driven policies and practices, alliances with big business and industry, and strategies to internationalize for increased revenue. We take a critical approach to understanding higher education leadership and governance

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within this global context. The overarching questions asked in this book are: how has higher education come to be assembled in contemporary governance practices within the context of global demands for reform; and how are issues of justice being taken up as part of, and in resistance to, this assemblage?

Therefore, there are two key ideas that underpin the volume. First, the need for a *social justice* approach that also recognizes the multiple locations from which HEIs are shaped on a global scale. The frame of global social justice provides conceptual and communicative categories to understand complex contexts, structures and relations of injustice (see, for example, Shultz, 2015). Theories of social justice focus on the fairness of conditions of distribution of benefits and burdens in society. However, these conditions must be understood through processes of recognition, as a question of acknowledging actors' social status (Fraser, 1996, 2009) and its necessary reciprocity, whereby we aim for solidarity in recognition (Fraser, 2007; Honneth, 1995; Odora Hoppers, 2009, 2015). Post-colonial and anti-colonial theorists and anti-oppression activists have shown us how justice must also overcome and reconcile the historical, social and material legacies of colonial practices based on imperialism, patriarchy and racism that continue to exert organizing strength in the lives and relations of people around the world. HEIs have not escaped this legacy, and the durability of issues and intersections of race, gender and class violence are evident in our organizations. We take seriously Fraser (1996, 2009) and Fraser & Nash (2014) analysis, which nests together the conditions of (re) distribution, recognition and representation, deemed participative parity, to provide us with a way to frame situations of injustice in our analysis of leadership and governance of higher education.

The second key notion that is foundational to this volume is that of *assemblage* (see for example Latour, 2005). Our aim is to challenge the way the HEI is portrayed as a fixed, final entity and to reconceptualize an institution that is built or constructed—that is, assembled—through the interactions of people, materialities (such as knowledge), policies and texts that operate together in the practices of teaching, researching, leadership and governance in HEIs. This aim is lofty, as it poses a significant challenge to how we think about an institution that is often characterized as resistant to change. However, if we assume that the institution is assembled, we can believe in the possibilities for its reassemblage to better reflect the challenges of democracy and social justice, and the issues of leadership raised by the authors in the book. The notion of assembling indicates *action* and

our interest in this book is to explore the practices that work collectively in the performance (Czarniawska, 2008) of higher education, helping us to understand the way in which actors come together to perform higher education itself and, consequently, an interest in the ordering effects that are generated through this performance (Law, 1992, 2009). In this view of higher education, knowledge is generated through these effects and higher education itself is performed into existence. The chapters presented in this book explore the agency, power, knowledge and identity that are *the effects* of these assemblages performed in HEIs located in many different international contexts.

The authors in this book have all contributed chapters that probe institutional responses to social justice issues in higher education. Collectively, they move us forward in understanding what democratic organization in higher education might look like at this point in time and, perhaps most importantly, they provide ways for us to think globally by highlighting the intersections, compliances and resistances that are emerging in many parts of the world linked through processes of globalization that are material and relational. Their work demands that we examine the organization of higher education within its wider social, economic, political, technical and geo-historical context.

The book is organized in three parts. Part I begins by looking at the wider contexts for leadership and governance of HEIs. In Chap. 1, Chris Shiel and David Jones discuss the role of universities in creating a sustainable world—one of the critical issues of our time and one by which every person on the planet is impacted. Shiel and Jones provide a model for globally responsible leadership that will help universities play a transformational role in securing a better future. In Chap. 3, Eugenie Samier provides a timely discussion of social justice in a neoliberal globalized world by bringing Islamic ideas of leadership into discussion with Western intellectual traditions. She argues for the recognition of the important contribution of Islamic scholars to theoretical and historical understandings of social justice, leadership and the role of higher education in a complex and interconnected world. In Chaps. 4 and 5, we have a historical view of the Bologna process and higher education in Europe beginning with a keynote address given by Jousch Andris Barblan in 2005 presented in Chap. 4 and a response by Susan Robertson in Chap. 5. Barblan provides a call—a reminder of the social role of the university—highlighting the vital functions of a quest for meaning, order, welfare and truth that are at the foundation of higher education. He is optimistic that the university can

contribute to building a modern, democratic European society and provides the principles from which a common set of values could be shared for this purpose. Susan Robertson responds to Barblan in a conversation about the ten years since he made his hopeful call. She points out the devastating impact that neoliberalism has had on the university as a public institution and the need for a fully democratic response, if we are to turn the tide. In a time when democracy has become suspect (for example, UNESCO has removed the word from its key strategic documents), the need for strong democratic leadership of public institutions is urgent. In Chap. 6, Su-Ming Khoo, Lisa Taylor and Vanessa Andreotti examine the impact of neoliberal restructuring on higher education. They outline how an ethics of internationalization approach to governance provides possibilities for ethical academic praxis.

In Part II of the volume, authors explore the expanding role of higher education, offering both critiques and spaces for justice. In Chap. 7, Ali A. Abdi reminds us of the importance of public intellectuals as analysts and activists contributing to community development and social justice. In Chap. 8, David Schmaus argues for the inclusion of ethics education, with a focus on cosmopolitanism and global social justice in polytechnical education. In Chap. 9, Su-Ming Khoo continues the focus on public scholarship and highlights the urgency of sustainable human development. She argues for a re-imagined higher education sector that pushes against neoliberalism's commodification of education through expanded ideas of democracy and economy. In Chap. 10, Tania Kajner provides a timely and important discussion of community engagement and its popularity in the neoliberal university. Her analysis of new public management in higher education sheds light on how surveillance and privilege work in shaping community engagement and scholarship. Concluding this section, Crain Soudien, in Chap. 11, describes the durability of the racial inequality during the apartheid era and class exclusions, and the challenges that South African higher education has faced in constructing a post-apartheid system. He uses the issue of access to education as an example of how this struggle plays out in the political and social relations in governments and HEIs. He argues for institutional procedures that must take us beyond racism and its formalized apparatus of classification towards achieving equity and social justice.

In Part III, authors discuss particular cases where institutions have (or should have) engaged with critical issues in their institutions. The lessons for policy, governance and leadership provided in this section provide

outstanding possibilities for transforming higher education for more democratic and just societies. In Chap. 12, Alyson Larkin calls into question how institutional “north–south” partnerships are implemented, and challenges us to attend to power imbalances and a re-colonizing potential when historical understandings of the superiority of Western knowledge define these relations. She employs the concept of cognitive justice to give language to how these relations might be transformed. In Chap. 13, Sandra Acker and Michelle Webber describe the intensification of the academic tenure processes, and how regulatory mechanisms operate through discipline and surveillance, creating an audit culture that limits how academics can take their place in the academy. In Chap. 14, Randy Wimmer provides a narrative account of his experience as a non-indigenous scholar working with indigenous colleagues to create an inclusive education environment for students, scholars and community members and for their knowledges. He argues for new education leadership processes to achieve this.

In the subsequent five chapters, we have case studies from five countries in four continents, each speaking to the impact of globalization and pressure for new public management reforms. In Chap. 15, Girmaw Akalu and Michael Kariwo describe how African universities respond to African Union goals of “complete revitalization” that places higher education as a vital actor in country level development. In Chap. 16, Len Findlay and Toni Samek bring an analysis of a highly contested case of institutional reform in Canada. This is a cautionary tale of attempts to reform a collegial model of governance in an effort to be internationally recognized as competitive and a highly ranked research institution. The authors bring media accounts, public institutional memos and policies to describe this case of reform and resistance, and the challenges of higher education leadership in neoliberal times. This chapter is followed, in Chap. 17, by research about corporatized governance by Ranilce Guimarães-Iosif and Aline Veiga dos Santos from Brazil. The patterns of reform play out in similar ways in the Brazilian context. These authors see opportunities for democratic engagement by professor, student and community leaders that will enable resistance and a shift to institutions that is more focused on the social goals of research and teaching. In Chap. 18, Tatiana Gounko, Svetlana Panina and Svetlana Zalutskaya describe how the drive to be “world class” has changed the organization of higher education in Russia. Their study of institutional efforts to improve the quality of research and instruction was impeded by diminished material supports, resulting in poor working conditions and low salaries. They describe how these

conditions work against other leadership strategies for improving quality. Chapter 19 is a case study of a small university in the United Kingdom, Bath Spa University. Christina Slade provides insight into how a small, regional university negotiated the demands of a globalized higher education environment and the expectations for an internationalized focus. Building on their strengths as a liberal arts university, they focused on creativity, innovation and the ability to work collaboratively to create a strong network and build their international profile.

In the final chapters of the book, authors bring to the fore particular social justice issues and leadership strategies to widen our understanding of institutional responses and change. In Chap. 20, Dawn Wallin and Janice Wallace present the experiences of women academics working in the area of leadership and administration. They describe how these women negotiated the complexity of individual agency and structural barriers in a masculinized academy. Their stories tell of determination, courage and what the authors call “moxie” to reshape the discipline and change the path for women who followed them into leadership studies. In Chap. 21, André P. Grace describes his work in the Institute for Sexual Minority Studies and Services, and the efforts made to create inclusive education spaces within HEIs where sexual minority students and staff can develop in a safe and nurturing environment. Grace describes this as “socializing” the institution; the focus is on changing the space to fit the students, rather than requiring students to hide or diminish their identities and educational needs in order to fit into an institution that has long ignored and excluded them. In Chap. 22, Marianne Larsen and Rashed Al-Haque present their study of senior HEI leaders to understand how personal international experiences shape leaders’ “international imaginary” and subsequent interest in international initiatives. The authors describe the important interplay between these individual experiences and forces—local, national and global—in shaping institutional policy and practice. Chapter 23 is a submission from members of the Association of Canadian Deans of Education (ACDE) and describes how these accords provide a set of principles for engagement that is consistent across institutions in Canada. Authors Kris Magnussen, Blye Frank and Katy Ellison describe the importance of both content and procedure in the development of these accords, with careful attention being given to democratic and equitable engagement in the contentious and important issues affecting Faculties of Education. The authors focus on two particular accords: the Accord on Indigenous Education and the Accord on the Internationalization of Education. These Accords highlight

the Canadian Deans' shared commitment to topics of importance to education and the need for educational leaders to take a principled stand on matters of social justice.

The book concludes with Chap. 24, written by the editors, Lynette Shultz and Melody Viczko, engaging their own critique of how higher education itself is reassembled through the work of the interactions among the work of the authors here. They return to the initial guiding questions of the book to offer spaces for leadership and governance committed to global social justice.

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PART I

Leadership and the Changing
Context of Education

Sustainability and Social Justice: Leadership Challenges

Chris Shiel and David Jones

INTRODUCTION

The role of education in contributing to a sustainable future has been quite clear since the World Commission on Environment and Development (WECD) was asked to formulate a “global agenda for change” (WECD 1987, p. 9). Their report, with the publication of “Our Common Future” (WECD 1987), established the vision for a more sustainable and socially just society; also, it proposed that education at all levels should contribute to developing global citizens who would address the need for sustainable development.

Post Rio+20,¹ and with the UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) at a close (UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organisation) 2014), the challenges facing humanity (global poverty, conflict, social injustice, environmental degradation and climate change) continue unabated and largely unresolved. The impacts of policy interventions and countless global summits since the 1980s are barely noticeable; the contribution that higher education has made to an ambitious agenda has been negligible. That is not to deny progress—some universities have been at the forefront of change—but, to be quite clear,

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whilst universities should be leading a transition towards a more secure and sustainable future, there is little evidence of systemic engagement (Sterling et al. 2013).

Few universities are at the forefront of transformational change. Many have a myopic, instrumental and functionally specific conception of sustainability, global citizenship and internationalisation. Too often, these inter-related agendas (Shiel et al. 2005) are addressed as separate initiatives, where actions are deemed completed once responsibility has been discharged to a particular department. Thus, sustainable development becomes the responsibility of estates' departments,² with targets for carbon reduction and utilities efficiency (Shiel and Williams 2015); internationalisation largely rests with an "international office" driving the function with targets for international recruitment (Warwick 2012) and (more recently) student mobility; the educative agenda may, if considered at all, be loosely attributed to academics and, thus, addressed in a very limited way. This chapter will explore a fundamental rethink of these agendas and argue that a more integrative approach to managing the university is required. Some of the factors that reinforce this organisational and individual myopia will be examined before consideration is given to the kinds of organisational engagement and leadership that might secure a more holistic approach, and enable universities to play a more prominent role in contributing to a sustainable future.

The Strategic Opportunity: The Rallying Call

"We are moving into a world that differs in fundamental ways from the one we have been familiar with during most of human history" (Alcamo and Leonard 2012, p. 3)—so things need to change. In the forty years since the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment, a growing body of literature has highlighted the need to do things differently. Some authors have argued for ensuring that curriculum and pedagogy develop "sustainability literacy" (Stibbe 2009), and that critical thinking is an essential component of ESD (Vare and Scott 2007); others explore global citizenship (Bourn et al. 2006), and critical thinking in relation to development education (Andreotti 2014). Several authors have commented repeatedly that what is required is a "transformative shift" (Cortese 2003; Sterling 2004a) within higher education (HE), and the development of holistic and systemic ways of working (Shiel 2007; Sterling 2001, 2003, 2004b). The potential for universities to contribute to sustainable

development (through research, education and community engagement, and as large organisations) has been emphasised time and again, and writ large. However, the sector continues to fall short in the endeavour to contribute towards a more equitable and sustainable future. Few universities are at the forefront of transformational change; few university leaders (despite endorsement of countless declarations) fully comprehend the significance of the issues—their mental models (of both leadership and sustainability) often serving as barriers to change (Shiel 2013a, b).

In addition to those advocating change from an ESD perspective (with an emphasis rooted in environmental education), or a development education (DE) perspective (with an emphasis on human development and social justice), researchers from other fields have critiqued higher education's response to globalisation and, particularly, the limitations of internationalisation strategies with an over-emphasis on market share and competition (Altbach et al. 2009; De Wit 2002). The internationalisation literature notes that the economic and political rationales have dominated the internationalisation agenda within HE, resulting in a “marketisation discourse” (Caruana and Spurling 2007). Generating income from international student fees has been the predominant focus of international activity (Warwick 2012), with the softer components of internationalisation (for example, developing global citizenship and cross-cultural competence in the curriculum; and establishing partnerships, based on reciprocity and learning) marginalised as a consequence. The social/cultural rationales to internationalise (Knight 2012) are frequently neglected (Jones and Lee 2008).

In a similar vein (to authors writing from an ESD and DE perspective), writers on internationalisation suggest that (just like sustainability) it requires a broader and more inclusive approach (Jones and Brown 2007) to address the complexity of the twenty-first century (Morey 2000; Bourn 2011). Commentators propose that internationalisation should embrace a spirit of mutual learning, enrich collaboration across cultures and develop global perspectives (Shiel and McKenzie 2008; Shiel 2007; Lunn 2008; Bourn 2011; Brookes and Becket 2011) and global citizenship (Otter 2007; Caruana 2012; Clifford and Haigh 2011). Such approaches would not only enhance graduate outcomes, but may also contribute to a better world, where graduates are more globally aware, culturally sensitive and socially responsible. Leadership approaches to internationalisation (as with leadership approaches to sustainability) are often too narrow in perspective and are inadequate in their response to the global context (Luker 2008),

and the leadership of internationalisation within HE needs enhancing (Middlehurst 2008).

Just as some authors propose a vision for a “Sustainable University” (Sterling et al. 2013), others describe the “Global University” (McKenzie et al. 2003; Shiel and McKenzie 2008). The headings may be different, but there are similarities in terms of ambition and commonality around themes: universities should contribute to a more sustainable and equitable world, fundamental change within HE is required, and education and research needs to be re-oriented “in a way that leads to new mental models and competencies” (Wals and Blewitt 2010, p. 57) to address unsustainable development and globalisation.

The literature (on internationalisation, sustainable development and global perspectives) and personal experience developing this oppositional agenda over a number of years confirm that researchers (and activists), often from very different starting points (environmental education, DE, internationalisation) and disciplinary perspectives, have been urging universities across the world to explore alternative paradigms. Champions (often tenacious academics with a vision that education should make a difference to the world) have been influencing change within their own institutions and have led a variety of initiatives with some success. Only a few have been successful in developing more systemic and holistic approaches—wholesale transformation remains elusive (Sterling et al. 2013); also, the challenges of transforming a sector that traditionally resists change (Wals and Blewitt 2010) are often insurmountable. Within the UK, despite the potential for universities to be playing a leading role in addressing the challenges of sustainability, only a few institutions are pursuing coherent, institution-wide approaches. Very few institutions embrace global citizenship, internationalisation and sustainable development within a single educative agenda, let alone link these to employability; senior leaders who support a holistic perspective and who appreciate the synergy between agendas are uncommon. As Blewitt (2012) suggests, a paradigm shift seems as far away as ever.

Inhibitors of Change: Why has the Response Been so Limited?

Why then—despite the potential for universities to play a leading role in addressing the challenges of sustainability as demonstrated by some in the USA (Harvard University, for example) and a few in the UK (see Luna and Maxey 2013, for example) and elsewhere (University of British Columbia,

for example)—are so few universities taking a leadership role and pursuing a strategic institution-wide approach? The authors' experience of working with colleagues from the USA, Europe and Canada suggests that those who are successfully engaging with this agenda have undertaken a fundamental review of the strategic implications and are pursuing planned, coherent and institution-wide responses. Reflecting on our experience in wrestling with these challenges in a number of institutions in the UK, we have identified a number of factors that constrain responses and inhibit a more fundamental engagement.

Recent research with university boards and senior staff teams (Shiel 2013a, b; Shiel and Williams 2015) has demonstrated that university leaders have a narrow understanding of key concepts such as sustainable development; internationalisation continues to be conceptualised as “attracting international students” (Caruana and Spurling 2007) and establishing an international presence in world markets; the relationships between globalisation, internationalisation and sustainability (apart from in the context of financial sustainability) are rarely considered.

This limited understanding of sustainability and globalisation constrains the debate. Instead of exploring the implications for the university as a whole and the related implications for other strategic agendas—such as internationalisation, employability, the curriculum and the student experience—most universities in the UK consider sustainable development as simply yet another external policy lever to address. They do not, in the main, regard it as a strategic imperative that raises fundamental questions about the future direction of education, and the positioning and operation of the university.

Experience demonstrates that there is a prevailing tendency to set the consideration of sustainability within an accommodative, short-term oriented, management frame of reference and decision making, focusing on what needs to be done to satisfy specific external policy drivers and metrics (Shiel and Williams 2015). Whilst we acknowledge that such an orientation can yield some positive gains, and enable staff and students to align and support local sustainability initiatives, the overall impact is unlikely to facilitate the transformational changes implied by the sustainability agenda.

A deeper engagement is, we contend, further frustrated by another facet of the prevailing accommodative management frame of reference and decision making and that is the enduring managerial concern to establish clear, atomistic and unambiguous lines of accountability. Whilst this particular

model of accountability can be successful in ensuring that staff within universities focus attention on key targets in the short term, it does engender a mode of engagement where only what is measurable and measured gets done. It can also lead, as the various reviews of the UK National Health Service (NHS) experience demonstrate, to unanticipated suboptimal outcomes (see, for example, Ham (2014) who notes that, whilst the introduction of targets and performance management in the NHS has led to reduced waiting times for hospital admissions and improved cancer and cardiac care, it has also led to game playing, data manipulation, areas not included in targets being neglected, and over reliance on top-down guidance). This mechanistic view of accountability does little to encourage—indeed, could be argued to subvert—the kinds of cross-university, cross-disciplinary and multi-functional ways of thinking and engagement that might encourage the flexibility and adaptive capacity to anticipate and respond to the emerging, complex and uncertain future that we face.

The focus on short-term organisational accountability with related performance management metrics also tends, in our experience, to encourage a transactional culture with a narrowing of allegiances to individual and sub-unit goals. This is reinforced by success and reputational criteria, particularly at senior levels, that prize individual achievements that demonstrably add value in the market place in the short term—such as improving league table rankings, increasing student numbers, extending employer engagement, leading “clicks and bricks” projects, improving financial sustainability and fund raising. These criteria tell us a great deal about what senior leaders and university boards value; they influence the prevailing culture at all levels. It is perhaps not surprising that those aspiring for promotion and senior leadership roles seem unwilling to take on the complex, organisationally diffuse and uncertain challenges of sustainable development, when the prevailing success criteria focus on demonstrable market growth in the short term.

It is important, too, to reflect to on the lack of diversity of senior teams that continue to demonstrate a bias in favour of white males (Bagilhole and White 2008; Grove 2013). Aside from the fundamental questions of equality and social justice that this raises, we argue that the current composition of senior teams severely restricts the variety not only of life experiences but also leadership orientations and styles that can be brought to bear on strategic challenges such as sustainable development. We also argue that this may be a factor in constraining engagement with agendas that require broader perspectives and new ways of working.

A significant feature of the constraining factors that we have identified is that they are mutually reinforcing. Thus, a limited understanding of the challenges posed by sustainable development leads to an accommodative response that treats sustainable development as an operational or constraint problem that can be, as it were, “slotted in” to the current leadership and administrative arrangements. But there is also an important sense in which the prevailing accommodative leadership and administrative arrangements themselves predispose universities to “see” sustainable development as a challenge that is capable of being so accommodated. These arrangements reinforce, and are reinforced by, an emphasis on short-term measurable outcomes, with individual and unambiguous lines of accountability that foster, and are fostered by, a transactional culture. Such transactional cultures cultivate individual career and promotional motivations and trajectories that are founded on short-term individual gains, where performance is tangible and measurable. In turn, career success founded on these principles further reinforces cultures that are based on transactional norms, where successful contributions to short-term market growth provide the justificatory logic.

We suggest that the mutually reinforcing nature of the relationship between these constraining factors comprises a powerful negative reinforcement cycle that seriously inhibits the propensity and capacity of higher education institutions to engage systemically with the challenges of sustainable development.

In our view, these constraining factors exhibit what Max Weber referred to as an “elective affinity”³ (Howe 1978), in that they cohere and resonate not only with themselves, but also with the “market” as the sovereign ideational register and organising principle.^{4, 5} The development of this ideational shift has accompanied the movement from an elite to a mass model of higher education, which occurred from the 1980s onwards. Governments across the world have increasingly pressured universities to maximise efficiency and reduce dependence on the public purse, and to become more accountable to the consumer. This has resulted in radical changes within higher education and created a context where marketisation and branding (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004; Jiang 2008; Walker 2009) have come to the fore; the need to develop income streams from private sources (Currie 1998) has made international students attractive to institutions; and the language of the consumer and “customer care” gains sovereignty, as universities are assembled and operated as commercial enterprises.

In a sense, this brings us to what is often seen as the crux of the challenge facing those who want to see universities engaging in a deeper and more systemic way with sustainable development. Whilst universities are measured—and, indeed, measure and manage themselves—by criteria and models that are rooted in the “market”, how can we hope that universities will engage seriously with an agenda that subverts the very idea of the market.

This conception of the challenge is, we contend, both misguided and unhelpful. It is misguided because it is rooted in a particular view about the market and business activity: the neo-liberal model. The critical challenge facing sustainable development in universities is not the “market” but, rather, the influence of neo-liberal ideas on public policy, and the way that universities assemble themselves and respond to that policy. It is the pre-occupation that educational policy makers and university leaders have with short-term economic growth and mechanistic measures of accountability and performance that frustrates a deeper engagement with sustainable development, not the “invisible hand of the market”. The idea that sustainable development and the “market” are necessarily antipathetic forces for change is not only misguided, but also unhelpful in that it lowers expectations and encourages quiescence, cynicism and fatalism.

The seemingly fixed adherence to this conception is not surprising within the UK, given that UK government rhetoric and policy are dominated by neo-liberal thinking. However, the danger is that we ourselves become seduced into thinking that business and the market are solely concerned with short-term economic growth, and there is little alternative other than to adopt strategies and operational models that secure this objective. There are, however, clear international examples emerging of alternative conceptions of the market and “doing business”. Companies such as Walmart, Unilever, Kingfisher and Marks & Spencer are moving away from focusing exclusively on short-term economic performance towards a long-term conception of environmental sustainability, integrated into strategic plans and company operations. Unilever, for example, has introduced the “Sustainability Living Plan”; this is fully integrated into the company’s strategy, and identifies significant goals in the areas of health and well-being, environmental impact and human livelihoods to be achieved by 2020 (Coulter and Guenther 2014).

Clearly, there may well be a gap between the rhetoric and the reality but, surely, the point is that these examples demonstrate that some of the largest international corporates are addressing sustainability at a strategic

level and fundamentally rethinking their strategic direction, leadership and ways of operating as a consequence. It is interesting to note, in the context of the current debates about university public engagement and impact, that some corporates are now recognising a role for themselves in public advocacy and “catalytic leadership” to promote collective engagement and stimulate changes in policy and the market (GlobeScan and Sustainability 2013).

Perhaps part of the problem is that too many policy makers, university leaders and boards are placing too much reliance on limited and out-dated models of business strategy, leadership and operations. They would do better, we suggest, to examine more closely the range of models emerging in the business world.

*Globally Responsible Leadership: Reflecting on Experience
with Assembling and Leading Higher Education for Sustainable
Development*

This chapter will now explore ways in which universities can organise themselves to engage in a more strategic and fundamental way with the challenges of sustainable development, and the models of leadership that would enable them to do this successfully. We begin with the consideration of a model developed in the UK. The model was informed by a DE perspective. It represented an extension of collaboration with colleagues (from a number of universities) who had sought initially to identify the knowledge, skills and dispositions of a global citizen (see McKenzie et al. 2003) and then to embed global citizenship within higher education and influence strategic change.

Early work in this endeavour focused on developing a conceptual approach and organising principles that would be capable of providing a unifying focus for university-wide engagement. The underlying goal was to prompt higher education institutions, at all levels, systematically to consider the challenges posed by sustainable development and globalisation, and to encourage new ways of thinking and working. The framework (see Figure 2.1) developed at Bournemouth University embraces five facets of assembling the higher education institution: the business activities of the university; curricula and pedagogy; research; extra/co-curricular and community relationships. The central focus of the framework is the development of global perspectives (GP) and global citizens (GC) across the university and its communities; the emphasis is on creating an experience

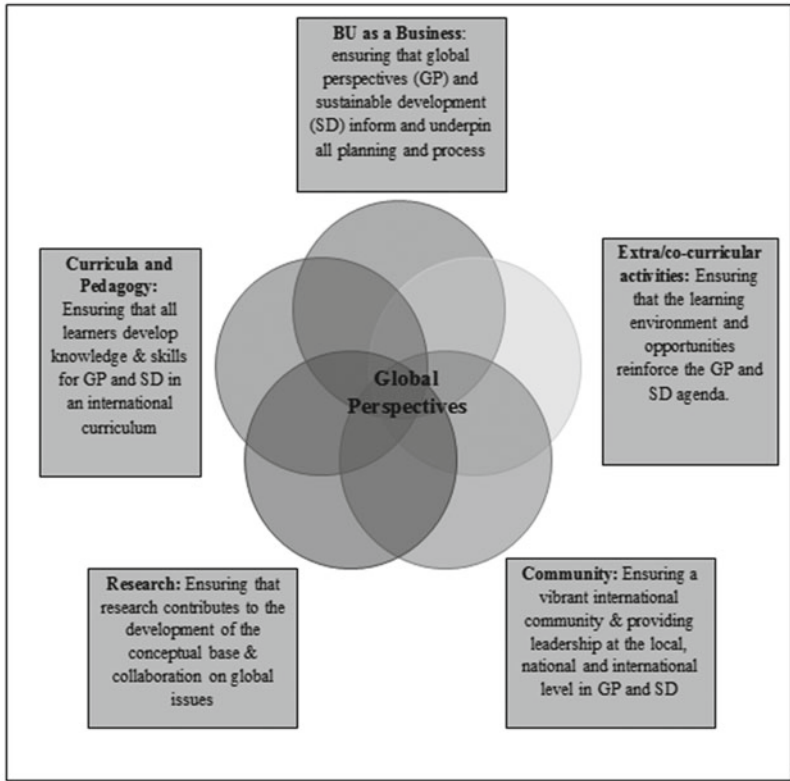


Fig. 2.1 Global perspectives in a global university (Shiel and Mann 2006)

that enables students to become global citizens who understand the need for sustainable development (SD) (Bourn and Shiel 2009; Petford and Shiel 2008; Shiel and Jones 2005). At the same time, the framework challenges universities to regard themselves as “global citizens” and to ensure that all aspects of their operations address social responsibility and sustainable development.

A significant feature of this framework—and, indeed, our own experience of wrestling with these challenges—was the recognition of the need to marshal momentum and gain the support of different interests and constituencies, within and without the institution. Demonstrating how a more holistic approach aligned with other policy levers and university

goals with shorter-term market pay-offs—such as employability and internationalisation (Shiel et al. 2005)—was important for securing initial buy-in (Shiel 2008). Organising events and developing discursive devices to surface worldviews and trigger debate on not only the concepts, but also significant global issues were important for taking the agenda forward.

Early initiatives (through participative approaches) sought to engage the support of students and staff in transformative change, and to inspire engagement with a holistic agenda that would impact on curriculum, campus and community. The framework is not dissimilar to the “4C” model at Plymouth University (where the foci include curriculum, campus, community and culture; see Jones et al. 2010, p. 7). It has been taken forward by a small group of UK universities in seeking to achieve education for sustainable development, or in developing the ethos of global citizenship (as an extension of internationalisation), or both. More recently, the Green Academy (see Luna and Maxey 2013), a UK Higher Education Academy change programme, has played a pivotal role in inspiring and facilitating the adoption, by a growing number of institutions, of similar approaches.

The mobilisation of support and engagement at Bournemouth University was enhanced by working in partnership with the Students Union, the International Office, student societies, local NGOs, local schools and the local authority. Partnership working (particularly between the academic function and the professional function of environmental management within the Estates Department) has not only contributed to capacity building, but has also earned the institution a number of awards, including recognition in the People and Planet Green League.⁶ The latter, with high profile rankings initially published in the *Times Higher Education Supplement* and, later, *The Guardian* (a UK newspaper), has been a critical driver in raising the profile of sustainable development with senior staff; it has also served (at times) to advantage campus greening over ESD. External acclaim is certainly an important factor for securing senior leaders’ backing in contexts where other pressing concerns demand their attention, with the caveat—acclaim can also lead to complacency.

The experience of developing and implementing the framework at Bournemouth University offers an illustration of the ways in which significant change can be secured through a bottom-up approach met by top-down support. The experience has also underlined the vulnerability of reliance on top-down support: senior leaders move on; replacements may arrive with very different worldviews and personal career agendas that

may mean previous approaches are rejected in pursuit of more personally advantageous strategies (Shiel and Williams 2014).

Whilst much can be—and, indeed, has been—achieved through working bottom-up within higher education institutions and with external partners, we have come to recognise that, to secure fundamental and long-lasting change, strategies for “middling out⁷” (Caruana and Hanstock 2005) need to be carefully thought through for long-term impact. More importantly, rather than depending on one or two champions at a senior level, it is evident that there is a need to change the thinking and engagement of the University Board and Executive Team; and to encourage them (as a collective) to take a longer-term view of institutional goals and to embrace a broader range of organisational and individual success factors beyond financial performance and university rankings.

Recent work with senior leaders (Shiel 2013a, b) and those responsible for university governance at four UK universities has attempted to bring about such collective engagement. Workshops with this target group have explored role-modelling leadership behaviour for sustainable development (Shiel and Williams 2015) and, through action learning sets, sought to develop strategic change initiatives. The project has had positive outcomes; for example, it has enhanced the target groups’ knowledge of sustainable development and has enabled strategies and approaches to change to be formulated, which resulted in one board considering the environmental consequences of all decisions. The workshops have also confirmed the importance of securing the engagement of the chairs of universities, board members and senior teams, the experience having also confirmed that seeking to engage this target group is particularly challenging. They are busy people, used to a focus on the bottom line and to delegating actions quickly, rather than owning an unfamiliar agenda. The project has also revealed that senior teams hold a wide range of diverse views on the key priorities for their institutions; that both senior teams and university boards have a very limited understanding of sustainable development (and often quite diametrically opposed views of what is required to secure the future of the world); and that they have limited worldviews on leadership, very little knowledge of leadership theory and, often, a noticeable preference for transactional (and sometimes “macho”) approaches. The evaluation of the project confirmed that participants’ “mental models” of both sustainability and “management” are powerful inhibitors of change (Ballard 2005).

Radical new ways of assembling the higher education institution will certainly require radically new forms of leadership. Fundamental engagement with the challenges of creating a sustainable world for

future generations can only be achieved by top leaders and university boards who recognise the significance and urgency of the challenge, and are willing to move away from the predominant focus on short-term market gains and personal career objectives. It is perhaps not too surprising, given the earlier discussion about inhibitors to change and the mutually reinforcing nature of their relationship, to note that writers on ESD suggest, that within universities, “bold leadership” (leaders who are willing to transform structures, cultures and processes) is uncommon (Tilbury 2013). Such leaders need to embrace “turnaround leadership” (Scott et al. 2012), if their institutions are to become “beacons of social responsibility” (Foskett 2013, p. x); they need to adopt a longer-term vision that embraces the needs of future generations and that focuses on cross-institutional ways of working. They also need to empower others to lead the change and ensure that enabling frameworks are provided. Champions working bottom-up cannot, by themselves, secure the level of transformational change that is required; challenging and removing organisational boundaries needs to be driven by those at the top. Whilst we regard senior team engagement as necessary (the first challenge being to convince them of the importance and potential of the change), it leaves open the question of the nature of that engagement and the type of leadership required.

There is influential literature on leadership for sustainable development which summarises “seven sustainability blunders” (Doppelt 2010) made by those leading change within organisations. Doppelt suggests that patriarchal thinking and mechanistic organisational designs, where issues are dealt with in silos, inhibit engagement; other blunders include having no clear vision, confusion over cause and effect, lack of information and insufficient mechanisms for learning. He reinforces the importance of challenging the dominant mind-set, and developing new opportunities for learning (and, indeed, some unlearning). Marshall, Coleman and Reason (Marshall et al. 2011) also stress the importance of learning but, particularly, the value of participatory ways of working, where diversity enhances that learning. Essentially, what is required is thinking (and ways of working) that challenge conventional wisdom and leaders who are able to facilitate transformational change. This may pose a challenge for university teams, particularly where their composition is predominantly male and more used to deploying transactional and overly adversarial approaches to thinking, interaction and decision making. Exploring gender differences in leadership styles is beyond the scope of this chapter and is an area of research that is controversial. However, evidence suggests

that women not only tend to favour a more democratic and participative style and are less likely to use an autocratic or directive style than men (Eagly and Johnson 1990); they are also more likely to score higher on transformational scales that relate to inspirational motivation and individualised consideration (Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt 2001). Whilst there is no evidence to suggest that female leaders might be more effective at leading sustainable development, it is not unreasonable to conclude that gender imbalance (in senior teams) might be a factor that inhibits new ways of working.

In reviewing our experience, we have had cause to reflect on the kinds of qualities and behaviours that might be appropriate to enable universities to take on the challenges that sustainability presents. In many respects, these echo with the concept of transformational leadership⁸ (Burns 1978; Bass 1985; Yukl 2006), which is not surprising, given the fundamental changes implied by the agenda.

Research has shown (Shiel 2013a, b; Scott et al. 2012) that successful sustainability leaders share many of the general qualities associated with effective leadership (see Yukl 2006, for a summary of literature on what constitutes effective leadership) but with greater levels of emotional intelligence (see Goleman 1996) and an increased capacity for openness, integrity, empathy and humility. They have a greater respect for people and the planet, and seek to develop more holistic (and inclusive) ways of working. Such a leader has the courage to challenge the status quo, particularly the negative reinforcement cycle of organisational and career factors based on a neo-liberal view of the market. They seek to challenge “silo mentalities” (where organisation structures and processes reinforce silo working and thinking) and facilitate new processes to encourage synergies across university functions, whilst striving to re-align systems and goals towards the common endeavour of sustainability (Shiel and Williams 2015).

The literature on leadership for sustainable development, combined with feedback from colleagues leading change across the sector, within their own universities (Shiel 2013a, b), suggests that a globally responsible higher education leader:

- sets a compelling vision and stimulates task commitment and optimism for action;
- seeks to implement a holistic approach, uniting everyone in collective responsibility and action;
- exemplifies commitment to learning for SD and enhances their own perspectives by also learning from the perspectives of other cultures;

- builds personal awareness and “mindfulness”, facilitating systemic learning (Sterling 2004b);
- explores own/others’ worldviews and challenges own/others’ limitations;
- demonstrates responsibility for the environment in the personal, professional and community spheres;
- exemplifies passion;
- displays creativity in planning for the future (visioning);
- respects the complexity of systems (Bateson 1972) and the interconnected nature of global challenges;
- encourages multiple perspectives, appreciating that listening to conflicting perspectives maximises learning;
- identifies new ways of working and opportunities for learning;
- develops alliances, to build commitment and momentum;
- assesses all actions and decisions in relation to SD (futures oriented decision making and an appreciation of the connections between the local and the global);
- inspires hope;
- proactively seeks positive solutions and displays courage in challenging the status quo;
- endures in adversity. (Adapted from Shiel 2013a, b).

We are aware that this is a tall order for any one individual, so it is worth remembering that leadership is a relational activity, and perhaps it would be better to develop the capabilities of teams, rather than focusing on individual competence. It is important that senior teams reflect on how far they exemplify these qualities in their own leadership approaches. It is also critical that they facilitate leadership development at all levels, ensuring that enabling mechanisms support others to champion change and engage in new ways of working. Undoubtedly, reward mechanisms will encourage action; however, incentives that reward individuals rather than celebrate the success of the whole may be counter-productive.

Further, the globally responsible leader must be as committed to their own personal learning as they are to enabling others to learn new ways of seeing, thinking and being. As Sterling (2001) reminds us, in noting what is required for sustainability:

It’s about creating the conditions of survival, security, and wellbeing for all. Un-learning, re-learning, new learning are the essences of this challenge. (p. 88)

CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined a specific aspect of global social justice: the opportunity for higher education to play a leading role in contributing to a sustainable future. The vision for this strategic opportunity was established nearly thirty years ago and we have provided a brief summary of the burgeoning international literature that has clarified the challenges for higher education institutions. It is unfortunate that, although many senior higher education leaders have exemplified their university's commitment to sustainable development and social justice, as signatories of numerous "International Declarations" they have, in the main, failed to address the strategic questions that a serious commitment to this agenda poses for their own institutions; the new ways of assembling that are required are under-developed. It has been suggested that examples of transformative approaches, or radical ways of working to address the challenges, are few.

The organisational and career factors that limit strategic engagement and reinforce a myopic conception and response to sustainable development, we have argued, comprise a set of elective mutually reinforcing affinities and constitute a negative reinforcement cycle that inhibits both conceptions of the challenges posed by sustainable development and consideration of the ways a university may be assembled to address these. We have suggested that these inhibiting conceptions and practices are rooted in a neo-liberal conception of the "market", where short-term economic returns and market rankings are sovereign. Whilst recognising the prevalence of this model in higher education, we also noted examples from the world of international corporations, where strategy and ways of assembling their operations are being fundamentally changed in response to the challenges of sustainability. If international business corporations can establish long-term goals for sustainability and embrace a broader range of organisational goals that include the environment, health and well-being, why are very few higher education institutions doing so? We suggest that part of the answer is that too many higher education policy makers, leaders and boards are in the thrall of a limited and anachronistic business model, and are slow to consider new models emerging in the business world—and, indeed, higher education. The failure of many institutional leadership teams and boards, in the face of the urgent need for sustainable development, to ask such basic questions as: What should we do to enhance global sustainability and social justice? and How should we assemble ourselves

to secure this? is, for us, one of the most disturbing and ironic features of higher education.

This lack of serious engagement is not for the want of alternative visions and approaches. We have outlined one such alternative, a Global Perspectives framework that was designed to stimulate and guide a more systemic engagement. We have also explored the ways in which momentum and support for assembling new ways of working can be mobilised. Whilst the contributions of both “bottom-up” and “lateral” approaches were noted, it was recognised that, for fundamental and long-lasting changes to be secured, we have to engender radical change in the thinking and engagement of university boards and executive teams in contexts that, too frequently, encourage instrumentality, and short-term thinking and action. There is undoubtedly a need to challenge myopic policy initiatives and institutional assemblies that predominantly focus on short-term market growth, atomistic accountability and consumption; initiatives and assemblies that are, too often, underpinned by justificatory vocabularies and infused by a neo-liberal view of the market. Without a shift at the senior level away from short-term accountability, limited measures of reputations, status hierarchy and CV building, wider transformation in society is unlikely to be led by universities.

Obviously, university leaders cannot completely ignore market forces and their local contexts but, as Ballard (2005) suggests, leaders for sustainable development need to recognise the contextual barriers to change and challenge these; and, we might add, also to explore alternative ways of responding to and shaping the market.

This requires, as noted, bold leadership to challenge the status quo and transform institutions. The qualities of globally responsible leadership share much in common with the general qualities of an effective leader but with a distinctive focus on transformation, emotional intelligence and learning. We have also suggested that more attention should be given to the relational aspects of leadership, and that more diversity at board and executive level might enhance the capacity for delivering transformational approaches.

The qualities that senior teams should seek to enhance, we argue, are: “humility, respect for all forms of life and future generations, precaution and wisdom, [and] the capacity to think systemically and challenge unethical actions” (Martin and Jucker 2005, p. 21).

We conclude where we began, reminding university leaders and ourselves of the rallying call echoed over the last thirty years, and so forcefully

recalled at the recent finale of the Decade for Education for Sustainable Development in 2014:

We call upon world leaders to support the transformative role of higher education towards sustainable development, and commit to work together and further promote transformative learning and research by encouraging multi-stakeholder, multi-sector partnerships, communicating examples of sustainability practices, promoting broad and strong leadership and public awareness of the values of sustainable development and education for sustainable development, and recognizing the essential role and responsibility of higher education institutions towards creating sustainable societies. (Nagoya Declaration on Higher Education for Sustainable Development 2014)

If universities are to fulfil their responsibility and play a transformative role, then we suggest that transformation has to start with university leadership; a critical task is to find new way of assembling universities so that they are more responsive to the agenda, and capable of contributing to sustainable societies and the needs of future generations.

NOTES

1. “Rio+20” is the abbreviated title for the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in June 2012—twenty years after the landmark 1992 Earth Summit in Rio.
2. In the UK, the “Estates Department” typically has responsibility for managing, maintaining and developing a university’s physical infrastructure, buildings and campus facilities.
3. The concept of elective affinities originates with Goethe, who derived it from the idea of chemical affinities. He deployed this as a metaphor to explore the emerging coalescence of patterns of human attraction and romance. Weber borrowed the metaphor to explain the emergence of capitalism and its relationship to social, cultural and historical factors. For an extended discussion of Weber’s treatment of this concept, see Howe (1978).
4. For a rigorous and balanced account of the policy changes informing this transition in the UK, see Brown and Carasso (2013); or, for a more controversial commentary and critique exploring the “Whys” and focusing on the USA, see Giroux (2014).
5. For an extended and immensely illuminating discussion of neoliberalism and sustainable development, see Blewitt (2013).

6. People and Planet run a league table that ranks universities on the basis of data collected to assess their environmental policies, actions and activities, and their broader engagement with sustainability (<https://peopleand-planet.org/university-league>).
7. “Middling out” is described as an approach that enhances “bottom-up” and “top-down” change by ensuring the engagement of those at the middle levels of the organisation (Heads of Departments and Heads of Services, for example, and middle-managers); the terms also includes developing policies and processes that impact across the organisation.
8. Transformational leadership is contrasted with transactional leadership and may be associated with values of fairness, honesty and responsibility. A transformational leader may appeal to followers and mobilise energy to reform their institutions based on mutual respect and by appeals to the greater good.

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Fairness, Equity and Social Cooperation: A Moderate Islamic Social Justice Leadership Model for Higher Education

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INTRODUCTION

Social justice in educational administration and leadership has emerged in the last twenty years as a dominant topic internationally. There are many national studies examining education and social justice: examples are Smith's (2012) review of social justice in terms of fairness, equality and inclusion in the UK; studies ranging from the governmental level to the classroom level, such as Arshad et al. (2012), covering diverse topics ranging from

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the general public good and societal development to ensuring access and equity in the educational system (e.g., Furlong and Cartmel 2009). The USA is also a site for critiquing educational systems that may not serve constituencies well (e.g., Ladson-Billings and Tate 2006), as well as New Zealand, England and Australia, where concerns about the erosion of equitable access exist (e.g., Leach 2013). There are also major international handbooks such as Bogotch and Shields' *Educational Leadership and Social (In)Justice* (2014), which covers a broad range of conceptions, forms and types of social justice and injustices as they apply to education. The topic has also been a common theme for journal special issues; for example, the *Educational Administration Quarterly* focussed mostly on racial discrimination in the USA. The range of topics across these journals cover a broad conception of social justice in education: human rights, protection of freedom and dignity, anti-racism, inclusion, equal access and opportunities, the public good, equality and equity, conflict with the marketization of education, combatting "Western" hegemony and colonialism in an international context, distributed leadership, and the education of school and higher education administrators.

Part of social justice in education, as Griffiths (2003) maintains, is in ensuring equality for those of a different social class, race, religion and gender, in terms of both excluding discrimination and achieving distributive justice. He also applies the principle of social justice to the discourse of education, including academic work, by representing the diversity of views and "stories" of constituent groups in organizations. While this argument is often used for multicultural societies, it can also be extended internationally. So, one must ask the question not only as to whether education is equally distributed, ensuring fair and equitable access, but also the kind of education that is being accessed. Whose conceptions and values of the common good and social justice are embedded in the curriculum, teaching and leadership?

There are relatively few studies on educational leadership in an Islamic context. In addition, in the current political climate of Islamophobia (Allan 2010; Sayid and Vakil 2011), the securitization of Islam (Croft 2012) and the negative stereotypes employed in the media (e.g., Esposito and Kalin 2011; Lean 2012), it is not easy to remember that there is a long and important tradition of social justice in Islam. The eclipse of Islam's contributions to scholarship, including ethical principles, is due to a number of factors in much Western scholarship: its social sciences being secularized (Hirschkind 2011; Volpi 2011); overgeneralisations, misrepresentations, negative stereotypes and demonizations (Cole 2009;

Nader 2013); and a confusion of Islam with militant or fundamentalist Islamism (Badran 2001), of which Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations* (1997) is an example. These values and knowledge have a close relationship through the intellectual heritage that Western civilization received from the Islamic world over many centuries (e.g., Al-Khalili 2010; Morgan 2007). A further limitation in the administration literature, including that in the field of higher education, is a domination by issues of efficiency and accountability that tend to ignore contextual factors of political system, culture and society within which leadership in higher education is institutionally situated. This is complicated, in the developing world, by a large range of factors that affect organizations (Mazawi 2005), such as multicultural staff using multiple, and sometimes conflicting, perspectives and practices, a lack of infrastructural support, a lack of professionally qualified staff and concerns regarding security.

This topic is a highly complex one involving primary texts (the Qur'an and Sunnah), commentaries by scholars over a 1400-year period, many Islamic traditions of interpretation and understanding (Hashmi 2002), as well as the highly variable practices across many nations where socio-cultural and economic factors influence how Islamic principles are practiced (or, in some cases ignored), the varying application and misapplication of Islamic principles due to political conditions at the societal and state levels, and much negative stereotyping and misrepresentation produced in the current political climate. Untangling these factors is far beyond the scope of this chapter. Rather than a review of the many historical and contemporary practices across the Islamic world, this discussion is focussed primarily on the core documents of Islam, a number of major scholars and practitioners who are generally considered moderate in their views, and the relationship of core Islamic social justice values to leadership in higher education. This chapter, therefore, explores the intersection of concepts of social justice and higher education leadership from an Islamic perspective in the context of neoliberal globalized and commodified higher education as it affects developing countries such as the United Arab Emirates (e.g., Torres 2009).

The main contention is that the tradition of Islamic social justice is not only appropriate to the scholarly ethos and to collegial governance, but it is also compatible in many ways with Western humanistic traditions and liberal democracies, particularly those with a strong multicultural character. The tradition of Islamic social justice, while recognizing the important distinction that, in Islam, knowledge is grounded in direct

spiritual experience, acknowledges that of the West as being predominantly grounded in a non-religious framework (Oldmeadow 2003). This is particularly evident in the assumptions and characteristics of the leadership field, where the vast majority of theories and models either are functionalist, or focus on personal and character traits and capacities that do not include spiritual or religious values. One indicator of the secularist, and often functional, orientation is the way in which the theories of leadership of Weber (1968) and Burns (1978) are used while excluding the spiritual, moral and other higher order values embedded in them. While there is an historical tradition of religious-informed leadership and a small movement in the leadership field to recognize moral (e.g., Gill 1997) and spiritual (e.g., Korac-Kakabadse et al. 2002) leadership models, including those from Hinduism and Buddhism (Dalai Lama and Van Den Muyzenberg 2009; Uberoi 2003), they play little role in the overall field where a secular view dominates. While Islam is historically well-known for its search for knowledge in all disciplines, even well outside the Islamic world (Euben 2006), knowledge from the non-Muslim world still has to be integrated into an Islamic framework that is essentially spiritual.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

It is important to establish some of the philosophical and theoretical foundations on which this chapter is constructed. Firstly, the relationship between Islamic scholarship and the West is not a simple one, though it certainly has never been the “Clash” that people such as Fukuyama (in *The End of History and the Last Man* 1992) and Huntington (in the *Clash of Civilizations* 1997) have portrayed, while presenting the West as having the only viable paradigm for development and democracy (see Mahdavi and Knight 2012). The most influential of these is Huntington’s, which has acquired currency in the social sciences, often in uncritical form, although critiqued effectively by Achcar (2002) in *The Clash of Barbarisms*. Achcar’s thesis is that it is not Western and Islamic cultures that are clashing but, rather, a form of extremism on both sides that bears little resemblance to the cultural values and knowledge from which they derive.

Secondly, neither the Islamic scholarly tradition nor the Western is homogeneous or unified: they both consist of many schools of thought, many disciplines and multiple developments.

One of the assumptions of the “Clash” movement is that there is only one path in a modern world, and that the values and social institutions

associated with a “Western” (although mostly American) version ignore the many forms of modern society that constitute the “West” (see Achcar 2002; Said 2001). As Mahdavi and Knight (2012) explain:

Western civilization is, and continues to be, an amalgam of liberalism and fascism, democracy and dictatorship, development and underdevelopment, equality and inequality, emancipation and racism. It has built modern civilizations while brutally destroying other civilizations. It has simultaneously created modern democratic institutions and modern techniques of torture. (pp. 5–6)

And it is not Islamic extremism or fundamentalism which Huntington finds contrary to his Western view but, rather, “the ‘fundamental’ essence of Islam”, a position that Mahdavi and Knight (2012) criticize for an historically inaccurate “fusion of religion and state” and whose essentialist argument is that “the ‘Islamic mind’ and democracy are mutually exclusive” (p. 6). As Mahdavi and Knight (2012) note, a number of authors have criticized this type of conflation for its inaccurate portrayal and exclusion of the many factors of geography, history and culture (see Abu Zeid 2002). Halliday (1996) and Waardenburg (2002) point out that it is not only Muslim cultures that face obstacles in attaining democracy. Islam is such a broad tradition that “it is possible to catch almost any fish one wants. It is, like all the great religions, a reservoir of values, symbols and ideas” (Halliday 1996, p. 96).

Thirdly, unlike many of a postmodern persuasion, I do not subscribe to a rejection of the Enlightenment project or Humanism. My position is similar to those of Gadamer (2010), Habermas (1990) and Bourdieu (1977) in that I reject postmodernism and see the valuable contribution of a vitalized and continuously evolving Enlightenment tradition. As part of the Enlightenment tradition, these perspectives also bring critique to many of the excesses of modernism, particularly those of unfettered capitalism and neoliberalism that reduce humanity to an objectified particle in a wholly economic view of the world. These critiques are shared, in part, by many Muslim scholars, such as Arkoun (2000). One of the problems I see in much postmodern theory is that it conflates the so-called “Western” tradition into a narrow and uniform view; in other words, a distortion and under-representation of a very broad and varied set of traditions.

Finally, the Islamic tradition is not the same as the “Western”, although close correspondences exist theoretically and historically. The argument

here is that Islamic scholarship, including its tradition of social justice, is compatible with some forms of Western scholarship, particularly Humanist, Idealist and Critical Theory traditions, in their approaches to knowledge, ethics and political theory (Boisard 2003; Tampio 2012). Hermeneutics and phenomenology, in fact, have a broad and long-shared intellectual history with the Islamic (Waardenburg 2003). It is important to recognize that Islamic scholarship in all fields provided the influence on European intellectual history that is referred to as the “Renaissance”, during which time, and later in the Enlightenment, Islamic scholarship provided a strong foundation to much of what we call the “Western” tradition (see Al-Jabri 2011; Hodgson 1993), a complex relationship that included an exchange of knowledge well into and beyond the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (see Brentjes 2010). Important Arab scholars such as Averroes (Ibn Rushd) laid part of the Enlightenment’s foundation. Avicenna’s (Ibn Sina) conceptions of being and mind are not dissimilar in many ways to Kant’s (Al-Tamamy 2014; El-Bizri 2000), and Ibn Khaldun’s reason-based theory of history and political philosophy had some influence on the nineteenth-century European historical discipline (Salama 2011). One of the current correspondences relevant to higher education is a critique of neoliberalism and a market-based globalized export of university education. Moderate Islamic scholarship, with its emphasis on the spiritual and the social justice values discussed below, shares a critique of the economic imperative for non-economic social institutions and the materialism that it promotes.

Social Justice in the Islamic Tradition

Social justice principles are at the heart of the Islamic tradition, embedded in the Qur’an and Sunnah (the normative tradition based on the teachings and practices of the Prophet Muhammad). It is also carried up through its classical and contemporary intellectual tradition and found in its ruling and administrative tradition, particularly in its extensive “mirror of princes” literature, similar to the long tradition of rulership and leadership writings in Western and Asian countries. The importance of social justice in Islam is clear in a large body of literature devoted to a discussion of these principles, their interpretation and application interpersonally and on a global level, how values of justice suffuse culture, and the social obligations of justice and equity that are intended to govern social relations in everyday life (e.g., An-na’im 2010; Mannan 2005; Rosen 2000).

One of the barriers to an international appreciation of Islamic contributions to social justice, peace and conflict resolution, as Said et al. (2002) claim, is a disproportionate focus on Muslim extremists who have rendered Islamic conceptions of peace “misrepresented, misunderstood or simply ignored” (p. 2). This chapter is not a response to these political developments but, rather, a consideration of what is often termed “moderate” Islam which, for many “true” Islam, is where the values of justice, fairness, peace, tolerance and equity play a large role in its central precepts (Hasan 2007).

There are two underlying principles that serve as a foundation for Islamic social ethics: a theory of knowledge that is embedded in a religious worldview for which theorizing and practice are means of approaching the divine; and an emphasis on intention in observing the many references in the Qur’an and Sunnah to peace, security and wholeness that should lead to a harmony and balance in society (Boisard 2003; Hashmi 2002). They also apply to the individual’s striving, or “greater *jihad*” (often mistranslated as “holy war” in English, which is the lesser form) that has meant “the deeply personal, internal struggle to purify the spirit and behave in a manner that reflects divine qualities” (Said et al. 2002, p. 7). It clearly rejects subjectivism as a basis for ethics (Hashmi 2002), making it incompatible with some Western traditions, but not all, such as the Idealist tradition that accepts higher order values, including the religious ones. However, it is important to recognize that, for many Islamic traditions, reason is an important part of ethical decision-making, stressed in several Qur’anic passages (Hashmi 2002; Hourani 1985).

Justice as a core concept, as Hashmi (2002) explains, “runs like a binding thread throughout the Qur’an and the Prophetic traditions” (p. 162). It consists of universally applicable principles, regardless of religious or philosophical persuasion (Kamali 2002), in which human rights, based in equity and reciprocity, and democracy, are more implied in the Islamic system of ethics rather than an explicit model of government—not addressed directly in the Qur’an and Sunnah (Gulen and Ceylan 2001)—for which distributive justice as moral obligations of individuals and the state are dominant values. In addition to equality, explains Gulen and Ceylan (2001), there are a number of other principles that should inform leadership and senior administration: power lies in truth; justice and rule of law are essential; freedom of belief as well as the rights to life, property and health must not be violated; privacy and immunity for the individual have to be maintained; conviction of a crime must be based on evidence;

and there is a necessity for an advisory system of administration. In addition, government is based on a social contract requiring public involvement in the selection of senior administrators and a council, principles that were used during the early caliphates (Islamic empires) but later replaced with a hereditary sultanate (Gulen and Ceylan 2001).

In contrast with many Western notions of free choice and freedom from constraint that are grounded in realism, the Islamic concept of freedom is an existential one oriented towards freedom to serve social solidarity and community with dignity. On this foundation are built five major approaches to peace that address the following: (1) the power politics of the state in maintaining security and defence; (2) pursuing a world order predicated on ethics and spiritual values in shaping and institutionalizing a humane and just order; (3) achieving distributive justice, cultural coexistence and international cooperation that emphasize conflict resolution, arbitration, mediation and reconciliation; (4) non-violent strategies for political action and social change against oppression; and (5) the Sufi tradition of transformational spirituality (Said et al. 2002). Therefore, all economic activity, including that of the public sector, should be “beneficial and meaningful for society and ... founded on effort, competition, transparency, and morally responsible conduct” and “be conducted professionally and to the best of one’s abilities” (Syed and Ali 2010, p. 456). While this communitarian and collectivist ethic is distinctive in Islam, many of these principles are shared in a number of Western traditions of freedom constrained by other values, from the ontological/ethical in Kant’s formulations of the categorical imperative to the Communitarian social ethic found in MacIntyre (1981) and Taylor (1989) and many of the principles that underpin the welfare state.

The core social justice concepts of fairness, equity, social relationship, and distributive and redistributive justice are central to the Islamic ethic, and are intended to serve the individual and the community where rules of conduct are for the benefit of ordering social relations and quality of life, and grounded in an approach to principles that are understood to be a requirement of justice or fairness or other moral value that depend on good character (al-Attar 2010). The central feature of Islamic social justice is the protection of weaker members of society (Hasan 2007). Justice, as a complex construct including fairness, equity and equality in the protection of diversity—in other words, a realm where discrimination and nepotism are not allowed—applies on an organizational level to rules and regulations (Syed and Ali 2010). This applies equally to women

(Masud 2002; Syed and Ali 2010), although historical and socio-political conditions across societies have led to an unequal application of Islamic principles, producing a broad range of problems for women, which are often attributed in the West to Islam itself (see Jones-Pauly and Tuqan 2011).

One major difference between Islam and many Western systems of thought is a much stronger emphasis on the collective good, on social order and the welfare of others, in contrast to the West's much higher emphasis on individuality and its autonomous rights. Davis and Robinson (2006) found in their survey a much higher preference for state communitarianism in addition to individual communitarianism in a number of Muslim countries. Kuran (2004) describes the value orientation of Islamic economics as striving "to transform selfish and acquisitive *Homo economicus* into a paragon of virtue, *Homo Islamicus*" (p. 42). Another difference is the highly pragmatic orientation (or, applied ethics, Masud 2002) of Islam in setting down in the Qur'an and Sunnah principles that govern social behaviour from the requirements (for five daily prayers, the Ramadan month of fasting, dietary rules, annual alms tax and pilgrimage to Mecca if possible) to laws regulating family, inheritance, commerce, crimes, contract law, and so on that, from a Western perspective, would range from laws to etiquette covering forbidden and permitted acts, in contrast to Christianity, for example, which does not specify the rules of daily life to this degree (see Crone 2004).

Another difference from most Western systems (although not a European medieval view) is that religion and politics are not separate in the Islamic tradition, reflecting its nature as meaning "to put things right for people in this world no less than the next" (Crone 2004, p. 11). The Islamic worldview is one in which the three spheres of religion, state and society are integrated. This was evident in early Islamic history but became separated in practice through the development of the caliphates, including an increasing secularization of Muslim society into the modern period, seen in Ataturk's attempts to secularize Turkey (Crone 2004). While this separation has become debatable in Islamic scholarship, where many have argued for Islam within a secular state (e.g., An-na'im 2008; Hallaq 2014), their argument primarily being that a state based on Shari'a violates the principle in Islam of voluntary acceptance. Many failures of Islamic states cited, though, applied Shari'a in a coercive manner. Such critiques are challenged by authors such as Sabet (2008), who argues that not all applications of Islamic principles to state structures have been, nor need to be, fundamentalist. Complexities in establishing a state on

Islamic principles have been exacerbated by extensive colonisation in the Middle East and the impact of authoritarian political systems following decolonization (Ali 1990), as well as tensions that exist between traditional Bedouin values and later Islamic ones (Al-Wardi 2010). Influential also are the effects of globalization in which curriculum and teachers have been imported, often unchanged, from predominantly Anglo-Western systems that conflict with Islamic values and cultures (Branine and Pollard 2010; Maussen et al. 2011). The contention here is not that there exists a mutually exclusive “binary” of West versus Islam but, rather, that Islamic values and principles, and many aspects of Arab and other cultures, do correspond with many non-Muslim Western systems, and that there do exist important differences that need to be recognized, particularly in the educational sphere where cultural and societal continuity play an important role. This applies particularly in developing Muslim countries where, often, the only model of development presented is that of Western countries, an assumption that Sardar (1996) rejects, arguing instead that there can be a different model of development that Muslim countries (as well as other non-Western countries) can pursue towards humane, viable and socially just societies.

Islamic Social Justice in Leadership

Many passages in the Qur’an address social justice and the administrative and leadership responsibilities of ensuring that others are treated appropriately. This requires a number of attributes that are characterized as “guardianship”, including self-control, honesty, taking responsibility rather than passing blame onto others and correcting wrongs (Beekun 2006; Jabnoun 2008). They are also required to ensure freedom and protection from others’ “arbitrary desires” (Crone 2004, p. 315) in a political system that encourages one to subordinate individual interests to the good of the collectivity (Kamali 2002). The core justice principles that apply organizationally include preserving people’s dignity, respect and privacy, and were intended to extend to non-Muslims, since all are equal under the law (Hasan 2007; Jabnoun 2008; Sachedina 2006). As Sachedina (2006) notes, “no matter how religions divide people, ethical discourse focuses on human relationships in building an ideal public order” (pp. 7–8).

This history of governance and leadership was addressed by many early Islamic scholars, appearing in the Mirror of Princes tradition written by scholars and senior administrators (or *wazirs*, in Arabic) from the

tenth to the sixteenth centuries and spanning a number of empires (or caliphates). This literature is similar to that found in the Classical ancient world (e.g., Xenophon's *The Education of Cyrus*), Asian societies (e.g., Chanakya's *Arthashastra*), the European Medieval world (e.g., Vincent of Beauvais' *De Eruditione Filiorum Nobilium*) and the Renaissance (e.g., Machiavelli's *The Prince*) which provided principles and guidelines for the education of princes, their rules of good governance and behaviour in exercising leadership, in which are embedded conceptions of the social good. These treatises and letters are equivalent to modern handbooks and guides to leadership (e.g., Diamond 2002; Shattock 2010); however, many are highly managerial and technical in nature, missing the principles and values of a fundamental worldview and, in many cases, higher order values of earlier historical periods.

The many "Mirrors" that were written attempted to balance the actual practices of statecraft with the political ethics of Islam consisting of moral justice and righteousness that those with power are obligated to maintain. Some were composed during periods in which authority was contested, thereby motivating the composition of such works reconciling the Realpolitic of authority with religious authority and injunctions (Ohlander 2009). They examine the roles and duties of the state to ensure "first and foremost that its citizens achieve prosperity" (Ohlander 2009, p. 240) using as guidelines the Qur'an and Sunnah and a diverse number of other sources including legends of the prophets, juridical and theological writings, political counsel of important Muslim figures, and the stories of the righteous and just. The texts cover a number of regions in the Islamic world from Persia, including Nizam al-Mulk's *Book of Government* and Al-Ghazali's *Counsel to Princes*, and the Arab caliphate tradition (e.g., Abd al-Hamid al-Katib's letter to Abdallah, son of Marwan II, caliph of the Umayyad Empire). They are part memoir, part parable and part presentation of leadership and administrative ideals, or are written in the form of letters such as Tahir Dhu l-Yaminain's epistle to his son 'Abdallah, the former a long-experienced governor for the Caliph in Baghdad in the ninth century to the latter at the appointment of his governorship. This epistle, for example, emphasizes the importance of duties, obligations and responsibilities as well as the character required to fulfil these including "moderation, prudence, [and] circumspection". It identifies the dangers of an "arbitrary and arrogant" use of power, violent temper, miserliness, a frivolous and unbalanced perspective, and the damage to others by displaying an attitude of suspicion and "perpetual fault-finding"

(in Bosworth 1970, p. 28), as well as avoiding those who lie and slander, characteristics that are regarded in the West now as toxic leadership and rampant organizational politics. Social justice values are central in the epistle, reflecting their importance in the Islamic tradition of providing justice and care to weaker members of society, of not applying penalties without favour, and to seek out the “victims of oppression and to redress their grievances” while providing free access to the ruler (in Bosworth 1970, p. 29), all of which speak to similar social justice values in the Western literature of fairness and equity.

Although there are differences among these texts deriving from several empires and countries, there is a high level of correspondence among the characteristics regarded as ideal. They provide what Ohlander (2009) calls the “trope of the just ruler”, presenting an idealized model of statecraft that is intended to guide rulers and administrators in adhering to justice and opposing tyranny or oppression in all aspects of their roles, “administrative, military, courtly, spiritual, and even private life” (p. 243). Those in leadership positions are to be “guarantors of proper, right, and universal justice as expressed in the creation, maintenance, and perpetuation of a perfect (Islamic) state—a state which ensures first and foremost that its citizens achieve prosperity” (Ohlander 2009, p. 240). For Ibn Khaldun (1967), the purpose of the caliphate was to ensure that people were acting in accordance with religious principles and was considered by him to be a superior form of government to others existing at the time, because it was based on the rule of law.

An early example from the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt is Al-Qadi Al-Numan’s *The Pillars of Islam* (Ar: *Da’aim al-Islam*) in the tenth century which describes desired principles and practices, in particular the section discussed here, “On the Self-Examination Incumbent on the Amir” (Al-Numan 1956), that includes advice for a new governor. Typical of most Mirrors, the section begins with an exhortation to fear and obey Allah and to follow the principles in the Qur’an and those of the Prophet Muhammad recorded in the Sunnah that should inform the duties, obligations and rights of a leadership position. Divine principle is the primary source of legitimate authority derived from moral authority, rather than power for which the Mirrors of Princes and related writings “re-imagine” and “re-interpret” (Ohlander 2009, p. 242) these principles in a political context. These include humility, being moderate, recognizing one’s limits, considering one’s decisions and actions carefully, and the qualities of those with whom one works.

There are a number of general principles and guidelines that should govern all of one's activities in an authority role that differ little from many other systems of ethics, including those informing professional ethics. These include: in positive form, aiming at good deeds and actions that are based in restraint, generosity, being circumspect, and liberally bestowing what is due to others; and, in negative form, behaviour that exceeds morality of power such as undue pride, insolence in the use of power, haughtiness, tyranny, oppression and harshness towards others, excess in inflicting punishment, a mean temper, greed, envy, arrogance, covetousness, favouritism, and neglect of clemency and compassion (Al-Numan 1956). In social justice terms, one is expected to treat others with justice and equity, informed by forgiveness, compassion and understanding of people's flaws, and striving for the "contentment of the common people" (Al-Numan 1956, pp. 28–29) and their trust in producing social harmony and the welfare of the community. In leadership and administrative terms, one is also responsible for those to whom one appoints or delegates authority, avoiding those who flatter, aid in tyranny and oppression, slander others and are cowardly. Instead, one should seek those who are "superior in knowledge, who will give better advice, and who have already given affairs more careful attention" Al-Numan (1956, p. 29) and those who speak the truth. In effect, knowledge, justice and truth should inform leadership and administrators in ensuring the welfare of others.

In order to achieve justice, benevolence and dignity, there is an emphasis in Islamic leadership on trust and dialogue, both considered requisite to meet the moral obligations in social action (see Beekun 2006; Jabnoun 2008). For this, the practice of *al-shura*, or consultation, is required of Islamic government—its administrators and leaders—to ensure that those affected by decisions are able to participate in the process, aimed at arriving at consensus (Jabnoun 2008). *Shura* bears similarity, as Kelsay (2002) argues, to constitutional democracy and thereby provides a point of discussion between Muslim and "Western" perspectives. There is also a requirement for authenticity: it is not permissible simply to adopt what appears to be a just decision or action on the surface—intention to do good is required, rather than being motivated by expediency or rationalizing a decision (Beekun 2006). As Beekun (2006) argues, action must proceed from a good character. It is clear from this literature that destructive and toxic leadership was recognized and addressed, a problem that has become pervasive in contemporary organizations (see Furnham 2010;

Samier 2014), due to bad character, disturbed personality, incompetence and insecurity. In an Islamic context, Sachedina (2006) explains that it is “egocentric corruption” (p. 12) that can infect social life, where the ideal one should instead strive for is human sociability and ethical responsibility towards others in achieving the common good.

An important source for social justice principles and their implementation is also found in the legal writings of scholars who established the schools of Islamic Law, the Shari’a, that inform not only the legal system of Muslim states, but also the legislation and policies of social institutions, including education. The main Islamic texts of the Qur’an (of divine origin) and Sunnah (divinely inspired through the sayings and actions of the Prophet Muhammad)—regarded as “the path to be followed” (p. 33), and complemented by the body of Islamic jurisprudence—are highly pragmatic in their comprehensive coverage of social interaction and individual activity, in society, community and social institutions. They cover all aspects of activity, define values and establish standards of behaviour (Abdal-Haqq 2002). Combined with proper methods to deduce and apply the law—Islamic jurisprudence or *fiqh*—the individual has a personal responsibility to use reason in applying the principles situationally where there is no specific situation addressed in the Shari’a (Abdal-Haqq 2002). It is interesting to note, in an educational context, that *fiqh* literally means “intelligence”: the independent exercise of reason requiring comprehension and understanding, which takes a number of forms involving individual reasoning, consultation and consensus, the use of analogy, decisions that are in the public interest, and local customs that do not contravene Islamic principles (Abdal-Haqq 2002).

The provision of social justice is dependent on the basic responsibilities of the state to ensure the well-being and happiness of people and to allow for their social and intellectual development. The responsibility of the administrative body is both to be efficient and to safeguard social equity (Asad 1980). In other words, government and its administration must arrange and carry out its activities oriented towards the freedom and dignity of all individuals, including the provision that all non-Muslims have physical security and freedom of religion, culture and social development (Asad 1980). There should exist a balance between obeying legitimate authority and being “duty-bound to combat evil ... and strive for justice” by using one’s critical faculties and moral courage to “stand up for right and justice” (Asad 1980, p. 81). Under Islamic principles, those who have been oppressed have recourse to peaceful protestation, and

organizations should make provision for an ombudsman who is able to make independent assessments of claims (Syed and Ali 2010).

Although this section has discussed a unitary form of leadership in the Islamic tradition, one must distinguish this ideal from the many historical and empirical forms that have been exercised by Muslim leaders in various times and places where culture, politics, tribal loyalties, personality (often accompanied by a cult of personality) and individual inclinations shape the institutions of power that deviate from Islamic principles, producing authoritarian regimes. For example, leaders such as Hafiz al-Asad (Seale 1989) who ruled Syria from 1971 to 2000, and his son Bashar al-Asad, who succeeded him and is currently still waging war against Syrian citizens, have exercised a form of authoritarian leadership that bears little resemblance to Islamic principles. Similar excesses of power—often coercive, oppressive and violent—termed by Owen (2014) as “Presidential Security States” can be seen in Muammar Qaddafi of Libya (El-Kikhia 1998), Hosni Mubarak of Egypt (Soliman 2011) and Saddam Hussein of Iraq (Sassoon 2011), excesses that occasioned the Arab Spring that began in 2010. It is also important to recognize that other factors contributed to both the development of regimes and their overthrow in the Arab Spring: Talani (2014), for example, examines the imbalances of globalization and its effect on nation states in the Middle East North Africa region that also contributed to social unrest and revolt; and Barakat (1993) explores the fractious heritage bequeathed by colonization of Arab territories, creating inequalities and repressive state structures. Ayubi (1996) emphasizes the creation of dependency economic systems and sometimes over-inflated bureaucratic systems bequeathed by colonial powers. An additional dimension on a psychological level is the disintegration of an “organizing myth” and its accompanying symbolic system that is derived from history, literature, social thought, religion and intellectual traditions that provide sense making necessary for a stable society, the loss of which through colonization and other forms of disruptive influences can have damaging consequences (Zonis 1993).

However, there were many leaders in the Islamic world that embodied the best of Islamic virtues in addition to the Prophet Muhammad (Ibn Ishaq 1955)—caliphs such as Umar ibn Al-Khattaab (As-Sallaabee 2010) and military leaders strongly guided by Islamic ethics such as Salah ad-Din (Eddé 2011). There are also many in the modern period who fit the statesmen model in establishing modern Arab states at the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, such as Faisal I of Iraq (Allawi 2014), and at

the withdrawal of European colonial governments, such as Sheikh Zayed of the United Arab Emirates (Wilson 2013). The character of rulers in Muslim territories in historical terms provides evidence of complex combinations of personality, character, circumstance, resources, legacies and external forces, as well as Islamic ideal conceptions of good leadership.

A COMPARISON OF ISLAMIC AND WESTERN TRADITIONS

This section examines areas of compatibility with Western humanistic traditions. The general approach is similar to that of Sterba (1995) who argues that, even though there are a number of traditions in social justice (see Clayton and Williams 2004), many are compatible on a practical level that aim at a welfare liberal conception of justice in its two fundamental forms: a right to welfare and a right to equal opportunity.

A strong correspondence between Islamic and Western social ethics should not be surprising, given the intellectual history involved. Islamic ethics is a synthesis of pre-Islamic Arab moral values, Qur'anic teachings, as well as Persian, Indian and particularly Greek philosophy (Wulf 1953). Islam is also part of the Judeo-Christian "people of the book" monotheistic tradition that heavily influenced intellectual traditions forming in Europe during the Renaissance. One of these is the close and causal relationship between the Islamic and European humanist traditions, evident in the classical scholars Al-Ghazali, Ibn Khaldun and Ibn Rushd, and carried through into the contemporary period (Moosa 2011), including the German Idealist educational ideal of *Bildung* (e.g., Bruford 2009) and humanistically informed models of university leadership (e.g., Waghid 2011). Also of relevance in the institutional and leadership context is the equivalence of Islamic law with Western positive law, although the Islamic is oriented more towards moral obligations and duties than legal rights (Masud 2002), the responsibility for which on the part of authority is perceived as a moral duty, rather than a pursuit of follower rights (see Hashmi 2002).

This view of administrators and leaders having to abide by justice principles in Islam is similar to those proposed by Nussbaum (2011) and Sen (e.g., 1999) who argue that professional capabilities and achievements should be oriented towards service to society, particularly in addressing poverty, social exclusion and disadvantaged groups, a view strongly shared by Smyth (2011). Sen's (1999) work has been of interest in education social justice literature because his definition includes developmental

opportunities and freedoms individually, socially and economically that people need appropriate to their culture and society. East et al. (2014) survey a number of authors who have argued for a main role of universities in contributing to social justice, pursuing the public good and practicing social responsibility—in collective and individual terms not unlike those in the Islamic tradition, including a critique of neoliberal oriented professionalism that contributes to creating inequalities. While much of this discussion focuses on faculty in their teaching and research capacities, it can be applied to university leadership—for such a widespread organizational and institutional role in serving social justice, leadership must itself incorporate these values and goals in their roles, responsibilities and actions.

The correspondences between Islamic principles and Kantian political theory have been explored by Tampio (2012) focussing on Kantian ethical requirements to think from the vantage point of others with the aim of cultivating civic peace among those of diverse faiths; this can form a foundation for pluralistic societies by generating new concepts and principles to create beneficial politico-religious alliances. Kant's cosmopolitanism was designed to create a framework within which people—though they may be divided by religious, philosophical and political differences—can live together harmoniously and respectfully. Tampio looks particularly to the work of Tariq Ramadan (2001), who has examined issues involving Muslims living in non-Muslim and multicultural states, presenting a goal and arguments similar to those of Kant: the possibility within the Islamic critical rational tradition to live freely and respectfully among those of other faiths. He outlines an approach to living with non-Muslims that allows them to maintain their faith and practices while publicly expressing the values of Islam, and to be tolerant of non-Islamic practices as loyal and active citizens alongside others. This requires, however, that they live in non-Muslim states that embed in their constitutions, laws and institutional practices principles that support the rights of Muslims in observance of their religion.

The principle of compatibility between core Islamic and Western beliefs has been argued by a number of scholars. March (2009) examines Islam and the Western liberal traditions, inspired by Rawls's (1993) work, for areas of overlap and consensus out of which a shared theory of social cooperation may emerge, applicable to university leadership in maintaining values associated with multiculturalism. He argues that for Muslims to live in harmony with others they need freedom to practice their religion, the duty to uphold contracts which allows for loyalty and subordination to

non-Muslim authorities providing they have a guarantee of security, and the duty to regard all fellow citizens equally.

Still at issue in Islamic scholarship is the degree to which Islam can be democratic (Abu Zayd 2006). A number of Muslim scholars have promoted the position that the moral and normative commitments of Islam are reconcilable with democratic forms of government, particularly in relation to human worth and entitlements. El Fadl (2003) addresses one of the most difficult problems in this relationship given the man-made nature of democratic systems and the view in Islam that Allah is sovereign and the source of law. His solution is that many Islamic ideas and institutions serving as fundamental principles on which government is based are sufficiently similar to those in a liberal democracy: “promotion of social cooperation and mutual assistance in the pursuit of justice, the establishment of a consultative and non-autocratic method of governance, and the institutionalization of mercy and compassion in social interactions” (El Fadl 2003, p. 9).

While, on a fundamental level, Islamic values relating to the workplace are similar to those of the Judeo-Christian, sharing a common ethical heritage, there are some differences that are significant; for example, the maximization of profits in the former is not sanctioned and emphasis is placed on intentions rather than outcomes (Syed and Ali 2010). How ideas of justice are interpreted in their application varies culturally as well. Rowney and Taras (2008) undertook a meta-analysis of 98 empirical studies of cross-cultural differences in conceptions of distributive, procedural and retributive justice in academic settings. The analysis considered grading fairness, who receives scholarships, the appropriate punishment for cheating in exams, how to resolve conflict between faculty and student. They noted that students from a more community and collectivist background share a preference for equality rather than individual equity, evident in their acceptance of little grade variation, whereas individualists expect a higher variation based on individual performance. However, few studies have been conducted that include religious influences and values (Capper et al. 2006).

The implication of this discussion, so far, is that Islamic ideas of social justice do not differ substantially from those of the West. The Islamic ideals are aimed at well-being for all, however, they maintain a greater emphasis on the common good than on individuality, and their principles are of divine origin. These ideals include a recognition of diversity and inclusion corresponding to the higher education leadership literature concerned with

equitable and fair access, and fair and equal treatment for faculty staff and students. However, there are two areas that are not sufficiently addressed in this literature that are central responsibilities for university leadership: a greater examination of the curriculum to ensure that the Islamic heritage is equally and accurately represented; and the ensuring that organizational policies, procedures and processes are sufficiently inclusive for Muslim students and staff to work equitably. This requires leaders to question organizational norms and hierarchies that produce inequalities and to address the mistrust that oppressed or marginalized groups face. Such responsibilities include leading the way in respectful intercultural social relations, supporting those striving for greater diversity and inclusion, demonstrating sensitivity to the values of others, and ensuring that faculty challenge cultural and economic hegemonies in scholarship and teaching.

As Shah (2010) points out in her discussion of Islamic contexts, leadership derives from the belief systems, cultures and values of groups in producing forms of social action. In Islam, philosophy of education and leadership are a dynamic of faith embedded in divine sources of the Qur'an and the Sunnah, and conceptualizations and practices creating an association between religion and knowledge that elevates the "discourse of educational leadership" to a "sacred duty" (Shah (2010), p. 31). However, as she demonstrates in her study of gendered leadership, Islamic principles are interpreted differently across societies, leading to a broad diversification of practice. But she does point to the importance of culture in society and organizations where leadership for social justice has to be an embedded construction, requiring a deep and authentic set of values and beliefs.

One form of leadership widely considered consistent with Islamic social justice principles is Greenleaf's Servant Leadership model: according to Salameh et al. (2012), it is appropriate to the academic context, given its emphasis on valuing and developing others, and building community. Many academic administrator characteristics they discuss resonate well with Islamic social justice principles and responsibilities: empathy, authenticity, taking responsibility for decisions and mistakes, and engaging in constructive communication and consultation. Leadership is explicitly identified in this way by the Prophet Muhammad: "The leader of people is their servant", a principle that is not absolute but, rather, demonstrated through practices combining "fit" among leader individual, followers and situation (in Jabnoun 2008, pp. 198–199) that include providing protection and justice to the community. The qualities of leaders identified in the Qur'an include a long list of characteristics and virtues—such as strength

in purpose, trustworthiness, knowledge and skill (Jabnoun 2008)—associated with a servant model; however, one also must act as guardian in providing protection for values and people (see ElKaleh and Samier 2013).

Role models—that is, ideal figures and their biographies—are important in this tradition, originating in the role of the Prophet Muhammad and the recognition of individuals whose qualities and actions exemplified principles such as kindness, empathy, forgiveness and consultation while being courageous, generous, perseverant, having vision, being responsible and hardworking, cultivating strong communication skills, being aware of one's limitations and those of others, and adapting to new conditions while remaining loyal and true to fundamental principles (Jabnoun 2008). In addition to consultation, the emphasis on informed decision making through knowledge and wisdom is relevant to academic leadership that adheres to collegial governance and foundational principles such as peer review.

THE FATE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE UNDER NEOLIBERALISM AND GLOBALIZATION

But what are the implications for an Islamic social justice in higher educational leadership in a world heavily dominated by neoliberalism and its economic arm, globalization? As many have pointed out, neoliberalism elevates secular economic values as imperatives in all societal spheres and institutions (Rizvi and Lingard 2011) and produces the phenomenon Slaughter and Leslie (1999) defined as *academic capitalism*. It can also be seen as an ideology whose globalized form has taken on the nature of *global policyspeak* that drives the discourse of education—its policies, structures and functions that create inequities (Ball 2013). This is a problem not only for Muslims, but also for others who advance a social justice purpose to higher education.

A number of critiques of globalized education are relevant to Muslim contexts. First, Green (2006) contends that internationalization both standardizes educational systems and promotes individualistic and market values—values problematic in countries where imported curriculum and traditional community and collective values that are important for nation-building and national identity formation conflict, potentially compromising sovereignty and belief systems (Hasan 2007). Smith (2006) examines globalized education as colonization in which knowledge and culture are equally as important in imperialism as access to raw materials and the expression of military strength, and where Said's (1978) notion of

“positional superiority” (p. 8) is at play, establishing for Western knowledge a hegemonic force creating a colonization of mind (Thiong'o 1986). As Torres (2006) notes, the motivations for colonization by Western powers were not only to expand politically and economically, but to bring “modernization” to the developing world and to solve the social and economic problems of the colonizers themselves, such as overpopulation and constrained labour markets.

MacPherson et al. (2014) examine how the privatization and commercialization of education in many African, South Asian and South East Asian states has negatively affected teaching and learning by reducing their emancipatory potential. A common discussion in the field is the degradation of critical and interpretive traditions associated with the common good and social justice (e.g., Grant and Gibson 2013). This relationship is examined by Apple (2006), who observes that neoliberalism has created a dominant discourse of “accountability, performance objectives, standards, national testing, and national curriculum” (p. 469), producing a number of effects: creating more inequality, a lack of curriculum diversity and responsiveness, and the replacement of educational values with commercial values. He draws on Bourdieu's concepts of “class habitus” and “reproduction” to argue that neoliberalism enforces a “thin morality” that generates hierarchies and divisions based on “competitive individualism” (p. 478). When these conditions are exported to other countries, they inhibit the “thick morality” (p. 480) of the common good, a fundamental value underpinning many social justice conceptions, including the Islamic.

Shah and Baporikar (2011) examined the dissatisfaction of faculty and Omani students with imported curriculum, concluding that curricular policies (and, by extension, leadership) need to reflect the culture and socio-economic environment in which they are situated, rather than attempting only to meet a foreign-established international standard of quality. Baburajan (2011), among others, also found a negative impact on Emirati culture, despite globalization's many benefits (see also Donn and Al Manthri 2010; Kirk and Napier 2009). One of the effects of globalized education in the Arabian Gulf^f has been, as Hourani et al. (2011) report, the large number of Western expatriates in higher education at odds with the educational philosophies and traditions of the local population. This creates problems in curriculum and pedagogy, where both inappropriate materials and practices are used, where there is a paucity of Islamic intellectual traditions, and where knowledge and learning do not cohere well with Arabian Gulf constitutional, legal and governmental institutions.

CONCLUSION

Leadership for higher education in the Islamic tradition of social justice is that of a servant to those one serves, the staff, faculty and students, as well as the larger community and society, and a guardian to protect people, employing kindness and honesty in the maintenance of justice. Within the academic environment, though, these principles should be extended to protecting scholarly and pedagogical values in the pursuit of quality. This can mean many things: from ensuring material and social working conditions that allow faculty and students to pursue their work unhindered, in protecting people from abuse, to preventing punitive grading, redressing dishonesty that creates unfairness, and protecting the standards and qualities of teaching and research. Leadership also must adhere to fundamental concepts of justice in Islam by addressing toxic and dysfunctional politics plaguing organizations and in maintaining them as scholarly communities by mitigating the worst of marketplace practices that have commodified knowledge. Essentially, Islamic social justice in the university context is highly consistent with the traditional humanistic model of education, but is more strongly oriented towards the community of scholars, rather than the (entrepreneurial) scholar as individual.

Torres (2006) makes a strong argument for critiquing the colonization of mind that occurs in a multicultural setting regarding whose conceptions of citizenship and nationhood dominate, an argument that can be extended internationally to the “exporter” and “importer” of foreign faculty and curriculum in developing countries. Many authors view this as a form of Western-centrism, or recolonization, through the ideology of development and modernization that equates a superior West with “modernity, progress, and civilization” and an inferior “Rest/East” with “tradition, backwardness, and barbarism” (Mahdavi and Knight 2012, p. 2), and which assumes only particular conceptions of justice, fairness, equity and leadership. Torres (2006) argues for a new social movement theory for the politics of identity in rethinking that “preexisting social and cultural paradigms” (p. 543) could be important for Muslim countries under globalized education and Muslim minorities in multicultural societies by recognizing and incorporating Islamic social justice into curriculum and teaching. In Bourdieuan (1986) terms, Islamic social justice is part of social, cultural and intellectual capital that those in Muslim countries can bring to bear in creating a higher educational leadership consonant with their constitutions, legal systems, and cultural and intellectual traditions. From an Idealist perspective, these issues are very much a part of mentality, values, character and personality.

On an international level, the leadership literature needs to be broadened to recognize many important heritages that are generally absent from Anglo-Western perspectives, including conceptions of justice and democracy, leadership, organizational culture, policy studies and administrative practices to encompass a legitimate diversity that allows for a full and authentic participation by those of many faiths. Higher education leadership needs to ensure that conditions are such in universities that Muslims are able to follow their core principles in full (see Asad 1980).

Kymlicka (2000) has tackled liberal theories of the nation state in offering an alternative to individually based rights that are not sufficient to protect minorities in providing norms of self-determination. He argues for a model of liberal culturalism based on recognition of ethno-cultural groups that can “accommodate ethnocultural diversity within liberal institutions” (p. 9) in supporting distinctive identities and meeting their needs (Kymlicka 2001). His model also suggests a form of higher education leadership that can mediate among faiths and philosophical systems, respecting their core values and providing an environment in which, for example, an Islamic social justice can be practiced.

NOTE

1. I have adopted the term *Arabian Gulf* rather than *Persian Gulf* since the Arab League and the Arab states that border the Gulf use this terminology. A quick survey in Google Scholar demonstrates that the terms are equally used, and a brief survey of the term “Arabian Gulf” in Amazon also demonstrates a widespread use of this term in security studies—Robert Thomas’ *Arabian Gulf Intelligence* (2013), history—Paul Rich’s *Creating the Arabian Gulf* (2009), and cultural studies—Ronald Hawker’s *Traditional Architecture of the Arabian Gulf* (2008).

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25 Years of University Presence in Europe:
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Jousch Andris Barblan

THE WORLD IS CHANGING

In 1988, the University of Bologna was celebrating its 900th anniversary. Perceived also as the *Alma Mater Universitatum*, its festivities were also those of the world academic community. That is why the University proposed—with the support of the Association of European Universities (CRE), then 400 members strong—to draft a charter of the principles that have made and are still making the identity of the university as an institution of higher education and research. This *Magna Charta* was signed by some 430 university leaders from all over the world on September 18, on the *Piazza Maggiore* of the old Italian city. Why was this symbolically important? Because it was a *public ceremony* where the university was asking openly for the recognition of its role in society. And the *corps constitués*, were indeed all present, the President of the Republic, the Cabinet of Ministers, the Police and the Army, the City Fathers, Church Prelates, the

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Unions and the people of Bologna, not to mention the media, artists and the students, of course. None of them spoke, however, they just attended, thus bowing to the value of academia as such. This *horizontal* dimension was justified by a *vertical* grounding in time and traditions evoked by the palaces around the piazza, that had hosted popes and emperors, saints and tradesmen, industrialists and patricians but that had also witnessed wars and rebellions, strikes and bombardments. At the balcony of those buildings, the organisers had asked famous actors to read texts of students and teachers at Bologna from Dante and Boccaccio to Galvani, Carducci and Marconi. The message was: The university, emanation and stronghold of European culture, is a pillar of society.

This affirmation needed no dialogue. Why? Because the university was simply requesting the assurance of its social recognition after a series of crises that had shaken its identity since World War II. Indeed, it had moved from an elite provision of learning to mass higher education, from collegial to participatory forms of government, from tiny to large budgets (at least in the West)—even if the grant per student was diminishing because of the massive growth in the number of students enrolled in higher learning. The year of 1968 had shattered the institution in moral terms. The 1973 oil crisis had brought in financial headaches that forced new administrative procedures based on the search for efficiency over effectiveness. Hence, the university as a factory of knowledge had to be streamlined, re-organised and shaped to help governments and industry to sort out community problems and national growth difficulties. The second half of the 80s, indeed, was a period of *europhoria*—the Single Act was to take effect in 1992: A new balance seemed to have been achieved so that the symbolic reaffirmation of university presence in society gave higher education institutions a sense of new self-confidence. That was also the moment when the Erasmus Programme (European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students) was set up; and 15 years later, had moved more than a million students around Europe. In 1988, Bologna, Europe was on the march.

Fourteen months later, on November 9, 1989, the Berlin wall fell and Europe could envisage its re-unification as a single entity of culture and common values. The Magna Charta had ushered some of this change, for example in Lithuania where its text became one of the key references for those wanting to get rid of heavy political supervision and Soviet influence. Today, in the entrance hallway of Vilnius University, the text of the Charter is engraved on a plaque of red marble. But 1989 proved to be a

new crisis too: The transformation of the Eastern European systems of higher education had re-introduced doubt and questioning about the meaning of higher education and forced a redistribution of academic models and university resources (e.g. funds and personnel)—the most obvious example being the re-organisation of higher education in Germany. The extension of the scope of European integration also had consequences on the European movement, as its capacity to elicit and build a new and wider federation had dampened. In 1988, universities could claim recognition as autonomous institutions. In 1995, the system had divided and transformed so much that governments and universities had to develop a real dialogue if anything was to take a recognisable shape. This led to the next stage of academic developments in Europe.

In 1998, Claude Allègre, the French Minister of Education, proposed to celebrate the 800th anniversary of the University of Paris. He considered that European integration was indeed coming to a standstill—for, after the creation of the Euro (decided but not yet implemented)—no present government would have more interest in divesting further power to a federation that was difficult to control. He considered that the European movement had to by-pass the Brussels authorities—now drowned in petty regulation for sheer lack of a real vision. Thus, the people, the so-called ‘civil society’ had to take over, university students being in the lead. If given now the conditions of European fraternity, they would later accept—when in political charge—a federation as a normal consequence of times of work and leisure previously spent in all corners of the continent. This meant facilitating not only exchanges but work mobility—through harmonisation of the conditions of learning throughout Europe. The Paris meeting in itself was as instructive as the one in Bologna ten years earlier. In the Grand amphithéâtre at the Sorbonne, students, professors, administrators joined in with the Ministers from Britain, France, Germany and Italy. The latter stayed for the two days of the conference and chaired the group discussions, thus setting up direct links with civil society—away from its official representatives. A few months later, with other countries feeling excluded from the discussions by the ‘big four’, the Italian Minister, Luigi Berlinguer, invited his colleagues from all over Europe to Bologna where he could sign himself the Magna Charta as the Rector of the University of Siena. This opening to all of Europe—which was the strategy developed in 1988—justified the secondary role given to the Commission in Brussels since it represented only 15 countries. In June, 1999, 29 countries endorsed the Bologna

Declaration that was to revolutionise the organisation of higher education throughout the region, from Lisbon to Vladivostok, from Reykjavik to Antalya. The Bologna process is certainly an intergovernmental process but the universities, the students, the unions and the employers are permanent partners of the governments in defining the convergent changes of rules now being turned into law in nearly all countries. The ‘civil society’ has initiating power and can propose action to the governments that are asked to ensure the best conditions for the success and cooperation of the higher education systems of Europe and their members. This participatory mode of decision-making represents a unique experiment in social engineering—the International Labour Organisation being the only other institution that, since 1919, gives equal power to unions, governments and employers. But it does this formally, whereas the Bologna process works on an informal basis for the creation of a ‘community of the committed’ at the European level. Will this succeed in involving the partners fully? The year 2010 will be telling—as this is the deadline confirmed last May in Bergen.

THE ‘TRUE’ UNIVERSITY

The Magna Charta uses this term considering that university and non-university education are to be distinguished in terms of purpose and results. In the 1980s, when the document was drafted, the universities were indeed asking for the recognition of their differences—considering that the link between research and education expressed their specificity—a specificity recognised by the fact that they were the only institutions allowed to grant doctoral degrees. Indeed, such degrees implied deep synergies between the exploration of the unknown and the diffusion of the new concepts and ideas able to shape society’s long term development. Other establishments of higher learning were considered to be vocational institutions, training for skills and high level competences on the basis of already acquired information rather than on new knowledge. They were *Fachhochschulen*, *HBOs*, and other *Instituts universitaires de technologie* with no direct access to doctoral degrees. For ‘true’ universities, the critical point of view implied by research—in order to doubt and question existing truth—justified academic freedom and entailed some kind of institutional autonomy that supported the liberty of expression and the heterodoxy of thought. The Magna Charta, however, recognised that autonomy and academic freedom made sense only in a context of

contribution to the development of society through the graduates and the research envisaged and done in the universities. Partnership is implied in autonomy—which is not autism or even full independence. Hence the university is a public good, notwithstanding its incorporation as a state or private institution. The model endorsed by the signatories of the Magna Charta, another 30 institutions are going to add their signature to the document on September 16, 2015, in Bologna. And the topic of the conference organised at that occasion is the research/teaching nexus.

Yet, today, inter-institutional frontiers are blurred and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) looks at the sector as tertiary education (that is everything post-secondary) while the European Union considers the term ‘universities’ to cover all officially recognised providers of higher education. Governments, in a way, claim that the differentiation of provision—to meet the multiple needs of various groups in society—is the key to higher learning development. Therefore, universities and the Magna Charta should be looking for better ways to characterise academic work than formal factors like the granting of doctoral degrees—especially given now that more and more ‘non university’ institutions are offering PhDs on the basis of their own doctoral programmes, as defined by the Bologna process.

One approach for understanding the special contribution of academia to the European society is to look at the functions long fulfilled by the universities: The quest for *meaning*, the quest for *order*, the quest for *welfare* and the quest for *truth*. The four of them have been present with different weight over the centuries.

- The search for meaning is best illustrated by Thomas of Aquinas, the Dominican who, in his *Summa*, re-arranged the knowledge of his day to make sense of the interactions and linkages existing between data and disciplines—thus opening new understandings of inherited information. Today, this function has become ‘scholarship’, a quality usually defended by the humanities and social sciences. However, this no longer equals to making sense of the totality of society—for society’s sake—a prophetic role that is being questioned by the deconstructionist perspectives of post-modernism.
- The search for order is embodied by Cardinal Newman who focused his reform of higher education in the Ireland of the 1850s on the education of gentlemen. Young people offered the necessary resources to sustain the social development of their community;

this meant learning responsible behaviour vis-à-vis other members of society, that is, experiencing a set of ethical rules based on a clear understanding of what a community of belonging stands for. It implies a training process (*education*) that ‘leads out’ (*ex-ducere*) the student from his self by inducing a definition of who he is, what he hopes to achieve and how. This dimension of civic commitment has been marginalised in today’s Europe—especially after the demise of socialism for which civic education was essential. After 1989, it was considered social manipulation rather than a contribution to the continuation or reproduction of society. As a result, this function has been reduced to the control of the aptitudes that position people—through diplomas—on specific rungs of the social ladder. This ‘socialisation’ power of higher education explains the greed of parents (if not of students) for ‘documents’ certifying young people’s social compatibility.

- The search for welfare—better products, better services—corresponds to the utilitarian mood prevailing in technological institutions and, more and more often, also in traditional universities that push forward their Research and Development (R & D) activities. How to answer quickly to practical needs and to the will for power of a material society has been, in particular, the problem of Napoleon who, with the Imperial University, created a centrally managed intelligence machine subservient to the aggrandisement of national power, often as a result of military ambitions. Indeed, the university—in its national framework—has often been linked to industrial and military aims, more recently with atomic research or even with the creation of the web. Today, the welfare role has become the top priority of intellectual development.
- The search for truth is related to the creation of the University of Berlin in 1810 by Wilhelm von Humboldt. In his perspective, the long term public good is better serviced by the exploration of the unknown, by the traditional scientific quest based on the constant revision of prevailing orthodoxy since the search for original views can indeed induce real transformations in society. Students and teachers have to learn from doubt and the hypotheses they test and verify; truth, then, becomes a fleeting target simply to be approximated. That model, now reduced to the combination of teaching and research, is the usual reference of academia. Even since Walter von Siemens—spoke in the 1890s at the University of Berlin—science

has been required to serve industry and power, that is the interests of the nation at large rather than the curiosity of citizens interested in developing their humanity as *homo sapiens*. In a way, the Humboldtian ideal of knowledge for its own sake has been taken hostage by Napoleonic utilitarian views.

Rare are the universities dedicated to one of these functions only. Most of the academic institutions combine these roles in their various departments, thus defining specific activity profiles that make sense of their diversity.

VALUES FOR TOMORROW

In the emerging knowledge society, these four roles are still essential. However, in the present system, the welfare function has become supreme and even the exploration of the unknown has to be presented as the potential source of practical realisations in order to obtain funding and personnel. Therefore, universities today tend to search for contracts exploiting their capacity to innovate—not in terms of imagination but in terms of techniques and objects adapted to the need for higher relevancy and more efficiency. This trend is reinforced by the diminishing support received from governments that are less and less inclined to pay for higher education now that academic training is offered to half an age cohort or more, thus requiring enormous budgets. Effectiveness and adequacy become the qualities of universities turned into ‘regional motors of development’, thus justifying value for money. The quests for meaning and order tend to be marginalised if not ignored. This represents a formidable imbalance—compared to the functions society had entrusted to the universities. And, as far as I can see, no other institutions are really able to make up for such lacks of interest. The media—as communication enterprises very similar to the universities—can disseminate existing knowledge and they can even do so in nicer packages for easy access. However, Aquinas was not only repackaging past knowledge; he was also re-arranging it. This meant a series of choices leading to a new hierarchy in the disciplines and fields of intellectual interest of his time. The universities, today, too, should be the gatekeepers of oblivion and indicate what is *not worth remembering* in a society where everything is being archived, indiscriminately, thanks to new information and communication technologies. The university, as a filter of data, to turn information into knowledge represents a role the

institution is not giving priority to any longer, I fear. As for the quest for order—leading to the proper continuation of society—the constant reduction of the time horizon imposed by the digital society makes it very difficult; traditions and references now tend to become quickly obsolete, especially when the institution collapses into the present—losing a sense of purpose and its meaning as a community of belonging; time brevity reduces the scope and depth of global visions, making of the forest just a host of single trees that have less and less in common. However, society still needs structuring and a sense of purpose—even if emptied of reality; while diplomas mean less and less, they are being sought for—even from costly diploma mills—since the title is what counts rather than its content in the broken up society of today.

Temptations for malpractice then abound, from the sale of a diploma to the ‘polishing’ of data so that it evokes more funding, from bribes to obtain access to courses and exams to the building of power fiefdoms in institutions where the value is now expressed in mainly commercial terms. Today’s universities—as institutions—are numerous, often well endowed, and terribly active—constantly reacting and adapting to what are perceived to be the needs of society. My question is: By putting most of their eggs in the utilitarian basket, have they lost their compass and, under the façade, is there a risk of crisis—a crisis of direction?

A NEW COMPASS?

Ten years ago, Vaclav Havel said in a CRE meeting in Olomouc: “*Universitas* is a beautiful name, formed of the words *unum* (the one) and *vertere* (turn to). Such a name invites academia *to turn to the one*”, that is, to give common sense to the complexity of information, to tend to the unity of knowledge that can help people speak a shared language. Are the universities interested and prepared for such a calling to unity that would also give them a sense of their oneness—both as single institutions and as an academic collective?

Over the last 25 years, many things have changed and the society of 2005 is searching for a reorganisation that could help citizens make sense of their existence in a community of belonging that, today, seems often more agitated than active. We have seen that, one approach to sense giving, has been to involve the civil society in crucial changes—as if the liberal mode of representative democracy had lost its interest and validity in too complex a society. People are now asked to start from their own qualities,

from their wealth of knowledge and interests to organise projects and combine their will and power into common obligations. These bottom-up modalities are those the Bologna process proposes to test. In such a context, should the universities cling to four roles? In a reorganised field of responsibilities—based on individuals or groups, smaller or larger—one could certainly imagine a separation of the roles acquired by the universities over the centuries. An institution could serve the material well-being of the community—and act as a complex consultancy firm to cope with a series of adjustment problems in various fields of life. Another one, like an academy, could ponder over the accumulation of data and information to sort out the wheat from the chaff. A certification agency—with government interests and private support—could certify people’s capacity to contribute to society’s continuity and integrity. Research institutes could cater to different projects on the exploration of the unknown—in physics, nanotechnology, life sciences, and so on, while involving different partners, public or private. All this, indeed, already exists—in part at least—but fragmentation is perhaps too easy an answer to the looming crisis.

In addition, the integration dream, in Europe, is fading as if the end of the war—now in all the pages of our Summer papers—is just history, a 60 year old past that has now engulfed two generations and whose witnesses are no longer in power. To make up for the vision of a federated Europe, the knowledge society still remains a very abstract dream, as far as the everyday life in our cities and their countryside is concerned; we live with bits and pieces of its magic but the puzzle of its promised interactions does not really make sense to most of us yet. Neither is globalisation a vision that can enthuse the citizens—rather it frightens them as it unsettles all the references people normally go by.

If this analysis is rather gloomy, *ad unum vertere* is indeed crucial for the long-term development of society as a whole. Therefore, if re-engineered—in function of the unity of knowledge that provides for the unity of man both as a social and a spiritual being—the university should recover a mixed structure for its many roles. Then, it could both reaffirm its capacity to consent, that is, to share in the reproduction of society, and its capacity to say ‘no’, to take distance from the obvious and question its validity. *Dissent* and *consent* are the two poles defining the tension the *universitas* needs to transcend in order to move to the one by creating a more participatory society open to more contributing citizens. This means clear redefined purposes and a better use of the creative capacity of all of us, in universities and beyond.

Now 35 Years of University Presence in Europe: Fading Hopes for Renewal? A Conversation with Jousch Barblan

Susan Robertson

INTRODUCTION

Crisis or Renewal?

In August 2005, Jousch Andris Barblan, former Secretary General of the Magna Charta Observatory on the Universities' Fundamental Values and Rights, located in Bologna, Italy, and also former Secretary General of the Association of European Universities, offered a set of provocations on the role and purpose of universities in contemporary societies. Entitled “25 years of university presence in Europe: Crisis or renewal?”, Barblan (2005) began his talk by reflecting on the celebration in 1988 of the University of Bologna—long lauded as the *Alma Mater Universitatum*—though, of course, institutions of higher learning also predated this European icon.

However, the deeper purpose of this reflection was not for Barblan (2005) to offer a congratulatory gesture on the capacity of the University of Bologna to endure over the *long duree*, though that in itself is noteworthy. Rather, it was to link the foundation of the University to another event; the drafting and signing of the Magna Charta which had used this

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auspicious occasion to restate a claim, and thus reclaim, the role and purpose of the university as a foundational building block, and pillar, of a modern democratic European society. The university would be charged with the renewal of Europe through developing a common set of values and shared culture.

The European university, Barblan (2005) argued, could be understood through four functions that drew on the deep and diverse history of Europe: these were the quest for *meaning*, *order*, *welfare* and *truth*. By *meaning*, he meant the kind of scholarship championed by Thomas Aquinas; the capacity to make sense of society by bringing diverse traditions of knowledge creation together to shed some light on society. By *order*, Barblan invoked the social development, or ‘education’, of the individual and wider community championed by Ireland’s John Henry Newman. The *welfare* function of the university invoked the memory of France’s Napoleonic era where the university contributed to industrial and military development. And, finally, in referring to the *truth* function of the university, Barblan was referring to the tradition of scientific investigation synonymous with von Humboldt; and, whilst he acknowledged that different universities, at different times, might privilege one or more of these functions above others, in the main these functions—on balance—served the needs of the wider society.

Fraying Edges

Yet, in arguing for an ongoing dialogue as to how to secure the future of the ‘true university’, it is clear Barblan (2005) is fully aware of the fraying of the edges, and blurring of the boundaries, around the contemporary university in Europe. For, in fact, neoliberal policies in many countries—especially in some of the heartlands of Europe—had begun to take their toll on the higher education sector more generally from the 1990s onwards (Scott 2000). The ‘elite’ nature of university student intake was being challenged, though not—it would seem—with any higher-minded purpose. Rather, universities were being asked to open their doors to a wider group of students in order to develop learning societies, and to revise and refine their missions in ways that aligned their purposes more closely to the development of globally competitive knowledge-based economies (Marginson 2006; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 1996).

However, in 2005, the spectre of an alternative, socially reinvigorated, European university—emerging from the heady days of the celebrated Sorbonne Declaration in 1998 in Paris, and its later endorsement in the Bologna Process by no less than 29 countries in 1999—was still entertained as a possible counter to the neoliberal juggernaut that had begun to steamroll its way through the corridors of the academy in a growing number of European countries. Could Allegre’s proposal for what Barblan (2005) argued was a civil society driven reform of European universities take hold and, in doing so, hold the line on the unravelling of what it meant to talk about the ‘true’ university? Might this experiment in regional democracy inject that necessary ballast into this imagined European higher education space that enabled this experiment in possibility to recalibrate a pervasive ‘listing’ towards competitiveness and economic instrumentalism? Barblan’s hope is that this was possible. But he was also clear that this would require an ongoing conversation between those in the academy and beyond as to how to hold on to the values promised by the Magna Charta in the face of major changes in the social contract, and the purposes of the university. In the epilogue to her book on the making of the European university area, Anne Corbett (2005) was equally ambivalent about the path ahead; she noted:

The European higher education area may be set to transform the European states’ higher education institutions as fundamentally as the nation state changed the medieval universities. Among their concerns is that it is not clear who shapes the process and it is not clear what the process is: will universities continue to be seen as a public good or will their prime characteristic be their contribution to Europe’s competitiveness? (p. 192)

We are now ten years on from that Magna Charta speech in Ankara, Turkey, and we might now ask whether Barblan’s (2005) reading of the challenges facing universities, and his call for a new compass to chart the waters ahead, was simply a matter of ill-judged futurism. I think not. Or are Barblan’s worries about a more gloomy set of possibilities now more of a reality than they appeared in Barblan 2005? I think so. In the rest of my intervention, I want to reflect on the nature of these challenges and changes, and return to Barblan’s plea for an urgent conversation that links these changes to wider questions about the kind of society that we want.

The Fading of Renewal

From the vantage point of 2015, I am continually struck by how much has changed over the past decade. Both the character of the university, as well as the spaces and places in which university life takes place, have altered. And so, too, has the meaning of the category, university, and its mission in contemporary Europe.

In my own reading of developments in Europe, already in 2005 the tide had begun to turn in Europe as the balance of social forces moved to the right (Robertson 2008). The more left-leaning intellectuals who had advised on the 2000 Lisbon Agenda—that Europe should include social cohesion and jobs with competition and economic development—were now replaced by those who advanced a more hardened, neoliberal agenda. One month after Barblan (2005) had made his August speech, the European Commissioner, President Juan Manuel Barroso, delivered a rousing speech to the European Ideas Network in Lisbon titled “Building a More Open Europe”. Its urgent tone is evident:

Today’s challenge is globalization. Change, technological and societal, takes place at a breath-taking speed. The question is whether to resist this change, or rather to manage it. In order to be able to protect and promote freedom, security and prosperity, to deliver on the expectations of our citizens, we need to reap not forgo the benefits of globalization. We must engage and shape it in accordance with our values and principles. That means Europe must open up. It must open up internally, in relations between Member States and between its institutions and its citizens. It must open up even more to the world, during this period of rapid change. ...Why this urgency? I have just come back from China and India, and what I saw was a vivid demonstration of the sheer speed and scale of the changes going on in the world So, let’s hold onto this fact. That the drivers of globalisation are human beings, and the winners from globalisation are human beings. Globalisation is being led by all of us, by the choices we make. It is driven by the imagination and creativity of millions of people, through technological innovation and scientific progress. (Barroso 2005a, p. 5)

Barroso goes on to offer his audience frank advice about how to respond to the challenges of Europe; that the Lisbon strategy must be revised to focus more specifically on innovation, investment and jobs (Barroso 2005a). However, his concern was not just with an increasingly evident geostrategic shift in world power; rather, it was also with poor economic growth in Europe. In the Mid-Term Review of the 2000 Lisbon Agenda,

the Chair Wim Kok (2004) had delivered a report that described Europe as weighed down by an overloaded agenda, poor coordination, conflicting priorities and, above all, a lack of political will which, in turn, had widened the growth gap between North America and Asia (p. 5).

These broader developments were to have important consequences for universities across Europe—whose task it was to help deliver a competitive knowledge economy. The Bologna Process, already under way to develop a European Higher Education Area, was strategically enrolled in the project of renovating universities sufficiently to take on this project. Describing the state of education in Europe as nothing short of miserable, Barosso (2005b) invoked the well-known line from Shakespeare’s Hamlet and argued that there was “something is rotten in the state of Europe’s research and education” (p. 5). But Barosso’s intervention also meant something more than simply a rhetorical intervention. The invoking of crisis and danger had opened up a political opportunity for the European Commission to assert its leadership over the governing of universities in Europe—in turn, placing limits on the autonomy of universities that the Magna Charta had so determinedly claimed.

Other claims to seeing the future, assert leadership over the governing of higher sector, or strategic investments by for-profit corporations have generated major challenges to, and changes in, European higher education. In 2013, together with Katelyn Donnelly and Saad Rizvi, Sir Michael Barber—former advisor to UK Prime Minister, Tony Blair, and now Director of Education operations for the largest education corporation in the world launched the report *An Avalanche is Coming: Higher Education and the Revolution Ahead* (Barber et al. 2013). They confidently pronounced that; “the models of higher education that marched triumphantly around the globe in the second half of the twentieth century are broken... The traditional multi-purpose university with a range of degrees and a modestly effective research programme has had its day. The next 50 years could see a golden age for higher education but only if all the players in the system, from students to governments, seize the initiative and act ambitiously” (Barber et al. 2013, p. 1). In 2013, this apocalyptic thinking went viral.

Barber et al. (2013), of course, were keen to invoke the threat of the emergence of massive open online courses (MOOCs), in 2008 and more visibly in 2012, as being a major challenge to the traditional university. These online courses—open to eager learners all over the world—have attracted considerable interest, especially in a cash-strapped post-2008

environment. Prestigious United States universities such as Harvard (exX), Stanford (Coursera) and MIT (MITx) have all lent support to budding entrepreneurial faculties as they experiment with different models of learning and accreditation. Not to be outdone, Europe, too, has joined the rush—with initiatives being launched across a number of member states, whilst OpenupEd is funded by the European Commission. Paradoxically enough, MOOCs have tended to be attractive to the already well-educated—making an unexpected contribution to the notion that learning should take place over a lifetime. And, whilst this kind of initiative is difficult to think about in relation to the idea of a ‘true’ university, as envisaged by the Magna Charta, it does at least make a contribution to the wider social development function of higher education.

But one of the functions that Barblan (2005) might have foreshadowed, but did not, was the transformation of the higher education sector into a services sector making direct contributions to Gross Domestic Product (GDP), on the one hand, and, on the other, a line of revenue generation for venture capitalists and corporations seeking opportunities for investment in the higher education sector. Countries such as Australia have been trend-setters in promoting trade in education services—with education now the fourth largest GDP income earner of goods and services. Within Europe, the UK is particularly dependent on revenues from fee-paying international students, whilst education services are calculated to contribute £73 billion, or 2.8 % of GDP in 2014—up from 2.3 % in 2007 (Universities UK, Universities 2013). This kind of development is being promoted across Europe—eager to open up new higher education markets with “destination Europe”. Old colonial footprints are mobilised to oil the wheels of this emerging market, whilst new initiatives are funded by the European Commission (including tools such as Tuning that bring in a competency-based curriculum) to ensure that new supply chains can be established in competition with the USA (Gonzalez and Wagenaar 2005).

Across Europe, the mix of students on campus has changed dramatically, with international students making up a larger and larger percentage than at any time in the history of the modern European university. Year-on-year growth recorded by agencies, such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development’s (OECD) *Education at a Glance* (OECD 2014a), shows that the number of students enrolled in higher education outside their country of citizenship has more than doubled since 2000: from 2.1 million in 2000 to 4.5 million in 2012. All signs are that this figure will continue upwards, though the distribution

of students across different countries might well alter. Within the OECD area, the EU21 countries host the largest proportion (39 %) of foreign students (OECD 2014a, p. 344). Furthermore, these EU21 countries also enrol a very large number of students who come from another EU21 country. These developments, of course, add both cultural and linguistic diversity to the university. However, this diversity, paradoxically, has tended to result in less variety rather than more, as teaching in English has tended to be a pragmatic response to pressures to increase international student enrolment. And these pressures are not simply a question of the revenue streams that at least full-fee-paying international students might create. Rather, the rise and rise of global rankings, whose measures include percentage of international students, have resulted in a new set of game rules around the right profile to score well (Hazelkorn 2011).

The invocation to universities to be entrepreneurial has also been grasped by savvy investors who have developed a range of business models that are proving to be particularly lucrative. Laureate Education is simply one of a growing number of examples. Laureate is a for-profit higher education provider backed by private equity investors. It circles around ailing universities and buys a controlling share—in turn, putting into place a management system and slimmed-down offering that enables it to generate profits. In 2015, Laureate had interests in 24 institutions across eight European countries (Robertson and Komljenovic 2015); its academic staff does not have permanent contracts and it does not support research activity. With austerity measures biting deep into public funds, these initiatives are likely to gain even further traction—in turn, transforming the idea of the university and its contribution to the public good. But, most importantly, it directly challenges the core idea at the heart of the Magna Charta for, whilst the institution is autonomous in its governance, it is the servant to the market and profits, and not to the ideals of truth, meaning or, indeed, welfare, as it does not invest in research for the purposes of innovation and development.

It is commonplace to assert that institutions move at glacial pace and, at one level, this is true. But some glaciers do melt more rapidly than is desirable, when the wider conditions play havoc with the patterns of nature. In the UK, the changes afoot are like a racing torrent of water. In pressing for a competitive market in higher education, the government has ignored calls for a more measured approach—instead, putting into place a very high student fee; removed the block teaching grant to the social sciences and humanities; and enabled the for-profit providers to access state-backed student loans (Robertson 2013).

Barblan (2005) was right to be gloomy in 2005 as he surveyed the potential crisis facing European higher education. The rapid changes that are taking place in higher education in Europe are cause for concern, largely as the recalibration of the functions for the university are distinctly out of tune with the needs of a society that depends more than ever on a deep, diverse and rich knowledge base to secure its future. And, as political philosopher Wendy Brown (2011) noted, the essential conditions of democratic existence of “institutions and practices of equal opportunity, limited extremes of concentrated wealth and poverty; orientation toward citizenship as a practice of considering the public good, and citizens modestly discerning about the ways of power, history, representation and justice ... These same elements of democracy are at the heart of crises besetting public universities” (Brown 2011, p. 21).

The long shadow of neoliberalism has had devastating effects on the university as a public institution, and on the creation of knowledge for the public good. Barosso’s assertion, that something was rotten in European higher education and research might very well be traced to those who so eagerly embraced the market and competitiveness as the solution to the reform of higher education. Instead of renewal in ways that nurtured the conditions for European democracy, it has unleashed on itself a more devastating outcome—the emptying out of the conditions for democracy. Much needs to be done to chart a different course—and perhaps the flickers of hope are there: the Occupy movement; the growing anxiety, even by some of the international agencies, that things have gone too far and that we need to reconsider the nature of our institutions (OECD 2014b); or that the excessive concentration of wealth in a tiny percentage (Piketty 2014) is a step too far. But turning back tides takes courage, imagination, reflexiveness and considerable political work—work that can and should be done by a society involving all of its citizens, as they contribute to making *their* future. Regarding this, Barblan (2005) was right.

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Ethical Internationalization, Neo-liberal Restructuring and “Beating the Bounds” of Higher Education

Su-ming Khoo, Lisa K. Taylor, and Vanessa Andreotti

INTRODUCTION

Crises, Challenges and Questions for Ethical Internationalization

This chapter synthesizes and expands on the concluding panel discussion of a symposium on Intellectual Autonomy and Social/Global Accountability in Higher Education in Times of Crises—International Lessons, convened by the World Educational Research Association (WERA) Global Ethics and Higher Education International Research Network (GEHE-IRN), at Brock University, Canada, in 2014. It draws on collaborative work arising from the Ethical Internationalism in Higher Education (EIHE) project, an interdisciplinary, international mixed-methods research project involving 20 universities around the world, funded by the Academy of Finland

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from 2012 to 2015, examining ethical issues arising from internationalization processes in higher education. The purpose of the panel was to bring together a community of scholars and educators to reflect on current crises, and *beat the bounds* of what we mean by *ethical internationalization*. Our main objectives were to share experiences and perspectives, and to identify and clarify elements of a shared agenda and approach.

We convened around higher education's dual ethical responsibilities to strive for social and global justice on the one hand, and to maintain intellectual autonomy, academic freedom and the capacity for critique, on the other. As the discussions ensued, it became apparent that our concerns about ethical responsibility and intellectual autonomy were enmeshed within global tides of crises and change, affecting widely disparate locations and contexts. Crises of financing, governance, purpose and values within higher education were closely connected to broader currents of economic, political and social crises and reform. These crises were fundamentally impacting the sense of identity, values and purpose in higher education, right across our research network.

This symposium, and the WERA GEHE-IRN, identified the topic of *ethical internationalization(s)* and *internationalism(s)* as lenses through which we could collectively engage and open out a wider set of ethical debates for higher education. Neo-liberal higher education reforms are taking place in a context where neo-liberalism itself has been experiencing deep crises. Crises present particular opportunities to analyze and comprehend what is at stake for higher education. Crisis defines "instances when normativity is laid bare: the principles, suppositions, premises, criteria, and logical or causal relations" (Roitman 2013, p. 3). The panel, therefore, sought to take up the opportunity presented by a shared and urgent sense of higher education in crisis, in a world that is in crisis. We could use this opportunity to ask better questions and think otherwise about the neo-liberal restructuring of higher education and the ways in which we ought to shape an emerging research agenda about higher education, internationalization and ethics.

Internationalizing Higher Education—In the Twilight of Neo-liberalism

Internationalization is an increasingly important priority in global higher education policy and practice (Altbach and Knight 2007; Knight 2013). However, internationalization policies and practices reflect a kind of

“unbearable lightness”—they are oriented towards processes and targets, but seem to lack an anchoring in substantive higher education norms or ethical commitments. Sociologist George Ritzer (2007) described globalization as the spread of “[n]othing—a social form that is...centrally conceived, controlled and devoid of distinctive substantive content” (p. 115). “‘Nothing’ consists of ‘Nonplaces, Nonthings, Nonpeople, and Nonservices; [while s]omething has complexity, spatiality, temporality and humanity—is generally indigenously conceived, controlled, comparatively rich in distinctive substantive content” and associated with deep and meaningful human relationships (Ritzer 2007, p. 38). “Something” is distinguished by the properties of being “magical, humanized and humanizing” while “nothing” is disenchanting, dehumanized and dehumanizing. His analysis chimes with the organizational theorist Mats Alvesson’s (2013) description of the threefold contemporary transformation of consumption, higher education and work as a triumph of emptiness. He is critical of the empty, illusory and grandiose claims that higher education can deliver positional advantage to individuals and entire societies, everywhere. Alvesson complained that the traditional objectives of higher education and the intrinsic values of intellectual development have lost much of their significance.

The global development theorist, Frans Schuurman (2009) described the global policy present as a “twilight zone”, offering a drastically narrowed spectrum of policy choices. The only choice left appears to be the choice between “neoliberal globalism” and “global neoliberalism” (p. 832). The reduction of critical debate to this twilight zone enables neo-liberalism to operate a kind of blanketing effect. This renders invisible the diverse possibilities for globality and higher education, while only allowing a single commanding discourse to be discernible. With only one twilight world to “read”, the spaces for higher education to engage with ethical forms of internationalization appear drastically narrowed. In this twilight zone, the economist Ben Fine (2009) asked how we might challenge “the dull and universal compulsion of zombieconomics” (p. 885) that seems to have taken over higher education, echoing the neo-liberal slogan, “There is no alternative”. Higher education policy and practice seem to be experiencing an “unbearable lightness of being”, as the values, meanings, purposes and identity of higher education are held hostage to economic crises, austerity measures and the reconstruction of the student as consumer and of teaching, curriculum and teachers as employees and objects for quality control.

We contend that debates about ethics, internationalization and academic freedom, and the necessity or purpose of intellectual autonomy, must have as a precondition the possibility of “something” that has to struggle against a seemingly irresistible homogenizing force of a single “nothing”. That “somethingness” is, for most actors, tied in with *heteronomy*. Simon Marginson (2008) defined heteronomy as:

a position tied to mass provision, the search for economic capital and imperatives to fulfil varied social and economic demands. This definition allows of many different and possibly contradictory elements and logics to coexist, given the great diversity of economic and social demands that exists in any context. In the global field of higher education, the counterpoint to heteronomy is “autonomy”, an exclusive ability to reject external determinants and obey only its own specific logic. (pp. 304–305).

Globalization enhances elite autonomy in a self-fulfilling manner, because “Global Super-League” universities predominate in global university rankings, in the content of the World Wide Web and in popular culture. Yet, Marginson (2008) also reminded us that total closure has not occurred (p. 315). Structural dynamics in the global higher education field must be understood as partial, because they are relativized by the other parts of the field. They are provisional and in continuous transformation. The field of global higher education remains open to challenge and reshaping by the imagination and will of agents.

In “beating the bounds” of this structured yet still-open field, we offer three working principles—*intelligibility*, *dissent* and *solidarity*. Intelligibility and dissent involve a critical reading of neo-liberal orders, while solidarity indicates the potential of shared ethical commitments and collective, practical responsibilities to act (Khoo 2015b). We recognize that a critical reading, involving both dissent and solidarity, is no easy task. It is often assumed that “we” know who or what it is that we speak about when we speak of neo-liberalism or academic capitalism. Identifying common ground for solidarity, within the context of heteronomy, is neither simple nor easy, because academic agency is often ethically ambivalent. We argue that much of the ethical knowledge that we need to face is essentially *difficult knowledge* which is constituted not solely through epistemic but also through psychic crisis, and thus is susceptible to disavowal, diversion or subversion (Britzman 1998, 2013; Pitt and Britzman 2003). We therefore pay particular attention in this contribution to surfacing and

acknowledging issues of *complicity*, and discuss the ways that academic and educational agency can become conscripted by power.

Beating the Bounds: Intelligibility, Dissent and Solidarity

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the expression “to beat the bounds” derives from an ancient English custom in which the boundaries of a parish were visibly and performatively marked by a public gathering (*Oxford English Dictionary* 2015). Members of the community would walk the boundaries of their parish in a public delineation of their place and community. This custom was described as the highlight of the year for communities, representing a time when people could come together publicly to mark the extent and identity of their community. The celebratory fun commonly included the rather odd practice of “bumping” the heads of young community members against particular landmarks, “so that they would remember”. Thus, our proposal “to beat the bounds” of autonomy and responsibility implies engaging in a performative act of community, mobilizing collective memory and responsibilities, while marking out lines and loci for further enquiry. This task of “beating the bounds” feels essential to our interests in ethical engagement, helping to orient us as observers of and participants in current trends of internationalizing higher education.

We begin by looking back on past conversations, identifying shared concerns and ways of thinking, and taking the opportunity to surface and articulate common interests and commitments. We share a theoretical orientation towards post-structuralist and post-colonial perspectives that entails a certain scepticism towards ruling meta-narratives and invites an emancipatory interest in perspectives that are rooted in difference, such as indigenous, feminist and critical race perspectives. As educators, we share long-standing commitments to critical and transformative learning methodologies. We have often found ourselves interrogating the problematic dichotomy of knowing-versus-being in different cultural contexts of teaching, learning and research. We have also often found ourselves in the role of the provocateur, practising commitments to surface difficult knowledge (Britzman 1998, 2013; Pitt and Britzman 2003). During a two-day session on communication for global educators and citizens immediately preceding our work for this symposium, we had started to interrogate ethical issues relating to *epistemic inequity*. Epistemic inequity is a question and challenge for privileged knowers and actors raised by

Gayatri Spivak's (1999) theory of postcolonial power and complicity, and connected to the ethical challenge of *epistemic injustice* (Fricker 2007). These readings complicate our practice as educators because they point to the insight that the very desire for justice can draw dividends from, and be complicit with, power. Acts of emancipatory, critical theorizing and teaching can be complicit with power, enacted within the privileged space of higher education (Mitchell 2015). The desire to resist and transform oppressive relations can never be completely free of power and privilege. Critical educators thus find themselves in a double-bind that cannot be easily resolved, as we find ourselves situated both with and against power.

Simon Crichtley's (2007) provocative account of ethics speaks to the three key principles underpinning the EIHE's research agenda and consortium—*intelligibility*, *dissent* and *solidarity*. Seen through this lens of ethics, intelligibility refers to efforts to make injustices and inequities visible and understandable. Accordingly, dissent refers to the critical questioning of neo-liberal orders, and solidarity involves practical responsibilities to stand together, in a public manner, even as we acknowledge our problems and differences. We acknowledge that critical questioning is a risky undertaking. Critical reflection can give rise to a sense of *impostership*, or even run the risk of *cultural suicide* (Brookfield 1994), risking alienation from, and rejection by, our own academic communities. The ambiguities and dilemmas that are surfaced by critical thinking may cause a loss of innocence, while failure to result in transformation may lead to sense of critique being irrelevant, or stuck in a kind of limbo. But these risks do not mean that we should not undertake critical reflection. It might even be essential to commit cultural suicide in times of crisis when the entire ethics and cultures of higher education feel as though they are changing to the extent of becoming completely unrecognizable. The unsettling effects of critical reflection do, however, highlight the importance of community and the need for mutual support in engaging critical reflection and in trying to make ethical scenarios and choices intelligible and possible.

The first task of an ethical response is to render the processes of neo-liberal restructuring underlying internationalization policies and practices, and their implications, intelligible and “readable”. These processes are not limited to material and structural operations. Neo-liberalization also occurs through the restructuring of subjectivity and the embedding of governing conceptions of value. Actors in higher education can come to bind themselves to governing conceptions, through the operation of financialized imaginaries (Berlant 2011; Haiven and Khasnabish, *The Radical*

Imagination: Social Movements in the Age of Austerity, 2014) and novel forms of self-colonization (Yoshioka 1995). Expressions of resistance embody and express solidarity, through a politics of disruption. Solidarity is enabled by the acts of surfacing, identifying and resisting oppressive structures of thought, and the discourses and practices that they perpetuate within, and through, higher education, and by creative attempts to think differently and be different.

Dilemmas of Complicity and Resistance—Dissent as an Ethical Response

The double-bind of educative power and complicity is, of course, nothing new. Reflecting on the history of imperial planning, Ananya Roy (2006) used Spivak's theory of the double-bind to describe imperialism as a project and "a time of doubleness", involving war and reconstruction, militarism and humanitarianism, and the development of repressive and educational apparatuses. Imperial rule involved coercion and violence, but also education and consent. Colonial power gave itself the mandate to annihilate, but also to protect, build, improve, civilize and preserve. The self-interested and complicitous imperial and colonial history of global benevolence forms a problematic backdrop for those professionally entangled with the enterprise of internationalizing education, which is imbued with a colonial present (Gregory 2004). Global higher education is a project that is tied into a present history that retains an imperial logic, a post-independence logic that Anibal Quijano (1997) described as the *coloniality of power*. The claim for ethical autonomy in our pretences and projects of internationalization, then, must be understood as constantly constrained by complicity with forms of neo-imperialism inherent in the continuing expansion and development of global capitalism, which expands and perpetuates patterns of domination and subordination.

Imperial hegemony can be understood in terms of empire's benevolent face of liberalism. *Post-modern imperialism* is sustained through liberal discourses of human rights and cosmopolitanism that justify the use of force as a vehicle for peace and right (Hardt and Negri 2000). Liberal interventions are presented as benevolent actions to ease suffering, and it is difficult to recognize how such actions are imbricated with structural forces that create suffering. A form of liberal blindness characterizes different moments in the history of global development: from the earlier promise of statist modernization and trickle-down growth, to the later

neo-liberal promise of the globalized free market. Both are expressions of liberal imperialism, which ground progress and development in forms of trusteeship that continue the civilizing mission of nineteenth-century colonialism (Khoo 2015a). The duty and capacity to intervene are framed and exercised in the name of justice, peace and civilization, foreclosing recognition of the violence, coercion, expansion and exploitation which were also at the heart of the same imperialist project.

We considered the visual reminder offered by the sculpture *Survival of the Fattest*, by the Danish artist Jens Galschiøt, depicting a large, heavy figure representing Western justice, *Justitia*, carried on the shoulders of a small, emaciated black child. During the 2009 climate negotiations in Copenhagen, this sculpture was placed in Copenhagen harbour, next to the city's famous fairy-tale landmark, *The Little Mermaid*. The explanatory text provided by the artist reads: "I'm sitting on the back of a man. He is sinking under the burden. I would do anything to help him. Except stepping down from his back." This image challenges and provokes us to think about how difficult it is to disavow and refuse empire in our professions and disciplines of academic education, research and development because their practices are globally aligned with the liberal faces of "empire". After all, few would refuse to raise research capacity, bring education to the "rest of the world" or advance "global development". We ask ourselves if it is necessary to align with neo-colonial and dominating forces in order to be able to do our work, and what kinds of ethical challenge come out of this insight. Can educators and researchers dissociate themselves from the political regimes that frame their work? Roy (2006) affirmed that both ameliorative "band-aid" approaches and the desire for professional innocence create ethical dilemmas in which it is difficult to distinguish complicity from subversion. This becomes even more complicated in an environment of increasing corporatization of higher education, where state support is being substituted by private funds, and "fund-raising entrepreneurship is lauded as academic success" (Roy 2006, p. 12). Similarly, being involved in making technical improvements to educational or research programmes implies that linear narratives of problems, interventions and results can be superimposed on complex contexts and messy conjunctures, thereby making the political-economic relations invisible (Li 2007; Rankin 2010).

The situations of ethical (im)possibility that result from the legacies of imperialism and post-colonialism invoke a sense of what the ethicist Critchley (2007) termed "political disappointment", a pervasive "sense of lacking or failing" that arises "from the realization that we live in a violently

unjust world” (p. 3). His philosophy of ethics addresses this sense of political disappointment by focusing on the question of justice and the human need to respond ethically. There are two possible responses to the sense of ethical disappointment—nihilistic, or ethical. Critchley rejected nihilism in both its active and passive forms: these involve either attempts to bring about the violent destruction of the unjust world in order to bring a new world into being, or passively retreating inwards and closing one’s eyes to injustice. He suggested that an ethical response centres on the connection between *subjectivity* and *ethical experience*, leading to “an infinitely demanding ethics of commitment and politics of resistance”. An ethical argument is neither like logic (which is deductively true), nor like science (which is inductively true). An ethical argument requires a subject to bind herself to a conception of the good and shape her subjectivity according to that good. Critchley built up an account of how subjects come to ethical commitments through experiences of conscience, which motivated them toward action. Critchley made an important distinction between *government* and *politics*: government strives to maintain order, pacification and security, while constantly aiming at consensus. *Ethics*, as the source of politics, conversely disturbs the status quo with forms of dissensus, calling into account the authority and legitimacy of the state and restoring the dignity of democracy (Critchley 2007).

Many of the pressing questions raised in our discussions concerned the impacts of neo-liberalism (Giroux 2014) and academic capitalism (Rhoades and Slaughter 2009) on *academic freedom*. Academic freedom is the founding principle of the modern research university (Hogan and Trotter 2013; Perkin 2006) that protects academics’ and scholars’ freedom to teach and learn. Academic freedom rests on the principle that academic tenure and scholarly assessment are to be based solely on scholarly criteria, irrespective of whether findings or opinions in question are deemed to be controversial or unpopular. As we came together to discuss this topic, long-standing debates and controversies surrounding academic freedom were reignited by breaking news about the sacking of a Canadian academic on the grounds that he had criticized his university’s administrative decision to restructure his academic unit. The academic’s tenure was later reinstated, and the university’s president subsequently resigned (Parr 2014). Several months earlier, a professor at the University of Warwick who had openly criticized United Kingdom higher education reforms had been similarly suspended (Morgan 2014). An internal tribunal eventually cleared him of the charges, following a nine-month

suspension (Morgan 2015). In the United States, the high profile firing of Stephen Salaita for communications conducted as a private citizen highlight the incursion of concerns for university reputation into personal, as well as academic, freedom (Macek 2015). Such incidents have intensified perceptions that traditional values of academic freedom have come under threat. New kinds of demands have arisen for administrative conformity, as the protection of universities as commercially sensitive corporate “brands” has become a pressing concern. While new ethical dilemmas have surfaced within higher education circles, they may appear to those outside higher education as troublingly self-referential concerns. The grand challenges of global ethics in a restructuring world remain more salient than ever, as global society collectively faces growing economic inequalities, environmental crises, conflict and unmet demands for social justice and renewal. Since the late 2000s, politics and the wider public sphere across many national contexts have become dominated by financial and economic crises and by the social crises worsened by the neo-liberal austerity policies adopted as solutions to the fiscal crisis.

Understandings of internationalization must therefore be set within an analysis of global neo-liberal re-structuring and *academic capitalism* (Rhoades and Slaughter 2009). This chapter reflects on how these processes sit behind the erosion of, and challenge to, the public nature and role of the university. We consider strategies of academic resistance, drawing recent experiences in two post-colonial, but “privileged”, white-dominated peripheries that are experiencing crisis and policy austerity: Canada and Ireland. In Canada, the student protests of the “Maple Spring” (Printemps érable) of 2012 represented an exuberant and hopeful stand against the neo-liberalization of education. The Quebec student protest saw itself within a broad context of global dissent, including European anti-austerity protests, the revolutionary uprisings of the “Arab Spring” and the global Occupy movement that dominated world news between the end of 2010 and 2012. The students were not only protesting against proposed hikes for Quebec post-secondary tuition fees. These had remained comparatively low up to then, due to a history of student protests (SoroChan 2012). The students proposed that students’ access to higher education be protected, and for the costs of that education to be recouped through progressive taxation. The student collectives explicitly rejected the vision of university education as a private good, while making persuasive arguments for higher education to be maintained as a public and social good (Coalition large de l’Association pour une solidarité syndicale (CLASSE), 2012; Weinstock 2012).

Brian Massumi (2012) criticized the Quebec government's strategy of pre-emption from the perspective of both the protestors and professoriate during the Maple Spring. Within this new disciplinary regime, draconian pre-emptive legislation and policing were used to deter street protests, while professors were threatened with disciplinary action or dismissal if they expressed support for the student strike. Students were prevented from exercising not only their basic civil rights to free association and expression, but also their academic freedom; the professoriate's academic freedom was similarly limited, reminding academics that they were essentially nothing more or less than employees doing the bidding of the administration. Their wider political and societal responsibilities and standing were minimized, while their public intellectual role was effectively proscribed (Massumi 2012).

Dissent or Affective Self-Colonization? The "Cruel Optimism" of Education

The most disturbing and unsettling aspects of neo-liberalism in education are its dynamism and adaptability, its ability to domesticate dissent and engineer consent, through the active participation—one could say self-colonization—of both educators and students. Neo-liberalism does not merely concern the economic realm: it is shifting the whole material, social and psychic terrain of our work, and restructuring memory, imagination and subjectivity. Max Haiven (2014) argued that capitalism relies not only on material inequality and a brute exercise of force to sustain real relations of exploitation, precarity and systemic violence; it also works through the circumscription and conscription of the imagination. The financialization of collective imaginaries within neo-liberal cultures poses a double threat: not only the loss of particular collective forms of social organization, but also the loss of cultural memory (Haiven 2014)—and even the loss of a collective memory of what has been lost (Jacobs 2004).

In Ireland, student protests took place from 2008 to 2011, in the early years of financial bailout and severe policy austerity, against rising third-level co-payments (Carroll 2008) and grant cuts, but large-scale student protests petered out by 2012. Students protested against further fee increases (by 2012, Ireland had the second highest university fees in the European Union, after the United Kingdom), but they did not question neo-liberal policies in general. Student protests were commended by both the police and the Minister of Education for staying separate from other anti-austerity causes and “not allowing other interests to ‘hijack’ the protest”

(Carroll 2011). Fee increases were presented as largely a problem for individual students and families. The idea that the sole purpose of education is to serve economic recovery and a knowledge-based economy was reinforced—not challenged. The financial exclusion of poorer students was not understood as a question of systemic class exclusion or public good, but as a force acting on individual voters and causing individual young people to emigrate. Alternative proposals were drawn up by the trade unions calling for less austerity as a means to collective economic recovery, but the energy of popular protest and dissent began to focus on rejecting household taxes and water charges. The level of resistance to taxes remains significant, because the national debate is stuck in a vicious circle: its phases consist of opposing taxes because public services are not good enough and criticizing the poor public services that result from ineffective taxation and skewed redistribution. Inequalities and deprivation have significantly widened since the onset of austerity (O'Connor and Staunton 2015). Rights-based arguments (e.g. for water) have emerged, but the debate on solidarity through responsibilities has failed to correspond with the financialized critiques, which have focused on the high costs and inefficiencies of privatization.

There is an important hindsight to be referenced here: solidarity was created neither for public services, nor for higher education as a public good. In contrast to the Irish example, the Quebec student movement argued explicitly for the common good; for equal access to, and a future for, public services (CLASSE, 2012). Of equal importance to its aims were its process and experience: observers noted “a swelling of its popular base and ... an intensification and qualitative transformation of ways of life” (Al-Saji 2012) as a wider public acted in solidarity with the student demonstrators. Particularly noteworthy for our discussion of the affective dimensions of neo-liberal hegemony and dissent are the generative (Fendler 2012) affective character observed in this latter period of the 2012 Quebec student movement’s expansion as a broad, multi-generational public participated in neighbourhood *casseroles* (pot-banging parade-protests) defying pre-emptive legislation against public assembly directed at the students. Drawing from Massumi’s (2002) theorization of the force of affective propulsion experienced in collectivities in the process of making publics, Érik Bordeleau and Brian Massumi (2012) redefined the commons, not as a thing but as an experience and sociality in formation (Calhoun 2002)—neither as goods commonly possessed and protected nor as place of appearance and exposure to others (as in Hannah

Arendt's theory), but, rather, as *sensual*. For Bordeleau (2012) and Massumi (2012), publicness is primarily affective, a metamorphic process creating forces that exceed instrumentalization and capture: “[c]omposed of individuals and groups that grow from the flesh like unpredictable and indeterminate organs, the glorious body of the multitude dilates and contracts like a cloud of starlings” (Bisson 2011, as cited in Bordeleau and Massumi 2012).

This observation highlights what is at stake in education as a unique domain within the public sphere, in that it is both a constrained space and a desirous space that exceeds constraint. A central impulse to all learning is that of aspiration and anticipatory becoming, an impulse that reaches both towards ethical forms of hope and instrumentalized forms of optimism (Taylor 2015a, b; Taylor 2014).¹ We can understand optimism as a social affect: it is both hegemonically circulated and experienced at the deeply personal individual level. The postponement of gratification is inherent to the labour of learning; hence, optimism may be understood as a social affect of anticipatory accommodation that lends itself to marginalization and exploitation (Berlant 2011). As an experience structured in futurity, optimism is organized as an attachment to the promise of future happiness or fulfilment. In learning and education, it presumes a teleology of ameliorative progress on the part of both students and educators. For Lauren Berlant (2011), optimism is “cruel” when that scene of desire—the anticipated future to which the present is subordinated within a futurist logic—attaches us and facilitates our investment in material and ideological structures, relations and conditions of being that actually work against our individual and collective possibilities for flourishing.

Optimism needs to be seen, then, as one of several impulses within learning that is open to absorption into exploitative relations. As with optimism, curiosity, the desire to learn, engages a Foucauldian governmentality or “care of the self”, acting as a generative natural resource that is susceptible to instrumentalization, according to the workings of extractive capitalism (Gudynas 2009; Simpson 2013). What is at stake for educators who want to imagine and enact different possibilities for knowing and being, then, is the experience of learning itself. The danger is that key elements of learning and education may be captured and enfolded within neo-liberal agendas (Taylor 2014). A similar analysis might draw on the above discussion of educational complicities—including liberal imperial trusteeship and civilizational logics—dangerously inherent to North–South international research. We can discern the ways social affects

of curiosity and humanitarian optimism mobilize researcher investments in international projects. However, these may be grounded in the epistemologies and interests of universities of the global north and cosmopolitan urban centres, treating Southern and rural participants as research subjects or “data”, not as participants with their own knowledge interests and understandings (Hall and Tandon 2014).

Capitalism requires a spirit to drive its pursuit of boundless growth in a bounded world (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005). The expansiveness of education into the affective realm of cruel optimism and curiosity renders education and educational research key areas for the recruitment of affect and subjective individual experiences, and the harnessing of people in their subjective states to the objective, colonizing and exploitative needs of late capitalism. Projects of solidarity would need to prioritize a turn to otherness, a mindfulness about the possible instrumentalization and extractivist capture of their educational impulses. Instead, educational impulses might include a radical ethic of non-mastery that summons relational and temporal structures of hope and wonder, and allows for sensual experiences of publicness (Bordeleau and Massumi 2012). These are valuable horizons to guide our vigilance and initiatives in the fraught and shifting terrain of higher education.

Critical Refraction—Solidarities and Public Pedagogies That are Educational

The roots of our collaboration can be traced to the project of critical literacy, and the desire to widen our research and scholarly praxis from the activity of critical reflection, to take on the possibilities of critical *refraction* and *transformation*. Critical reflection is essentially an evaluative form of thought activity: “critical self-reflection is appraisive, rather than prescriptive or designative” (Mezirow 1991, p. 87). Critical reflection involves learning to question and recognize a multiplicity of perspectives (Brookfield 1994). The *appraisive process* is a necessary and central condition for transformative learning but it is not sufficient. “To be transformative, reflection has to involve, and lead to, some fundamental change in perspective” (Cranton 1996, pp. 79–80). Following the analogy of optical refraction in science, we entertain the idea of critical refraction as a process by which singular thought, when passed through a critical lens, may produce a *spectrum* of different possibilities for imagining, naming, resisting and acting in solidarity, and for looking to possible futures.

Collective remembrance is a practice that works to constitute the kind of *transactive public sphere* (Simon 2005) described by Bordeleau and Massumi (2012). Pedagogies of remembrance may be used to interrupt the “financialization” of our collective educational imaginaries (Simon et al. 2000). To advocate for collective remembrance is not the same as arguing for recuperating an eternal “truth” about higher education. What interests us is the possibility for the irruptive experience of dissent and contestation to hold open the present, financialized imaginary to the deconstructive ethical force of other-timely perspectives, in light of which its regimes of truth fracture and lean towards newness (Simon 2014; Taylor 2015a, b). We do not need to “hark back” to some kind of pre-capitalist age of academic freedom that never existed, or to romanticize particular public knowledges (Readings 1996). We do, however, feel the imperative to recognize and re-connect the tradition of academic freedom to a sense of “publicness” and to educational purposes which are still contestable and open, and reduced to neither imperialism nor commodification.

The loss of collective memory impoverishes our collective ability to think about our practice, to draw on the dynamic memory formations of social movements and critical educators to nourish our praxis. As political and economic modes of organizing social and cultural life change radically, we may lose touch with valued ways of knowing and being, and the resources for critique and deliberation they offer. We see an urgent need to refuse current forms of disinheritance, and to engage in public pedagogies that follow Simon’s insistence on remembrance neither as affirmation nor as recognition but, rather, as an ethically committed cultivation of practices of attention and dialogic deliberation that might contribute to the formation of publics capable of sustaining a sense of commitment and agency in our historical present towards the world we pass on (Simon 2000, 2005, 2014). This does not necessarily imply that we need to memorialize academic freedom as a relic of a hallowed past, but at least allows us to recast the present dilemmas of ethics and collective responsibility in the light of the past. By destabilizing the self-referential present and rupturing its appearance of sufficiency or inevitability, we resist dominating acts of closure. In the Canadian case of “*le Printemps érable*”, students were able to draw on a long collective memory of successful resistance (Sorochan 2012), and to use the issue of tuition fees as a wedge to open a wider discussion of the role of education in contemporary society and counter the assumption that traditional liberal values of free inquiry and critical thinking should simply be sacrificed in favour of the knowledge economy (Massumi 2012).

Marginson (2006, 2013) asked how we might imagine higher education as a public good. Educational spaces are both intimate publics (Berlant 2011) and intentional participants in publics-in-information (Calhoun 2002). We can also draw on new definitions of public goods as goods that generate and regenerate the public by providing spheres of awareness, reliability and experienced equality (Kallhoff 2011). Returning to the EIHE project aims, we might ask what ethical problems internationalization(s) or internationalism(s) should respond to, and what kind of responses we might imagine and co-create, bearing in mind the three guiding criteria of the project—intelligibility, dissent and solidarity. Taking stock of the insights that we have as an epistemic community that has a desire for more ethical forms of higher education, “beating the bounds” engages us collectively in the ongoing making of publicness and commons. At the centre of these commons are several ethical visions that are alternative to the individualistic neo-liberal ethic of utilitarian conformity, competition and profit.

There are other visions bequeathed by the dynamic, collective memory formations that form the “continuing affective heritage” (Simon 2014, p. 71) constituting and surrounding global higher education. This heritage includes diverse ongoing struggles to build transgenerational and multi-epistemic local and global public spheres. Our alternative ethical commitments are constituted by a tapestry of different ethics that might include: a resistant ethic of decoloniality and a refractive ethic of diversality; an egalitarian and redistributive ethic of social justice; an embodied and relational ethic of care; and, not least, the generative and beautifully risky ethic of education (Biesta 2014).

Ronald Barnett (1990) observed that the literature on higher education lacks a theoretical framework for thinking about higher education *educationally*. Analyses of higher education and its specific aspects, such as internationalization, tend to not to come from educationalists or education as a discipline proper. Despite the fact that higher education’s distinguishing feature could be said to be its role in generating conceptual frameworks, or “theory” related to just about anything else, it has, paradoxically, generated remarkably little theory about higher education itself. As pedagogues, we ought to “fill in” this educational lacuna with an understanding of education as an intentional space that is in a continuous process of creation and potential creativity. Internationalizing higher education is a space marked by the interface of subjectivity, local knowledges and global designs (Mignolo 2000). Internationalizing higher education

can be thought of as “educational” in the sense of its generativity of possibilities for individual and collective becoming (Fendler 2012).

Such generative affective formations include the “commons” that Bordeleau and Massumi (2012) observed emerging in the extended course of the 2012 Quebec student strike (*le Printemps érable*), emerging not as goods to be preserved but, rather, as a sensual, creative metamorphic process, creating social forces that exceed instrumentalization and capture. By “generative”, we refer to Lynn Fendler’s rich discussion of what is theoretically “educational” (Fendler 2012); that is, something is educational if it “effectively generates uptake of resonant vibrations that exceed the given”. In this initially unfamiliar formulation, “exceeding” implies that, to be “educational”, education must go beyond straightforward knowledge reproduction or “best practices” that achieve the same, to provide the possibility of alternatives. “Exceeding” in this sense pushes thinking to the limits and opens the door for creativity. Lynn Fendler’s concept of *generativity* shows that authoritarian versions of knowledge production are not enough. *Generating* implies possibilities for a more distributed, democratic creation of knowledge. *Vibrating* signifies dynamic, changing and relational alternatives to totalizing versions of education. Vibrations occur in the gaps between things, depending on uptake and connections. Vibration signifies something more than generalizability or replicability, reframing the issue of pedagogy away from unidirectional delivery of authoritative information and towards dynamic, democratic and experiential connections.

The speculative-realist theory of education as a “thing” in itself (Rømer 2011) understands education as more than that which can be described through sensory perception, or even social constructions—education has its own independent existence. Thomas Rømer speculated that the nature of the educational “thing” might include concepts of “protection”, “love”, “swarm”, “tension” and “shadow”. For Rømer, education has metaphysical dimensions, it is not merely empirical. The “thingness” of education involves care, love and protection of public dialogue on topics that are *loved*. Another special aspect of education—with which practising pedagogues will be familiar—is Rømer’s suggestion of “myriads and appearances”; the constant appearance of new people, students, ideas, questions—a “tumbling plurality” that constantly comes into view as many new persons with very different starting points and experiences and interests, acquire, correct and further develop what is held publicly. For Rømer, pedagogy involves a free interaction between new and established

dialogues. This “swarming becoming” nevertheless needs a sense of publicly protecting what is to be valued or, preserving and renewing collective values against erosion or degeneration. Recognizing this “swarming becoming” aspect of education also requires that some part of education must necessarily desist from totalizing and authoritarian demands. For education to be properly *educational*, it must exceed the demands of authority for consensus and conformity. There is always this tension between the need for unity and coherence and the essentially open nature of education that says that problems should not be resolved at all; problems should be *established* (Rømer 2011, p. 504). Everything that is publicly loved, protected, nourished and associated with a swarm of appearances always has a *shadow*, a form of anti-matter, because love is always a part of a dispute. What appears or swarms around a public or “loved” topic is inextricably linked to, and materializes out, of its opposite. For Rømer (2011), the place between “is” and “is not” is where thought can appear, and where the world happens.

The lived, temporal and sensual realm of face-to-face relations in education constitutes a key generative locus for our work. Understanding educative processes as swarming-becoming, sensual, or excessive experiences of lived relationality can help us conceptualize a role for higher education as formative for local and global public realms. Revisiting specifically “educational” arguments helps us to understand education as an affective ethical experience that binds subjects to values that exceed the instrumentalization and capture of their experiences. Individualistic desires and optimisms may turn out to be “cruel”; hence the need to protect publicly the topics and values that we love. The face-to-face, experiential and emergent dimension of the public cannot be contained by any defined agenda (including our own), but this indeterminacy is, in itself, immeasurably valuable for resisting the neo-liberal reorganization and closure of educational life. The generative and irreducible characteristic of education is crucial to our collective commons. It nourishes and is nourished by this character, and countermands neo-liberalization as the globalization of “nothing”; the insidiousness of the latter lies not only in its ideological, economic or financialized character, but particularly in its ability to enrol and annex subjectivity through the exploitation of individual desires and optimism. Its method and efficacy are procedural, becoming embodied in students and faculty through the disciplinary habitus of distracting, divisive, competitive and paranoid audit cultures.

Alternative ethics of higher education need to recover alternative ethical and moral economies that are capable of pushing back against the monolithic globalizations of audit and competition consuming our higher education systems and subjectivities, and favouring more co-creative and democratic alternatives. To return “education”, to the conception of academic freedom, is to reinvigorate a certain autonomy and openness to the heteronomous field of global higher education. It serves to keep other possibilities open, and to resist the zero-sum mentality and destructive competitiveness that is eroding collegiality, the academic commons and the very possibility of education as an idea in itself.

CONCLUSION

Ethical Internationalization(s) as “Something” for Higher Education

This contribution opened with George Ritzer’s (2007) idea about globalization, and suggested that ethical internationalization might involve the globalization of “something” over “nothing”. The definition of “something” involved complexity, spatiality, temporality and humanity. “Something” must be endogenously conceived and controlled, and associated with meaningful human relationships. Ethical internationalization might therefore seek a vision of higher education that is “magical, humanized and humanizing” while engaging in critique and dissent against that which tries to render higher education disenchanting, dehumanized and dehumanizing.

There are good reasons for arguing that we need to approach higher education policy and practice in ways that pay more attention to the central work of education. Honouring the specific gifts that educational philosophy can potentially bring helps to inform our attempts to educate for social justice, while taking seriously the challenge and gift of human and cultural diversity. As Gert Biesta (2014) argued, education is a “beautiful risk” that is worth taking. How can we think about this beautiful risk of education as a driver for ethical internationalizations and internationalisms? The challenges posed by human diversity—burdened as it is by the cultural, economic and political weight of historical and structural oppression and inequality—are very large indeed. We may find it difficult to criticize “our” higher education, especially while it seems to be in crisis, either because of a fear of cultural suicide, or because

higher education embodies imperfection within a perfectionist culture. We may be fearful for the status and coherence of higher education and our very institutions, but perhaps the opposite is the case. Imperfection is a central property of education that confers legitimacy and purpose to any struggle to realize social justice (Todd 2009). The appreciation of imperfection provides an impetus to face wrongs and realize the social justice that we do not yet enjoy. It is precisely this imperfection that gives us hope that higher education can contribute and fulfil a special purpose—that of enabling students and academics, and affording them the freedoms to face injustice and fulfil their obligations to respond, think, understand and act.

Writing about globalization, Michael Shapiro (1999) reminded us that it is necessary to recognize historical political wrongs and to empower those segments of the social order that have not flourished, even within what appear to be “impressively continuous” constitutional histories; for example, in India, or with newer experiments in constitutionalism such as South Africa (p. 124). Within globalization, the political sphere constantly demands to be enlarged—to give space to the previously excluded, as well as mobile identities. We need conceptual and political strategies that are able to work within and across borders, to define political communities and work to protect humanity in new ways. Shapiro (1999), as Biesta (2014), turns to Jean-Luc Nancy for a conception of political community that is constituted through shared recognition for incommensurable modes of presence (Shapiro 1999, p. 126). This view differs somewhat from the Habermasian conception of higher education as part of an ethical public sphere (McCarthy 1981), which assumes a certain boundedness of the public sphere and political community constructing a communicative consensus—even a cosmopolitan consensus consisting of encounters of difference (Delanty 2011). Education’s openness and imperfection enable us to approach local and global differences with more generativity, hope and responsibility. Our differences oblige us to face our humanity and, in facing our humanity together, we share it and experience its provocation as a learning event.

Autonomous “hacking” communities provide insights into everyday strategies to change global and institutional designs (Mignolo 2000) while also reflexively repurposing our own knowledge practices. Mark Olson’s (2013) idea of “hacking” higher education conjures up a playful, yet strongly practical concept involving dissenting and creative intervention

in university policies, procedures and strategies through teaching, research collaborations and engaged scholarship. “Hacking” encompasses analytical, representational and epistemological interventions (ibid.), not unlike the unruly, affective “commoning” experienced during the processes of the “Maple Spring” in Quebec (Bordeleau 2012 and Massumi 2012). Looking forward, those interested in “hacking” ethical futures for higher education might consider proposals for “Real Utopias” (Newson et al. 2012; Wright 2010) or Barnett’s work on “feasible utopias” (Barnett 2013). Some might even reconsider the *Last Utopia* of human rights (Moyn 2010; Steiner 2002). The verb *hacking* places an emphasis on *poiesis*—processes that enable the sensual potentialities of world making. Academics, especially within the humanities, primarily make ideas (Olson 2013) which take on life in social imaginaries, so why not attempt alternative imaginaries for internationalizing higher education? Autonomous hacking communities (e.g., see www.radicalimagination.org) have already begun transforming the twilight choicelessness of the neo-liberal imaginary into a more diversified and common public realm, populated by real and imagined alternatives.

This piece has largely considered the issues in terms of theories and concepts. We need alternative and more meaningful theories and concepts to inform higher education, internationalizations and ethics, but this urgently requires alternative concepts to translate into practices. We need to shift the framework and machinery of judgement away from the impersonal mechanistic evaluations of the commercially dominated global metrics rat race, in favour of other-wisely informed and humane judgements about what “somethings” are worth pursuing across international spaces. As a community of practising educators, we hope to articulate and translate some ethical possibilities for a future higher education, mindful of the multi-literacies that we need to foster for more democratic, socially just and sustainable shared global futures.

NOTE

1. Lisa Taylor is indebted to Mario DiPaolantonio for conversations that led to the presentation of two coordinated but separate papers at AESA, Toronto (as cited) and greatly enriched the development of her work on impulses to growth in learning (hope, wonder) and their susceptibility to neoliberal instrumentalisation and capture as social effects of optimism and curiosity.

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PART II

Expanding the Role of Higher Education

The Location of the Public Intellectual: Historical and Contemporary Analyses

Ali A. Abdi

INTRODUCTION

The idea of knowledge and those spaces and individuals we associate with it are accorded a special place in the contexts in which we publicly or privately inhabit. The role of public universities in society as depositors of common knowledge and as custodians of public and open opportunities in which ideas are shared, analysis and perspectives are constructed and applied, and debates are formed and appreciated follows a very old tradition that constituted the essence of the earliest institutions of post-childhood academic life. Occasionally, even in situations where there were governances of tyranny, dictatorships, unipower monarchic rules or diminished citizenships, the establishment of academies and, later, universities, and the intellectuals that were professionally or otherwise attached to them, were selectively exempted from the caprices of the ruling class and prevailing state apparatuses, and were, to some extent, free to develop ideas and perspectives that were not necessarily in line with the interests of the power structures in place. In reality, though, opportunities for public debate were limited, especially when they showed a clear potential to interact negatively with the boundaries of the empowered elite. Perhaps

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one of the earliest best-known examples is that of classical Greece and the Academy in Athens, where some of the most revered thinkers in the Western tradition studied, debated and pushed the boundaries of both scientific and public social knowledge.

The Academy was home to such luminaries of Western ideas and knowledge civilization as Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, among others. While these thinkers saw themselves as intellectually responsible beyond themselves and engaged in advanced systems of dialectical imagination, and were, to an extent, tolerated by the political powers of the Greek Polis, there were limits—indeed, lines that should not be crossed. Yet, the space accorded to these public spheres and the debates that characterized them were not that many or that thick, and were hardly applicable to everyone in Athens. In those times, these thinkers were endowed with differentiated types of citizenship that were only applied to select segments of Greek society. Still, as the story of Socrates shows us, sometimes the dangers of creating complex public debates and exercising the right to such debates was not only dangerous, but also fatal (Sassower 2014). Socrates paid for the intellectual freedom he procured for himself with his life but, by challenging the powers of the day, he left for posterity the legacy of defending one's opinions and, by extension, one's rights as a public intellectual whose *devoir propre* critically lives on in stating one's 'truth' and debating its validity with others, not only on behalf of yourself, but in the ancient and contemporary character of the *intellectuel engagé*, who acts on behalf of the wider community that might not be in a position to do so for itself. In Edward Said's (1996) terms, the intellectual's activities must include the capacity to question and, where necessary, even undermine authority.

Indeed, Socrates' life should give us a broad lens on the knowledge shapes and contents that would be professionally or informally attached to the setting of the quintessential public intellectual who, by their devotion to the growth of ideas that generally germinate into desirable blocks of knowledge, elevates the expansion of public citizenship rights. For me, it is such public citizenship that, in my constant desire to analyze the world from an educational development perspective, should contribute to human progress and well-being. Many centuries after Socrates, it was Galilei Galileo who, as a public intellectual in a dangerous religious dictatorship environment, was persecuted for living the life of the public intellectual who engages with ideas and scholarship as contractual, vocational commitments that are used to protect livelihoods in ways which are, by and large, immediate—protections that should be procured irrespective of

any individual or collective violations that are meted out by the system on the learned. As expected, the learned were supposed to serve as liberating public figures that had the knowledge and the necessary commitment to see beyond their own short-term interests and needs. With these general and historical observations on the formation of the public intellectual, I focus next on the potential of globalizing the public intellectual. The chapter continues with select discussions on the decline of the public intellectual, and consideration of the possibility of regenerating both the intentions and the activity of the public intellectual.

Globalizing the Public Intellectual

In a contemporary context, the examples of Socrates and Galileo may be seen as redundant, such assumption usually being discussed in the context of currently dominant academies and universities that are mostly located in the West. This dominance is not, of course, an accidental intervention in recent times but, rather, a direct result of the rise of the West in the past 500 years or so. The processes as well as the nature of this rise and the decline of other civilizations is not the project of this short chapter; suffice it to say here that, as Janet Abu-Lughod (1995) treated the topic in her brilliant work *Before European Hegemony*, the cycle of the historical shifts that took place, selectively aided by emergent possibilities in knowledge and its attached technologies, favoured the West vis-à-vis the rest of the world during the past few hundred years. While that has created a situation where we habitually, even obliviously, reference the experiences of the West in our historico-cultural and epistemic/epistemological observations and analysis, we certainly need to be more intellectually civilized so as to accord everything to this group of people and their old and newly, perforce, acquired geographical locations.

With all knowledge categories and the creation of primary human ideas having a multicentric origin (Abdi 2008; Harding 1998, 2008), one need not belabour the point that, in all human civilizations, the presence of the engaged public intellectual was a staple that characterized them all. Indeed, this should have been an important pre-condition for changes and improvements in systems of governance and advancements in politics, economics and education to take place. In many oral societies, for example, where public debates were conducted outside textual representations, the main category of intellectuals usually consisted of those accepted as holders of wisdom, poets, and traditional historians and philosophers.

The point in the traditional here is very important, in that it stems from the clusters of continuously substantiated indigenous knowledge systems created over time that were experimentally applied to the life contexts in which they had clearly worked for the betterment or sanctioning of community intentions and actions. Those accepted as traditional historians and philosophers in this sense did not necessarily undergo formal education in the way we understand it today, although many traditional, non-Western systems of education that are generally described as informal ways of learning have actually involved significant elements of formalized learning platforms and relationships (Semali and Kincheloe 1999).

From the early academies and communal spaces of learning, and the occasional lone public intellectuals who dared question the social, political and scientific orders in place—and, in many cases, sacrificed so much of their lives to their encounters with the powerful—the world of organized systems of somewhat public higher education slowly moved forward. One of the first formal universities, *Universtà di Bologna* in Italy, established its founding principle in 1088 as a community of learners and scholars whose main *raison d'être* was, systematically and with open curiosity, to study and fearlessly critique the structure as well as the functionalities of society. In this reading, society included everyone and everything that was present within the confines of a given territory but, based on the early continuing growth of early universities such as Bologna and Oxford (granted a royal charter in 1248), it was not long before they realized the need to expand their knowledge and learning platforms to spaces of life beyond the territorial boundaries of their lands. Again, and to stay with the multicentric nature of knowledge history and achievement, the establishment of those early universities was not limited to Europe and its environs, but was also happening in other parts of the world. In many instances, some early universities were extensions of major religions and, thus, were not limited to the critique of society, but also were able to explain comprehensively the prevailing life contexts in place. One of the best-known of these outside the West was *Al-Azhar University* in Egypt, established in 970—actually making it older than both Bologna and Oxford. Still, irrespective of the learning doctrines they were founded on, all these universities, including *Al-Azhar*, were many years ahead of other institutions in their more open-perspective interpretations of religious and secular doctrines and practices.

With the first fully fledged universities in place, it was not long before the first concrete constructions of academic freedom were established in 1153. Clearly, the first university administrators and scholars—interestingly,

with the support of some city/regional state rulers where most of those universities were located—accepted that, in order to conceive of ideas, create knowledge and critique social, political and economic systems, academics and intellectuals should be granted the freedom to interact freely with knowledge. Such free interaction and its explanatory and analytical dimensions should naturally be expected to extend into discussions and conclusions about the institutions that more or less govern our public and selectively private relations. In essence, therefore, matters of academia and the knowledge attached thereto were not exempt to a group of people whose main work was to expand the boundaries of learning for social advancement with the critical understanding that, without such freedom, the activities of those who are best qualified to open up new frontiers of learning would be, at best, stalled. Indeed, as the multidisciplinary thinker and scientist Michael Polanyi once said, academic freedom was the main precondition for the advancement of ideas and knowledge without which humanity would not be able to move forward. Yet others, including the Italian public intellectual par excellence Antonio Gramsci, actually advised us to accept the potential of every man (and woman) to assume and practice the role of the public intellectual (Gramsci 1971). In Gramsci's reading, apparently, the formation of the public intellectual involves wide political and cultural forms that have ongoing public learning potential. No wonder that he was not sure of the social change project, or even the capacity of the professional (those he called organic) intellectuals, as opposed to traditional intellectuals who had less intricate connections with the system. Sven Eliaeson and Ragnvald Kalleberg (2008) agreed that, depending on the circumstances, any citizen can play the role of the public intellectual, and we should not use educational qualifications as a deterministic marker to admit people or deny them entry into these roles in life.

However we locate the public intellectual, the important nature of the university as described above was to become an important inter-space with the potential to create the many frictions that were to occur between those who study societal, political and economic systems and their relationships with those who had the *de jure* and, occasionally, *de facto* power to rule society. Indeed, while rulers rule by arbitrary force, by decree or through political consensus, their interests usually lie in the loyalty of those they govern. Contrarily—or, more correctly, and looking at the context from a different angle—academics use research based 'facts' to make sense of those relationships, and with the selective freedom afforded by the general loyalty that may characterize the general populace, they serve as informed

public commentators whose interest should be the actual interests of the public (Barlow 2013) which, by and large, might not square well with intentions of the ruling class. This, in essence, defines the first elements that led to the coming of what we call today the ‘public intellectual’; that is, an academic or other person (a writer, artist or poet) who preoccupies themselves not only with the scholarly or artistic domains of life, but also deliberately extends their work into the public arena so that it adds a constructive element to the lives of people. This contribution can sometimes come in the form of critiquing government actions that could have a detrimental impact on the lives of people, or it can come in the form of research-based recommendations that point the optimum route to achieving a good policy or programme options. Whatever professional or personal garb they sport, the spectre of those we may call ‘public intellectuals’ is wide. Indeed, from Gramsci’s expanded version to Julien Benda’s elitist genre of the public intellectual as a tiny band of super-gifted endowed philosophers who constitute the conscience of society (Benda 1927/2004), the claims of the story and its practical outcomes are open to interpretation.

Indeed, the English poet Percy Bysshe Shelley’s well-known maxim that ‘poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world’ should speak volumes about the potential impact one category of intellectuals could have on matters in the public arena. To further illustrate this *de facto* power that is indirectly bestowed on intellectuals in almost all societies today, one can look back and check the popularization of the term ‘public intellectual’. Although I am sure they were used elsewhere prior to that, in the Western tradition the term is associated with the Dreyfus Affair in France, when certain intellectuals came together in the public defence of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, Captain Dreyfus was accused of treason by the French government in 1894, with his trial extending into 1904 (Fleck et al. 2009). It slowly came to light that Dreyfus was falsely accused and was convicted of a crime he had not committed. The actions to expose his situation mainly began with the open letter *J'accuse*, from the writer Emile Zola. More support was garnered from other intellectuals, as a result of which Dreyfus was eventually released and exonerated. Basically, in this case, French intellectuals came out as public intellectuals, rather than simply debating ideas and knowledge perspectives in the confines of academe, and entered the public arena in unison to fight a state-sponsored regime of injustices that were also partially textured by racism and the related misfortunes of oppression. Indeed, the ‘public’ in public

intellectuals should, pragmatically, be about the selectively unstable intermediate space between governments and those they govern. The space in which, in most cases, public intellectuals would critique the powerful and protect the less powerful, and make cases for inclusive policies that do not arbitrarily take away the rights of people. As Nelson Wiseman (2013) noted when writing about public intellectuals in Canada, the public intellectual should be an independent critic that can transcend ideologies and focus on the interests of all. In a contemporaneous essay, Maude Barlow of the Council of Canadians, which campaigns for citizens' rights, prefers the label 'people's intellectual', denoting who takes the role of the activist giving voice to those who lack the necessary access to claim their rights (Barlow 2013).

With these debates on the nature and the role of the public intellectual, we can perhaps, here, briefly talk about the nature of power relations that play out between intellectuals, the state and the populace. The reason it is important to highlight this is to have a critical understanding of the qualitative differences between these powers, which seem so massive at first but may not be always necessarily so. The state has all the visible power in its policy prerogatives and can unleash it through its monopoly on security apparatuses that can make their mark on the ground. But, as Michel Foucault (1980), among others, discussed, knowledge is also a form of power to the extent where the two, in the Foucauldian understanding, should be interchangeable in select contexts. Clearly, this is not so in all situations, as we have seen in cases where dictatorial regimes cancel the immediate power of intellectuals by imprisoning them or exiling them. The practice of imprisoning both academics and traditional intellectuals is an almost daily occurrence. To take one continent, Africa, as an example, the two writers who may have had the most impact on the continent's public debates in the past 50 or so years, Chinua Achebe (Nigeria) and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (Kenya), were both imprisoned by oppressive governments for discussing and advancing public knowledge and basic citizenship rights for people. To continue their work, both writers had to live in enforced exile in the West for many years, with Achebe passing away in 2013 in the United States of America. In clearly seeing the multiple locations, as well as the transformative *devoir*, of the public intellectual, both Achebe (1958/2009, 2000), and wa Thiong'o (1986, 2007) not only incisively analyzed the problematic impact of ontological and epistemic colonization, as well as prospects for decolonization, but also then shifted the direction of their critical lenses to the failure of

African ‘post-colonial’ governments who massively betrayed the expected post-independence national project. Still, the imprisonment of such intellectuals by their corrupt governments actually sustains the strength of the less than quantitative power of intellectuals who derive such power by knowing: knowing the nature of rights violations, and having the capacity to explain them and suggest alternatives that can diminish the power of the powerful.

In other instances, intellectuals may suffer more than just going to jail; they could lose their lives for challenging those in power. Beyond the case of Socrates mentioned previously, and moving forward more than two millennia, the one example I like to use here is that of the brilliant Guyanese historian Walter Rodney who, after receiving his doctoral degree from the University of London at the age of 24, penned his magisterial work *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1982). After teaching in Tanzania and Jamaica, Rodney returned to Guyana to become a Professor of History at the University of Guyana. He was prevented from taking up such position and, due to his anti-government activism on behalf of the harshly oppressed working class in Guyana, was killed at the age of 38, allegedly by agents working for the then Guyanese President Linden Burnham. Rodney’s intellectual legacy certainly harks back to those we might, in popularized terms, call ‘legendary’ public intellectuals; those in the mould of Socrates and others who accepted danger, even death, as something not to be avoided in the struggle to defend their rights and the rights of others. This point should not be construed as advocating for a fatalistic outlook in our pursuit of the noble cause of the engaged public intellectual; it simply points to instances where being such an intellectual was considered by the regimes in power as so dangerous that the physical destruction of such intellectual represented to the ruler an important means of social, political or religious survival. Despite these present dangers in certain parts of the world to both the epistemic and professional existentialities of the intellectual, history gives us an abundance of instances when events happened in reverse. Naturally—if I may tentatively use such a term—oppression is not infinite; it is categorically finite. In almost every popular revolution that ended tyranny and rule by a single person, intellectuals—on many occasions in the form of students, situationally constituted as the ‘new intellectuals’ in their contemporary societies—were the vanguard of those revolutions. The best examples of these in the past century should come from Latin America where, in places such Argentina and the Chile of General of Augusto Pinochet, thousands of

Los Desaparecidos (the disappeared) lost their lives for popular freedom. While the cost was high in Latin America and elsewhere—including those who are still being killed or arbitrarily jailed—Argentina, Chile and a few other Latin American countries eventually achieved some form of democracy. Other acts for freedom include the recent uprisings in the Middle East (the so-called Arab Spring of 2010 to 2012), which went against some of the most repressive regimes in the world. These uprisings were mostly led by a collective of Islamist and secular intellectuals and students, and certain popular victories have been achieved, although some of the achievements have been diminished by multiplicities of local and global forces. Still, as Mohammed Bamyeh (2012) noted, the uprisings actually magnified the need for the organized and collective leadership of intellectuals.

Even so, for me and with my own history in mind, perhaps the project of this genre of anti-oppression with the greatest impact concerned the anti-colonial struggles in Africa, Asia and Latin America. These, in almost every case, were, more or less, conceptualized and led by conventionally certificated intellectuals. From a more critical and epistemically inclusive perspective, with special attention to the African case, though, the conventionally trained anti-colonial intellectuals were actually directly aided by a decolonizing consensus from traditional intellectuals that included not only community chiefs, who partially held their positions on the basis of their wisdom and experience, but also those Henry Odera Oruka (1981) would describe as sagacious thinkers and philosophers. While these people had not necessarily been exposed to formal learning systems, they had nevertheless become well-endowed with highly sophisticated but context-oriented analytical and critical capacities that were as good as—and, of course, situationally superior to—any learning elements imported from Europe (Abdi 2008).

Some of the best-known liberation struggles led by intellectuals in the African and Asian contexts included those of Ghana (Kwame Nkrumah), Tanzania (Julius Nyerere), Guinea-Bissau (Amilcar Cabral), Mozambique (Samora Michel), South Africa (Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo), India (Mahatma Gandhi with Jawaharlal Nehru), Pakistan (Muhammad Ali Jinnah), Vietnam (Ho Chi Minh) and many others. With the exception of Gandhi, whose struggle was based in pacifism, these intellectuals not only conceptualized the counter-colonial project but, in many cases, trained themselves in armed struggle and crossed into the battlefield leading military units that eventually brought down colonialism. Among the

well-known names of this genre of intellectual activism should be those of Samora Michel, leader of the Frelimo movement, and his rallying cry *a luta continua* (the struggle continues); and Amilcar Cabral, who combined his armed campaign with the call for cultural revivals of his nation via his ‘return to the source’ praxis (see Cabral 1979). For Cabral, the ‘return to the source’ perspective affirmed the connection between psycho-cultural conscientization (not that differently from the way the phrase was used by Paulo Freire (1970/2000) who actually later visited Guinea-Bissau) and physical liberation.

With respect to any question about blurring the lines between armed struggle and intellectual vocation—or better, intellectual commitment—one needs a comprehensive understanding of the contexts in which these intellectuals were placed. Almost all of these struggles for basic human dignity began with a pacifist or quasi-pacifist project. However, as noted one of the intellectual pillars of the pacifist counter-colonial struggle, Jawaharlal Nehru, there was not (is not now) a single historical encounter where the oppressor voluntarily decided to be nice to the oppressed and benevolently relinquished power. Nehru went on to become India’s first post-independence leader after Gandhi was killed by a Hindu nationalist. With the late Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela was one of the most important combinations of both traditional and professional intellectuals, through his royal birth and formal education. He observed about the limits of pacifism due to emerging circumstances that you may not be able to disavow the armed struggle forever, even when you were culturally and intellectually opposed to it once upon a time. He should have known better as his organization, the African National Congress (ANC), which now rules South Africa, tried between 1912 and 1961 to bring about peaceful change to the political structure in the country (Mandela 1994). That was not forthcoming, hence the creation of *Umkonto we Sizwe* (spear of the nation) as the military wing of the ANC in 1961, with the aim of ending the heinous crimes of apartheid by other means. Combined with the necessary intellectual dispositions of Mandela and his comrades to negotiate from a position of strength, things changed for all South Africans for the better (at least, at the political level). Interestingly, and looking at the issue of colonialism from the other end of the intellectual spectrum, some of the top European intellectuals, including Hegel in Germany and Renan in France, actually justified the conquest and exploitation of Africa and other colonized locations on the basis of fabricated analysis that had no platform of reliability or even guesswork (Abdi 2008).

The Decline of the Public Intellectual

In any context where openness to new ideas and unconventional perspectives could thrive, the role of the public intellectual is essential. In institutions of higher education, the role of the intellectual should be made more clear. The widely diffused nature of the university should be responsive to a context where ample space is accorded to the planting of ideas and the growth knowledge, thus concretizing the creation of citizens who continually add value to their societies and to the world around them. Lately, though, the ideological lines in the public space seem to have become more complicated. This is especially so with the advent of the pervasive arrangements of neoliberal globalization which are responsive to the earlier and relatively recent ideas of subsequent clusters of conservative intellectuals. For example, David Ricardo, Friedrich Hayek and, later, Milton Friedman, via their rationalist, enlightenment-driven, modernist thinking, saw the world through economic screens. Such neoliberalist intellectuals in the West have acquired a higher political—and, by extension, policy—currency during recent decades with educational and social and development perspectives that have now been spread across the globe. In their world—irrespective of which strand of government is in power in Washington, DC—they continue preaching and pursuing their determination to achieve monetarist reductionism where all categories of vie quotidian are placed under and explained via such ideological lenses. That should not be too surprising as, by and large, different groups of intellectuals drive select theoretical and practical assumptions and programmes that fit their ideological inclinations. From my reading, here, while I can understand and epistemically tolerate the different positions people take, I subscribe to an intellectual perspective that disagrees with the assumptions of conservative thinkers who adhere to conceptual and theoretical origins that heavily favour the wealthy and the powerful, and who are willing to justify what is clearly a dehumanizing ‘survival of the fittest’ global neoliberal system that is marginalizing so many people in the world (Harvey 2007). While the ideological debates should be expected, the situation can actually worsen, especially when intellectuals from different thought streams—including university-based academics who are generally, though not always, accorded more evidence-based credibility in their observations and analysis—become literal media weapons-for-hire. By so doing, these media invitees and consultants speak on a profit-driven consultancy advisory basis; not only do they advance a certain agenda, but are willing

to reconstruct realities and reconfigure facts so these fit the cause of the (mainly) media companies that hire them. This is when, as Noam Chomsky (2004) noted, the media, especially the American media, became one of the most effective machines for misinformation and miseducation.

Indeed, those who have access to the United States-based news channels such as CNN, MSNBC and the Fox News Channel, among others, need not belabour themselves to get this point. By turning on these media outlets, and with a modest dose of intellect and pragmatism, viewers can immediately discern the de-ethicalized exhortations of the invited university and media intellectuals who are on many occasions led to their answers by the hosts interviewing them. For the sake of inclusive public knowledge and representative public affairs, this genre of intellectual could have been counter-balanced by the many truly equal opportunity critical intellectuals who are exiled from the news studios, together with the likes of the late Edward Said and Maya Angelou, Cornel West and Noam Chomsky, among others. Those who are arbitrarily labelled as not supportive of US domestic or foreign policies are hardly likely to be invited for an interview, even when they are the leading experts in the domains under discussion. With this being so, we are at the mercy of narrowly constructed ideas and snippets of information that are not concerned with the public good. Rather, they actually and wilfully construct a phantasmagoria of individualization through which, by means of reconstructed categories of neoliberalist economic exhortations, we are all advised to serve the interests of the corporate elite and those branches of the government that actually facilitate this arrangement (Saul 1995). Indeed, it may be high time to de-shelf Benda's brilliant and topically polemic disquisition *La trahison des clercs* (treason of the intellectuals) (1927/2004) where, at least in certain historical instances, the ideological tribalism of the intellectual class and the opinion makers among them actually created more misery and more destruction in their communities and beyond their societies.

I do not need to extend myself too much into this topic at this point but, if we can simply examine the real causes of this hour's global problems without justifying any resulting human misfortunes and actions, we can clearly see the ideological positions of so-called partisan intellectuals in the past 30 or so years. From there, we could literally draw a straight line analysis of the origins of some of these 'intellectual's' fabricated stories to destroy peoples, lands, even entire countries, mainly on the basis of counter-humanist, atavistic feelings they could not overcome with everything they read or learned. As a snapshot of this, do some of us remember

the destruction of Iraq from 2003 on the pretext that it possessed weapons of mass destruction? It was, of course, all false and came about through the so-called ‘architects of the war’ who advised former United States President George W. Bush and his Secretary of State, Colin Powell, his Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld, and his National Security Advisor, Condoleezza Rice. The architects included Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Perle and Douglas Feith, among others, who knew the situation had been falsified; they would actually all qualify as high-achieving academics and intellectuals. Just to track the intellectual/academic life of only one of them very briefly: Paul Wolfowitz, who received his PhD from the University of Chicago, served as the Dean of the Johns Hopkins University’s School of Advanced International Studies. After the destruction of Iraq—which had the highest per capita educated middle class in the Middle East prior to the 2003 war—Wolfowitz was appointed President of the World Bank by George W. Bush. He is now a resident scholar at the right-wing think tank American Enterprise Institute (AEI) in Washington, DC—specializing, to my astonishment I must admit, on Africa and international development. Indeed, this should be a classic case of the treason of intellectuals and, as I write this work in early 2015, what we may aspirationally call the noble intentions and practices of the public intellectual are increasingly at the mercy of narrowly constructed rationalizations and individualizations of life where the interests of the public, or those of other innocent peoples, are no longer even the business of some public institutions and their learned thinkers.

Despite the continuing *trahison* of many intellectuals, including some with direct access to powerful policy platforms (e.g. the Iraqi case), we should not yet despair of matters for, as Chinua Achebe (2000) taught us, there are—now and always—immediate issues at hand that need attention, and we should not accord too much time to the downside of life, as that will not solve our current and coming problems. Still, the continuing, humanistically inverse growth of the power elite in the way so brilliantly discussed by C. Wright Mills in his magisterial small work *The Power Elite* (1956/2000) is no longer an issue for debate. Indeed, as Janine Wedel, in her excellent books *Shadow Elite* (2009) and *Unaccountable* (2014), observed that, just like old times, not much has changed in this system of hoarding power and money; only, this time, it has become even more global and continually complemented by two-way public-private streams that interchangeably move back and forth between government jobs and facilitated appointments in big corporations. It should have been here

where one would expect the well-intentioned public intellectual to intervene on behalf of those who may not be as well-endowed to challenge the normalization of a world where the top economic 1 % now owns as much of the remaining 99 %. Certainly, it is this extreme massification of the have-not system which sustains, in real time, what is stylistically called the ‘global precariate’ at the mercy of global plutocrats who, in Wedel’s terms, are very adept at taking care of each other (Wedel 2009). The story of the groups (99 % versus 1 %) is no small matter and should not simply be dismissed as a simple stroke of luck (it is most definitely not), the reward for hard work, or the outcome of some gifted intellect (it is most definitely not); rather, it is the result of historical and current injustices that have created the world in which we currently live. As the engaged Indian public intellectual Arundhati Roy noted in her book *The Algebra of Infinite Justice* (2002), when the rights of people are taken away without recourse, we have a world that is constructed on the normalized violations of both our ethics and viable immediate existentialities. With these problematic realities so visible, where are the new public intellectuals who, like those earlier generations—irrespective of their professional or independent attachments—should see their *raison d’être* as at least partially constituted through the sacred *devoir* of challenging the powerful and forming the vanguard for the liberation for the disempowered?

To provide only a partial answer to the question, one could selectively consult the excellent analysis in Russell Jacoby’s *The Last Intellectuals* (2000) where, through the restrictions of corporatized academia, the intellectual is actually decoupled from their public. As Jacoby noted, the American generation of post-war intellectuals is almost extinct, mostly replaced by those serving particular special interests. The special interest intellectuals analytically include many university-based academics who do not write for the public good but, rather, for promotions and recognition within their own institutions of higher education. This represents a regression of sorts, especially for those of us in the social sciences which, as Craig Calhoun (2008) noted, were majorly constituted as quasi-rebellious areas of study and inquiry to expand public knowledge and to critique society and its affiliated institutions. Again, this is when the number of so-called ‘academic intellectuals’ has probably increased by about tenfold since the 1950s. As Jacoby (2000) notes, though, numbers do not necessarily reflect a higher commitment to, or a qualitative rise in, the desired locations of the public intellectual. What we can clearly see is that while there may be more than 100,000 American sociologists, hardly any of

them reflect the scholarly courage and public intellectual commitment of C. Wright Mills. In my reading, as well, none of these seems to demonstrate the towering public space presence of the brilliant African American intellectual W.E.B. Dubois, whose numerous seminal works include his anti-racist, counter-hegemonic, excellent disquisition *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903/1994), which became—and remains—essential reading for those interested in the structure and the intersections of ongoing human oppression, and the opportunities for subjective and historico-cultural liberation. Indeed, as Cornel West (2004) noted, the creation and the sustenance of democratic societies requires an important historico-actual reading that excavates the archaeology of oppression and suggests new non-discriminatory ways of moving forward. Without that, West and other non-conformist intellectuals understand, we will only modify the surface contents of things without changing the elemental structure of the societal problems we face. Let me clarify my point here on ‘democratic’ societies, lest I sound as though I am idealizing the type of mostly rhetorical ‘democracies’ we are all exposed to today. Without qualifications, my desirable democratic locations actually align more closely with the more inclusive types that any anti-hegemonic and decolonizing intellectual should seek out; that is, those democratic possibilities critically described by Chantal Mouffe (2009) as actively deliberative, often conflictual, and, I might add, even potentially free-hands pugilistic.

CONCLUSION

The task at hand here is too complex to be concluded and, while I have to disengage from this writing within the next two pages or so, the conversations among us must continue on this topic. With my provisional conclusion, therefore, let me say that, in order to achieve the necessary inclusive societal and viable governance opportunities that always require the praxical liberatory involvement of the engaged public intellectual, we should pragmatically learn from the experiences of the earlier generation and from those of our times especially, seek out ways of establishing a thick connection between the university intellectual and the community intellectual. The community intellectual who is not usually given the proper space in our academic discussions has actually represented some of the most important forces that have viably changed problematic contexts of oppression and exclusion. Certainly, that was the case with the anti-colonial liberation intellectuals I mentioned above. We can also look at the

experiences of African-Americans who, in their long struggle for equity, constantly and successfully blurred the lines between the two types of intellectuals, which for them was an outcome of necessity. In his new book (with Christa Buschendorf) *Black Prophetic Fire* (2014), West referred to some of the most important black public intellectuals, including Dubois and Malcolm X who led the liberation projects of the past two centuries. In discussing these, it may actually be noteworthy that the two public intellectuals who had the greatest impact in twentieth-century black America, Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X, were neither university academics nor directly attached to system-adhering research or related intellectual projects.

While King was formally highly educated with a doctoral degree from Boston University, he was more of the traditional intellectual, even partially in the way that Gramsci would characterize it. In the case of Malcolm X, he dropped out of high school and literally learned in the street where, as he wrote in his memoir *Autobiography of Malcom X* (1987)—referred to by *The New York Times* as ‘an extraordinary, brilliant, painful work’—subjective liberation was to be extended to the social context to achieve the end of oppression. With Malcolm X’s role as a gifted and oratorically powerful community intellectual, he certainly had the advantage of not analyzing people’s lives from afar. Rather, he heard the concerns of the socio-economically or otherwise excluded who, as Shultz (2009) noted, can perhaps give us the best perspective on the conditions of, even the reasons for, their marginalization. It is due to Malcolm X’s public space work, therefore, and despite his at best modest educational credentials, that both Edward Said (1996) and Cornel West (2014) saw him as one of the most important public intellectuals of the last half-century or so. Apropos of which, perhaps, it is time the public intellectual, irrespective of where they are located, should dis-individualize themselves, and, as Said (1996) intended, re-socialize themselves. This would thus create the ‘right’ conceptual and theoretical categories through which to achieve the practical in the tradition of Deleuze and Guattari’s ways of re-communalizing the official and state-controlled categories of knowledge, knowing and doing (Deleuze and Guattari 1987). With this, we may revive the long line of engaged public intellectuals from the Socratic era, through Gramsci and around the active anti-colonial liberation intellectuals, continuing on to Chinua Achebe, Malcolm X, Edward Said and C. Wright Mills, and arrive at the still actively fighting contexts of Cornel West and the recently lost Maya Angelou (1969/2009), who realized how our complex life systems

contain so much that, when operationalized with a mixed dose of toughness and kindness, could liberate us all to achieve both inner and external humanist existentialities and relationships.

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Cosmopolitanism and Ethics in Higher Education

David L. Schmaus

INTRODUCTION

What does it mean to live an ethical human life? It is through having students at a Canadian polytechnic engage with this question that this chapter has its origin. The teaching and learning of practical ethics in higher education is a relatively recent phenomenon. Callahan and Bok (1980) published the first comprehensive analysis of practical ethics and laid the groundwork for its study as part of higher education curriculum. Highly publicized corporate scandals have contributed to the requirement of an applied business ethics course in many business schools (AACSB Ethics Education Task Force 2004). Trends such as advances in healthcare technology and the ethical dilemmas that arise, decreasing public trust of political leaders, and the demand for professional ethicists have all challenged higher education institutions to expand the scope of their practical ethics offerings (Elliott 2007). The content of ethics courses frequently focuses on the application of moral philosophy to problems specific to a given profession. Examples of the ethical frameworks and philosophers used to represent moral philosophy include: the utilitarianism of Bentham (1789/2000) and Mill (1863/2001), the deontological tradition of Kant (1785/2005) and the

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contractarianism of Rawls (2005). The approach taken in the course that provided the focus for this case study was one common to many applied professional ethics courses: the philosophic traditions of deontology, utilitarianism and virtue ethics were presented to the students as frameworks to be applied to the task of resolving common ethical problems arising in their profession (DesJardins 2014). Approaches outside the Western canon as well as relational approaches such as an ethics of care were notably absent (Held 2004). Teaching the course to students from a rich variety of cultural and professional backgrounds led to some disruptive questions. How can ethical systems from other cultures and worldviews, many of which may be practiced by the students in an internationalized context, be integrated into the classroom? How are the ways of being, and ways of knowing, represented by the diverse viewpoints present in the ethics classroom being marginalized and silenced? This chapter summarizes dissertation work (Schmaus 2014) completed in pursuit of answers to these questions.

FOCUS AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The focus of the study was how a cosmopolitan minded approach can be used to transform the learning contexts of ethics education. The idea of cosmopolitanism has an ancient pedigree and has enjoyed something of a renaissance since the early 1990s (Delanty 2012; Kleingeld and Brown 2006; Rovisco and Nowicka 2011). The purpose of this study is to investigate how cosmopolitanism, and the idea of educating for cosmopolitan mindedness, can be used to re-imagine ethics education in a higher education institution. In this context, cosmopolitanism is not envisioned as a solution to the challenge of educating in complex and uncertain times but, rather, as a perspective from which to respond in open and creative ways. A pragmatic focus on the potential implications of the study for the practice of ethics education in institutions of higher learning was maintained throughout.

METHODOLOGY

A case study approach (Stake 2008) was taken, with an Ethics and Society course delivered in a management degree program at a Canadian Polytechnic serving as the focus. Analysis of the course, program and institutional level documentation was undertaken to provide context for the study. Two focus groups with students, as well as interviews with faculty and program administration, were conducted to gather data regarding

current ethics education practices. A cosmopolitan theoretical framework was applied to the task of analyzing the data. This case study pursued answers to the question of how higher education students can explore the possibilities of living an ethical life in a world of plurality and difference.

EXPLORING COSMOPOLITANISM

Cosmopolitanism is a term that defies attempts to define and essentialize it. Kleingeld and Brown (2006) assert “the nebulous core shared by all cosmopolitan views is the idea that all human beings, ... do (or at least can) belong to a single community, and that this community should be cultivated” (para. 1). Hansen (2010) draws attention to a multitude of cosmopolitan themes pursued by scholars using qualifiers such as “‘actually existing,’ and ‘rooted’ cosmopolitanism to ‘discrepant,’ ‘environmental,’ ‘layered,’ ‘realistic,’ ‘aesthetic,’ ‘embedded,’ ‘postcolonial,’ ‘situated,’ ‘banal,’ ‘abject,’ and ‘vernacular’ cosmopolitanism” (p. 152). Add to this “‘strong’ and ‘weak,’ ‘thick’ and ‘thin,’ or ‘strict’ and ‘moderate’” (Hansen 2010, p. 152) and the challenge of conceptualizing cosmopolitanism becomes apparent. From a critical perspective, cosmopolitanism has been described as “naive utopianism, political aloofness, uncritical universalism, moral rootlessness, disguised ethnocentrism, and elitist aestheticism” (Hansen 2010, p. 151). An historical perspective provides a starting point for the task of conceptualizing a cosmopolitan approach to ethics education.

A Short History of Cosmopolitanism

According to Diogenes Laertius (1925), the term “cosmopolitan” originates with Diogenes of Sinope (Diogenes the Cynic): “Asked where he came from, he said, ‘I am a citizen of the world [kosmopolitês]’” (p. 65). As an exile, and political outsider in Athens, Diogenes’ position challenges the Platonic notion of citizenship as shared identity and allegiance to a specific polis or city. By declaring himself a citizen of the world, Diogenes draws attention to the artificial boundaries and dominator hierarchies present in the polis. A critical questioning of custom and a predilection to understand oneself as a member of a moral community that transcends the constructed boundaries of identity, border and inherited tradition are rich legacies of Cynic cosmopolitanism (Hansen 2014). The Greek and Roman Stoics took up this notion in slightly different ways. Stoic notions of cosmopolitanism proposed an expanded polis, the cosmos, as a political

community founded on virtue. Nussbaum (1996) describes the Stoic imaginary of world citizenship as consisting of a series of concentric circles:

The first one encircles the self, the next takes in the immediate family, then follows the extended family, then, in order, neighbors or local groups, fellow city-dwellers, and fellow countrymen—and we can easily add to this list groupings based on ethnic, linguistic, historical, professional, gender, or sexual identities. Outside all these circles is the largest one, humanity as a whole. (p. 9)

The task of the Stoic world citizen is to draw the outer circles toward the center in an effort to recognize all human beings as fellow citizens.

The reinvigoration of cosmopolitanism in the modern era was marked by a sense of moral and political universalism supported by a culture of individualism in pursuit of scientific knowledge (Delanty 2009). The promotion of international law to regulate states, and cosmopolitan law based on individual rights such as the right to hospitality, epitomize the modern cosmopolitan era (Kant 1795/2006). Kant's (1785/2005) second formulation of the categorical imperative is a key insight: "So act as to treat humanity, whether in your own person or in that of any other, in every case at the same time as an end, never as a means only" (p. 88). The universal respect for human beings is a part of enlightenment cosmopolitanism worth preserving (Derrida 2001; Nussbaum 1996). Criticisms of cosmopolitanism as Eurocentric, aloof and elitist also focus on this era. What Mignolo (2011) refers to as the dark side of modernity can be seen in his description of the colonizing role of enlightenment cosmopolitanism: "Western civilization was marching to civilize the world, and cosmopolitanism was its creed" (p. 337). Kant's ethnocentric blind spots (Eze 1997; van Gorkom 2008) and inability to imagine anything other than a European model of citizenship must be considered.

Eze (1997) describes a "scholarly forgetfulness" (p. 103) that avoids engaging with Kant's views on race. Kant's teleological worldview imagines a capacity to cultivate humanity, and the autonomous moral agency that is seen as its essence, to overcome incivility and crudeness (Eze 1997). "For Kant, it is this radical autonomy that defines the worth, the dignity, and therefore the essence of humanity" (Eze 1997, p. 112). An essential human nature is constructed and progress towards the perfection of the rational, autonomous, moral agent is envisioned as the aim of moral education. For Kant, the Northern European male subject is the ideal towards which this cultivation ought to aim (Eze 1997). This ethnocentric, masculine bias

obviously renders enlightenment cosmopolitanism problematic: the equal moral status of all human beings is foreclosed by racist/sexist notions that exclude those not embodying Kant's European ideal.

Kant's moral philosophy plays a central role in the ethics class that is the focus of the case investigated. Braidotti et al. (2013) describe three aspects of Kantian philosophy that are problematic in contemporary contexts including a rationalist notion of the subject, the universalistic assumptions regarding moral values and human rights arrived at through pure reason, and the idea of perpetual peace. Data gathered in the case study suggests that current methods of teaching ethics share the assumption of a rational, autonomous human subject, capable of deriving ethical principles and applying reason to the task of determining a correct moral course of action. This perspective is criticized as potentially hegemonic and conservative of the status quo (Badiou 2002; Braidotti et al. 2013). In calling for a view that is more in tune with actually existing social and political situations, Braidotti et al. (2013) describe a cosmopolitanism that is "concerned with specificity rather than generality, groundedness rather than abstractness, engagement rather than distance, and interaction rather than reflection" (p. 3). Such an approach does not deny the importance of reason but calls on the educator to consider actually existing situations as the starting point of enquiry. This critique proposes a non-unitary vision of the subject that "starts by severing its conceptual attachment to liberal individualism and by embracing diversity and the immanence of structural relationality" (Braidotti et al. 2013, p. 4). The act of embracing diversity and relationality influences the concluding recommendations regarding the process of ethics education made in this chapter. Braidotti et al. (2013) also describe contemporary cosmopolitanisms as addressing a basic tension "between the universalistic, rationalist Neo-Kantian transcendental cosmopolitan models, on the one hand, and the multi-faceted, affective cosmopolitics of embodied subjectivities grounded in diversity and radical relationality, on the other" (p. 2). This contemporary version of cosmopolitanism presents a way of addressing the potentially hegemonic and conservative influence of enlightenment cosmopolitanism in the ethics classroom.

Critical Cosmopolitanism

Delanty (2009) describes a cosmopolitan imagination that "occurs when and wherever new relations between Self, Other and World develop in openness" (p. 53). His work provides the framework for a cosmopolitan critical social theory. Delanty's (2009) approach offers the "foundations

for a new conception of immanent transcendence; it is one that lies at the heart of the cosmopolitan imagination in so far that this is a way of viewing the world in terms of its immanent possibilities for self-transformation and which can be realized only by taking the cosmopolitan perspective of the Other as well as global principles of justice” (p. 3). As opposed to the often criticized cosmopolitanism from above, this contemporary development implies a cosmopolitanism from within. Engagement with a cosmopolitan discourse has the potential to create spaces for students, teachers, administrators and legislators to step outside of their own hegemonic discourses and view the world from a more inclusive perspective. Critical cosmopolitanism emphasizes self-problematization and the transformative possibilities of encounters between Self, Other and World, developed from a position of world openness (Delanty 2009). The individual is transformed from within, and the culture is transformed from within, through engagement and dialogue with new ideas and common problems. Creating opportunities for the emergence of cosmopolitanism from within is a key goal of cosmopolitan learning and education.

If, as Delanty (2009) suggests, a cosmopolitan imagination is required to deal with these common problems, under what conditions can this imagination emerge? Critical cosmopolitanism offers a theoretical stance to address the normative and methodological issues arising from globalization and to cultivate cosmopolitan imagination. Methodologically it “offers both a critical-normative stand point and an empirical-analytical account of social trends” (p. 2). From an educational perspective, critical cosmopolitanism provides tools to analyze the transformations in subjectivity created by encounters between Self, Other and World (Delanty 2009). This approach describes cosmopolitanism as a new conception of social reality, rather than a set of principles or a political project. It answers many of the criticisms levelled at cosmopolitanism as an ideal by conceiving cosmopolitanism as a social reality of the modern world. Cosmopolitanism is seen as a dynamic process, rather than an identity. It can arise anywhere and at any time with an encounter between the local and the global; between Self, Other and World (Delanty 2009). Critical cosmopolitanism views the social world more as a set of loosely bounded relational fields, as opposed to bounded, societal notions of nation, culture and territory. The social world can be seen as a field of tensions in which different perspectives and orientations interact dialogically. The educational implications for creating spaces in which contentious moral issues are engaged are intriguing.

*Applying a Contemporary Conceptualization of Cosmopolitanism
to Education*

Rizvi (2009) suggests that cosmopolitanism is a useful educational tool if we interpret it “not so much as a universal moral principle, not a prescription recommending a particular form of political configuration—nor indeed a transnational life-style but a mode of learning about, and ethically engaging with, new social formations” (p. 254). Cosmopolitan learning encourages students to develop a deeper understanding of their own socially constructed identities with an effort to explore how these identities are influenced through interaction with the rest of the world. The increased interconnectivity, interdependence and complexity of the social world make interpreting these relationalities an important learning task. Creating spaces for intersubjective deliberation helps students explore their situatedness in this complex social world. A reflexive world openness can be described as an orientation to the world that neither retreats into parochialism nor rushes to adopt the culture of the Other. Such encounters create spaces for self-problematization and critical self-understanding that have transformative potential. Delanty (2009) describes the intersubjectivity of cosmopolitan learning spaces as where “shifts in understanding ... arise when both Self and Other are transformed” (p. 11). Creating such spaces for cosmopolitan shifts in self-understanding through education democratizes cosmopolitanism and contests the claim that cosmopolitanism is doomed to elitism. Hansen’s (2011) description of cosmopolitanism as the capacity to integrate “reflective openness to the new and reflective loyalty to the known” (p. 20) helps the student explore, learn from and be influenced by cosmopolitan encounters while remaining prudent about adopting new ideas. The tension created by the encounter of the local and the global, Self, Other and World; the encounter between conflicting ideas and concepts; and the goal of intersubjective dialogue and engagement results in a cosmopolitan learning space.

Cosmopolitan Minded

Todd (2009) describes “tensions operating within cosmopolitanism which come about through its double commitment both to universal rights and to respect for cultural diversity and pluralism” (p. 24). In many ways, cosmopolitanism is a koan that can only be resolved through a comfort with complexity and uncertainty. From an educational perspective,

Todd's (2009) description of the fault lines that characterize contemporary cosmopolitanism calls for sites "of response to human difference" (p. 20) where we face our humanity together, rather than cultivating a predetermined notion of what that humanity is. Such an approach requires an openness to the idea of multiple ways of being, knowing and judging what is just (Todd 2009). What is meant by cosmopolitan minded? Robbins (1998) notes the multiple conceptualizations of cosmopolitanisms as being "plural and particular" (p. 2), and defined by actually existing conditions in particular places. Under such a definition, cosmopolitanism is actualized in limitless ways, in circumstances subject to infinite variety. Woodward and Skrbis (2012) describe a way of conceiving cosmopolitanism "as an emergent and dynamic dimension of social life valuing openness which is based in sets of cultural practices bounded by temporal, spatial and material structures" (pp. 127–128). The ethics classroom is one such actually existing cosmopolitan space. Biesta (2006) expresses one of the most important aims of a cosmopolitan minded approach to ethics as striving for answers to the question of "how we can respond responsibly to, and how we can live peacefully with what and with whom is other" (p. 15). Cosmopolitan mindedness is a pragmatic approach that "asks what it would take ethically to transform the necessity of living together, which we cannot escape, into the possibility of living together well, which we dare not abandon" (Gunn 2013, p. viii). These themes of pluralism, embodied particularity, living peacefully together and responding responsibly, express what I have in mind by the phrase "cosmopolitan minded". Responding responsibly to human difference and participating in the relational task of imagining preferred futures together describe the call made by cosmopolitan mindedness to the ethics educator. Santos (2014) provides theoretical and practical supports relevant to the challenge of educating future managers and leaders in a setting dominated by strict capitalist formations.

Subaltern Cosmopolitanism

For Santos (2014), the most fundamental problem we are faced with at this point in history is "the failure to acknowledge the permanence of an abyssal line dividing metropolitan from colonial societies decades after the end of historical colonialism" (pp. 70–71). Santos (2014) describes a recolonization that takes the form of neoliberal capitalism: "the return of the colonial and the return of the colonizer" (p. 125) as well as a countermovement,

“subaltern cosmopolitanism” (p. 125). Santos (2014) responds to the question of the possibility of a post-abyssal cosmopolitanism:

[W]hoever is a victim of intolerance and discrimination needs tolerance; whoever is denied basic human dignity needs a community of human beings; whoever is a non-citizen needs world citizenship in any given community or nation. In sum, those socially excluded victims of the hegemonic conception of cosmopolitanism need a different type of cosmopolitanism. Subaltern cosmopolitanism is therefore an oppositional variety. Just as neo-liberal globalization does not recognize any alternative form of globalization, so cosmopolitanism without adjectives denies its own particularity. Subaltern, oppositional cosmopolitanism is the cultural and political form of counter hegemonic globalization. It is the name of the emancipatory projects whose claims and criteria of social inclusion reach beyond the horizons of global capitalism. (p. 135, note 44)

A theoretical requirement of subaltern cosmopolitanism is an understanding of the incompleteness of any particular way of knowing. From a subaltern cosmopolitan perspective, one is called to acknowledge that no way of knowing the world can account for all the possibilities that exist in a particular situation. Santos (2007) describes “abyssal thinking” (p. 45) as the division of the social world into “this side of the line” and “the other side of the line” (p. 45). Anyone proposing a way of life in opposition to the Western paradigm is rendered non-existent based on a proposed epistemological inferiority. An intuition of an abyssal line at work in the ethics classroom explains the origins of this case study. The subaltern cosmopolitanism of Santos (2007) has important epistemological implications for the ethics classroom. Subaltern cosmopolitanism embodies a “deep sense of incompleteness” (p. 64), an acknowledgement that no way has access to absolute Truth. “Post-abyssal thinking stems thus from the idea that the diversity of the world is inexhaustible and that such diversity still lacks an adequate epistemology” (Santos 2007, p. 65). Santos (2007) proposes an “ecology of knowledges” based on “the recognition of the plurality of heterogeneous knowledges (one of them being modern science) and on the sustained and dynamic interconnections between them without compromising their autonomy. The ecology of knowledge is founded on the idea that knowledge is inter-knowledge” (Santos 2007, p. 66). For Santos (2007), “knowledge-as-intervention-in-reality is the measure of realism, not knowledge-as-a-representation-of-reality” (p. 70). Dialogue between equals, based on the need for ethical intervention in actually

existing situations, is necessary for inter-knowledge to be possible. How can this investigation of what it means to be cosmopolitan minded be used to further analyze ethics education?

COMPLEXITY AND UNCERTAINTY IN ETHICS EDUCATION

Teaching ethics in actually existing cosmopolitan circumstances, a classroom setting characterized by the complexity and uncertainty present in a diverse and pluralistic setting, was the genesis of this study. The moral philosophy of Western philosophers as the sole source of ethical reflection was seen as an approach that did not engage with the knowledges that a diverse student group brought to the classroom. Further investigation revealed such an approach to be conservative of the status quo (Badiou 2002) and repressive of the rich diversity of ways of knowing and being in the ethical domain (Santos 2014). The approach to ethics education as practiced in the case under investigation was consistent with enlightenment cosmopolitanism and shared many of the same assumptions about subjectivity. The critiques of enlightenment cosmopolitanism that are evident in contemporary cosmopolitanisms are applicable to an approach to ethics education dominated by enlightenment moral frameworks. Classical cosmopolitan themes that are critically preserved in this task include: the Cynic questioning of custom and the dominator hierarchies that they may support, the Stoic notion of belonging to a global moral community, and the enlightenment commitment to universal human rights. Contemporary cosmopolitan critiques of these positions—especially those questioning the notion of an autonomous, independent subject defined by reason and individuality—play an important role in critiquing ethics education practice. Contemporary themes in cosmopolitanism reflect a shift towards particularity, groundedness, engagement and interactivity (Braidotti et al. 2013). It is a mistake to assume that an emphasis on immanence and relationality ought completely to replace transcendence and individualism. A constructive tension between these potentially incommensurable positions creates a cosmopolitan space for learning. The ideas of multiple cosmopolitanisms (Robbins 1998), openness and emergence (Woodward and Skrbis 2012) and an ecology of knowledges (Santos 2014), remind the ethics educator of both the legitimacy of multiple ways of being and knowing in the world, as well as their respective incompleteness. Latour (2004) draws attention to the problem presented by the modern notion of the existence of one cosmos that exists “out there” that can be experienced in

the same way by all human beings. For Latour (2004), the cosmos occupied by human beings is constructed through social relations and, as such, is subject to innovation. “Constructivism is the attitude of those who make things and are capable of telling good from bad fabrications, who want to compare their goods with those of others so that the standards of their own products improve” (Latour 2004, p. 461). Our constructions, including our constructions regarding what it means to live a good life and how to respond responsibly to others, ought to come with an attitude of openness and incompleteness so as not to foreclose opportunities to improve our own products. Attention is turned to how this pluriversal understanding of cosmopolitanism relates to the moral domain and its implications for ethics education.

Ethics and Morals

Appiah (2005) distinguishes between the ethical life and the moral life from a cosmopolitan perspective. From this perspective, the ethical life emerges amid particularities such as family, community and nation state. These immanent, grounded, engaged relations are the building blocks from which one builds a good life. The ethical life is relative, the moral life is universal. The moral life involves responding responsibly to what and to whom is Other (Biesta 2006). The moral life is seen as comprising an important part of the ethical life. According to Appiah (2005) and Lukes (2008), the distinction between the moral and the ethical has precedent in Hegel’s distinction between *Moralitat* and *Sittlichkeit*, and Kant’s vision of universal moral values. Lukes (2008) explains:

In this view, morality denotes something that is both more severe and more abstract; and it is seen as applying anywhere and everywhere. It directs the attention to the duties or obligations I have to other human beings viewed, from the standpoint of justice, as possessors of rights. The ethical, by contrast refers to the values and ideals that inhere in one or another specific way of life—and these will, of course, be multiple and sometimes mutually incompatible. (p. 135)

Drawing a somewhat arbitrary distinction between ethics, the project of living a good life, and morals, normative restraints that have a governing claim on that project, is analogous to the cosmopolitan tension between a commitment to universal human rights and diverse ways of being.

Moral principles are used to envision ways of responding responsibly to others with different visions of what it means to live a good life. Ethics education as embodied in this case study can be accused of assuming that what it means to live a good life has already been determined. The humanist vision of modernity is the unquestioned answer to what it means to live a good life, leaving only an explication of the moral principles necessary to regulate that life as the aim of an education in morality. The civilizational conceit at the heart of this assumption is made evident by the subaltern cosmopolitan vision of Santos (2014). What follows is an initial proposal that goes some way towards imagining a cosmopolitan minded approach to ethics education that takes seriously both the ethical dimension and the moral responsibility of the task.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The first requirement and recommendation of a cosmopolitan minded ethics education is the establishment of ethical spaces for enquiry that recognize the pluriversal nature of the answer to what it means to live a good life. Recognition of multiple legitimate ways of being and knowing in the world is essential to this ethical space. Any conceptualization of a human ideal purged of imperfection establishes a platform from which the less than human can be imagined and persecuted, oppressed, or destroyed. Such conceptualizations ignore their situatedness and the inevitably ethnocentric bias and incompleteness of the ideal. The notion of an ideal human also establishes the primacy of the individual, the ability of each subject to incarnate the ideal, and the location of blame to be assigned when efforts fall short. This creates a situation where actual people are not seen in their own context but, rather, measured in comparison to an ideal. The ethics education envisioned in this study does not strive to cultivate a predetermined vision of humanity but, instead, seeks to create spaces where multiple visions of what it means to live a good life can emerge and be engaged with critically. Todd (2009) calls for a vision of humanity that faces both the positive and negative potentialities within the human. Facing humanity, rather than cultivating humanity, becomes the objective. An ethics education that faces humanity does not explicate what it means to be human but, rather, treats this issue of what it means to live a good life as a problem to be solved: a problem that, due to the pluralistic nature of human communities, is bound to have a multitude of legitimate answers.

The task of facing humanity leads to the second recommendation: to begin with an exploration of the multiple different answers to what it means to live a good life. Students are to begin where they are at by exploring their own visions of a good life. This is a visioning exercise where students are to draw on what already exists within them to declare publicly initial positions on the good life. Critical self-reflection regarding the sources of these visions creates positive openings for the emergence of something new. The third recommendation involves dialogue and enquiry with others regarding visions of the good life in a space of agonistic contention (Mouffe 2000). It is in these spaces that students develop the openness, communication and intellectual tools that they will carry with them into the world. Complexity and uncertainty are to be understood as the milieu of morally agonistic contestation and the skills developed to handle this agonism can contribute to an easing of the frustration caused by this uncertainty. This study recommends the public articulation of one's vision of what it means to live a good life as decided through the application of one's own reflective intelligence. This involves engaging in dialogue regarding this vision with others who may have different visions with an open-mindedness and with an understanding of incompleteness that emphasize mutual respect and concern. Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry (OSDE) (Andreotti 2011) provides a set of principles and procedures that can help the ethics educator create situations where passionate perspectives, and multiple ways of knowing, can find outlines that are legitimated through agonistic contestation with others (Todd 2009). OSDE principles help establish an equality between those holding rival positions and agonistic contestation can be approached from this attitude of equality (Andreotti 2011). This approach emphasizes that how students relate to each other in dialogue is as important as what they learn from each other. Students and faculty emphasize the importance of creating safe spaces for ethical discussions. The ability to engage in productive conversations regarding ethics and morals that avoid the extremes of relativism and dogmatism is an important aim of ethics education. The OSDE methodology aims to equip learners to deal with the complexity and uncertainty that characterize the ethics classroom. OSDE proposes a set of basic principles, a set of procedures and facilitation guidelines to help create spaces that lower the barriers to student participation (Centre for the Study of Social and Global Justice 2010). The proposed principles, procedures and guidelines are recommended as resources to help facilitators develop curriculum and create spaces for ethical dialogue and enquiry.

The professional development resource pack published by the Centre for the Study of Social and Global Justice (2010) is an excellent starting point for this development. The creation of ethical spaces becomes the platform from which explorations of what it means to live ethical and moral lives are approached.

The fourth recommendation is closely related to enhancing communication and thinking skills in the moral domain. A set of moral principles based on Barrow's (2007) approach to moral education is proposed including: freedom, fairness, respect for persons, truth and wellbeing. The choice of Barrow's (2007) articulation of moral principles as a productive starting point for reflection should not be interpreted as a capitulation to the autonomous rational self, tasked with arriving at set of universal moral principles. The ethics education proposed here is based on a relational approach in which moral principles are negotiated in an effort to find ways to live together given the multitude of actually existing answers to the question of what it means to live a good life. A balance between an ethics of justice and an ethics of care is an important part of this conversation (Held 2004). The outcome that is hoped for is the potential for something new to emerge in the context of a cosmopolitan minded approach to ethics education.

CONCLUSION

The shift from conceptualizing cosmopolitanism as a global project to be realized to cosmopolitanism as a mode of engagement with emergent social formations has opened new horizons for cosmopolitan education. The purpose of a cosmopolitan minded ethics education is to help students struggle with the balance between obligations to *thick* relations (the ethical life) and *thin* relations (the moral obligations they have to the rest of the world) (Appiah 2005). Part of this struggle involves encounters between Self, Other and World (Delanty 2009), developed from a position of world openness to encourage the transformative possibilities of critical cosmopolitanism. Dialogue is pursued not to sway another to one's own point of view but, rather, to open to the transformative possibilities of learning from another's perspective. Creating spaces to bring the far near and allowing it to speak in a new voice with a goal of identifying and disrupting false consciousness is a primary objective of cosmopolitan learning. A cosmopolitan minded ethics education helps students to develop a critical understanding of global interconnectivity and to develop morally

by engaging with the cosmopolitan spaces created by agonistic encounters over what it means to live a good life.

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Public Scholarship and Alternative Economies: Revisiting Democracy and Justice in Higher Education Imaginaries

Su-ming Khoo

INTRODUCTION

This chapter critically interrogates the understanding of *economics* guiding higher education globally. It argues that dominant understandings of economics are narrow, reductive and adverse to democracy and social justice, offering alternative economic ideas for re-imagining global higher education. A social imaginary describes the symbolic matrices enabling people to imagine and re-create their social world (Castoriadis 1987). Alternative ideas about *economics* and the *economies of higher education* are discussed in a spirit of re-creating the social imaginary, offering a ground for collective world-making that better articulates democratic and human concerns, while critically challenging neoliberal reforms. Such alternatives do not represent complete solutions to the problems of higher education under neoliberalism, but they are arguably necessary interventions to enable a fuller, more democratic debate about higher education and its roles with respect to democracy, social justice and the common or public good. These alternatives move us beyond the current neoliberal paradigm

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of competitive individualism, to face questions of social justice, the public interest, the role of science, the nature of the academy and, most urgently, how sustainable human development might be secured.

The chapter reflects on experiences in Irish higher education, which have been strongly affected by the 2008 national and global financial crisis. Irish educational reforms unfolded as “a rising tide... [met] a perfect storm” (Conway and Murphy 2013, p. 11). The “rising tide” refers to global expectations about *performance, accountability and results*, which increased expectations and scrutiny of students, colleges and universities. Strategic policy reforms were enacted by executive and line ministries, and educational leadership and the embattled public sector readily complied.

Media debates centred on Ireland’s performance in the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development’s global assessment Programme for International Student Assessment (OECD-PISA) for 15 year-olds, and university (Times Higher and Quacquarelli Symonds or QS) league tables. Educational results coincided, and were conflated, with the country’s economic performance and its compliance with externally-imposed fiscal discipline (PISA study results: An urgent call to action 2010; RTE 2011; Flynn 2011). Ireland’s complete financial guarantee to failing banks, its subsequent bailout by multilateral financial institutions, and imposed austerity policies formed the background to the contemporary redefinition of higher education. Higher education could no longer define itself in its own terms, as reforms were implemented to respond to the exigencies of cascading financial, economic, political and social crises (Coulter 2015).

Questions of democracy and social justice in higher education are entwined with this volume’s theme of “assembling the three -izations of marketization, corporatization and economization”. A democratic, socially just response to crisis and reform might answer to these three pressures, by opening up and pluralizing, the idea of what the *higher education economy* entails, offering alternative ways to think about economics and higher education. While decolonial and anti-oppressive critiques of the dominant, market competitive economic paradigm are highly visible, alternative economic concepts are rarely discussed. Therefore, this discussion outlines different economic ideas about *public goods* and *gift economies*, as alternative starting points for the higher education imaginary.

A key specific purpose for higher education in a knowledge society is to convene the kinds of public discussions that allow ideas to be contested, enabling better democratic choice (Delanty 2001). New theories about public goods that orient economic and educational theory and practice

towards democratic practices and outcomes are therefore highly relevant. To say that higher education is a public good is to suggest that it should be evaluated in terms of its ethical and political roles in fostering a legitimate, sustainable and democratic society.

A discussion of higher education gift economies points to characteristics specific to education. This contribution focuses on three distinctive ethical attributes of educational gift economies—care, creativity and prestige. Due to their unique and asymmetric properties, the politics of gift economies are complex. The concluding section highlights the urgency and necessity of reframing the imaginary towards sustainable human development, drawing insights from current literature on human development and capabilities.

RISING TIDES, PERFECT STORMS AND NARROWING IMAGINARIES

Following eight severe austerity budgets, the Irish government concluded its financial bailout under the *troika's* (European Union, European Central Bank and International Monetary Fund) terms in 2013, and an economic turnaround was recorded by early 2015. Despite promises of tax cuts, welfare restitution and an end to a seven-year freeze on public sector recruitment (Government of Ireland 2014), higher education faces a long era of tight fiscal policy (Whelan 2012), in an economy dominated by high sovereign debt and unresolved fiscal and economic crises in the wider Eurozone.

Conway and Murphy (2013, p.11) explain how wider crises influenced the specific area of teacher education reform. A rising tide of evaluation met a perfect storm of economic bailout, “bad news” from the OECD’s PISA 2009 results (indicating declining student performance in reading, maths and science) and increased political appetite for systematic reform of teacher education specifically, and higher education overall. The *to whom* and *for what* questions of educational accountability became central pivots for reforms. New understandings of accountability reinforced the power of global evaluation mechanisms, while shifting expectations about higher education’s purpose and practice. The reforms focused on narrowly-defined concepts of knowledge and skills, based on measures also employed as indicators of national economic competitiveness. Alternative purposes of higher education—such as fostering students’ cognitive development, enabling democratic citizenship, expanding basic knowledge or maintaining public and common goods—were sidestepped and diminished.

These new higher education accountabilities acted as channels for a general global movement to reform education through standardization and narrowed educational focus (Sahlberg 2007). Standardized measures appear neutral, but they drive feedback loops of social learning, decision-making and action (Fredericks 2014). Indicators (such as the PISA test performance) can work perversely to drive communities away from their own goals. Nearly all commonly used indices and measures of global progress are misaligned with justice, and show a marked lack of attention to ethics (Fredericks 2014).

Conway and Murphy's (2013) account echoes Dale's (2000) general proposition about an emerging "globally structured agenda for education" (p. 436), comprising three interrelated orientations and domains: hyperliberalism in the economic domain, governance without government in the political domain, and commodification and consumerization in the cultural domain. Teacher education was an initial locus of reform, in which the whole social imaginary of education could be reframed in terms of economic necessity, competition and market discipline, as teacher education programmes were re-organized, expanded and professionalized. Financial hyperliberalism was vindicated with the political guarantee socializing financial market losses and imposing public spending cuts to compensate for market errors. Governance was enacted without government as the state sought greater control over educational purpose and results. Funding cuts assigned ultimate authority to global and local market forces, defined as league tables, industry employers and student-consumers. Teachers were judged by how well they aligned students with competitive labour market trends, while students were re-framed in terms of consumerized services, marketing and quality assurance.

Economic austerity, imposed after 2009, justified a state rollback from publicly funding higher education. The government did not rescind the "free fees" policy, but massive increases in student co-payments were justified using the OECD consensus—that higher education represents a private investment by individual students, since a degree leads to higher lifetime earnings. The policy language and focus shifted to frame students as consumers demanding value for individual investments, and higher education institutions began to justify themselves in these terms (Grant Thornton 2014; Department of Education and Science 2009; Department of Education and Skills Strategy Group 2011).

Although public budgets declined, student numbers, research importance and bureaucratic demands increased. Increasing time and resources

have to be devoted to complying with new norms and procedures governing teaching, research, administration and evaluation, and aligning research and teaching to global league tables for publication, reputation and student satisfaction. New information and management systems have been introduced to engineer this alignment, using costly tools and services procured from for-profit companies. These management and evaluation tools have tightly bound academic institutions into a global, competitive market discipline, centred on metrics and league tables, which are largely commercial proprietary products.

A generalized competitiveness ethic has bitten deeply into Ireland's small higher education system, containing seven public universities, fourteen public Institutes of Technology and a small number of private non-profit and for-profit entities. All but the largest and most prestigious institutions and disciplines felt existentially threatened by the reforms known as the *landscape process* (Higher Education Authority 2012). Researchers and institutions have been forced to compete for students and research funds, instead of collaborating to form a nationally cohesive, democratic education and research system. The scope of research has dramatically downsized and narrowed, as a national research prioritization exercise reduced the national research agenda down to fourteen enterprise related topics in applied science and technology (Research Prioritisation Steering Group 2011), to the dismay of many leading scientists (Jump 2015).

Staff numbers in higher education declined by about 10 % between 2007/08 and 2014/15, while student numbers increased by about 15 % (Jump 2015). Another report found that student numbers had increased by 26 % in the five years up to 2011, and expenditure rose by 6.5 %, but state grants to the sector fell by 25 % (Grant Thornton 2014). Forced to do more with less, the higher education sector faces a competitiveness dilemma as growing student numbers and shrinking funding forces down their competitiveness and quality indicators. Research and teaching have become less intrinsically valued, being largely evaluated in terms of the quantity of funding attracted. University fees were abolished in 1997, but free fees had begun to erode several years before the crisis began. Initially, small co-payments increased rapidly after 2008 (Department of Education and Science 2009). As state contributions decreased, student co-payments trebled: from €825 per annum in 2007/08 to €2750 in 2014/15, a relatively high fee by EU and OECD comparisons (OECD 2014, p. 271). New national initiatives were launched to market higher education as an export, recruiting more international students paying higher fees (High-Level Group on International Education 2010).

Two discrete modalities of neoliberalism can be identified: *roll-back neoliberalism*, which involves cutting public funding and dismantling state institutions, and *roll-out neoliberalism*, which involves active state intervention to enhance corporate interests (Peck and Tickell 2002). A combination of roll-back and roll-out neoliberalism characterizes the consensus shared and promoted across the wealthy industrialized OECD nations—a retreat of the state from public funding and public purposes, while rolling out initiatives to re-shape a “knowledge economy” that delivers added value to private sector actors. This reconfiguration requires the state to take direct control, or indirectly to steer, what were traditionally highly autonomous institutions, using market-friendly mechanisms.

The concept of the knowledge economy ties together different elements, pushing forward a technocratic vision of higher education as the key element in a national economy struggling to recover its position as a globalized competition state (Cerny 2007; Kirby and Murphy 2011). Faced with simultaneous and potentially competing financial, economic, political, consumer and academic demands, higher education institutions respond by realigning divergent demands into a corporate-academic synthesis of “bureaucratic excellence” (Readings 1997). A formalistic cultural coherence unifies disparate elements by reframing higher education as “edu-business” (Luke 2010, p. 47), offering national and global economies the promise of a return to financialized market growth, underpinned by a new credit bubble of personal (student) debt in partial replacement of the super-profitable, but sometime busted, property bubble (Collini 2012). However, no comprehensive system of student financing has emerged in Ireland to bridge available state financing and the actual cost of higher education, resulting in considerable financial uncertainty and difficulties for both students and higher education institutions.

The redefinition of higher education’s role was primarily steered by high-level groups directly appointed by government, involving little or no open deliberation or even consultation. Consequently, there has been little space to discuss higher education’s role in creating or negotiating a public social imaginary to respond to the crisis. Higher education’s role in constituting a public space in which collective material or ethical goals are debated, the public sphere (Delanty 2001), and its direct role in providing public goods were simply ignored (Glenna et al. 2014).

The public good aspect of higher education concerns the generation of collective and public goods and their role in a flourishing social democracy. Social democracy mandates the expansion of higher education as a

collective good. Public subsidy ensures that the benefits of expansion are not captured by the advantaged, leaving the disadvantaged behind. Across the OECD, a higher education policy “trilemma” is becoming increasingly salient as the social-democratic objectives of expanding enrolment and enhancing equity are pushed back by the third requirement: to reduce the overall public cost of higher education (Ansell 2008, p. 189).

In Ireland, access schemes to benefit socio-economically and disability disadvantaged students expanded, even during the austerity years of 2009 onwards. These schemes offer reduced entry thresholds for admission, while mandating a higher per capita state payment as an institutional incentive and to cover the higher cost of supporting disadvantaged persons. However, generic access schemes targeting students near the entry threshold have tended to displace programmes focused on smaller numbers, but with deeper social justice functions, reaching further below the entry thresholds to identify and support the most deeply disadvantaged individuals and groups. There is no available research on the combined effects of access expansion and general cost reduction on patterns of access to Irish higher education, or how this interacts with trends in social inequality or mobility overall. Growing undergraduate numbers, narrowing student access to fees and grants, and declining public funding to higher education institutions have combined to produce intense competition between institutions for market share and noticeably increased marketing activity. Taught postgraduate recruitment has significantly declined, while research postgraduates, especially in the under-funded social sciences and humanities, have shifted towards part-time study. Students are effectively subsidizing research with paid work, in the absence of a working student loan system. This will probably negatively impact competitiveness indicators, which value full-time students, student satisfaction, high completion rates and short research completion times.

PLURALIZING THE ECONOMIC IMAGINARIES OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Increasing pressures mean that there is an urgent need to debate possible models for higher education and the critical choices to be made in responding to capitalist crises. There is a choice between the Anglo-Saxon market-liberal model which sees education as a private, individual good and the socially coordinated European and Scandinavian models which assign democratic, social solidarity and human development functions to

education. The Scandinavian model regards higher education as the core element of an active labour market that responds to downturns in the business cycle by investing in people's capabilities.

The socially coordinated alternative prioritizes social-solidaristic public investments in individual and collective capabilities and welfare. This model defines high floors for social welfare, prioritizes inclusion and enacts the principle of solidarity as a basis for national competitiveness. Progressive social supports mandate the development of individual capabilities through generous state support for advanced education, because individual capabilities are also seen as collective social-democratic goods and as fundamentally compatible with highly innovative, responsive and productive advanced capitalist economies (Miettinen 2012).

The present crisis has pushed the Anglo-Saxon model to the fore, with advocates using the crisis itself as a tool to deepen the model and opportunistically erode public support for welfare, solidarity and social justice. In higher education, the imaginary of a national public education and research infrastructure (the latter only newly established in Ireland in 1999) have been rapidly displaced by a neoliberal social imaginary, constituted through *doing neoliberalism* (Ball 2012). Higher education institutions have remodelled themselves using the image of globally competitive firms, enacting market-based hierarchies and exclusions. In a "lightly regulated market in which consumer demand ... and choice ... [are] sovereign" (Collini 2012, p. 25), the most competitive market leaders are the most highly capitalized institutions, with the most established and recognized brand names.

The Public and Public Goods

An alternative discussion of higher education's economic role connects the knowledge economy to ideas of the public good, public goods and the constitution of democratic societies. Dewey's (1916/2007) conceptions of democratic education, and Habermas' ideas about education and the public sphere offer a basis for debating citizenship and the public purposes of higher education (Biesta 2009; Lock and Martins 2009). Kallhoff's (2011) recent work expands Dewey and Habermas' expositions of education's role in constituting democracy and the public sphere, focusing on *public goods* as particular kinds of goods that provide the "material conditions for the generation and regeneration of the public" (p. 41). Higher education acts as a public good when it provides people with opportunities

to encounter each other, forming *mutual awareness*, underpinning this awareness with a sense of *institutional reliability* and by providing *opportunities to experience equality*. Kallhoff (2011) develops the classic definition of public goods as a special class of “non-rival” and “non-excludable” economic goods, re-naming these principles as “basic availability” and “open access”. To be “public” in Kallhoff’s (2011) definition, goods such as higher education need to be “basically available” (p. 20), affording every person access to the same amount and type of benefits, up to a defined point. Advanced societies face the question of what this “defined point” is—essentially whether everyone has the basic right to higher education, and to what given level and quality? “Open access” means that barriers to entry must be the same for everyone, defined in an impartial manner. For example, the Irish Leaving Certificate points required for admission to a given higher education programme are impartially defined, yet disadvantage prevents many people from attaining entry. Since this could jeopardize “basic availability”, access programmes enable applicants from designated disadvantaged social groups and schools, or with a recognized disability, to enter with lower scores. The existence of these programmes indicates that higher education assumes some characteristics of a public good.

Public goods constitute and enhance social democracy when they act as *connectivity goods*. Connectivity goods give rise to desirable patterns of interaction by creating mutual awareness and experienced equality. Higher education acts as a connectivity good when it convenes staff, students and the general public at events, on physical campuses or through virtual spaces in ways that enable interactions on the basis of respect and equality (Kallhoff 2011). *Spheres of reliability* are constituted by institutional settings that help people to make sense of the world and act in it. Shared understandings that are informed by accessible explanations, research evidence and scientific consensus have a strong role in constituting a public sense of reliability (Kallhoff 2011; Khoo 2013).

New public goods theory critiques and extends conventional economic assumptions about public versus private goods (Bozeman 2002; Khoo 2013). New public goods theorists begin by asking if the market is really the most effective and efficient mechanism for evaluating and providing different types of goods. They question the nature of the private-public goods dichotomy, since this is neither a given nor self-explanatory, but is a political artefact (Marginson 2006, 2007, 2013). New public goods theory suggests that public debates concerning the value of important

social goods need to be radically democratized. Goods that have intrinsic, social and political worth independent of their relationship to markets and the private sector must be protected and provisioned as a matter of social decency, fairness and democratic legitimacy. Furthermore, new public goods theory explicitly recognizes the linkages between public goods, equity, human rights and sustainability (Khoo 2013).

*Market and Non-Market Goods: Knowledge, Science
and the Commodity Form*

The knowledge economy's central assumption that knowledge is a commodity like any other is problematic. Karl Polanyi (2001) offers a critique of liberal capitalism's economistic fallacy (Jessop 2007), and provides a link to debates about sustainability. Revisiting Karl Marx's argument that market economies require nature and people to be commodified as land and labour, Polanyi (2001) argues that the closer the world gets to an ideal-typical market society, the more intense the pressures become, as the human and natural substances of society get consumed. Land and labour are *fictitious commodities* because it is "emphatically untrue" that people or nature are produced for sale. Even if they may take on the commodity form (Jessop 2007, p. 119), nature and people have both *intrinsic worth* and *use-values* prior to being appropriated, commodified and sold. This theory of fictitious commodities highlights the tension between market, natural and social realities. This tension leads Polanyi (2001) to posit his oft-cited theory of the double movement, between the market's demands for disembodied commodities and real needs for some form of regulation or social protection to preserve human and natural life. Should higher education reforms foster the disembedding and commodification of persons and nature, or should it strive to preserve use-values? It is likely that commodification will lead to a collective degradation of the environment and an intensified exploitation of people.

Knowledge is a similarly fictitious commodity, produced for reasons (use-values) separate from commodity exchange. It is often produced in ways that are not amenable to market pricing—for example, through lengthy processes seeking truth, satisfying intrinsic curiosity, or asserting cultural worth, for individuals or collectives. Knowledge is not inherently scarce as it increases quantitatively and qualitatively with use, rather than being diminished or used up. It can only acquire the commodity form if a mechanism exists to limit access and render it artificially scarce.

As knowledge becomes commodified, the symbolic code governing the use of knowledge shifts from the true/false distinction specific to knowledge to the profitable/unprofitable distinction specific to commodities. In research-intensive higher education institutions, there is a growing importance attached to dedicated commercialization units to effect the transformation from unprofitable to profitable knowledge. However, the importance of the non-commodity true/false distinction cannot be completely erased, since research results and teaching content are expected to be scientifically valid and reliable in Kallhoff's sense of a public good, even if they happen to be partly or fully sponsored by a commercial or private entity that would prefer only profitable research results to be reported and unprofitable findings to be ignored.

The true/false distinction is problematic not only for demands of commercial entities, but also for the political demands of the state. Karl Polanyi's brother, Michael Polanyi, contributed important observations about science (Polanyi 1962). Science is both like and unlike the market. Science appears market-like, being made up of freely cooperating, independent scientists exchanging information. However, science differs from the market because scientists "[respond] directly to the intellectual situation created by the published results of other scientists ... motivated by current professional standards" (Polanyi 1962, p. 55). The *republic of science* refers to the fundamental body of scientific knowledge which serves the common or public good only indirectly and, in the long term, by seeking and advancing knowledge on its own terms. Michael Polanyi argued that the republic of science must not be reduced to state-designated public purposes. He understood why public authorities want scientific advancement to correspond directly to the public interest, given the large investments made by governments in research and education since the mid-twentieth century. However, he argued that attempts to mould scientific enquiry to fit public policy should be restrained, however well-intentioned, because that simply is not the way science works. Michael Polanyi argued that science reflects a wider common interest than that defined by the politics of the day, since the latter only demands particular solutions to selected problems. The development of science itself can serve public interests—say, when it discovers a useful or profitable innovation; however, socially and commercially beneficial innovations are happenstance and unpredictable. Subordinating all science to immediate logics of the market and profit could potentially weaken and block fundamental scientific capacity in the long run. The commitment to scientific values can serve relevant

public goals, but the two are not identical. It is disastrous when attempts to make research fit with commercially or politically defined public goals begin to undermine scientific values in themselves. This would have devastating effects on democracy and the public interest in the long term, compromising science's ability to provide spheres of reliability.

Economics of the Gift

Two scintillating and unconventional works, *The Gift* (2006) by the artist Lewis Hyde and *For-Giving* (2002) by the feminist Genevieve Vaughan, revisit Marcel Mauss' (1966) classic essay in economic anthropology, "*The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*". They pose fundamental questions about the definition and purpose of an economy, suggesting that gift economies have distinct *relational* and *affective* properties that commodities do not. Gifts establish social relationships and the circulation of gifts creates emergent forms of social cohesiveness. Gifts also confer and delineate identity and prestige. Gifts have a definitional association with "community" and "communication", from the Latin root words *co*, "coming together", and *munos*, "gift". Gifts are rooted in relational solidarities of mutual obligation while commodities, by contrast, are rooted in atomized, alienated forms of freedom.

Hyde (2006) argues that works of art and disciplinary knowledges of science ought to be regarded differently from commodities. This is not to say that art and science cannot be commodified, bought and sold, but there is a *gift portion* that constrains merchandizing. Revisiting Marxian theory, Hyde (2006) notes that commodities have exchange value, but gifts have *worth*, or intrinsic forms of use-value. He speaks of the gift as "erotic commerce", *eros* from the Greek denoting "the principle of attraction, union, involvement which binds together", as distinct from *logos*, "reason and logic in general, the principle of differentiation, particularly associated with a market economy" (2006, p. xxi).

Vaughan (2002) roots gifts in a distinctly *feminine* economy of care, creativity and relational ethics. This ethics is sensitively explained by Noddings (2013). Observing that her original formulation of *feminine* ethics generated negative reactions, Noddings defends it by explaining care ethics as rooted in women's experiences, involving relations between the *one-caring* and the *cared-for* that are gendered, nuanced, asymmetrical and affective.

Gift economies are associated with *asymmetry*. The care economy and the ethics of care do not, and cannot, assume the symmetry of free and equal relations espoused by predominant liberal moral and market theory; they are more complex and emotionally nuanced. Noddings (2013) argues for caring as a social condition that we treasure and want to establish and preserve. Equality and justice theorists who follow Noddings' ethic to develop a theory of affective equality in social justice further argue that *love labour* has a specific emotional and affective *caring about* element that is distinct from the generalized work of *caring for*, and the former cannot be commodified (Lynch and Walsh, "Love, Care and Solidarity: What is and is not commodifiable", 2009).

Care ethics involve a reciprocity that differs from contractual reciprocity. Unrelated to payment, care reciprocity is grounded in forms of intellectual and moral receptivity and relational ideals (Noddings 2013). Noddings advocates caring because "[the] desire to be the one-caring in response to the needs of the cared-for ... provides a sound and lovely alternative foundation for ethical behaviour" (Noddings 2013, p. 42). In contrast, Lynch and Walsh (2009) argue that caring constitutes a particular category of labour that is under-valued and under-compensated in the wage economy, noting that the asymmetries between carers and the cared-for frequently involve chains of exploitation and social injustice.

The feminine ethic is a contested idea, evoking ambivalence in discussions of education, ethics and politics. Vaughan (2007) argues that the gift economy is associated with a feminine ethic of care, because forms of creativity and relationality are deeply rooted in the feminine, arguably reaching back to the gift of life itself and role of the feminine in creating and nurturing life. However, this position problematically essentializes the ethic of care, raising questions of how care links to education, especially higher education, and to the situation and role of men within it. For Mauss (1966), gift exchanges established relations of prestige. He explored Malinowski's (1922) account of Melanesian *kula*, a ceremonial form of exchange linking Trobriand island communities in the Western Pacific in networks of peaceful relationships. Ceremonial arm rings and necklaces were exchanged in complex, asymmetrical routes of gifting. These items were never worn, but possessing them conferred prestige (Peabody Museum n.d.). Malinowski and Mauss focused on how gift exchange functioned to establish reciprocal political relations, but Strathern (1988) notes that the mainstream reading of the *kula* gift

exchange failed to recognize the way in which prestige economies appropriated and subsumed the work of women. Prestige was instantiated in men who were the name carriers, givers and recipients of the valued items, but women who made the actual items were overlooked and excluded from the prestige system.

A recent study of academic motivations (Blackmore and Kandiko 2011) argues that prestige is a fundamental motivating factor in higher education, not reducible to economic calculation. Prestige factors involve honour, respect and standing. Prestige-oriented tasks account for a great deal of time-consuming work, which brings little or no direct economic reward—for example, refereeing journal articles, working for editorial boards or conducting external examining. Blackmore and Kandiko (2011) suggest that these are prestige tasks. Other tasks that do not fit with economic rationality—such as supervision, mentoring and writing references—but with little prestige attached, might be better characterized as *caring labour*, having relational and identity-related qualities, but low prestige. Likening it to the Melanesian gift economy, we might say that academic gifts are types of work that circulate in a relational prestige economy, not unlike the Melanesian *kula*. Prestige indicates social standing and esteem but, analogous to Strathern's argument about the Melanesian *kula* economy, Coate and Kandiko Howson (2014) argue that the higher education prestige economy tends to be gender discriminatory. Their research on senior academic promotion processes in Ireland shows that male academics are more likely to accumulate and transact prestige factors. While they remain vague on what these prestige factors are, they contend that women experience academic prestige differently, and find it harder to accumulate prestige currency due to ill-defined and discriminatory exchange rates prevailing in the prestige economy.

A HAUNTOLOGY OF THE GIFT AND THE POSSIBILITIES FOR DEMOCRATIC PUBLIC SCHOLARSHIP

So far, this chapter has reflected on some rather difficult transformations of Irish higher education and discussed, at a very general level, alternative economic principles and use-values that question and go beyond the neoliberal social imaginary based on narrow conceptions of accountability, competition and edu-business. Public goods, science, care and prestige offer critical concepts for discussing research, teaching and other scholarship as use-values with intrinsic worth. This intrinsic worth is tied up

with the role of academic work in constructing and maintaining a broad social-democratic knowledge society, in contrast to a knowledge economy narrowly centred on edu-business.

Re-imagining Bullen et al.'s (2006) discussion of Derrida's *hauntology* in higher education, I reflect on two spectres—a hungry ghost that haunts academia and the zombie economics that threatens global society. The hungry ghost is a metaphor from Chinese religion, a spectre of an ancestor who has not been venerated by her family. The lack of care by her descendants causes the ghost to be voracious, vengeful, insatiable and ultimately tragic. On All Souls Festival each year, families offer food to their own dead ancestors at private altars inside their homes, but also take care to set out extra offerings in public spaces to placate hungry, neglected ghosts that might be roaming about.

A hauntology challenges the knowledge economy to confront its underlying assumptions and reveals some of its contradictions, exclusions and instabilities (Bullen et al. 2006, p. 55). Bullen et al. (2006) point to the haunting of the knowledge economy by risk, drawing attention to the inherent instability of the ruling economic dogma, manifested in the global financial meltdown of late 2008. I point to a spectre haunting the social imaginary of higher education in the form of a hungry ghost of the scholarly gift economy, an economy of circulating gifts that can be both caring and hierarchical, but that remains irreducibly relational.

Thinking of gift exchange as the ancestor at the heart of research, teaching, enquiry and learning both destabilizes and liberates. Instead of leaving this ancestor to roam as a hungry ghost, we could choose to honour and nourish it. The gift economy of scholarship follows alternative economic logics of prestige and giving that are grounded in non-contractual and asymmetric dependence, interdependence, gratitude, honour, need and care (Hyde 2006; Mauss 1966; Noddings 2013; Vaughan 2007). The logic of the gift chimes well with philosophies and ethics of care and education, and responds to the concerns of those who worry that higher education has become *care-less* (Lynch et al. 2012).

In higher education, economic hyperliberalism has been accompanied by undemocratic and consumerist reforms that commodify, bureaucratize and rank persons and activities, while alternative social values have been purposefully side-lined. Neoliberalism has been described by one economist as “the dull and universal compulsion of zombieconomics” (Fine 2009, p. 85). Neoliberal ideas are undead—despite the crises that they have brought on, they remain powerfully capable of converting the

diversity of human and scholarly activities, ideas and values into alienated forms of edu-business.

Against edu-business, we might placate the hungry ghost of the scholarly gift economy, paying attention to relationality, care and prestige, while also acknowledging their asymmetries and taking care with these, by engaging in explicitly ethical forms of peer exchange. Explicitly ethical peer exchange involves the engagement of colleagues, peers and students in an exchange of values and reasons, grounding our relationships in concepts and questions about of what kind of *economy* we operate within. This is arguably an idealistic vision that neither individual consumers nor competition states will fund, but these dimensions of higher education nevertheless provide central use-values that already comprise existing, if unacknowledged, economic dimensions of higher education.

Higher education that is care-less is both impoverished and unsustainable (Lynch et al. 2012). The strongest argument for why higher education cannot continue with business-as-usual is that the current neoliberal paradigm of economy, society and polity is reproducing and propagating *actually existing unsustainability* (Barry 2012). Ecological and environmental factors rarely impinge on discussions of higher education, but the predominant approach that solely focuses on developing economic and human capital is unsustainable. No society which has successfully developed economic and human capital has been able to do it within a reasonable environmental footprint (New Economics Foundation 2012), or with an adequate engagement with social justice. New ways must be found to balance education as human capital accumulation with the protection of natural and social capital. It is now a fact that global progress or development has exceeded the Earth's systemic carrying capacity with four out of nine critical planetary thresholds already breached—biosphere integrity, pollution, ocean acidification and climate change (Steffen et al 2015). Worsening economic and social inequalities have been ignored, failing two out of the three basic parameters of sustainable development—environmental integrity and social justice. Some may argue that this is not a problem for higher education, but the question of sustainable development must be at the heart of any social imaginary that wants to be potentially different from the dominant neoliberal one. Developing and developed societies alike have to face critical environmental and social challenges which are not amenable to simple technological fixes. Instead, they require fundamental social transformation and deeper democratic citizen involvement (Dryzek 2013; Klein 2014).

Higher education should attempt to face the challenge of sustainable development as a global public good, by generating the public and constituting democracy (Kallhoff 2011). New social development pathways are needed which are able to align ecologies, cultures, visions and values (Leach et al. 2013; Ugwu 2013).

Kuokkannen (2007) draws on the Sami example to argue that indigenous thought has a great deal to offer higher education, in terms of understanding and practising a gift logic congruent with the needs of sustainable development, thus making higher education more responsive and responsible in its pursuit of knowledge. Kuokkannen (2007) looks to indigenous gift economies for ways of avoiding an ecological rift between humans and the natural world. In Sami thought, the balance between human and natural worlds is sustained and renewed by the exchange of gifts, but it unclear how similar exchanges would be practised on a larger scale, or in urban and educational settings. Indigenous concepts such as those held by the Sami extend conceptions of democracy and justice towards Earth Democracy (Shiva 2005), incorporating dimensions of environmental justice into social justice. In higher education, these are largely missed opportunities, as indigenous epistemes are marginalized. As Kuokkannen (2007) sadly observes, the studied silence and willed indifference to indigenous knowledge and ways of thinking have excluded the possibilities that could come from a serious, sustained engagement.

INTEGRATING THOUGHT AND ACTION: INTEGRATED SCHOLARSHIPS FOR SUSTAINABLE HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

The urgency of actually existing unsustainability means that higher education must take steps towards an epistemology that is not only more diverse, but also more integrated. A practically integrated approach to work within higher education could help make it more answerable to, and responsible for, the unresolved challenges of social justice and sustainable human development.

A model of integrated scholarships brings together research, interdisciplinarity, engagement and teaching to answer questions of unsustainable human development. Higher education can choose to take on a democratic examination of different aspects of social justice, care and reciprocity, and consider how these relate to a variety of justice and rights-based approaches (human rights, economic rights, indigenous and minority rights, environmental rights and cultural rights). Some combination of

these may offer an integrative imaginary from which to think through, and re-imagine, the mission of higher education.

One influential voice (Boyer, *Scholarship Reconsidered: Priorities of the Professoriate* 1990; *The Scholarship of Engagement* 1996) has called for the re-imagination of *scholarship* to rethink higher education as an ecology of practice comprising research, community engagement, inter-disciplinary collaboration and teaching. Dominant arguments in favour of human capital formation and edu-business have pushed higher education into a crisis of meaning and values, evidenced by the large amount of publications interrogating what higher education is for (Bok 2004; Collini 2012; Nussbaum 2012). Current assessments indicate that attempts to accumulate human capital through educational expansion are currently unsustainable without action to mitigate social inequality and environmental degradation. An integrated approach to scholarship could focus on the central question of sustainable human development, using public goods and care as alternative lines of thought to approach questions of environmental thresholds, social justice or rights. Traditional divisions—between academic theory and practice, between higher education institutions and their communities and publics, between research and teaching, and between the different disciplines—need to be overcome, to enable justice in the context of sustainable human development to become the central focal point.

Higher education can contribute to creating and sharing knowledge as a democratic commons and as public goods, by purposefully broadening its actors and audiences. This will not happen automatically as predominant trends of neoliberal, competitive evaluation cause different functions of higher education to be traded off against each other, and the least profitable to be disregarded. Research, engagement, inter-disciplinary collaboration and teaching should be treated as complementary (Boyer 1990). Basic science and research should not necessarily be valued less than profitable applied research, since it is detrimental if scientific values are eroded. All scholarship, including inter-disciplinary research, teaching and community engagement, can be evaluated in terms of their contributions towards the goals of justice, care and sustainability. Every discipline or subject, pure or applied, students and researchers can be actively engaged in deliberating what has value, according to whose or what perspective, and in asking why a given type of knowledge is worth sustaining and developing.

RE-ASSEMBLING THE CHALLENGE FOR HIGHER EDUCATION: MOVING TOWARDS CREATIVITY, ECOLOGY AND DIVERSITY

Before addressing the practical challenge of re-assembling higher education, the basic challenge is for higher education to recognize the unsustainability of dominant neoliberal assumptions about economies, and to recognize that there might be different ways to think about the economy of higher education.

Hierarchical and competitive reward systems based on narrow, distorted forms of economic calculation have become the global norm in higher education. These are limited and limiting. Alternative, public and social-democratic conceptions of higher education centre on higher education as a public good, with the capacity to constitute the public in important ways. The concept of an academic gift economy recognizes alternative motivations for academic work which sustain the academic community. Academic leadership should engage with alternative economic theories of, and arguments for, higher education if it is to retain and advance its public and democratic character. There are creative possibilities for incorporating democratic and social justice criteria—such as educational access and inclusion, inequality reduction and environmental protection—into the evaluation of higher education. Higher education leaders can explore how such criteria might translate into the evaluation and assessment of activities, staff and students, and take steps to align their thinking and practice according to sustainability goals.

Global norms and performance metrics have made the work of transforming recognition and reward considerably more challenging as performance has become homogenized according to narrow comparative metrics. Little consideration is given to the specificities of context, or to intrinsic goals embedded in the economies of care and prestige. The rising tide of evaluation is both narrowing and autocratic. The intensification of bureaucratic auditing is also expensive and time-consuming in a sector that continues to face austerity. In the face of such trends, it makes sense for higher education leadership to engage in the explicitly re-assembly of their narratives of meaning and purpose, not to simply hand on responsibility to commercial metrics or consumerized students but, rather, to include broader responsibilities for democracy and social justice (Young 2011). Globally, higher education needs transformative change to face

the challenges of sustainability and humanity in an increasingly stratified world, strikingly described by the sociologist Goran Therborn as *the killing fields of inequality* (Therborn 2013).

If democracy requires the production of *central public goods*, capability theory suggests that such goods should help individuals to develop “central functional capabilities” (Kallhoff 2011, p. 74). The *principle of fairness* states that certain goods should be publicly provided if they are essential for a good life, respecting conditions of access and availability, to ensure that they result from a democratic process. However, the production of public goods should not “create a heavy social burden,” (Kallhoff 2011, p. 74) leaving open the question of who should fund public goods and how much is too burdensome. The question of what threshold a society should have for funding higher education as a public good is a fundamental question that all advanced democracies are facing.

Readings (1997) suggested that the traditional Humboldtian model of national public research and teaching universities is *in ruins* due to the pressures of economic and cultural globalization. He encouraged academics to pragmatically “think without alibis” and stop justifying our practices “in the name of an idea from elsewhere” (Readings 1997, p. 168). We have to take control of our own ideas of higher education, without recourse to arguments about some lost Golden Age of higher education. Instead, scholars and leaders within higher education must critically evaluate what to do, and the reasons, motivations and context for their activities.

While Readings (1997) was concerned that higher education had become post-national due to the pressures of globalization, it is perhaps more concerning that they are becoming *post-public*, abandoning their public role in democratically constituting public goods. It could be further argued that higher education has concurrently become *post-human* and even *post-educational*. Post-human because dominating economism treats people as means and not ends, narrowly redefining society as economy, and persons as human capital. The science fiction writer Ray Kurzweil predicted that, by 2029, a *singularity* will prevail, where computers will trump people (Cadwalladr 2014). The economy is already driven by forms of information technology that treat people as content generators, driving the algorithms that suggest to consumers, in a circular fashion, what to buy, what to study, who to fall in love with, where to go and how to live. All education might be considered post-educational because of the enfolding of education into the managed economy, a vision of fully integrated business and education, centrally coordinated through managerial

platforms that record productivity and measure accountability (Ashoka 2014). In this apocalyptic and profoundly anti-educational view, life and knowledge are totally defined and instrumentalized.

The bleak teleologies of the neoliberal social imaginary offer good reasons for trying to imagine higher education otherwise. To construct an alternative social imaginary requires the capacity to research and debate what kinds of social goods and human relationships ought to be preserved in a democracy, and what kinds of knowledge have use-value in a social democracy.

Walker (2006) argues that higher education faces hard times as it called on to perform more and wider roles, but with narrowing concepts. Traditional values of academic freedom and intellectual autonomy have been challenged by narrowing education and research agendas. Meanwhile, the gap is widening between increasing promises and responsibilities of higher education to promote social equity and inclusion, but with decreasing budgets. In addition, there are strong pressures to rationalize, downsize and centralize command and control, leading to increased anxiety, demoralization and exhaustion. As political support and financial resources diminish for public higher education, the public education system is falling back on students as individualized consumers, possibly supplemented by private benefactors who are not, however, democratic actors. This hollows out the ethical, public and democratic character of higher education and its broader political and social legitimacy.

Counter-arguments for public higher education derive from social-democratic and egalitarian arguments. In coordinated social democracies and post-apartheid South Africa, debates about higher education have focused on its role in developing collective and professional educational capabilities, in disrupting hierarchies, and in developing and communicating alternative public values through teaching, research, professional development and public engagement. Some promising new literature on education transformation for public good and social justice (Walker, "Towards a capability-based theory of social justice for education policy-making", 2006), and on innovation and social democracy (Miettinen 2012) opens out new perspectives on collective capabilities and the democratic and developmental functions of university-based professional education (Walker and Mclean, "Professional education, capabilities and the public good: The role of universities in promoting human development", 2013).

Walker and Maclean (2013) advance capabilities-based, public good professionalism by defining such capabilities and offering a list based on

transformative, developmental needs in South Africa (Walker and Mclean, Professional education, capabilities and the public good: the role of universities in promoting human development 2013). A capability approach foregrounds human development, agency, well-being and freedom (Walker, “Towards capability-based theory of social justice for education policy-making”, 2006, p. 174). Offering a compelling counterweight to neoliberal human capital, the capabilities approach suggests alternative routes towards educational social justice that combine equality and well-being concerns. Capabilities theory is based on pluralistic ethics, admitting different possibilities and reasons for a valuable higher education. Non-exchange values are not automatically subordinated to exchange values. The foregoing discussion suggested that a plurality of values such as care and prestige already operates in higher education, but it is unclear how these can escape domination by exchange values. Capability theory accommodates both redistributive and recognition concerns, addressing both economic inequalities and cultural injustices (Robeyns 2003). This may enable the re-thinking of situations where unequal cultural and social prestige factors are at work (Coate and Howson 2014), but the theoretical approach does not yet offer practical options for overcoming or mitigating cultural barriers beyond simply opening up an ethical debate.

This chapter has explored ideas about economics and values, publicness, knowledge, care and capabilities, and related them to concerns about ethics, sustainability and justice in order to provide lines of thought towards re-assembling our public higher education institutions. The idea of re-assembling purpose and practice offers valuable opportunities to resist current, oppressive trends of narrow marketization, and allows the exploration of broader alternatives for higher education to sustain more democratic, just, caring, humane, diverse and creative human purposes and outcomes.

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Community-Engaged Scholarship and the Discourse of Academic Privilege in Canadian Higher Education

Tania Kajner

COMMUNITY-ENGAGED SCHOLARSHIP AND THE DISCOURSE OF PRIVILEGE IN CANADIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

The term “*scholarship of engagement*” was first introduced by Ernest Boyer in the mid-1990s. Citing the “decline in public confidence in America’s colleges and universities” (Boyer 1996, p. 18) as a key driver of the need to re-conceptualize scholarship, he argued that American universities were facing a crisis of relevancy and legitimacy. Universities, he asserted, are no longer seen as being a vital and core element of the nation’s work, but have come to be viewed as somehow separate from the problems and concerns of communities. In the time since Boyer (1990, 1996) argued for a community-engaged approach within higher education, activities identified as an enactment of community-engaged scholarship (CES)¹ have expanded enormously. These activities include such things as, for example, community service learning (Butin 2010), engaged research (Van de Ven 2007), community-based research (Israel et al. 1998), community-engaged scholarship (Calleson et al. 2005) and service scholarship (O’Meara 2000).

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How scholars understand these practices, their purpose and methodology, is subject to debate, informed by scholars' social and institutional positioning as well as the existing traditions of theorizing and critical scholarship within these activity domains. However, as a field encompassing these practices, community-engaged scholarship is not well-conceptualized (Mullins 2011; Stanton 2008). In response to the call for greater clarity, many community-engaged scholars have developed and imported typologies, conceptual frameworks and other mechanisms to the field of CES (i.e. Barker 2004; Butin 2007; Doberneck et al. 2010; Martin 2010).

While these attempts to clarify are themselves diverse, there is general agreement in the published literature on CES that this form of scholarship includes an orientation to community interests, as well as a way of interacting with communities that goes beyond the one-way dissemination of knowledge. Often, this is captured in the idea of scholarship involving community and university actors that is reciprocal and mutually beneficial. Beyond this agreement, however, the conceptual foundations of CES remain ambiguous and its purpose(s) obscure. It is this problematic gap that I sought to address through a study of CES in Canadian higher education.

ABOUT THE STUDY

In this chapter, I share results of a pan-Canadian qualitative study on CES. Positioning the study within a hermeneutic framework, which focuses primarily on the meaning of qualitative data and development of a creative interpretation of the phenomena in question (Fleming et al. 2003), I sought to develop a deep understanding and conceptualization of CES in Canada. Three research questions guided this study:

1. How do scholars in Canada conceptualize engaged scholarship?
2. How do engaged scholars ontologically position themselves and others in the engagement experience?
3. How does the changing context of higher education interact with the growing interest in community-engaged scholarship in Canada?

The research questions were explored through a qualitative research design that included two semi-structured interviews with each of nine scholars occupying varying social, institutional, disciplinary and geographic locations within Canadian higher education. The study received research

ethics approval in autumn 2012. Participant interviews were conducted between January and June 2013. Interview transcriptions, along with my notes and the academic literature, formed the text for my interpretation.

Participants were selected for inclusion in the study through two forms of purposive sampling: intensity sampling (Creswell 1998) and snowball sampling (Babbie 1995); Of the 14 participants selected for inclusion, 9 agreed to participate in the study. Of the 9 participants, 6 self-identified as female and 3 as male. Geographically, 4 participants worked in Western Canada (Manitoba westward), 3 in Central Canada (Ontario), 1 in Quebec and 1 in Eastern Canada (all provinces east/south-east of Quebec). Participants worked in various faculties/areas including: arts, humanities, education, extension, business, science, planning, social work and history. Two participants were in their early career (less than 9 years working full-time in higher education), 4 were in their mid-career (10–20 years working full-time in higher education) and 3 later in their careers (20 years or more working full-time in higher education).

FINDINGS

A number of important findings emerged from the research data. Participants described CES as confusing and contradictory, which they saw as indicative of openness to diverse practices but also a problematic lack of clarity (Kajner 2015b). Participants also recognized that the concept of community might mean different things, and perhaps even be impossible to define (Kajner 2015b). That being said, participants consistently constructed community as those positioned outside institutions of higher education, and described the ways community and scholars differ through a series of binary opposites, even though some participants recognized that this description fails to capture the complexities of the relation (Kajner 2015a).

In this chapter, I explore how participants understood the purpose of CES and its relation to conventional scholarship. While participants undertook engagement for diverse reasons—for example, to strengthen pedagogy through community service learning, to contribute to radical social change through community-based research with Aboriginal peoples, or to bring equity to public policy through collaborative lobbying endeavours—underpinning these diverse aims, they expressed a more fundamental purpose: CES functions to make scholarship meaningful. This meaningfulness is understood to be manifest in scholarship that is useful

because it has a direct effect on, and makes a difference to, community partners. While participants recognized that they must also publish as a part of their work in higher education, the emphasis in engagement is on helping communities do what they want to do better.

CES Makes Scholarship Meaningful

Participants in this study referenced a number of different goals for CES ranging from creating “greater access to the skills, people and resources of higher education”, to establishing “internal validity of the work that we do”, to supporting the “co-generation of knowledge”, to “trying to contribute to democracy”. These diverse goals are underpinned by participants’ shared articulation of a more fundamental purpose: CES functions to make scholarship meaningful. As one participant asserted “there isn’t necessarily a really convincing perspective that what academics are doing really matters. Which relates to the community engagement drive... it is an attempt to make what happens in the academy matter.” Another participant asked, “Why aren’t we [scholars] engaged in some meaningful way?” Through CES, scholars can engage with “the incredible knowledge and wisdom and understanding that exists in the community”, which could result in “research being done in the universities that people wouldn’t say ‘it’s irrelevant, it’s not connected to the real world, it has no impact on policy, it doesn’t make a difference’”.

Engaged scholarship seeks to “involve publics in a meaningful way” and is an academic responsibility: “I feel that as a scholar that is part of my job to make my research and my knowledge meaningful and valuable to Canadian society as a whole”. In partnering with communities, engaged scholars “actually do something that’s meaningful in the community”. Community-engaged scholarship is exciting because people care about it: “It’s quite a thrill if you’re an academic and you can actually do something that people care about! Most of what we do, people could care less about”.

It is through addressing the “burning questions” with which communities are struggling that scholars can be “engaged in some meaningful way”. High quality scholarship that has meaning for people cannot come from texts alone, “Really, the only way of validating our findings and ensuring that they reflect some kind of reality, that they are reliable, is to match against the experiences of people who work in the field”. Undertaking meaningful work is sometimes juxtaposed with the work of publishing and meeting academic standards:

I think if the language around community engagement continues to grow and everybody takes it on and everybody claims it as their area and their expertise, everyone will end up with the schizophrenia of publishing in peer review journals and meeting those academic standards, or doing work that's meaningful to the community.

CES Makes a Difference to Community

In what ways is community-engaged scholarship meaningful? While there are many differences in what engaged scholars express as the particular aims of their work, engaged scholarship is cast as meaningful because it makes a difference in the world outside academe and results in scholarship that is useful to communities in meeting their goals.

As one participant explained, “ultimately we [engaged scholars] are interested in making a difference”. Another shared, “engagement, the work that I do in [University], is a way to truly link the pursuit of knowledge, balanced with trying to make a difference”. One participant offered the following anecdote, which further links engagement and effecting change:

The [Organization], that had no expertise in public engagement whatsoever... we actually took them through a full engagement process using this methodology. And it was the best thing they'd ever been part of. And, you know, in our reflective discussions about it they communicated that to us. So you are asking the question, we felt like we got engagement? Well yeah, I guess cause they felt like something immediately had been, had transformed the way they think, the way they behave.

This experience of engagement is understood with reference to making a difference: “How would I think I was actually engaging with these folks? I guess actually feeling like I am making a difference, right?”

CES is Immediately Useful

In addition to a sense of making a difference, participants asserted that engaged scholarship is more meaningful because it is immediately useful to community. As one participant asserted, the result of CES “are the kind of things that the community would find immediately useful to them”. Producing useful scholarship requires collaboration with those who will be using it: “To do the work in a way that works, that actually gets picked

up... in terms of actual practices for improving community ... disciplines have to be community engaged.” Because it involves community, the research produced through engaged scholarship “works better, it’s more relevant, we know that there’s greater uptake, more likelihood of sustainability”. As one participant explained:

It’s not an academic publishing something and hoping someone reads it. The stakeholders are using it before it’s even finished... they are telling people about it, saying “I was part of this, you need to read this. This is important.”

The extent to which scholarship is viewed as community-engaged can be determined by reference to usefulness: “Everything can be seen as a community engaged project if you’ve got people saying ‘ya, we can use that, it helps us’”. One participant views CES as “being central to the quality of the work... and the key to making sure that that quality work is meaningful in some way beyond the narrow academic standards of publishing and all of that”. If community can use the product of engaged scholarship, then engaged scholars are more likely to be part of having an impact, making a difference, and as a result, more likely to demonstrate the meaningfulness of what they do. “I guess that really the motivation for it too, is to have some impact instead of just getting data to write up some papers.”

View of Conventional Scholars as Privileged

In talking about their work with communities, many participants in this study described engaged scholars’ work in opposition to what they perceive to be the work of conventional scholars. For many participants, though not all, the work of conventional scholars, those who do not engage, is described in negative and sometimes derisive terms.

Conventional scholars were described as having the luxury of time to hide in their offices, publish a great deal and court international reputations. They have the great circumstance of “privileged, tenured, secured positions that don’t require them to punch in and punch out... faculty members are not held accountable for doing, in some ways, even the basics of their role”. There was a great deal of anger expressed when discussing the academic environment and working with scholars in the academy.

The quote below, with its reference to those kinds of people, gives some idea of the sentiment:

Most academics, in my experience, are much more connected to their discipline and sub-discipline, nationally and internationally, in a community of interest around economic geography or a community of interest around post-structuralist God knows what. And those are their friends and the people they resonate best with. And they are rewarded for publishing in the very specialized journals that appeal, internationally, to that very specialized community... Those types of people often are NOT the types who can go out to a community, or a business, or an NGO, or a government, and schmooze and banter and joke and do collaborative work successfully. They are drawn to the university where you can hide in your office and teach when you must and become the world expert in [topic] and write numerous journal articles and be rewarded for it, and celebrated for it, and attract like-minded people to your community.

Even while recognizing that not all conventional scholars are the same, this participant's description of conventional scholars positions these scholars as very insular in focus and in their professional and social circles. On the other hand, engaged scholars are more focused on peers than the world outside of the academy:

[Scholars in] that whole discursive universe are less engaged in, you know, are less linked to community groups or social movements or something like that. They tend to, it's a bit of a luxury and I'm perfectly happy to be involved in those kinds of luxurious conversations, I like words, but it's not, I mean when I came to the university from the NGO world, I had all these images of, I knew and had been reading all these progressive academics, but when I got to the university I discovered that they didn't, they never went outside the halls of academe.

The scholars this participant admired before entering into academe turned out to be quite conventional, even though they were writing very progressively about social issues. They expressed great ideas but were not involved in the world outside "the halls of academe"; instead, they enjoyed the "luxury" of participating only in the discursive universe of ideas. One participant noted that conventional scholars do not engage the world outside the university; instead, they "hide in their office and publish in international peer review journals. And the more international it is, the less linked to community it is". Community-engaged scholars, on the other

hand, were described as out in the social world. As one participant put it, “I’m not sitting in my office thinking up a really good project to do”.

The questions driving conventional scholars are sometimes of little importance to the world outside the narrow peer group, which is problematic because they have an accountability to show how what they do matters. As one participant noted, “There’s greater pressure from community to have the university accountable to them, we’re publicly funded right? So where’s the benefit to the general public?” Another, echoing this sentiment argued for accountability to a broad public:

I mean, my God, I’m paid for by taxpayers’ funding, right? I think that I have some sort of obligation to the taxpayers, to society, to show them that what I am doing isn’t just arguing how many angels can dance on the head of a pin for other people who care about that.

DISCUSSION

While there is much to unpack in participants’ contributions to our research conversation, I focus here on two broad themes: neoliberalized higher education as the context of community-engaged scholarship and academic privilege in relation to accountability. I draw from the work of David Harvey (2005, 2007, 2008) in understanding neoliberalism, and suggest that neoliberalism has had important and significant effects on higher education. It is these effects that contribute to scholars’ dissatisfaction with the work environment and the sense that they need to rectify this dissatisfaction by creating meaning in their scholarship through community-engaged research, teaching and service. It is also these effects that are mediated in participants’ construction of conventional scholars and their juxtaposition of their own work against this construction. I then analyze participants’ views that higher education needs to be more accountable and that academic privilege is problematic with reference to Michel Foucault’s (1977) work on disciplinary logics. I explore how the academic privilege/accountability nexus is an important site of struggle for the assemblage of subjectivities and scholarship in higher education.

What is Neoliberalism?

As Simon Springer (2012) noted, while scholarship on neoliberalism is extensive, there is little consensus on what is actually meant by neoliberalism. David Harvey (2005, 2007, 2008) emphasizes the powerful

hegemonic discourse of neoliberalism, pointing to neoliberal concepts, such as those of individual freedom and autonomy, as having gained common sense status. Tracing the history and effects of neoliberalism around the world, Harvey highlighted the differences between neoliberal economic theory and neoliberalism in practice. In doing so, he exposed the ways in which neoliberal actions on the part of states and organizations actively served to construct and maintain a powerful economic elite.

In theory, neoliberalism can be understood as an approach to political economic practices founded on the view that advancement of human well-being is best achieved through “liberating entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (Harvey 2005, p. 2). Neoliberalism seeks to free capital and markets from governmental, legislative and policy constraints. The role of the state within neoliberal theory is minimal and only includes activities that ensure the framework needed to enable neoliberalism, including legal structures that can address private property concerns, mechanisms to ensure monetary integrity, the ability to create markets in areas currently outside the market system, privatization of public services and deregulation of certain markets (Harvey 2005). The idea that individual freedom is guaranteed by freedom of the market and free trade is central to neoliberal thinking and has become a dominant component of neoliberal ideology.

However, in practice, Harvey (2005) suggested, neoliberalism results in markets that embody freedoms based on the interests of private property owners, businesses, corporations and capital. This hidden aspect of the neoliberal state, he pointed out, is masked by theoretical reference to the market benefits that all citizens will experience. By examining the actual practices of neoliberal states, Harvey (2005) argued that neoliberalism is, in fact, a political project that aims to re-establish the power of economic elites and the conditions for capital accumulation by those elites. Harvey (2007) pointed to the low rate of worldwide economic growth associated with neoliberalism and demonstrated how its main success has, in fact, been redistribution from the poor to the wealthy.

The effect of neoliberalism, then, has been to increase social inequality and move towards the restoration of class power (Harvey 2005, 2007, 2008). Despite its claims to the contrary, neoliberalism demands a strong state that can promote its interests and has resulted in a greater gap between the rich and the poor (Harvey 2005; Hill and Kumar 2009). Neoliberalism is not just a way that riches are created and divided up, but

also a discourse that shapes the relations of those creating this wealth—one that values market exchange as an “ethic in itself” (Harvey 2005, p. 3). Neoliberalism has thus become more than a theory, and more than a practice that both supports and deviates from theory; it has become a hegemonic discourse that holds the ideals of individual liberty and freedom as the central values of civilization (Harvey 2007).

Neoliberalized Higher Education

The Canadian model for higher education is unique in that the federal government has long been involved in higher education but, constitutionally, higher education falls within provincial—and, more recently, territorial—jurisdiction (Jones 2012). My intent here is not to look at specific jurisdictions and the specific structures and policies that shape the Canadian model. Rather, in the section that follows, I examine how higher education in Canada, as a diverse field, is shaped by economic forces of neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism has significantly transformed Canadian higher education (Fanelli and Meades 2011). As Dave Hill and Ravi Kumar (2009) pointed out, “The restructuring of the schooling and education systems across the world is part of the ideological and policy offensive by neoliberal capital” (p. 1). Universities throughout the capitalist world have been privatized to some extent (Harvey 2007) and the value of education is increasingly cast in economic terms (Fanelli and Meades 2011).

Neoliberalism has led to the establishment of competitive markets in higher education, including increased competition between institutions for public funding, and also for resources from non-public sources (Currie and Vidovich 2009; Schuetze and Mendiola 2012). Mark Olssen and Michael Peters (2005) explained that “one of the major objectives of recent higher education reforms has been to create relations of competition as a way of increasing productivity, accountability and, ultimately, control over academic work” (p. 326). Because public funding has fallen short of operational costs, Canadian universities have tried to make up the shortfall by entrepreneurial activities, including connecting the goals of academic research with those of private enterprise and industry (Kirby 2012).

New Public Management

The discourse of neoliberalism has contributed to a series of higher education reforms, which include: encouraging increased student fees that

undermine the public status of the university, creating internationalization and global competition for international students, developing and expanding research partnerships with the private sector, commercializing research, and generating a huge growth in administration of teaching and research (Peters 2013; Schuetze and Mendiola 2012). These reforms are collectively referred to as “new public management” or “new managerialism” and involve a shift in focus from administration and policy to management approaches that draw theoretically on models of private sector management (Peters 2013, p. 13). Olssen and Peters (2005) explained:

The ascendancy of neoliberalism and the associated discourses of “new public management”, during the 1980s and 1990s has produced a fundamental shift... The traditional professional culture of open intellectual enquiry and debate has been replaced with a institutional stress on performativity. (p. 313)

New public management has had other repercussions, including recasting the public sector as a service sector that is most efficient when following open market principles (Lorenz 2012). The effects of this shift, Lorenz (2012) pointed out, include: a repeated revisiting and worsening of student/faculty ratios that lead to large class sizes, promotion of online education, and growing teaching loads; shrinking tenured positions alongside growing part-time, sessional and short-term teaching positions that relocate the work from relatively stable employment to positions that require cheap and flexible labour; the delinking of teaching and research through creation of teaching-only positions; and an increase of tuition costs coupled with a decrease in the duration of studies. As a mechanism for the neoliberalization of higher education, new public management brings market logic and central control together to position education within the economy.

De-Professionalization

Neoliberal ideology contributes to changed management structures in the university sphere that include less collaborative decision-making by scholars and more centralized decision-making by administrators (Shultz 2013). Trust that public sector professionals would act in the public good, and the accompanying delegation of power to use their best judgment, is replaced by hierarchical forms of authoritative structure, which

seek to inhibit individual judgments through policies, procedures and identification of definitive outcomes (Olssen and Peters 2005). This change in the locus of decision-making serves to de-professionalize academics through the “introduction of a culture of permanent mistrust” (Lorenz 2012, p. 609) that includes: a shift from collegial governance in relatively flat organizational structures to hierarchical models based on specifications of job performance that are dictated by superiors; increasing determination of workloads and course content by management; and the re-scripting of rights and power over work from the scholar to the market (Olssen and Peters 2005). De-professionalization ensures power is centralized at the top by requiring “compliance, monitoring, and accountability organized in a management line and established through a purchase contract based on measurable outputs” (Olssen and Peters 2005, p. 325).

In reshaping power relations in higher education, neoliberalism re-assembles the academic’s professional role. Within neoliberal discourse, professionalism is seen as problematic because it invites opportunism and enables professionals to set self-serving standards. Academics are not trusted to act in the public good but are thought to act for their own self-interest. This competitive ordering of relations works against traditional notions of professional and academic autonomy and freedom, and contributes to the development of neoliberal subjectivities. As Chris Lorenz (2012) asserted, de-professionalization undermines “the essence of what drives academics to do what they do” (p. 613) ensuring ongoing, chronic job dissatisfaction.

Neoliberal Subjectivities

Given the central role of higher education in the production of knowledge and knowledgeable subjects, it is not surprising that higher education is being re-formulated in ways that enable the construction of new subjectivities that will serve a neoliberal knowledge-based economy and society (Robertson 2014). As an economy driven by innovation, the knowledge economy requires subjects that actively produce new knowledge and, therefore, potential new products and markets (ibid.). The state seeks to create an individual who is an enterprising and competitive entrepreneur (Olssen and Peters 2005). Thus, neoliberal marketization in higher education contributes to the assemblage of neoliberal subjectivities for scholars and shapes the horizon of possibility for scholar’s work.

Community-Engaged Scholarship as a Response to Neoliberalism

The neoliberalized context of higher education and the chronic job dissatisfaction of academics that Lorenz (2012) asserted accompanies new public management in higher education acts as a push outward, towards community-engaged scholarship. As Lorenz (2012) pointed out, the efficiency focus of higher education reforms, the constant push to do more with less, is dissatisfying and problematic, particularly for scholars who are not among the very few highly successful scholars within that model. For the majority of scholars, the effect that their work might have is hard to spot; they do not see an immediate effect on the peer group, nor on students, and thus cannot be clear what impact, if any, their scholarship is having. It is easy to imagine, then, that academic work can seem to be devoid of meaning.

The assemblage of subjectivities within neoliberalized higher education contributes to the participants' view that scholars must work to be useful, and that disruptive work, or work that contributes to knowledge but does not necessarily solve problems, is not sufficiently useful, despite its often indirect and long-term impacts. While it is safe to assume there are many different responses to the increasing neoliberalization of higher education, and that "winners and losers" are constructed through this process, CES represents one strategy that is adopted by the study participants to render scholarship meaningful. In the context of an attack on academic autonomy and professionalism, engaged scholars establish their professional role in opposition to that of the privileged and self-serving scholar. Thus, neoliberalism mediates how participants in this study who identify as community-engaged describe and socially construct their work and that of their academic colleagues.

Privilege and Accountability

Participants in this study critiqued and objected to the privilege they believed is held by conventional academics (those who are seen as not community-engaged) in higher education, and the lack of accountability that comes with that privilege. Echoing the mistrust facilitated and maintained by new public management strategies, study participants emphasized the need to ensure academic accountability through CES as a counterpoint to what they viewed as problematic academic privilege.

Academic privilege was described as manifest in the activities of academics researching what they want to research, especially when it was perceived to be obscure and not immediately useful, and communicating that research to the narrow group of peers in their academic area. To understand this dynamic, it is imperative to explore what privilege might mean and why it might be an important site of contestation.

The *Oxford Dictionary Online* (n.d) defined privilege as a “special right, advantage, or immunity granted or available only to a particular person or group”. Thus, privilege involves having something that others do not. In the case of conventional scholars, the (supposed) ability to explore one’s own interests, and those of a fairly narrow peer group, while receiving public funding, is seen as a special right that others do not enjoy. In the context of an enlightenment approach to education, this kind of exploration is important and, it could be argued, of benefit to the entire society. In the context of a neoliberal university, however, the ability to determine the focus of one’s work can be reinterpreted as a waste of resources that represent lost profit; the time and energy spent on exploring one’s own curiosities and sharing what one has learned could be directed somewhere else where it supports the economy. Thus, the labour conditions of (relative) independence and the ability to direct one’s work that were, at one time, the conditions of the possibility of scholars contributing to the wider society become re-coded to signify unacceptable privilege under neoliberal logics.

Chandra Mohanty (2013) identified this dynamic when she pointed out that the neoliberalization of higher education leads radical critique to appear as nothing more than a sign of prestige and radical scholars as disconnected, living the life of privilege. She argued that radical knowledges are domesticated by the neoliberal restructuring of higher education; they are no longer seen as a product of activist scholarship or connected to emancipatory knowledge but, rather, circulate as a sign of prestige in an elitist, neoliberal landscape.

I would like to suggest that not only does radical critique circulate as a sign of prestige, and critique itself invite a sense of elitism, so too does a scholar’s independence. Critique invokes a sense of direct resistance to hegemonic understandings. Scholars studying “unimportant” questions, and producing work that is not widely read, would seem to be far less disruptive, yet their work is also subject to the same dynamic of signification. That being said, it is not only the critical form that one’s independent thought takes that is under attack in the neoliberalization of higher

education, but also the ability to operate outside the sphere of influence and surveillance that lay at the heart of the matter.

This can be seen when we note that privilege also has another meaning that is important to the discussion here. In the context of law, privilege is seen as an exemption specifically related to the right to privacy, as in attorney-client privilege, or privileged information (*Oxford Dictionary Online* n.d.). To challenge privilege, then, might also in some ways be a challenge to privacy. In the context of academia, this challenge centres on the right to have some ideas that escape surveillance. In this sense, academic privilege is the ability to develop and share ideas that are not shaped by the power of potential sanction because they are outside of the logics of surveillance. They are not *fully* subjected to the same logics of discipline that apply to the circulation of ideas in other contexts. Though scholars who write from a very specialized literature and address their peer groups are subject to discipline, the power remains with the peer group to determine the extent to which they will recognize and reward ideas. This privilege is problematic to the neoliberal state because its mechanisms are not fully visible to those outside the peer group and, therefore, it is much more difficult for governments and the economic elites to exert control over scholarship and ensure that higher education is serving the market.

As Foucault (1977) pointed out, the logics of surveillance function to ensure a disciplinary society. In *Discipline and Punish*, he compared the seventeenth-century approach to managing the plague to that of dealing with lepers. Lepers, he pointed out, were cast out of social spaces, excluded because they disrupted the political dream of a pure society. Political response to the plague, however, did not call for a binary split and the massive exclusion of those who were defined as Other but, rather, multiple separations, individualizing distributions, and “an organization on depth of surveillance and control” (Foucault, 1977, p. 198). Households were kept from interacting, with even the slightest movement cited, and each person had to be accounted for daily by presenting themselves for view at a household window. This strategy was not based on the political dream of the pure society but the dream of the disciplined society. Employing Jeremy Bentham’s panoptic prison construction, the Panopticon, as a metaphor for understanding this example and others, Foucault pointed out how surveillance functions as a disciplinary power. The Panopticon allowed for the disciplining of prisoners on the basis of surveillance from a central tower that could see into each prisoner’s entire space, which was backlit by natural light. Likewise, the surveillance strategy in response to

the plague is, at its heart, a matter of achieving social discipline and creating self-censoring subjects by denying them any opportunity to go unseen.

The same logic of surveillance is at work in challenges to academic privilege when we understand this to be a privilege associated with privacy, with maintaining some element outside surveillance. Though conventional scholars are subject to the same social and political systems and structures as others, the genesis of ideas is a very interior matter—interior to the individual, the peer group and the field of study. It is also a very time-consuming and unpredictable matter. Ideas can germinate for years without a visible and measurable product. As a result, knowledge-based work is not fully visible. This, in itself, is enough to threaten disciplinary strategies based on the logic of surveillance. The efforts to bring academics into the visible space of surveillance is at work in the increasing focus on accountability through measurable and countable outputs that forms a significant part of new public management and the neoliberalization of higher education. This enables a visibility, and therefore disciplining, of the end point of academic work. However, it does not necessarily help to police idea generation; it does not help to introduce accountability for *which* ideas scholars choose to pursue.

Within CES, however, we can observe another mechanism. Community engagement is positioned as a way to ensure that the research, curriculum and pedagogy pursued by scholars are relevant to those outside the academic peer group: to communities, and to students by linking them to communities. Thus, the very genesis of ideas that form the basis of knowledge work becomes visible and accountable, in that these ideas exceed the scholar, their peers and the academy. Like new managerialism, CES requires accountability to those who are not academic peers, partners who are outside the academy altogether. Both strategies depend on de-professionalization of academic work and the moral argument that, without external surveillance of some sort, academics will set self-serving standards for themselves and each other.

That a group of scholars themselves adopt the language and logic that de-professionalizes academics is indicative of the extent to which the logic of surveillance has been effective. This form of disciplinary power does not require actual persecution or exclusion of those putting forth radical ideas. Surveillance acts by inviting scholars into a space of visibility, where the genesis of their ideas can be seen, mapped and delineated because it occurs in a collective space with non-academic involvement. Thus, the ever-visible scholars become self-regulating neoliberal subjects who begin

to believe that research that does not respond directly to the external influence of community is selfish, privileged and problematic. This is a predictable effect of disciplinary power based on surveillance. As Foucault (1977) noted, the major effects of the Panopticon are:

to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic function of power. So to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action; that the perfection of power should tend to render its actual exercise unnecessary; that this architectural apparatus should be a machine for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person who exercises it; in short, that the inmates should be caught up in a power situation of which they are themselves the bearers. (p. 201)

Participants in this study put forward a description of conventional scholarship that supports the logic of surveillance by problematizing privilege through neoliberal discourses of accountability and de-professionalization. The privilege that academics enjoy is described as problematic and unresponsive to the wider needs of society. Community-engaged scholarship, on the other hand, is described as mutually beneficial because its content is informed by community needs and perspectives. Even when it does not involve the full co-generation of knowledge, engagement involves the community in ensuring ideas pursued are selected not solely on the basis of academic interest and knowledge, but that are also selected on the basis of community interests. Making the distinction between scholars' interests and those of the broader community is a condition required to hold this view. Thus, despite the fact that conventional scholars might be deeply embedded in the social world, and attentive to issues that affect their lives outside the academic sphere in a way that shapes their research and teaching, they are not seen as community-engaged scholars.

The construction of conventional scholarship as privileged and self-serving provides a moral argument for CES. There is a discord here between the discourse of privilege and the reality of academic working conditions discussed above. While certainly there are winners in a neoliberal model of higher education, the reality is that most scholars work under very difficult conditions—conditions which create the perception of meaninglessness to which CE scholars are responding. Nonetheless, the discourse of unfettered academic privilege persists both outside the academy and within it. The effect of this discourse is that it secures public support for reforms to higher education. Under the guise of refusing to support academics

who do not contribute to the wider community, governments can insist on more academic accountability and more academic applicability. The discourse of privilege also serves to undermine any resistance that academics might create to the dominant neoliberal ideology—their critique itself becomes cast as a self-serving attempt to maintain privilege, a signifier that circulates as a sign of prestige.

It is unclear how community-engaged scholarship might affect governance structures in Canadian higher education in the long term. With increasingly problematic control being exerted over scholars' work, including community engagement in scholarship can be seen as an act of broadening surveillance in a way that might democratize knowledge production. Including community as a partner, but also as a disciplinary force that counters the disciplinary force of government, is a subtle and subversive move. Perhaps if the academic space is to remain open, the visibility of the work needs to run in multiple directions, thereby weakening any one point of surveillance. Community-engaged scholars' work, as I have argued, is visible in terms of both its genesis and results, and is therefore open to surveillance as a disciplinary strategy. But it is not only governments and administrators in higher education who are watching; it is also the wider community, the wider public who can see the genesis and results of CES knowledge.

Communities have diverse interests and, by bringing them into the knowledge creation and sharing process, community-engaged scholars are complicating the lines of accountability. Where communities might have once elected governments who influenced higher education and the work of scholars, through engagement they become directly involved. As Peters (2013) noted, we can no longer assume that citizens are members of a political community whose will is expressed and enacted by elected governments. Rather, as he pointed out, in the context of neoliberalism, "the old presumed shared political process of the social contract disappears in favor of a disaggregated and individualized relationship to governance" (p. 16).

Through community engagement, communities can become involved in higher education in a very direct way. The benefit these communities derive from being part of the knowledge process might translate into support for higher education as a public good. Thus, CES might be an effective process for building public allies for higher education and for the valuation of academic work. This hinges, however, on who community partners are and how they relate to scholars. It depends on engagement

with communities who are not themselves aligned with the power of governments and economic elites. However, community-engaged scholarship, as it is described here, does not explicitly suggest engagement with any particular community. Thus, while it may function to disperse the points of surveillance in ways that loosen the disciplinary hold of power, it may also serve to tighten this hold. The question hinges on whom one understands appropriate community partners to be: a question that is not specified in community engagement.

CONCLUSION

In summary, neoliberal discourse in Canadian higher education has led to a shift from professional forms of accountability to consumer-managerial forms. Scholars, who are perceived to have the “privilege of secure work for life”, as one study participant put it, and generous salaries, must account for their market value. They must demonstrate a return on investment on behalf of the public purse. Increasingly, this demonstration must be tangible and visible to managers outside the peer group.

For participants in this study, meaningful scholarship can be found in useful scholarship; accountability is thought of in terms of being accountable to the public taxpayers who fund higher education, and also to the communities whose lives can be improved through scholarship and knowledge creation. Participants in this study evoked the discourse of privilege to support CES in terms of its ability to bring accountability to scholars’ work. Community-engaged scholars may enjoy all of the same privileges (albeit diminishing ones) that other scholars enjoy but, unlike the conventional scholar, they are focused outside the institution in ways that are responsive, helpful and accountable to a wider public. As a result, the genesis of their ideas and the impact of their work are much more visible, just like the bodies of prisoners in Bentham’s Panopticon. The extent to which this visibility reshapes governance structures in higher education and the extent to which it helps or hinders neoliberalization rests on the questions as to which communities are engaged and how, both of which are currently unspecified in conceptualizations of community-engaged scholarship.

NOTE

1. I use the term scholarship of engagement and community-engaged scholarship interchangeably throughout this chapter.

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Student Access: The Struggle to Construct a Post-Apartheid Higher Education System in South Africa

Crain Soudien

The issues of student access and success, building the next generation of academics and transforming its curriculum are the key issues which confront South African higher education (see Badsha and Cloete 2011). These issues provide an outline of the character of a knowledge-producing system—specifically, who attends, who teaches and what is taught, which have come to constitute the great challenges bequeathed to the present by the colonial and apartheid eras. There has been intense debate on each of these issues in the the country’s recent history. While the issues of the curriculum (see, for example, Adam 2009) and issues surrounding the building of the next generation of academics at South African universities have been, and remain, the subject of a great deal of public debate and conversation (see, for example, Higher Education South Africa 2011; Mohoto 2015), the issue of access is the most explosive. There is, currently, a great deal of tension around the large numbers of students who are eligible to enter higher education but who are unable, for a variety of reasons, to do so. Financial issues and the availability of state support have been important in these developments; but there has also been, over the last five years,

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serious disagreement in the country concerning the criteria used in the management of eligibility, selection and admission into university. A major debate drawing in stakeholders from a range of positions erupted in 2009 and continues around the University of Cape Town's (UCT) admissions policy. The issue around UCT's proposals has essentially been about the use of the apartheid era's racial categories for determining historical disadvantage. Interestingly, in this debate, unlike the situation in the United States, the principle of affirmative action has not been centre stage. There has been, on the whole, a generalized acceptance that the country has to commit to redressing the racial inequities from apartheid—in this case, making places available for under-represented students in the universities. The contention is whether 'race' is the appropriate measure to determine past and current disadvantage (see Benatar 2010; Erasmus 2010; Soudien 2010). Given this context, the focus in this paper is on the challenge of access.

Addressing the issue of access to higher education provides an immediately amenable point of entry into the larger question which frames all three of the big questions confronting the system: How does one approach, tell and analyze the story of the *who* and *what* of this system? Who operates and functions within it? And how does this operation and functioning take place? With respect to the concerns that exist about the higher education system's capacity to include in fair and just terms, how does one explain what is going on in ways that are simultaneously intelligible to everybody who is interested but also bring them to a better understanding of how to effect improvements to it?¹ The major challenge for many South Africans in this situation is working with both the structural features of the system—the institutions, policies and systems, and the discursive features of the system—how people think and act; this is especially so in terms of understanding the system's separate and conjoint elements as it works to include and exclude. How does one explain inequality as it relates to justice and fairness? The issues are both theoretical and practical. The theory, however, precedes and predetermines the practice. At issue is choosing the sociological frameworks, concepts and tools to help one think about these intensely urgent matters. This question of the sociological the approach one takes to explain the basic character of the society in terms of issues such as race, class and gender shapes the policy responses that will be taken to deal with the matters, and the policy approaches and the management styles that are possible in relation to the policy decisions made.

To address this challenge, I argue that there is a need to go beyond the current dominant approaches to redress the inequality in South African higher education. These dominant approaches provide South Africa and the field of higher education with a partial view of what is going on in their educational institutions and systems. The approaches flow, predictably, from an understandable focus on the symptomatic and most visible forms through which exclusion is expressed; that is, with an emphasis on the phenomenon of 'race'. Through this, an essential incompleteness—compounded—is instituted into the analyses and policy choices that are available for making sense of and addressing inequality. This has shaped how one struggles against the past; how one begins to explore and manage opportunities for striking into new areas of possibility (both ontological and epistemological) *from* it is an enormously demanding task. At the heart of the difficulty is the pervasiveness of the commonsense of 'race'. This pervasiveness has led to a particular reading of the structural character of the system—a symptomatic appropriation of its surface elements which come to provide the framework for determining the cause and effect of the problem confronting higher education, and, on the basis of this, the material with which to solve the problem. From this, I argue, a double-weakness emanates: a weakness in problem identification that is subsequently followed by a weakness of problem-solving. With this, the constitutive contradiction facing South African higher education is set in place—that of repairing its structural fabric with the tools which constructed its problems in the first place.

The issue that South African higher education must contend with is twofold. In the first instance, it lies in understanding how to institute policies and procedures for the structural democratization of higher education—that is, the physical inclusion and enfranchisement of its complex *other*—that will take the country beyond marked bodies towards the nurturing and, ultimately, the production of the conditions for a more radical enfranchisement. In the second instance, the issue is found in the intellectual recuperation of and engagement with its subordinated, displaced and deliberately delegitimized ways of understanding the social and the other ways of understanding life—its knowledges. If justice is to prevail, it has to encompass more than the assimilation of black bodies into the academy. It has to be about a way of understanding the world that is rooted in appreciating people for their intellectual capacity and not their physical appearance.

This chapter seeks to expand on this 'partial analysis'. I argue that 'race' as a working concept does not sufficiently tackle either the structural or

the discursive complexity of how marginalization, othering and alienation occur in higher education. In working with ‘race’ only as the empirical reality of exclusion, there is a simplification of understanding the definition and meaning of what ‘race’ is and how it works. This partial analysis cannot explain how racism operates structurally. It uses pigmentation and its formal apparatus of racial classification to make sense of the divisions and inequalities that exist in the South African setting. It cannot account for racialization that is constantly shifting and intersecting with other modes of discrimination. In the context of contemporary South Africa, it needs to be emphasized, this partial analysis provides only scant acknowledgement of the dynamic force of social class; it does not acknowledge the presence and impact of patriarchy. As a result, ‘race’ does the work of all the ancillary and complementary forces which both accompany and reconfigure it, and which it itself reconfigures.²

The structural complexity of inequality is built around a phenomenon that demands deconstruction. The second aspect of this critique of ‘race’ relates to the first. The way ‘race’ operates hinders the opportunity to understand the discursive pathways through which ‘race’ makes its way in the everyday and into processes of knowledge-making. The major casualty is the opportunity to understand modern racism better. Misunderstood is the consistent practice, especially in the way the term *the social construction* of ‘race’ is used, for recuperating biophysical ‘race’ when, as one example, it is the social—what people do and their everyday cultural practices—that should be understood. Because this ideological complex is not deconstructed, people’s self-understandings are not included. Therefore, subordinated knowledges—specifically, African knowledges in all their commonality and variety, which might tell us much more about how people in African societies have chosen to lead their lives—are misrecognized and approached incorrectly. People, instead, are approached through their supposedly biophysical racial origins and affinities. Their knowledges are represented through their bodies as *black knowledges*. Their knowledges are embodied and mediated through the colour of their skins as opposed to their substantial value orientations, such as what they stand for and what insights they provide about life.

In the next section, I show how the question of who attends the university is presented in the dominant discourse in both the public and scholarly domains. In doing so, I show its shortcomings and draw attention to the challenges the dominant discourse poses to the management of processes that want to bring under-represented young people into the university.

WHO COMES TO LEARN?

It is a recognized part of the commentary on South African higher education that student participation is discriminatory and that, from apartheid, the country has inherited a major challenge in democratising access and the opportunity to learn for all South Africans. The most important interpretations of this discrimination have been provided by Ian Scott (2010, p. 233; Scott et al. 2007) and the Council for Higher Education (CHE 2000a, 2000b, 2009, 2012, 2013). Two insights from these publications are critical. The first relates to participation in the system and the second to the success rates of the participants. With regard to participation, current gross participation in the system stands just below 20 %. In 2011, out of the age cohort of 10,334,000 young people eligible to be in higher education, only 938,200 were registered for further study (CHE 2013, p.1). In terms of success rates, of those who succeed in entering the system in most years only 30 % carry on to graduate after five years; 56 % exit from the system without ever graduating (Scott 2010).

HOW ARE THESE FOUNDATIONAL FEATURES OF THE SYSTEM DESCRIBED AND EXPLAINED?

The dominant explanation for participation, as presented in official documentation, provided by the CHE, uses ‘race’ based on the old apartheid order (see Table 11.1). The apartheid system classified the South African population into four major racial groups: African, whites, coloureds and Indians. This classification was the primary basis for organizing everyday life. It was used in setting up segregated housing, social welfare and,

Table 11.1 Gross higher education participation rates in 2005–2010 (%)

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
White	60	57	54	56	58	57	57
Indian	48	48	43	45	45	46	47
Coloured	12	13	12	14	14	15	14
African	12	12	12	14	13	14	14
Total	16	16	16	17	17	18	17

Source: Adapted from CHE (2012, p. 3) and (CHE 2013, p. 3)

‘Race’ is also used to describe and explain success, as shown in Table 11.2

especially, educational provision. In the post-apartheid era, alongside the category of gender, it has become the major framework for demographic description in the country.

Scott (2010) has shown that, when using tables such as Table 11.2, the success rates (percentage of the credits attained in relation to courses registered for) of young people classified as African are poor. From Table 11.2, we can see that between 2008 and 2013, for example, the differences in the success rates, measured as passing registered courses, between African and white students are considerable. In the six-year period between 2008 and 2013, while pass rates of African undergraduate students increased from 69 % to 72 %, they still remained significantly below the stable rate of between 81 % and 83 % for of white students.

The gap between the rate of African and white student throughput is also evident in Table 11.3. Table 11.3 provides a cohort analysis of first-time students entering university in 2008. The table indicates the significantly unequal throughput rates for white and black students. It also

Table 11.2 Course success rates per qualification level by race from 2008 to 2013 (%)

	<i>UG</i>	<i>PG</i>	<i>UG</i>	<i>PG</i>	<i>UG</i>	<i>PG</i>	<i>UG</i>	<i>PG</i>	<i>UG</i>	<i>PG</i>	<i>UG</i>	<i>PG</i>
	<i>2008</i>		<i>2009</i>		<i>2010</i>		<i>2011</i>		<i>2012</i>		<i>2013</i>	
African	69	62	71	65	72	66	74	66	74	68	72	66
Coloured	73	71	75	72	76	74	77	70	78	74	76	72
Indian	74	62	74	62	76	65	78	67	79	70	76	67
White	81	79	82	81	81	80	84	81	85	82	83	82
Overall	72	68	73	70	71	71	76	71	77	73	74	71

Source: CHE (2015: 12)

Table 11.3 Throughput rates between 2010 and 2013

	<i>2010</i>		<i>2011</i>		<i>2012</i>		<i>2013</i>	
	<i>Grad</i>	<i>D/Out</i>	<i>Grad</i>	<i>D/Out</i>	<i>Grad</i>	<i>D/Out</i>	<i>Grad</i>	<i>D/Out</i>
African	1753	39	33	44	43	45	48	52
Coloured	27	42	41	45	47	45	51	49
Indian	22	39	38	41	49	43	52	48
White	34	38	49	40	54	40	57	43

Source: CHE (2015, p. 62)

shows that the average graduation rate for African students improves dramatically over the period 2010 and 2013 from 17 % to 48 % by the year 2013. In the first year of analysis, the graduation rate for white students was twice that of African students. By 2013, the gap had reduced but was still almost 10 percentage points higher for white students.

What this narrative makes clear is how apartheid was designed and was intended to be implemented. It makes absolutely clear how significant ‘race’ was, and remains, as a structuring reality of South African life. It cannot be disputed that ‘race’ is emblematic of how life is experienced in South Africa. But it requires elaboration if one is to understand it correctly. Simply presenting the statistics based on racial categories does not provide a full representation of the students. The statistics are presumed to be self-explanatory devices, and to do the work of explaining the South African problem. The terms ‘black’, ‘white’, ‘coloured’ and ‘Indian’ are assumed to be coherent, stable, fixed and complete identities/classifications. The way in which they are used is thought to capture the identities of the people being classified and all of their social complexities.

This dominant approach does not explain how individuals and groups work with the social—how they resist, reject, are complicit or even *play* with the identities which are supposedly given to them. At the discursive level, it does not explain, for example, how individuals work with experiences of *discrimination*. It projects this experience of classification as if it is free of contradiction. And so the categories ‘African’, ‘white’, ‘coloured’ and ‘Indian’, in and of themselves, operate as if they are able to capture and provide good insight into the nature of people’s social experiences. Racial classifications constitute a problematic account of who people are and how racial stereotypes are confronted in the South African context. The insight of American scholar Bernadette Baker (2009, p. 301) into these analytical approaches as discursive technologies is extremely useful here. While her work is related to disability, she does not use the term ‘reification’ but she has drawn attention to the way particular classifications of human beings operate in contemporary analysis and how these classifications come to be encrypted to produce what she called *caste formations*. Her interest in critiquing how these *caste-like* formations work is to show how they predetermine understandings of educability—certain forms of disability suggest that their bearers are uneducable. This point relates powerfully to ‘race’. ‘Race’, like disability, precedes the actual subject and denotes educability of certain groups of students. These classifications, according to Baker:

Become present as whispers, shaping political horizons around what constitutes biology and reason, operating as that which enables a series to be recognized as a series. [There is] [t]he assumption of developmental levels bequeathed by processes of evolution and presumed embodied ... [an] appeal to inborn nature ... (ibid.)

Racial classification operates in much the same way. It assumes that ‘raced’ groups carry innate abilities and characteristics. In making ‘race’ real, the opportunity for biasing and materializing its potential is exponentially increased. Lost in the process is the real message that human capacity to learn is not a racial biological property. In the process, racism as a socially experienced phenomenon is not brought forward for inspection. This is by no means a new critique. It is however, one that struggles to make itself heard, understood and—most difficult of all—developed. These discussions and analysis of race as a social phenomenon are crucial in political environments, such as those of South Africa and the United States, where biological inflections and reproductions of ‘race’ dominate the everyday experience. We need to develop deeper understandings of how racism works.

HOW DOES ONE EXPAND THIS VIEW?

We need to shift the dominant view of people in their raced identities as undifferentiated, coherent, singular and fixed. Discursively, this view allows for no agency. It is important to engage with individuals’ opinions about the categories which are used to label these individuals. But it is the structural system that urgently requires examination and evaluation. In terms of this, it is necessary to locate the students within their social contexts and to bring into full view the intersecting and influential factors in people’s lives—their class, gender, language, religion, age—and the places in which they find themselves. Critically, an intersectional approach would frame social experience in more complex terms.

To use intersectionality as an analytical tool to understand ‘race’, one of the most critical issues in South Africa—social class—must also be examined (see Visagie 2013; Wright n.d.). Social class has always been deeply determinative of social position in the political economy of South Africa. The major debate in the country in both political and intellectual circles in the lead-up to the coming of democracy in 1994 reflected this significance. The question as to whether ‘race’ was an epiphenomenon

of class was debated between neo-Marxists and liberals (see Wolpe 1988; Sizwe 1979; Alexander 2006). As critical as class was as a factor in shaping the character of modern South Africa before 1994, in some ways it is even more of a factor in the current period. In the apartheid period, neo-Marxists made the argument that capitalism used ‘race’ to justify the exploitation of the black working class. Whether that argument sufficiently explained racism remains contentious. But what is clear in the current period is how class has impacted on the inequalities that are growing in the country. The speed with which the black middle class has grown has been a stand-out feature of the social formation of the country.

Two recent studies conducted by the Research Group on Socio-Economic Policy at Stellenbosch University (RESEP 2013; Khunou 2013) have made the significance of this shift in the growing black middle class clear. Striking in this development is the dramatic reconfiguration of the middle class itself in the country. At the core of this reconfiguration has been the expansion of the African share of the middle class from 10.7 % in 1993 to 41.3 % in 2014 (RESEP 2013, p. 2). The RESEP work, using the not uncontroversial criterion of R25,000 per capita income (in 2000 prices), shows that the black middle class grew from 3.6 million in 1993 to 7.2 million in 2012 (RESEP 2013, p. 2). In proportion to the total population, this class increased from 8.2 % to 13.9 % over the same period. The Unilever report (2012) estimated this growth somewhat more conservatively. One of its authors reports that ‘since 2004, this segment has increased by 4.224 million people’ (Burger 2013, para. 3). Personal income in this class category has increased by 30 % per capita since 2004. Importantly, this new black middle class has invested heavily in education, with 65 % sending their children to either former white or private schools. This process of middle class formation was in progress soon after 1993. Salim Vally and Yolisa Dalamba (1999) explained that by 1999, one quarter of all the children in Gauteng’s former white schools were black. Similarly, Jane Hofmeyr and Lindsay McCay (2010) found that:

[n]early two decades later [after 1994] ... [t]he majority of learners at independent schools are now black ... While the majority of the new black elite are sending their children to high-fee independent schools, the majority of learners are drawn from black middle and working-class families in the informal sector. (p. 51–52)

An important effect of this class reconfiguration has been the significant increase in the country's Gini coefficient, which is the measure of inequality that exists. One way in which this disparity is explained is to talk about the increased levels of racism which have led to increased levels of exploitation of people of colour. However, this explanation does not take into account the finding of recent analyses which show that levels of inequality have increased most rapidly within the black community. While the incomes of middle-class groups have grown, so, too, has inequality. South Africa is now reported to be the most unequal country in the world (RESEP 2013). The increase in inequality since 1994 may be due to the rapid increase in the size of the black class (all data from RESEP document cited above), which cannot be overlooked.

More difficult to demonstrate is the role of gender in shaping the profile of student participation in the country (see Diko 2007). As indicated previously, official demographic documentation consistently has reported male and female participation rates. At face value, these representations suggest that the country has achieved parity in terms of participation between men and women. Critics such as Elaine Unterhalter (2004) have taken issue with this view, arguing that simply working with the supposed biological differences between people is insufficient. In the same way I have sought to problematize 'race', Unterhalter similarly asked that a much more rigorous sociologically-minded view of gender is taken. Such a view would need to make the ideological and discursive connections of gender equality in education and work, the openness of public discussions to equality, women's freedom of expression, support for women in public processes and so on. Similarly, Diane Eynon (2010) has emphasized the effects of patriarchy on women's passage through school and into the university.

Other factors which also need acknowledgement are place and language. Again, while the conventions for presenting the demographic complexity of the country are poor, there are studies which show that South Africans living in Gauteng and the Western Cape have considerably better life chances than their counterparts in all the country's other provinces. With only 19.7 % of the country's total population, Gauteng contributed 33 % of the National Gross Domestic Product in 2003 (Punt 2005, p. 6). With respect to language, James Levinsohn (2007) posed the question of whether the return to speaking English increased as South Africa opened up to the international economy from 1993 to 2000 (p. 638–639). Controlling for 'race' and gender, he found, against a sample of over 40,000 subjects, that

people who listed English as their primary language earned about 18 % more than those who listed another language. While he found the returns were flexible over time and in relation to different racial groups, he was able to come to the conclusion that the English premium was great. For the period on which he focused, the premium for people classified African was 60 %. It was also significant amongst Afrikaans-speaking whites who shifted to English (Levinsohn 2007, p. 642). These factors are consequential in thinking about who attends university and, more importantly, who is being included and excluded.

In reviewing these factors, it is striking how little they actually feature in deconstructions of the young people who are making their way into university. Few of the official representations of the composition of the student population demonstrate any insight into the significance of these issues either in their singularities or in their intersectional articulations. While gender is used as a means of displaying the profile of the students, it is itself used in the same limited way in which ‘race’ is used. Gender is used as a self-evident social description. The report of the Ministerial Review Committee into Financial Aid has acknowledged some of this complexity (DoHET 2010, p. 37). In justifying its recommendation that the racial basis for determining disadvantage should be replaced by socio-economic status, the Ministerial Review Committee stated that:

the socio-economic status of black students varies considerably across institutions. It is likely that many black students at the HAIs do not in fact qualify for NSFAS loans because they are not in need of financial aid. For instance, African students at UCT, are on average more affluent ... than African students at UFH. This can be seen in the respective proportions of students with negative EFCs [expected family contribution] (DoHET 2010, p. 37)

The Review Committee estimated that, of the 799,490 students registered in the system in 2008, only 153,795 were eligible for financial aid (i.e. they fell below the eligibility threshold of a household income of R122,000 per annum) (DoHET 2010, p. 94). This could be read to suggest that approximately 20 % of the students enrolled in that year were deemed to be poor. But these students’ actual socio-economic status, and those of the other students in the system, is not known. However, indications of the dynamic class profile of students in the system, collected from studies at universities such as the University of Cape Town, demonstrated

that over half of the parents, both mothers and fathers, of its registered students have higher education qualifications. The majority of the students describe themselves as middle-class (University of Cape Town 2014, p. 18–20).

CONCLUSION

The single lesson to take from this brief analysis is that using ‘race’ as a marker of social difference is, by itself, inadequate and, in the current period, unable to account for the social complexity of the country or for the structuring mechanisms which produce advantage and disadvantage. The conventions in use for presenting the demography of the country do not provide us with a sufficiently clear picture of the dynamics that are at work in the economy, in communities and in people’s lives. This presents a challenge for managing questions of fairness and justice in the country. It presents a particular challenge to fairness in determining who will be admitted into university. Universities’ affirmative action and redress policies for admission, which they are constitutionally and morally obliged to effect, become, then, important sites for thinking through these challenges.

As processes in the country currently work, there is insufficient information in the Higher Education Management Information Systems (HEMIS) to describe with any degree of sensitivity the factors that matter, such as the demographic composition of the 938,200 students who enrolled in the system in 2011. The inequalities of class, gender, language, region and other social differences are not evident in this analysis. The current data that are captured present little detail about the socio-economic status of the students. Information is available in the country’s financial aid administrative database but this data set is not routinely integrated into a comprehensive report in the country’s HEMIS (de Villiers 2012). While universities’ application procedures collect data about the schools from which students attended, this information, similarly, is not integrated nationally. As a result, the system is unable to explain, much less describe, the kinds of schools from which it draws its students. The suggestion that a majority of these students come from relatively privileged schools is something that universities infer but cannot confirm. Moreover, there is limited information and understanding about the regional origins of the students. Again, the majority of the students at the elite universities are drawn from the financially powerful cities, such as Johannesburg and

Cape Town, but this cannot be affirmed. Other issues include the actual representation of rural students in the system; these students experience both shortages of facilities and availability of qualified teachers. It is not known with any degree of certainty what languages students speak in their homes, or what languages were used in their classrooms. Also, there is little clarity on how female students experienced their progression into university. Additionally, there is little understanding of what different kinds of abilities students bring into university and to their learning.

In measuring participation from the dominant approach, it entrenches and normalizes the very problems it seeks to counter. In cementing ‘race’ as the primary demographic descriptor for participation, it erases all of the complexities young people bring with them into the system. This critique is significant for thinking about the full nature of the university experience, particularly as it relates to teaching and learning. If the system comes to approach and comprehend the young people in front of them in the essentialized figures of ‘race’, it sets itself up to respond to them in the weakest way possible. They are either privileged white students or disadvantaged black students. Projecting someone as ‘white’ becomes a code in itself, as does the projection of a ‘black’ identity. Some students, throughout their experience, are treated in a diminished way. From this limiting perspective, the system cannot see certain students’ actual advantages and disadvantages (see Majavu 2011).

And yet, there are opportunities to overcome this dominant perspective. It is possible to acknowledge actual advantage and disadvantage. It is possible for the system to identify factors such as income, language(s) used, region, medium of instruction, social capital and so on to develop measures for redress. Failure to take these preliminary steps makes it difficult for the system to address the inequality in terms of access, participation and experience that certain students encounter in higher education.

NOTES

1. A specific difficulty we have in undertaking this task, as might be the case in the United States, is coming to terms with the deep investments South Africans have in the situation in which they find themselves. Their proximity to the situation is both an advantage and a disadvantage. Their proximity to the situation brings with it familiarity and a certain level of literacy about it. But it also, and I acknowledge how controversial this is, brings a wariness of explanation and analysis which takes them into and seeks their engagement

with the *unfamiliar* beyond their own everyday literacies. This condition, I suggest here, is not unusual in sociological debates involving social phenomena such as racism and sexism. Because these phenomena involve most conscious people in deeply personal ways, they are challenged in developing meta-languages in and through which they can see themselves in aggregated and disaggregated ways.

2. I am aware of how the argument I develop here would appear intuitively wrong to many and how, even, it might give offence, especially to those who make the argument that race-based affirmative action is a political advance that needs to be protected. I argue here, however, that this approach is, in the long term, complicit in the reproduction of racial dominance. It is important to emphasize that one could make exactly the same argument for the concept of gender and the complex of patriarchy in which it is set. It perpetuates (1) the false beliefs that our 'race' (and also our gender) plays a real role in determining our capacities as human beings, and (2) the sublimation of the role of our contexts in shaping our life-chances.

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PART III

Education, Democracy and Global
Social Justice

Decolonizing and Delinking North–South Higher Education Partnerships: Imagining Possibilities for Global Social Justice

Allyson Larkin

INTRODUCTION

How do we practice social liberation in the context of globalizing higher education internationalization?

International higher education research and programming is frequently the site of projects, research and programming that make a claim to be working for social justice. What constitutes social justice and defines its horizon, however, is contested. Decolonizing pedagogies, methodologies and practices engaged to frame these activities are typically informed by Eurocentric theories, which continue to view Global South experiences and knowledges through Western eyes (Mignolo 2007). Projects which claim to be decolonizing and participatory struggle to establish relationships that do not conform to Northern institutional expectations, including funding requirements and project timelines (Association of African Universities (AAU) and the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) 2012). North–South (N–S) partnerships which promote research and global programming are two examples of relationships which, in the current context

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of higher education internationalization, seek to engage with Global South communities, raising questions of whose interests are best served in the relationship. My concern in this chapter is with the notion of N–S partnership as a site for the production of further dispossession and exploitation by the reproduction of knowledge through Western, Eurocentric theories, methodologies and analyses. Drawing on challenges posed by Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2014), partnerships that seek to promote socially just relationships must answer to the following challenges: What types of relationships are possible between different knowledges? Who is responsible for translating? How do we distinguish between incommensurability, incompatibility, contradiction and complementarity? Who is the partner in a Global South community, in research or educational settings that exist outside the scope of the university? (de Sousa Santos 2014).

To begin to provide answers to these questions, I contend that researchers and educators committed to social justice must resist and question institutional pressures which are brought to bear on their work in the forms of short timelines for education programming; the demand for competitive, often single-author, publications; and often in the production of knowledge as patents. Seeking social justice through N–S higher education requires continually rethinking the principles that established the standards for knowledge production. Delinking knowledge from the apparatus of Western higher education demands, according to Walter Dignolo (2007), a “decolonial epistemic shift” (p. 453). Decolonizing knowledge is a reversal of the colonizer’s attempt to assimilate knowledge. Delinking education and research presupposes:

to know from where on should delink ... De-linking means “desprenderse”, (to break off) from the coloniality of knowledge controlled and managed by the theo-, ego- and organo-logical principles of knowledge and its consequences. Delinking goes together with the de-colonial shift and the geo and body-politics of knowledge to provide both the analytics for a critique and the vision toward a world in which many worlds can co-exist. (Mignolo 2007, p. 463)

Delinking N–S educational partnership practices positions researchers and educators outside of traditional pedagogical and methodological terrain (Mignolo 2007). Stepping outside of the framework of Western-centric models of knowledge and partnership requires rethinking theoretical and methodological practices, the taking of risk by researchers and

educators to produce knowledge outside of traditional frameworks. It also requires a rethinking of who should be included in the benefits of research products, including publications and patent production.

In the current context of higher education, even researchers who are deeply committed to engaging in ethical N–S educational relationships are challenged by Western-centric methodological and pedagogical expectations. Terms such as “emancipatory”, “participatory” and “action research” hint at the possibility for more socially just relationships and knowledge production; however, Mignolo (2007) argued that even these the term “emancipatory” is laden with Eurocentric values and responsibilities. He argued that “if ‘emancipation’ is the image used by honest liberals and honest Marxists from the internal and historical perspectives of Europe of the US, then looking at the world history from outside of those locations ... means coming to terms with the fact that this is still a further need for ‘liberation/de-coloniality from the people and institutions raising the flag of ‘emancipation’” (p. 458). Within the context of the current knowledge production regime, N–S partnerships grounded in an aspiration of emancipation are not operating from outside the institutions and values that originally produced exclusion and suppression (Mignolo 2007). Mignolo (2007) challenged researchers and educators to engage in liberation practices, where “liberation/de-coloniality includes and re-maps the rational concept of emancipation. *In this complexity, we need a relentless critical exercise of awareness of the moments when the guiding principle at work is liberation/de-coloniality*” (p. 458, emphasis in original).

How do we begin the project of re-imagining N–S partnership as a form of liberation? What role do individual educators and researchers have in engaging with Global South partners in ways that do not become the latest version of oppression or epistemic imperialism? In this chapter, I consider the implications for the reproduction of oppression through N–S partnership and the implications for knowledge production in the context of the academic publishing and patent production apparatus. The pressures to produce knowledge that can be owned, through publication and patenting (Shiva 2007; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004; Tyfield 2008), dispossess communities and individuals in the Global South who contribute to this process but are not acknowledged as its beneficiaries, either because they are not located within the scope of a local university, or because they do not participate within the logics that govern this system. The twin pressures of globalization and internationalization spur researchers and institutions to engage in practices that conform to marketized expectations,

including the production of commodified research in the form of patents and publications (Burbules and Torres 2000; Hill and Kumar 2009; Slaughter and Leslie 1997). In the context of a discussion of the possibility for socially just N–S partnerships, calls for increased internationalization must be held accountable for complicities with knowledge expropriation and epistemological exploitation, even if internationalization is a broader conceptual category than an economic analysis of it might imply (Beck 2012). It is critical that researchers and educators interested in the possibility of social justice consider whose interests are being served through research and programming pursued in Global South communities where the potential for exploitation and oppression are most acute (Unterhalter and Carpentier 2010).

New developments in the protections of patents through international organizations such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the introduction of Trade Related Intellectual Property rights (TRIPs) are a contemporary extension of historical colonial claims to southern territory and knowledges (Shiva 2007). Securing knowledge products in the form of patents or publications transforms knowledge into property, which is privatized, commodified and promoted, typically with few considerations of vulnerable populations' interests. Indeed, in the absence of some effective mechanisms for accountability, it is more than likely that many Western researchers, untrained in critical theory or concerned with social justice, pursue research in Global sites as an entrepreneurial endeavour.

De Sousa Santos (2014) challenged the production of knowledge as property or epistemological authority. His analysis of social justice begins with a call to rethink the foundations for what counts as knowledge. De Sousa Santos (2014) argued that a new epistemological framework is a precondition to liberation possibilities. He argued that there can be no progress toward social justice without first acknowledging the ongoing suppression of colonized knowledges, the violent silencing of Others' histories, faith, experiences and interests, or the expropriation of knowledge without acknowledgment or compensation (de Sousa Santos 2014). In what he identified as the untenable monoculture of Western, de Sousa Santos claimed that scientific or humanist knowledge will only survive through engagement with an ecology of knowledges. Cultivating a new epistemological ecosystem will demand abolishing the regulatory and oppressive tactics currently used to suppress difference within the context of North-South academic partnerships and Western knowledge production.

Delinking Knowledges for Social Justice: Beyond Domination and Oppression in Western Higher Education Partnerships

While seeking new models for partnership, how do we “distinguish between alternatives to domination and oppression and systems of domination of oppression?” (de Sousa Santos 2014). The process of delinking knowledge (Quijano 1999, as cited in Mignolo 2007, p. 452) establishes a break between the coloniality of knowledge produced about or disposed from the Global South. The analysis of knowledge production through the framework of modernity/coloniality argues for the constitutive role in knowledge formation played by the colonial experience, a process which continues to derive benefit from the global infrastructure of knowledge production that privileges those who are able to access publishing outlets and who secure ownership over knowledge through patents (Shiva 2007; Mignolo 2007). One imperialist effect of knowledge production persists through the production of commercialized knowledge under the protection of patents and copyright laws (Tyfield 2008). Complicit in this process are N–S higher education partnerships which are typically and increasingly constructed around Western discourses of development and “manifested in the rationalities and programmes of the World Bank to reap potential economic gains from knowledge or research products”; this merely reconstitutes the hegemony and coloniality intrinsic to Western higher education (Tikly 2004 p. 173).

In response to the ongoing coloniality of knowledge that informs higher education, Mignolo (2007) challenged researchers to engage in epistemic decolonization through a delinking of knowledge, economy, politics, aesthetics and ethics that govern institutional relationships/partnerships between Global North and South. Particularly in the field of development, and often motivated by humanitarian responses to poverty and inequality, some N–S partnerships continue to engage a knowledge-transfer model to deliver Western expertise to areas of the world (Spivak 2004). Aid-oriented partnerships do not critique the historical power relationships and institutional structures that have produced inequality. Western conceptualizations of social justice that emphasize recognition of social groups, redistribution of resources, or parity of participation among stakeholders are insufficient to establish meaningfully just relations between the West and the formerly colonized world (Fraser 2008). The argument for social justice through greater recognition, representation or redistribution within a system that has historically produced entrenched

inequality continues to operate under the influence of values and knowledge that originally produced oppression.

De Sousa Santos (2014) remains sceptical of the possibility that those working from within northern universities are actually capable of engaging in social justice, claiming that researchers who work in universities “require protective hats and gloves to deal with reality” (p. 3). Cognitive social justice is a concept developed by de Sousa Santos (2014) to establish an epistemological foundation to ground knowledge for a global understanding of social justice. Cognitive social justice “must be premised upon a new epistemology, which, contrary to hegemonic epistemologies in the West, does not grant a priori supremacy to scientific knowledge (heavily produced in the North). Cognitive social justice requires an epistemological reconstruction ... in order to capture the immense variety of critical discourses and practices and to valorize and maximize their transformative potential” (p. 42). Further:

cognitive social justice is situated in a position of unconditional inclusiveness ... and engages an ecology of knowledges which brings together not only North–South, but also South–South, rural–urban, popular–scientific, religious–secular and other epistemologies and discourses in a collective pursuit of human knowledge. It must allow for a more just relationship among different kinds of knowledge (de Sousa Santos 2014, pp. 42–43).

This call for a new epistemological foundation for social justice must be built on a new language of inter-cultural translation, founded on “enhanced interknowledge, mediation, and negotiation ... [where] the field of political and social experiences to count and act upon is enlarged, thereby offering a broader view and a more realistic evaluation of the alternatives available and possible today” (de Sousa Santos 2014, p. 234). Moreover:

starting anew means rendering creativity and interruption possible under hostile conditions that promote reproduction and repetition. The point is not so much to imagine new theories, new practices and new relations ... the point is mainly to imagine new ways of ... generating transformative collective action. (de Sousa Santos, p. 5)

According to de Sousa Santos (2014), it is insufficient, if not impossible, to pursue social justice as a redistribution of scientific knowledge within the context of abyssal thinking. Abyssal thinking is a metaphor to illustrate the formation of knowledge built on the subjugation of Others’

knowledges (p. 207). Underlying the argument for abyssal thinking is the premise that the monoculture of hegemonic, scientific thinking has only a limited number of possible interventions to promote justice; therefore, cognitive social justice is only attainable through the retrieval and reintegration of Others' knowledges. The project of cognitive social justice reclaims knowledge that is already present within official accounts yet is made invisible by erasure and exclusion. Reconstructing an evaluative framework to incorporate these subjugated knowledges demands a different set of relationships, not only among producers of knowledge but also among different kinds of knowledge (de Sousa Santos 2014, p. 42).

Higher Education and Social Justice in Neoliberal Times

At a time of fiscal austerity in public higher education, universities are seeking new sources for funding; it is difficult to imagine that Global North research universities will be open to a less remunerative approach to the production of research. Recent economic analyses of the contributions to national economies and universities by related international education activities is targeted to grow and is cited as one of the key drivers of Canada's "future economic prosperity" (Government of Canada 2014). Moreover, competitive pressures for international ranking and status drive demands for profitable international partnerships while attention is slowly turned away from issues of equity and justice. On most North American university campuses today, internationalization has become a "common-sense way that many of us interpret, live in and understand" in the field of higher education (Harvey 2005, p. 3). International research partnerships, conferences and student programming are an integral feature of contemporary academic life. While funding cutbacks may reduce some forms of research and student programming, they have also produced neoliberal subjectivities among some researchers who view the emphasis on internationalization as an opportunity. This is particularly true in the field of life sciences and biotechnology, where research products are more readily translated into market commodities. It must be noted that the benefits of commodified research are not limited to life sciences. Publications and copyrights on social sciences and humanities material also provide a measure of economic benefit through the role they play in promotion and tenure. University educators and researchers are in a double-bind: authentic social justice will demand that individual researchers and educators take risks that may jeopardize or diminish their professional aspirations or expectations—and yet, even taking risks to produce new forms of knowledge relationships may be insufficient

to promote social justice, or collective action an impossibility. Rethinking partnerships for social justice will demand “deepening and diversifying” (de Sousa Santos 2014, p. 7) the relationships educators and researchers form with local partners in Global South sites.

Abyssal Partnerships

North–South research partnerships can be imagined to exist along de Sousa Santos’ (2014) *abyssal lines*. Abyssal thinking describes a relationship where an invisible line separates knowledge that is acknowledged, accepted and believed as true and civilized, while knowledges produced on the other side of the line disappear into an abyss. Their presence is made invisible through denial and silencing. Moreover, visible (Western, scientific) knowledge is predicated on the existence of invisible (non-Western, non-scientific) knowledge, as well as the experiences, knowledge, culture, history, stories and beliefs of those individuals, communities and cultures that lie beyond Western nations which are made invisible because they cannot be explained by the theories, values or systems produced in the West. They are the raw material of new knowledge produced on the Western side of the abyss. TRIPs, patents and copyrights are some of the mechanisms deployed by Western interests to draw abyssal lines. In the context of N–S partnerships, data and evidence collected from sites in the South provide the material for researchers and students to produce knowledge through publication and/or patenting.

A recent report by the AAU and the AUCC (2012) identified weaknesses within African institutional policies to protect local researchers and their contributions to knowledge production. The absence of mechanisms within Global South institutions to protect the interests of their researchers is an example of the abyssal lines that govern the legitimacy of researchers’ actions. In the absence of institutional protections, researchers and communities are vulnerable to exploitation by outside interests.

Rethinking N–S Partnerships: Who Benefits?

Although there have been many attempts to establish ethical codes or frameworks for N–S socioeconomic relationships, (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) 2014), ultimately there are no clear, accountable guidelines to the formation of N–S education or research partnerships. Informal agreements, based on the notion

that some benefits may accrue to local communities through knowledge transfer, govern many projects. Linda Smith's (2012) work on decolonizing research reveals the damage inequitable and exploitative research practices exact on indigenous communities. Liberal humanitarian approaches to N–S engagements, assuming Western universalist values, frequently miss the complex community structures, overlook power relations, and perpetuate attitudes that create and sustain exploitation (Andreotti 2007). Researchers in this project were blind to the expectations or aspirations of local partners who supported their research. Rethinking N–S partnership within the framework of cognitive social justice requires rethinking who counts as a partner in research.

To illustrate the effects of knowledge expropriation through N–S partnership, I present excerpts from research conducted on a specific N–S university partnership between a Global North university and a community in sub-Saharan Africa. This excerpt is taken from a critical case study (Creswell 2012) examining the impact of an educational partnership between a Canadian university and a group of local NGOs and other organizations, working on collaborative HIV/AIDS research (Larkin 2013). The roots of the N–S partnership investigated in this case are embedded in a decade-long HIV/AIDS research project. Researchers were interested in exploring the efficacy of a nutritional supplement, (developed by the researchers), designed to enhance immune system health for individuals suffering from the disease. The research partners in this community were not colleagues from a commensurable institution; rather, they were locally employed as medical technicians and contracted by researchers for this project. Questions of knowledge ownership and who counts as a partner in the production of knowledge in Global South communities emerge from the excerpts below. Although the research methodology literature raises issues of ethical representation of participants in research, questions of authorship and the responsibility to acknowledge who counts as a partner in research are much less clear. Since local partners were not formal institutional partners, they were excluded from inclusion as authors or contributors to publications from the research and received little compensation for their efforts.

Who Counts?

This particular research project focused on the promotion of a nutritional supplement, developed by Northern university researchers who were exploring possibilities to improve immune system health for individuals suffering

with HIV/AIDS. Although I was aware of the links between the research project and the International Service Learning (ISL) programme at the start of the research, it was through interviews with local medical research partners—whose role was to collect data and to provide some ingredients for the local production of the nutritional supplement—that participants shared their frustrations that a number of publications and patents, produced by the Northern researchers as a result of data collected from the community, had not included their names as co-researchers on the work.

Who counts as a partner and beneficiary of research was a key question emerging from this research. Local researchers were deeply frustrated that their contributions had not been acknowledged; neither had any financial benefits from the research been distributed to the community. The following excerpts are taken from interviews with a local researcher—here, named Sebastian—to illustrate the disadvantageous position he occupied relative to the researchers from the North. The medical clinic he worked for was contracted by the Northern university researchers to oversee some of the collection of research data and the production of key ingredients that needed to be procured locally for the nutritional supplement. Sebastian, over the course of our interviews, made several claims of inequity and injustice as a participant in this research. As a researcher, he had more than fifteen years' experience in his field and had completed a university degree in life sciences. When we met, Sebastian had been working on this particular project for several years. His primary responsibilities included producing enzymes necessary for the production of the nutritional supplement onsite and keeping records of data taken from participants in the community research. He felt that he had been treated unfairly and unprofessionally by the university researchers. The concerns he expressed included denial of access to adequate resources to purchase necessary items for the production of the enzymes—such as laboratory equipment, exclusion from inclusion in or acknowledgement on research publications, requests to supervise visiting graduate students on their research in the field and unreasonable expectations for onsite management of the research. Compensation and recognition were key elements of the partnership that were under the sole authority of the Northern researchers. He asked:

why do they not include my name on publications? They send me graduate students to work here in the lab. Sometimes with little or no notice. They [students] come with methods and projects that are not suitable. I have to work with them to redesign their studies. I send them [Northern researchers] back data from the research here but I am not included on publications

from that data. I ask them for some monies to buy equipment that I need here in the lab, but I am told that there is no money.

I have the Internet. I see what is published. I know when they win awards from this work but I want to know why I am not included in any of this?

The refusal to contribute additional funding to support his research efforts in his laboratory was compounded by observations of Northern university researchers' visits to the community. The costs of travel, accommodation and the equipment researchers brought with them all attested to the unequal access to resources:

I am working to get my own work done, the work I am paid to do. But I am told that I must also do this work, which is service to my community. Do they do their work as service to the community? I do not think so.

The assumption that he would participate in the research project as a service to his community suggests a perception, on the part of the Northern researchers, that his contributions were of a charitable nature, rather than having professional value, and so justified denying him participation in the rewards which accrued to the Northern researchers through publications. Providing research data as a service to his community makes subordinate and makes invisible the value his research has for the Northern researchers, who benefit through the production of publications and sales of patented research. Through searching the Internet, he discovered that the findings from this research project were winning institutional and individual researcher awards—and, moreover, the sale of patents based on this work was generating a significant measure of profit. All this, and yet his requests for resources to provide him with quality equipment to enable him to perform the work required for the research were consistently denied:

When I ask for new lab items, I am told that there is no budget. But I am sure that they must have this equipment at their university for otherwise how could they produce their research? Some of our equipment is old and unreliable. There must be some monies if they travel here to review the project so often.

The formation of colonized subjectivities by diminishing the role of local participants in research partnerships is a historical legacy perpetuated through a perception or valuation of local contributions as less professionally qualified. Liberated subjectivities, according to Ali Abdi and Lynette Shultz (2014), must replace the “deformed identities imposed

by colonialism, and continued under the predatory practices of false laissez-faire economics, diminished citizenship dispensations and in earnest, under developing projects disguised as development” (p. 168). Sebastian’s experience is not unfamiliar to Global South partnerships, where promises of publications or access to research resources often accompany potential partnerships and do not materialize (Naidoo 2010; Samoff and Carol 2004). Moreover, it underscores the belief that the contributions made to research by local community members, who are not perceived to be formal partners, means they are excluded from making claims to be co-producers of knowledge.

As noted in the AAU and AUCC (2012) study, in the absence of strong protective measures to safeguard the knowledge produced by researchers in African institutions or communities, the likelihood of exploitation or dispossession is high. There is a growing optimism in some recent research on the potential for N–S and South–South partnerships to contribute to local development in African communities; however, these efforts are complicated and obstructed by trenchant outside interests that relinquish control of the development agenda only reluctantly (Obamba 2013a, b). Only “genuine transnational partnerships can bridge the North–South knowledge divide and can be effectively mobilized to transcend, reconfigure and challenge the hegemonic discourses of asymmetry and dependency which have historically dominated African development politics” (Obamba 2013a, p. 142). Cognitively reconfiguring N–S partnerships to be inclusive of multiple sources and contributors to knowledge challenges the frameworks established for knowledge production in the current context. This relationship for the production of knowledge as property, in the form of patents and publications, undermines the possibility of cognitive social justice.

De-linking Knowledge for Social Justice: Profits, Patents and Partnerships

The global apparatus of academic research publishing, coupled with the market for patents, is currently driving a massive increase in knowledge production. According to a recent study by Bill Cope and Mary Kalantzis (2009), the rate of academic publishing in the past decade, roughly 2005–2015, has nearly doubled and the amount of money that universities pay for subscriptions to journals is a more than \$1 billion industry, annually. The tension between the business of knowledge and the generation of knowledge for the common good is what Gert Biesta (2012) identified as

an *epistemological mystification* which separates real (published) knowledge from the realm of the abyss (p. 412, emphasis in original). Through the magical transformation of some knowledge into academic publications, the industry exacerbates inequality of knowledges. Through the process of academic publication:

asymmetries arise which give strength to some statements, technologies or practices, and ... weaken other statements, technologies and practices so that at some point in time, some of those statements become facts and truths, some of those technologies become inevitable, and some of those practices become “common sense” and at a more general level, such statements, technologies and practice begin to appear as universal in that they are everywhere and are able to function everywhere. (Biesta 2012, p. 412)

Claims of knowledge, universals and common sense are technologies of oppression that operate systemically, epistemically and unevenly throughout higher education’s relationship to the formerly colonized world. The relationship between universities located in the Global North and South continues to be one governed by asymmetry: access to financial and infrastructure resources privileges the production of knowledge that not only favours Western epistemologies but, when it is packaged as patents or other published products, protects it by a complex copyrighted legal system—it is transformed into a form of property. Patents throughout history have been associated with colonization (Shiva 2007, p. 273). The publication of academic research is big business. Perhaps more powerful in the current context of higher education internationalization and N–S partnerships is the production of patents according to institutional and legal standards which are established and enforced by Western authorities. Bandana Shiva (2007) demonstrated how “throughout history [patents have] been associated with colonization. At the beginning of the colonization of the world by Europe, they were aimed at the conquest of territory; now they are aimed at the conquest of economies” (p. 273). She argued that the precursor to the modern research patent is found in historical documents and royal charters that asserted the right of European nations to claim land and to conquer indigenous peoples. The development of TRIPs is the latest strategy devised by the West to secure control over knowledge and property. Now, more than:

five hundred years after Columbus, a more secular version of the same project of colonization continues through patents and intellectual property rights. The Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) agreement of the

WTO is a new version of the old patent charters ... The freedom that that Transnational Corporations (TNCs) are claiming through TRIPs is the same freedom that European colonies have claimed since 1642 as their natural right to the territories and wealth of non-European peoples. (Shiva 2007, p. 273)

The production of knowledge through publishing and patents parallels the colonial dispossession of territory by decree. Shiva (2007) argued that the role of patents provides the same measure of control that Papal Bulls or royal decrees gave to territorial claims and that:

markets and economic systems are what have to be controlled. Knowledge itself has to be converted into property, just as land was during colonization. This is why today “patents” have been covered by the broader label of “intellectual property,” or property of the “products of the mind.” Just as land was claimed to have been “discovered” and was treated as “*Terra Nullius*,” or “Empty Land,” because it was not inhabited by white Europeans, in spite of its being inhabited by indigenous people, knowledge that is claimed to have been “invented” and hence able to be patented and converted into intellectual property is often a pre-existing innovation in indigenous knowledge systems. (p. 274)

In the absence of a comparable, Westernized infrastructure for formalizing knowledge the Global South remains essentially *terra nullius*—a place for Northern interests to exploit undocumented knowledges, and a new frontier to secure knowledge claims. Knowledge is claimed, patented or published in a way that is similar to how European nations scrambled for colonial territories five hundred years ago. Further developing the parallels between colonization and the exploitation of research for knowledge production, Shiva (2007) argued that “in this new colonization through patents, land has been replaced by life, the church has been replaced by the WTO and the merchant adventurers have been replaced by transnational corporations” or, in many cases, university research partners (p. 274). This is an urgent call to resistance within the Global North academy to the production of knowledge *of* or *about* others that further dispossesses them of their culture, history, experiences, art or innovations. The reach of the WTO TRIPs is extensive, challenging national legal norms and infiltrating ecosystems down to the level of micro-organisms. The consequences have been dramatic in some locations. Shiva (2007) has documented instances where the scope and logic of TRIPs has forced some countries to change their patent laws to be in compliance with demands for patents for “life forms”

and “plant variety legislation” (p. 276). The complicities of Global North universities in the development of TRIPs is particularly salient for, but not limited to, biotechnology fields where “these political demands (for patents) [sic] went hand-in-hand with the formation of a university–industrial (U–I) complex based on biotechnology, in a mutually complementary dialectic: the greater the success in domestic patent reform, the greater the coherence and power of the U–I complex” (Tyfield 2008, p. 586).

Unfortunately, higher education N–S research partnerships will continue to play a key role in the re-colonization of epistemology under the WTO TRIPs programme, particularly as universities and research become more closely aligned with private interests (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004). Again, the lack of a comparable Westernized infrastructure for the protection of knowledge production leaves many Global South institutions and researchers vulnerable. The absence intellectual property protection, for African researchers, is a key weakness identified in a joint report by the AAU and the AUCC (2012). This void is easily exploited by researchers, who see much of the world as a research site to investigate independently as opposed to collaboratively. The experiences reported by Sebastian, as a researcher working to support efforts sponsored by a Northern university, illustrate some of the vulnerabilities of weaker partners as the technologies or processes of publication and patenting continue to privilege researchers who have access to formal knowledge production through financial resources and scholarly accreditation (Biesta 2012). Currently, the responsibility to protect intellectual property is located within individual institutions; yet, the relatively less powerful institution is at a clear disadvantage under current international law. Liberating local knowledges will require delinking knowledge production from exclusive and biased processes that are embedded in international patenting and copyright law; yet, it is unlikely that such reform can be accomplished within existing institutions and processes. It is more likely that liberating research relationships will demand delinking and dismantling the Western academic knowledge apparatus that drives knowledge formation for personal, institutional, or state profit.

*Moving Forward: Rethinking, Delinking, Dismantling
and Decolonizing N–S Knowledge Relationships*

Educators and researchers who desire social justice will not be able to achieve this goal without actively delinking their practices from the practices, pedagogies and methodologies that are deeply constitutive of global

systems, of which higher education is thoroughly imbricate, and structures that have historically excluded other epistemologies from recognition or participation in knowledge production. The challenges to forming N–S knowledge partnerships and framing cognitively just research requires rethinking and re-evaluating the knowledge on which current institutions are built. This is the first step to reclaiming the contributions of those individuals, communities and locations who are the unacknowledged authors of our histories and cultures. It will demand a dismantling of the university–industrial complex that profits from the knowledges of others and that insulates the acknowledged producers of that knowledge from sharing the benefits with those who assist in its production. Educators and researchers must begin to delink their practices from traditional methodologies, or they will remain trapped in a double-bind, between aspirations for social justice and the expectations of institutions concerned with maintaining the global status quo. The hope here lies in the fact that Global South knowledges are already present within the knowledge produced by Western interests. In contrast, recognizing the ecology of knowledges that have contributed to the project of Western modern knowledge is a project of reclamation.

The future challenge for global cognitive social justice lies in identifying knowledge translators who are able to distinguish between different knowledges, to interpret the meanings and to reveal the contributions of others to current knowledge that have been obscured by past practices (de Sousa Santos 2014). It requires dismantling the apparatus of legal mechanisms that “actively and invisibly” produce epistemological absences (de Sousa Santos 2014, p. 234) and rethinking the overall value of knowledge for the global community. Delinking knowledges from forces of production that strive to commodify their use for the market is the beginning of the possibility of global knowledge liberation and, ultimately, global social justice.

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Discipline and Publish: The Tenure Review Process in Ontario Universities

Sandra Acker and Michelle Webber

INTRODUCTION

Our research program concerns the ways in which social science academics in the Canadian province of Ontario respond to practices of evaluation, accountability and performativity. This chapter is based on two interrelated qualitative studies and focuses on the reactions of early-career academics to the process whereby they are evaluated for a permanent position: that is, the tenure review.

In recent years, much higher education scholarship has focused on the spread of neoliberalism and the ways in which universities in many nations have adopted versions of managerialism and corporatism intended to increase efficiency and cut costs. At the same time, forms of accountability have intensified, encroaching on the legendary autonomy of the traditional academic (Waring 2013). Academics are asked not only to do research and to teach, but also to report extensively on their research and teaching, which can be judged in a variety of ways. The barrage of regulatory mechanisms in play has been characterized as an audit culture

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(Shore and Wright 2000), a game (Lucas 2006), instruments of punishment (Morrish 2015) and a form of surveillance (Lorenz 2012), signifying what Woelert and Yates (2014) argue is both a lack of trust in academics' abilities or desires to regulate themselves, and an excess of trust in forms of performance measurement intended to accomplish the same goal.

Evaluation and competition are not new features of academic life. Academic work involves seeking recognition and rewards that are both internal (promotions, small grants, sabbaticals, merit pay, teaching awards) and external (research funding, awards, invitations, publications) to the university. What has changed in the past quarter century is the introduction of national schemes for assessing research or research productivity, often discursively defined around the concept of "quality". Starting in 1986 with the Research Assessment Exercise in the UK (now the Research Excellence Framework), manifestations of the audit culture now appear in many other nations (Enders et al. 2009; Hicks 2012; Uzuner-Smith and Englander 2014; Ylijoki 2013). These schemes may carry serious consequences for the institutions where the academics work, such as reductions in funding or distortions in the balance between teaching and research, and may also impact on the scholar's career and well-being (Leišytė et al. 2009).

Canada is sometimes thought to be an exception among similar English-speaking countries in that no direct initiatives from the national government require individual academics to be accountable for their research or teaching performance. One reason for this exceptionality is that there is no national department of education; instead, higher education is governed in diverse ways by the ten Canadian provinces. Provincial higher education policy efforts in Ontario tend to focus on the institutional level, requiring various forms of compliance from each university. Expansion of these policy initiatives is relatively recent. Thus far, they have not reached deep down into the everyday lives of academics.

It could be argued that external schemes would be superfluous, as their regulatory work is done by processes already in place, most notably by tenure and promotion reviews and various forms of annual performance assessment. The system of hiring people onto the so-called "tenure track", which usually leads to a permanent position after a period of sustained high performance, is a fiercely guarded tradition, similar overall (but not identical) to its counterpart in the United States. In both countries, this system is being indirectly eroded by the emergence of a large teaching cadre of academics hired on a fixed-term or contingent basis with minimal

job security (Jones 2013; Robinson 2015).¹ The North American tenure review is an instance of assessment that pre-dates yet complements the audit culture.

In Canada, the performance of new tenure-track academics is evaluated at least once (and sometimes annually) in the early years of their appointments, culminating in a more extensive appraisal (the “tenure review”) after about five or six years that will determine whether the individual is given a permanent appointment or a one-year terminal contract. The review process extends over an academic year or longer, requires considerable documentation and the labour of many people, and often involves external as well as internal assessors. “Going up for tenure” is not optional and lack of success, appeals aside, means losing one’s job. Because the stakes are so high, the prospect of being reviewed for tenure comes to dominate the lives of early-career tenure-track faculty.²

Although the rationale for tenure and its role in supporting academic freedom are often discussed and debated, the process is not as often theorized, and is not usually connected with the surveillance and trust issues raised in critiques of the various research assessment exercises found internationally. In this chapter, we draw on the ideas of Michel Foucault on discipline, supplemented by feminist work on micropolitics in the academy. In the next section, we elaborate on relevant theory and literature, followed by a brief description of our research. The main body of the chapter reports emergent themes in our data.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

We turned to Foucault in our understanding of the tenure review as one of the mechanisms that “disciplines” academics. Disciplinary practices, for Foucault (1977), create particular kinds of subjects. We argue that the tenure review process can be understood through this Foucauldian framework of discipline and self-discipline as a means by which subjects become regarded, both by others and themselves, as worthy (or not) of being awarded tenure. Preparing for and undergoing a tenure review could be seen as part of a lengthy period of apprenticeship, for many a continuation of their recent, or relatively recent, doctoral studies. Foucault’s work would suggest that it involves more than learning the rules. It requires a production of self and an organization of one’s research, teaching and sometimes service (administration) in a way that novices hope will be recognizable as “normal” within an academic discourse. Through their tenure review

practices, universities, faculties and departments are involved in producing a “regime of truth” (Foucault 2000, p. 131), that is, a set of procedures and mechanisms that determine how “truth” is to be discerned in that setting. In our case, “truth” applies to the judgement that an individual displays sufficient merit to be awarded tenure (or not) via written and unwritten rules and practices that specify what is an acceptable “production”, how it is to be judged, who is to judge it and so forth.

Foucault’s account of disciplinary power in *Discipline and Punish* (1977) elaborates on ways that effective control can be accomplished without direct coercion. He identifies three mechanisms (p. 170): hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and their combination in “the examination”. The pre-tenure period could be seen as one in which hierarchical observation takes place in the sense of junior faculty being under the watchful eyes of seniors (or believing themselves to be so) and, eventually, it will be mostly or entirely senior faculty who determine whether a novice is to be admitted into their ranks. These decisions are made through a “normalizing judgement” (p. 177)—essentially the determination of what behaviour is correct and what is not, what is to be rewarded and what is to be punished. Foucault argues that this system refers individual actions to a “field of comparison” (p. 122), differentiates among individuals, introduces homogenization (conformity) and excludes those who are “abnormal” (pp. 183–184). The tenure review process has the hallmark of an examination and contains the extensive documentation that Foucault noted was characteristic of such an event (p. 189).

What we see happening for junior faculty in our research is an extreme concentration on conforming to the reward system as they struggle to understand it. External surveillance, while perhaps embodied in intermittent reviews, advice sessions or classroom observations, is minor compared with the internal or self-surveillance in which tenure candidates engage. As with the national exercises monitoring research performance referenced above, the tenure review impacts on individual decision-making and academic subjectivity. Considering the Panopticon, an architectural structure that facilitated constant supervision of prisoners, Foucault (1977) states that what is important is “to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action; that the perfection of power should tend to render its actual exercise unnecessary” (p. 201). Tenure candidates do not need a senior professor peering over their shoulder; they surveil themselves.

Pre-tenure academics begin to think in terms of *performativity*—not only doing the work, but also making sure that it is seen and appreciated (Barry et al. 2013–2014; Butterwick and Dawson 2005; Leathwood and Read 2013; Lynch 2006; Wilson and Holligan 2013). Even if they collaborate with others in their research, teaching and/or service, they will be assessed as individuals, so they feel as if, in the last instance, they are on their own. Being subject to such a trial, in the same sense that mythological heroes must conquer obstacles, produces strong emotional responses, including anxiety and fear that everything they have worked for over the years might come to naught.

To our Foucault-inspired framework, we add certain insights from feminist scholarship on universities as gendered organizations with embedded male advantages. The academic career structure is said to favour individuals without competing domestic commitments and to reward stereotypical masculinist perspectives (e.g., Acker, Webber and Smyth 2016; Grummell et al. 2009; Morley 2013; Priola 2007; Søndergaard 2005; van den Brink and Benschop 2011). Along these lines, Thomas and Davies (2002) write of ‘dominant discourses of competitive masculinity’ (p. 384) to which academics must conform:

To succeed in the new climate of higher education requires working long hours, with single-minded ruthlessness and competitive zeal. To achieve a high research output requires a ‘closed door’ policy, minimal departmental administration, avoidance of peripheral tasks, and keeping focused on producing research outputs. (p. 384)

Needless to say, this description bears little resemblance to the popular image of women academics as committed teachers, good citizens and dedicated institutional housekeepers (Acker and Feuerverger 1996; Bird et al. 2004).

While both portraits contain a touch of caricature, they do sensitize us to the potentially different consequences of procedures such as tenure review for different subgroups. Junior academics, female or male, may have young families at the time when they must try to be exceptionally productive of scholarship (Acker and Armenti 2004). Faculty of colour frequently find themselves taking on extra responsibilities as students turn to them for mentoring and departments ask them to take on diversity-related service responsibilities (Osei-Kofi 2012; Tierney and Bensimon 1996).

In this chapter, we consider how junior faculty respond to the tenure review as a process of surveillance and normalization. First, we describe our research projects.

THE STUDIES

This chapter is based on in-depth, face-to-face interviews from two related studies in the province of Ontario, Canada. The first project, “Disciplining Academics”, specifically investigated tenure policy and practice, and the ways in which academics make sense of the experience of anticipating or reflecting on a review for tenure. After a preliminary phase in which university managers and faculty union personnel were consulted (reported in Acker et al. 2012), we conducted in-depth qualitative interviews between 2008 and 2011 with 38 junior faculty members, in five social science fields: economics, education, geography, political science and sociology. Participants were at a point in their career where they were nearing, undergoing or looking back on a recent tenure review.

The subsequent study, “The New Scholarly Subject”, grew out of the tenure project and was designed to focus more precisely on academics’ responses to issues of accountability and performativity. For this project, we conducted 24 interviews between 2011 and 2013 with individuals at different career points, 9 of whom were at a stage comparable to participants in the tenure study and are thus included in this chapter. While tenure was not as central in this set of interviews, it was usually discussed.

In all, we draw on 47 interviews with junior academics from 10 Ontario universities from the five social sciences fields listed above. Like most universities in Canada, all the universities in our study were public. We aimed for a diverse sample and 15 of our participants are from medical-doctoral institutions, 13 from comprehensives and 19 from primarily undergraduate universities.³ We interviewed 28 women and 19 men. Of the participants, 13 (4 women, 9 men) were from racialized minorities, including several of Aboriginal heritage, while the other 34 were white (although representing a range of ethnic and national backgrounds).

Analysis proceeded using typical qualitative interpretive methods. We read and re-read transcripts, identifying initial codes and grouping them into themes. We now turn to the analysis of our findings, using illustrative quotations, under the themes of normalization and homogeneity; performativity; emotions; gender, race and other distinctions.

FINDINGS

Normalizing

“How many publications do I need—just give me a number!” (Ryan Vickers).⁴ Anticipating a normalizing judgement, participants sought to work out what the norms for tenure might be. University administrations and faculty associations usually sponsored workshops and issued guidelines. Nevertheless, candidates still found the rules unclear. For example:

[The department document] says things like at least one peer-reviewed article per year, but then they qualify that with one has to be of a reputable quality in ... so if it's not, then, perhaps it would be at least two or three peer-reviewed articles per year ... I can't make sense of the document. (Delia Landis)

We might suggest that no amount of documentation and workshop provision will entirely dispel the aura of mystery around tenure criteria, if only because fathoming the criteria is a part of the production of the tenurable subject.

Similarly, the quest for clarity will never be satisfied, as it implies a precision of process and standards that is not actually there. Qualifying for life-long employment is not like passing a mathematics test. Successfully balancing research, teaching and service is a key task. Although the newest academics were often preoccupied with learning to teach, virtually everyone preparing for a tenure review had decided that, in the last instance, success would depend on their research, not their teaching or service.⁵ In the words of Farah Oliver, for teaching, “you just need to not be horrible”. Getting published, and in the so-called correct places, was the main preoccupation.

Extensively discussed in the interviews were the questions of how participants determined what to publish and where to (attempt to) publish it. Decisions were influenced by the norms of the subject discipline (e.g., books in political science; “top tier” journal articles in economics) and the hints participants were able to glean from others. In the context of building a research profile, individuals had to decide when to say yes and when to say no to opportunities that came their way. One of the most strategic pre-tenure participants explained:

People [are] writing books and you want to submit things for that, balancing that against the need to publish so many journal articles versus the need to get so many grants before I get tenure ... so I'm thinking through, well, what do I have time to work on before [I go on leave] and I'm trying to load up all the journal articles and a few of the requests. (Leonard Tester)

He added that he might accept a request if it comes "from someone who is really important to me, career-wise" but he might have to delay it, "knowing strategically that in the grand scheme of things, for the record, it's better to have an international journal article for my research area than it is to have another book chapter".

Michael Thomas showed strategic thinking throughout his interview, starting with "when I first got hired, I had a very structured plan for how I would go about getting tenure and promotion." The interviewer asked for more detail and he continued:

Well, the first thing I did when I got the job was ... I went through the collective agreement and looked at the criteria and decided for myself what was the most efficient way to meet this criteria, understanding that there's the criteria but beyond that, there's this expectation that's unspoken about journal articles being more important than other forms of disseminating research. And so I decided that what I would do is focus exclusively on peer-reviewed journal articles in order to fulfill the research expectations for tenure and promotion.

Others speculated about the consequences of various choices. After a colleague asked about her "missing manuscript", Georgia Nolan was trying to determine if she should submit her dissertation "as is" to a not-so-good publisher, whether to do the extensive revisions that might be required for a top-notch publisher, or whether to concentrate on journal publication instead. She pointed out to the interviewer that having a manuscript "is not in the collective agreement; it's not even essential for the department, it's more that if you want an absolute ironclad process ... That was the discussion I had ... was an anything manuscript better than no manuscript?"

Tricia Young talked about how the necessity of strategizing around research might carry consequences for its quality:

Of all the things I've published, I don't think all of them are great, some of them are, you know, just okay ... I don't feel that proud of some of those things but I feel like I just kind of want to keep doing this, these performances,

so that I can get tenure and then I can sort of step back and do some real research or quality research, but I feel really conflicted about that.

Poppy Francis had similar misgivings:

Increasingly I'm just thinking about how can I get a paper out? I need to get some more papers out. ... Very strategically, how can I think about just expanding output in the next few years, pre-tenure, so that I will be counted in a way that shows performance?

Homogeneity

The examples above illustrate the efforts of junior faculty to discern the details of the norms that will be used to judge them, differentiating successful candidates from others and determining who will ultimately be included or excluded. A further aspect of normalization identified by Foucault (1977, p. 184) is homogeneity. We believe that an excess of strategic decision-making narrows definitions of what counts as knowledge. When tenure committees⁶ expect a common set of outputs from all candidates (e.g., research council grants, publications in top tier journals), they ignore potentially valuable differences among academics. For example:

One colleague is someone who put a lot of work into the scholarship of pedagogy and again this was dismissed. Our department was wholeheartedly in support of her application, but this particular t & p [tenure and promotion] committee ignored the department's recommendation and valuing of the kind of work that she does. (Natalie Vincent)

This individual had apparently made the "mistake" of publishing her dissertation as a book with a local press, where it might reach a particular constituency, rather than aiming for a university press (recall Georgia Nolan's dilemma). Her experience demonstrates how scholarly acceptability becomes homogenized (Hughes and Bennett 2013). Not only does the skewed emphasis on "top" journals interfere with the "market" for peer-reviewed publication, inexperienced academics are faced with pressures to submit to journals that are more likely to reject their work and may take a long time to do so.

Lana Neil described taking evidence of community work out of her tenure file, because "there was this idea that this stuff is not seen as valuable which, again, is ... what happens to people of colour, right, they

do community service work and they get penalized”. The dividing line between community service and research was not always obvious: “If you give talks to public venues does that count as anything?” (Connor Harris). Some candidates simply reorganized their lives so that an activity that does not “count” is temporarily put on hold:

The year that I went for tenure I withdrew from [activity] because I didn’t see it as something that really was going to get recognized ... I felt that I really needed to look like I was concentrating on research and scholarly work. Once I got tenure I felt much more confident in embracing what I see as my role, which, frankly, is to improve the quality of [discipline] teaching in Ontario schools. (Bethany Jordan)

The hope that life after tenure will allow freedom to pursue one’s real interests was widespread.

Performativity

Some of the quotations above suggest that there is a discrepancy between academics’ actual work and their work as presented for judgement. Recall that Poppy wanted to expand her output “so that I will be counted”, while Bethany “felt that [she] really needed to look like [she] was concentrating on research and scholarly work”. The tenure file becomes an artefact that displaces the person. In most cases, that substitution was literal, as candidates were not routinely expected to meet the committee assessing them (other institutions did require their presence). As Fisanick (2006) comments, the candidate’s body is an “absent presence” (p. 325) in the room where decisions are made. The file might include a CV, an accompanying narrative, samples of (or all) publications, student course evaluations, letters from colleagues and students, referee reports and other materials.

Some participants—all women—who had recently submitted their materials, or who were reflecting on their experiences, had focused on making their tenure file look impressive and “correct”. For example:

The whole preparation of the tenure package, oh my god ... there’s a lot of photocopying and making sure that the binders are all tabulated properly and making sure that everybody has the same copy of everything ... it was crazy. (Tomasina Vale)

Natalie Vincent talked about serving on a promotion appeal committee which allowed her to access other people’s files: “that was fascinating ...

it was gendered, you know, so two men basically just had a file folder that was maybe five-six pages thick, that was their dossier, and they were fine". The close attention to appearances in the dossier described by several of the women is reminiscent of Foucault's (1977) observation that "discipline is a political anatomy of detail" (p. 139), apparently nuanced still further by gendered socialization.

A less direct form of performativity is illustrated by Tricia Young's discussion of seeking advice from a senior colleague on whether to apply for a research council grant, despite low probabilities of success.⁷ The colleague told her "even if you don't do it, you'll still get through [tenure], but ... yeah, I think you should apply for the grant". She thought she would probably comply: "now that I know that ... I'll be able to say I did it". In other words, it was the optics of the application that was important, rather than the probability of a successful outcome, the "fabrication of image over substance" (Lynch 2006, p. 7).

Emotions

As has been evident in this chapter, producing oneself as a successful academic requires constant vigilance. This vigilance means that our interviewees have internalized the expectations within academe and are engaging in self-surveillance practices. Discipline and surveillance in an "emotional landscape of an environment shaped by performance-driven change" (Wilson and Holligan 2013, p. 223) led to feelings of constant pressure and a sense of being under observation, often accompanied by high levels of anxiety, as exemplified by these quotations:

Oh I'm thinking about tenure from day one. (Nancy Sutherland)

I'm tired—tired of proving myself and I'll look forward to getting that, that's the thing about tenure, I figure I won't have any problems here at [institution] but you always sort of feel you're under surveillance. (Olivia Cloud)

Do I work harder than my body will allow? Yes. Do I cry? Yes. Do I have anxiety? Yes. (Katie Ray)

In this contemporary climate of exaggerated accountability, shame is readily evoked:

I took those meetings pretty hard, the meetings with the dean. I found myself coming out of those meetings feeling, ah, feeling ashamed and feeling that, ah, the sum total of my work wasn't being recognized. ... I was

struggling to write and to publish, but I didn't need to have him say you know, "you really ought to publish". (Nancy Sutherland)

Shame is an emotion that seems particularly intertwined with evaluative processes and accountabilities. As others have argued, harnessing emotions, especially shame, plays a role in the deployment of surveillance and in self-policing (Loveday 2015; Zembylas 2013), the "reflexive surveillance of the self" (Lynch 2006, p. 7). It appears more likely to be associated with individual deficiencies, as the quotation from Nancy illustrates, than understood as a social construction rooted in unequal gender and class relations (Loveday 2015).

Participants described other emotions, including resentment and anxiety. Harold Guy was waiting for a tenure decision. When asked what kind of emotions he had experienced over this process, he replied that "the number one word that comes to my mind ... is anxiety". He elaborated: "I became very anxious and very sort of neurotically obsessed with getting articles out and getting my book manuscript done. ... I wait for tenure as a sort of relief from the anxiety". Perhaps unexpectedly, there is a flash of resistance: he tries to keep his work time from 9 to 5 "and I take weekends off" in order to spend time with his young family and "to fight against this tide, right?" (see Acker, Webber and Smyth 2016).

What of those who had successfully made the grade? In Karen Lamont's case, there were a number of conflicts and complications. She put an unusual spin on the merits of peer review by pointing out that tenure committee members are insufficiently trained for a process that has legal ramifications. Overall, "it was awful, it was just an awful experience". She elaborated:

People say "what was it like?" And outside of the university I say well, I go through the same thing that somebody applying for refugee status goes through before they get deported, right? I have to prove that based on the merits, I'm allowed to stay.

Also successfully beyond the tenure review, Samuel Namaste reflected deeply on what had been explicitly and implicitly required. While acknowledging certain positive consequences—"it pushes one ... gets the creative process going"—he was critical of the way it is "dealt with and managed and organized". He referred to:

The self-monitoring that goes on ... you get monitored by your class, your group, and you find the institution monitors you so constantly [that] it

becomes less of a professional quest ... because it gets to the level of being so essentialized around how good, pure, acceptable is this person [that the] professional quest becomes a personal quest.

Karen and Samuel were unusual, however, in expressing strong emotions about an event now in the past. For the most part, it was clear that the awarding of tenure allowed for a shift in subjectivity, from novice academic to fully fledged member of the academy. One interviewee awaiting results rather chillingly shared her vision of continuous reproduction:

Everyone in the department, as a consequence [of the way they were treated on entry], feels that they're under-appreciated, under-valued and overlooked and that insecurity, that lack of confidence, has to be recuperated some way, right? So how is it going to be recuperated? Through abuse of incoming people ... so the tenure committee becomes a place for the recuperation of that dignity by saying I'm better than you and by tormenting junior people ... I believe that these people who are meting out the abuse experienced the abuse themselves. (Katherine Steel)

While the majority of academics in Canada do meet the normalizing standard required for tenure,⁸ it is not without costs and consequences. In the push to raise standards and compete with other institutions, the full extent of these human costs and consequences is not often discussed. As Samuel Namaste stated, this process “weighs very heavily, physically, emotionally ... the very internal world of the individual is affected by this ... [it's] about the soul, yes”.

Gender, Race and Other Distinctions

In our earlier interviews with administrators and union personnel, there were allusions to what we called “tenure trouble”—not so much rejection as difficulty getting through the process—and the tendency for such trouble to be encountered by persons outside the mainstream, including women. In Acker et al. (2012), we quoted one faculty association official who described how her office assisted candidates in difficulty in packaging themselves for a tenure review. She spoke of “making [them], you know, more palatable”, which we see as an exercise in performativity, where the projected image is as important as the substance (see section above). She continued:

A lot of the people were women; one or two men who were non-traditional and then the other men were international. They were Black. They were Chinese. They were French or French Canadian. They were Spanish. [Interviewer: ... and the women, what?] The women were just women.

It is important to note that there is no evidence of unequal *outcomes* along gender lines, in part because of the overall high rates of tenure success in Canadian universities (Acker et al. 2012; Ornstein et al. 2007). But high success rates do not preclude variations in the *experience* of tenure review related to gender, race, class or other social divisions (Henry and Tator 2009; Gonzales et al. 2013; Osei-Kofi 2012). Karen Lamont commented: “in some ways it’s a bit of a boys’ club because it seems like the boys meet the criteria and the women really need to work on it [laughs] a bit more”. She added, “maybe statistically that’s not true but I just have that feeling about it”.

Considering intersectionalities of gender, race and class, Gonzales et al. (2013) describe the path to academic legitimacy for Latina faculty in the United States as a journey through a labyrinth. It was suggested in our study that women of colour may have more difficulty getting tenure if they are perceived as having abrasive personalities. Lana Neil spoke of a racially minoritized woman “who’s done excellent work but didn’t get any advice, nothing! Nobody sat down with her or anything. [Why?] Because people don’t see her as friendly; she’s not in every single day, right? I think she literally fell through the cracks and people thought that she’d be okay”.

While most participants had elements of strategy in their discussion, a subtle gender distinction was apparent, in that women were more likely to voice uncertainty or regrets (Georgia Nolan, Tricia Young, Poppy Francis) while those who appeared to enjoy the cut and thrust of game-playing were men (Leonard Tester, Michael Thomas)—though, importantly, not all men were in this mode. There was also a feminization of performativity (Evans 2005), encapsulated by our earlier discussion about the appearance of “the file”. A similar finding comes from our analysis of other data in the New Scholarly Subject study, in which mid-career women showed much more concern over the annual performance review than did comparable men (Acker and Webber 2016). This disparity did not extend to the pre-tenure academics, who tended to regard annual reviews as all part of the effort of working towards tenure.

Feminist writers have considered the extent to which trends such as managerialism, corporatization and accountability have impacted

on academic subjectivities, especially those of women (Gill 2014; Leathwood and Hey 2009; Morley 2005, 2007). One argument is that women are more severely affected by the contemporary corpus of performative requirements, given their history of exclusion and how often they have been socialized to be good girls who follow the rules (Evans 2005; Gill 2014; Leathwood and Read 2013; Wyn et al. 2000). Our observations on women's greater preoccupation with performativity fits with this interpretation, as does the possibility of shame as a particularly influential motivator for women (Leathwood and Hey 2009; Morley 2005). Nevertheless, Grant and Elizabeth (2015) remind us to be cautious before overgeneralizing about academic women: their study of New Zealand women academics' responses to the Performance-Based Research Fund (PBRF) revealed an "array of emotions" (p. 7) related to intersections of "diverse personal histories, disciplinary locations and other axes of difference" (p. 11). They also point out the contradiction of disciplinary technologies such as the PBRF, and, for us, the tenure review, being considered as both feminized (requiring diligent form-filling and record-keeping) and masculinized (resting on "competition, individualism, self-promotion") (p. 5). Perhaps what we need to do is to go beyond documentation of differences and propose that everyone is being held up to a standard or ideal type that is historically and abstractly shaped as white, male, middle-class and able-bodied.

CONCLUSION

We have shared numerous examples of interviewees describing their efforts and struggles to produce themselves as academics worthy of tenure. With a Foucauldian lens, we can see that junior academics are disciplined, through normalization, surveillance and emotional manipulation, to make themselves intelligible as academics. The effect of such discipline is the production of a particular kind of scholar who has demonstrated a mastery of scholarship and teaching deemed worthy of the award of tenure. Tenure reviews, as other new managerialist technologies, such as journal rankings (Hughes and Bennett 2013), performance appraisals (Acker and Webber 2016; Waring 2013), grant income targets (Morrish 2015) and student course evaluations (Shah and Sid Nair 2012), have profound consequences in academe. We believe that these technologies and other "efforts to make the activities and outputs of academic work more observable, measurable and comparable" (Enders et al. 2013, p. 15) are having

a conservative effect and are gradually changing the way academics behave and how knowledge is produced.

In particular, normalization around research choices made on the basis of what counts is narrowing the knowledge production and shaping the subjectivities of early-career academics. We saw how junior academics are monitoring the work they engage in and the format/forum for dissemination. While there is some grumbling about the over-emphasis on certain types of production and the difficulties of knowing whether they are likely to succeed, there is little resistance *per se*. The tenure process is seen as a game or a ritual that must be hurdled before the rest of one's academic life can begin. Younger academics have "grown up with the system", becoming "effectively acculturated into the performativity of the new managerialism" (Wilson and Holligan 2013, p. 234). Rather than resist the normalizing practices, the early-career academics acquiesce to expectations and intend to be transgressive after tenure is awarded. Small acts of individual resistance do occur in our data (e.g. Harold Guy's refusal to work at weekends). Strategies for superficial compliance with the audit culture have been identified by other scholars (Leathwood and Read 2013; Waring 2013) while trying to explain the relative absence of collective (or effective) resistance.

Lack of resistance can be explained in various ways. Wharton and Estevez (2014) found that department heads in the United States relied on explanations based on personal-choice and thus did not see it as their responsibility to intervene to reduce gender inequities. As often is the case, progress as an academic was seen as a consequence of individual talent and motivation. Another argument is that the spread of disciplinary technologies and neoliberalism more generally has been gradual enough to disguise some of its potential impact (Waring 2013), perhaps especially in Canada (Newson and Polster 2008), where tenure reviews present as nothing new and with largely positive outcomes for junior faculty, ignoring ways in which such reviews are placed within a rapidly changing corporatized university context which raises the stakes and alters the expectations (Polster 2010). An additional impediment to resistance is that the leading emotional consequence of intensified research surveillance is anxiety—a poor basis for political solidarity but one that partners well with academic culture, stimulating an individual work harder and sleep less ethos (Acker and Armenti 2004; Gornall and Salisbury 2012; Grant and Elizabeth 2015; Leathwood and Read 2013), rather than a mass protest.

These early-career academics are being moulded into an academic version of Joan Acker's "ideal worker" (1992) or, at least, the ideal tenure candidate. Ideal tenure candidates are productive on the research front and recognized as such. They make careful and strategic decisions about applying for grants and submitting work to publication outlets and are rewarded with a high degree of success. They have a reasonable record as a teacher and a contributor to the running of the department. Any family distractions and bodily needs stay well-hidden (Acker and Armenti 2004). Anxieties, anger, doubts and resentments are minimized while self-confidence and mastery are projected. These people work well with colleagues but, ultimately, take individual responsibility for the outcomes of their own work. They are comfortable with "masculinist ... forms of rationality, leadership, and performative regimes that elevate individual winners and losers and divert attention from collective issues" (Barry et al. 2013–14, p. 494).

As with the "tenure file", the ideal tenure candidate is something of a fiction but is one that early-career academics aspire to emulate. Having already moved through the years of university study and the production of a thesis, and very likely spent time in temporary research or teaching positions (Acker, Haque and Webber 2016), the tenure candidate is expected, once again, to demonstrate his or her worth, over a period of time, culminating in "the examination". This process is not simply socialization into a subject-field or academic life style. It is an extended, emotional exercise in making choices that do not stray too far from the norm and produce accountable evidence of achievement.

Individuals put up with the stressful experience because they want a chance at an academic life. Their years of prior study and pre-tenure academic work result in powerful side bets: "My entire career is at stake right now. All of the years of post-graduate education are at stake right now" (Katie Ray). Despite the drawbacks of "life in the high-speed university" (Ylijoki 2013), a tenured academic career is a prize worth having. Much of what academics do generates pleasure (Gornall and Salisbury 2012) and nearly all of the junior faculty in our studies talked about how much they loved their work (Acker, Haque and Webber 2016; Acker and Webber 2016). Given the scarcity of permanent academic positions available (Maldonado et al. 2013), at least some of our participants are uncomfortably aware of their privileged position and do not want to risk losing it.

Higher quality work, community service, innovative teaching and other goals are often deferred to the post-tenure dream-world. But to what extent will the academic subjectivity formed by this elongated process be elastic enough to allow creative and expansive work in the future? At the same time as we have criticized the normalizing tendencies that narrow research choices and the production of knowledge, we are forced to defend the existence of tenure as “less bad” than the alternatives. In the neoliberal university, “tenure” comes across as rather quaint, an inefficient effort of an old guard to preserve its privileges. It is already being undermined by the preference institutions show for hiring temporary staff, rather than expensive tenured or tenure-track academics. It remains to be seen how the corporatized university will reshape the tenure system to fit its new priorities.

NOTES

1. See Lawrence, Celis & Ott (2014), for a review of literature on tenure in the United States. Another threat to tenure in the USA comes from legislators or university administrations who wish to abolish or weaken it, as in the recent case of the state of Wisconsin (Lewin, 2015). Tenure has not become an equivalent political football in Canada.
2. Promotion from assistant to associate professor often happens simultaneously with tenure, or requires an additional process that usually follows not far behind. The next possible promotion is to full professor, for which there is no set timetable. Procedures for assessment at that level resemble tenure but are often less clearly specified; individuals are not obliged to try for full professorship, as they are to undergo a tenure review. Many achieve this rank, however. In Canada, in 2010–2011, over one third of “professors” were full professors; (Statistics Canada, 2012).
3. Here, we were following a division well-known in Canada introduced by *Maclean’s Magazine*, which publishes an annual issue comparing Canadian universities on a variety of indicators. Although some institutions have moved “up” a category in recent years, we continued to use the original labels from the time at which we began the research, ensuring a spread of university types that theoretically might emphasize different missions (research-intensive; all-round; teaching-intensive).
4. All names of participants are pseudonyms.
5. Service (e.g. committee membership, organizing of departmental events) was rarely given much weight in tenure decisions and, in general, new faculty were protected from heavy service assignments. Nevertheless, there was a tendency for women to become overburdened with service

responsibilities, even at the pre-tenure stage. We explore this imbalance in Acker, Webber and Smyth, 2016.

6. The tenure review in Canada is a peer review by academics, but it can be organized in many ways, normally specified in a collective agreement or equivalent document. Some universities have a single tenure and promotion committee (with rotating membership) while others have committees at faculty level, or for several faculties combined; still others set up a committee for each individual undergoing tenure. Most, although not all, universities have more than one level of adjudication (e.g. department, faculty, university) and all have appeals procedures. See Acker et al., 2012; Gravestock and Greenleaf 2008.
7. In the academic year in which this interview took place (2012–13), the success rate for Canada’s Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council’s Insight Grant competition was 27 % and for the Insight Development Grant (for newer scholars or established scholars going in new directions) was 35%. See <http://www.sshrc-crsh.gc.ca/results-resultats/stats-statistiques/index-eng.aspx>
8. Administrators we interviewed often contrasted the local processes with the American ones, which were thought to be harsher and less transparent (see Acker et al. 2012).

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The “4 Rs Revisited,” Again: Aboriginal Education in Canada and Implications for Leadership in Higher Education

Randolph J. Wimmer

This chapter brings together the past ten years of my experience in Aboriginal education as a non-Aboriginal teacher educator, researcher and educational leader. This discussion comes not from one single source, but more holistically (an approach that is consistent with how I understand the world around me and one that is aligned with Indigenous epistemology) from a set of experiences over a decade of work. It is also informed by two research projects that involved beginning Aboriginal Teachers (students in and graduates from Aboriginal teacher education programs), scholarship, and my own reflections and experiences. This chapter shares some of what I have learned about Aboriginal education, discusses what I view to be implications for educational leadership in both teacher education and higher education more generally, and models how Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal scholars can work together in higher education.

When we first prepared a grant application to the Social Sciences Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) of Canada, we stressed that compelling evidence points to the need for higher education, and especially teacher education, to become better informed about the concerns

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of Aboriginal peoples and more responsive to their needs (Wimmer et al. 2009). At that time, there was what I would call an awakening of the Canadian academy and teacher education, more specifically, to this need, evidenced by policy directions such as those set out by the Association of Canadian Deans of Education (ACDE) in the *Accord on Initial Teacher Education* (ACDE 2005) and the *Accord on Indigenous Education* (ACDE 2010).

Today, most places of teacher education in Canada are in the midst of implementing new programs, or significantly changed programs, to better prepare beginning teachers to meet the diverse needs of children and youth in schools. This rethinking (we are far from reformed) has become one of the greatest challenges to teacher education. In Canada's prairie provinces, Aboriginal people represent the fastest growing population in schools from kindergarten through to the 12th grade. The inclusion and integration of Aboriginal history, knowledge and content in Canadian teacher education are widely recognized as important, but pose serious challenges to those teaching in this area, as well as to those in leadership positions in teacher education and educational leadership more generally. Yet, despite this recognition, as Marker (2004) points out, Aboriginal students frequently face hostile environments in their classes (p. 174). Norwegian scholar Rauna Kuokkanen (2007) contextualizes this hostility by noting that the academy supports and reproduces certain systems of thought and knowledge that rarely reflect or represent Indigenous worldviews (p. 15). This chapter begins by describing how I came to this work and the conceptual frame I will be using. Each component of the framework is discussed through story, literature, our research and my reflections. Implications for educational leadership and policy in both teacher education and higher education more generally are presented. The chapter concludes with some final thoughts and ideas for moving forward.

RESEARCHER POSITIONALITY AND FRAMEWORK

As a scholar, I use interpretive and experiential methods (Clandinin and Connelly 1998; Clandinin and Connelly 2000; van Manen 1997) as a way to teach and learn. Beginning with my doctoral research, I have consistently been drawn methodologically to the use of life history research (Goodson and Sikes 2010) as data in my research. "William Pinar, Madeline Grumet, Richard Butt, and others advocate that biographies of educators

are the best sources for understanding education” (Schubert and Ayers 1992, preface). In all of my scholarly work, I’ve made an upfront explicit statement about who I am (positionality) as a part of my teaching, writing and academic presentations. Over the years, I have always observed that Aboriginal people make similar explicit statements about themselves when they meet people for the first time, or as a part of public addresses, such as conference presentations. Hence, I’ve learned from Aboriginal scholars about the significance of stating who we are in relation to place and people. Wilson (2001) describes how “the identity of Indigenous peoples’ self is rooted in the context of community and place” (p. 91). Tuhiwai Smith (1999) and Battiste (2000) both tell us that Indigenous Peoples identify themselves in relation to their ancestors and situate themselves in relationships to their relatives, or even the geography of their traditional lands. LaDuke (2005) goes on to say that we are nothing on our own. From these lessons, I now offer a statement about my positionality, not as a comfortable “ice breaker”, but as a central feature of my teaching and research.

I’ve been a teacher educator for well over twenty years in two different western Canadian universities. For the past five years, I’ve held leadership positions in the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta. Prior to coming to the academy, I was a very satisfied and, one could say, successful classroom teacher in a small, rural, agriculturally-based community in Northern Alberta, where I taught all levels of school, but mostly secondary school. I was raised on a farm where I had a happy childhood and adolescence. While I was a very good student, I did not enjoy school and often felt a sense of alienation, of not fitting in (I think about this often today and use this experience when I explain my scholarly work as located in the margins of teacher education). While the move to “the city” to attend university was initially a challenge, I adapted well to city living and university. After just one term, I deeply immersed myself in the university experience and enjoyed it immensely. And so began my passion for higher education. This was a place where I felt I fit in. While I looked forward to beginning my career as a teacher, as I left the university, I knew I would return one day.

I am a second-generation Canadian of German and English ancestry. All my life, I have lived and worked alongside Aboriginal people, from childhood times spent with our farm neighbours (I didn’t know the family was Aboriginal until I was well into adulthood) with whom we played and who looked after us when my parents were away, to years of incredibly

satisfying work with Aboriginal colleagues in education—many of whom have become good friends. While I do not know what it is like to be an Aboriginal person, as a person who lives as a minority, I have personally experienced hatred and fear from others, and have been the victim of prejudice and social injustice. I know first-hand what it feels like to not fit in!

Despite my claims for the need to recognize story and experience, and their interpretations, in my scholarly work, I also admit to needing to know and use what is written about Aboriginal knowledge in my research. While the academy has made significant advances in using different forms of knowledge, I know that processes for research funding and peer-reviewed research still hold textual forms of knowledge as privileged and, therefore, required. A very prominent lesson Louise taught me when we wrote our first SSHRC application ten years ago was when she responded to my wanting to read books and journal articles. It was: “I’ll take you to the bush”. I tell this story later in this chapter. Today, Evelyn tells me *that I work on the ground*. Here, Marker (2004) teaches me that “Indigenous-placed based knowledge requires an understanding of the moral proportions of oral traditions and long sustained relationships with the land” (p. 172). He goes on to say, “an Indigenous perspective asserts—insists—that knowledge from the community is as valuable as the knowledge contained in the academy” (p. 182).

Years after our first successful research grant and research projects with Aboriginal teacher education graduates, I came across a book chapter written by Michael Marker (2004) from the University of British Columbia entitled “The Four Rs Revisited: Some Reflections on First Nations and Higher Education”. The chapter draws on the seminal work “First Nations and Higher Education: The four Rs—Respect, relevance, reciprocity, responsibility”, written by Verna Kirkness and Ray Barnhart 1991. While finding this work was originally a part of my quest to update material I used in a graduate seminar on higher education, it has become a key work for me as a non-Aboriginal person working alongside Aboriginal people in research and teacher education. I use this work, as well as the original work it references, as both a conceptual and organizational framework for this chapter. Specifically, I act on Marker’s invitation to “continue to revisit the four Rs and raise questions about the relevance, reciprocity, respect, and responsibility of the academy in establishing relationships with Indigenous people” (Marker 2004, p. 186). In my academic development over the past ten years, I have discovered a plethora of academically rigorous works written by Aboriginal scholars and many have been included in this chapter. Not only do these works serve to underpin and ground my research,

they also help me make sense of my work as an educational leader. They provide a foundation for the way I work alongside Aboriginal education and make the decisions I am asked to make. I urge all of us who are in some way involved in educational leadership in teacher education, educational administration and higher education to read these works and to consider making meaningful use of them in educational administrative practice, policy making, teaching and research.

“THE 4 RS’ REVISITED,” AGAIN

The organization of the following section of this chapter follows the framework originally conceptualized in the work of Kirkness and Barnhart, as referenced in the previous paragraph and taken up by Marker in Marker 2004. As Marker outlines, the “four Rs provide an important template for discussing the general themes of what universities can do to become more culturally responsive to First Nations” (p. 175). He also commented that:

Kirkness’ and Barnhart’s article has become one of the most frequently cited works on First Nations participation in higher education. The four principles of “respect, relevance, reciprocity, and responsibility” that they outlined have become reference points for graduate student papers and journal articles discussing a wide range of cross-cultural education contexts. Kirkness and Barnhart’s article continues to draw attention a decade after its publication because it frames the discussion around what the academy can do to transform itself rather than how Aboriginal people should adapt and assimilate to the needs of the university culture. (p. 171)

Again, Marker invites us to revisit the 4 Rs as we think about our work in higher education and our relationships with Aboriginal people. Though I use this specific work in developing this discussion, I also acknowledge several excellent more recent works including those of Jo-ann Archibald (2010) and Rauna Kuokkanen (2007). Again, I encourage educational leaders in teacher education and higher education to read works such as these and to consider them in our teaching and administrative roles.

Reciprocity and Respect

Lessons and Gifts from Louise

A package of tobacco sits proudly on my shelf above my work area in the Dean’s Office. It has travelled with me for the last ten years from the

University of Saskatchewan to the University of Alberta and to five different offices. It continues to catch my attention and serves as a warm reminder of my work with Louise and the many things I have learned from Aboriginal people in higher education. It also catches the attention of others—some knowing what it means, others somewhat bewildered, I suppose. My nephews, who are bright, well-educated young people, used to be very puzzled and concerned that Uncle Randy had this package of tobacco.

I remember vividly the day Louise came to my office holding that same package of tobacco. We talked about how her PhD classes were going. She confessed that she found difficulty in relating to the readings in our doctoral classes. Eventually, she came to describe a research project that she had been thinking about for a long time and, with an invitation to me to join the project, she offered the gift of tobacco. We further talked about the need to apply for research funding and, while the newly announced SSHRC development grant in Aboriginal education seemed to be an appropriate fund, we learned that the principal investigator on the application needed, at that time, to be a faculty member. Even though Louise had worked for many years as an instructor in the Indian Teacher Education Program (ITEP), as with all staff in ITEP, she was not employed as a permanent member of the University's academic staff. Louise and I both understood that my name had to go forward as the principal investigator for this research project. It was then that I consciously started saying our roles were reciprocal and we had much to learn from each other. It was also at that time that I began to say I was working alongside Aboriginal people. With these things in mind, I began my journey as a non-Aboriginal person doing research in Aboriginal education.

We had no trouble getting thirty recent ITEP graduates who were beginning teachers in band-controlled schools to work with us. When I asked the teachers why they offered to participate in our research, they all talked about how it was their way of giving back to their own teachers in ITEP. They also felt they had a responsibility to give back to their communities, the people who had supported them in pursuing their teacher education. The notions of reciprocity, relevance and responsibility were particularly evident in how these teachers felt about their former ITEP classmates. "Many identified the cohort dimension as the most important component because it provided a critical mass of Aboriginal students to create a degree of safety and security, akin to a sense of family in learning

with your own people” (Wimmer et al. 2009, p. 829). From the hours of conversations with the thirty beginning teachers, we were left knowing “their peer relationships and the friendships that developed were an important legacy for their beginning teaching careers” (p. 830). The research of St. Denis et al. (1998) affirms the notion of reciprocity by outlining how “the academic and social support provided by the TEPs was instrumental in many teachers deciding to become a teacher as well as ensuring their completion of the program” (p. 42).

Louise, Yvette, Mike and I (the research team for the SSHRC research project) talked a great deal about our relationships with former ITEP students. Moreover, what stands out in my experience is how we think about our relationships with each other. We write:

A unique feature of ITEP is the possibility of cross-cultural learning and relationship building afforded by the presence of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people working together. Randy and Mike, established scholars, continue to learn about, and understand, appropriate relationships with, and research practices of, Aboriginal communities through their extensive work with Louise and Yvette, two beginning Aboriginal scholars. Mike and Randy consider it a privilege, to mentor Louse and Yvette in the ways of the academy and in supporting the pursuit of their graduate education. (Wimmer et al. 2009, p. 820)

How I think about our research relationships is supported by Marker (2004) who says, “this practice is consistent with both the ‘respect’ and ‘reciprocity’ components of the four Rs, especially if researchers are also willing to learn from, rather than simply about, Aboriginal people” (p. 182).

Building on our work with ITEP at the University of Saskatchewan, the current project (2001–2015) at the University of Alberta involves a research partnership with Saddle Lake First Nations and beginning teachers who are Aboriginal Teacher Education Program (ATEP) graduates. A second component of this research took place two years ago, working with an ATEP cohort of fifty teacher education students in collaboration with Northland School Division in Alberta, other northern Alberta schools, and Northern Lakes College in Slave Lake, Alberta. As a part of a two-day professional development activity with the cohort, we asked them to talk about their experiences in the teacher education program, and recorded their experiences. A third component of the research project involved

ATEP teachers presenting their teaching practices at a research conference held at the University of Alberta in autumn 2013. What made this event unique was that the majority of the program consisted of teachers (ATEP graduates) sharing their knowledge and not university researchers presenting their research. Again, Marker's point, as stated above, about "respect and reciprocity"—learning from Aboriginal people and not about Aboriginal people—applies here. Our research to date stresses "one of the goals of our research is for it to have a timely impact on the participants and communities with which we are working. Bringing together new graduates, experienced teachers, academic researchers, and community members committed to improving education for Aboriginal people in Alberta is one way we can address the needs of teachers identified by the research" (Martineau et al. 2013).

Relevance and Responsibility

Another Lesson from Louise: "I Need to Take You to the Bush."

While my epistemological underpinnings have remained consistent throughout my research work, I could not have written this paper with its many references to what is known in the literature when I began this particular set of research projects. While ten years ago I longed to know this literature, the lessons about learning from experience taught to me by Aboriginal people are clearly the most profound learning experiences I have had in higher education. When Louise said "I need to take you to the bush", I did not realize that this was her way of teaching me about how to work in Aboriginal communities. It was also an explicit invitation to work with her and other Aboriginal people. What I had wanted to know was what had been written about non-Aboriginal people doing research on Aboriginal education. Louise's gentle insistence on learning from being present in Aboriginal communities and having an open mind about how Aboriginal people think about knowledge was the starting point of my own awakening. Indeed, the learning was profound for me, but it was not easy. It came with my own fears of unknown knowledge about ceremony and spirituality. The learning was intense not only intellectually and emotionally, but also in terms of time, largely unacknowledged in the work we have produced and, formally, by the still tradition-bound ways the academy recognizes experiential and community-based work. I have become gravely concerned about how precious resources of time and

relationship with community are far from being recognized by the academy in appropriate ways. Why does it seem legitimate and easy to count peer-reviewed articles and page numbers for faculty evaluation purposes, and yet hours, days and weeks of time spent building relationships in communities are largely ignored in assessing academic performance? Marker (2004) supports these points I raise about the deep and authentic learning from community-based experience and the need for the academy to shift, markedly, how it values such work.

University researchers can become too attached to the artificially created academic "community" and too alienated from the community of real people who, in Aboriginal communities, are the recipients of the legacy of colonialism. University faculty and graduate students have much to gain by spending time in an Aboriginal community listening to elders and traditional knowledge specialists. If universities are sincere in their efforts to create a space for Aboriginal students, then they must also create a space that welcomes the participation of Aboriginal communities in the knowledge-exchange relationship. (p. 181–182)

"Randy, Were You Scared?" (Yvette). "Yes" (Randy)

The experiences of spirituality and ceremony as a part of doing research were very new to me and how I learned about them afforded some of the most profound lessons I've encountered as a non-Aboriginal person. In preparing for these lessons, I once more longed for what books and others would tell me. Again, Louise and Yvette gently assured me I would learn what to do not from books but, rather, from participation in community and cultural events. In reflecting back on what we had learned from the research experience, Yvette asked me if I had been scared during ceremonial events. I replied "yes" and was quick to explain that it was not a fear of not knowing what was happening, but a fear of making a mistake or not doing what others expected of me. Yvette indicated my fear was unfounded and that the Aboriginal people we were with would have said it's okay to make mistakes, because that is what learning means. While I acknowledge the value and authenticity of experiential learning in higher education, especially teacher education, I question whether we allow for the making of mistakes in teacher education—particularly in student teaching, where it seems the expectation is perfection. From our work with students and teachers of Aboriginal teacher education programs, the significance of "hands on" learning is just as apparent as what is said in

the literature about experiential learning. In all of our research conversations, “all participants commented extensively on their field experiences. All the teachers recognized the valuable experience of student teaching (and learning from making mistakes) and most indicated that there should be more opportunities for ‘hands on’ learning” (Wimmer et al. 2009, p. 834).

Canada has an egregious past with Aboriginal people of Canada, our First Nations Peoples. While the scope of this chapter is beyond what needs to be a continued awakening of teacher education and higher education to the history and impact of residential schools and racism, educational leadership has a responsibility to account for this past and to gain a deep understanding of how this dark history impacts the lives and school experiences of Aboriginal children, youth and students in post-secondary education. My own learning over the past ten years leaves me angry at an academy that prepared me to be a teacher in rural northern Alberta. While there was one required course in educational foundations that specifically addressed the history of education and touched on Canada’s residential schools, I left my pre-service teacher education knowing little about residential schools and the Aboriginal people who would be the children and youth in my classroom. More troubling is that the social studies minor in teacher education gave me no knowledge of this history. For this minor, I specialized in Canadian history, where the content made brief mention of Louis Riel but stopped there. I become more angry now when I hear people say it’s time for Aboriginal people to move on and put aside the effects residential schools had on the lives of children and youth in our classrooms today. We need to understand and confront our pasts, including the actions of those who came before us. We cannot erase histories, either as Aboriginal people or as those of us whose families came from colonizing countries. We need to take responsibility for what wrongs our pasts have done. Early in this chapter, I positioned myself as one who is marginalized, but I also must acknowledge my privilege as a white male. I argue that the majority of leadership in higher education is privileged. I urge us to use our privilege to support our Aboriginal colleagues and students in ways that ally and advocate for the advancement of Aboriginal people and their education.

Policy directions, such as those stated in the accords written by the Association of Canadian Deans of Education, provide clear direction to leaders in teacher education and higher education. As stated earlier in this

chapter, while I am encouraged by the current moves in Canadian teacher education to incorporate the study of Aboriginal history and knowledge, changing programs in this regard presents particular challenges to educational leadership. In the case of the University of Alberta, there seemed to be a general acknowledgement of the importance of including such content but, when it came to implementation, we struggled (and are still struggling) with how much content should be required and how it should be delivered. These debates were, and are, stressful and divisive; many questions and tensions linger. I've given much thought to these challenges, contrasting these tensions and conflicts in teacher education with a previous non-debate over the inclusion of newly required courses in technology, or additional courses in educational psychology. Teacher education and curriculum theorist William Pinar (2009) helps me make sense of these struggles in his thought-provoking discussion about the devaluation of academic knowledge as represented in the programmatic preoccupations of teacher education, and what knowledge is valued and privileged and what knowledge remains contested.

CONCLUSION

In 2014, we hosted the second annual *National Symposium on Indigenous Teacher Education*. The event built on the success of the first symposium and vision of Dr. Jo-ann Archibald at the University of British Columbia (UBC). At the UBC symposium, I witnessed an encouraging and hopeful energy and appetite for many, if not most, places of teacher education in Canada to do something by way of incorporating Aboriginal history and knowledge within teacher education. Nearly every province was represented at the symposium, and another university quickly volunteered to host the next event. With somewhat less momentum, in my view, are the moves forward in higher education more generally to understand and embrace Aboriginal people's value for community and cultural forms of knowledge. Marker (2004) observed, "in many ways there has been a general and significant advancement in the level of cultural responsiveness to the Indigenous perspective" (p. 172). While I am encouraged by such advancements both in teacher education and higher education more generally, our work in the academy in this regard has just begun. I remain steadfast in declaring we have a great deal of work ahead of us.

This chapter emanates from a presentation made to an audience of scholars and practitioners of educational administration. For that presentation and this chapter, I have not used what discourses in educational administration consider seminal, current or mainstream works. This exclusion is intentional in that, throughout this chapter, I urge those who study and teach in educational administration and leadership to read widely and deeply the many excellent works by Aboriginal scholars. While these works may not appear to be a part of educational administration discourses, I beg that we look deeper. My own learning from these works has revealed many intersections and has truly enabled me to think in different and better ways about my work in educational leadership. Moreover, for those of us who authentically want to become more responsive to the learning needs of Aboriginal people, we need to continue to follow Louise's teaching by "going to the bush".

The purpose of this chapter is to bring together some of what I have learned from research in Aboriginal education and, moreover, what I have learned from spending the past ten years working alongside Aboriginal people. The paper is informed by findings from two major research projects and my experiences as a researcher, ally and friend of Aboriginal people, teacher and educational leader. Kirkness and Barnhart's (1991) 4 Rs (respect, reciprocity, relevance, responsibility) provide me with a useful conceptual and organizational framework, bringing together my ten years of experience in Aboriginal teacher education. Throughout the chapter, I have both implicitly and explicitly discussed implications for educational administration. Along the way, I've attempted to illustrate how Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal scholars can work together in today's academy. As Marker, I encourage researchers and practitioners of education administration and leadership to read and, hopefully, make use of this framework in our work in both teacher education and higher education.

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A Critical Analysis of the Role of African Universities in Democracy and Social Justice

Girmaw A. Akalu and Michael Kariwo

INTRODUCTION

At a global level, the last three decades have seen a heightened interest in the role of higher education for socio-economic development. Higher education development is viewed as an important prerequisite for the achievement of a wide array of important national goals. As Bloom et al. (2006) noted, “higher education facilitates knowledge diffusion, generates greater tax revenue, contributes to reduced population growth, improves technology, leads to a more entrepreneurial and civic society, improves a nation’s health, and strengthens governance” (p. 1). As a result, higher education is given much more prominence in major national plans and objectives in many countries.

The purpose of this chapter is to offer a critical analysis of African higher education, and its role in democracy and social justice on the continent. There are many areas of concern in the socio-political and economic development of African countries, including limited access to education, health facilities and food, thus presenting a picture of abject poverty. For example, African countries have demonstrated that agriculture is not yielding adequate food supplies and there is evidence of donor assistance when droughts occur. The provision of basic infrastructure—such as roads,

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Table 15.1 Tertiary education enrolment and participation for world regions (2012)

<i>Regions</i>	<i>Total enrolment</i>	<i>GER^a (both sexes)</i>	<i>GER (female)</i>
Africa	11,650,258	11.59	10.30
Sub-Saharan Africa	6,342,249	8.20	5.91
Asia	104,741,971	27.48	26.98
Europe	32,524,016	69.17	77.44
North America	27,814,783	63.87	72.57
South America	17,690,901	50.81	58.32
Oceania	1,655,158	60.61	70.56
World	196,077,086	32.15	33.40

Source: UNESCO Institute of Statistics (2014)

^aGER: gross enrolment ratio

Table 15.2 Participation in tertiary education and expenditure per student in 2010: Select countries

	<i>GER* (both sexes)</i>	<i>Expenditure per student as % of GDP per capita (%)</i>
Ethiopia	7	290.2
Malawi	1	1837.4
Mali	6	135.4
Tanzania	2	651.3
Togo	9	83.4
Zimbabwe	6	62.0
Australia	81	21.4
United Kingdom	59	24.5
United States	94	20.9

Source: World Bank 2014

GER= Gross enrolment ratio

electricity and clean water—is problematic. On the political front, dictatorships have resulted in flouting of human rights and poor governance (Africa News Service 2013; Nyirenda 2015).

The universities, therefore, can play an important role in turning this situation around. In the scope of this chapter, we focus on higher education provision. We attempt to answer the questions (a) How is African higher education responding to the call for social justice and democracy in the twenty-first century?; and, (b) To what extent are African universities agents of democratization and social justice?

In this chapter, we are aware of the fact that there is no agreement on what is an “African” university. However, we considered various contexts of universities in Africa. Similarly, African democracies are varied and some are in sharp contrast to the Western democracies.

RENEWED INTEREST IN AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

There is a renewed interest in the role of higher education for Africa’s development at the level of the continent. A number of African countries have also demonstrated their commitment by continuing to channel more resources to their higher education sector. Universities in Africa, as elsewhere, are expected to contribute to a number of socio-economic objectives. The African Union (2006) has called for “increased involvement of universities in the continent’s development efforts, including the development of the lower levels of education” (p. 9). According to Mohamedbhai (2014), former secretary-general of the Association of African Universities, higher education institutions in Africa are “to provide the skilled human resources required for their country’s development; to undertake research to solve the myriad developmental problems facing their region; and to engage with the community to meet internationally-agreed development goals” (para. 36).

Over the past two decades, there has been a resurgence of interest in the African continent regarding the role of higher education for economic growth, poverty reduction and the achievement of a wide array of other social objectives. The discourses underpinning this development have originated mainly from international organizations such as the World Bank, UNESCO, and other bilateral and multilateral partners of African development. At the international level, and particularly for the African continent, the watershed was the UNESCO World Conference on Higher Education (1998) held on the eve of the millennium. The conference called on nations across the globe to adopt the broad mission and functions of higher education in the twenty-first century. The mission and goals included the production and dissemination of knowledge through research, the education of citizens for active participation in society, the promotion of cultural pluralism and diversity, and the enhancement and protection of societal values. The World Bank (2002), in its publication *Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Education*, underscored the essential roles of higher education in the context of an increasingly knowledge-based economy. The publication emphasized the role of higher education for the construction of democratic societies, knowledge-driven economic

growth, poverty reduction and achieving UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Increasing evidence highlights higher education's role in the knowledge-based economy, as well as in achieving broad national development objectives. Higher education is considered not only important, but also critical for enhancing a country's competitiveness in a globalized world where knowledge increasingly becomes the driver of economic growth.

The World Bank report (2002) stressed that:

- social and economic progress is achieved principally through the advancement and application of knowledge;
- tertiary education is necessary for the effective creation, dissemination and application of knowledge, and for building technical and professional capacity; and
- developing and transition countries are at risk of being further marginalized in a highly competitive world economy because their tertiary education systems are not adequately prepared to capitalize on the creation and use of knowledge (p. 6).

The World Bank, in its publication *Acceleration Catch-Up* (2008), observed the need for higher education development for sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries. The World Bank reported that “neglecting tertiary education could seriously jeopardize longer-term growth prospects of SSA countries, while slowing progress toward MDGs, many of which require tertiary-level training to implement” (p. xxii). Further, in many African countries where the culture of democracy is in its infancy (and where, also, the presence of authoritarian regimes and a lack of strong civil society is still a reality), the role of higher education for democracy and political development cannot be over-emphasized. It is argued, according to Luescher-Mamashela (2011), that higher education is:

essential for the design and operation of key political institutions of a modern political system, from the judiciary to the legislative and executive arms of government, the top staffing of the state bureaucracy as well as key institutions of civil society. Moreover, public higher education in democracies is typically mandated to contribute to the development of an enlightened, critically constructive citizenry. (p. ix)

All these issues and arguments for higher education have had a tremendous impact on the present landscape of higher education in the African continent. After decades of neglect at the expense of primary and secondary

education, higher education is now being given a higher priority in funding by many African governments. The sector is now given prominence, as indicated in the African renaissance and other development plans such as the AU (2013) Agenda 2063, a vision for the African continent in the next 50 years. According to Dlamini-Zuma (2014), the current chairperson of the AU's commission, "African universities must ensure that their academic staff conscientize the future generations to a new mindset that does not accept the second best, but a belief that they have the tenacity and ideas to compete with the best in the world" (para. 23). Along the same line, the AU (2006), in its *Plan of Action for the Second Decade of Education for Africa (2006–2015)*, emphasized the transforming potential of higher education for Africa's development. The AU (2006) saw the role of African higher education as one of finding "African-led solutions to African problems" (p. 8). It specifically set out the following activities as its focus areas for 2006–2015:

- promotion of research and original knowledge production in higher education;
- promotion, development and assurance of quality in African higher education in all its dimensions, including the development and ratification of Regional and Continental Qualification Frameworks (such as the Arusha Convention) to facilitate mobility of students and staff;
- increased involvement of universities in the continent's development efforts, including the development of the lower levels of education; and
- ensuring appropriate levels of funding for the higher education sector.

There is a renewed interest in the role of higher education for Africa's development at the level of the continent. Many African countries have also demonstrated their commitment by continuing to channel more resources to their higher education sectors.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Post-colonial Theory

The analysis which forms our investigation in this chapter is informed by an intersection of post-colonial theory and neo-liberalism. Post-colonial thinkers recognize that many of the assumptions which underlie the

“logic” of colonialism are still active forces today. We observe two types of neo-colonialism. The first is the condition that Nkurumah (1965) identified and tried to counter through reforms in Ghana. In this approach, he examined the continuing influence of multinational companies on independent African states such as Ghana. The second type of neo-colonialism is that of African dictatorship by the African leaders themselves.

Post-colonialism as a discourse tries to provide an intellectual platform to combat the cultural legacy of colonialism. Unfortunately, it has failed to produce tangible results for the new nations in terms of economic development. Most African leaders have used post-colonial theory to address the issues of education and development. Mention should be made of President Nyerere of Tanzania. Nyerere’s idea of education and development was based on self-reliance. While his concept of villagization was less successful in Tanzania because of the demise of Socialism, it remains an educational philosophical foundation for Africa. Until African countries can stand on their own feet and stop using the begging bowl, they can never be truly independent. In defining the role of the university, Nyerere said that, in all its research and teaching, the University of East Africa must be searching always for that elusive thing—truth. It is in this manner that the University will contribute to our development, because the fight against prejudice is vital for progress (Nyerere 1967).

Speaking as the first Chancellor of the University of East Africa, newly created from colleges in East Africa that had been incorporated in a colonial special relationship with the University of London, Nyerere (1963) warned against the elitist, isolationist stance of such an institution of higher learning:

For let us be quite clear; the University has not been established purely for prestige purposes. It has a very definite role to play in development in this area, and to do this effectively it must be in, and of, the community it has been established to serve. The University of East Africa has to draw upon experience and ideas from East Africa as well as from the rest of the world. And it must direct its energies particularly towards the needs of East Africa. (pp. 218–219)

Nyerere’s ideas of the purpose of higher education in the context of Africa have been echoed throughout the continent. For example, Kamba, (1985) the first Black Vice Chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe appointed at independence, stated, “I regard the University of Zimbabwe

as first and foremost a developmental university, which is singularly animated and concerned, theoretically and practically with the search for solutions to the concrete problems of national development” (p. 2).

The message at independence for many African countries was loud and clear regarding the indigenization of higher education. However, the message has been mere rhetoric. In the subsequent section, we analyze how African higher education has been beleaguered with problems of access and gender inequality.

Neo-liberalism

Larner (2006) states that, “neoliberalism denotes new levels of political economic governance premised on market extensions. Neoliberalism embodies strategies for economic liberalizations, free trade and open markets. As a concept it supports the privatization of nationalized industries, deregulation, and enhancing the role of the private sector in modern society” (p. 199). This paradigm has now been transferred to many African education systems. The neo-liberal state is a new type of state which succeeded the welfare state. It is based on the assumption that markets are more effective in the production of an efficient education system. The market models increase accountability. The emergence of neo-liberalism in higher education has left Africans asking questions on the role of higher education. For example, what should be the values and purpose of such education? In many African countries, the neo-liberal wave came in during post-independence when most governments were trying to expand access to higher education with limited financial resources. We note that the World Bank was very much involved in the neo-liberal prescriptions which, today, have been abandoned because of the increasing debt with which these countries were faced and after discovery of the international rhetoric.

ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Widening access has long been and still remains a major problem of African higher education, particularly so in sub-Saharan Africa. It goes without saying that any prospect of raising the capacity of African higher education institutions (HEIs) to promote democracy and social justice depends heavily on their capacities to produce a critical mass of highly educated citizens with the right democratic attitudes, values and skills. Although in recent decades many African countries have responded to the

pressure from their citizenry for improved access, the fact remains that Africa still lags behind in many respects. Thus, with a tertiary participation rate of only 12 % in 2012 (see Table 15.1), Africa remains a region least served by its HEIs.

Tertiary participation rates in Africa stand in great contrast to those of Europe (77 %) and North America (72 %). Obviously, wide variations persist within the African continent itself. Algeria achieved a participation rate of 31 % in 2012. Egypt, with more than two million of its students in its tertiary sector, had attained a gross participation rate of more than 30 %. Mauritius led the continent with a participation of 40 % in 2012. While these are encouraging developments, the average participation rate in sub-Saharan Africa, which was only 8.2 % in 2012, is depressingly low. Indeed, several sub-Saharan countries are still lagging very far behind. For example, Malawi's participation rate of 0.81 % in 2011 was a cause of concern. Niger, on its part, only managed to have a gross enrolment ratio of 1.75 % in 2012, while Chad had only 2.2 % in 2011 (UNESCO Institute of Statistics 2014). Generally, the average participation rate for Africa in its entirety, as well as for the sub-Saharan region, falls below the threshold posited by Trow (1973) of 15 %, suggesting that higher education in much of Africa is still elitist. As Wilson-Strydom and Fongwa (2012) explain:

higher education reflects a system strongly rooted in meritocracy, focused on educating the elite and preparing for technological take-off in a world characterized by rapid social technological change. This elitist system significantly ignores aspects of equality for individuals and social groups, democratic justice and capability development which are fundamental in the transition to the mass and universal stages of the framework. (p. 10)

We observed that some of the major problems African universities are still struggling from are attributed to the colonial encounter, as well as the imposition of the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) by the World Bank and IMF in the 1980s and 1990s. While colonialism restricted Africans rights for higher education, neo-liberal inspired SAPs rendered higher education as a relatively less socially efficient investment for Africa compared with basic education, thus leading to continued disinvestment in higher education by African governments. "The policy of peripheralization of higher education in Africa persisted during the 1980s and intensified throughout the 1990s in shaping the [World] Bank's approach to

higher education sector in sub-Saharan Africa” (Obamba 2013, p. 91). Indeed, the World Bank’s official lending policy for developing countries, as was stated in its 1980 Education Sector Paper stipulates that:

In lending to low-income countries, the emphasis will be on the development of low-cost basic education programs to meet the minimum needs for learning of school-age children and uneducated adults especially women. (As cited in Obamba 2013, p. 91)

This policy by the World Bank is one explanation as to why many African countries found it particularly problematic to expand access to higher education using their own limited resources. Further, the proliferation of private higher education in the last two decades in some African countries suggests that challenges to provide equity of access still remain; that is, private provision of higher education is available only to those who can afford to pay high tuition fees.

Gender Inequality

In this section, we will analyze how African higher education has been beleaguered by problems of access and gender inequality. Clearly, access to higher education and gender inequality are part of the social justice and democratization agenda in many countries. By social justice, we mean equality in the distribution of access to knowledge among students from different socio-economic groups, as well as across differences including gender, race and ethnic origin. Following Hornsby and Osman (2014), we also employ democratization to refer to “a process where access to higher education is viewed as an integral element in resolving social and economic inequalities present in societies” (p. 712).

A key question posed here is, “How does the present provision of higher education address the needs of female students and racially and ethnically disadvantaged groups?” It remains that one of the challenges of assessing issues of social justice in African higher education is the difficulty of obtaining disaggregated data on access and success. Our analysis is therefore limited to a few countries for which data is available. In Africa, the average female student participation rate in tertiary education stood at only 10 % in 2012, compared with about 13 % for that of males. For sub-Saharan African countries, the figure for female participation is even lower (6 %). Africa’s female participation rate in tertiary education stands

in sharp contrast to the figures for Europe (77 %), North America (72 %), South America (58 %) and Asia (26 %). Such comparative figures serve to highlight how access to tertiary education in Africa has favoured males.

Not all African countries demonstrate disparities in equity of access on the basis of gender, of course. For example, gender parity in higher education participation has been achieved in a few African countries such as South Africa, Lesotho and Mauritius (Kigotho 2014). On the other hand, some encouraging initiatives are also evident at the policy level. At the level of the continent, the AU has ratified its gender policy to demonstrate its commitment to gender equality.

Gender inequality is not only a matter of increasing the number of women in HEIs. The content of what is taught is also an important consideration. In the context of Africa, it is often the case that female students are greatly under-represented in the hard sciences. Thus, as Okeke-Ihejirika (2005) argues:

African women's limited representation in tertiary education certainly impacts greatly on the life of these institutions as social spaces where learning must invite persistent inquiry that sustains ardent contestations of "the-way-it-is". The ideological content of tertiary education in Africa at present limits individual vision, and leaves little room, even for the ambitious female student, researcher or teacher, to challenge the status quo. (p. 170)

Gender equality is also foregrounded in institutional policies and key government plans in some African countries. The Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology in Kenya adopted its own gender policy in 2009. The Tanzania Development Vision 2025 document set out the goal of "gender equality and the empowerment of women in all socio-economic and political relations and cultures" (The United Republic of Tanzania, n.d., p. 12). Ethiopia offers scholarships targeted to increase the enrolment of women in graduate programs. In South Africa, a very recent report has identified a wide variety of mechanisms that have been initiated to support greater equity and redress in higher education enrolments—such as the outlawing of racial and sexual discrimination, affirmative action, alternative admission tests to complement the national final secondary school examination, the recognition of prior learning to facilitate access for mature students, extended curriculum programs for students that show potential, and a state-funded national student financial aid scheme (HESA 2014). In South African higher education, access

along racial lines has significantly improved from the situation in the times of apartheid. Thus, in 2011, of the total number of 938,200 students in South Africa, black students made up 81 %, and women comprised 58 % (cited in HESA, 2014).

In summary, we noted that that the present status of Africa and its HEIs is a historical product of Africa's colonial past, structural adjustment policies of the 1980s and 1990s, the continent's marginalization from the political and social sphere, and, not least, the failed policies of African governments. The majority of pre-independence African universities have a colonial origin. Examples are the Anglophone (English), Francophone (French) and Lusophone (Portuguese) institutions. These institutions were created primarily to serve the interests of the colonizers. Access was very limited for the indigenous people of these countries (Kariwo 2007). At independence, most countries deliberately provided new policy frameworks that supported wider access to higher education (Kariwo 2007). While the evidence shows that there was an increase in student enrolments, there has not been much research done on access in terms of accommodating specific groups—such as females, the physically challenged and other “minority” groups. (Shizha and Kariwo 2011)

Another shortcoming of these institutions is related to the curricula, which were largely irrelevant for the developmental needs of the countries. At independence, there was concerted effort to reform African universities from their “ivory tower” to institutions that could research and provide solutions to local problems. New programs were introduced and a number of new institutions were established with less emphasis on liberal education and a focus on applied disciplines. There was a wave in the 1970s through to the 1990s to establish Science and Technology universities, as these were conceived to be critical in the economic development of the country. In Southern Africa, the South African Development Countries (SADC) group supported the New Partnership for Africa's Development (Nepad) resolution on science and technology policy (Mouton 2007).

HIGHER EDUCATION DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

It is well recognized that civil and political rights are fundamental to sustainable socio-economic development. It can therefore be maintained that one important function of universities in Africa should be to

contribute to an enhanced awareness of human rights, as well as the development of democracy. Higher education is “key to delivering the knowledge requirements for political development” (Luescher-Mamashela 2011, p. ix). We recognize that the link between education and democratization is not always straightforward. The Rwandan genocide of 1994 is just a reminder of how schools, teachers and students can be complicit in the perpetration of hatred and violence among citizens (Harber 2002). However, there is an increased understanding that education can contribute to democratization by enhancing and deepening political knowledge, human rights and by inculcating democratic values and skills. The contribution of African HEIs in this respect arguably becomes all the more important. Africa has, for a considerable while, witnessed the excesses of human suffering as result of undemocratic governance and violation of civil rights. NBC (“Missing Nigerian Girls” 2014) reported on the kidnapping of about 300 girls by the Nigerian-based Islamist extremist group Boko Haram; this incident, among many in Africa, suggests that the observance of democracy and human rights needs to be addressed and one way to do this is for education to play a role. What should be the mandate of universities in such contexts? We suggest that a radical rethinking of the mission of African universities in the twenty-first century is warranted. Part of this mission, we argue, should include the promotion of the value of democracy and human rights. Faith in the role of higher education for economic growth has been deeply rooted in Africa. There is also increasing political willingness in Africa to enhance competitiveness in a knowledge-based globalized economy. However, we find that issues of social justice and democracy are rarely foregrounded in major regional initiatives and policies on African higher education. Neither do these come to the forefront of national higher education strategies and plans in many countries. For example, the AU’s Plan of Action for the Second decade of Education for Africa (2006–2015) (2006), while laudable in several respects, is silent on issues of democracy and social justice. In the Plan of Action (AU 2006), African Union’s goal for higher education is articulated as one of “complete revitalization” (p. 8), yet it is difficult to envisage how complete revitalization of the continent’s higher education is possible when social justice and democracy are neglected in continent-wide strategies.

At an institutional level, it is important to note that African universities differ in many respects from those found in Western industrialized countries. They are, in many cases, instruments of the state established

primarily to advance state interests, thus making it difficult for African universities to pursue some of their important missions, which may stand, at times, at odds with the interests of political elites. Again, if African HEIs are to contribute meaningfully to the promotion of democracy and social justice in their continent, they must themselves be democratic institutions. A long-held practice of heads of states appointing university vice-chancellors and presidents still exists. As a result, academics in many African countries have limited academic freedom. That is part of the reason why we hear, for example, few critical voices from African academics and universities about the continuing violation of human rights by African governments on their own citizens. For example, while successive Human Rights Watch reports on various African countries point to gross violations of human rights, and the silencing of dissent and the continuing repression of political opponents, there has been little reaction to these measures from African universities themselves. We do acknowledge the limits of academic freedom in the African context. In the context of Africa, open criticism of government policies will always be made at huge personal cost to individuals who dare to do so. We are not therefore making a call here for African academics to be martyrs for democracy and social justice, or to suffer persecution for these causes. Neither is it our purpose to denigrate the contributions of many Africans intellectuals who dare to speak truth to power. However, it remains that Africa HEIs have not largely morphed themselves into the vanguards of democracy and human rights in their continent. Part of the reason, as the late pan-Africanist Ali Mazuri (2003) noted, may be that Africa has had its own killers of intellectualism, such as the political authoritarianism of African leaders.

When rethinking African higher education and social justice, it is important to problematize the issue of the higher education ethic. Traditionally, the university was defined as fulfilling the needs of the “gentleman”. We cite a post-colonial view from Nkurumah which encompasses a new ethic for African higher education. He said that the effects of colonialism were to stay in Africa for a long time. He therefore adopted the following viewpoints: traditional African society was founded on principles of egalitarianism; and, humanism was an important African philosophy where each person was to be guaranteed equal opportunity for development (Nkurumah 1967). In the current African context, a more pragmatic approach is required; one that takes into account the new role of higher education in social mobility particularly for women and disadvantaged members of the Africa society.

Poverty Reduction

Despite impressive economic performance in recent years, many countries in Africa remain poor and underdeveloped, with millions of citizens dependent on international aid. We argue that part of the mission of African universities in now must include a commitment to generate new knowledge that can be directly used for poverty reduction. The link between higher education and poverty reduction is well-established. According to the World Bank (2002):

Tertiary education institutions support knowledge-driven economic growth strategies and poverty reduction by (a) training a qualified and adaptable labor force, including high-level scientists, professionals, technicians, teachers in basic and secondary education, and future government, civil service, and business leaders; (b) generating new knowledge; and (c) building the capacity to access existing stores of global knowledge and to adapt that knowledge to local use. (p. xx)

Tackling poverty is surely a matter of social justice. The UN report (2014) “The Road to Dignity by 2030: Ending Poverty, Transforming All Lives and Protecting the Planet”, which is the next phase in the MDGs by the international body, quotes Nelson Mandela, who said:

Overcoming poverty is not a task of charity, it is an act of justice. Like slavery and apartheid, poverty is not natural. It is man-made and it can be overcome and eradicated by the actions of human beings. Sometimes it falls on a generation to be great. (p. 13)

The report states that eradicating poverty by 2030 is the overarching objective of the sustainable development agenda. There is evidence of enough resources and, with scientific progress, there is much hope for the attainment of this goal. Universities and other institutions of higher learning in Africa should take up this challenge and introduce relevant curricula. Most African countries have large populations who are still at the edge of deprivation. The statistics in Table 15.2 indicate that there is need for some catching up to be done in participation rates in higher education by African countries.

It is here, in the continent’s continuous struggle against poverty, we find that, among other things, the role of African indigenous knowledge systems is particularly important. It should be noted that one consequence

of the colonial encounter in Africa is the marginalization and devaluation of indigenous knowledge, ways of knowing and/or philosophies of education. Several critical African scholars have written extensively about the ways in which colonialism and colonial violence have operated to dismiss local or African systems of knowledge while leading to the hegemony of Western thought throughout the continent (see, for example, Abdi 2005; Mkosi 2005; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013). This project of marginalization has, as its core, the purpose of “diminishing the value of African way of life so as to ontologically damage people’s overall existentialities, and, in the process, achieve an unhindered, maximally exploiting colonial march that assures the theoretically concocted superiority of everything that represented the colonizer” (Abdi 2005, p. 39). Although colonialism is over in Africa, coloniality in its various forms is still an everyday reality. For example, coloniality of knowledge is still evident in African institutions of higher education. As Mkosi (2005) argues, “for the most part, Africa indigenous learners are subjected to culturally alienating institutions that prioritize Western traditions, norms and customs” (p. 96). Indeed, according to Mkosi (2005), “the introduction of the hegemonic Western knowledge through various historical and economic processes like colonization and globalization led to the invalidation and marginalization of indigenous culture (p. 95). Coloniality, according to Maldonado-Torres (2007) “is maintained alive in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of peoples, in aspiration of self, and in so many other aspects of modern experience” (p. 243). The pre-eminence of Western knowledge and knowledge systems in African institutions of higher education has rendered African universities estranged from their societies. As Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) argues:

Western education emerged in Africa as one of the technologies of subjectivation. Instead of higher education becoming a medium to transfer the needed technological skills from the West into Africa, it became largely a laboratory for Westernization that produced Africans who were alienated from their societies and cultures. (p. 177)

We recognize that we are living in a borderless and increasingly globalized world where national boundaries are more permeable than ever before. There is more scope for knowledge diffusion and transfer from across societies. We are not therefore calling for a replacement of Western knowledge by indigenous knowledge in African institutions. However,

we still argue for a strong presence of and respect for indigenous knowledge in African universities. As Abdi (2005) has rightly argued, “Africa has had highly developed and effective learning programs and attached philosophies of education that have contextually situated and explained the realities, needs as well as the aspirations of the African people in different epochs of their history” (p. 39). Indeed, indigenous knowledge has a great deal to offer for Africa’s development problems. Research shows that indigenous knowledge systems, among other things, contribute to social and ecological sustainability (Mkosi 2005).

One important role of African universities, we argue, is to heighten awareness as well understanding of indigenous knowledge systems and to contribute actively in the process of decolonizing knowledge as part of the struggle for African liberation from global imperial deigns. By interrogating what is taught and how, African universities could play important roles in the continent’s development. As Kofi Annan, former UN Secretary General (2014), argued:

The university must become a primary tool for Africa’s development in the new century. Universities can help develop African expertise; they can enhance the analysis of African problems; strengthen domestic institutions; serve as a model environment for the practice of good governance, conflict resolution and respect for human rights, and enable African academics to play an active part in the global community of scholars. (Cited in Obamba 2013, p. 97)

Effective investments for today’s children are fundamental for a better and more equitable world in the future. The Copenhagen Consensus Center brings a compelling argument to social justice and developmental plans. As reported by UNICEF (2015), “If we want to make sure that this world is realized for our children, let’s focus on the investments that will generate the most good” (para 4).

Africa is caught up in the dilemma of needing to develop local solutions and steer away from the global rhetoric. We believe that, in the transitioning to an African university and development, a balance is needed and, as such, we cite an example from the international community. In the current discourse on MDGs, one of the six elements for the next phase is “Justice”; a review of the performance of many African countries would indicate the absence of institutions that are capable of ensuring social justice and democratic approaches to solving socio-political problems.

In 2008, the MDG Africa Steering Group has identified a list of concrete opportunities to implement and scale up interventions in support of the MDGs. Two of these are worth mentioning here:

- meeting short-term emergency food needs resulting from the global rise in food prices to prevent malnutrition and contain political unrest; and
- launching an African Green Revolution within the framework of the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) to double agricultural yields, accelerate economic growth and combat hunger (United Nations Department of Public Information, 2008, p. 4).

African HEIs must complement such efforts by directing some of their research agendas to poverty reduction and finding home-grown solutions to African problems. Internal laws have been found to remain rhetorical until local governments domesticate the laws in a way that is beneficial to the sovereign state.

CONCLUSION

We conclude that African higher education has contributed only marginally to the promotion of democracy and social justice on the continent. The HEIs are selective in the admission of students and elitist in orientation. Access to higher education in many African countries therefore has favoured a small segment of the population. Women are under-represented in the continent's higher education system. Further, the close association between university leadership and the state in Africa suggests that universities are a source of tension, as the institutions' missions and agendas are often in contradiction with government plans.

Universities are more often at the mercy of their governments because they are heavily funded through public money and need to be accountable. In most African institutions of higher education, university presidents are elected by heads of state. They are accountable to the Ministry of Education, or to other government agencies, and their primary functions tend to serve political and state interests. As a consequence, academic freedom and institutional autonomy in African universities are not easily realized. For example, the fact that these institutions rely heavily on government funding suggests that research is state-driven.

The disciplining of HEIs through market rationales means that HEIs need to respond to the incessant demands of the market. This is evident today in African HEIs through the infiltration of business management models in universities—such as strategic plans and business re-engineering processes where greater sensitivity to stakeholders’ needs becomes one of the crucial concerns of universities. Although providing a place of “pride” to politicians, there are other stakeholders’ interests—such as quality education and research in properly funded universities, which remain crucial.

In this chapter, we argued that African universities need a home-grown solution for their development. As Sawyer (2004) argued:

Autocratic decrees by governments, self-serving technical and policy advice by experts and agencies, and selective funding initiatives by donors cannot be part of a long-term solution to the problems of higher education in the present circumstances of Africa. (p. 53)

In this initiative, a careful balance is critical as the nations negotiate local forms of knowledge construction. This strategy involves a partnership with government and other stakeholders, which include parents, students and industry.

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Assembling PeerlessU: A Canadian Makeover Comes to Grief

Len Findlay and Toni Samek

INTRODUCTION

In his recent book *University Leadership and Public Policy in the Twenty-First Century* (2014), Peter MacKinnon, President of the University of Saskatchewan (U of S) from 1998 to 2012, offers a detailed account of a lengthy and eventually successful struggle he led for the admission of the U of S to the group of elite, “research intensive” universities in Canada, usually referred to as the U-15. The University of Saskatchewan, long known as “The People’s University” (Hayden 1983), had to rebrand and reassemble itself to resemble and compete with the other members of that group. The U of S had to exhibit common values and capacities to fit in with its illustrious new peers, and, in some respects, affirm itself as peerless. In order to make the grade and find its niche, in the view of its leaders it had to become peerless not only in its research intensiveness, but also in another sense too, co-opting—and, when necessary, ignoring—peer-driven, internal collegial processes when they got in the way of burnishing the institutional brand.

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This reduction of the notion of academic peers to peer-competitor institutions required rewriting institutional history and ignoring academic staff while controlling deans. It required, in other words, the creation of a constrained community of faculty bit-players and a decanal cohort of scripted and whipped team players. This process, deeply undemocratic and more attuned to corporate and governmental interests than to considerations of academic values and social justice, can be seen vigorously at work in the case of Dr. Robert W. Buckingham, a senior administrator in the School of Public Health at the U of S, who belatedly broke ranks with his leadership peers and the administrative code of silence imposed on them, was severely punished, and then had his tenure restored after his firing went viral (Alamenciak 2014). This case, and the events which led up to and beyond it over the course of one extended presidency, one aborted one, and one interim one, has much to tell us about the understanding of assembly in the process of effecting cultural change and brand identity in public universities in Canada.

*Higher and Higher: Academic Assembling as Turnaround
and Makeover*

The University of Saskatchewan has served the people of Saskatchewan and Canada for more than a century and has developed strong ties with a variety of institutions and communities overseas. Since 1954, the U of S has been a fully fledged medical-doctoral institution, a status that has played out in two very different ways in the province. Under its first leader, the so-called “red dean” J. Wendell Macleod (Horlick 2007), and for several decades after his deanship, the College of Medicine was regarded as a direct expression of the province’s contributions to the founding and expansion of Medicare in Canada. More recently, the medical-doctoral status of the U of S has been tied to the rankings popularized by *Maclean’s Magazine* and now epidemic across the world (such as the QS Stars University ratings begun in 2004). A medical facility valued by governments of all stripes as a symbol of a proud history and unwavering commitment to public health has gradually been refigured as a deficient piece of a research intensive enterprise—a component which fails to attract adequate amounts of the millions of dollars available from various sources to enable medical research. Moreover, it has been placed on probation for an unprecedented second time by accreditation bodies. The College of Medicine has gone from being a medical-doctoral ticket into the big

leagues to guaranteeing that the U of S will continue to reside at or near the bottom of those league tables. In addition, the allegedly underperforming College of Medicine was held by President MacKinnon to be a symptom of a more encompassing institutional malaise and, perhaps, the most effective source of resistance to decomposition and reassembly. The U of S was apparently losing ground and credibility, and Mackinnon, as its new leader, needed to fix that—pronto.

The story that MacKinnon tells in his book about the U of S under his direction depends on serious rewriting of the more remote past and a self-serving devaluation of administrative and faculty performance in the decade immediately preceding his presidency. According to him, the U of S needed redeeming because of bad hiring, the self-protective actions of a strong faculty union and a sentimental populist acceptance of mediocrity. The solution was a bold presidential recommitment to research intensiveness, coupled with the importation of George Keller's "modern management" techniques and "strategic planning", so as "to shape the university's future rather than have it shaped by external conditions" (MacKinnon 2014, p. 31). The implications of this were swiftly felt within the U of S. Collegial governance had to become less cumbersome, more efficient, more manageable. The University of Saskatchewan Act was accordingly altered in 1995 to accommodate changes first designed by MacKinnon, and then fully implemented by him when he took over the presidency from Dr. George Ivany three years later. The notion of general academic assembly became an addendum each April to the work of a small University Council dominated by senior administrators and those faculty prone or eager to do their bidding. Predictably, the annual assembly struggled to make a quorum, while the representative Council, in the name of enhanced independence, became more like an overseen assembly line than an academic agora. It became ever more subject to the "discipline of the integrated planning process" (p. 33) and "the discipline of the market" (MacKinnon 2014, p. 46)—desired outcomes of the restructuring of governance. Academic distinctiveness became increasingly indistinguishable—in governance, values and voice—from a private corporation. The institutional brand and competitive advantage became key notions whose pursuit required the hiring of large numbers of support staff from the business world (Sharma 2012). As the faculty complement shrank, it became easier to manage by picking winners from among its ranks, shaming losers as *bricoleurs* or worse, and integrating difference through a series of institutional plans into an arrangement in which the liberal arts

were broken apart and reassembled as the neoliberal arts. In this way, market “logic” replaced or swallowed human reason and creativity, while some of the worst practices of the business world were aped assiduously in the name of accountability and leadership.

MacKinnon, with the wary support of an NDP provincial government, and then with the full-throated and, at first, less fickle backing of a Saskatchewan Party administration riding a resource boom, made the most of his chance to drive the process of dispersal and reassembly so that excellence, according to his understanding of it, could be sequestered in a series of schools and quasi-autonomous entities such as the Vaccine and Infectious Diseases Organization, the Canadian Light Source Synchrotron and the Global Institute for Food Security. Meanwhile, much of the work of teaching students and working within less instrumental, allegedly less lucrative, disciplines became increasingly under-resourced. The humanities and social sciences were shrunk and selectively starved. Classics largely disappeared, leaving a Trojan remnant in Anthropology and Archaeology, and in History. Philosophy was increasingly disparaged as a “boutique” program. Other mergers and acquisitions reassembled departments in the College of Arts and Science in ways scarcely imaginable at the beginning of MacKinnon’s tenure. Meanwhile, that tenure was, at his behest, extended into a third term because, he assured the Board of Governors and the Brad Wall government, the turnaround might be done but the makeover was still seriously incomplete. When he did step down halfway through that third term, the oldest, most iconic building on campus, the College Building, was renamed for MacKinnon: the branding apparatus immortalized Big Brander himself. In departing, he claimed the U of S was more research intensive than ever before, was continuing to witness an extraordinary building boom with a flock of construction cranes, rather than vultures, dominating the skyline, and that the institution’s finances were in terrific shape. Who could follow an act like that? We would soon learn the answer to that question.

What Does a Newbie Want?

By the time a (confidential, head-hunter assisted) search was completed and Dr. Ilene Busch-Vishniac took over as President of the U of S, things were not looking as rosy as MacKinnon and the outgoing chair of the Board of Governors, Nancy Hopkins, had painted them. Government largesse was less than expected, and directed towards particular pet projects

such as the Canadian Centre for Nuclear Innovation, for which \$30 million in funding was announced by the provincial government, although the University Council had not even considered the possibility and desirability of establishing such an entity. So much for academic control of the academic agenda. Such developments, touted in MacKinnon's book as unproblematic accomplishments by a visionary leader, called into question just how independent the U of S was from the provincial government. Increasingly, it seemed to some, MacKinnon had endangered the finances and values of what had been the People's University through bureaucratic bloat, reckless overbuilding and the hubris of the political insider. Less funding, with more obvious strings attached to it, revealed that, even in a boom province such as Saskatchewan had become, the neoliberal reassembly of the public university would continue apace. The old ways of doing academic business were perhaps more affordable than they had been when Saskatchewan was a have-not province governed mostly by the New Democratic Party, but they were also ideologically less tolerable than ever to right-wing politicians. So the screws kept tightening, both provincially and federally.

Nonetheless, the incoming president of the U of S declared herself up to the challenges posed by a College of Medicine placed once again on probation, by what was claimed to be a looming institutional deficit of more than \$40 million, and by conditions that were causing MacKinnon's halo to slip. Just as MacKinnon argued in the book he wrote during his two-year paid leave after stepping down, Dr. Busch-Vischniac determined she, too, needed to make her mark boldly and early in her presidency. This required the generation of a new "Vision 2025" for the U of S, and the swift and decisive addressing of a deficit of \$44.3 million driven by projections that were perceived by many faculty as designed to create a pseudo-crisis on the basis of which tough prioritizing love could be dispensed and the U of S reassembled in even more complete conformity with the needs and edicts of neoliberalism—an interpretation formalized and defended by the University of Saskatchewan Faculty Association (USFA) president, Doug Chivers (2014). On the conceptual level, for a year Dr. Busch-Vischniac produced and work-shopped the vision that would guide the institution in every aspect of its endeavours beyond budgetary cycles and political seasons. At the same time, the U of S was claimed to be financially unsustainable in its existing form. It needed to be broken into small pieces for analysis and evaluation, and then reassembled in conformity with affordability. To this end, a process

called TransformUS was undertaken in 2013 and 2014, modeled on the work of Robert C. Dickeson on program prioritization, and looking at all administrative, supportive and academic units through the narrow, distorting lenses of efficiency and financial sustainability.

Of course, such a sweeping process could not happen simply by virtue of presidential fiat. The U of S faculty is unionized, has clear if co-optable structures of collegial governance and is well-accustomed to various forms of external review. However, according to Dickeson (2010, 2014), such reviews do not provide the conditions and outcomes that serious shrinkage and instrumental reassembly require. Academic peer review presumes and promotes a notion of discipline far different than market discipline, is undertaken by peers in the traditional academic sense and is committed to an idea of the university that has, to use Larry Goldstein's phrase, "out-lived its usefulness" (Foster 2013, p. 9). In order to further the processes and priorities associated with MacKinnon, faculty buy-in was required. Review that locates authority in the faculty cannot be readily managed. It needs to give way to in-house prioritization undertaken by faculty who can be selected and groomed to produce more bracing, market-driven evaluations and outcomes. The existence of a financial crisis had to be demonstrated in terms sufficiently general as to appear persuasive, while the faculty had to be infantilized as well as intimidated into participating in providing evidence for the reassembling of themselves and their colleagues. It was clearly time for yet another consultant—apparently inspired by that iconic reassembler of body parts, Victor Frankenstein—to come in and persuade faculty that this process was inevitable and predictably painful, but that the institution would emerge from the prioritization process somehow stronger. There would undoubtedly be winners and losers, but they would be determined objectively on the basis of data generated within a series of Dickesonian templates. Larry Goldstein, Dickeson's representative in this matter, tried to assure the U of S community, in an interview with *On Campus News* ironically entitled "Building Capacity for TransformUS," that "TransformUS is designed specifically by the people who are undertaking it to work for the university" (Foster 2013, p. 9). For Goldstein, the prioritization process "must be transparent and treat every program fairly, and I'm seeing that in textbook fashion here at the U of S" (Foster 2013, p. 9). Despite growing concerns about the intellectually deficient source and flawed design of the templates, apparently all was going according to plan. But whose plan, really, and how did it secure faculty support in the first instance?

President Busch-Vishniac inherited from MacKinnon a cowed collegium with pockets of privilege in predictable places. She enjoyed a honeymoon period during which she was regularly given the benefit of the doubt in the hope that her presidency would benefit the whole campus community. And so her plan for TransformUS secured approval, in principle, from University Council, on the understanding that it would be brought back for faculty ratification once it had been more fully developed. That never happened. Instead, two “task forces” were struck, groups whose very names attested to the pervasive and ongoing influence of Dickeson and his “Academic Impressions” colleagues’ favouring of quasi-military notions of tactics, strategy, mobilization and resistance (evident on virtually every page of Dickeson’s *How to Engage Faculty In Academic Program Prioritization*, 2014). With only minor adjustments to the Dickeson model, data was generated at a punishing pace from those responsible for administrative and academic programs. Many department heads and program leaders felt they had been placed in an impossible situation. They had deep misgivings about the templates—“death by metrics”, as Len Findlay put it in conversation with his Dean—but were anxious about what would happen if they threatened not to participate in a flawed process. The favoured metric of the senior leaders, adjusted minimally to local realities and local knowledge, drove the process. Despite much low-key grumbling and dismay, templates were duly responded to and the wait began.

Meanwhile, the backlash against Dickeson was gaining momentum in light of the negative and sometimes farcical experience with prioritization at the University of Guelph, the analysis done by Craig Heron (Heron 2013) of York University for the Ontario Council of University Faculty Associations, warnings about the endangerment of tenure from American colleagues (Bhattacharyya 2014), detailed critique by members of faculty at the U of S and the protests of students. The TransformUS taskforces, at first, included no student representation at all. Dr. Busch-Vishniac opined that students had no financial stake in the cost-cutting process and no relevant expertise. When student representation was added, it was done in a way that failed to mollify the student body. The predisposition, first, to exclude and, then, to patronize them did not go down well with the student leadership. Indeed, it led to a stunning moment at University Council in January 2014, when the Taskforce Reports had been available for more than a month and the Provost’s Committee on Integrated Planning was considering how to

interpret and implement the Reports' recommendations. Max Findlay rose to announce to University Council in his report as president of the University of Saskatchewan Students' Union (agenda item 7.1, Minutes of University Council for January 23, 2014) that *his* Council had unanimously passed a motion of non-confidence in the TransformUS process. When he made this announcement from the podium, the cleft collegium in the neoliberal university revealed itself instantly and unforgettably. Half of the room, overwhelmingly faculty and students, erupted into thunderous applause at this display of courageous dissent. The other half of the room, comprising senior administrators and members of their leadership team, sat in silence, unsure how to react with the top brass in attendance. We were witnessing the silence of the deans without fully realizing it, and we were witnessing it as bodies in assembly, rather than as people voting online. Lessons about the resilience of academic community ought to have been learned from this show of non-confidence. Instead, the student action was ignored on every site controlled by the central administration, and some scholarship good news was broadly circulated instead.

But resistance could not be so readily quelled. Inspired by the action of the University of Saskatchewan Students' Union (USSU) Council, faculty tried to mobilize within collegial governance structures. The idea of faculty being educated by their students in the realities of resisting reassembly is huge! After much chicanery and stalling, a second motion of non-confidence in TransformUS was brought before University Council, moved by Len Findlay of the English Department and seconded by James Brooke of the Department of Mathematics. The motion read: "The University Council expresses non-confidence in the TransformUS process as a means of making academic decisions, and Council will therefore continue to rely on existing collegial structures and processes in making such decisions." It was a move widely reported in the local media, and there was a great deal of attention paid to the matter when it came to a vote in Council. Despite criticism of TransformUS from a variety of faculty, alumni, emeriti and students, the Findlay/Brooke motion was heavily defeated—as the mover and seconder knew it would be. There was more open criticism and resistance than there had been for a number of years, but the deans all voted as they were supposed to, most of them remaining silent while a few openly advised capitulation and despair (Findlay April 24, Findlay 2014b).

The Buckingham Affair

When the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) developed its policy statement on “Academic Freedom for Academic Administrators” (CAUT 2010), the text was composed with two key goals in mind: that academic administrators continue to be drawn from the ranks of the professoriate, rather than parachuted in from the business world; and, that those administrators continue to have the undiminished right to exercise their academic freedom whenever they themselves deem it appropriate or essential to do so. This CAUT policy statement deliberately rejected arguments for cabinet solidarity amongst the senior leadership “teams” precisely because such doctrine only too readily results in what Dr. Buckingham famously called “The Silence of the Deans” (Buckingham 2014). Such muzzling promotes unanimity at the expense of debate, a most un-academic—or even anti-academic—discursive model. Moreover, as was pointed out by a member of faculty at the first meeting of the U of S Council after the Buckingham affair had hit the headlines, such insistence on “executive solidarity” runs counter to the deliberative protocols of collegial governance (Minutes of University Council, May 22, 2014, p. 1; the first meeting at which Interim president Dr. Gordon Barnhart was present). Those protocols are designed to encourage all members of Council to act in the best interests of the whole University, not necessarily in support of some party line promoted and policed from “above”. Indeed, Council members new to the role are explicitly reminded during an orientation process led by the Chair of Council and the University Secretary that narrow views of departmental or college loyalty should not be the basis of their commentary and voting—unless, of course, their department or college is about to be dramatically, negatively affected by a proposed change of policy or restructuring of academic units. And that is, of course, an eventuality visited on the professoriate and the students they teach *de haut en bas*.

Dr. Buckingham had toed the executive line on TransformUS, just as all the other deans had done and been instructed to do, but only for as long as he could bear to. When he violated the academic omertà demanded by President Busch-Vischniac, he did so belatedly, and only when it was clear that restructuring within the health sciences, as in every other area of programming across the University, would be rammed through, no matter the feelings of faculty, department chairs and deans. However, it is also true to say that Dr. Buckingham chose to break decanal silence on the matter of

TransformUS in a way calculated to make the biggest splash possible in the provincial legislature, the local media and across the institution. He called the senior administration's bluff—big time. Messages had been sent across the whole campus regularly, especially by the Office of Human Resources, but also by the President, Provost and Vice-President Administration, that budget realities absolutely required tough love, beginning with targeted dismissals of support staff, some of the most long-serving of whom were “perp walked” off campus accompanied by campus security. Clearly, this message of discipline and compliance had not convinced one of the deans, despite the presidential ultimatum expressed in a confidential email that Buckingham chose to make public as part of his “Silence of the Deans” statement. An even stronger message needed to be sent, lest others follow this renegade example. The moment for hubristic managerial over-reach had arrived. Buckingham was summoned to a 7 a.m. meeting with Provost Fairbairn and other senior officials, and was handed a termination letter stripping him of his deanship and academic tenure, and halting all further payments into his pension fund. He was then escorted off campus by security personnel.

The circumstances and details of such retribution rapidly went viral, and soon the Minister of Post-Secondary Education, Rob Norris, was receiving outraged calls from scholars and alumnae around the world. All that money spent on branding-through-reassembly by the preceding and the current president of the U of S now counted for little. A self-administered black eye had been delivered by the institution's senior leadership—bluster, scrambling and reversal of the decision on Buckingham's tenure could not save the situation. The U of S's reputation was being pulverized and reassembled as an iconic example of academic misgovernance. Provost Fairbairn felt forced to take the fall, but remedial action did not stop there. President Busch-Vischniak was then fired “without cause”, though both president and provost retained their tenured positions in History and Engineering, respectively. The Chair of the Board of Governors, Susan Milburn, spun, blustered and dug in. However, there were soon calls for Milburn and her entire board to resign (Findlay 2014a), while major figures in planning for and transforming the U of S in line with neo-liberal research intensiveness also departed. A year later, some administrative positions were eliminated or downgraded, a new chair was appointed to the board of governors, and an extensive cast of interim actors: most notably in the roles of president and vice-president academic and provost. Meanwhile, the U of S suffered a major legal setback on the matter of

a “presidential veto” on tenure strongly promoted by MacKinnon and Busch-Vishniac. A judicial review went against them, the findings of the Sims Arbitration were upheld, and the administration, after stating that it wished to litigate the matter further, reluctantly, and conditionally, withdrew its appeal.

This decision was closely followed by a decision of the Supreme Court of Canada in striking down provincial labour legislation which President MacKinnon had enthusiastically supported after a Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) strike on campus in 2012. Such developments might suggest that the U of S leadership is being taught by external and internal labour developments to respect collegial process and to avoid bypassing or demonizing those who do most of the work of the university. One might think so—but the evidence is, in fact, decidedly mixed. While service on University Council has become attractive to faculty once again, requiring elections rather than acclamation of the “right sort” of person, there are also ominous signs that many of the TransformUS recommendations will be brought back under the aegis of the interim provost’s “Eight Points”, presented to faculty and students in various fora in September 2014. Meanwhile, there is great interest in and anxiety about the ongoing secret search for a new president. A highly promising internal candidate and humanist, Dr. Peter Stoicheff, was appointed president in the summer of 2015. He has got off to a good start. However, only time will tell whether internal and external proponents of the neoliberal university have learned their lesson.

The Media Battle: Excerpts

In the wake of much national, and even international, media attention to the Buckingham affair, multiple and diverse higher education groups and individuals discussed, dissected, and debated implications of the situation. One of the most notable yet perplexing commentaries belongs to the President of the University of Alberta (U of A), Dr. Indira Samarasekera. Her attitudes on the essence of the Buckingham affair, academic freedom and academic administrators, as expressed freely in *The Globe and Mail* (2014) and on CBC media (*CBC News* 2014), infused the ongoing discourse with another level of anxiety. In her public assertions, President Samarasekera both narrows the definition of academic freedom advocated by CAUT in its November 2011 overarching Policy on Academic Freedom and defends cabinet solidarity for university administrators and the actions taken by the

U of S in the Buckingham case. The September 3, 2014 issue of the U of A's academic staff association newsletter *Rhumblines: The AASUA News Bulletin* offers a significant account of the curious connection between the events at the U of S and the imperial spin given to them by the President of the U of A. In the substantial piece entitled "Nexus: Academic Freedom, Administration and Collegial Governance at the U of A", (Kane 2014) painstakingly authored by Association of Academic Staff University of Alberta (AASUA) President Kevin Kane, we are given a summary of the fate of Dr. Buckingham, as well as orientation to broad disapproval of the U of S administration, including from organizations in which the AASUA is a member (e.g., CAUT and the Confederation of Alberta Faculty Associations (CAFA)). Kane spans dealings at the U of S with building concerns within and without the U of A with respect to academic freedom for academic administrators and institutional autonomy. Most importantly, Kane (2014) emphasizes a fundamental dissimilarity between rights and responsibilities at the U of S and the U of A:

A distinction between the U. of S. and the U. of A. is that academics in administrative positions at the U. of S. are not within the U. of S. collective agreement (they are out of scope), whereas at the U. of A., all academics in administration, including those as high in the hierarchy as our University President, are within the U. of A. collective agreements (are in scope), just like rank and file academics. Since the U. of A. academic administrators are within scope, and have academic freedom as indicated, they may criticize or comment on administration decisions, before, and after implementation. This differs substantially from the U. of S.

President Samarasekera's public comments on the Buckingham incident are especially puzzling because they seem to contradict her prior stated position on academic freedom. In 2011, when the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) adopted new language on academic freedom (AUCC 2011) that marked a regression from the former 1988 AUCC statement, President Samarasekera not only voiced concern, but also declared, as a point of pride, a commitment to the stronger academic freedom U of A collective agreement language ("President Samarasekera Offers Clarification about Academic Freedom").

What is perhaps most important (and yet curiously overlooked) about President Samarasekera's newly asserted position in 2014 is her ironic indulgence in a form of academic freedom she herself criticized in 2014—the

kind that plays out in the media unmediated by risk management staffers. The fact she was compelled to address the issue of academic freedom, unfiltered by her own handlers and minders, in the national media suggests her evolving stance is ambiguous if not hypocritical. Would she now argue her own university had the right, on the grounds of risk management and reputation, to request she rescind her published comments? Or would that constitute explicit censorship and institutional over-reach? What is the *responsible* thing to do? Who now claims to define, police and promote academic freedom, and for whom? And when and where is the wound dividing self-reflection and systemic privilege sutured?

More recently, President Samarasekera has again provided food for thought, academic outrage and public concern in her attempts at opinion making. In the *Edmonton Journal* of February 13, 2015 she is quoted as follows:

Give me a break. We have no sales tax. We have no Alberta health premium. We are stealing from future generations. It makes me really upset because this province could be so far ahead.

We are living in a dream world if we think we can carry on by cutting every time oil prices go down and investing only when oil prices go up. You can't build for the long-term. (Ibrahim 2015)

Addressing these uncharacteristic comments on his blog *Whither the U of A*, Professor Jeremy Richards vents on February 14, 2015 in a post entitled "More from IS":

It's fine to rail against the system as the door slams behind you, but it would have been more "uplifting" to hear such sentiments loudly and persuasively expressed consistently over the last 10 years. In particular, it would have been nice to have seen restraint and careful investment during the 6 % years, instead of the frantic rush to mortgaged growth. Are the words "No thanks" not in the vocabulary of senior administrators? How about, "Thanks for the offer of more money, but can we spend it on back-filling, consolidation, and deferred maintenance, not to mention paying off the unfunded liability in our pension plans, rather than that shiny new building with your name on it". (Richards 2015a)

A PeerlessU, eponymous buildings and university structures at the U of A help the telling of the Canadian U of S makeover. But did anyone expect the "irony lady" just next door to be quite that bold in her peer-presidential

solidarity, while the U of S brand went viral and down the drain? What was in it for Indira, beyond another opportunity to rewrite history?

Unironing the Iron Clad Canadian Clauses

On January 28, 2015, the CAUT website broke news of a now published report of the Ad Hoc Investigatory Committee to look into the status of academic freedom in the Department of Economics at the University of Manitoba. The announcement includes the following information:

At a meeting of the university senate on Feb. 4, U of M president David Barnard dismissed the findings that academic freedom had been violated, suggesting the committee had misused the term. “I have stated on other occasions that I believe the greatest threat to academic freedom in Canada is stretching the definition so that the concept becomes so attenuated as to lack meaning and relevance,” he asserted. Len Findlay, chair of CAUT’s Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee, said Barnard’s statement to senate is “deeply hypocritical.” “The greatest threat to academic freedom in Canada comes from senior managers’ attempts to reduce its scope and discourage its exercise,” he noted. “The reckless endangerment of academic freedom derives from administrative preference for a cowed collegium, not from academic staff and their local and national associations.” (Catano and Samek 2015)

We could all benefit from reading this report, given the meaning of “economics” as applied to higher education metrics is up for discussion everywhere. *Arts Squared* is a website created in autumn 2011 under the leadership of U of A Associate Professor Carolyn Sale. She articulates the rationale for the development as follows:

with the assistance and encouragement of colleagues in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Alberta, I launched this website. We wanted a public space in which we could come together to raise our concerns about the cuts to the Faculty of Arts that we were experiencing that year, which were devastating, and which were, indeed, irrational, given that the University is operating under the publicly declared ambition of being one of the “Top 20” universities in the world by 2020. No university can be truly great without a fully flourishing Faculty of Arts. (“The Virtual Square”)

On *Arts Squared*, Dr. Sale and co-operating colleagues make an effort to document the U of A’s evolving academic rhetoric and reality, including that made as evident in the expressions of the President. To this end,

the website includes quotes, screen shots, links to letters, questions and answers posed at General Faculty Council meetings, media coverage including attention to the University, and so on. *Arts Squared* exists alongside the blog *Whither the U of A*. And *Whither the U of A* twins with a *Whitherleaks* service, through which Dr. Richards makes University documents accessible.

At present, these social media might represent the most important examples of academic freedom of U of A academic staff as expressed in extramural communications today. It should be noted, though, Dr. Richards is “shuttering” his blog. In his subdued announcement of this decision on April 23, 2015, he closes his final post with the following words of advice:

But a word of warning to anyone who might want to pick up the torch: don't do it unless you already have tenure and a full professorship, and don't do it if you have any aspirations to progress further within the University of Alberta. A strange and sad thing to have to say, but that appears to be the truth. (Richards 2015b)

Dr. Richards' farewell warning should remind the entire academic community of its common responsibility to protect academic freedom as understood and promoted by CAUT and to examine openly and engage in debates about the nature and future of academic life. The Buckingham case broke open a world of intimidation and reprisal based on the publication of a letter. In light of this tribute to the impact of unfettered or forbidden disclosure, what is already at play and still in store for academic social media sites, their creators, and potentially even their most passive users, when, as Vincent Mosco argues in *To the Cloud* (2014), universities are feeding and seeding the cloud in the most outrageously compliant ways? If former Dean Buckingham can have been temporarily fired for writing a letter about the muzzling of Deans, then what can happen to any of us who leave a digital trace or tattoo of our labour and, perhaps more importantly, our meta-life and labour, all of which can seemingly be used as an archive for intimidation against us? This gives new meaning to a fond phrase of the past, “the academic community”.

Scholars have long served an important role as public intellectuals. One of the new iterations of this role of critique in the public interest involves “academic citizen journalism”. Meanwhile, it is conceivable that the developers of critical sites are ultimately to be labeled

whistleblowers by higher education administrators and boards of governors. Where will the academic community look for guidance? Certainly not to government. All Canadian academic staff associations and CAUT itself would be wise to continue mobilizing around academic freedom, whistleblowing, and intramural and extramural communications. For example, this need is reinforced by The Ad Hoc Investigatory Committee into the case of Professor Morteza Shirkhazadeh at Queen's University. As noted clearly in the preface of the report published by CAUT on its website in April 2015:

The Committee was tasked with considering whether Prof. Shirkhazadeh's academic freedom was violated as a result of alleged actions taken against him following posts he made on his website. These posts accused certain members of the academic community of engaging in scholarly misconduct. The case raises important questions about the intersections between academic freedom, whistleblowing, and extramural communications. (Catano and Samek 2015)

A PeerlessU sets a course contaminated by both identified and unidentified information, misinformation and disinformation that create a new complexity for the global academic enterprise. Former Dean Buckingham and the anthology and pathology of discourse around him and his letter leave behind legacy data and documents. They bob alongside President Samarasekera, up and down, as she flip-flops opinions, dragging them along and through dredged up parts and pieces of the university that have been crashing around, bruising and cutting more than operational expenditures.

Strategies of Reassembly

Experiences at sister institutions in two western Canadian provinces with quite different political traditions and cultures reveal that university leaders in Canada have mobilized against their own faculty in order to remake their institutions as more efficient, internally authoritarian and externally submissive to the ill-disguised prodding of governments, funding agencies and donors. This contradiction is one of many that characterize the reassembly of the liberal arts and their customary home as the neoliberal arts within the extractive economy's increasingly compliant and instrumentalized extractive academy (Findlay 2014a, b; c). In order for this system-wide change to occur, administrative teams have to act in unison and always

on message, collegial governance has to be more thoroughly co-opted, academic labour more effectively divided and ruled, and brand management extended into every communicative platform and symbolic domain of each institution. University presidents are therefore being selected for their ability not to protest public disinvestment in public universities but, rather, to accept its inevitability and compensate for such disinvestment by striking deals with other funders who can brazenly or discreetly stipulate conditions about how money will be used and who will benefit from the activities it supports (see the essays in Turk 2014). However, each of the pieces of this top-down process can be effectively contested. Academic staff can and do map and analyze resource distribution inside their institutions and nationally across their disciplines. AUCC should join with CAUT and student organizations in making a vociferous public case for public reinvestment in our public universities. CAUT has made abundantly clear that muzzling academic staff, irrespective of status, damages post-secondary education and the public interest. Administrators have to be persuaded or shamed into shedding cabinet solidarity in favour of sectoral solidarity. They need to rediscover their appetite for open debate and for difference as enrichment, rather than obstruction or contamination. And they need to share their own pulpits and their considerable media access and resources with their academic staff so that everyone becomes a critical cheerleader and occasional whistleblower. Only in this way will academic communities regularly and productively reassemble as an invaluable, unmanageable source of knowledge, imagination, responsibility and critique. Canada needs and deserves no less.

Now in summer of 2015, as the climate change revenue river still floods the prairie and the boreal forest burns, and presidential successions march forward, there is grief but also hope. Might the sudden shock orange NDP takeover in Alberta open possibilities for a re-makeover of the PeerlessU? Imagine a refashioning of neoliberal to neon-green and proudly public. The summer of 2016 has been marked by fewer dramatic weather events than its pestilential predecessor, but debate still rages about the extractive economy's influence on the academy, in institutions with both new and continuing presidents. Indicators of this include acknowledgment of our universities residing on traditional territory from our institutional marketing and communications arms and the emergence of scholarship on petrocultures, such as the new research cluster at the University of Alberta. Welcome leadership has been shown by the NDP government in Alberta in diluting the corporate presence on its university and college

boards of governors. But the main source of hope—and apt challenge—for Alberta, Saskatchewan, and all of Canada, has come in the form of the “Calls to Action” for a truly postcolonial academy from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Which recently exposed more of the iniquities visited on First Nations, Inuit, and Metis peoples in the name of education. On this matter, the Assembly of First Nations must be assisted by academics in serious reassembly mode.

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The Contradictions of Corporate Governance in Brazilian Higher Education

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INTRODUCTION

Since 1996, the year of the ratification of the Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional (LDB), Law of Directives and Bases of National Education, we have witnessed the emergence of higher education as a segment that has a high impact on the Brazilian economy. The regulatory policies adopted during this period, combined with the new demand of students who had had no prior access to higher education in the country, contributed to the rapid growth of the number of private education institutions—amplifying, to an even greater extent, the provision of this level of education throughout the national territory. Despite a small and recent growth in vacancies at public institutions, it is the private sector that is undergoing the greatest transformation in terms of management, curriculum, tuition fees, teaching, the working conditions for professors and the quality of education (Silva 2009, Santos 2012; Vale 2011).

Given this scenario, the predominantly for-profit private institutions of higher education are shifting their focus to the achievement of economic results and entrepreneurial compensation. Brazil's higher education system is setting itself firmly in the services category, a condition permitted by several breaches found in the state's regulations. In fact, these

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regulations allow the transformation of education businesses into large conglomerates in which much of the quality of research, learning, work autonomy and work environment becomes precarious. There has been a significant increase in competition and a profound change in thinking about education and its practice. Until recently, education was mostly under the tutelage of the state. Nowadays, however, the private sector is taking over this sphere, in what represents a global trend with a greater impact in developing countries. “These changes, disguised as democratization, aim to meet the proposed privatization and cheapening of education” (Souza 2011, p. 1). Such transformations are scaffolded by the neoliberal project and are validated by the new model of private higher education management—namely, *corporate governance*.

In this chapter, we discuss the emergence and development of corporate governance in education. We ask the following questions: Why does corporate governance attract most education entrepreneurs and even some students and higher education scholars in Brazil? What are the contradictions and impacts of this new management model in higher education?

Due to its economic relevance, Brazil’s higher education system is surrounded and affected by complex relationships and interactions between several stakeholders. The governance of this sector is an imbricated pattern of diffuse interests. The influences of the new actors in the decision-making process occur not only at the regional and national levels, but also at the global level. According to Dale (2010, p. 1111), the state assumes the role of “coordinator of coordination”. The author suggests that governance happens in a multi-scalar fashion. This scalar division indicates the complexity in which the governance of education is shrouded, especially due to the fact that all combinations of activities and actors can occur at any level, not only the national. The state’s foundation—sovereign and autonomous in nature—has suffered great erosion in has suffered great erosion starting in the 1990s and is still on-going.

In order to problematize the switch from government to governance, Ball (2013) draws our attention to a new type of governance that is “experimental” and “strategic”, and which is based on a network of relationships within and through new political communities, aimed at generating a new capacity to govern and increase legitimacy. These new political networks bring new actors to the political process, legitimate new discourses of policy, and allow new forms of influence and ways of experiencing policies. In some respects, they disable, disenfranchise or deceive some of the already established actors and politicians.

In Brazil's case, we observe that the state still represents the central actor in the regulation of education, although its decision-making capabilities are increasingly limited and prone to the interests of several forces making up this new scenario, composed by mainly national and international education entrepreneurs. Data from the Higher Education Census (Brasil 2014) reveal that the country has 2391 (100 %) institutions of higher education, of which 301 (12.6 %) are public and 2090 (87.4 %) are private; private institutions account for 5.3 million (73.5 %) enrolments in the sector. Brazil has the highest number of for-profit higher education institutions, with the United States appearing in second place (Polizel and Steinberg 2013). The Law of Directives and Bases of National Education (Brasil 1996) classified higher education institutions in two categories: public—created and maintained by the government; and private—maintained and managed by individuals or private entities. There are gaps in regulation that allow different types of higher education institutions to exist—universities, university centres, higher education institutes and colleges. The accelerated expansion of private institutions and the offer of distance education represent significant milestones made possible with the adoption of the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education. It opened the floodgates to unrestrained privatization of higher education in Brazil.

In this context, education policies and reforms produced new regulations to ensure that educational systems at the local and national levels were submitted to the new guidelines required by the current market dynamics. According to the reformers' perspective, such changes are justified as a way to streamline services. Thus, the expectations in relation to higher education today have also changed.

Educational Governance: Local and Global Connections

Educational governance relates directly to educational public policies, which can be considered as a set of ideologies, processes and strategies that an institution/state uses to manage the educational system. The term "governance" became more notorious in the 1980s, and many studies on the subject refer to the document "Governance and Development" published by the World Bank (1992). Later, it reappeared in a report called "Governance in Transition", released by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD 1995). These documents recommended a new management model based on achieving results and the reduction of costs, which superseded traditional public management structures.

Along with a “total quality” discourse, the concept of governance did not take long to migrate from the fields of economics and business administration to the area of education. In the General Agreement on Trade and Services (1995) of the World Trade Organization, education came to be seen as a service, rather than a public good. This new concept of education emerged powerfully and caused major transformations (Guimarães-Iosif 2011). Understanding governance implies zooming out a little in order to consider the changes in the nature of the nation-state and its relations to globalization, on the one hand, and education, on the other (Dale 2006).

The global neoliberal guidelines that were imposed on national economies led to disputes between the private and public sectors. We are witnessing, thus, a departure from the state as a provider, to the expansion of the private sphere, which has occupied several arenas in a rapid manner. As a consequence, private initiative consolidated itself in the educational market and provoked substantive changes in the working relationships and goals of the university, especially through management practices that stem from the corporate governance model. In Brazil, this model was introduced in an educational environment that encompassed the expansion of for-profit higher education institutions in the 1990s. Sponsoring entities (or education entrepreneurs), aiming at consolidating the market, have become concerned with the business risks and the needs to ensure sustainability and returns on invested capital over the long run (Tavares 2009).

Educational governance has been drawn on a transnational agenda, generating the risk of separating formulators and implementers from the local and regional educational processes. National issues are increasingly interwoven with international ones, and this brings significant changes in the way governments, local businesses and even social subjects deal with tensions, agreements and policies (Silva 2012). In this rising game, new entities, political and financial institutions operating with decision-making processes are implementing educational policies that seem to have been conceived by other countries and foreign entities with a well-defined agenda.

In the Brazilian higher education system, many actors participate in educational governance:

- (a) State agencies: Ministry of Education and Culture, National Education Council, Higher Education Regulation and Supervision Secretariat;
- (b) International organizations: World Bank, UNESCO, OECD;

- (c) Large conglomerates: Kroton Educational, Estacio Participations, Galileo Group, Laureate International, Pearson Group, among others;
- (d) Civil society: student associations, teachers' unions, non-governmental organizations, sponsors of educational institutions (for further examples, see Chaves 2010; Santos 2012).

The level of participation and interference depends on the mobilizing influence of each group. We must note that the education network offers educational services to the government by means of public–private partnerships.

In alignment with global trends and aiming for higher economic development in the country, Brazilian legislators have achieved some landmarks in the field of governance. In 1999, the Brazilian Institute for Corporate Governance was created; its goal was to disseminate *good governance* practices in all sectors. The Institute published the “Best Practices in Corporate Governance Code”, which highlights four key points to corporate governance: transparency, equity, accountability and corporate responsibility (Instituto Brasileiro de Governança Corporativa 2009).

In response to the growing demand for transparency in the management of organizations in the 2000s, the Brazilian Stock Exchange (BM&FBovespa) created different levels of corporate governance in order to provide a trading environment that stimulated, concomitantly, investor interests and company valuations. BM&FBovespa also established self-regulation norms with respect to corporate governance. In this context, since 2007, the initial public offerings (IPOs) of the first educational groups and companies began working with special corporate governance sections. All of this happened with visible repercussions in academic management practices and student/faculty/administrative staff relationships, as well as the insertion of universities in the social environments in which they operate (Tavares 2011; Santos 2012).

According to the “Principles of Corporate Governance” report (OECD 2004), corporate governance is a central element in improving efficiency and economic growth, as well as strengthening shareholders’ confidence. Tavares (2009) adds that corporate governance consists of practices and relationships among shareholders, the board of directors, and other members of the organization. This model of governance, which was originated in companies, is directed towards the improvement of results and competitiveness.

The *Instituto Brasileiro de Governança Corporativa* (2009) emphasizes that the principles and concepts of good governance can be applied to any organization, regardless of the activity being performed, including those in the educational sector. With the structure of educational institutions becoming increasingly similar to that of companies, corporate governance is spreading among private institutions and is taking hold of public ones, by means of public–private partnerships. The increasingly urgent demand for public funding cuts in social areas, such as in education, makes the new model of governance attractive to key decision-makers.

Brazilian Higher Education

In the mid-1990s, the vertiginous expansion of private higher education institutions was responsible for congregating a diverse set of actors with contrasting goals and arrangements that conferred a mercantile dimension to the sector. Having competitiveness as a scaffolding factor for the development of society, educational businesses have shifted their attention to the issues of governance and management. Since 2000, the major educational conglomerates aiming at launching IPOs and attracting foreign investors changed their governance models in order to consolidate their businesses and increase profits (see Rosseto 2009; Santos 2012).

Corporate governance means that for-profit institutions undertake new strategies and organizational practices that relate to changes in the legal framework, the reformulation of curricula, the massive investments in educational marketing and the expansion of activities in the distance education sector. Even confessional higher education institutions are adhering to the new model of governance (see Polizel and Steinberg 2013). Although corporate governance experiences in the educational field are quite recent, they have quickly spread among organizations in the sector. As such, there was a rapid expansion of the education market and it culminated with the IPO of four education groups on the BM&FBovespa in 2007. They were Anhanguera Educational, Estacio Participations, Brazilian Educational System and Kroton Educational (Santos 2012).

The resounding ascent of these groups drew the attention of others who began preparing themselves to be on the Stock Exchange. In the following years, three groups became such companies: Abril Education in 2011; and Ser Educational and Anima in 2013. All three companies have adopted corporate governance on different levels (New Market, Level 1 and Level 2) on the BM&FBovespa. The operations and the services

offered by these companies have been significantly expanded and are showing strong signs of growth.

The emergence of oligopolies, originated from institutional mergers and acquisitions in Brazil's higher education system, feature in the spotlight of the international market. "Education emerges as a business with optimistic outlooks and arouses the interests of large investment groups; after all, it is worthy to note that the industry generates R\$30 billion per year [US\$10 billion]" (Polizel and Steinberg 2013, p. 128).

The fact that external actors are influencing the development of higher education is an alarming trend. With negotiations and several IPOs taking place in the industry, most private institutions are now controlled by international groups and investment funds—KKR, Advent International, Patria Investments, Cartesian Capital, Laureate International Universities, DeVry University, GP Investments, Pearson and the International Finance Corporation (IFC), among others (Santos 2012; Tiradentes 2011; Vale 2011).

The education market is so attractive that the World Bank, in addition to interfering in the formulation and implementation of policy processes in Brazil, through several guidelines and agreements, now acts directly in the education market. In 2013, the IFC—the financial arm of the World Bank—bought around US\$15 million shares of Ser Educational Group (*Banco Mundial adquire ações do Grupo Ser* [World Bank acquires shares of Ser Group], 2013). It is noted that higher education has suffered interference in many shapes and forms. This situation can result in drastic consequences to the teaching profession (Santos 2010), and to the quality of education and the de-nationalization of Brazilian education (Chaves 2010; Silva 2009; Tiradentes 2011). It is therefore necessary to correct the direction of ongoing governance and strive to turn it towards the interests of the nation.

The precepts of the privatization of higher education were clearly perceptible after the promulgation of the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education, when the state fragmented and diversified the education system (Brasil 1996). Having as a reference the fact that higher education, from the 1990s onwards, came to be treated as a service, it is observed, in the case of Brazil, that the process is now biased towards progressively more privatization. During President Fernando Henrique's administration (1995–2002), educational reform—inserted in the wider structural adjustment reforms conducted by the state—was maintained and consolidated during the administrations of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003–2010) and Dilma Rousseff (2011–present). In light of the

ongoing political and financial crisis that Brazil is experiencing, both federal and state governments are hinting at substantial cuts to public higher education funding and social programs designed to assist disadvantaged students to pay for studies at private institutions.

In this context, is also important to emphasize that there was a subtle, but no less striking, coordinated action from international investors with the compliance of multilateral organizations to divide among themselves the broad majority of the Brazilian higher education market. In this set of neoliberal policies, we note an unbearable lightness of the invisible hand, but an extremely heavy hand employed by the actors who have emerged at the forefront of this scenario (Santos et al. 2014b).

Public policy reforms in Brazil were—and often still are—influenced by the determinations and fundamental foreign policies of international organizations (IOs) and the private market. In Brazil, there are still no consolidated legal norms for higher education, which indicates that this field is one of the major arenas of dispute in the country, involving many actors and interests. Gewirtz and Ball (2011) argue that the new managerial discourse in education emphasizes the creation of a customer-oriented value system, instrumentalist decisions, efficiency and competitiveness, the promotion of individual relations (by means of the marginalization of representative associations) and technical rationality.

The Lure of Corporate Governance

If we agree that corporate governance negatively impacts the quality of higher education, worsens the working environment for professors and researchers, and transforms the student in a mere client, why does the model of corporate governance appear so attractive? Since 2007, the term “corporate governance” has gained an integral place in the discourses of most business education entrepreneurs and even that of presidents and professors from higher education institutions in Brazil. Publications, lectures and consultancies on the implementation of corporate governance models are multiplying throughout the country, and many believe that the adoption of the model can be the key to promoting financial success among companies and institutions (see Polizel and Steinberg 2013).

A majority of institutions have switched their management model to that of corporate governance, in order to increase returns on investments and assure substantial dominance of the Brazilian higher education market. The results in financial and quantitative terms are surprising

and captivate education entrepreneurs in the same way that they perplex scholars, particularly when they consider the pathways that higher education is taking in Brazil.

According to Rosseto (2009), Anhanguera and Estacio (educational companies) are examples that show the benefits of good governance. Both groups expanded their businesses by perceiving and analyzing previously local perspectives in a more global fashion, which helped reduce costs and increased the number of enrolled students. In 2008, the market value of Kroton Educational was US\$317 million. Over the course of four years, by 2012 the company was valued at US\$1.2 billion—an increase of 368 %. According to the company’s CEO, evolution is a natural tendency of corporate governance (Martins 2012).

The newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo* published an article entitled “Surge o maior grupo educacional do mundo (The emergence of world’s largest educational group)”, referring to the merger between Kroton and Anhanguera. According to the consultant Carlos Monteiro, the union of educational companies brought profound impacts to the Brazilian education market. On the one hand, we find the presence of an omnipresent giant with high-end technologies, scale and standardization (aspects of corporate governance) and, on the other, a vast number of small and medium-sized institutions of higher education searching for more sustainable business models (Surge o maior grupo educacional do mundo [The emergence of the world’s largest educational group] 2014).

With the markets and players constantly changing, the possibilities of institutions establishing competitive and sustainable advantages are increasingly scarce. Businesses that adopted the corporate management model and opened their capital in the Stock Exchange are, generally, offering lower tuition fees and making improvements in the quality of their infrastructure. The temptation is so great that they succeed in diverting the attention of much of the population away from the risks of this model. Polizel and Steinberg (2013) present seven practical case studies of institutions, with and without profit motives, which adhered to corporate governance in higher education. Several interviews with managers and presidents of these institutions were conducted. The interviewees highlighted the following major benefits gained by adopting governance structures: more professional management performance, wider accountability, higher levels of clarity and demand, solid growth, security in decision-making and greater relationship transparency, quality improvements to team working, incorporation of quality tools and highly qualified managers.

The large educational groups, especially companies, are conquering higher education markets more forcefully, principally because they are managed by professionals that bring in contributions such as streamlining costs, optimizing resources and acquiring necessary materials in large quantities, which automatically reduce operating costs. This type of professional management is conducted by consultants hired to develop strategic plans, institutional re-engineering, course development projects, self-assessment programs, institutional marketing as well as developing their own systems of educational credit, and so on. These strategies provide school systems with increased profits, especially in ways that contribute to reducing tuition costs (Bittar and Ruas 2012).

Drawing on a metaphor, Alves (2012) states that implementing educational governance is similar to *school reform* and involves some of the following key elements: planning (goals and objectives), the budget (capital), architects (external consultants and experts) and employees (education managers and educators). Corporate governance enchants because it comes with the promise of putting order in the house, reducing excessive spending, increasing efficiency, effectiveness, and productivity.

All this dynamic governance—which was only a business sector principle some decades ago—became, also, a principle utilized in the educational sector. According to (Cowen 2002), there is a great effort, almost worldwide, to link universities to capital; to classify them; to create new forms of relationships between the university and its productive capacity; to standardize doctoral programs and thus revamp universities into efficient institutions, transforming ideas into money. In this dynamic new economy, knowledge and universities have become valuable trading currencies around the world. Following this perspective, several multinational companies started investing in education, as well.

The Other Face of the Coin: The Rejection of Corporate Governance

While corporate governance appeals to education entrepreneurs, most teachers and students are affected by the measures adopted in order to implement the new management model of higher education institutions in Brazil. The complexity lies in the contradiction that the ultimate goal of higher education institutions is to generate profits, and not necessarily to provide a high-quality education or the promotion of social justice, as they often advertise.

Conglomerates took advantage of the changes, objectives and regulations in education that have been established by the state. Vale's (2011) research presents changes in the statute, shareholder structure and academic life of an educational group that adhered to the model of corporate governance and opted for an IPO on the Stock Exchange. In order to have an active participation in the capital market, the organization had to adopt a model of professional management that would pursue profits in a more objective way. In what relates to the faculty, labour conditions have been progressively deteriorating. There was a decrease in the performance of teachers with higher degree levels (Masters and PhDs), especially those who had more seniority; a progressive attack on the contractual remuneration of academic improvement set forth in collective labour conventions; the freezing and elimination of annual benefits; and automation and computerization meant, to some extent, employment substitutions and layoffs.

By observing the working conditions of professors during the period 2007–2010, Vale (2011) concluded that the intensification of labour conditions occurred at the same pace as the increase in the number of enrolled students, which revolved around 40,000 students. The corporate governance model of the large educational groups works in the same way as an industrial model, and is therefore motivated by the financial capacity to gain market share. The main goal—education—is left in the background. Santos (2012) highlights that the educational governance model adopted by major educational companies intensifies the workload of professors and contributes to the accumulation of tasks. This situation corresponds to the current neoliberal logic and compromises the provision of a quality education.

In monitoring the quarterly results and accountability of two major education groups in Brazil, Tiradentes (2011) noted that it is not to the academic community that managers of higher education institutions have to be accountable but, rather, to the shareholders. It is in the financial arena that decisions relating to which subjects comprise a course are made; how many professors will be trained; how many courses will be condensed in a classroom in order to reduce resources and costs; and, how many and which subjects and courses will be offered in distance learning environments. All these decisions aim at obtaining returns to scale. The educative principle is the valuation of invested capital.

After the institutionalization of corporate governance in the institutions that were investigated, a radical change in the pedagogical and institutional models was established. Large groups are instituting a

standardization process that manifests itself in out-of-context schedules that are very often distant from the local reality. The pedagogical action is commodified, since it meets a new management model that usurps its sense and autonomy. The procedures adopted still represent the ideological control of the formation and mis-characterization of presumed scientific knowledge and neutrality. “Only a positivist conception of science and pedagogy could harbor plastered standardized and industrialized curricula; monolithic texts selected by specialists and technocrats, as if we were simply trying to make technical choices” (Tiradentes 2011, p. 18).

When acting in that environment, the implications for professors are perverse and profound. The lack of an institutionalized service to support professors in all aspects has an effect on the emotional and psychological system, reflected through low performances in the classroom, teacher/student relationships and personal life. Continuing education is almost an exclusive responsibility for each professor. It is up to the professional to look for ways to stay employed and employable—that is, visible in a competitive arena. With the reduction of salary payments, we see an increase in professors’ doubts and concerns about the improvement of their qualifications, since institutions are laying off professors with higher levels of qualification. There is no sense of belonging; teachers are not creating links with the institutions they serve. Because of these organizational field changes, interpersonal relationships are happening in highly superficial environments. Currently, professors’ tenures are more dependent on the satisfaction perceived by students/consumers than on their intellectual capacities as professors (Santos et al. 2014a).

In using typical business management methods, major groups evaluate themselves in terms of businesses and therefore disregard the nature of the work and the political as well as social implications involved. Sponsors are acting in ways that modern capitalism operates: “Not only because they launch IPOs, but, above all, because they work as notable blocking and controlling schemes for those who work and study” (Guerón 2011, p. 28). We need, thus, to evaluate the new traits of private higher education.

The National Confederation of Workers in Educational Institutions warns us about the *modus operandi* of large groups. Educational companies—Kroton and Anhanguera—demonstrate their disregard for the fulfillment of the social function of property. For these groups, there is only one value: maximizing profits. Consequently, they practice all the actions necessary to devalue labour. These are, in fact, embodied by mass layoffs,

especially among those professors who have Masters and PhD degrees. We are facing a social dumping with serious consequences on the quality of education provided (Vitória da Contee 2013).

Given the various complaints filed through government agencies, the Legislative Assemblies of the State of São Paulo (*Assembleia Legislativa do Estado de São Paulo* 2012) and Rio de Janeiro (*Assembleia Legislativa do Estado do Rio de Janeiro* 2013)—cities in which a large number of educational conglomerates that joined corporate governance models are concentrated—investigated the practices imposed by these institutions and the real situation of private higher education in those states. Experts, public officials, civil society leaders and private sector organizations contributed to clarifying the facts.

The *Assembleia Legislativa do Estado de São Paulo* (2012) found the following allegations concerning the institutions investigated to be true: a breach of the article of the Law of Guidelines and Bases that requires one third of the faculty with Masters and PhD titles and one third of faculty to work on a full-time basis, a predominance of permanent per hour/class contracts, the unilateral amendment of employment contracts and recurring practices that violate employees' rights, and the dismissal of teachers at the highest levels of their careers. It has also revealed the prevalence of inconsistent career plans and the opening of several campuses with course quality issues (a situation which is permitted under the law). According to the document, the economic and financial gigantism installed in school systems is undermining professors and destroying their profession.

The *Assembleia Legislativa do Estado do Rio de Janeiro* (2013) noted that it is necessary to counter the actions of many higher education groups that impose standards of productivity and profitability that involve dismissing and de-qualifying professors, as well as homogenizing and industrializing pedagogical projects. There is an ongoing pedagogical mischaracterization propitiated by the flexibilization of curricular practices, precarious laboratories, outdated libraries, changes in evaluation forms, extinction of campuses, and courses and classes experiencing the compulsory transfer of teachers and students. These aspects relate to the depreciation in the quality of teaching and a restriction of the social function of the university. In submitting themselves to the rules of market competition, institutions transfer a considerable part of their activities—teaching, research and extension—to the services of capital, and violate the principles of academic autonomy and democratic management of the educational institution.

*Democratic Whispers: The Power of Mobilization
and Organization*

In face of this scenario in Brazil's higher education, we note that political directives are also discourse fluxes and meta-languages that orient peoples and states. Although there is an overall orientation—virtually standardized and being followed worldwide—Ball and Mainardes (2011) highlight that new narratives about what counts as good education are being articulated and validated. Thus, we need a critical language and an analytical method that will allow us to deal with these new forms of politics and governance. The authors complement that educational policies, particularly in this arena of differences and congruencies, are thought of and written for contexts with appropriate working conditions and infrastructure (regardless of the level of education), not taking into account the diversity of contexts, regional inequalities and local capacities.

Governance has become the political matrix of neoliberal globalization, meaning the basic structure of a nurturing environment of the whole network of pragmatic cooperative ideas and patterns of behaviour shared by a select group of actors with their respective interests. To identify the political significance of governance, we must pay attention to unspoken words—that which is muted—such as the social contract, social justice, power relations and conflict (Santos 2010).

In this fuzzy game, we cannot ignore the fact that civil society is a relevant player and also participates in the questioning, proposal and formulation of policies. However, these actors, in particular, have a limited voice against the voracious powers of the well-integrated local and global markets. Governance is a structure that involves articulation, politics and power. In this scenario, civil society has very little room for maneuver, but we recognize that certain resistance groups insist on defending a more humane and ethical model of educational governance. These are the groups that still insist on defending education as a public good and not as a mere service or commodity.

Unions and professors' representative associations are paying attention to the conditions and work relations of their job category, which has been taking place in extreme financial environments; as a result, they have publicized their actions and preoccupations throughout media (websites, newspapers, newsletters). The reports bring to light the effects of corporate governance standards imposed on teachers and other members of the staff. The blatant violation of educational and labour legislation

reveals, emblematically, the worsening of teaching careers and the path being undertaken in higher education.

Aiming at strengthening trade unions and representative associations, we advocate the provision of an education that favors an emancipated and connected local and global citizenship, which educates citizens to question the extent to which national and international partnerships contribute to the improvement of their lives in the local context. The offer of an emancipated education that emphasizes political participation, local culture, knowledge diversity, a collective organization and a social intervention, directs students to fight against forms of colonization imposed by the public policy environment that, instead of favouring the common vested interests of the Brazilian people, focuses solely on the demands of global economic and financial capitalism (Guimarães-Iosif 2011).

Recently, in a Brazilian confessional institution, 2000 students held demonstrations against a restructuring process that the institution had planned to launch in the second semester of 2014 (Morais 2014). The changes were focused directly on the teaching project—a change in the curriculum, an increase in the number of distance learning requirements, subject substitutions and the layoff of more than 200 professors. In a page created on a social network, the students claimed that the new academic model would hurt all undergraduates, freshman students, seniors and even professors. For two days, students closed street lanes in front of their institution. Given the impact of the mobilization, the institution decided to postpone any changes. The students' coordinated action represented a *democratic whisper*, which was also able to mobilize teachers and society into analyzing the risks that the new model would have on the quality of their institution.

Final Considerations

Having as a reference the fact that, since the 1990s, higher education has come to be seen as a service, we observe, in the case of Brazil, a biased process towards the privatization and adoption of a corporate governance model. In this context, the Brazilian government appears shrouded in a mist that gives the impression that it will solve all educational necessities, but, at the same time, creates spaces and conditions for national and international entrepreneurs to dictate the rules of higher education in the country.

Corporate governance conceives education institutions as businesses and students as clients; it manages universities in the style of a business—thus erasing the social character of the institution presumably devoted

to the training of individuals to think critically and find solutions to our national problems. In this context, professors are being treated as “pieces in the game”. They cannot cost much, but must, however, work double the amount of time in order to increase the company’s profits in the shortest period possible.

Certainly, we are not facing the end of times, either in terms of public policy or, more specifically, in terms of higher education. Nonetheless, it is possible to perceive that, despite all the negative effects caused by the adoption of the corporate governance model in a majority of Brazilian higher education institutions, we can observe, on the other hand, the growth of vindication and negotiation spaces created by the organized civil society that is a part of this sector. We must, however, understand the need for better articulation. Isolated events of students and professors being able to organize and halt models dictated by corporate governance are a small indication of democracy at work. This indication renews our hopes and makes us believe that it is still possible to promote political quality and ethical and humane institutions of higher education. However, given the current set of unequal power relations, this struggle is increasingly tense and challenging.

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Establishing World-Class Universities in Russia: Case Study of a Federal University

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INTRODUCTION

As a member of the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), Russia has a mature tertiary education system providing wide access to higher education. Following several decades of decline in the science and higher education sectors, Russia now faces the challenges of reviving research and raising the overall quality of its once strong traditional universities. As with many other governments around the world, Russia has adopted excellence initiatives to raise the international profile of its research universities. Experts acknowledge that research universities are at the pinnacle of higher education and are central to economic and scientific development of nations around the world (Altbach 2013; Altbach and Salmi 2011).

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The purpose of this chapter is to discuss recent government initiatives to develop Russian research universities and to examine how a specific federal university is implementing a new mandate of integrating research and teaching in furtherance of becoming globally competitive. We discuss these developments vis-à-vis the global context in which top research universities are increasingly viewed as an integral part of regional and global economic development. In considering current trends, we also draw on our academic experiences in Russian and Canadian universities. These experiences allow us to appreciate the challenges associated with the reform of university research and teaching. We also acknowledge that the reform process is continuing and, therefore, a final assessment of the initiatives discussed cannot yet be written.

Publicly available policy documents and focus group conversations with faculty members provide the main data for our discussion. We have examined federal policy documents and federal programs including *Research and Pedagogical Cadre for an Innovative Russia* (Government of the Russian Federation 2008) and *The Strategy for the Development of Science and Innovation in the Russian Federation until 2015* (Ministry of Education and Science 2006). Additional information has been obtained from primary and secondary sources such as government press releases, online communications, newspaper publications, university policy documents and relevant research articles. We have also consulted with a Russian federal university which, after receiving its status in 2010, has been implementing reforms to improve quality of teaching and research and to raise its international profile.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND RESEARCH IN RUSSIA

Russia has a complex research system characterized by separation between teaching and research. In the Soviet Union, scientific research was distributed amongst three sectors: the university system, the Academy of Sciences system, and the industrial and defense system (Graham and Dezhina 2008). With rare exceptions, universities and various polytechnic institutes were involved primarily in teaching. Most basic research was conducted in the specialized research institutes of the Academy of Sciences. This complex research system weakened the research strength of the universities (Altbach 2013). For many years, national and international experts discussed this situation. Specifically, the 1999 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD 1999) report noted that the quality of Russian higher education had been negatively affected by the

absence of strong financial support for research, the limited infrastructure, and the intentional separation of research and teaching. Such separation of research and teaching is not found in many Western countries, such as Canada and the United States, where universities carry out most fundamental research.

Experts acknowledge that, since the 1980s, state education policy has undergone several transformations as it has oscillated between a highly-centralized and standardized Soviet system, a radical neoliberal approach and, again, a federally controlled system (Johnson 2015). Taking into account international policy trends in the 2000s, the Russian government has adopted a number of programs to reform higher education and rebuild its universities and science. Despite these continuous efforts, the 2012 *OECD Science, Technology and Industry Outlook* (OECD 2012) notes that the Russian Academy of Sciences and industrial branch institutes still account for the large portion of basic research, performed by universities in many OECD countries. At the same time, research publications and patents applications remain low. According to Thomson Reuters, Russian science lags behind most G20 countries in overall numbers of publications and citations (Vorotnikov 2014).

The latest articulated strategy to develop world-class universities and to strengthen research arrived in 2006, when the federal government launched a program called the *Research and Pedagogical Cadre for an Innovative Russia (2009–2013)* (Government of the Russian Federation 2008) and targeted support for leading universities. It also created two new categories of institutions—the national research university and the federal university. These are expected to become centers of innovation, technological development and personnel training; to strengthen university research; and to raise the universities' international standing. By establishing these Russian “ivy league” universities and concentrating its resources on a limited number of institutions, the government hopes that in the near future Russian universities will be able to rival the world's best universities (Holdsworth 2008).

In addition to this, the federal government also introduced major competitive grants and financial incentives to foster institutional reforms, innovative approaches to teaching and integration of research, and to increase the number of internationally recognized publications. According to Johnson (2015), conceptualized by the Russian reformers and their international partners, such as the World Bank and the OECD, the current reforms' mechanisms include competitive grants, external evaluations of research

productivity, industrial-style benchmarking, and performance indicators. These were adopted directly out of the global neoliberal toolbox.

All of these regulatory tools were means to the end of the federal state reconsolidating its dominant or steering role, as well as levers to try and compel the top tier of universities and research institutes to consolidate and improve their internal efficiency and research productivity. (Johnson 2015, p. 301)

To achieve its ambition of raising the international reputation of Russian universities and encouraging alignment with European and global standards, in 2012 the Ministry of Education and Science established a Council on Global Competitiveness Enhancement of Russian Universities that will oversee a project known as *5-100*. The goal of the project is to enable at least five Russian universities to enter the top-100 in world university rankings by 2020. Participating universities represent different regions of Russia and include both federal and national research universities (Alekseev 2014). To implement necessary changes, these institutions have, and will continue, to receive significant government funding. It is expected that a new university model will be created throughout Russia, and universities will introduce new management systems and become centers of innovative technology and human capital development. According to the government forecast, within five to six years, at least 20 Russian universities will adopt a new institutional model and, by 2020, some of them should join the ranks of leading world universities (National Training Foundation 2012).

THE NORTH-EASTERN FEDERAL UNIVERSITY

The North-Eastern Federal University (NEFU) was founded in 1934 as Yakutsk Pedagogical Institute and received its state university status in 1956. Located in the city of Yakutsk, northern Russia, it is the largest higher education institution of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). For many decades, Yakutsk State University was a sole regional university preparing specialists in various fields of study including medicine, education, humanities, sciences and engineering. A new phase of the university's evolution started in 2010, when it joined a network of Russian federal universities established in every federal district of Russia. Today, the university is comprised of 11 institutes, 8 faculties, 146 departments and 3 regional branches. It employs nearly 1700 faculty and educates 20,000 students.

By 2020, the university is expected to become a nationally and internationally recognized modern scientific, educational and cultural center of north-east Russia. The current NEFU institutional mission is to educate competitive specialists, carry out research and develop innovative technologies contributing to social and economic development of the peoples of north-east Russia (Mikhailova et al. 2013).

During this short period of its life as a federal university, the NEFU has undergone a remarkable transformation. It has implemented significant structural and curricular changes and is fulfilling a Regional Development Plan (2011–2019) to become a scientific, cultural and innovative center of regional and national importance. Its current comprehensive website—which provides information in five languages: Russian, Yakut, English, Korean and Mandarin—can compete with those of some Canadian universities.

Summing up the university's progress to date, its rector, Professor Mikhailova, expressed both joy and optimism:

The NEFU is one of the best 50 Russian universities in technical, natural and mathematics sciences ... Besides, for the first time, the university is among the best 200 universities among the BRIC countries. This is particularly impressive as ours was one of six thousand institutions! (Tayursky 2014, p. 1)

The university has been also expanding its international outreach. Due to its unique geopolitical place and closeness to the countries of the Asia Pacific and Arctic regions, the university has been collaborating with dozens of universities, colleges and research centers from around the world. The NEFU has established connections with partners in Korea, Japan, China, the USA, Canada, Finland, Sweden, Norway and Iceland, and continues cooperation with universities in Great Britain, Germany, France and former Soviet states.

Quality Assurance of Teaching and Research

One of the main areas of the ongoing institutional transformation is quality assurance of teaching and research. Since 2010, the university administration has introduced specific policies to ensure that faculty improve teaching quality and actively engage in research projects. Specifically, the university has established a Quality Management Division, and adopted

specific policies including *Quality System Management: Faculty Evaluation Criteria* to promote and monitor the quality of teaching and scholarship. The Division, headed by a Director, is a separate administrative unit employing eight permanent staff members responsible for the development, improvement and monitoring of the university's quality. Its main objective is to ensure that the university meets international quality standards. The Division reports directly to the university rector, who actually hires and fires its director.

In order to promote teaching and research excellence, in 2012, the Quality Management Division developed a policy, *NEFU Faculty Evaluation Criteria*, for assessing faculty "professional competency and productivity" and for awarding merit increments (MIs) based on the university's priority areas. The policy establishes several types of merit increments (permanent, one-off, additional, and so on), delineates award procedures, defines the activities and responsibilities of the Expert Team responsible for awarding MIs, specifies award amounts on a points basis and monetary value, and lists the types of evidence required for awards (e.g., publication copies, electronic evidence, copy of reviews, and so on). Faculty members can be awarded MIs for both teaching and research, provided that they perform their assigned duties well.

At the end of every semester, faculty members can apply for awards or MIs for research projects, student supervision and scholarly publications. Peer-reviewed publications in scholarly journals, textbooks and teaching materials recognized internationally and nationally are valued the most highly. For example, a professor supervising a Master's student will be annually awarded 80 points for advising in Russian and 120 points for advising in a foreign language. A publication in an international journal listed in the internationally indexed database and which contributes to the university ranking is worth 100 points.

An author or authors of a publication in a journal with a two-year impact factor (IF) recognized by the Russian Index of Science Citation (RISC) will receive 30 points. The English version of the journal does not count as a separate publication. Faculty may also receive one-off payments for publishing a recognized textbook to a ceiling of 200,000 (Russian rubles) (approximately US \$3330), divided by all authors; and research publications recognized through the Scopus and/or the Web of Science to the maximum of 35,000 (approximately US\$580) for each author (up to three authors). A monograph included in the RISC is worth 75,000 (approximately US\$1243); the same monograph available through the

Web of Science and/or Scopus database is worth 200,000 (approximately US\$3330) divided by all authors. A faculty member who successfully defends a PhD dissertation will be awarded 100,000 (approximately US\$1658) on presenting a published descriptive abstract (*autoreferat* in Russian).

While most of the awards are reviewed and determined by the members of the Expert Team, a university rector has the right to grant an award to a faculty member or a group of professors for “the utmost important” contribution to the development of the university. In such cases, the amount of the award is determined by the rector. The Expert Team is established so as to provide an independent evaluation of faculty professional activities, to oversee the distribution of awards, and to ensure fairness and transparency of the process (NEFU 2014).

Faculty Perspectives on Reforms

In 2014, we conducted focus group discussions with six faculty members of the NEFU. All faculty members hold Candidate of Sciences and Doctorate degrees, and positions equivalent to associate and full professors. Their areas of expertise are in education, philosophy and sociology. Several have been involved in research in higher education and have regular administrative duties. We wanted to hear their assessment of the new university initiatives. We asked faculty members to reflect on the changes that had taken place since the university had gained its federal university status, and how these changes affected faculty working conditions and their ability to perform the essential responsibilities of teaching and research. Faculty members commented on a number of developments including the introduction of research incentives, an increased academic mobility among students and faculty, adoption of more student centered policies and pedagogy, and greater bureaucracy. “Our management structure has changed; there has been an increase of the administrative-management personnel and bureaucracy. At the same time, we see more academic mobility of students and professors. The status of students has also been raised.”

Research Incentives

All participants of the study acknowledged growing value and recognition of research activities, including research collaboration and dissemination. Without exception, the faculty stated that research has become a priority for the university. This is evident in specific policies designed to encourage

research activity among faculty and to increase the number of publications and research projects across the institution. Research centers, including the Research Institute of Northern Ecology and the Olonkho Institute (a Yakut language heritage project), science laboratories and various schools (e.g., the School of International Studies) are now part of the university's research community. The University encourages its research centers to pursue research in matters directly related to north-eastern Russia and the Arctic region. The fields of research include regional languages and literature, as well as medicine and biology.

Participants also noted a remarkable shift in the way the university now evaluates research and scholarship. For example, since 2011, the university's focus has been on raising its international reputation and promoting research collaboration through establishing joint laboratories and research teams and through promoting internal grant programs. The university provides funding for these projects and uses various approaches to monitor and evaluate results. Specific policies and criteria to document, evaluate and reward research and scholarship have also been adopted. These policies are designed to promote research activity and raise the university's international standing.

Paradoxically, while all participants recognized profound changes in the way academic research was encouraged in the university, they noted that they needed more support from the university administration. They noted that funds for conferences and international collaboration were limited and often difficult to obtain. "Monographs and conference participation are not awarded; they are not included in award criteria."

Most professors did not have a personal professional development fund that could be used for conference attendances and other academic activities. They also wanted more resources for professional development, especially in the areas of academic writing, publishing and foreign languages, particularly English. This is how one of the participants described the situation:

The university encouraged us to publish in foreign journals listed on the Web of Science; they value these publications the most. Well, the problem is that just a few of us can professionally translate our works into English, let alone write in English. We are not English majors. Besides, it is difficult to find qualified English translators who also need to be paid for their work, mostly out of our own pocket. This is unrealistic considering my current salary.

Some participants pointed out inconsistencies that exist between various departments in how research merit awards are distributed and valued. According to the participants, in the previous year, every university faculty distributed awards differently. For example, the Faculty of Foreign Languages weighed each point for a journal publication at 300 (US\$10 at the time), while the School of Education awarded only 66 (US\$2.5 dollars) per point. “There is no transparency during the evaluation process. I received 3960 [US\$130] for my publication, while somebody received 18,000 rubles [US\$600] for a similar publication. Where is the fairness here?”

This is how another participant described the merit pay system: “I have to pay approximately 10,000 to publish my article in a refereed Russian journal. I can use some of my merit payments to compensate for my publishing expenses, but it does not cover them. I cannot really recover the money I have paid for the publication even when I get my merit pay!”

Faculty Salaries and Working Conditions

In Russia, low faculty salaries are the most frequently discussed issue amongst faculty and academics. Participants unanimously expressed their dissatisfaction with their academic salaries. “I am not happy with my salary...” “Our salaries are among the lowest in our region. Even school teachers’ salaries are much higher compared to ours.” Faculty members worried about a deteriorating quality of life due to low salaries and the constantly rising costs of living in Yakutsk, and Russia in general. “Our living expenses continue to climb—housing, utilities, and a nutritious food basket while the salaries are still low.” When asked about the average salary of an associate professor, one participant estimated that she was paid the equivalent of approximately US\$1100 per month. “This is what I am paid, considering that I have been working at the university for over 20 years and have various national teaching awards and other recognitions. I also have one and a half teaching load. Otherwise, my salary would have been only US\$800 .”

Another participant stated:

My salary is small. I don’t have money to pay for publications and can only submit my research to free journal, which takes forever ... At the same time, I have publish and report my research activity every 6, 9 and 12 months. It is very difficult to live on this salary. It does not cover living expenses; utilities. Food is expensive; our winter clothes are also expensive—fur boots,

hats and coats, our climate requires all these. I cannot even afford textbooks anymore, too pricy. The Internet really saves us now. Although I have to pay 2000 a month for it. I cannot afford this at work.

However, the participants' assessment of their salaries does not correspond with recent statements by the university rector, Professor Mikhailova, who announced that, since 2009, academic salaries had doubled and even tripled (Tayursky 2014). Some categories of professors, such as research professors, are rewarded for research activities and earn considerably more than regular faculty members, who are primarily involved in teaching.

When asked to evaluate their working conditions, most participants described them as satisfactory. However, they also identified the need to improve them by providing adequate office space and proper equipment, such as personal computers, so that they could fulfill their research and other academic activities. Office space is not available to most of the professors. The following are some of the comments made by our participants regarding working conditions at the university. "We usually share a common office with our colleagues. We can leave our books and materials there. I prepare for my classes at home; it is hard to do this with so many people around. Only research professors have separate offices." "We desperately need office spaces, desks, computers, and other equipment." "I have no desk and no computer at work. Most of my colleagues are on the same boat."

"In other departments, professors share office space and have access to computers. It is very noisy and hardly anybody can do research in such conditions. I and my colleagues do research mostly at home, sometimes in the library. ... Humanities have really poor research facilities. Faculty in the Department of Translation don't even have any desks in their shared office."

The absence of adequate office spaces presents a serious problem for both professors and department administration staff, especially when the university's mission is to become a leader in research and higher education. According to one participant, the university now expects professors to do more in terms of research. "We are required to publish and apply for grants, especially those that provide some money for the university. We also have the so-called 'second part of the day' [after classes] when we are supposed to engage in research."

Furthermore, the participants wished to see changes in their professional status at the university. "We want the university administration to raise faculty status and our role in the corporate culture of our university."

Some felt that their opinions were often not considered in administrative decisions. The long-standing top-down approach remains the main decision process at the university. Department chairs, deans and upper-level administration maintain considerable power over important institutional matters, including faculty hiring, promotion and rewards.

Most participants noted that institutional collegiality was still lacking. “Over the years, several of my colleagues were let go because the chair personally did not like them. In one instance, a person was constantly given inappropriate teaching assignments and eventually left. This is just one case of how a chair can make one’s life miserable.” “Our current chair has held this position since 1998! For some people this is a life-long appointment, and you need to learn to get along with them if you want to have your job.”

Yet, several participants expressed some optimism about future developments at the university. “The university is currently developing a new faculty contract and salary grid. There will be a ‘base part’ that all faculty members have to fulfill and a ‘stimulus part’ that will be awarded based on additional activities [research, publication etc.]” The latter part essentially represents a merit increment system. Faculty members have been involved in discussions of the new contract and merit criteria, which are now being developed by the University Council, teaching and human resources departments. A draft of the document will be circulated across university faculties, and a new contract is expected to be introduced in 2016.

A New Wave of Bureaucracy

All the participants noted a considerable increase in their overall workload. With the structural changes, they acknowledged an unprecedented growth in administrative and management personnel and its powers. According to one participant, “a new wave of bureaucracy” arrived as a result of this growth. Seemingly unending requirements for multiple reports and general paperwork take up even more of the professors’ time. “We now have to fill in forms to prove the quality of our lectures and seminars.” This is how one of the participants described the situation:

I can tell you that the amount of paperwork is out of control. In addition to my already heavy teaching load, now, I have to report on how many hours I spend improving my teaching methodology, developing courses and materials, and mentoring students. I also have to describe my administrative duties and report on research activities. There seems to be no end to this.

Another professor stated that: “It often feels that my job is to carry out bureaucratic directives, accounting for every hour I spend at the university. This is very de-professionalizing.” Some faculty suggested that the amount of time they now devote to preparing reports is taking more time than before; this is adding to their teaching load and taking time away from research and writing.

Some of our participants stated that they were already resigned to the demands for never-ending reporting and form-filling, accepting these as an evil they had to live with. While they were clearly unhappy with the amount of reporting and paperwork, they did not see any alternative to the existing institutional procedures. “I guess we will have to put up with this new wave of bureaucracy, no matter how irritating it is. If we want to improve the quality of our university and research, we have to be accountable. I don’t really mind doing this.”

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

During the 2000s, the Russian federal government adopted a new education policy in order to ensure Russia’s global competitiveness and raise the status of its universities. In designing and implementing its vision for higher education, the government drew heavily on the neoliberal approach with its emphasis on competition, efficiency and performance-based assessment (Gounko and Smale 2007; Smolentseva 2015). Stressing the need to align the Russian economy with global markets and foster flexibility, innovation, productive and allocative efficiency, accountability and transparency, educational quality and development of human capital, the government introduced private sector mechanisms directly from the neoliberal and “new public management” toolbox (Johnson 2015). The university excellence initiatives discussed in this chapter have also emerged from this toolbox, in line with the global trend to create “centers of excellence” (Salmi 2009b).

The issues addressed by our participants—including changes in university management, a focus and support for research activity, increased workload and paperwork, and low salaries—have been discussed by many higher education experts. Researchers (e.g., Deem et al. 2007; Johnson 2015) suggested that—in Europe, Russia and globally—there has been a clear trend towards stronger and more centralized management systems in universities, and there seems to be no organizational alternative for

the management of publicly funded organizations (such as universities) to New Managerialism.

Historically, a top-down approach was a characteristic feature of the Soviet government and institutional leadership. Even though, since the 1990s, higher education policies have aligned with global neoliberal models and norms, in practice, the Soviet-era legacies have endured. According to Johnson (2015), Russian higher education policy has developed in ways “that would maintain the mutually-beneficial relations and interdependence between the federal state, regional interests, and state-funded universities” (p. 297). Mixing traditional top-down and recently introduced new public management approaches, the federal government still maintains substantial control over university resources and policies. By virtue of its hierarchical position, it is able to place legal and technical requirements on universities to ensure eligibility for the receipt of federal or local funds (Gouanko and Smale 2007).

In terms of university management, researchers observe a trend toward stronger and more centralized management systems. Following the logic of the new public management, the federal government “was simultaneously pulling back in some ways (devolving at least partial responsibility for control of property, financing, and quality onto the universities themselves), while at the same time asserting new mechanisms for testing, quality assurance, and supervision” (Johnson 2015, p. 303). The government made various attempts to reform university management by trying to implement strategic planning, accounting, fundraising, professional staff development, and broader use of new information and computer technologies. However, after several years of excellence reforms, the quality of management in most universities remains a challenge. As the government expects leading universities to implement innovative management systems and to improve efficiency and accountability, academics feel pressured to comply with multiple administrative procedures and tasks they often do not fully understand. The infamous university bureaucratization, attributed to current reforms, produced a new class of bureaucrats in charge of education reforms in universities. Unfortunately, professors often do not take part in the decisions affecting teaching and research. Instead, they have to carry out directives and complete reports (Panfilova 2011). Considering the growing demand for university accountability (Salmi 2009a), the question of how to balance encroaching managerialism and academic autonomy will continue to be debated by academics, administrators and policy makers.

While acknowledging recent focus and support for university research, our participants also noted insufficient support and resources for professional development. Yet, faculty participation in academic reforms and their professional growth are central to the improvement of research and teaching in Russia. As Philip Altbach and Jamil Salmi (2011) argued, world-class universities require well-educated academics to perform their teaching and research responsibilities at the highest level.

The goals of the 90 billion (approximately €2.3 billion) Federal Program to upgrade Russia's research and academic potential are: to improve the quality of research and teaching personnel, to attract talented young researchers, and to strengthen the quality of research publications. Despite many previous initiatives to attract young people to academia, Russian universities have been losing promising researchers to other sectors of industry and foreign universities. Recognizing that these issues cannot be resolved solely by market mechanisms, the federal government presently argues for a comprehensive approach to the revival of Russia's academic research. It has proposed to raise researchers' and professors' salaries; to improve work environments, research facilities and access to international research; to acknowledge the importance of continuing professional development; to be mindful of the career advancement of young academics; and to improve living conditions (Government of the Russian Federation 2008). The Russian Ministry of Education and Science has also noted that salaries and academic resources in science and higher education need to become comparable with those in other economically developed countries. While Russian universities report increases in professors' earnings, the overall situation with academic salaries has not changed significantly. A recent study of monthly average salaries of public higher education faculty by Philip Altbach et al. (2012) showed that the average top salary in terms of Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) in US\$ in Russia is US\$910, which is considerably lower compared with the average top salaries of US\$9485 paid in Canada. The decline in income and their quality of living forces academics to take additional teaching loads, which are already higher compared with those in Western research universities where professors have modest teaching responsibilities and sufficient time to undertake and publish research. Altbach and Salmi (2011) pointed out that where teaching loads are relatively high—as is the case in many developing countries—research commitment and productivity tend to be relatively low.

Another pressing concern for the Russian government and the universities as they strive for world-class status is the low number of publications

in internationally recognized venues. Universities encourage and reward publications, especially in top-rated international journals. They place additional value on research published in English. Most science and scholarship databases operate exclusively in English. Today, international and Russian academics are expected to publish and present in English, which has been recognized as the *lingua franca* or the Latin of the twenty-first century (Altbach 2004). But a lack of English language proficiency is a major difficulty for many Russian academics. As the language of instruction in Russia's universities is Russian, academics tend to publish in Russian-language journals. According to Ivan Sterligov (2014), this pattern of publication is a result of iron curtain politics and the size of Soviet and Russian science. Of the 3500 Russian scientific journals, only 170 are listed in Web of Science (WoS), whereas half of all Russian Web of Science indexed articles are published in those 170 journals. Publications in English are cited more often than those in Russian. Citations of Russian research papers are almost 19 % lower than average global figures. Most cited papers are published by physicists, astronomers, mathematicians and chemists. The Web of Science, an online subscription-based scientific citation index, is accepted in Russia as one of the main tools with which citation indices of Russian academics (Novakovskaya 2014) are evaluated. According to Eugene Vorotnikov (2014), in 2012, President Putin issued a decree aimed at increasing Russia's share of publications in the Web of Science to 2.44 % by 2015.

If Russian universities want to participate in global higher education competition, they need to pay particular attention to the rising role of English as the language of higher education. Experts also recognize that it is easier to attract leading international scholars if English is the working language of a university. As the dominant language of the modern academy, English is already replacing Russian as a key language of communication in the former Soviet Union (Altbach 2013). Since English is at the pinnacle of scientific communication and English-language products dominate the international market place (Altbach 2004), non-English speaking countries will have to raise their English language proficiency so as to not be left behind by countries such as the United States and Canada.

As Russia is implementing its university excellence initiatives, several important issues must be considered. According to Salmi (2009b), top research universities are characterized by a high concentration of talent (faculty and students), abundant resources for research and learning, and favorable governance that encourages leadership, strategic vision, innovation,

flexibility and resource management without cumbersome bureaucracy. In reforming higher education and establishing research universities, many countries are invariably looking at successful research universities and emulating an informal global research model, which is essentially based on the US research university. To some extent, Russia is adapting Western organizational and governance ideas (Altbach 2013; Altbach and Salmi 2011).

CONCLUSION

The pressure to build world-class universities, which are considered essential for global competitiveness and economic growth, and the recent proliferation of international league tables have prompted many governments to legislate “excellence initiatives” (Altbach and Salmi 2011). Similarly, Russia has implemented a series of programs to raise the prestige of Russian science and make its universities globally competitive. Pursuing its intentions to make Russia’s universities centers of research and excellence, the government has upgraded a number of existing universities, awarding them special status and allocating them significant financial resources.

In its early stages, excellence reform pointed out successes and challenges in restructuring the old higher education and research system. One thing is obvious—fundamental changes in academia will take more than decrees and money. Salmi (2013) reminded us that “Developing a strong culture of excellence, especially in research, is the result of incremental progress and consolidation over several decades, sometimes centuries” (p. 1) Are Russian universities ready for this?

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Small, Regional and Global: Bath Spa University

Christina Slade

INTRODUCTION

Internationalisation is a particular challenge for small regional universities. International demand is predominantly in business, engineering, computing and sciences, so for arts-based universities, internationalisation is even more challenging.

Bath Spa University (BSU) has approximately 6500 students studying for undergraduate, post-graduate and research degrees. It is located in Bath, Britain's only world heritage city, the full name of which is still to this day, Bath Spa, in recognition of its waters. The university's research focuses on art, music, creative writing and media. On my arrival in 2012, it had the smallest proportion of international students compared with any other United Kingdom (UK) university. On my arrival at the university, I argued that we needed to internationalise, not only to diversify income, but also to give local students an understanding of a globalised world. This Chapter reports on the strategic plan developed for 2015, and its results.

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CONTEXT

Bath Spa University began in 1852 as the Bath School of Art. Bombed in the Second World War, the School moved to Corsham Court in Wiltshire. In the immediate postwar era, it was acknowledged as a leading British Art school, involved in the flowering of the English Modernist movement, attracting students from across the Commonwealth, such as Salima Hashmi¹ who went on to head the Lahore School of Art, and an international group of teachers including Jim Dine. Following the War, there was an acute shortage of teachers and a college for primary teachers was set up at Newton Park, a Georgian house and grounds near Bath which had been bought by the Duchy of Cornwall in 1942. The first principal, Miss Dawson, led a successful all female college. Men were not admitted until the 1960s.

During the 1980s, there was a flurry of amalgamations in the tertiary sector in Britain. The School of Art and the Teachers College in Bath were combined in 1983. University status is nationally regulated in the UK; the majority of universities are publicly funded. The title, Bath Spa University, was granted in 2005, to be followed by 'higher degree research awarding powers' in 2008. Bath Spa University, a title conferred by the Privy Council and referring to the name of the town, offers a range of degrees from undergraduate level to doctorates.

When I took up the role as Vice-Chancellor at the University in 2012, Bath Spa was a perfectly formed and successful institution. Based in a world heritage city and in several historic buildings, it had developed a high reputation for student experience. The creative writing, music and art programmes were regarded as among the best in Britain. However, there were areas which were clearly challenging. As an arts-based university, it had low graduate employability scores. The senior roles were highly gendered. Although the first principal of the Teachers' College had been a woman, when I arrived there was only one female professor. Of the academic workforce, 75 % was female; 85 % of students were from the west of England. Both student body and staff reflected the region, and were ethnically homogeneous. While individual academics had international networks, there were few active partnerships and the International Student Office had been closed down in 2010. These factors impacted on the rankings. Within the UK context, Bath Spa ranked in the middle—around 70th of then 135 UK universities. Performance on research grants in terms of the value of competitive research funding per academic was

comparatively low, as were staff student ratios and the amount spent on facilities. As noted above, the University was well below the norm in number of international students, international staff and internationalisation of the curriculum. International rankings depend to a large degree on the large grants and high citation indices typical of natural and physical sciences, such as medicine or physics. Bath Spa University had no prospect of reaching the international rankings tables.

There was, in any case, a pressing need for change. The financial crisis of 2008 had a direct impact on the funding of British universities, almost all of which are public. The Browne (2010) report argued that the education sector should be more competitive and diversified. A number of funding mechanisms were altered, with a disproportionate effect on the newer universities. The introduction of a student loan fund to replace the former centralised management of a teaching grant to universities was designed to increase diversity and competition. Students from the UK or European Union (EU) would receive a loan with which they could pay their fees, now raised from £3000 per annum to £9000.

Until 2012, the number of students a university in the UK could recruit was set centrally. Universities were then virtually guaranteed fees, whether paid by student loans or government. Since 2012, that control has been relaxed. From 2015, students can choose freely where they study and the student loan will follow their choice of institution. So, institutions that cannot attract students will not receive teaching funds. In effect, there is now a market in higher education. Even students at private for-profit and not-for-profit institutions have access to the government-backed student loan. At the same time, the post-graduate market has become increasingly internationalised, as there are no loans for post-graduate study for domestic students. Within a short period, higher education in the UK moved from command economy to demand-driven. Whether philosophically palatable or not, smaller universities must adjust in order to survive.

The greatest challenge at BSU was the lack of internationalisation. In 2011, there were 1.4 % international (non-EU) students and around 3 % EU and international students. This was the smallest proportion among all universities in the UK at that time.² Very few students studied abroad. Their horizons were local: one graduate from 2011 remarked that the university had extended her horizons so much that she considered taking a job in Swindon, 20 minutes away (Dossett and Devadasan 2014). Yet, higher education is—and should be—global. We owe it to our students to help them become globally aware, confident, cross culturally adroit,

global citizens. But we also owe it to them to prepare them for the new world of work. The creative industries, education, business and science are globalised. Our students need to have global networks and competencies.

VISION

We set about finding our niche and developing a vision. The Liberal Arts colleges of New England provided an attractive model, although it is one not familiar to many English academics, who are wary of the title ‘college’. Since BSU offers research degrees it was not, colleagues argued, a college—a title with negative connotations in the UK. It was the residential experience and high-quality education I wished to emphasise. We had rebranded ourselves with a new logo and typeface on my arrival and we set about fleshing that out in terms of our academic offering of cutting edge technology and creativity in a historic setting. We drew on our areas of strength and ambition, aiming to equip our creative students with the ability to develop enterprises and thus find work. We wanted our students to become global citizens.

Our vision is:

To be a leading university in creativity, culture and enterprise. Through inspirational teaching and research, we transform student lives. Based in a world heritage city and connected to a network of international partners, Bath Spa University will ensure that its graduates are socially engaged global citizens.

Vision statements are liable to be forgotten. The vision was operationalised with a number of key performance measures for 2015. The measures are unsurprising and draw on nationally gathered data: student experience was measured by the National Student Survey (NSS); completions were based on the proportion of students completing degrees, the proportion of the student body that was international or post-graduate (PG), and the success of students in obtaining work (as measured by the UK Destination of Leavers of Higher Education (DLHE) six months after graduation). We have seen some progress on those indicators, with three of our targets achieved by the 2013–2014 academic year and two targets exceeded in 2014–2015 (Table 19.1).

We have now appointed 20 new chair professors (full- and part-time) including 12 women, and have introduced mentoring for female academics. We have achieved the NSS and DLHE scores that we had set

Table 19.1. Bath Spa University

<i>KPI</i>	<i>NSS*</i> (%)	<i>DHLE**</i> (%)	<i>Completion</i> (%)	<i>PG intake</i> (%)	<i>International intake</i> (%)
Target	86	65	91	15	15
2014–15	90			12.1	15.2
2013–14	89	63.9	93.4	8.5	11.6
2012–13	87	65.2	91.8	6.5	4.3
2011–12	83	66.4	91.3	6.0	3.1
2010–11	79	64.7	92.4	4.1	3.2

Note: Key Performance Indicators 2012–2015

*The data in column 2 are from the National Student Survey (NSS)—overall satisfaction score (HEFCE 2014)

**The data in column 3 are from Destination of Leavers of Higher Education (DLHE)—a measure taken six months after graduation of students in *graduate level* roles (HESA 2012/2013). The proportion in work of all kinds or in higher studies at BSU was 93%

as goals, maintained a strong showing in student retention, and we are moving towards targets on international and PG student enrolment rates. We have completed two major new buildings on the Newton Park site: 561 new residences, and a teaching and television/film studio facility we call ‘Commons’ that provides a teaching space, and includes cutting-edge film studios and digital facilities. The ‘Commons’ was based on the notion of ‘learning commons’ and is designed so that students work together in a community. We are financially stable, although well aware that continued stringency could cause difficulties. We have increased research grants and income. We have internationalised very rapidly at a time when our competitors have generally reduced intakes, and have also expanded the post-graduate offering. As a result, we have moved up 12 places from 70th to 58th in the *Sunday Times* (2015) rankings of British universities.

‘Creativity’ has become a core value of the university, in terms of research, innovation and digital technology. We are articulating our connection to the creative industries—a wide group of activities involving film, media, art and language, as well as education, design and creative computing³ (DCMS 2010). There is increasing recognition that the creative industries are key drivers of the economy—not just in the UK, but also globally. The creative industries were worth £79.6 billion per annum to the UK in 2013, which was 5 % of the economy (DCMS 2015). Estimates from several years earlier already put their value at US\$4.1 trillion for the global economy (Montgomery 2010, p. 36).

We focus on connectivity, or collaborative offerings, to emphasise not just the digital connectivity, but also the international, national and regional partnerships we encourage. Sustainability carries concerns for the environment which our privileged location allows us to foster locally, as well as the broader issues of financial sustainability in the new competitive environment. Key to that is internationalisation.

CONVENTIONAL INTERNATIONALISATION AND BEYOND

At BSU, we have taken a range of different approaches to internationalisation. I begin with familiar forms of internationalisation, recruiting students and then turn to four other initiatives: the three continents model, the GALA network of Liberal Arts colleges, public-private partnerships and the global citizenship programme.

By February 2015, over 950 of our 6500 students will come from outside the UK. (This figure includes EU students). We will thus have achieved our target of 15 % of the student body comprising international students. It is a striking mix of student origins from a very wide distribution, including the Faroe Islands, Colombia, Ukraine, Albania, Latvia, Gibraltar, Zambia and so on. Just 28 % of the international cohort is from China, or around 4 % of the student body—a much lower percentage than in the sector, in general. Of the international students, 38 % are from Europe (5.5 % overall), but no group is larger than 4 % (0.6 % overall). There are proportionally good numbers from the USA (7 %), Australia and Canada in film and creative writing.

Our success in conventional marketing was led by the head of the international office, Jeremy White. He rapidly mobilised a network of agents and established offices in Shanghai, Colombia and Bangkok. He also developed what are called ‘transnational education’ partnerships (TNE), where students study abroad for degrees validated by the UK institution. We have relatively small numbers but now have programmes in Hong Kong, Singapore, the United Arab Emirates and Barcelona.

We were late to the market of international education and needed to be innovative. One model involved partnerships with American community colleges. Certain community colleges in the USA—in particular, in California, Maryland and Massachusetts—have an extremely high reputation. They offer ‘associate degrees’, in US terminology. Tuition fees are low, but in prosperous communities they are well-funded. Students can go on from community college to elite universities and complete

an undergraduate degree in two years. In California, the model is well-developed. Santa Monica College, a community college in Los Angeles, sends a high proportion of its graduates on to complete full degrees at UCLA, Berkeley, USC and the major universities on the east coast. We have articulated with Santa Monica College and a number of other highly reputable community colleges so that their students can complete an honours degree at BSU in two years: the so-called 2+2 model. For US students, the cost of two years in the UK is somewhat less than the US alternative. Students have an international experience at much lower cost than studying in a mainstream US university.

Vertical Internationalisation: 'Three Continents'

The 'three continents' degree grew out of the 2+2 collaboration with Santa Monica College. The aim was to offer an experience which allowed ambitious students the chance to study in Asia, the USA and UK.

The chance to study outside the home country has been important for many years. Some universities, such as New York University, have campuses across the world—in Dubai, for instance, Florence and Paris. Students take a year or semester in other campuses. This is a costly option, as are other models where students study at different universities across the world. For instance, the Trium MBA offered by the London School of Economics, New York University and the HEC Paris School of Management is highly competitive and very expensive (US\$140,000). It teaches modules in London, New York, Shanghai, Paris and Chennai.

Our 'three continents' offering is different. First, undergraduate students study in three very different environments at different universities, rather than in the campuses of a single university. Second, costs are relatively modest. Third, we include East Asia as a core area for student recruitment. The model is of vertical articulation of courses. Students in Asia complete a foundation year with a partner in Hong Kong, Singapore or Malaysia. They then move for two years to Santa Monica College, where they complete a second (associate degree level) year and a third year, which is the penultimate year of the Bath Spa Honours degree curriculum. Students then move to Bath for two years to complete their honours degree and go on to a one year Masters. The students will have developed a unique range of contacts and cross-cultural skills when they graduate.

The curriculum is negotiated across the partners, as in the Trium MBA, but validated by BSU. This has required close collaboration with partners—in

particular, Santa Monica College. The partnership works through explicit shared values, as well as the commitment of staff and excitement of students.

*Horizontal Internationalisation: Global Academy
of Liberal Arts (GALA)*

Bath Spa University also led on the establishment of the Global Academy of Liberal Arts (GALA): a network of international liberal arts institutions. Rather than developing our own campuses across the world, GALA seeks to develop partnerships so that students and staff learn from others, and are able to take courses and receive credit across the network. Partners include the Tec de Monterrey in Mexico—the top-ranked university in Latin America, Claremont College in California, the Coetzee Centre at the University of Adelaide, the Communications University of China and the Foreign Languages Institute from Beijing, Queensland University of Technology, and the Universities of Parma, Stockholm and Utrecht. We looked for coincidence of highly reputable undergraduate and Master level programmes, of research interest and of excellence. Already, there is one research bid in the Horizon 2020 round of European Union funding. We have started sharing teaching modules and we are creating a summer school. For instance, BSU and the Graduate College of Claremont share programmes in Arts Management. We have links to institutions such as the Roman Baths and the Holburne Museum; they have the Getty Museum.

There are many networks of universities. GALA has no separate funding, has begun with strong academic and professional engagement, and is small and focused. This sort of horizontal internationalisation is best for a small, focused institution such as BSU.

Public Private Partnerships: Bath Spa Global

Pathway colleges are as common in the UK as they are in North America and Australasia. They offer not only foundation degrees to international students, but also intensive pathways into second year of a degree. International students are able to fast-track their studies with a programme of special language skills and cultural acclimation. As we sought to internationalise, a pathway college was attractive. After a great deal of discussion, we negotiated with Shorelight—a Boston-based start-up with significant backing from private equity who saw BSU as an interesting destination for international students. The partnership has been slower than we had

hoped in attracting an initial cohort of business pathway students, but will expand to accommodate students in creative computing and art.

Global Citizenship: A Certificate

The vision for BSU calls for our students to become socially engaged global citizens. There is a great deal to define in this notion: ‘citizen’, ‘global’ and ‘socially engaged’ to mention three. There is an entire academic area dedicated to its definition and teaching (for instance, Dower and Williams 2011; Shultz et al. 2011; Tully 2014). We began by introducing a Certificate in Global Citizenship, based on a model used at Macquarie University in Australia (which is borrowed loosely from the USA). A small cohort of around 30 students is chosen in a competitive process from each intake year. Of this group, we aim to have around 15 % non-UK-based students. Students are required to choose two modules (courses) from a list which identifies material with a global focus already taught across the University. The students attend a series of lectures by leading figures which touch on a wide interdisciplinary mix of global topics, suggested by deans of each of the faculties. Following the public lecture, students and the deans engage in close debate with the lecturer. Students then work together in teams, in which we encourage a mix of international and local students, to develop their understanding of the content of the special lectures. If UK-based, we offer £1000 to assist them to study or work abroad, while, for international students, we support them to engage in the local community.

The aim is to encourage students, whatever their area of study, to develop an understanding of the global context, of the complexity of being a citizen and of the importance of engaging with the world. We cannot hope to encompass all the material of undergraduate- or graduate-level programmes focusing on global citizenship. Rather, the hope is to expose students to others from across different disciplines in the University, and from different backgrounds.

The importance of such a programme at BSU can be seen in the data developed in the ‘Beyond Swindon’ project mentioned earlier. Graduates up until 2012 suggest that their level of engagement with those from other cultures was only slightly impacted by their time at university. Of all students surveyed as to their knowledge and experience of other cultures, 7 % claimed to have increased their awareness and understanding during their time at university, while roughly 25 % admitted to leaving university with little or no experience of other cultures.

Of course, merely being sent overseas does not, in itself, increase understanding or the ability to function in other cultures. In the first years of the programme, many students chose to travel on brief one- or two-week study tours to Africa or Nepal. Such engagement *could* foster a post-colonial attitude that students were ‘helping’. As important as such actions are, it is necessary to develop a broad understanding of the global cultures, rather than reinforce colonial stereotypes.

This decision was reinforced by evidence. Archer (2014) reported on a study of some 1463 students engaged in study abroad. Students came from across the world and studied in ten destination countries, including universities in Asia, Europe and the USA. The data showed that periods of studying abroad for periods of less than one semester had significantly less impact than that experienced by those studying for at least one semester. The data tracked students’ sense of understanding cultural difference, as well as employment statistics following the travel abroad. This large study has persuaded us to refocus our students so that students are able to take longer periods studying abroad. Banco Santander, whom we were able to attract to open a branch at the University, has helped by offering scholarships for our students to study abroad.

MOVING FORWARD

When a university seeks more international students, most assume that it is for financial reasons. Finances are tight in UK higher education and, certainly, international students can help diversify income streams. However, recruiting international students merely for financial gain is a risky strategy. The danger is that international students are not seen as an essential part of the student community. Moreover, UK universities recruiting international students are under a great deal of scrutiny. The Conservative government is committed to reducing immigration. The easiest way to do so is to reduce incoming student numbers and to monitor attendance for those on student visas. This is a short-sighted policy. International students are important for universities—and not just as an income stream. All students need global networks, and experience with those from outside their own country or region. UK universities offer a fine education, in English, and can attract international students. Having done so, we are beholden to offer an educational experience that is worth the cost. Ghettoised groups of students speaking their mother tongue do not offer the best of international education, although the students may well still profit from the experience.

At BSU we take seriously the role of the Liberal Arts curriculum in broadening and developing the minds of our students. Ideally, we would shape a student body of critical and creative communities of students of diverse origins working together. That is not easy and cannot be done by fiat. Our role is to make interaction possible, and to create the conditions for understanding, friendship and collaborative work. Just as we aspire to foster interdisciplinary understanding and cross-disciplinary creativity, we hope to develop communities of difference. As a residential Liberal Arts style institution, we can do that by opening possibilities, by welcoming international students, by creating the real and virtual spaces for students to work internationally—but, most importantly, by developing in the students the ability to criticise their own preconceptions and to learn.

NOTES

1. Salima explained that when her father, the noted poet Faiz Ahmed Faiz, investigated Art Schools for her, he felt that Corsham Court, a stately home in the English countryside, would be safer than London.
2. Since 2010, it has been possible for institutions with less than 4000 students to gain university status and several of those may have had lower percentages of international students in 2010.
3. The general definition used in the UK lists: Functional content: architecture, cultural heritage (including museums, galleries and libraries), crafts, art and antiques, design, fashion and computer software. Expressive content: film and video, television and radio, advertising, computer and video games, performing arts (including theatre), music and publishing (DCMS 2001). I prefer to define creative industries as does Potts (2011) as activities embedded in social networks.

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From Foxy Loxy to Grit and Moxie: Women Academics Challenging the Orthodoxy in Higher Education

Dawn C. Wallin and Janice Wallace

INTRODUCTION

Chicken Little was in the woods.
An acorn fell on her head.
She met Henny Penny and said,
“The sky is falling.
I saw it with my eyes.
I heard it with my ears.
It fell upon my head.”
She met Turkey Lurkey, Ducky Lucky, and Goosey Loosey.
They ran to tell the king.
They met Foxy Loxy.
He said he’d tell the king.
They ran into his den,
And they did not come out again. (Folk Tale)

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Although, when we were children, the folk tale above rang resoundingly with the clear cautionary messages of “Don’t believe everything you see, hear or feel”, and “Be wary of following your friends just because they told you so”, as women faculty in the academic field of Educational Administration, we sometimes wonder if our first forays into academic life were very far removed from Chicken Little’s experience. Though many of us enter the academy believing that we are critical thinkers and that the academy should be a place of academic freedom full of opportunities to explore new ideas and to (re)create social realities, there is something that happens shortly after the transition into higher education that makes us feel that, like Chicken Little, a tree-full of acorns has just dropped on our heads. Not only do we feel that the sky might be falling, but we may even try to convince our colleagues to join with us in our endeavours to “fix” these problems. Surely we can do so, we may reason, if only we have the opportunity to “tell the king”. We wander down the seemingly clear paths of policies and regulations that have been paved by those with institutional power—the king, if you will—for us, and rely on the Foxy Loxies—those who have experience with and seem to understand how to “play” the institutional “game”—to help us navigate towards our academic goals. Some of us who crawl into the academic “den” succumb to its dangers and are never seen again. Some make friends with Foxy Loxy and maintain our careers at the cost of our ideals. Few actually meet the king, if he even exists except as a figment of our imaginations. If any do meet the king, they are generally too small in number or too traumatized by the trials along the path to be very effective in advocating for their cause.

One reading of the Chicken Little folk tale, therefore, appears to be that many in academia err in their judgment, are too easily led, and deserve their own demise if they trust too easily. Foxy Loxy remains well-fed, the kingdom carries on regardless, and the king never need bother himself with the locals, since the path is designed to feed those looking out for their own self-interest while, at the same time, weeding out of the kingdom those who would advocate for change. A Brothers Grimm tale, indeed. However, we wish to unsettle the narrative that this folk tale represents, because it offers only a structural, macro perspective on higher education, reducing individual agency to naiveté and folly, and perpetuating fear of the politics, traps and relational distance inherent within institutional bureaucracies. We wish also to disturb the perception that those who are not the “kings” or “Foxy Loxies” of the world have no power to

change it, that they hold only fanciful notions about the world, and therefore deserve to be gobbled up. We do not suggest that these characters and trials are not part of the world of the academy (in fact, they are only too real); however, this chapter unsettles a narrative based on the perspective of an all-knowing, all-wise objective narrator by (re)telling the story from the multiple perspectives of multiple voices that de-centre power relations and reveal new possibilities for higher education within the contexts of time, space, and social relations that exist in different historical moments.

STRUCTURE MEETS AGENCY

With the “discursive turn” (Corson 1995), some scholars have argued that administrative structures are created much like fairytales that exist as much in our imaginative frameworks and the discourses that construct them as they do in any “reality” that emerges from the consequences of that discourse on policy and practice (see Greenfield, in Greenfield and Ribbins 1993). We participate in, and perpetuate, the discourses in which we are a participant each day. By extension, we also have agency to change the nature of that discourse by changing the way we construct it and/or engage with it. Like KerryAnn O’Meara and Nelly Stromquist (2015), we understand agency as:

perspectives and actions taken by participants to achieve meaningful goals (Campbell and O’Meara 2014; Terosky et al. 2014; O’Meara 2015). Our definition recognises the need for both individual and collective action. Agency is area specific (e.g. agency undertaken for career advancement or for securing work–life balance) and is enacted in specific social contexts (e.g. fields, departments, and gendered universities). (p. 30)

O’Meara and Stromquist (2015) went on to argue that opportunities for agency are shaped by the gendered organizational structures in which women academics do their work. And so, while opportunities to change structures, ways of being, and thinking, exist, they are enacted in a context that is characterized by an oppositional gendered discourse that has the potential to swallow up those who dare enter the King’s chamber. While we acknowledge this possibility, our research provides another version of this story.

GETTING TO KNOW THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE STORY

Over the last few years, we have had the privilege of engaging in a research project funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) that examined the experiences and academic contributions of ten of the first female academics in programs of Educational Administration in Canada. Our research focused on institutional responses and/or resistance to women's participation within their academic institution, and their contributions to knowledge production in the field of Educational Administration over the course of their careers (Anderson and Williams 2001; Brooks and Mackinnon 2001; May 2008; Pierce 2007; Quinn 2003; Reimer 2004; Sagaria 2007; Superson and Cudd 2002; Thorne 2005). Using a critical, feminist lens informed by institutional ethnography (Smith 1987, 2005), we focused particularly on the effects of the introduction of women faculty members into Educational Administration programs, which, unlike other areas of inquiry in Faculties of Education, had been traditionally male dominated (Blackmore 1989).

Our discussion in this chapter is based on our multi-staged research design, which was comprised of personal interviews with ten women who were among the first female academics in departments of Educational Administration in Canada—two in British Columbia, two in Alberta, one in Saskatchewan, two in Ontario, two in Quebec and one in New Brunswick.¹ The personal interviews explored the participants' individual experiences, both personal and professional, at different points of their faculty careers: (a) before graduate school; (b) during their graduate work; (c) securing their position as one of the first female faculty members in their respective departments; (d) the time between securing the position but before tenure; (e) the time after tenure but before thoughts of retirement; (f) nearing retirement; and, if applicable, (g) after retirement. We chose these periods because they represent particular points of time where the individual's engagement with institutional practice and knowledge construction is likely to shift.

Following on the interviews, we conducted two series of focus groups—one in Alberta and one in Quebec. All the interviews and focus groups were videotaped and videos were produced around emergent themes that formed the basis for the next stage of the research. For example, video themes from the interviews were presented to the group of participants and formed the basis for their response in the first series of focus groups over a two-day period in Alberta. We have also collected curriculum vitae

as a source of data and conducted a comprehensive review of the participants' research production and participation in national Canadian academic organizations. While the women in the study were not exhaustive of the entire population of first women in programs of Educational Administration in Canada, they collectively represent the major programs of Educational Administration across Canada and were, and continue to be, highly influential female/feminist² voices in the discipline. Their stories provide both individual and collective demonstrations of agency within organizational structures that, at least partially, offered a more hopeful narrative than the one in Chicken Little's tale.

ENACTING AGENCY WITHIN ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES

In one of the papers based on our research, we used David Dill's (1982) model of academic identity formation as a framework on which to layer a feminist analysis of our participants' identity development in higher education (Wallace and Wallin 2015). We found his description of the cultures at play in higher education particularly interesting and useful in understanding the persistent narratives that worked to exclude women academics in Educational Administration. Dill (1982) argued that academic identity is shaped by "ideologies, or systems of belief, [that] permeate academic institutions on at least three different levels: the culture of *the enterprise*, the culture of the *academic profession at large*, and the culture of *academic discipline*" (p. 308, emphasis in original). The *culture of the enterprise* is reflected in the rites of passage in the academy that were conceived in the patriarchal and medieval religious roots of these institutions. The *culture of the academic profession* codifies expectations for acceptance (i.e., tenure) and protection of free inquiry through academic freedom premised on quasi-scientific practices consistent with a value-rational organization and masculinist rationality (Blackmore 1989). Last, the *culture of an academic discipline* is a "culture with its own symbols of status and authority in the forms of professional awards, research grants, and publications, its ritualistic behaviour at professional meetings, and its distinguishing articles of faith" (Dill 1982, p. 310). Any shifts within academic disciplines can set off a clash within the disciplinary field that "dramatizes the value system at work beneath the surface of the field" (ibid.).

Given the patriarchal and medieval influences on the cultures at play in higher education, it is not surprising, therefore, that, as women entered male dominated departments of Educational Administration, they faced

trials and tribulations along their career paths in the academy. The chilly climate (The Chilly Collective 1995) may be too winsome a metaphor for some, but it does evoke the cold and unforgiving spaces that protect the castle (academy) from those who would attempt to scale the castle gates, even from the inside. In this narrative, then, the competing discourses of structure and agency seem particularly skewed, given a context that is so dominated by male norms (See Acker, 1999, 2008). However, Anthony Giddens' notion of structuration (Giddens 1984) is somewhat helpful in considering how women who were in positions of significantly less power than their male counterparts during much of their academic career, were able to effect change in the academic field of Educational Administration. Giddens argued that structure and agency are interactive and it is in the enactment of agency—whether replicating or challenging structural norms—by social subjects that structures remain static or are changed.

We found strong evidence that the women of our study successfully challenged the structural discourses of the academy in ways that (re) shaped and transformed the higher education milieu of Educational Administration in Canada. The individual and collective agency they brought to their work enabled them, at certain moments in time and by different means, to destabilize the powerful discourses that otherwise may have gobbled them up along their career pathways. Though they faced recurring instances of discrimination, structural impediments and personal setbacks along the way, they charged forward with adventurous spirits, a strong sense of purpose and a commitment to “writing themselves in”³ to the discourses of equity that shaped their academic and institutional work. As one woman noted, “grit” and “moxie” characterized how she navigated the masculinist pathways of her career. Each of our participants' ways of being, though highly individual, could be characterized similarly.

ADVENTURESOME SPIRITS

All the women in this study had adventurous spirits. Many of them moved across countries, continents or institutions, left family behind and made huge career changes for the sheer joy of learning something new, or engaging in a new challenge. Instead of being wary of these moves, our participants framed their decisions with comments such as “I thought, ‘Why not?’”, or “I thought of this as an exciting run for it”, or “It was sort of our western adventure”. As one woman noted, she “Sold the house, sold the car, separated from the husband, sent the two children off to

be with their father for a couple of years and I went to [UNIVERSITY] and started that process". Another woman acknowledged that she was "just desperate to move out of my old life and into something new and wanting to learn, wanting to be, wanting to have the educational experience". Each and every participant indicated that most of the career moves they made occurred because ahead of them lay yet another "interesting opportunity". As they sought adventure, however, the paths they followed proved challenging.

A DIFFERENT FIT

Almost all the participants in our study acknowledged that their backgrounds positioned them differently for positions in Educational Administration than was the norm. In most instances, the hiring focus privileged individuals who applied with backgrounds in line positions of Educational Administration (Kim and Brunner 2009), typically principals or superintendents who were almost always male. These women entered into Educational Administration with interests in leadership, organizational theory, or policy work, but from very different experiential backgrounds. For example, some of them had backgrounds in non-profit organizations, some with backgrounds in music, and others with backgrounds in adult education, curriculum, sociology, policy studies or interdisciplinary studies. Only one of the ten participants noted that she moved into Educational Administration because it was "what I really wanted to do". As a consequence, one woman suggested that their positioning left them "undefined in the conventional ... [Educational Administration world] ... and the boundaries of that". Although such positioning provided them with much broader, interdisciplinary interests in leadership and administration, it also meant that their work was perceived to be on the "fringe" of the dominant discourses in programs of Educational Administration.

Those who were also positioned as feminists often faced additional hurdles, particularly when it came to accessing positions. As one participant noted, "the guys on the committee tried to close the search down because they didn't want me, they didn't want a feminist ... there's this time period where I became known as the feminist, so that was really difficult". Another participant noted that, after working as a feminist for a number of years and dealing with the fall-out of that positioning during her career, she found herself warning other young feminists that "you know, this is not the kind of thing that will get you a job. You should

be aware that it may be the thing you care about the most but it is not going to make you employable.” They fit, but they did not fit. However, our findings demonstrate that their slightly awkward positioning from the very beginning of their academic careers in large part provided them with “insider-outsider” perspectives that leveraged their future efforts (Wallace et al. 2014).

CHALLENGING STRUCTURES

Perhaps partly because they recognized the differences in how they were positioned as academics, the women of our study were unafraid of challenging academic orthodoxy. Because of their different backgrounds and routes to Educational Administration programs, some of their first challenges were to the academic discipline of Educational Administration. Their academic research, writing and scholarly work began to challenge notions of leadership and the “canons” found within that discourse. As one woman decried the content of a current (and still much used) text found within most programs of Educational Administration, she noted that it “was incorrect, it was simplistic, it was mind numbing Later I realized that it had no critical content whatsoever, and that was the dominant lens through which most people were looking at educational admin.... let’s bring life to this ... what is leadership? Let’s redefine it”. These women spoke of the scholarly influence of critical theorists who, at the time, gave them a platform for challenging the structural-functionalist discourses of Educational Administration. One woman unapologetically acknowledged her challenging persona by suggesting that “I was argumentative and confrontational because, even though [scholars of Educational Administration] were my seniors, I was bringing a challenge, in some cases, to their life work, which was difficult.”

As they moved through their careers, they spoke of the fact that, just as their own research and writing had “gone against the grain”, so, too, had their leadership practices in their academic institutions. They spoke of reaching out to other “challengers”, often other women in scholarly associations such as the Canadian Association for the Study of Educational Administration and the Canadian Association for the Study of Women and Education, or scholars from other countries, so that “we began to get those of us who were doing this kind of work together, thinking we really could make an impact, we really could challenge the discipline of Ed Admin”. Another of the participants, however, touched on the cost of

being a feminist challenger, saying, “You can’t imagine, you know, what it cost to be an outspoken woman. To raise any kind of feminist concern and to be patronized and dismissed and belittled and, you know, even have people angry with you ... I just ... it was bad, it was not good in my day”. They all learned the hard way that their challenges had consequences.

A STRONG SENSE OF PURPOSE VERSUS INSTITUTIONAL CONSTRAINTS

The women of our study faced institutional constraints along their career paths, even though they approached those careers with ambition, energy and a clear sense of purpose. Some of them broke free from institutions that would have perennially kept them hired as part-time sessional instructors without benefits. Others decided to capitalize on their interdisciplinary backgrounds and move into academic positions outside of Educational Administration where their scholarly work would be taken more seriously: “People were calling it airy-fairy and flaky and you know, so it wasn’t as much fun anymore. So I did kind of sidestep and became the director of the women’s studies program.” One woman moved to another institution in order to avoid being forced to retire. Others, however, were caught up in institutional constraints and were unable to access favourable situations. For example, one woman had aspirations to move into a number of administrative positions but, in her words, “there was absolutely no room ... it wasn’t just that I couldn’t see the opportunities. They simply weren’t there for me, you know, to move into administration.” Others knew that they had been passed over for positions either within their institutions or in other institutions to which they had applied, largely because of their reputations as challengers (or feminists).

Because of the constraints they faced, these women learned to develop negotiation skills that could help foster their academic goals. Some women negotiated leaves to upgrade their academic or career skills. Others were able to negotiate tenure when they moved across institutions in order to protect their positions. A third negotiated research time into her dean’s contract to ensure that she would be able to balance her research agenda with an administrative position.

In addition to developing negotiation skills, the women of our study developed their political acumen in order to work with the “Foxy Loxies” of the institution. One woman acknowledged how she became intimately familiar with the collective agreements of the institutions she served to

ensure she understood her rights and responsibilities and did not leave herself vulnerable. Another participant spoke of building strong networks with provincial organizations to call on supports when she required them in the academy. During times when attempts to access positions were being blocked, these networks of supporters would engage in public and/or private lobbying for these individuals, providing social and political support and, sometimes, a public moral accountability for inequities that were being perpetuated. As one woman noted:

When I came for my interview here all the women from the other department came out to the presentation and sat in the front row and smiled. And apparently that was very deliberate because there was all that buzz going around that there was this [feminist] woman coming in and we've got to make sure that she gets the job.

Some of the participants spoke of building relationships with other women who were new to their institutions in order to support each other as their careers unfolded. One woman ensured that her interdisciplinary program remained truly interdisciplinary by instituting rotating chairs so that, when attacks to the program ensued, she could call on a network of program areas for support rather than having a single individual face the brunt of disciplinary acrimony. Others spoke of ways of accessing research funding or course releases that allowed them to focus on their research productivity. Many of the participants worked strategically to find out information about hiring committees and institutional foci when applying for new positions. Unfortunately, some learned the hard way:

I didn't realize how small our field is and how much impact people who weren't at your institution could have on your career. I think again maybe a lack of mentoring in that way—career mentoring—may have given me a false sense of security and of the space in which I could do those things. I mean I didn't take on people at the [UNIVERSITY] who were going to be deciding directly on my promotion and tenure for instance.

Given some of the difficulties these women experienced, they learned how to protect themselves within the informal power networks of academic culture. One woman noted, "I knew it was really important to make good strong interpersonal relationships with everybody, not join any 'groups' [said with quotation mark gesture] and not bad-mouth anybody". Another woman learned, "that you do not go into any meeting

with someone in authority without a witness” and “never, ever write anything without copying someone else”.

Even the conversations recorded for this study were not without a reflexive awareness of the need for self-protection. As one participant noted, “Basically what I’ve told you today is what I would call the cover story. It’s the story for public consumption. I did go deep down and some elements of detail are not public ... but I gave you mainly the cover story”.

Along with developing their political acumen, these women learned how to work within the system to change the system. They worked with supportive colleagues to access influential individuals, to “learn the ropes” of the system, to procure placement on influential committees, and/or to access research opportunities. Others learned to take the counsel of powerful people on campus before jumping too soon into opportunities (e.g., tenure or promotion), even if they thought they would be successful. Most learned to “slow down”, but not to stop, their desires for change because they recognized that the timing would not be conducive to their efforts. They learned to listen to powerful individuals within the institution so that they “understood what was valued at a university”. Rather than compromising their ideals, they learned how to navigate *within* the system to achieve their goals:

I understood the path that I had to follow. I accepted to follow that path and, as there was always the problem of obtaining my job security, it was not to my advantage once again to lose my way or do things that may interfere with becoming assistant professor or obtaining tenure. So I’ve always made sure that I respected university requirements. In that respect, I was absolutely not delinquent! I do not want to offend those who do not follow that path. But given my situation, I chose to comply.

As a final strategy for navigating their work, these women learned how to deal with conflict when it reared its head. They learned to initiate private conversations with individuals who would otherwise block their efforts in order to minimize overt conflict and to deal openly with issues that arose. Others were quite comfortable with the tensions that occur within institutions. As one participant noted, “I am a fighter ... I don’t mind conflict and that’s my view of organizations: that there will always be tension, there will always be conflict”. When colleagues made inappropriate, de-legitimizing, or misogynist comments, these women found ways of drawing attention to their inappropriateness either directly to quell them immediately, often with humour, to discourage their continued use. Finally, perhaps because

of their backgrounds in Educational Administration, these women were aware that leadership is not about pleasing all the people all the time:

I don't think administrators can go into administration because they want to be popular or well-liked. And it's not our job as leaders to please everybody and you really can't if you buy the notion of conflicting perspectives and equity I don't know any good way of doing it without making friends as well as enemies at the same time But I can also sleep at night knowing that I've tried to do the right thing and not just to please somebody.

In their view, it was more important that one dealt with conflictual situations equitably and with a sense of moral purpose than to simply acquiesce.

GENDER DISCRIMINATION

Although there are some who might suggest that the days of dealing with gender issues in higher education are over, ongoing challenges at many universities struggling with appropriate responses to issues such as sexual harassment have demonstrated that gender discrimination remains a very real presence in higher education in Canada (e.g., Dalhousie University in Canada, *CBC News*, 2015). Our participants acknowledged a plethora of acts of gender discrimination that occurred over the course of their careers. Issues of gender discrimination were faced in their interactions with the “old boys” culture of Educational Administration within their graduate student experiences, as they accessed or navigated through their positions, within their teaching assignments, in tenure and promotion practices, in interpersonal relationships with colleagues and within the scholarship of Educational Administration.

While the majority of women acknowledged support they received from male colleagues, many also noted times when they were told that certain (often feminist) women “would never get a job in academia”. Another suggested that the old boys’ culture no longer retains the influence it once did, even as she noted:

Every now and then I encounter a situation where I am reminded that you are a woman ... your voice, your opinion doesn't have the same weight as his Just as women you know how we have learned to try not to be too emotional, to be so neutral and objective when we speak so that we are taken seriously.

During their graduate work, participants noticed that they were often not viewed as “real contenders” for some of the administrative positions that opened up in the field or within the university. One woman spoke of not being treated in the same way as the men in her cohort “unless we insisted on it and that’s another time when we just had to struggle”. They spoke of sometimes being the only woman in their administration courses, and having to fight for voice and status, while conversely being ostracized if they were too vocal in their views. The privileging of the public over the private domain in institutional life was poignantly evoked when one participant, who was a new mother during her doctoral work, had to bring her child to class one evening and observed that, based on her colleagues’ and professor’s reaction, “I only did it once, but it was enough”. Another woman spoke of the behind the scenes socialization that went on within programs of Educational Administration that was highly gendered, exclusive and tended to favour or be accessible to males more than females. They also spoke of the fact that the majority of their professors in Educational Administration were male and that “women’s issues” were generally considered to be taboo or trivial.

As they navigated through their academic positions, the women of our study faced silencing, resistance, less legitimacy for their contributions and discrimination. Some faced overt sexual discrimination. As mentioned earlier, some women were blocked from obtaining positions because of their reputations as feminists. Others recognized that, although there have been many changes that support women academics, the overarching culture still privileges male appointees:

We’re still hiring more men than women. The men are hired into more senior positions. We have a Canada Research Chair who is male. When we have faculty members who are hired at the same time, it has been the case that the men come in with higher salaries. All of this is very recent history. So it’s another one of those stories where we have been able to make some shifts, and yet at the same time, the domination by men and by masculine values and points of view is still very much a part of Ed Admin, of the department, of [THE FACULTY], of the University.

One of the participants suggested that, although women “do all their homework”, when attempting to access positions, she had observed that “women pull themselves up, men are pushed”. Others recognized that, although they had demonstrated hard work and excellent scholarship,

their colleagues and professors would make assumptions about their desires to work in higher education, particularly if their husbands were accomplished and it was perceived that the woman “didn’t have to work”.

Some of the women noted that they had been given inequitable teaching loads, including classes of up to 80 students compared with much smaller numbers for male colleagues teaching similar courses. Others spoke of high supervision loads or teaching loads, or being told they could not reduce their loads for workload or research issues, while knowing that their male colleagues had been granted those reductions. One woman spoke of working with other untenured female professors who had difficult times accessing tenure when, from her perspective, the male colleagues who moved forward at the same time demonstrated less merit but had no trouble receiving tenure. A third woman articulated that men are still more able to access research chairs or become “stars of their field”. In her view, many younger women have the same goals, but because they also assume primary responsibility for their families, “they are not able to get there or they crash, they get so burned out. I have colleagues with very small kids Sometimes I am scared for their health because it’s so much”.

Some of the women had to deal with issues of sexual harassment, either from students or colleagues. Unfortunately, they were often made to feel that it was their behavior that was problematic, and that their insistence on having the issues dealt with institutionally, rather than through silence or in “underground” ways, turned them into the institutional “problems”. They spoke of the annoyance or embarrassment others evidenced when they asked for support or public consequences for these kinds of offences. But they also refused to be silent, and they couched their responses by suggesting that they had to come forward in order to ensure that other women did not have to face these issues in the future, or to ensure that the instances could not be used publicly (or insidiously) against them.

Finally, the participants of our study noted that their views of scholarship were heavily influenced by gender and/or feminism. Most recognized during their graduate work that the majority of leadership studies included male participants only. These women decided that their own work needed to include the experiences of women as well as men if the leadership scholarship was to be relevant to the field. Others wanted to include more diverse theoretical perspectives that would challenge predominant structural functionalist scholarship, such as critical, post-modern/post-structural, aesthetic theory, perspectives that would redefine what constituted the

discourses of leadership. Many of our participants had never had access to female authors or feminist scholarship during their graduate coursework (at least in their Education Administration programs), so they decided that they would teach differently in their own institutions. Their work often had a more interdisciplinary focus on leadership issues, and often centered on equity issues. They recognized the danger of essentializing women's experiences, and worked towards more nuanced understandings of feminist theory vis-à-vis leadership studies. And yet, long after their careers were established, most of our participants still wondered about the extent to which their scholarship was acknowledged in the "canons" of Educational Administration in Canada:

I think we're still fighting, as Canadian scholars, women in Ed Admin, a lot of people don't know about us. And they don't know of our twenty years of publishing and work, and the international contribution. We're better known when we go to international conferences ... I'm sure there are people in Manitoba or in BC who don't know anything about my work.

As the old adage suggests, some of these women still feel that they are never prophets in their own land.

PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL CONSEQUENCES

Clearly, challenging institutional and/or academic discourses does not come without personal and professional consequences, regardless of how much moxie and adventurous spirit one demonstrates. The time commitment alone for these positions leads to imbalances in personal and professional lives. One woman noted, "I haven't really had very much of a life outside academia since I became an academic." As graduate students, these women worked around their family needs to juggle coursework and research. They also recognized that assumptions were made about their abilities, scholarship and potential employability, often based on their gender or political assumptions related to their supervisors and/or research interests. As faculty members, women spoke of working in faculties where dysfunctional cultures necessitated overt measures of self-protection and led to high levels of stress:

I was so anxious about all the bad things that these people could do, that every time that I gave a course, I had an evaluation done on my own, even

if it wasn't planned. At least that way, nobody could say anything ... There would be records ... Every time I did something, there was a record, a trace. At the end, I had very thick records full of evidence ... But when one is reduced to doing that, when one has to keep very detailed records, it is time consuming and a lot of stress.

Eventually, this woman changed institutions to escape this dysfunctional and oppressive climate.

Many of the women were very protective of their private lives. As one woman indicated, "I've always made a very distinct difference between my personal life and my work life." Other women acknowledged their feelings of guilt for bringing their work stress home in ways that likely damaged their relationships with their partners. Another acknowledged that changes in her personal circumstances drastically shifted her career priorities: "In the year that I had off after my chairship, my partner had cancer and so I spent all of that year being a caregiver. And that has been a very emotionally and physically draining experience for me." One woman spoke of the fact that her own health had now become a significant issue in relation to career ambitions. Others were settling into family life circumstances where care of ailing parents was becoming an important and competing consideration.

At some point, many of the women in our study noted that they "just couldn't take on any more", figuratively and metaphorically. Many of the women felt isolated as scholars in their own institutions, even though they had networks across the world. Most became exhausted with the workload they were asked to complete; the roles they took on (willingly or feeling pressured to do so); the constant challenges to their positioning, either in their work roles or theoretical positioning; and the number of students they supervised because they were considered by students to be the "only" person in Educational Administration who conceived of leadership "differently". As one woman noted, "my energy isn't there anymore. I've learned all of the hubris I had about being able to make huge changes because of what I was able to understand about how organizations work has fallen by the wayside". Another woman noted, "women pay for their presence. For me, in any case, at the beginning, they test you, give you a lot of work and give you a lot of trouble ... [male colleagues] had much more credibility than me." A third woman acknowledged that female students in current programs of Educational Administration did not always recognize how much influence early feminists had on the privileges they now enjoy, or the ways in which gender issues are played out in different

ways in today's society. In the view of our participants, many of these young women have been co-opted overtly to marginalize feminism and the need for it in scholarship and practice:

Probably one of the most interesting things in my later teaching when I was teaching the master's research course, for example, was the ways in which the women ... that would be mid-30s to mid-40s probably in age, maybe early 30s, had taken in and taken on some of what we all worked for in that they were, they had these full blown careers going on and they had families and they sometimes had supportive husbands So there was a real shift but it was certainly not a real feminist consciousness and they certainly wouldn't want to have anything to do with being associated with [feminism] ... that was pleasing and puzzling at the same time, you know? ... but to still not understand the new iterations of those phenomena.

Further, this woman described her mixed feelings when she did have opportunities to work with feminist students. With the hindsight of her own career, she recognized the danger of doing feminist work, and knew that in perpetuating feminist work with other students, she would inadvertently be setting them up for future difficulties: "I was setting them up for some really tough encounters and decisions in their own lives and indeed that did happen in some cases. And so I was very conscious of this".

WHAT HAS CHANGED?

The introduction of the first females in Educational Administration programs in Canada, precipitated to some degree by their lack of fit within "the culture of the enterprise" (Dill 1982), did prompt significant changes in higher education, not only in the academy, but also in its professional practices and the disciplinary content of Educational Administration. Using their own experiences of triumph and oppression within the academy, these women have actively worked to transform institutional practices and the normative discourses found in Educational Administration. As researchers, each woman's scholarship is reflective of equity issues and interdisciplinary understandings of leadership in one form or another. As faculty members, they have worked to diversify the student body, program areas and the theoretical breadth of scholarship in academic programs. As institutional administrators, they have worked to change policy and practice to ensure more equitable practices are enjoyed by faculty, staff and students, and that marginalizing experiences are dealt with appropriately.

They have deliberately positioned themselves organizationally so that they could act as strategic partners for those in authority who are seeking to change institutional practices.

One of the greatest collective accomplishments for some of the women was their role in the creation of the Canadian Association for the Study of Women and Education (CASWE)

In terms of legitimating, I can't overemphasize the importance in my career of CASWE and of the groups of us who came to know one another, [originally] through CASEA [Canadian Association for the Study of Educational Administration] actually ... I would never want to say there was a single most important thing but that was a way that we, a collective of us, changed something in Canadian scholarship—especially for English speakers—and it was an organizational initiative.

CASWE and CASEA have become the Canadian scholarly “homes” for many of these women, even as they often challenge the discourses that are perpetuated within them. Although most of these women critique institutional discourses within their scholarship, they also recognize that they are complicit as institutional representatives:

There is a dilemma right? I mean, the choice to participate in existing institutions is the choice to face the institute's expectations or patterns or culture. And it is in a way by participating and doing the things that [another participant] talks about [i.e., ask the critical questions at public meetings and so on] that we seek to change the institution we are a part of. So it remains a dilemma because if you don't change the institution [here she refers to an example of an inequity she had observed] ... it doesn't remain ours somehow.

And so, the adventurous spirits of these women have been tempered somewhat by the situations they have faced over time, but their passions and sense of responsibility to their work and to others has not waned. They do not see themselves as passive victims of the orthodoxies of higher education; instead, they view themselves as agents of change whose efforts have significantly altered the complex cultures of the enterprise, of the academy, and of the discipline of Educational Administration (Dill 1982):

I think it's about being clear to identify not just where we reacted, or were constrained, but really, what we have changed. It's really about agency, and

the kind of ... propulsion out. It's the things that made us uncomfortable also led us to make certain changes. So I think that's important.

These women have learned that transformative spaces in organizational structures open and close and that, ultimately, if one is open to and prepared for opportunities as they arise, changes do occur in the short and longer term. As one participant somewhat wryly noted:

I don't think we can be transformative forever ... I was able to shift some things while I was in that [administrative] position ... [using] the power we have, and also don't have, in a larger institution. So I think we can make some difference for a period of time, and that has to be enough.

While these women faced the remnants of the patriarchal culture operating in higher education that often positioned them on the outside of it, their desire for change was evident in the complex interplay between agency and structure. They did not naively assume that, as individuals, they had the power to overcome all of the normative discourses at play in higher education, but they did know that their efforts, often in conjunction with networks of supportive others, could certainly shift or change those discourses, even for brief moments of time. Over the course of their experiences, they had grown more comfortable with themselves as scholars, faculty members and women. They were proud of their accomplishments and the impacts of their work that were acknowledged locally, nationally and internationally. And yet, even after all their successes, some still wondered about their need to prove themselves:

I know how to do this stuff with my eyes closed and one hand tied behind my back. There are still ways in which I feel like I still need to prove myself ... I think that gender dynamics are alive and well. I think that I'm read in a very complicated way, and I have a hard time myself simply doing what I am doing and getting on with it. So for a period of time I took on a huge number of graduates, doctoral, supervision, to be able to prove that I could do that ... And I don't really know where I stand. I don't know how well supported I am, I feel sort of like the lone ranger ... On the one hand I feel like academia is the best home that I could ever have ... but I also have to recognize that it's a bit lonesome.

Although these women recognize the normative (and) gendered discourses at play in higher education, and they recognize their own agency

and the complex interactions that allow for change and renewal, they still find themselves caught up in those discourses in ways that impact on their sense of self and confidence in their ability.

CONCLUSION

Reconsidering Chicken Little

In an alternate version of “Chicken Little”, Mary Beth Stephens provided a “happier” ending to the story:

Just as Chicken Little and the others were about to go into the fox’s hole, they heard a strange sound and stopped. It was the king’s hunting dogs, growling and howling. How Foxy Loxy ran, across the meadows and through the forests, with the hounds close behind. He ran until he was far, far away and never dared to come back again. (Stephens n.d.)

In this, and other versions of the story, we never actually see the king, and Chicken Little and/or her pals are saved by forces outside of themselves. The participants in our study would never agree to such an ending; for them, these endings would not be satisfactory at all, because they are left without a sense of their own agency to effect change.

If the story were rewritten based on the experiences of the participants in our research, it would read quite differently. Chicken Little would have recognized the reality that acorns were acorns and would have worked to initiate policies to protect others who were being hurt by them across the kingdom. In her efforts to facilitate these policies, she likely would have walked through the woods to her friends’ homes, had coffee, talked about the latest egg laying conference and asked if her friends would support her in getting the acorn situation sorted out with the Foxy Loxies of the kingdom. Likely, they would have agreed on some strategy, such as developing a cooperative to gather and distribute the acorns equitably across the land so that the animals could use them for food, rather than being hurt by their over-ripe fall on unsuspecting citizens.

As the group organized themselves to achieve their policy goals, on their peace walk towards the kingdom, they would have strategically decided to stop at Foxy Loxy’s den because they knew he could be highly influential if he supported their endeavours. They also knew that he would

be interested in the distribution of acorns, particularly as it would fatten up some of the animals he might like to enjoy for a tasty dinner. They would have never entered his den, but would have made the strategic decision to ask him to come along with them, both to keep an eye on him, and to ensure that he could provide them with an audience with the king.

A less pragmatic but more ideal version of the story might continue to motivate them to continue to work towards changing organizational structures in which the kingdom would have a queen who had managed, by hard work and determination, to gain the respect of the people in the kingdom with her equitable rule. Or why not eschew the notion of a kingdom altogether and, in its place, work together to build a thriving democracy in which Chicken Little might prove her worth as a trusted voice supporting equity for the animals across the land.

A more likely scenario, however, is that, being pragmatic, strategic agents of change where the ideal is set aside for the possible, if Chicken Little and her friends did manage to get an audience with the king, they would argue for the implementation of an equitable acorn resource and allocation policy with passion and knowledgeable persuasion, using the king's own laws and his need for satisfied and healthy subjects who are essential for the kingdom's prosperity as arguments for their position. Should Chicken Little and her friends not be successful, they would have gone home to regroup their efforts, to rally the local animals in the kingdom and, in order to demonstrate the problem, try to ensure that a few acorns managed to drop on the heads of the king's chief administrators. In time, the practical utility of their work, the political acumen of the group and the theoretical persuasiveness of their ideas would lead to changes in the kingdom, even if Chicken Little had long since moved on to lead the battle against Colonel Sanders. Such is the complex interplay of individual agency and structure in changing the discourses of higher education.

NOTES

1. It is important to note that these women cannot easily be attached to a particular geographical location in that, over the life span of their careers, most have lived, studied and been faculty members in various locations and institutions in Canada.
2. Most, but not all, of the participants explicitly identified themselves as feminist.

3. The notion of “writing themselves in” was introduced by a participant and is reflective of Cixous (1976) who wrote: Woman must write herself: must write about women and bring women to writing, from which they have been driven away as violently as from their bodies—for the same reasons, by the same law, with the same fatal goal. Woman must put herself into the text—as into the world and into history—by her own movement.

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Socializing Higher Education for Sexual and Gender Minorities: Using Critically Progressive Education to Enhance Recognition and Accommodation

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Grace examines how his university institute synchronizes research, policymaking and practice in its work with sexual and gender minorities or LGBTTIQQ2SA, the Pride Toronto acronym standing for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, intersex, questioning, queer, 2-spirited, and allies. The chapter positions this work as critically progressive education expressed in inclusive forms of lifelong learning as critical action that interweave instrumental, social and cultural purposes. Critiquing neoliberal managerialism, the chapter positions his institute's endeavours as one contribution to socializing higher education for sexual and gender minorities in his university. Here, Grace includes discussion regarding how the institute's research program uses his university's strategic research plan (SRP) as a vehicle to socialize higher education as it places its imprint on the SRP's six core objectives and two selected SRP areas—*Society and Culture* and *Health and Wellness*.

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Since the mid-1990s, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has emphasized *lifelong learning for all*, spearheading various educational policy initiatives that expect the involvement of all sectors of education including higher education (Grace 2013; Milana 2012; Wildemeersch and Salling Olesen 2012). Despite these initiatives, the notion has not been sufficiently translated into critically progressive education expressed as inclusive forms of lifelong and lifewide learning that interweave instrumental, social and cultural purposes. As I argue in my book *Lifelong Learning as Critical Action* (Grace 2013), globalization and the neoliberal tendency to prioritize instrumental learning over social and cultural learning have created a contemporary lifelong-learning paradigm that is limited in scope. As omnipresent and synchronous forces, neoliberalism and globalization have tapered our view of education and what it ought to encompass, shrinking parameters for using lifelong learning as a way to navigate life, learning and work contexts. This narrow *modus operandi* has been pervasive in higher education, where instrumental learning, pragmatically and decontextually shaping such notions as evidence-based practice, often dominates learning for social and cultural purposes. In this milieu, holistic learning for vulnerable populations—including sexual and gender minorities as a multivariate population across sexual, gender, ethnocultural and other relational differences—is often sidelined amid the commodification of higher learning. This reality raises issues and concerns regarding social inclusion, cohesion and justice for those undervalued and underserved in education and culture.

As an academic researcher, I engage in comparative studies of social policies and their implications for pedagogies and community practices, and recognition, access and accommodation for vulnerable populations. Here, I include a core focus on sexual and gender minority (SGM) individuals and our issues and concerns regarding inclusion, equity and social justice in education, healthcare, other institutional contexts and culture. Sexual and gender minorities, as are linguistic and ethnocultural minorities, are protected by Canadian law and legislation (Grace 2007, 2015). Since our sexual orientations and gender identities are considered non-normative in mainstream social and cultural contexts, including education and healthcare, we face everyday challenges that can include neglect, abuse and victimization as we navigate the limits of the heterosexual/homosexual and male/female binaries (Grace 2015; Grace and Wells 2016). The Institute for Sexual Minority Studies and Services (iSMSS) (<http://www.ismss.ualberta.ca>), established in 2008 and housed in the Faculty of

Education, University of Alberta in Edmonton, Canada, was created and exists to counter this reality and the exclusionary designations that lessen the lives of SGM individuals as persons and citizens. The iSMSS's work emphasizing the synchronicity of research, policymaking and practice is certainly needed. Currently, there is a lack of transdisciplinary research focused on investigating sexual and gender minorities, and our issues of recognition, access and accommodation in institutional and community contexts (CPHO 2011, 2012; Grace 2015; Haas et al. 2011).

From a broader perspective, if higher education is to matter in addressing social and cultural issues in contemporary times, then it has to move beyond the limits of neoliberal managerialism as a strategy linked to institutional survival and securing status. Moreover, higher education has to focus more deliberately and sufficiently on the public realm and the cultural politics of life and work, and social inclusion, cohesion and justice, especially for more vulnerable populations (Grace 2012). This requires academics to see themselves as more than professional instrumentalists. They need to be risk-takers who also take on roles as advocates and activists as they provide education that nests the economic (including learning for earning) in more inclusive, holistic education that attends to the wide range of interconnected instrumental, social, and cultural issues and concerns impacting the lives of learners as persons, citizens and workers. Here, academics need to understand social policymaking and its implementation as a composite public, rather than as an elitist venture, so they can facilitate interwoven instrumental, social and cultural learning as a complex transformative engagement bent on action and change for the better, as learners define and need it for living and working (Grace 2012).

This chapter positions iSMSS as an educational and community outreach formation focused on addressing SGM issues and concerns. It overviews iSMSS research, as well as other transdisciplinary research influencing the work that we do. Linking research to advocacy, the chapter discusses institute outreach initiatives as an amalgam of interconnected forms of instrumental, social and cultural learning and action. In doing so, it presents iSMSS's work as counterpedagogy and critical community action that place transaction and transformation in synchronicity. This synopsis reveals iSMSS's core ambition: to socialize higher education for sexual and gender minorities, focusing on our recognition, access and accommodation across learning and living in institutional and community contexts. Next, the chapter considers how iSMSS's research program—which is linked to advocating for SGM youth, young adults and their allies

and caregivers—uses the University of Alberta’s (2014) *Strategic Research Plan* (SRP) as a vehicle to socialize higher education as it places iSMSS’s imprint on the SRP’s six core objectives, as well as two selected SRP areas—*Society and Culture* and *Health and Wellness*. With this work taking place in the complex intersection of people, politics, knowledge constructs and viewpoints, iSMSS’s core ambition aligns with Shultz and Viczko’s notion of assembling the higher education institution as a dynamic interaction. From this perspective, the nature and subtleties of assemblage have implications for SGM research, policymaking and practice as generative processes and outcomes.

MAKING IT BETTER NOW AT iSMSS

At iSMSS, we engage in lifelong learning as critical action focused on such priorities as helping SGM individuals to grow into resilience (Grace 2013, 2015). This means we keep research, policymaking and practice in dynamic equilibrium as we engage in holistic lifelong learning constructed as collective problem solving and action to address concomitant instrumental, social and cultural needs of sexual and gender minorities, and those allied with them. The iSMSS represents a unique and holistic Canadian model, placing inclusive SGM studies and services in a vibrant, interdependent relationship. Currently, the Institute functions as an interdisciplinary “hub” for scholarly and community work focused on matters of sexual orientation and gender identity, especially as they relate to the individual development, socialization, safety, education, health, wellbeing and resilience of SGM individuals, especially vulnerable youth (aged 12 to 19 years) and young adults (aged 20 to 29 years). Bringing research, institutional service, and educational and community programming together under one umbrella enables the Institute to create a synergy that enhances possibilities for meeting multiple needs through innovative research, policy development, sustained educational and community intervention and outreach, healthcare provision, social-service provision and adequate resource allocation. Importantly, this work has taken us into the intersection where SGM differences and Aboriginal differences intersect. Queer Indigeneity has emerged as a key focal point at iSMSS. Both Alberta and Saskatchewan—provinces where iSMSS engages in research, policymaking and outreach programming—have rapidly growing Aboriginal populations living in urban, reserve and other settings. According to Canadian Census data, the proportion of youth and young adults within the Aboriginal

population in 2006 was much higher than the non-Aboriginal population, with almost one third (31 %) between the ages of 12 and 29 years compared with 23 % in the non-Aboriginal population (CPHO 2011). Within the Aboriginal youth population, there is a significant number of SGM or 2-Spirit youth who need support to grow into resilience as they navigate the dual stressors of racism and homo/bi/transphobia.

At iSMSS, we work to enable SGM youth to be happy, healthy and hopeful as we focus on their comprehensive health and safety in family, in-care, street, school and community contexts. We research the process of growing into resilience whereby SGM youth learn that specific protective influences or assets can moderate the effects of stressors and risk-taking, and help them to adapt and thrive. More specifically, we explore how young SGM individuals develop self-confidence, social competence and problem-solving abilities by building assets that include a strong internal locus of control, access to healthy mentors and social resources, and a sense of value and support in community settings (Goldstein and Brooks 2005; Grace 2015). I use the notion of *growing into resilience* to indicate the robust nature of this complex process that is about building assets (significant adult, institutional and community supports), adapting successfully, persevering in sustainable ways in the face of stressors and risk factors, and demonstrating signs of thriving (positive outcomes built around recognition, respect and accommodation of SGM persons) (Grace 2015). This process can be viewed as ecological, since growing into resilience means an individual can increase the ability and capacity to deal with biopsychosocial aspects of development, situational barriers, and climate and cultural contexts (Brill and Pepper 2008; Saewyc 2011; Tolman and McClelland 2011).

Two national public health reports, with contributions from iSMSS, have influenced our research, advocacy and programming in recent years. The first document, the Chief Public Health Officer's 2011 report, *Youth and Young Adults: Life in Transition*, indicates that SGM Canadians aged 12-to-29 years—a multivariate population across race, ethnocultural, class and other relational differences—compose a particularly vulnerable group who experience more comprehensive health problems—physical, mental, sexual, and social—than the majority of individuals in their age range. The report indicates that their sorry predicament is exacerbated by a lack of adequate and appropriate healthcare and educational policies, health and social services, protective measures, and educational and community programs that meet their needs. The report drew this overall conclusion: many researchers, policymakers and caring professionals in education, healthcare

and other domains are concerned about limited, and even declining, efforts to intervene in the lives of SGM youth, especially those living with adversity and trauma (CPHO 2011). This young population still struggles for recognition, access and accommodation as individuals navigate institutional barriers in their attempts to obtain educational, healthcare, legal and other government services, which they presently see as uneven and deficient in the face of the stressors and risks that inhibit quality living for them (CPHO 2011). With respect to schooling in Canada, SGM issues remain unevenly or under-addressed in educational policymaking, even though Canadian courts have declared that school officials have a duty and responsibility to develop and implement policies that protect SGM students by preventing (or, at least, intervening in) homophobic and transphobic bullying (Grace 2007, 2015; Grace and Wells 2016; Taylor et al. 2011). Of particular importance, the Chief Public Health Officer's 2011 report notes the failure of schools to provide sufficient and appropriate mental-health and sexual-health education to address the needs and concerns of SGM students. In listing barriers to comprehensive health education, the report includes inadequate allotted time or teaching materials, some degree of community resistance, and some teachers' inadequacy and discomfort in addressing mental-health and sexual-health topics. The report emphasizes that comprehensive health education programming is needed in order to address the complexity of SGM identities, behaviours, and attractions; and show the diversity of sexual orientations and gender identities, and their expressions. The report also indicates that young SGM clients have encountered problems accessing mental-health and sexual-health services. Notably, the report concludes that working to meet their needs in comprehensive health education can help minimize the stereotyping and stigmatization of SGM persons.

The second document, the Chief Public Health Officer's 2012 report *Influencing Health: The Importance of Sex and Gender* adds another key concern: with sex and gender traditionally expected to function within the parameters of heteronormative hegemony and the male/female binary, SGM youth have problems adjusting to boundaries and expectations associated with parenting, schooling and healthcare provision. Not adjusting can impact the quality of their lives, including their comprehensive health and their success in learning. Thus, the report accentuates the vital need to consider sex and gender in comprehensive health research, policymaking and programming. Indeed, the report states that sex and gender should also be considered in educational research, policymaking and everyday

practices. In sum, it is important to focus on how both sex and gender affect the development of SGM individuals, their learning experiences and outcomes, and the kinds of educational and healthcare initiatives that would meet their needs.

At iSMSS, we use research findings to inform social policymaking, especially in relation to education and healthcare; and to develop and implement inclusive, ethical and engaged educational and community programming that makes the world better *now* for SGM youth and young adults, and the allied peers and significant adults in their lives. We position this reflexive and democratic engagement as critically progressive education that emphasizes learner agency and social interaction as key elements of transformative learning (Grace 2012). As an engagement in critically progressive education, our work at iSMSS socializes higher education by focusing on individual and communal agency in an emancipatory context; and training and development for caring professionals, including pre-service and practicing teachers, community educators, healthcare providers and youth workers. Regarding the collective of caring professionals in education and healthcare, iSMSS recognizes the need to educate and connect caring professionals so they can work collaboratively to help SGM clientele. In its focus on healthcare, iSMSS helps health educators, healthcare workers and other caring professionals to address the lack of knowledge they have about SGM health issues; and the unequal health status of SGM youth and young adults associated with social factors (such as family, school and street violence) and medical factors (such as lack of youth knowledge of STIs, including HIV and clinician misunderstanding, bias, and even homophobia and transphobia) (CPHO 2011, 2012; Grace 2015). In reaching SGM youth and young adults, and the significant adult mentors and caregivers in their lives, iSMSS uses a holistic model to provide integrated supports and services. Everyone can benefit from learning about research outcomes, resilience factors and helpful behaviours that specifically support the overall health, happiness, hopefulness and well-being of SGM persons. Indeed, iSMSS research highlights the fact that, with mentors, resources and supports, SGM youth and young adults are better able to survive and thrive despite the daily stressors, risks and barriers they encounter in their everyday navigation of social spaces such as formal educational settings, families and communities. As iSMSS research demonstrates, SGM youth who set realistic goals and engage in problem solving with people who are supportive become self-reliant, happier and healthier—even in cases of family and societal rejection (Grace 2015).

We have used the iSMSS research program to inform an array of social programs. Our first outreach program was Camp fYrefly (<http://www.fyrefly.ualberta.ca>). This is our summer residential, community-based leadership camp for SGM youth, with the acronym standing for fostering, Youth, resilience, energy, fun, leadership, yeah! Camp fYrefly is the largest leadership camp of its kind in Canada, with sites in Alberta and Saskatchewan and plans to expand to Ontario. Its affiliation with a major research university ensures that the camp operates using research-informed programming and inclusive pedagogical principles to focus on the individual development, socialization and growth into resilience of SGM youth. Early on, our interactions with Camp fYrefly youth indicated the need for year-round programming. This led to the development and implementation of our Youth Intervention and Outreach Worker Program, which has morphed into the Family Resilience Project, and provides professional supports and services for vulnerable SGM youth and young adults, and the significant adults who care for, support and mentor them in family, community agency and other social contexts. The Family Resilience Project utilizes a holistic model to deliver supports to SGM individuals and the significant adults in their lives by providing social learning opportunities via workshops and group meetings, as well as networking coupled with offering integrated university, government and community supports and services. Currently, iSMSS also offers fYrefly in Schools, which is an educational outreach program focused on raising SGM awareness for all students in junior and senior high schools. Facilitated by experienced caring professionals, fYrefly in Schools workshops are activity-based and student-centered, using the peer-to-peer mentorship model that we have developed at iSMSS. The program focuses on providing students with a safe and caring learning environment free from discrimination based on personal characteristics including sexual orientation and gender identity. The fYrefly in Schools program is free and is delivered to schools on a request basis. Our most recent program is the community-based Comprehensive Health Education Workers' (CHEW) program. As with other iSMSS programming, CHEW is constructed as an on-the-ground intervention that can help SGM youth and young adults to build capacity (a solutions approach), moving away from deleterious strategies focused on stigmatizing or fixing these individuals as a source of social disorder (a problems approach) (Liebenberg and Ungar 2009; Marshall and Leadbeater 2008). It draws on iSMSS research on resilience, so the CHEW program can be another institute vehicle enabling SGM youth and young adults to build assets so they can deal with stressors and risk-taking impacting their comprehensive

health; grow into resilience; and show signs of thriving. Also in relation to schooling, iSMSS has developed and implemented a gay-straight alliance (GSA) network for SGM junior and senior high school students. The iSMSS also operates the Safe Spaces Initiative to assist SGM students negotiate learning and life at the University of Alberta (F: www.facebook.com/SafeSpaces; T: #UofASafeSpaces). For caring professionals who work with SGM individuals, iSMSS also provides school- and community-based educational outreach programming that includes workshops on SGM issues for pre-service and practicing teachers, healthcare providers, counsellors, youth workers, other caring professionals, community agencies, and government and institutional policymakers. Drawing on iSMSS's research-based model for guiding SGM youth and young adults to grow into resilience, iSMSS research informs the development, implementation and evaluation of our diverse programming intended to help SGM youth to develop strategies for enhancing safety and security in their everyday lives, as well as strategies for enhancing self-confidence and self-esteem, comprehensive health and healthy socialization, including a sense of belongingness and dependable attachments (Grace 2015).

SOCIALIZING HIGHER EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA: PUTTING iSMSS'S IMPRINT ON THE UNIVERSITY'S STRATEGIC RESEARCH PLAN

In the iSMSS research program that I have developed, I continue to study inclusive lifelong learning, with a core focus on sexual and gender minorities and our issues pertaining to recognition, access and accommodation. More specifically these days, I focus on researching how SGM youth and young adults grow into resilience within a process that situates caring professionals as a core asset in achieving this goal (Grace 2015). My research program, which aims to advance inclusive education for diverse SGM constituencies, has three main objectives:

- *Researching resilience*: to investigate how young SGM individuals grow into resilience where this growth is viewed as a dynamic process enabling them to (i) deal with stressors, risk-taking and setbacks in personal, social and institutional contexts (the risks component); and (ii) move forward to demonstrate positive outcomes and signs of thriving (the resilience component);

- *Researching policymaking and implementation*: to investigate developments and trends in education and healthcare with regard to policymaking and its implementation in caring practices, programs, strategies and interventions that highlight recognition, access and accommodation of SGM persons; and
- *Researching caring professionalism*: to investigate knowledge levels that caring professionals in education and healthcare have of policies and practices that affirm and accommodate the needs of SGM individuals, with the goal of using this study to inform the educational preparation and continuing development of caring professionals in these institutional contexts.

My research program is congruent with the principles and objectives of the University of Alberta's (2014) SRP. Here, this congruency is discussed in terms of the SRP's six core objectives; and the application of the core objectives to two selected SRP areas—*Society and Culture* and *Health and Wellness*. Linking the iSMSS research program to advocacy and service for SGM youth and young adults, and their allies and caregivers, is a timely and important way to socialize higher education at the University of Alberta.

*iSMSS's Research Program, Advocacy and Service and the Fit
with the SRP Core Objectives*

Build on Existing Research Strengths and Develop Emerging Research Strengths

My research program, linked to advocacy and service, exemplifies the theme area *transforming research in education*, which is acknowledged as the Faculty of Education's recognized research strength in the University of Alberta's SRP. In keeping with the educational imperative to be there for every student and the healthcare imperative to do no harm, my overarching research goal is to transform research by opening up possibilities for transdisciplinary research on the positionalities, needs and concerns of SGM youth and young adults, with the goals of improving social education and comprehensive health education for this population; and enhancing SGM-inclusive preparatory education and continuing development for educators and healthcare professionals. My research program helps to transform research in education by creating opportunities for innovative intellectual work that informs sustainable SGM educational and

community outreach activities. Research outcomes are brought to bear on deficiencies and absences in policymaking and in institutional and caring professional practices in order to advance SGM inclusivity and equity in keeping with Section 15 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, which provides protection on grounds of individual differences including sexual orientation and gender identity (Grace 2007, 2015). In terms of practical applications, not only can research outcomes be used to help SGM youth and young adults to grow into resilience so they can navigate life in educational settings, families, healthcare and other contexts, but also so they can guide the professional preparation and development of key stakeholders such as teachers, family physicians and guidance counsellors, equipping them to be better advocates and resources for this vulnerable young population. Using the iSMSS research program to socialize higher education in this way can help build teams of caring professionals with the different kinds of expertise needed to help SGM young people.

Partner in Innovative Ways

With its emphasis on transdisciplinary SGM research, my research program provides innovative ways to enhance sociality, sustaining and enhancing partnerships with:

- academic colleagues and graduate students in Faculties of Education in Alberta and beyond;
- academic colleagues and graduate students in healthcare, health education, the social sciences and the humanities within the University of Alberta and beyond;
- stakeholders in education and healthcare in institutional, professional and community contexts in Alberta, across Canada, and beyond; and
- government departments and agencies in provincial/territorial and federal contexts.

Building these partnerships, which enhances possibilities for SGM-inclusive policymaking and access and accommodation of SGM individuals in an array of institutional contexts, is consistent with emphases in the University's SRP on:

- knowledge mobilization through policy development;
- partnerships that lead to changes in social structures; and
- activities that enhance the wellbeing of society in non-economic terms.

Socializing higher education this way is beneficial to many interest groups.

Foster Transdisciplinary Interactions

In Canada, transdisciplinary research efforts focused on SGM youth and young adults have tended to be sporadic, disconnected and few in number (CPHO 2011). Part of the challenge has been limited opportunities for collaboration among academics from different disciplines and areas of study, and across different regions of our vast country. The iSMSS values opportunities for collaborative research. Currently, iSMSS researchers work with Dr. Elizabeth Saewyc, the CIHR/PHAC (Canadian Institutes of Health Research/Public Health Agency of Canada) Applied Public Health Chair in the School of Nursing, University of British Columbia, who is principal investigator on a five-year CIHR-funded research project that seeks to inform the development of effective public-health and school-health policies, prevention strategies, and targeted healthcare and educational interventions to address the needs of SGM youth and young adults. As part of an international research team, we are conducting participatory evaluation studies of SGM inclusion in schools and school districts. This kind of collaborative research is crucial to socialize higher education as an interconnected multi-university venture.

Promote Outstanding Areas of Special Emphasis While Maintaining the Flexibility to Respond to New Opportunities

My research history is characterized by critical and strategic adaptation to OECD moves in policymaking and concomitant changes in the culture of lifelong learning that have required careful responses to ensure an emphasis on inclusive social and cultural education in neoliberal times (Grace 2013). With equality rights being granted to sexual minorities in the Supreme Court of Canada decision in *Vriend v. Alberta* in 1998 (Grace 2015; Lahey 1999; MacDougall 2000), space has increasingly opened up—abetted by some increase in opportunities for research funded by research councils and government agencies—to conduct transdisciplinary research addressing the needs and concerns of sexual and gender minorities. Still, it remains challenging to link SGM research to advocacy and service for this multivariate population. In my experience, traditional researchers vetting grant applications in health and education tend to favour an instrumental link between research and evidence-based practice over a link between research and advocating for vulnerable

populations. They seem to forget that institutional and cultural politics require us to be strategic: we have to advocate for space for “at risk” constituencies as matters of recognition and accommodation before we can consider moves toward engaging in evidence-based practices with them. Consequently, when seeking funding a researcher focused on SGM studies and services has to be adept at infusing the clinical, the technical and the pragmatic into research that seeks to prioritize the social and the cultural. In predominantly instrumental climates in health and education, such strategizing is needed to have a chance at success in competing for research dollars.

SGM youth and young adults are the primary focus of iSMSS studies and services. We respond to institutional, professional and community requests for our leadership and expertise in providing research-informed policymaking and programming to accommodate this historically excluded and multivariate population. Taking iSMSS studies and services into the community is extending the parameters of socializing higher education to include socializing institutions, professions and communities.

Maximize the Benefits of Research Through Effective Knowledge Translation

iSMSS continues to build strong channels for knowledge exchange and distribution, sharing research findings and discussing knowledge applications with policymakers, practitioners, and other researchers. For a decade, iSMSS has hosted the *InsideOUT Speakers’ Series* at the University of Alberta, linking the University’s community of scholars with a cadre of national and international scholars, centres, institutes and programs that focus on sexual and gender issues in education, health, law and government, and the arts, humanities and social sciences. The iSMSS researchers use research outcomes in consultations on policy development and its implementation in best practices with such stakeholders as the Public Health Agency of Canada and the Canadian Teachers’ Federation. As well, I established the *Queer Studies in Education and Culture (QSEC)* Special Interest Group, which meets during the annual conference of the Canadian Society for the Study of Education. QSEC provides an intellectual space in which to discuss theoretical, political and methodological aspects of conducting SGM research; share research findings; and mentor junior colleagues and graduate students. This is socializing higher education in intersections with others who have vested interests in education and outreach for vulnerable populations.

Expand Graduate and Undergraduate Programs in Support of our Research Strengths

The iSMSS is able to advance a program of transdisciplinary graduate research focused on education and healthcare, including health education, building on wide dissemination of research in inclusive lifelong learning and SGM studies (see, for example, Grace 2013, 2015). The iSMSS attracts outstanding graduate students to the University of Alberta. In engaging graduate students in research at iSMSS, the goal is to help them use innovative research to advance policymaking and best practices in accommodating and advocating for sexual and gender minorities. To help achieve this goal, we work diligently to secure external research funding so we can offer incoming graduate students research assistantships; we mentor students so they can compete for and obtain external scholarships and awards; we participate on supervisory committees across the University; we integrate students into the iSMSS research program so they can present conference papers and publish journal articles; and we prepare strong, highly qualified graduates who can compete for prime positions in the post-secondary and government sectors. With iSMSS staff including academics, a counselling psychologist, and health and educational outreach coordinators, graduate students have access to expertise in building synchronicity in research, policy and practice endeavours. This places graduate students at the heart of an integrated approach to caring professionalism that socializes higher education.

iSMSS's Research Program, Advocacy and Service and the Fit with Specific SRP Areas

Since it is still the case in Canada that the enactment of SGM-inclusive policies and best practices often takes stakeholders in education, healthcare and other institutions into dangerous moral and political intersections, my research program, with its focus on institutional, professional and community accommodation of sexual and gender minorities, is intended to address a most urgent and challenging set of issues (Grace 2015). It signifies my commitment to responding to needs, gaps and absences with regard to SGM inclusion and accommodation. My research program neatly aligns with two key thematic areas in the University's SRP: *Society and Culture*, and *Health and Wellness*.

Within the Society and Culture theme, my research program fits with the emphasis on social innovation as holistic inclusion through transdisciplinary

studies, and social and political analyses of SGM access and accommodation. With foci on policymaking, the individual development and socialization of the multivariate SGM population of youth and young adults, and the asset-based, non-linear process of how SGM individuals grow into resilience, my research program:

- builds understanding of minority stressors and risk-taking;
- delineates research-informed strategies to help SGM youth develop individual and social skills and competencies;
- informs inclusive policymaking and its implementation in the education and healthcare arenas;
- enlightens SGM-inclusive curriculum and pedagogy;
- enriches professional learning in education and the health sciences;
- identifies communities of practice that connect caring professionals in education and healthcare; and
- highlights the value of inclusive lifelong learning in enabling positive life trajectories for SGM youth and young adults.

Within the Health and Wellness theme, my research program, which includes involvement in CIHR-funded transnational research on SGM youth and young adults, and their comprehensive health, incorporates strategic research and planned applications that align with the University of Alberta's adoption and development of an integrated approach to human health and wellness research. This includes consideration of all aspects of the determinants of human health, social and political environments, and individual characteristics and behaviours. My research program aligns with Health and Wellness thematic emphases on researching growth and development, population health and health services, especially in the areas of health trends and comprehensive health. Conducting a research program aligned with these themes is socializing higher education to benefit vulnerable populations in academe and in the larger world so that everyone can experience a good life.

EDUCATION RISING UP: A CONCLUDING PERSPECTIVE

Within a politics of reaction and fear, it is difficult for learners—especially those in vulnerable categories whose needs, concerns and interests are viewed as peripheral—to link learning to full and uncompromised citizenship and social prosperity that finds expression in quality living and work

(Grace 2014). All individuals, and especially vulnerable populations including sexual and gender minorities, can deal with these politics and benefit when they can engage in lifelong learning as critical action (Grace 2013). However, this is not easy to accomplish in institutions or communities. My own experience working in the university and the community provides a case in point. After years of engaging in SGM research and service work, I still have to convince various individuals and interest groups—especially in the university, government, and corporate sectors—that advocacy is important. While caring for vulnerable populations may not be a priority in neoliberal times focused on the economic and the entrepreneurial that usually benefit the “haves”, concern for others is needed to stabilize and sustain social democracies. On the service side, while government and other funders seem obsessed with having us tie accomplishments to performance indicators and statistical evidence, this focus on transaction has merit only to the degree that it informs and inspires transformation of social and cultural conditions. Ultimately, people should be more important than data. Apart from the stress of keeping up with the instrumental tracking demands of those who fund research and service projects, there is also the stress that comes from working with vulnerable populations. We can sometimes feel overwhelmed and helpless as we deal with the perennial stressors, risk-taking, adversity and trauma that mark their lives. Therefore, self-care and care for colleagues always have to be concerns. Caring professionals have to attend to personal comprehensive health and peer social health before they can focus on the comprehensive health of those they serve.

At iSMSS we believe in lifelong learning as critical action. We employ it to place research and advocacy in dynamic equilibrium as we conduct research, engage in policymaking, and develop and implement programming that protects and meets the needs of sexual and gender minorities. We consider such learning to be holistic and encompassing to the degree that it helps all learners to find recognition, access and accommodation so that they can address their intertwined instrumental, social and cultural learning needs. Here, we focus on helping learners build and nurture their resilience and leadership potential within an environment that fosters individual development and positive socialization. Our goal is to enable learners to be advocates and change agents in their own lives and in their communities. Such learning constitutes critically progressive education when it is soaked in concerns with democratic, just and ethical practices where learners are free to learn so they can make life better *now*

in individual and communal contexts (Grace 2012). Here, learning is pre-emptive and proactive, abetting social cohesion, cultural inclusion and economic justice (Grace 2013). Its goal is reflexivity that enables learners to be problem solvers and change agents who keep thinking and doing synchronous. This is education rising up so learners can grapple with the complexities of living, learning and working in the human quest to live full and satisfying lives (Grace 2013). Thus understood, education is the critically progressive foundation of participatory democracy that builds understanding across individual differences and locations in the world. This knowing helps quell ignorance and fear, sustaining humanity and challenging the contemporary tendency of the young to be nihilistic when help and hope elude them. It inspires our work at iSMSS as we situate learning as lifelong and lifewide, personal and communal, creative and desired. When the University supports our work and helps us to address matters pertaining to social inclusion, cohesion and justice, it grows as a democratic organization that socializes higher education. It is this *modus operandi* that enables critically progressive education to prosper.

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Higher Education Leadership and the Internationalization Imaginary: Where Personal Biography Meets the Socio-Historical

Marianne A. Larsen and Rashed Al-Haque

INTRODUCTION

Today, internationalization is at the forefront of most higher education institutions (HEIs) across Canada with four-fifths of all HEIs identifying internationalization as a top strategic priority (AUCC 2014). With globalization shaping the field of higher education, HEIs in Canada—and, arguably, around the world—are engaging with internationalization to foster “global connections and [build] global competencies among their students, faculty, and administrative units” (AUCC 2014, p. 3).

A burgeoning body of research literature on internationalization in higher education has emerged alongside the growing institutional and governmental interest in internationalization, which operates both to shape and to reflect the nature of internationalization in higher education. One topic, however, seems to have been neglected in the research

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literature and that is the views of higher education leaders about their personal commitments to internationalization at their own institutions. This is peculiar, given that the research literature is clear on the point that one of the most important catalysts in driving internationalization at the institutional level is the executive head of the university/college (AUCC 2014; Heyl and Tullbane 2012; Kinser and Green 2009; Smithee 2012; Sullivan 2011; Turner and Robson 2008).

Specifically, our study set out to understand how HEI leaders perceive the relationship between their international background, and their commitment to and vision of internationalization at their institutions. In this chapter, we first present an overview of the existing literature on higher education leadership and internationalization. Then, we present the qualitative methodology of our grounded theory study, which involved surveying and interviewing ten individuals in higher education leadership positions on the topic of internationalization. We provide an overview of our findings and, in the final section, we analyze these findings. In light of the themes of this book, we review the commitments of some of our participants to the transformative potential of the socio-cultural dimensions of internationalization. We point to tensions facing such leaders in reconciling their ideal, educational visions of internationalization with the economic exigencies facing HEIs in a global era that focuses on competition and commodification. In doing so, we demonstrate the importance of attending to the inter-relationships between broader socio-historical drivers of internationalization and the personal biographies of those charged with advancing internationalization agendas in their HEIs. Our findings lead us to develop a new category to understand the complex individual, local, national and global dimensions of internationalization processes that we term the *internationalization imaginary*.

Literature Review: Higher Education Leadership and Internationalization

The existing literature clearly shows that higher education leaders are one of the most important catalysts in moving forward internationalization agendas at the institutional level (AUCC 2014; Heyl and Tullbane 2012; Kinser and Green 2009; Smithee 2012; Sullivan 2011; Turner and Robson 2008). As with the broader higher education literature, there is

much focus on the skills and competencies of an effective higher education leader in advancing internationalization agendas. To begin with, not seeing internationalization as relevant in our current world is viewed as the biggest obstacle to the internationalization of higher education. In other words, leaders who think globally and communicate a global vision to university community are often the most successful at internationalizing their colleges and universities (Sullivan 2011).

Because internationalization is a complex change process, leaders need to be flexible and creative in forging strong global partnerships (Rizvi 2014). Research demonstrates the need for higher education leaders to develop cross-cultural and inter-cultural skills, and self-knowledge about their competencies, in order to work with people from a variety of backgrounds (Heyl and Tullbane 2012). In particular, this entails working with a broad array of players in the HEI, including academic deans, key department chairs and faculty, as well as leaders of campus support/service units from admissions to the registrar. In this respect, successful internationalization needs to be viewed as a “team responsibility” (Simon 2014), or a set of “collective actions” (Bogotch and Maslin-Ostrowski 2010). To this end, higher education leaders need to be patient and persistent with the internationalization process, as it can take time and negotiation skills fully to integrate an international and intercultural perspective within the university (Kinser and Green 2009). Overall, the research literature tells us that the most successful HEIs with internationalization have leaders who think globally, fully support internationalization and actively work with others to promote internationalizing initiatives at their institution and abroad. However, the existing literature does not tell us about how HEI leaders perceive their role with respect to internationalization and how their vision for internationalization may be shaped by their international background.

METHODOLOGY

Our study draws on grounded theory method to contribute to existing theories about leadership in higher education internationalization in ways that are embedded in the data of this study. According to Kathy Charmaz (2005), “grounded theory methods are a set of flexible analytic guidelines that enable researchers to focus their data collection and to build inductive middle-range theories through successive levels of data analysis and conceptual

development” (p. 507). In this respect, we aim to use grounded theory method to generate a middle-range theory, which we term the “internationalization imaginary”. Middle-range theory is contrasted with grand theories in the social sciences, given that it is generally concerned with less abstract and more specific phenomenon, and is more grounded in the systemic analysis of empirical data (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Sociologist Robert Merton (2007) asserted that middle-range theories “lie between the minor but necessary working hypotheses that evolve in abundance in day to day research and the all-inclusive systematic efforts to develop unified theory that will explain all the observed uniformities of social behaviour, organization and social change” (p. 448).

Specifically, our study was a qualitative interpretive study and in this respect was interested in the perceptions of our participants (Cohen et al. 2011). The study involved two simultaneous phases; the first involved using the university websites to collect data on internationalization policies and practices at post-secondary institutions across Canada. We analyzed this documentary data to determine the extent to which Canadian universities and community colleges demonstrated a commitment to internationalization. In particular, we drew on Graham Elkin, Faiyaz Devjee and John Farnsworth’s (Elkin et al. 2005) model for measuring the internationalization of universities to determine the extent to which the institution was internationalizing and the primary activities/strategies associated with internationalization at each institution. This strategy enabled us to determine that there were 21 HEIs that had demonstrated a commitment to internationalization.¹

The next phase of our study involved contacting leaders of those 21 institutions, including the president or principal (in the case of affiliate university colleges). A letter of information explaining the aims of the study and consent form was emailed to each of the institutions. Participants were asked to respond to four questions, either through an online survey, by phone, or in a Skype interview. These questions were:

1. What is your international background? (e.g. lived/studied/travelled abroad)
2. Why did you become interested in internationalization at your university?
3. What is your vision for internationalization at your university?
4. What is the relationship between your international background and your commitment to internationalization at your university?

Finally, our third data source included publicly accessible, online information about Canadian HEI leaders to supplement the data that we collected through the surveys and phone interviews.

Limitations of the Study

We recognize that there are a number of limitations to our study. It is not a correlational analysis that makes rigid claims about a leader's background and their commitment to internationalization. As a qualitative study, we are concerned with our participants' perceptions about the relationship between their international background, and commitment to and vision for internationalization at their institution. Moreover, some may question whether or not we can generalize, given the small sample of our participants. We argue that since our aim is to gain in-depth knowledge about a very specific aspect of internationalization in Canada, we are more interested in how our empirical data can contribute to the development of middle-range theory about higher education leadership and internationalization in the Canadian context. We found that the most rich and detailed information was drawn from our interview data (and not the survey data) and would, in the future, recommend that researchers carrying out a similar study collect data through interviews. Finally, we are aware of the Hawthorne Effect whereby research participants change their behaviour when they know they are being studied. This is particularly relevant when conducting research with elites who have a public image to maintain. We recognize that our participants may have used the opportunity to participate in our study to present themselves in a positive light by distancing themselves from the economic rationales associated with internationalization, and advancing a more ethical and educational vision.

Participants

Participant inclusion criteria consisted of being in a leadership position at a Canadian university or community college that had demonstrated a commitment to internationalization. Out of the 21 HEI leaders we invited to participate in our study, we collected data from 10 individuals in higher education leadership positions. This included 4 university presidents, 2 community college presidents, 2 university principals and, in 2 cases (where the president was not available), Senior International Officers (SIO), a term used to refer to the institution's lead international

administrator. Out of our 10 participants, 2 were female and 8 were male; 7 respondents completed the survey and 3 provided their responses through phone interviews, which lasted between 10 and 25 minutes, and were transcribed by hand. All participants who were interviewed received a copy of their interview transcripts to review before analysis took place. We have used pseudonyms for each of the participants (and their institutions), although participants were informed that, given the nature of the study, we could not guarantee anonymity. See Table 22.1 for an overview of the 10 participants.

Table 22.1 Participants, institutional affiliation and position

<i>Name of leader</i>	<i>Name of Institution</i>	<i>Position/Title</i>
Adam Peterson	Chase University	President
Anand Choudhary	Winterfell University	President
Amy Bennett	Cooper College	President
Claire Joyce	Alamo College	President
David Whitaker	Stark University	Principal
Deepak Jeevan	University of Morgan Rivers	SIO
Donald Seymore	Knights University College	Principal
Gregory Patton	Meereen University	SIO
Matthew Brown	Charles Watson University	President
Philip Donavan	Van Den Berg University	President

DATA ANALYSIS

By drawing on a variety of data gathering sources and methods, we utilized the “multi-method triangulation approach” (Patton 2012). Multi-method triangulation occurred through the analysis and cross-verification of the different data sources: online data about internationalization policies and practices at each institution, survey and interview data from our 10 participants, and further online data about Canadian HEI leaders and internationalization. Triangulation was deployed to cross-check data from “multiple sources to search for regularities in the research data” (O’Donoghue and Punch 2003, p. 78), thereby enhancing the concurrent validity of the study (Cohen et al. 2011). We utilized a constant comparative method of analysis (Glaser and Strauss 1967) to identify categories and themes generated by the documents, survey and interview data in order to provide more robust meaning to the relationship and role of higher education leadership and internationalization.

Findings

In this section, we present the findings from our study. We were interested in the reasons why participants claimed to be interested in internationalization at their institutions. Two themes were evident in their responses: their international background and the value/benefits of internationalization. Each of these themes is reviewed here and, then, we review our participants' visions for internationalization.

Participants' International Backgrounds

The data shows that all of the respondents have an international background. Six were born outside of Canada. All had travelled abroad to a variety of countries representing every major region in the world. While some of this travel was for personal reasons, most involved international travel for conferences, research and editorial collaboration. Indeed, it appeared that international collaborations played a significant role in the academic work these leaders had been involved in.

Half of the respondents spoke a language other than English, and just over half (6) had studied abroad (including coming to Canada as international students). Half of the participants had international teaching experiences including teaching international students, teaching in an international school and travelling abroad with students. One SIO had experience of consultancy work in approximately 20 countries and, similarly, the President of Cooper College said that her experience working on a project with the Panamanian government stimulated her interest in internationalization. Overall, our participants defined themselves as "international" and, as David Whitaker of Stark University put it, "see most things through an international lens".

Given that all of our participants had international backgrounds, it is unsurprising that they directly linked their interest in internationalization to their personal backgrounds. The vast majority noted that it was their international background that stimulated their interest in internationalization. For example, Deepak Jeevan, (University of Morgan Rivers) saw a direct relationship between his international background, success through international collaborations, and his involvement and leadership in internationalization at his institution.

Similarly, Gregory Patton (Meeren University) noted that his interest stemmed from his 35-year career in the fields of global and international education. In his interview, he reflected on the relationship between his international education background and internationalization work:

Well I guess it's critical. Everything that I've done throughout my career has been focused, to some degree on internationalization of education broadly, from K-12 through to higher education. So my interest in that has stemmed from my interest in global issues from ... when I started teaching at a high school. And so it's just extended and grown from that point. So everything that I do now has built upon that initial interest and that's become more developed and more enhanced as my career has progressed.

Both Jeevan and Patton are SIOs at their institutions, a position requiring not only a clear commitment to internationalization, but also an understanding of its many dimensions.

A number of the university presidents also spoke about the relationship between their international backgrounds and commitment to internationalization. Adam Peterson, President of Chase University, spoke about a defining formative experience participating in a summer program that brought together 11-year-old children from around the world. His explanation about how this early experience influenced his later commitment to internationalization is worth quoting at length:

[It] also quickly made me aware of the differences and what is interesting about the differences of people who come from different cultural backgrounds. So that was a very formative experience for me as a human being and it no doubt had a big impact on expanding my sense of my universe, from being a Canadian or even a West Coast Canadian to being a citizen of the world. And I suspect that that has had a big impact on my openness to and enthusiasm for bringing international initiatives and perspectives being brought into the university and indeed encouraging students and others to look outside University as part of their education and research missions. The whole purpose of the village was to try to encourage kids who would hopefully fulfill leadership positions, to think or internationally, and to be more open to global perspective and foster global understandings. And I think in my own case, it clearly worked.

Similarly, Anand Choudhary, President of Winterfell University, noted the direct relationship between his international background and commitment to internationalization. South Asian-born Choudhary moved to Canada to study engineering after studying in North Africa. On his survey he wrote, "I am a product of my own life and educational experiences. My thoughts have been shaped by the international experience that I have had. Thus my belief in and commitment to internationalization have been

influenced by my own experience”. As Philip Donovan explained in his interview with us, it was Choudhary’s commitment to internationalization that helped to secure his appointment as Winterfell’s president. Indeed, we can say that all of our respondents perceived that there was a relationship between their international backgrounds and their commitment to internationalization.

Benefits/Value of Internationalization

Respondents also spoke about the specific benefits of internationalization. All of the respondents believed there was great value in internationalization or, as Peterson put it, “huge benefits”. A small minority (3) saw the value of internationalization in terms of revenue generation. Specifically, the 2 community college presidents were the only respondents who spoke openly about the economic reasons for their interest in internationalization. They noted the need for revenue generation through increased enrolment of international students. One university president (Brown) also claimed that internationalization was a means to increase revenues, but cautioned this was marginal to understanding his commitment to internationalization. This pragmatic approach to internationalization also aligned with 2 other respondents who noted the importance of global rankings for their university and need for brand recognition through internationalization. For instance, Whitaker, President of Stark University, sought to enhance the university’s international “brand recognition” through various internationalization initiatives.

However, above all, respondents spoke about the socio-cultural and educational benefits of internationalization for faculty, students and international partners. The vast majority (8) indicated that they valued internationalization for the many benefits that came with increasing numbers of international students on Canadian campuses, as well as enhancing international opportunities/experiences for domestic students and faculty. They spoke about the value of providing opportunities for faculty and students to travel abroad for studying, conferences, research partnerships, and so on. Choudhary reiterated Winterfell’s official commitment to ensure that all students have a significant international learning experience. A few respondents also spoke/wrote about the value of internationalizing the curriculum so that faculty could “bring the world to their classroom”. Indeed, most of the respondents noted that internationalization initiatives provided inter-cultural learning opportunities for members of their institutions

and the benefits of such “cross-cultural pollination”, which, according to Donavan, “forces one to question one’s own cultural assumptions and to interrogate them in ways but hopefully persuade one to consider how they can be improved”.

Finally, the majority (6) of participants also noted the value of international research collaboration/partnerships. For example, Donald Seymore, Principal of Knight’s University College, claimed that mutually beneficial partnerships enabled the expansion of opportunities for student and faculty learning. Similarly, Jeevan explained the benefits of international research collaboration, which motivated his commitment to internationalization:

I see a great value in internationalization through research collaborations, exchange of students and faculty members, attraction and retention of international students ... I believe in fostering mutually beneficial and trusting partnerships with all partners including international partners, supporting international students for academic success while they on our campus, supporting our students when travelling to international locations for experiential learning, and supporting our faculty members in developing partnerships. These beliefs got me involved in internationalization.

It is interesting to note Jeevan’s emphasis on supporting “mutually beneficial” and trusting partnerships involved in international research collaboration. This contrasts with the view of University of Toronto President Meric Gertler (2013), who explained in his inauguration speech how becoming international would benefit his university. To emphasize his focus on the benefits of internationalization for his own university, we have italicized certain words in the quotation below:

We as a university must think ever more strategically about how to leverage and strengthen *our* international partnerships and reach. ... Indeed, *we* can use our global networks to enrich and deepen *our relationships* locally. *We* are fortunate to have international partner institutions in every major region of the world. ... At a time when *we* are keen to expand *our role* as a city-building institution at home, it makes particularly good sense for *us* to leverage *our partnerships* with other great universities in other great world cities. Many of these institutions are engaging in their own city-building efforts, and can offer *us* entrée to their local projects, practices and partnerships. Not only does this provide access to fantastic research opportunities for *our* faculty and students, and encourage *our students* to become

global citizens, but it also allows *us* to bring this experience and expertise to Toronto. Building on this logic, it makes sense for *us* to focus *our resources* on these institutional partnerships, allowing *us* to deepen and develop these relationships to foster not just student mobility and faculty exchanges, but also joint research projects, joint conferences, joint teaching and, yes, perhaps even joint degrees.

Internationalization Visions

Over half our respondents embraced comprehensive visions for internationalization at their institutions. They expressed a desire to create campuses that were “truly global” or “truly an international centre”. As Patton explained, “[i]n general the vision is to get to a point where internationalization is no longer a term that is used because it becomes what post-secondary education is all about: broadening one’s understanding of the world that we live in”. Others spoke about the need for the university to reorient itself outwards to the world. Central to this goal was the construction of global citizens knowledgeable about the world around them and skilled in cross-cultural understanding. As Peterson noted, “students graduate and increasingly their knowledge should encompass global understanding, in order for them to be active and fulfilled citizens”. His vision of internationalization was to “foster a culture that is much more interesting and diverse, help to, within the university, promote understanding of people from different backgrounds”.

Peterson and a number of other respondents spoke about the responsibilities of the university community as global citizens to address both local and global issues of concern. For example, Choudhary said we need a better understanding of the complex problems facing our planet and participation in the political process: “We need creative solutions, which is easier said than done. This needs multi-dimensional thinking. And our education system, in my view, is challenged in educating our future citizens who are able to think that way” (Mayne 2009, p. 2).

Donovan also embraced a broad, transformative model of internationalization. In his interview with us, Donovan spoke positively about recent AUCC initiatives on the ethics of internationalization, and his involvement with the Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE) on developing an “academically defensible and ethically sound approach” to internationalization. Donovan saw his role on the CBIE board in terms of “cultivating international connections in a very, ethically sound way”. His

commitment to an ethical and transformational vision of internationalization is captured in his words here:

I feel very powerfully the human and social implications of education and the potential that education has for the improvement of people's minds and the situation everywhere in the world. So I see education as the most admirable activity that one can be engaged in, in terms of international development and whatever contribution one wants to make to the future of the planet.

DISCUSSION/ANALYSIS

We clearly see from our data how HEI leaders perceive the relationship between their international backgrounds, educational experiences, key formative moments in their lives and their commitment to internationalization. This demonstrates the ways in which leadership emerges from personal values and a sense of what is important to the individual (Lowney 2010). Indeed, personal examples and experiences give a leader more credibility in front of others and reinforce leaders as more than just using rhetoric to advance their agendas; in this respect, they can be viewed as strategic. Using life stories to inspire others and contextualize the institutions' visions to support processes of change is one way leaders can lead their institutions (George et al. 2007). For example, in accepting an honorary degree from Western University, the president of a Western Canadian university made reference to the "profound influence" her great-grand aunt in Sri Lanka had on her during her childhood (Samarasekera 2013). And Choudhary has on numerous occasions referred to his experiences as an international student, which have informed his commitment to internationalization.

We can think of these examples (and others in our study) as reflecting an HEI leader's 'investment' in internationalization. This idea of *investment* derives from the work of Bonnie Norton and Kathleen Toohey (2011), who argued that investment in language learning is closely linked with investment in the learners' social/cultural identities, both of which transform over time and space. Thus, we can posit that HEI leaders whose social/cultural identities are shaped by their international experiences are more *invested* in internationalization. This personal investment allows them both to promote and to capitalize on current trends to internationalize HEIs, which subsequently results in further identity transformation over time.

If we examine our data more closely, we find that a small minority of our participants privileged an instrumental view of internationalization, while

the majority championed a broader, more idealistic and ethical approach towards internationalization. To interrogate these findings, we turn to the work of Joseph Stier. According to Stier (2004), internationalization is “entangled with commercial, pragmatic and ideological motives” (p. 86). He referred to these as three ideologies: *instrumentalism*, *educationalism*, and *idealism*. According to the instrumental ideology, higher education is a means to maximize profits, ensure economic growth and sustainable growth, or transmit the desired ideologies of transnational actors. Steir argued that this approach tends to be advanced by administrators. Internationalization from the educationalist perspective focused on producing the conditions for engaging with difference, which may contribute to personal growth and actualization. This ideology holds to the intrinsic value of learning. Finally, the idealist ideology posits that: “through international cooperation, higher education can contribute to the creation of a more democratic, fair and equal world” (Stier 2004, p. 88).

A minority of our participants viewed internationalization as a means to generate revenue via higher international student recruitment, and seek to promote greater domestic student mobility in order to enhance their global competencies. For example, both presidents of community colleges noted that international student recruitment was for “revenue generation”, given declining domestic enrolment. Others emphasized the importance of effectively implementing institutional internationalization strategies and meeting internationalization targets. David Whitaker explained that his interest in internationalization at Stark University was, to some degree, influenced by the desire to improve the university’s “brand recognition overseas”.

Others articulated an educational approach to internationalization, emphasizing the inter-cultural learning opportunities provided for faculty and students. Phrases such as “create global awareness and cross-cultural understanding” (Patton) and “promote understanding of people from different backgrounds” (Peterson) are examples of this approach. And, finally, some of our participants embraced an idealist approach to internationalization. They considered internationalization as a means to develop “meaningful, respectful, and mutually-beneficial partnerships” (Seymore) and “advance the cause of equity and prosperity everywhere” (Donavan). As such, internationalization becomes a way to “look at issues from different cultural and linguistic points of view”; it “promotes a greater sense of what citizenship is about”, and of “one’s responsibilities to others” (Peterson). Our findings contradict Stier’s (2004) assertion that administrators do not align themselves with the idealist or educationalist ideologies

of internationalization. This may be the case because our participants do not want to be viewed as publicly aligning themselves with the narrower, more instrumental rationales for internationalization but, rather, prefer to be seen as embracing a more idealistic approach.

Finally, some leaders seem to straddle between the ideologies and offer a vision that is instrumental, educational and ideal. Choudhary is one such example. Drawing from his own life as inspiration, Choudhary's vision for internationalization mirrors his own life experiences as an international student, having been educated in four different countries, presented at various international conferences and having held visiting professorship positions outside Canada. Irrefutably, Choudhary's experiences have clearly shaped his commitment to and vision for internationalization at his institution. Three of his quotations reflect the tensions and contradictions inherent in the processes associated with internationalization. First, in an interview with Choudhary entitled "Are we educating global citizens", he claimed that the role of the academy is to teach, and that means accepting "the noble cause of educating our future citizens". Second, in an article he authored on the "Importance of Internationalization", he claimed that: "international and domestic students benefit from the enriched educational experience of being exposed to a broader diversity of global perspectives and cultures" (Choudhary 2013). And, finally, his response to our survey question, "What is your vision for internationalization at your university?" comprised a simple sentence: "all Winterfell graduates will have a significant international learning experience", which directly echoes the vision set out in the university's official, target-setting internationalization strategy.

These three quotations suggest that some HEI leaders may embrace multiple understandings and rationales for supporting internationalization. Without knowing exactly what Choudhary considers the "benefits" (in the second quotation) of internationalization, we can posit that his claims about the importance of internationalization could reflect an instrumental approach (benefit by enhancing future job prospects abroad through building social capital), an educational approach (benefit by developing inter-cultural competencies and other aspects of individual learning), or an idealist approach (benefit by developing greater mutual understanding, respect, tolerance and a commitment to social change).

As such, it is evident that a leader's vision can be broad, global and idealistic in its outlook, can be instrumental and focused on the pragmatics of internationalization implementation, and can be somewhere in the middle where the perspectives merge. Choudhary's vision for internationalization is

informed by his personal experiences, official university internationalization policy, and the pragmatics of leading an HEI in Canada in the twenty-first century. In such a way, he illustrates the overlapping and interconnected nature of the three ideologies of internationalization, and the need to consider both personal biography and broader political and socio-economic changes that influence the work that goes on in universities today.

Overall, there is much more emphasis in the research literature on the economic/commercial and political rationales of universities to internationalize. As Stier (2004) argued, the instrumental ideology shapes how the other ideologies take form. As noted above, only a handful of respondents spoke openly about the economic reasons for their interest in internationalization. Above all, the majority of our respondents spoke passionately about socio-cultural, ethical and educational motivations underpinning their commitments to internationalization. They referred to their desires for internationalization to construct global citizens, knowledgeable about the world around them, able to engage with difference and able to use their knowledge and skills to address global problems.

How, then, can we make sense of the tensions between more instrumental approaches to internationalization and broader ideal and educational visions expressed by our participants? We turn to the work of sociologist C. Wright Mills (1959) to analyze our findings. We take from Mills' seminal work, the idea of the *sociological imagination* that enables us to "grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society" and so "understand the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals" (p. 5). It is this relationship between personal experience and wider socio-historical trends and forces in society that we see through our study. We argue that, to understand the rationales and motivations behind internationalization in HEIs, we need to attend to the broader historical, economic and political forces and factors that underpin this phenomenon, as well as the personal biographies of those charged with leading their HEIs.

Drawing on the empirical data in our study, we call this the *internationalization imaginary* and contend that it is constituted and shaped by individual, local, national and global influences. This internationalization imaginary contributes to HEI leaders' investments in internationalization, and gives certain practices (including claims about internationalization) legitimacy. The idea of an internationalization imaginary relates to the notion of the *social imaginary*. Drawing on the work of Charles Taylor, a Canadian philosopher, Robert Lingard and Fazal Rizvi (2010) explained

how the social imaginary involves a complex, incomplete, unstructured and contingent combination of the empirical and the affective. It is constituted by implicit common understandings that make everyday practices possible and legitimate. The social imaginary is an enabling concept that helps us understand the ways that people act to make sense of the world around them. Through this collective sense of imagination, according to Taylor, “a society is created, given coherence and identity, but also subjected to social change, both mundane and radical” (Lingard and Rizvi 2010, p. 9).

In *Globalizing Education Policy*, Lingard and Rizvi (2010) argued against the historical inevitability of the neoliberal social imaginary driving globalization, and challenge readers to consider a new global imaginary. They explained that attempts to understand policy in the age of globalization cannot overlook how our social imaginary is reshaped by both local and global processes. This connects to our conception of the internationalization imaginary, which is constituted and reshaped not only global processes, but also by national and local processes right down to the level of individual biography.

The point here is the need to consider the relationship between broader socio-historical, economic and political factors underpinning internationalization processes today and the individual HEI leaders’ personal investments in internationalization informed by their international backgrounds. Canadian HEIs exist within a complex of local, provincial, national and international forces and factors that heavily influence how their institutions engage with internationalization. For example, Canada’s recent *International Education Strategy* clearly emphasizes that international education should be connected to job creation, economic growth and Canada’s future prosperity (Government of Canada 2014). Hence, there is tremendous pressure on HEIs to consider the revenue generation potential of private research partnerships and increasing the numbers of full-fee paying international students, as well as their role in preparing students for work in the global marketplace. These pressures are particularly salient, given declining provincial government funding of higher education (OCUFA 2015) and corresponding declining federal support for basic research in HEIs (CAUT 2013).

In his interview with us, Donovan spoke to the complexities of negotiating the tensions between these challenges and his vision of the transformative potential of internationalization for his university. He referred to the report of the Advisory Panel on Canada’s International Education strategy, submitted to the federal government in 2012 (Minister of

International Trade, http://www.international.gc.ca/education/assets/pdfs/ies_report_rapport_sei-eng.pdf (2012) which, according to Donovan, demonstrates a view of internationalization through “an exclusively economic lens”. This perspective of internationalization has been embraced by the Canadian federal government, which has identified international education as being “at the very heart of [Canada’s] current and future prosperity” (Government of Canada 2014).

Various participants were aware about the economic dimensions associated with internationalization and how these may shape not so much their views and visions about internationalization, but the actual work that is done in their institutions to carry out internationalization policies. The pressures associated with government cutbacks to higher education and the need to compete in global rankings rub up against more idealistic visions of internationalization.

Moreover, the sense that internationalization is inevitable is driven by these kinds of pressures. Some of our respondents considered their commitment to internationalization in light of it being an inevitable, global phenomenon. A number noted that globalization is a feature of today’s world, and therefore HEIs have no choice but to internationalize. Choudhary, in an interview for *Winterfell News*, explained the need to educate students to become global citizens stemming from the fact that “[t]he planet has truly become a global village in every sense of the world. It is complex, diverse, and beautiful, but it is also in distress, with population growth, environmental degradation and political conflict” (Mayne 2009, p. 2).

Given the inevitability of internationalization, some of the HEI leaders felt they had no choice but to be interested in internationalization. As Peterson explained, “you can’t really be a university president, probably anywhere in Canada ... without being interested in internationalization”. Likewise, Matthew Brown, President of Charles Watson University, concluded that: “the forces driving us towards increased global awareness, engagement, and competency are powerful”. So, there was a clear recognition amongst the participants of the influence of broader forces and factors driving internationalization, and the need to be committed to and to promote an internationalization agenda publicly.

These findings speak to the fact that higher education leaders’ visions for internationalization exist within a complex assemblage of other practices, policies and processes that are not easily reconciled with their own more idealistic and educational ideologies. This assemblage constitutes

what we call the internationalization imaginary, which operates in ways to shape and be shaped by personal, local, national and global influences. Moreover, our findings illustrate the challenges that particular HEI leaders may face in reconciling broader socially just visions of internationalization with the pressures confronting higher education arising from the neoliberal drive towards privatization, competition and commodification.

CONCLUSION

We set out in our study to investigate how HEI leaders perceive the relationship between their personal biographies and their commitments and visions for internationalization at their respective institutions. We found that they believe there is a relationship between their own international backgrounds and their commitments to internationalization. We argue that the research literature on higher education internationalization—especially that which focuses on the motivations, rationales and/or drivers of this phenomenon—needs to attend to the personal biographies of those charged with leading their institutions, as well as the broader socio-historical, economic and political forces and factors driving internationalization in our global age. Having an international background is no guarantee that an HEI leader will be committed to internationalization. However, HEI leaders who value internationalization often draw on their own personal—and, at times, international—experiences, in order to demonstrate their investment in internationalization. Whether it was an opportunity to study abroad as an international student or engaging with internationalization locally by interacting with people from diverse backgrounds, leaders in our study see a clear link between their international background(s), experiences and their commitment to internationalization.

While our participants tended to either privilege the broader educational and idealist view or the instrumental values of internationalization, all believed in the potential benefits internationalization can bring to their institutions. Some even embraced all three rationales that underpin internationalization. This approach points to some of the complexities and tensions associated with enacting leadership in higher education internationalization. Our analysis reveals that leadership in higher education internationalization is a contentious process that incorporates not only the leader's vision, but also their education background, lived experiences, official university policy/strategy and, arguably, local, national, and global

forces. Echoing the words of Peterson, “there is no way to be president ... and not be interested in internationalization. We are so immersed in international relationships of one kind or another.” Quotations such as this and others we have presented in this chapter are indicative of the “internationalization imaginary”, a theoretical concept constituted and reshaped by not only by global processes, but also by national and local processes right down to the level of the individual and their personal story.

As researchers, we appreciate the messiness and complexities associated with understanding leadership in higher education internationalization, and thus critique much of the existing literature, reviewed above, that frames effective leadership as an ordered checklist of skills and competencies.

As such, our study opens the doors for future, more elaborate studies in the areas of higher education leadership and internationalization. Using this study as a springboard, we encourage other researchers to examine leadership in new and critical ways that challenge the ordered narratives around what an “effective” or “good” leader ought to be. We challenge other researchers to explore ways in which leaders at HEIs are invested in internationalization policies at their universities, to examine leadership through a values lens that privileges personal backgrounds over a checklist of individual skills and capabilities, and uncover the tensions embedded within the leadership practices involved in steering higher education internationalization. Moreover, the ways in which higher education leaders’ personal biographies intersect and, sometimes, clash with broader socio-historical and economic-political drivers in the production of internationalization agendas also demands further study. Only then will we be able fully to appreciate the complexities and contradictions that inform what it means to lead a higher education institution in an age of globalization and internationalization.

NOTE

1. Elkin et al.’s (2005) model for measuring internationalization includes the following dimensions: commitment to and prevalence of international students (undergraduate and postgraduate); support for international students; student and staff exchange programs; staff interactions in international context; internationally focused programs of study; attendance at international conferences; international research collaboration; internationally recognized research activity; overseas curriculum and overseas trained staff.

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The ACDE Accords: A Case Study in Democratic Leadership

Kris Magnusson, Blye Frank, and Katy Ellsworth

INTRODUCTION

The Association of Canadian Deans of Education (ACDE) is a network of deans, directors and chairs of faculties, colleges, schools and departments of education located across Canada. Since 2004, ACDE members have worked to develop a positive collective voice focusing on issues of importance in Canadian education. ACDE's goals include advocating for positive change in public education in Canada, seeking greater support for and awareness of research in education, and promoting knowledge access for educators and the public. These and other goals are embedded in the ACDE's commitment to developing "national, public discourse on the importance of public education in developing and sustaining a civil society" (ACDE 2006a, p. 1).

There are presently 62 member institutions within the ACDE network, representing every province in Canada. Member institutions are diverse,

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including large, complex universities and smaller programs embedded within multi-focused departments at smaller universities. Some of the leaders hold the title of “dean” while others are program or department chairs. The common thread among ACDE members is teacher education. Each faculty, college, school or department of education within ACDE offers a teacher education program leading to provincial certification. The majority of ACDE member institutions also offer continuing professional education and diploma programs, as well as master’s degrees. An increasing number of ACDE members offer doctoral programs, including PhD and EdD degrees. Areas of specialization include Indigenous education, adult and higher education, assessment and evaluation, curriculum studies, counselling and foundations of education, among many others (AUCC 2014).

From the outset, the members of ACDE recognized the need to model principles of democracy and equitable opportunity for participation. In order to accomplish this, ACDE offers open access to participation: membership is open to any Canadian institution with a program leading to the certification of teachers, regardless of the size of the program. Second, there is the opportunity for equality of participation and voice: representatives from each institution have full participation and an equal vote in all ACDE matters. Third, the business of ACDE is transparent: meetings are held publicly, with minutes taken and ratified at subsequent meetings. Finally, steps are taken to ensure accountability: members report back to their institutions on ACDE business, and are required to report local actions to the broader organization. These principles are evident in both the structure of the organization and its publications.

ACDE’s executive structure and operating guidelines provide a good example of democratic principles in action. Within the diverse range of member institutions, each member has equal rights to both voice and vote. Respect for “institutional autonomy and unique characteristics of each member institution” is embedded in ACDE’s *Constitution* (ACDE 2004, p. 3). The bylaws specify that ACDE executive must include representation from each region in Canada, from large and small institutions, with due consideration given to diversity. ACDE meetings demonstrate respectful dialogue, supportive listening and a conscious commitment to building consensus. ACDE’s overarching mission—which drives all of its activities—is to advance public education as a public good in Canada.

THE ACDE ACCORDS

Canada's system of provincial jurisdiction over education are unique. In most countries, primary, secondary and tertiary education is regulated through national government bodies. The structure of education in Canada has resulted in 13 virtually independent but interrelated education systems. In turn, this has led to a variety of policies, practices and stances related to Canadian educational issues. Because of this diversity, members of ACDE recognize a need to provide a strong, consistent voice on critical issues in Canadian educational practice—in part, to fill the void left by the lack of a national education system. Increased mobility of students and educational professionals between provinces, greater demands on the range and quality of educational services, and increased funding pressures at all levels of education have combined to create a need for a broader, pan-Canadian perspective on educational issues. In particular, ACDE members sense a need to speak out in defense of education as a broad discipline, and to promote the value of educational research and practice in a vibrant, democratic society. Furthermore, ACDE members believe that such a message would be greatly strengthened if ACDE speaks as a collective voice, rather than as 62 separate voices. Members explore mechanisms that can harness the collegial governance of such a diverse group of educational institutions to create a powerful network for education in Canada.

Since 2004, ACDE's goals have included guiding practice, influencing policy, and stimulating public discussion and debate about education. One of the primary processes for demonstrating membership commitment to principled educational practice has been the development of the ACDE Accords; the *Accord on the Internationalization of Education* (ACDE 2013) is the sixth and most recent Accord. Each Accord is the product of a shared commitment to a topic of importance in Canadian education and is intended to speak to multiple audiences. They provide a broad framework for: stimulating public discussion on critical topics; guiding practices within Canadian faculties of education by articulating a set of shared beliefs and principles; informing stakeholders within institutions of higher learning such as other faculties, departments or administrations; and providing reference points for developing and enabling public policy.

The process for arriving at an accord is complex and time consuming; there is often a broad range of stances, needs and views on any particular

issue among the 62 member institutions. The enactment of an accord requires that a balance be struck between the idiosyncratic needs and issues of individual ACDE members, and the complexities and challenges posed by the topic at hand. That balance is achieved through an iterative, consensus building process. Through the process of articulating a pan-Canadian perspective in each of the six Accords, ACDE became a strong network of institutions and individuals with shared commitments and values.

The first Accord, the *General Accord* (ACDE 2006a), was crafted over two years of discussion and debate. Its signing represented a milestone for the Association. It is an agreement among Canadian education deans to speak with one voice on matters of common concern. The *Accord on Initial Teacher Education* (ACDE 2006b) was written concurrently with the *General Accord* and was ratified and signed on the same schedule. The *Accord on Initial Teacher Education* asserts the deans' commonly held belief that high-quality, university-based teacher education, together with responsible, research-informed educational policy, forms the foundations of a civil society. The *Accord on Initial Teacher Education* is not prescriptive; it does not dictate how education faculties should structure or operate their programs. Instead, it offers a set of principles against which an effective teacher education program may be evaluated. These principles, which form the core of the Accord, are used extensively in programmatic reviews in education faculties across Canada.

The first two Accords allow ACDE members to find their collective voice. Following the successful launch of these accords, ACDE members invested in the development of four additional Accords. Two of these, the *Accord on Indigenous Education* (ACDE 2010a) and the *Accord on the Internationalization of Education* (ACDE 2013), are described in detail in the case studies below.

The *Accord on Research in Education* (ACDE 2010b) was developed between 2006 and 2010, and launched in 2011. The first step in the development was taken at a Research Summit hosted by the University of British Columbia (UBC) Faculty of Education in 2007. More than 20 deans and associate deans of research attended the Summit to discuss conceptions of educational research and scholarship. The goal of the Accord is to advance educational research, broadly conceived, by articulating both the transformative nature of educational research, and also the diverse nature of educational scholarship and its impact in society. The Accord

defines and articulates a rich, layered and nuanced vision of educational scholarship and its contributions to Canada and internationally. The audiences for the Accord include university administrators, funding agencies and ministers of education, among many others.

The *Accord on Early Learning and Early Childhood Education* (ACDE 2012) represents a partnership between education deans and the early learning community. Many scholars and educators from these communities participated in the writing of the Accord between 2010 and 2012. The Accord was launched in 2012, at a Big Thinking lecture given by Margaret Norrie McCain during the Congress of the Humanities and Social Sciences. The Accord is used by universities and advocates across Canada (e.g., the McCain Foundation) to promote quality early childhood education.

A Principled Stance: The Accord on Indigenous Education

The Need for an Indigenous Accord

Indigenous education has been a particular concern of the ACDE since 2003. At that time, the ACDE executive met with representatives from the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) to discuss Aboriginal education issues (e.g., at the time there was very little data available about Aboriginal participation in education). Since that meeting, CMEC has significantly increased its engagement with Aboriginal education.

In this case study, we focused on the need and results of taking a principled stance on Indigenous education in Canada. The *Accord on Indigenous Education* deals with issues of equity, social justice and institutional responsibilities for Indigenous education. The development of the Accord involved a process of respectful consultation with and the participation of leading Canadian Indigenous education scholars.

Many ACDE members expressed deep concern about the absence of indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing in public and tertiary education. Additionally, the deans wished to address the low levels of educational attainment among Indigenous people. These themes run throughout the Accord. Rather than approaching Indigenous education from a deficit model, the Accord presents a vision of what Indigenous education *should be*: Indigenous identities, cultures, languages, values, ways of knowing and knowledge systems flourishing in all Canadian learning settings. The resulting document is positive, hopeful and inspiring, providing guiding

principles that may be used in any education setting. In particular, the *Accord on Indigenous Education*:

- supports a socially just society for Indigenous peoples;
- reflects a respectful, collaborative and consultative process with Indigenous and non-Indigenous knowledge holders;
- promotes multiple partnerships among educational and Indigenous communities; and
- values the diversity of Indigenous knowledges and ways of knowing and learning. (ACDE 2010a, p. 5)

Leadership Through Expertise

The *Accord on Indigenous Education* (ACDE 2010a) was written over a period of two years by a collaborative team of two distinguished Indigenous scholars, Dr. Jo-ann Archibald, (University of British Columbia) and Dr. Lorna Williams (University of Victoria), in partnership with two deans, Dr. Cecilia Reynolds (University of Saskatchewan) and Dr. John Lundy (Laurentian University). The writing was informed by an extensive consultation process, both within education faculties and at public events such as town hall meetings during the annual conference of the Canadian Society for the Study of Education (CSSE). The authors incorporated all feedback, written and oral, into the final document, which was launched on June 1, 2010 on the traditional territory of the Mohawk people. The launch ceremony included a formal signing by leaders Clement Chartier (Métis National Council), Matthew Coon Come (Grand Council of the Crees) and Mary Simon (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami). Extensive media coverage of the launch gave the Accord an important publicity boost, and it has been used and cited frequently by the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, and the Assembly of First Nations.

Critical Components of the Indigenous Accord

The *Accord on Indigenous Education* represents an important point in the evolution of the ACDE Accords. The Accord is anchored in Section 1, the “Preamble” that establishes the legal and preferred use of terms. “This Accord uses the term Indigenous to include the distinct Canadian terms Aboriginal, First Nations, Indian, Metis and Inuit as well as the more global context of First Peoples’ epistemologies, ways of knowing, knowledge systems and lived experience” (ACDE 2010a, p. 1). Section 2, “The context for Indigenous education in Canada”, provides a robust

summary of critical issues and themes. The authors wanted to ensure that the Accord serves educative as well as descriptive functions, knowing that there are multiple audiences. The Accord includes a clear “Vision Statement” to guide current and future practice. Finally, similar to previous Accords that conclude with a listing of shared principles, the *Accord on Indigenous Education* concludes with a set principles that reflect broad themes. However, perhaps the biggest difference from past Accords is the addition of Section 6, which describes nine goals that will lead to “transformative educational change”. Each goal is accompanied by specific actions or stances that, when taken, will support, amplify or realize the goal. The nine areas that ACDE members commit to “support, endorse and foster” include:

- respectful and welcoming learning environments;
- respectful and inclusive curricula;
- culturally responsive pedagogies;
- mechanisms for valuing and promoting Indigeneity in education;
- culturally responsive assessment;
- affirming and revitalizing Indigenous languages;
- Indigenous education leadership;
- non-Indigenous learners and Indigeneity; and
- culturally respectful Indigenous research.

Results and Impacts of the Indigenous Accord

Since its launch in 2010, the ACDE has gathered information and anecdotes about the outcomes and impact of the Accord; a preliminary Progress Report highlighted the many and substantive impacts (see ACDE 2011). One of the national-level outcomes of the Accord was the creation of a web portal that enables sharing of course materials, curricula, reading lists, websites and other materials to ensure that Aboriginal knowledge is infused into education. The main portal, (<http://iportal.usask.ca/>), directs guide users to regional or local sites so that course instructors can access information that is most relevant to the Aboriginal communities they serve.

Faculties with long-established teacher education programs for Aboriginal students are now in a leadership position relative to other faculties within their universities, which often are not able to meet their quotas for Aboriginal enrolment. The Accord provides a framework through which education faculties are able to share their strategies and successes

with faculties of law, medicine, business and others. Faculties of education with long-established Aboriginal teacher education programs typically report high enrolment and graduation rates compared with faculties that do not offer dedicated programs.

The Accord has stimulated action and innovation in faculties and schools of education across Canada. It has impacted the implementation of new curriculum, the development of Offices of Indigenous Education within faculties, the hiring of Indigenous faculty members, the creation of Indigenous gathering places, the fostering of research and, in one case, was used to overturn a negative tenure recommendation.

The Accord has had an impact outside of schools and education faculties, as well. Many Canadian universities have well-established Aboriginal centres that offer support and counseling, as well as informal gathering spaces, for Aboriginal students. These supports are vital for ensuring student success and are an important follow-up to recruitment efforts: it is not enough to bring Aboriginal students to campus; universities need to support them through the challenges of post-secondary education by ensuring that the environment is welcoming and inclusive.

An area of great and increasing need is the provision of tertiary programs in rural and remote communities, so that Aboriginal learners do not need to leave their home communities. While the proliferation of communications technologies might appear to make such arrangements easy to implement, in fact there are still significant barriers—such as lack of computers, internet access, and bandwidth. In terms of institutional barriers, it is still difficult for Aboriginal learners in remote areas to access a full program. ACDE members are beginning to discuss whether a new system might be arranged, one that includes flexible transfer arrangements, high-quality online learning and a coordinated approach to meeting local learning needs.

A Principled Process: The Accord on the Internationalization of Education

The *Accord on the Internationalization of Education* (ACDE 2014) was written between 2011 and 2013 by a team of deans and experts in the field of internationalization. The Accord is meant to spur dialogue within education faculties and beyond about ethical and appropriate approaches to international initiatives. The ACDE hopes it will “stimulate discussion of critical issues and institutional responsibilities in the internationalization

of education, helping institutions give careful consideration to representations of marginalized individuals, groups, and communities” (ACDE 2014, p. 1). In our case study, we emphasize how democratic processes were used to achieve the development of the Accord.

The Need for an Accord on Internationalization

As with the Indigenous Accord, issues of social justice and institutional responsibilities were the core motivators behind the Internationalization Accord and, once again, leading scholars (in the field of internationalization of education) provided substantive contributions. Unlike the factors behind the Indigenous Accord, the history of interest in the internationalization of education in Canada is much more recent, and there is a greater variety of ethical and practical commitments to international education in universities across Canada. The deans recognized that international education provides opportunity for enriching and enhancing educational experiences, but that there are significant risks stemming from the potential for exploitative practices, a focus on profits and a belief in the superiority of one educational position over all others. Within this milieu of ethical and practical implications and consequences of international educational practices, it was clear that there was a need to show leadership for Canadian educational practice, and that faculties of education are uniquely situated to provide this leadership.

Building Consensus Through Iterative Consultations

The potential for developing an accord on the topic of the internationalization of education was first discussed in October 2011. The deans of education received the topic with interest, but also saw it as a significant challenge. The varied interests and stances related to international education meant that consensus building would be an even more complex process. One of the first issues that needed consensus was whether a document would be produced, or whether the process itself would accomplish the goals. Thus, while the general process for accord development had become a familiar practice, it needed significant enhancement in order to bring an accord on international education to fruition. In particular, we had to be prepared for an open-ended process that would be responsive to the issues and challenges that arose.

Given the complexity of the issues related to Canadian university practices in international education, ACDE set out to stimulate discussion of critical issues and institutional responsibilities in the internationalization

of education. These discussions were used to determine if it was feasible to achieve the broader goal: the articulations of a set of shared beliefs and principles about internationalization of education and, further, to provide a broad framework for guiding internationalization practices within Canadian faculties of education and institutions of higher learning (Magnusson 2013).

In 2012, at the CSSE annual conference, ACDE hosted a town hall session for open discussion of the proposed Accord. CSSE is the largest annual gathering of education scholars in Canada, and thus it provided a broad audience of those interested and invested in the topic of the internationalization of education. In conjunction with ACDE, the Comparative and International Education Society of Canada (CIESC) hosted a pre-conference workshop entitled *Internationalization in Higher Education: Critical and Comparative Perspectives*. The themes that emerged from the discussions at the workshop provided a foundation for the CSSE open session.

The purpose of the town hall session was to invite an open discussion of international education issues (Magnusson 2012). The session was well-attended, with over 70 participants. Panel members included Dr. Kumari Beck, who summarized the results of the CIESC pre-conference workshop; Dr. Kris Magnusson, who introduced the ACDE Accords and led a discussion around the guiding questions; and Dr. Jim Greenlaw, who provided a summary and plans for moving forward.

Two broad questions directed the discussions. First, we asked if participants thought there was a need for an accord on the internationalization of education in Canada. Second, if such an accord was needed, what core issues should it address? The group discussed a series of focal questions about students, delivery, research, advocacy and impact. From this discussion, a broad framework emerged.

In 2012, ACDE formally passed a motion that it would proceed with the development of an accord on internationalization. As part of the development process, Dr. Jim Greenlaw conducted a series of interviews with deans of education across Canada during the summer of 2012. During autumn 2012, the preliminary results of the Greenlaw (2012) report were presented, and a draft outline for the accord, based on the structure of prior Accords, was approved. Two additional open meetings, one in February 2013 and a second in May 2013, further refined the context, a set of guiding principles and a series of calls to action. The final *Accord on the Internationalization of Education* was ratified in October 2013, and was formally launched in May 2014.

An Evolving Model: How feedback altered the shape of the Accord

An interesting by-product of the iterative consultation process was that the nature of the feedback necessitated changes to the look and structure of the Accord. Prior ACDE Accords were largely “stand alone” documents. However, the Accords ought not to be thought of as independent frameworks. For example, as several participants noted, issues and stances emphasized in the *Accord on Indigenous Education* also had a role to play in internationalization. Rather than repeating those core values, the internationalization Accord affirms the role of prior Accords in the preamble. In this way, the ACDE’s work is represented as a cohesive framework of principles, stances and actions.

The “Context” section of the Internationalization Accord also went through several modifications before adoption. First, instead of a uniquely Canadian context, the Accord describes a broad global context for internationalization of education and explicitly calls for “principled educational practice”. Second, the idea of providing a working definition of “internationalization of education” was ultimately discarded. Rather than defining internationalization, the Accord describes broad areas of concern for education faculties: institutional strain resulting from rapid growth in internationalization; the increasing complexity, uncertainty, diversity and inequality in education; and the economic imperatives of international education.

The discussion of the context of the internationalization of education prompted a more expansive consideration of the need for an Accord. A major new section, not found in previous Accords, identified the benefits and risks associated with internationalization. Among the listed benefits, for example, is “enriching and enhancing educational experiences for all students”. An example of a risk might be exploitative practices from profit motivations. While a brief document cannot possibly account for all potential risks, participants were firm in their belief that the Accord should highlight broad categories of benefit and risk in order to guide future discussions.

The Accord includes a section entitled “Implications for Practice” that is more directive than prior Accords. Participants throughout the feedback cycle called for this document to take a bold stance in calling for action in areas of sustainability, ethical partnerships, social justice and long-term institutional commitment. Each area contains specific actions or stances for a total of 33 actions across the four broad areas. This comprehensive list reflects participants’ assertions that the Accord cannot simply espouse platitudes but must compel action.

In addition to the framing of specific actions, the Accord describes a “preferred future” for Canadian internationalization activities. This future is delineated through a set of desired outcomes for each area of action and is another unique attribute of the Internationalization Accord. Area 1, “promoting inclusive experiences” and its eight specific actions should create situations where:

Initiatives that involve international mobility are sustainable over time and influence positive change over the long term. Participants in international activities are able to adapt their experiences, to learn from the peoples and places they encounter, to understand the impacts they have and ultimately to make relevant contributions to the communities they visit and the communities to which they return. (ACDE 2013, p. 8)

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

The *Accord on the Internationalization of Education* is the most recent of the ACDE Accords and, as such, there is little direct impact data to report. The initial response to the release of the Accord has been very favorable, and ACDE has received several invitations to present or discuss the Accord at regional and national symposia and conferences. ACDE has received supportive feedback from representatives of international education associations, and at least two provincial ministries of education have requested copies for consideration as they develop or refine policies on international education. Within universities in Canada, the Accord has been distributed to the broader university community. At the institution of one author, it has been used as a reference document for developing the overarching international strategy and has been provided to potential international partners as part of the collaboration discussions.

While the impact of the *Accord on the Internationalization of Education* is only beginning to be felt, the impact of the process used to arrive at the Accord is immediate. The end result is a document that differs in shape and scope from previous Accords while, at the same time, maintaining the same spirit of encouraging educational discourse in Canada. The true authorship of the Accord includes a listing of more than 100 people who made substantive contributions to both the process and content. While a brief document such as an accord cannot hope completely to survey a landscape such as the internationalization of education, or capture the

richness and nuances of all feedback received, the document is proof of the power of democratic, inclusive practices in giving voice and finding common ground.

The Future of ACDE Accords

Following conversations at the national Deans' table, ACDE has decided to not develop more accords but, rather, to focus on promoting and building awareness of the existing Accords and their implementation in faculties, colleges, schools and departments of education. Currently, each Accord and its recommendations receive differing levels of attention in each institution. Understanding that some Accords are more relevant in some university contexts than in others, ACDE believes it is imperative to explore the state of affairs of the present usage. A template was developed to receive input from education faculties on the use of each Accord. This information is presently being compiled.

CONCLUSION

We introduced ACDE as a forum for national, public discourse on the importance of public education in developing and sustaining a civil society, and the Accords as the product of shared commitments to topics of importance in Canadian education. We also emphasized the need to take principled stances, to exercise leadership by honoring expertise, and to employ principled processes in the pursuit of common goals. These are complex and often difficult endeavors, and yet the results have been powerful.

Our experiences with ACDE Accords have also had an impact on how we view our roles within our home institutions. In many ways, the views and issues of a large faculty are every bit as complex and varied as the views and issues of pan-Canadian educational institutions. As deans, we are easily caught in the day-to-day pressures of working in such complex environments, overlooking the need for a principled, democratic approach to important issues in our local contexts. It might be useful for ACDE members to ask the same questions of their home faculties that we asked at the national level. What is a topic of current importance to education around which we should rally and on which we should take a stand? How might we partner with and honor local expertise to guide such stances? How might we take our collective voice and advocate within our institutions

and beyond for issues of critical importance to educational research and practice? The potential for participatory democracy in educational transformation is enormous—and largely untapped. The Accords have assisted in advancing this process, both locally and nationally.

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Conclusion: Reflections on Assemblage in the Governance of Higher Education

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The chapters in this book provide a rich enquiry into the way higher education comes to be assembled amid contemporary pressures and reforms as education is entwined with public sector reforms and private interests. The organizing concept of assemblage that framed this book beckons a relational approach to thinking about the leadership and governance of higher education institutions in this context. Relational analysis in policy and governance studies has been articulated to move beyond the prevalent notion of the static institution in both research and practical terms. Theoretical and methodological insights are shifting the ways we think about governance, such as those offered through strategic-relational approaches (Jessop 2004) and approaches showing how policy creates links between agents, institutions, technologies and discourses (Shore and Wright 2011). In the study of higher education, a relational approach helps us to see how policies co-exist, suggesting gaps in our understanding of policy when we consider individual political actors (Shultz and Viczko 2012; Viczko and Tascón 2016).

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In this book, we aim to move analysis from a passive, static approach about higher education institution (HEIs) in order to shift thinking about the ways in which the institution is created, maintained and sustained in its relations. At the fore of such analysis is the focus on the interactions between the materialities and discursive practices that form dynamic associations between actors (Koyama and Varenne 2012) and how such interactions govern higher education. Understanding such processes and the relations that bring them into being is about the *assemblage* of higher education. By way of example, Khoo, Taylor and Andreotti, in Chap. 6 in this book, discuss how interests in ethical responsibility and intellectual autonomy could not be separated from “global tides of crises and change, affecting widely disparate locations and contexts”. Furthermore, the governance of higher education could not be set apart from economic, political and social crises pushing reform throughout various public and private sectors. Similarly, in Chap. 5 in this book, Robertson comments on the ways in which Barblan’s speech effectively linked the Bologna Process reforms with broader political movements in Europe. Indeed, these authors’ analyses show how these dynamic associations came to life within their research network.

A climate of comparison tables, rankings and exhibitions of excellence discursively channel our attention to higher education institutions as stand-alone entities, separate from the contexts in which they emerge. Yet, through assemblage thinking, it is no longer possible to sustain a vision of HEIs operating as isolated actors. As Mol (2010) states, “against the implied fantasy of a masterful, separate actor, what is highlighted is the activity of all the associated actors involved. A strategist may be inventive, but no body acts alone” (p. 256). Rather, the power of the idea of assemblage lies in enabling an understanding of HEIs as wrapped up with other actors, shattering the illusion of an institution that achieves, excludes and excels on its own right. Furthermore, as many contributors in this book have shown, the advance of neoliberal policies permeate our global interactions: in the expansion of higher education in the United Arab Emirates (see Samier, Chap. 3 in this book), the policing of the boundaries between academic freedom and university administration (see Findlay and Samek, Chap. 16 in this book), the economic policies of university governance (see Khoo, Chap. 9 in this book) and the seeming inevitable bond of innovation, investment and jobs of the knowledge economy to higher education (see Robertson, Chap. 5 in this book). Indeed, the pervasive reach of neoliberal reforms to state governance

has radically influenced the governance of higher education (Olssen and Peters 2005), presenting us with a belief that HEIs are destined to be governed by the limitations of neoliberalism alone. However, as we consider the contributions in this book, we suggest the frame of assemblage offers a theoretical challenge to such belief. Consequently, the notion of assemblage challenges us to rethink some central pillars of how we envision the higher education institution; to ask, “What does the notion of assemblage contribute to how we think about higher education governance in contemporary challenges of leadership, democracy and social justice?” “How do we think about governance when these three challenges are viewed entangled?”

Here, we consider these two questions.

ASSEMBLING GOVERNANCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION: LEADERSHIP, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

The contributors in the book have offered us avenues for thinking about spaces for assembling higher education governance in pursuit of securing democracy and social justice as central to the HEI. Such spaces are important for considering the institution that is created and made stable by both formalized policies and informal work life activities (see Shiel and Jones, Chap. 2 in this book). As Soudien reminds us in Chap. 11 in this book, a different way of thinking about policy is needed for change, otherwise we risk normalizing the same problems we seek to counter.

Importantly, the authors’ contributions show us that HEIs are not autonomous actors. Rather, there is important work in realigning what is public in the university with what we consider to be the public good (see Abdi, Chap. 7 in this book). Seeing HEIs as networked with other actors brings forth opportunities for re-conceptualizing who they are as institutions and with whom they seek to lead. A key question in this assemblage requires asking who is included and excluded (see, in this book, Acker & Webber, Chap. 13; and Wallin & Wallace, Chap. 20), considering which communities are engaged (see Kajner, Chap. 10 in this book) and from which epistemic locations our policies and strategic plans are aligned (see, in this book, Akalu and Kariwo, Chap. 15; Guimarães and dos Santos, Chap. 17; Magnussen, Blye and Ellsworth, Chap. 23; Slade, Chap. 19; and Wimmer, Chap. 14). If the ordered world of higher education can be assembled in one way, there are always possibilities for its re-ordering (Law 2009; Mol 1999).

Khoo, in Chap. 9, draws on Conway and Murphy (2013) to visualize an appropriate metaphor for how the rising tide of neoliberalism manifested through reforms of performance, accountability and new public management has assembled the perfect storm. However, many of the authors in this book have argued that neoliberalism is not the end of the imaginary of higher education institution. Neoliberalism dominates how we have come to know the commitments we have to the student body and to the public, carried out through our engagements in teaching, research and service; yet, the writing in this book challenges us to think with a different imaginary (see Khoo, Chap. 9; Kajner, Chap. 10; Shiel and Jones, Chap. 2; and Findlay and Samek, Chap. 16). Importantly, Khoo suggests, some alternatives are visible, yet others are left out of the conversation, requiring “alternative starting points for the higher education imaginary”. Resistance movements are visible and hold great promise, especially when reminding institutional leaders of their connections, commitments and responsibilities (see Findley and Samek, Chap. 16 in in this book).

FINAL THOUGHTS

In Chap. 5, Robertson concludes the political work involved in re-imagining the institution of higher education requires courage, imagination and reflexivity, “work that can and should be done by a society involving all of its citizens, as they contribute to making *their* future” (p. 82). How such reassembling can happen is something yet to be known. Perhaps Anne Marie Mol’s (2010) admonition that significant things happen not through intentional, large-scale changes can be helpful to shift and change our institutions. Rather, she suggests the tinkering we engage in our everyday efforts produces changes in what things become. It is our hope that these chapters offer us ways for re-thinking how leadership and governance can be entwined with social justice and democracy to change not only what we do in higher education institutions, but also the places and spaces in which the public good of education can be realized.

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