The World View: Selected blogs published by Inside Higher Education, 2010-2016

Georgiana Mihut, Lisa Unangst, Liz Reisberg, and Hans de Wit

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The Boston College Center *for*
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CIHE Perspectives

This series of studies focuses on aspects of research and analysis undertaken at the Boston College Center for International Higher Education.

The Center brings an international consciousness to the analysis of higher education. We believe that an international perspective will contribute to enlightened policy and practice. To serve this goal, the Center produces International Higher Education (a quarterly publication), books, and other publications; sponsors conferences; and welcomes visiting scholars. We have a special concern for academic institutions in the Jesuit tradition worldwide and, more broadly, with Catholic universities.

The Center promotes dialogue and cooperation among academic institutions throughout the world. We believe that the future depends on effective collaboration and the creation of an international community focused on the improvement of higher education in the public interest.

Higher education governance, the state, and the market

Diversification, rankings, and quality assurance

Internationalization and globalization

Regional and national analyses

FOREWORD

It is my great pleasure to present this fourth issue of CIHE Perspectives, a series of studies focusing on aspects of research and analysis undertaken and coordinated by the Boston College Center for International Higher Education (CIHE).

This issue brings together a collection of 30 blogs, selected from over 300 such pieces published since 2010 when *The World View* became a regular column in *Inside Higher Education*, the leading digital media company serving the higher education space in the United States (https://about.inside-highered.com). *The World View*, edited by Liz Reisberg, Research Fellow at CIHE, brings a global dimension to the higher education issues covered by *Inside Higher Education* by publishing essays written by international experts. These blogs from around the world provide a global perspective on issues confronted by educators and policy makers in America and elsewhere.

The purpose of *CIHE Perspectives* is to serve as a resource for policy and research, but also to stimulate debate and interaction on key issues in international and comparative higher education. The collection of blogs presented here—a representative selection from the last six years-—provides insight into developments in international higher education, across nine major themes. Collectively, they shed important light on fundamental concerns of the global higher education community, and sensitize us to a range of issues that affect the higher education enterprise worldwide.

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I want to thank Liz Reisberg, editor of *The World View,* for her ongoing dedication to the realization of blog series, as well as Scott Jaschik, editor of *Inside Higher Education*, for this initiative. I also want to thank Georgiana Mihut and Lisa Unangst, doctoral students and graduate assistants at CIHE, for their systematic analysis and thoughtful selection of essays from among the 300 blogs that have been published—a difficult task, as all of the blogs offer interesting and diverse perspectives. I am grateful also for their careful editing of this issue of *CIHE Perspectives*. As a result of their work, this issue of *CIHE Perspectives* provides us all with a better understanding of the crucial conversation occurring in *The World View* blogosphere.

Hans de Wit

Director, Boston College Center for International Higher Education

February 2017

INTRODUCTION

Georgiana Mihut, Lisa Unangst, Liz Reisberg, and Hans de Wit

The first blog post of The World View was published in Inside Higher Education on June 23, 2010. Liz Reisberg, Research Fellow at the Center for International Higher Education (CIHE), has been editor of the blog since its inception.

Since 2010, *The World View* has published over 300 articles that offer commentary on the state of higher education worldwide. The result is a rather eclectic portfolio, addressing issues that range from the negative effects of the commercialization of higher education globally to reforms and debate taking place in countries that are generally underrepresented in the media. Blogs appearing on *The World View* have been contributed by scholars from more than 30 countries and provide thoughtful reflection on the central issues facing higher education everywhere.

This edition of *CIHE Perspectives*, produced by the Boston College Center for International Higher Education, presents a selection of articles that have been published in *The World View* since 2010 and is designed to celebrate the work done to date. The timing of this publication is not coincidental; CIHE is in the process of conducting extensive analyses of sources of news articles in the field of higher education in the context of several different projects. Two books currently in progress further this pursuit by focusing on articles that have appeared in *International Higher Education (IHE) and University World News (UWN)*. The first of these books, titled *Understanding Global Higher Education: Insights from Key Global Publications*, will bring together articles focused on trends in higher education, while the second book looks specifically at publications that focused on internationalization. This issue of *CIHE Perspectives* complements those two books.

Among news and other media outlets in higher education, *The World View* remains somewhat unique. The blog is best situated at the midway point between a website that reports news, such as *Inside Higher Education* or *University World News,* and a publication oriented towards analysis, such as *International Higher Education*. The format of *The World View* offers a space for ideas to be piloted and refined. *The World View* writers are experts with international, local and topical expertise in the field of higher education. They provide up-to-date incisive commentary on developments in this arena along with relevant implications for myriad higher education stakeholders. The hope of the authors of this *CIHE Perspectives* issue is that this exercise may reveal broader trends in higher education that will serve as a source of inspiration and further debate on the state of higher education globally.

Insights into *The World View*

For the purpose of this publication we have reviewed all articles published in The World View from its inception through December 2016. This exercise—described below—allowed us to both identify general trends among all published articles, and to select the articles reproduced here. In total, 327 articles were reviewed. Articles were initially coded by main topic, subtopic, and geographical focus. In a second stage of the review process, the emergent topical codes were transformed into themes, clustered deductively across issues of importance in higher education. This step in the analysis resulted in the identification of 13 distinct themes, listed in Table 1.

TABLE 1.

Theme	Number of articles published in *The World View*	Number of articles selected for this publication
Access and equity	22	3
Diversification, rankings and quality	47	3
Doctoral education	3	-
Financing higher education	17	3
Higher education governance, the state, and the market	43	5
Internationalization and globalization	78	3
Reflections on higher education and its mission	5	-
Regional and national analyses	47	3
Research and higher education	11	2
Teaching and learning	18	-
The centrality and crisis of the academic profession	17	5
The student experience	7	-
The World View (initial post)	1	-
Unethical behavior in higher education	11	3
Total	**327**	**30**

The most frequent theme among *The World View* articles was *internationalization and globalization,* with 78 articles dealing with these issues. Primarily, articles in this category focused on aspects around student mobility, student recruitment and the role of agents, branch campuses, transnational education, and partnerships. However, discussions on the the use of English at universities, quality assurance and internationalization, and education for refugees were also included. *Diversification, rankings and quality* and *Regional and national analyses* accounted for 47 articles each. Less discussed, but significant, themes included *Access and equity, Financing higher education,* and *Higher education governance, the state, and the market.*

Most articles published in T*he World View*—125 of them—have a global focus. A breakdown of all *World View* posts by region produced the results listed in Table 2.

For the purpose of selecting the 30 articles reproduced here, the resulting database of all blog posts was sorted by topic, by region, by country, and by author in an attempt to offer geographic and topical diversity and to avoid over-representation of any individual contributor. The thematic distribution among our 30 selected articles is shown in Table 1 and geographic distribution in Table 2.

The articles reproduced in this publication use the original language of the authors. Minor formatting edits were made, but the concepts and terminology employed by selected articles have not been standardized.

Selections are always to some extent subjective, and the editors note that more articles from the period 2012 to 2016 have been included in this compilation than posts from 2010 and 2011, representing changing circumstances and an evolving landscape. However, we believe that quite a number of *The World*

TABLE 2.

Region	Number of articles published in *The World View*	Number of articles selected for this publication
Africa	26	4
Asia	39	4
Australia	8	-
BRIC	1	-
Europe	36	3
Globally-focused	125	12
Latin America	58	3
MENA	9	1
North America	23	3
Oceania	2	-

View articles from the past 6.5 years remain relevant today in the discourse about international education. We are also pleased with the regional diversity of posts; for a blog titled *The World View* it is only appropriate that nearly 40% of posts are globally-focussed. That Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and Oceania together represent just over 40% of all *World View* articles is not only a reflection of their increasing importance in international higher education, but also testament to our commitment and ability to highlight regions of the world that typically receive less coverage elsewhere.

ACCESS AND EQUITY

Who Gets Into India's IITs?

Eldho Mathews

Published on April 14, 2015

Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) are one of the most famous Indian higher education brands outside the country. They are autonomous public institutions under the Ministry of Human Resource Development and are considered as the best institutions in the country for engineering education and research in terms of quality and standards. IITs are often compared to China's Tsinghua University and South Korea's Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology. Two IITs—IIT Bombay and IIT Roorkee—found a place in the 351 to 400 grouping of the 2014-15 World University Rankings of the Times Higher Education.

IITs are among the centrally-funded institutions that receive generous grants. At present, there are sixteen IITs in Bombay, Delhi, Kanpur, Kharagpur, Madras, Guwahati, Roorkee, Hyderabad, Patna, Bhubaneshwar, Ropar, Jodhpur, Gandhinagar, Indore, Mandi and Varanasi. Of these 16, 10 were established after 2004. India received different kinds of assistance for the setting up of some of the IITs. While IIT Bombay and IIT Chennai received help from former Soviet Union and West Germany respectively during 1960s, IIT-Kanpur received technical assistance from a consortium of nine leading institutions of the United States. The central government is currently planning to set up an additional six IITs in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Chhattisgarh, Goa, and Jammu and Kashmir. This is apart from converting the Indian School of Mines in Dhanbad to an IIT.

Although the IITs mainly offer undergraduate, postgraduate and PhD programmes in various branches of engineering and science disciplines, they also have humanities and social science departments. The 4-year bachelors program is the most popular and highly competitive programme. Students are admitted into these programmes on the basis of a national level entrance examination titled "Indian Institute of Technology-Joint Entrance Examination (IIT-JEE). This examination is conducted in two parts, JEE-Main (first stage) and JEE-Advanced (second stage).

The JEE-Main and JEE-Advanced are considered to be among the toughest exams in the world. The number of students applying for the JEE examination has swelled over the years, as students are lured by brand value of IITs. Only the top 150,000 candidates who pass the JEE Main will be able to appear for the second stage examination "JEE Advanced". JEE Advanced is conducted for selecting around 10,000 candidates for the undergraduate seats in the 16 IITs. Last year around 1.3 million students sat for the JEE Main examination. From the top 150,000, only a total of 27,152 candidates qualified for the JEE Advanced. Candidates belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes and Persons with physical disability are eligible for the quota under the affirmative action policy of the government. A one-year preparatory course is also offered to candidates belonging to these categories to improve their intake in the undergraduate programmes. The expansion of the number of IITs have resulted in the growth in the number of seats available through the national level entrance examination. However, this has also been accompanied a clear pattern of stratification in terms of access.

The report published by the Joint Implementa-

tion Committee on the 2014 Joint Entrance Examination (Advanced) confirms the fact that access to IITs is highly correlated with secondary school type, place of origin of candidates, family background, etc.. Some of the salient points from the Report of the Joint Implementation Committee (published by IIT Kharagpur) highlight the various barriers to equity at the IITs:

- Gender Imbalance: Out of the total admitted candidates around 92% are males; only 8% are females.
- Dominance of urban areas: Cities contributed 76% of the qualified candidates; villages contributed only 9.77%. More than 50% of the qualified candidates were from cities like Jaipur, Delhi, Patna, Vijayawada, Hyderabad, Visakhaptanam, Mumbai, Pune, Bhopal, Lucknow, Kanpur and Chennai.
- Dominance of National Boards over State boards: Although more than 90% of the XII (higher secondary) students in India are enrolled with various state-level boards, students from the schools affiliated to the two national-level boards—Central Board of Secondary Education and the Council for Indian School Certificate Examinations—succeeded in getting more than 50% of the allotted seats at the IITs in 2014. The majority of the elite private schools in the country are affiliated with the national boards. This shows that schooling had a central role in

determining access.
- Regional Disparities: Among the state boards, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Rajasthan alone had a share of 32% of the allotted seats.
- Stratification on the basis of parents' education level: While the parents of the 68% of the candidates who cleared the second level JEE were graduates and post graduates, only 2.46% of the candidates with illiterate parents could clear the examination.

There are certain other aspects of inequality not captured in the report. The influence of the private coaching industry is one among them. The vast majority of the students admitted to the IITs have benefited from coaching. Kota—a small town in the northern Indian State of Rajasthan— is the nucleus of the industry. Interestingly, even a South Korean coaching company (Etoos) operates in Kota with an Indian partner.

Although IITs dominate courses and research in engineering in India, gender imbalance in enrolments and access for students from rural areas, individuals from the secondary schools that are under the state-level boards, etc. are issues that need to addressed. Expansion access to higher education by increasing the number of institutions and number of seats alone cannot ensure the participation of students from the periphery of society. Along with the various affirmative actions, the country also needs to put in place a new admission system for the IITs that can ensure a more equitable playing field for all the candidates.

Unveiling Talent

Liz Reisberg

Published on May 4, 2014

I've just returned from my fourth visit to Saudi Arabia and with each visit find myself more impressed by the women I meet. At first glance, the female population of Saudi Arabia seems inaccessible — robed and veiled in black, they seem like graceful black clouds floating by you everywhere you go. But when I have been privileged to enter those spaces where women can remove their veils, I find myself in the company of extraordinary talent — engineers, medical doctors, nuclear physicists.

These women are innovators and entrepreneurs developing conversational robots, introducing new mathematical formulae, managing dental clinics. I am equally impressed by the students I've met, like the young woman who had started an undergraduate computer club to provide female students with more opportunities to explore technology creatively and collaboratively since there were only limited course offerings in this field for girls. Women may not be able to drive a car in public in Riyadh but this is somewhat symbolic—or perhaps appeasement directed towards conservative constituencies—while they make significant advances in other ways.

As a woman from the US and a product of the feminist movement of the 1970s, I do find the public constraints on women daunting, but these do not eclipse the increasingly influential role that Saudi women are playing in higher education and the society at large. From 2009 to 2012, the number of women in the workforce increased by 28% to a total of 647,000. Still, a Middle East analyst quoted in the Bloomberg press affirms that educated women remain an underutilized resource that the Saudi economy cannot afford to overlook (Abu-Nasr, 2013). There are still many challenges ahead for female university graduates entering the job market. New NGOs such as the Al Nahda Philanthropic Society for Women are helping women learn how to approach job interviews with confidence since this is a relatively new dynamic for both women and male employers (Al-Mukhtar, 2011). Additionally, it is difficult to create work environments that function for everyone since working together in close proximity may be uncomfortable for some men and some women. Work environments now fall into different categories—segregated, semi-segregated and unsegregated relaxed (where men and women work side by side)—making different kinds of accommodation to an increasingly mixed gender work force.

The participation of women in higher education is particularly striking if one considers that the first women's colleges were established as recently as 1970. According to UNESCO data, the gross enrollment ratio (percentage of the traditional age cohort graduating from secondary school that continues on to postsecondary study) has increased from slightly more than 25% in 2000 to more than 52% in 2012. Women now represent more than half of the university enrollment. Interestingly, and again according to UNESCO data, women represent more than half of the enrollment in science fields although a very small percentage of the enrollment in engineering. Improved participation and achievement is evident and likely to continue. The King Abdullah scholarship program that supports upwards of 100,000 students abroad reserves at least one-third of the scholarships for women. As a result, there is a growing number of women with PhDs earned abroad, returning home to educate more women—the trend seems unstoppable.

Of course some of the Saudi women I meet are impatient for change to take place more quickly but many more are at peace with their culture, their talent, and their ambitions. Those Saudi customs that stand out for foreigners are familiar traditions to Saudis and hence, less jarring to most Saudi women. We need to remind ourselves not to judge other cultures by the measures we use in our own. Where Saudi women desire change, they seem to be slowly achieving it. The momentum is clear. More women are participating in education at all levels; more women are graduating from university; and more highly-skilled women are entering the job market.

Change will continue, but at a pace that Saudi society can support. Perhaps what has impressed me most is the passion and commitment that the Saudi women I've met share. It is a reminder that our progress and achievements are at greatest risk when we take them for granted, much as we do in the US where women's rights are slowly eroding in healthcare, compensation, protection from violence, etc. Saudi women take nothing for granted and herein perhaps, is the greatest cause for optimism.

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Funding International Students: Eternal Quandary

Liz Reisberg

Published on February 16, 2016

The announcement that Cornell is adjusting its admissions policy for international students from need-blind to "need aware" (Redden, 2016) only seems to add to the confusion about who we enroll from abroad and why. On most US campuses there is no aid for foreign students — zero, zilch! International students have become an attractive source of revenue because unlike most US students, they don't qualify for federal or state aid, and generally pay 100% of their tuition, housing, and other expenses. This is very attractive for colleges that find themselves in need of ever-larger budgets for need-based and merit-based awards in order to reach enrollment targets of American students. Full-pay international students are a good deal — revenue in, nothing out. And if the university works with third-party agents, even better, as there's no recruitment cost either. A bargain for the university that successfully enrolls these "full-pay" students. Worse still, some public universities have added a tuition surcharge for international students (Redden, 2015). While it has been common practice for state universities to charge higher fees to out-of-state students, now many of these institutions are charging even higher fees to international students that may range from $800 to $3,000 above the out-of-state rate.

Too often, the result is a conspicuous economic disparity between US and international students. The international students who can afford to enroll at an American college tend to come from the very wealthy, economic elite in their home country, especially when they come from the developing world. International students can be particularly visible on many campuses with new cars, fashionable clothing, expensive jewelry and extravagant travel during semester breaks. The differences in family wealth too often exacerbate an already perilous cultural divide and unfortunate stereotypes can result. Without intervention from faculty and staff, these international students and domestic students frequently exist on campus in parallel spheres.

There are a relatively small number of colleges that provide financial aid to international students, either through dedicated private scholarships or as part of the overall financial aid budget. Depending on the size of the award, this may or may not do much to increase the diversity of the international student population. Many colleges provide small awards of $5,000/year without recognizing that in many developing countries, a family that can't afford $60,000/year, probably can't afford $55,000/year. In other words, a talented student from the middle class in a developing country will need nearly full funding and a $5,000 award brings in pretty much the same student that a college would enroll with no award at all, perhaps providing only a "sweetener" that might lure the student away from a competing institution. There is a small group of international students without adequate financial means of their own, who receive a small award from the university and who manage to get a student visa. These students may find themselves living on a financial knife edge with high levels of economic stress while trying to make progress towards their degree. Occasionally anecdotes surface of the dire living conditions that some of these students endure, just to study abroad. These students are also likely to live in a parallel sphere with limited interaction with the rest of campus. In sum, given the lack of funding available to international students at most US universities, there is limited economic diversity in this undergraduate population (save for the few countries with national scholarship programs for degree study abroad). As a result, participation tends to come from the top of the socio-economic strata. The economic diversity of the international students rarely mirrors the diversity of domestic enrollment.

Back to Cornell. Cornell is among a small group

of colleges with a relatively generous aid budget available to international students. Still, with only about 5% of the university's financial aid budget available to international students, Cornell is moving towards allocating awards more strategically. The decision to move to "need aware" admissions reflects deeper thought about which international students to accept and the characteristics of international undergraduate population the university wishes to host.

My first reading of the article about the policy shift made me "humph" somewhat cynically at the thought of making financial means part of an admissions decision. But on my second reading, I found myself thinking that Cornell is struggling more honestly with how best to work with limited funds and provide more realistic support to a more diverse group of international students. There are certainly

ups and downs to moving to a "need aware" admissions policy. No doubt there are students who will be denied, who might be able to find private funding in their home country if they had a letter of admission from Cornell. It will be interesting to follow how this evolves and if Cornell will make additional adjustments to the policy in the future.

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FINANCING HIGHER EDUCATION

A Typology of "Free Tuition"

Alex Usher

Published on March 13, 2016

You would be forgiven, over the past 24 months or so, for growing ever more confused about when tuition is "free" and when it is not. Can it be called "free tuition" if a student has to pay living expenses? Is it only free tuition if only some students receive "free education"? What about if we look at "net price" (i.e. tuition minus grants)? It's actually kind of tricky. (Ok, yes, I know. Education is never free; it always has to be paid for by someone. But I'm talking about retail price here.) By my count, there are at least nine different types of "free tuition" in the world. And so, herewith, is a quick typology of free tuition systems around the world.

Type 1: Universal zero tuition with some living expenses covered
This is often what people think of when they think of free tuition, something like Scandinavia, where all universities are public, there is zero charge at the point of entrance, plus all students get some kind of maintenance grants. This is basically only the case in Scandinavia.

Type 2: Universal zero tuition with low need-based aid

Here you should think Scandinavia but with student assistance for living expenses only available to a select few or available at levels far too low to sustain students. Germany is the classic example here, but

Belgium and Switzerland fall into this category as well. At the extreme, there is Greece, which has free tuition but effectively no student aid at all. Parts of Francophone Africa look like this, too.

Type 3: Free public institutions with significant parallel paying systems

In some countries, one set of public institutions are free but another set of institutions charges significant fees. Usually, the fee-charging institutions are private (e.g. Hungary, Senegal). In France, though, there are both free universities and a parallel system of institutions – the Grandes Ecoles – which charge fees of over $10,000. Some proposals in the United States for "free" community college usually fall under this definition of free tuition (though the more expansive version proposed by University of Wisconsin professor Sara Goldrick-Rab also has a healthy dose of Type 1 in there as well).

Type 4: "Dual track" systems

In most former socialist countries and parts of Africa, students who do well on matriculation or university entrance examinations are allowed to attend for free, while everyone else is charged a fee. And yes, this is as unfair as it sounds: invariably, it is kids from better-off families who get the free spots while poorer students end up paying. But in many former socialist systems (Russia in particular), these arguments are waved away because at least performance-based free tuition can be defended as "objective": aid based on income reminds too many people of the bad old days when people were prevented from attending university because of their social class. A few countries—notably Poland and Romania—combine a "dual track" system in public institutions with a substantial fee-paying private sector (i.e. a type 3 system).

Type 5: Liar's free tuition

In Ireland, "tuition" was abolished in the mid-1990s, but all sorts of other fees have crept in over the years so that mandatory charges are now in the thousands of euros. In Ghana, tuition is constitutionally banned but all institutions have substantial "academic resource charges" which have somehow passed muster at the Constitutional Court. One sometimes sees these countries listed as having "free" education but in practice it's nothing of the kind

Type 6: Free at the point of service but contributions to be collected later

Australia does not charge fees, per se, but rather demands a "contribution" from graduates. The maximum amount of the contribution sure looks like a fee —it is a set amount of money per year of study, based on one's chosen field of study,—but if post-graduate income never rises above a certain level (currently about $50,000/year), the student never pays a cent. Some might argue that a system with tuition but loans universally available (i.e. the United Kingdom) is indistinguishable from the Australian system since no one has to pay fees out of pocket, but others (most?) would view that as a stretch.

Type 7: Free for all...eventually. Kind of. Maybe. But don't tell anyone.

Easily the weirdest kind of free tuition is the type that exists in the Canadian provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan. These places don't claim to have free tuition, but through a combination of federal and provincial grants, tax credits and a truly ludicrous set of tax rebates available to anyone who stays within the province for a few years after graduation will actually receive more money in grants and tax rebates than they spend in tuition (assuming they finish on time). Deeply inefficient; do not try this at home, kids.

Type 8: Free for some, based on income

Chile's new system of "gratuidad" is not free for all. Rather, the system simply waives fees for students at universities (but not yet colleges or polytechnics) whose family income is below the national median income (a system which benefits about 25-30% of the student body). Similarly, tuition fees in England between 1998 and 2005 were variable according to family income, and those with family incomes below £20,000 paid no tuition at all.

Type 9: Net free for some, based on income

This is the kind of free tuition that already exists widely in America and Canada: where tuition is charged to all, and need- or income-based grants and tax subsidies are available so that some students at least receive as much on non-repayable aid as they

pay in tuition. One of the reasons that "free community college" programs in Tennessee and Oregon have been so cheap to implement is that existing federal and state programs already paid out as much in grants as students paid in tuition; making college look "free" is thus often just a matter of packaging. One big new initiative in this direction was taken in Ontario late last month, when the provincial government announced the amalgamation of a particularly clunky set of tax credits, loan remission programs and grants into one big up-front grant which for low-income students will completely offset tuition in most (but not all) university and college programs. This is being described as a "free tuition" initiative but in fact there is no new money here, just some judicious re-allocation and re-packaging.

Obviously not everyone would agree that all nine of these systems should actually count as "free tuition". To some degree, freeness is in the eye of the beholder. But it's worth the effort to distinguish between these types so that policy discussions do not end up at cross-purposes due to a misunderstanding of what "free" means.

America's UnExcellence Initiatives

Philip G. Altbach

Published on March 30, 2015

The world is focused on improving their top universities in order to be more competitive in the global knowledge economy and to raise their numbers in the higher education rankings. Jamil Salmi counted at least 36 "excellence initiatives" around the world that have pumped billions of dollars into the top universities in these countries — with resulting improvements in quality, research productivity, and emerging improvements on the rankings of these universities. Even in cash-strapped Russia, the "5-100" initiative is providing 70 million into each of 15 selected universities to help them improve and compete globally.

At the same time, American higher education is significantly damaging its top universities through continuous budget cuts by state governments. One might call this an American "unExcellence initiative" as the world's leading higher education systematically damages its top research universities. Current developments are bad enough in a national context, but in a globalized world, policies in one country will inevitably have implications elsewhere. Thus, American disinvestment, coming at the same time as significant investment elsewhere, will magnify the decline of a great higher education system.

Further, current cuts come at a time when state higher education budgets were just starting to recover after years of budget declines due to the Great Recession. During that period, the public research universities used resources built up over years to reduce the damage of continuing cuts, but their salaries could not keep up with their private university competitors and top faculty began to leave.

The current situation is likely to be damaging to America's global higher education competitiveness. This will make overseas universities happy as it will cause a decline in the standing of American universities in the global rankings—now around half of the top 100 universities in the world are in the United States—and free up some top spots for others. Improvements overseas and declines in the US will inevitably shift the balance.

Overall higher education spending in the United States was up 5.2% in all states, but this is hardly sufficient to make up for past declines. Further, little of this funding seems to be targeted to the research university, what with broader issues of access and completion dominating the national agenda. In several states governed by conservative Republicans, some running for president, significant de-

clines are promised. Scott Walker in Wisconsin wants to cut $300 million from the higher education budget, and Louisiana's Bobby Jindal's targets cuts of $400 million. Other examples could be mentioned. In California, which increased public higher education expenditures by 10.9%, Governor Jerry Brown, a liberal Democrat, is proposing a new vision for state higher education that seeks to transform the University of California system, home to Berkeley and UCLA, into institutions that would

play a central role in "workforce development." The research contributions of the of UC campuses are hardly mentioned.

If the United States embarks on its unExcellence Initiative, this will cause a revolution in global higher education and create space for others at the top of the rankings. It would also be extraordinarily damaging for American higher education and for America's competitiveness in the world.

International Scholarships: Regional Studies in Africa

Damtew Teferra

The manner in which scholarships are rolled out has evolved as higher education delivery and opportunity have diversified on the African continent. This article is prompted by a new "variant" of traditional scholarship programs unveiled recently by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) in Eastern Africa, supported by the German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. At the invitation of DAAD, I served as a member of the panel of experts to select East African universities for the competitive sub-regional scholarship, which gave me an opportunity to observe the initiative up close.

This scholarship scheme is unusual in that DAAD first invited universities to submit applications to host graduate students from across the sub-region. More than 80 institutions—public and private, large and small, faith-based and non-sectarian, established and new, comprehensive and specialized—from Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda—applied. The review panel evaluated 65 institutions for the award in a range of academic disciplines. To enhance the transparency and credibility of the exercise DAAD invited the Inter-University Council for Eastern Africa (IUCEA) to co-chair the selection meeting.

The selection—and the intention

After a thorough review of the proposals, the panel (composed of African and expatriate academics) selected 37 institutions from the sub-region to host 165 masters and 135 PhD students. These institutions subsequently announced a call for applications for individual scholarships in the areas of their DAAD award. It is expected that the students selected will reflect the regional and continental diversity intended by the scholarship and that the cohort will not be dominated by national students, as often is the case in similar initiatives.

The new variant—what is new?

Studying in-country or in-region with scholarships secured from international entities—overseas governments, foundations, or bilateral bodies, including DAAD—is not a new development. A number of "inter-regional" scholarship programmes sponsored by the African Union Commission as well as one funded by the World Bank, both called "Centers of Excellence (COEs)", come to mind. Most in-region scholarships do not include provisions for international study, although additional resources are occasionally made available for some students to pursue further study visits abroad. However, the DAAD initiative has included extra funding for

overseas experience in order to advance their alumni.

The established vs. the new—an observation

A consistent pattern was noticeable in the applications submitted to the DAAD scholarship from the universities interested in hosting funded students. Interestingly, the smaller and less well-known institutions generally submitted meticulously prepared applications while applications from well-established institutions were generally weaker and lacking in comparison. The deficient information left the selection panel scrambling for more information—complicating the task of the selection process. One may wonder, if a complete application is an indication of heightened interest in, and commitment to, the scholarship opportunity. Is it fair to assume that the sub-standard applications, presented by a good number of the established/flagship universities (or their units), could be construed as lack of interest and commitment? Or is it that the established universities have become complacent and less likely to respond to the extensive information required to establish eligibility?

The DAAD experience—ten aspects

The numerous advantages of international scholarships are well established. "Hybridized" forms of scholarships—internationally-funded scholarships at national/regional African institutions—have been recognized for their positive contributions to higher education. These include: high retention of graduates (less brain drain), relevant curricula and programmes, familiar territory to students, and minimized language/culture/social barriers. The DAAD experience is an interesting new variant in that it incorporates common practices and more.

- Provides a cheaper alternative for scholarship programs, though students may not benefit from the full experience of an overseas studies
- Makes possible a larger scholarship cohort (as the cost of study is typically cheaper locally/regionally)

- Provides a non-discriminatory and competitive regime that allows all institutions to compete equally
- Creates an opportunity for institutions to establish new programs based on anticipated needs and strength
- Provides dual capacity building possibilities for staff and institutions—studying and working at same institution
- Raises the profile of institutions on the continent as they advance more self-driven (contrary to externally-enforced) quality enhancement efforts
- Responds to national/regional efforts in quality assurance
- Expands regional and external scholarship and training opportunities for students
- Fosters national and regional mobility of African students and academics
- Fosters regionalization and regional integration and helps to expand the effort of building centers of excellence at sub-regional and continental level.

Furthermore, this scholarship is peculiar in that it does not require institutions or students to be involved with German institutions. The scholarship is free from the usual restrictions that obligate beneficiaries to find partners in the home country of the funding entity. Nevertheless, part of DAAD's scholarship package often includes research opportunities at German universities, if students indicate interest.

Cooperation—reality vs. aspiration

The two-step selection process—first, the selection of institutions and second, the selection of students—is neither simple nor cheap. It involves cumbersome logistics for both the applicants and the funders. Successful implementation requires heightened engagement and commitment.

The Paris and Dakar Declarations advocate for joint deployment of resources of many development actors to maximize synergies. If multiple programs could be bundled together to develop similar schemes, the impact of the initiatives would be far

reaching. We are however acutely aware of the logistical, administrative and political conundrums that occur with the deployment of such scholarships.

Conclusion

The DAAD scholarship uniquely encourages institutions to compete on their strength, without discriminating by ownership (public/private), faith (religious/non religious), or age (established/new). Furthermore, it does not demand the beneficiaries to partner with German institutions which departs from regular patterns where scholarship programs are often structured to benefit the funding country. This new variant rolled out by DAAD has a number of traits that other interested parties might consider to help develop and sustain Africa's human capital. It is however naïve to expect others to immediately follow suit, in the absence of any quid pro quo in such an approach that has been typical of contemporary development cooperation.

THE CENTRALITY AND CRISIS OF THE ACADEMIC PROFESSION

Stay Hungry, Stay Foolish, Stay Academic

Maria Yudkevich

Published on April 3, 2016

There was a recent article in Times Higher Education "Priced out: housing cost headaches for universities and staff" by David Matthews (2016) with an amazing but very simple idea to compare the purchasing power of academic salaries regarding a very important aspect of life—housing. Using the data on prices in major university cities across the world and data on annual faculty salaries he showed that purchasing power varies enormously and that a salary that could purchase a 60 meter apartment in Philadelphia would acquire only slightly more than 1 square meter (!) in Shanghai.

In a recent blog Alex Usher (2016) did the same exercise for Canadian cities. He found that even within one country academics working in different universities can afford housing of substantially different size—with variation from 80 to 14 square meters. Some academics are lucky to be able to buy a rather spacious apartment while others, because of lower salaries and higher housing prices in the cities where their university is located, are not.

We took data for Russia and did the same calculations using the same methodology—dividing annual faculty salary by the price of one square meter of housing in corresponding region. They show that the average faculty member in an average Russian region can afford only 7 square meters of housing (which places Russia close to New York and Paris in terms of apartment size). However, there is no such

> Faculty at universities located in Moscow and St. Petersburg, two Russian capitals and major university centers, can only afford 4 and 5 square meters of housing respectively.

thing as average faculty or an average region so we decided to dig a bit further and looked into regional statistics. If we look at 80 Russian regions we can see the differences in what people in each region can afford. Indeed, faculty at universities located in Moscow and St. Petersburg, two Russian capitals and major university centers, can only afford 4 and 5 square meters of housing respectively. In Tomsk, Krasnoyarsk and Novosibirsk, important academic centers in the Siberian region, faculty can buy 8, 7 and 6 meters respectively. At the same time data show that the most spacious apartment can be bought by faculty who work either in the Far North or on Far East. In those regions, faculty can buy 10, 11 square meters or up to 13 in Magadan region. The only problem is that with very few exceptions there are no strong universities in these regions.

Let's now take this further. One could suggest that many Russian families simply inherited housing that a previous generation received as a gift from Soviet authorities for free and that was subsequently privatized. These families have a place to live and therefore do not need to think about the cost of buying a flat or a house so can concentrate on academic work—even with insufficient support from their home university. However, even in these cases the university rarely covers expenses adequately that are critical for productive academic work. One such important expense is travel costs—for any academic it's important to participate in international conferences to stay integrated into the global academic community. In many universities faculty have to cover these expenditures with their own private resources. So we decided to check the purchasing power of academic salaries measured in international travels. To do so we took as a proxy for travel expenses, the price for the return trip to Berlin. While this proxy is not completely accurate and underestimates real travel costs, using such a proxy gives an idea of "academic purchasing power" across the regions. It turns out that faculty in Moscow universities are the "richest" in this respect—indeed, salaries in Moscow are the highest in the country and Moscow allows for the cheapest travel to Western Europe. For faculty in outlying regions, traveling to Berlin requires first traveling to Moscow by bus, train or plane. For one

month's salary Moscovites can purchase as many as 5 return tickets to Berlin. Next to Moscow are St. Petersburg (2.8), Tumen region (3) and Khanty-Mansi Okrug Yugra (2.6) with the latter two being important oil field regions with salaries close to the Moscow level. People in all other regions can afford only 2.2 or fewer. What about the Far North and Far East regions that can buy "relatively huge" apartments? For most, with one month's salary they can only afford only one return ticket to Berlin. That definitely contributes to the fact that higher education institutions in these more remote regions remain intellectually isolated and lacking in academic quality.

> The university rarely cover expenses adequately that are critical for productive academic work.

So to improve the quality of regional higher education institutions and to retain bright people in academia, not only do salaries and infrastructure (including subsidized housing) need to be competitive, but also needed are resources that help academics from geographically remote institutions to stay integrated into global academic life and that requires funds to support travel, collaborative research, subscriptions to journal databases and access to empirical data crucial for research. Otherwise these isolated individuals might choose to spend their last university paycheck on a one way ticket to Moscow, Berlin or just to exit the university sector altogether.

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Academic Freedom Under Threat Everywhere

Hans de Wit and Kathryn Hanson

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In the current political climate, academic freedom is perhaps the most contested aspect of higher education. As noted often in *Inside Higher Education, University World News* and other media outlets, the situation seems to be getting worse all over the world. While academic freedom is respected in many countries, there are numerous cases worldwide where it is limited or even suppressed. It would be too simple to assume that this is only the case in emerging and developing countries, as there are increasing examples in so-called developed countries where academic freedom, free speech and the right to an individual opinion are challenged. Finally, the assumption that only the extremists on the right and left are to be blamed is no longer valid.

There is no universally accepted definition for academic freedom. Some definitions are broader than others. UNESCO defined academic freedom in 2008 as the right "to freedom of teaching and discussion, freedom in carrying out research and disseminating and publishing the results thereof, freedom to express freely their opinion about the institution or system in which they work, freedom from institutional censorship and freedom to participate in professional or representative academic bodies" without any sort of interference. This basic definition introduces the idea that academics are free to teach and conduct research as they see fit, without any sort of resulting retaliatory action. While these ideas are the essence of academic freedom, it is important to recognize that institutional autonomy is closely related and can be considered a form of academic freedom in itself. But the Ivory Tower is increasingly less isolated, the premises of institutional autonomy and academic freedom are both being challenged by political, economic, social and cultural quarters outside of academia.

To better understand the idea of academic freedom, it is useful to understand its development. The concept dates back to the medieval period, wherein freedom was limited to teaching. It expanded to include research with the founding of the Humboldtian model of the university in the 19th century. The next major development was the expanded notion of academic freedom defined by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) in the early 20th century. This organization asserted that academic freedom extended outside of a scholar's field of expertise and beyond the walls of the university. While autonomy is not the same as academic freedom, the concept of autonomy has provided significant protection for professors and students. Thus, university autonomy indirectly protected academic freedom during periods when it otherwise might have been repressed, although sometimes with limited success. This was especially significant in Germany and America when during Nazi rule in Germany during the 1940s and the "Red Scare" movement in the 1950s in the US at the start of the Cold War, the ideal was under serious threat.

Academic freedom is valued in a variety of socio-political climates but with varied degrees of fragility. Some national environments are supportive, others repressive. States have the power to protect academic freedom through legislation, something that most of the industrialized countries have done. The reality though, is that it is still possible for the scope of academic freedom to be constrained by government or social pressures placed on speech. In Europe and the United States we see evidence of this happening in the current political climate. It is all too easy for a repressive government to impose limitations on free speech, such as prohibition on seditious speech with liberties taken in its definition. Turkey, under the current government, is a clear example of the tensions between principles defined by legislation and interpretations of free speech that suit the current government that has taken actions that have inhibited speech and academic activity at many universities. Dutch national populist, Geert Wilders,

advocates free speech when it allow him to indulge in anti-Islamic rhetoric, but he was the first to demand that a professor at Tilburg University be fired when he compared Wilders's ideology to fascism.

Academic freedom is at the foundation of the university. While there is no global agreement on its definition, it is globally valued. Legislative and constitutional protections and effectiveness for academic freedom are an interesting methodology for evaluating the health of democracy and freedom in individual countries. Yet, these freedoms are increasingly challenged by populist political trends with recent examples in Russia, China, Turkey, and Egypt. But other countries struggle with the boundaries of this unique kind of freedom as well. The reports from the Scholars at Risk Project are illustrative of the increasing perils that professors face in too many countries.

There are reasons to be concerned in the United States. On November 1, *Inside Higher Education* reported that a NYU professor who used an anonymous Twitter account to criticize his university is now on paid leave (Flaherty, 2016). The same day *Inside Higher Education* reported a case at the University of Wisconsin where, during a football game, two fans wore costumes with one as Donald Trump and the other as President Obama, with Donald Trump holding a noose around President Obama's neck, leaving the University to struggle with the limits of free expression (New, 2016). These are only two examples of how universities are struggling with whether boundaries on academic freedom are needed within its community. The sometimes overheated reactions by leftists groups risk supplanting free speech by insisting on politically correct speech and there are serious implications for academic freedom here as well. Academic freedom is a public global good which should be one of the goals we should cherish. But at the same time it must be protected from political agendas of the right and left, where it is increasingly threatened.

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Glass Houses

Liz Reisberg

Published on February 17, 2015

In the global competition that determines which country commits the most and worst human rights violations, there are only losers. If universities anywhere are going to engage in international endeavors and partnerships, then the members of those academic communities will have to decide whether and how to confront policies and practices of host governments that they may find distasteful.

Flogging someone for opinions expressed in a blog—as recently happened in Saudi Arabia—is indeed horrific. Yet amidst the international outrage few people seem to realize that there were many Saudis who were just as appalled as the rest of us. In the same vein, I'd like to think that people outside

the United States appreciate that there are many US citizens outraged by the atrocities committed by our government at Abu Ghraib or by the lack of due process afforded prisoners at Guantanamo confined there for more than a decade. The question, as posed in a recent article by Elizabeth Redden (2015), is when should abuses of human rights by governments become barriers to university engagement. If we all limit ourselves only to countries that share our democratic values and practices, there would be very little collaboration indeed. What then?

There is no lack of examples of scholars being punished for expressing ideas that raise the ire of one government or another and result in censorship, loss of position, prison or exile. The international press and academic community seem to regularly direct indignation at Israel and Saudi Arabia (an interesting pairing of countries). But one could also produce a litany of outrages committed by the Chinese and Russian governments against citizens and scholars. Or address the censorship imposed on international branch campuses in the Gulf. Or the persecution in those countries of gay and lesbian citizens. Or the 13–year prison sentence given to Kemal Gürüz by the Turkish government for trying to defend scientific teaching and research from religious intervention.

We need to think long and hard about the purpose of pursuing international partnerships, developing overseas programs and campuses, sending and receiving international students. Are we missionaries, intent on instilling our values in other societies? Doesn't that hint of cultural arrogance? And are we so confident that we have sorted out all of our own domestic ills to the point that we are poised to condemn iniquities elsewhere? Internationalization should be the basis for the exchange of experiences and the study of differences. Shouldn't it be an opportunity to move beyond generalizations and learn before judging?

Murky waters

We are left with the quandary of how to engage internationally. To step into the international arena inevitably means to confront contradiction and risk

hypocrisy. New York University President Sexton suggests that political commentary can be separated from academic freedom: "Students and faculty at the new campus shouldn't assume they can criticize government leaders or policies without repercussions", Sexton said [. . .] "I have no trouble distinguishing between rights of academic freedom and rights of political expression," he said. "These are two different things." In other words, NYU students and faculty can refrain from commenting on Chinese politics without compromising academic freedom. Is that really possible?

Israel is a particularly conspicuous example of confused international responses. In an obvious contradiction John Sexton rejected the American Studies Association boycott of Israel in the interest of the free exchange of ideas and free association of scholars (NYU, 2013), but has built a campus in Abu Dhabi where (not only is) collaboration with Israeli universities is forbidden, but Israeli citizens, academic or otherwise, are prohibited from entering that country. At the same time that Israel has been censured and boycotted by academic societies including the Association for Asian American Studies and the American Studies Association (to name only two), Steven Salaita was supposedly denied a faculty position at the University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign because of the lack of "civility" in his criticism of the Israeli government, whatever that might mean. The American Association of University Professors opposed the Israel boycott (Pérez-Peña & Rudoren, 2013) pointing out that, ". . . . while angry at Israeli policies in the West Bank, say they oppose singling Israel out over other countries with far worse human rights records. Others say it makes little sense to focus on Israeli universities where government policy often comes under strong criticism." The same NY Times article pointed out that even, "President Mahmoud Abbas of the Palestinian Authority has publicly rejected a boycott of Israel" although there has been some equivocating on this statement since.

International engagement requires the academy to step into complex political waters risking compromises to widely held ideas of justice and academic freedom and sidestepping whether boundaries to

free expression might be necessary and acceptable. Global politics make the challenge just so much more problematical.

How to proceed

Assuming that isolation is not the answer to this dilemma, it is imperative to have campus-wide discussions in advance of new international initiatives where senior administration makes the objectives of engagement clear and elaborates the possible compromises likely to be required in (at least) the short term. Campuses would be well served by providing education (classes, lectures, workshops) about new international partners—their culture, values, politics—as key to avoiding the somewhat hysterical reactions of faculty and students when cultural dissonance is encountered.

Overseas engagement is motivated too often by the pursuit of revenue, and in these instances it is difficult to see much resulting from it other than short-term financial gain and further conflict and controversy, on and off campus. True partnerships should incorporate ample opportunities for mutual learning. We should be able to look hopefully towards the growing internationalization of higher education for the purpose of bridging cultural differences and promoting increased tolerance of them, but we must also be cognizant of the harm that can be done within our own communities and to our overseas partners if we don't proceed thoughtfully.

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Publish or Perish? Academics in European Universities

Marek Kwiek

Published on April 10, 2016

I have focused in my previous blogs about European universities on "internationals" and "locals" (Kwiek, 2015) in research and on research "non-performers" (or "non-publishers") (Kwiek, 2014); now it is time to focus on highly productive academics across the same 11 European systems (Kwiek, 2016). Research in higher education has consistently shown that some academics publish a lot – and others publish at moderate rates, or not at all. It has always been so. But institutional reward and promotion structures have always been focused on research achievements, that is, on publications. And academic prestige has always come almost exclusively from research.

As shown over the decades by Alfred Lotka, Derek de Solla Price, Robert K. Merton, Jonathan R. and Stephen Cole, Paula Stephan, and Philip G. Altbach, among others, the majority of university research production comes from a minority of productive academics. We expected the rule to apply to Europe – but it was not shown empirically. The primary data I am using here come from the global CAP and European EUROAC research projects on the academic profession ("Changing Academic Profession" and "Academic Profession in Europe"). There were 13,908 usable cases of research-involved academics from 11 countries: Austria, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. The combined CAP/EUROAC dataset is the most comprehensive source

of cross-national attitudinal and behavioral data on academics available today.

I explored research productivity defined as the self-reported number of refereed journal articles and chapters in academic books that the respondent had published in the three years prior to the survey (2007-2010). "Research top performers" were identified as academics ranked among the top 10 percent of academics with the highest research performance in each of the 11 national systems separately and in the five major research field clusters separately.

Research top performers give substance to European research production: without them, it would be halved. Because, consistently across all 11 European systems studied, on average, slightly less than half (45.9 percent) of all academic research production comes from about 10 percent of the most highly productive academics. And in four systems, the share is near or exceeds 50 percent (Austria, Finland, Poland, and Portugal). I would name it "the 10/50 rule of academic productivity". If the research-active European academic profession employed full-time in universities were divided into two halves, the uppermost productive half would produce more than 90 percent of all articles (91.5 percent), and the lower most productive half merely 8.5 percent.

Top performers work much longer hours: week by week, month by month, and year by year. Their longer working regimen is statistically significant for all countries studied. The mean for the annualized total working time differential between them and the rest of academics is 6.2 hours, ranging from 2.2 hours in Italy to 9.4 hours in Norway and 10.2 hours in Germany. In other words, German top performers spend on average an additional 66.3 full working days on scholarly pursuits per year (10.2 hours times 52 weeks divided by 8 hours per day). There is a standard average working pattern for top performers: the time they spend on research is on average 28.5 percent higher. They also spend more time on teaching, service, and administration. Being interested "primarily in teaching" virtually statistically excludes European academics from the class of research top performers, and being research-oriented is statistically virtually a must. The distribution of research role orientation is almost universal across all the countries studied.

European research top performers emerge as much more cosmopolitan (the power of internationalization), much more hard working (the power of long overall working hours and long research hours), and much more research-oriented (the power of a single academic focus) than the rest of European academics, despite differentiated national contexts. The European research elite is a highly homogeneous group of academics whose research performance is driven by structurally similar factors. The variables increasing the odds of entering this class are individual rather than institutional. From whichever institutional and national contexts they come, they work according to similar working patterns and they share similar academic attitudes. Highly productive academics are similar from a European cross-national perspective—and they substantially differ intra-nationally from their lower-performing colleagues.

Policy implications of this pattern are more important in systems in which research funding is increasingly dispersed in individual research grants than in systems with primarily institutionally-based subsidy-type research funding, and are different for competitive and non-competitive systems. The tension between teaching and research time investments is likely to increase in systems in which more competitive research funding systems are introduced.

A new typology of the European academic profession emerges: there are research top performers, moderate and low performers, as well as non-performers. The academic behaviors and academic attitudes of research top performers are worlds apart—from those of other academics. In terms of research productivity, there is no single "academic profession"—there are only "academic professions" in the plural. Consequently, the "publish or perish" imperative refers to segments of the academic profession to different degrees—those who publish a lot are likely to keep publishing at the same high rates; while those who do not publish still seem unlikely to perish. The parallel existence of the two distinct segments of academics may be producing more intra-institutional tensions, though.

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Breaking Through the Glass Ceiling in Canadian Higher Ed

Saturnin Ndandala

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In Canada, women represent only 21.8% of full professors while constituting 36% of associate professors, 43% of assistant professors, and 60% of university student populations. In contrast, men represent 78% of full professors, although comprising 40% of student enrollment. Because of their gender alone, women continue to face systemic barriers in academe. Existing literature indicates that the following institutional factors: glass ceiling, an androcentric academic culture, and a penalty for motherhood are at the epicenter of this issue.

Women are less likely to be promoted to full professorship than men. Not only that, they encounter more systemic barriers than their male peers. Climbing up the professorial ladder is demanding for all, but requires more from women than from men. Even when outperforming men, women's work is not always appropriately recognized by university reward systems. Although universities across Canada have developed employment equity policies, the workplace culture remains resistant to gender equity. As a result, women tend to stagnate in the low and middle faculty ranks as course instructors, assistant and associate professors. Whereas men predominate in the ranks of full professorship, implying that the Canadian professoriate is plagued by a chronic vertical bias.

In regard to the gender imbalance in academia generally, feminist scholars argue that academia like other societal institutions is governed by paternalist values. Patriarchal practices still affect the reward systems of tenure and promotion; women are confronted every day by systemic discrimination due to gender bias. Their organizational citizenship and career advancement are inhibited by an androcentric culture that gives less recognition to their scholarly contributions. For example, it is pointed out in existing studies that they are less likely to be recommended (Abramson et., 2016; Caplan, 2015; Gentry & Stokes, 2015) for full professorship than male faculty. Even when male and female associate professors present identical research, teaching and service inputs, university tenure committees are inclined more favorably towards male candidates than female ones. Furthermore, the institutional culture of academe has penalized motherhood. It is difficult for female faculty with children to apply for full professorship. Academic life, promotion processes and expectations are incompatible with motherhood. Because of that, women with children confront many personal dilemmas as they try to navigate the promotion processes without impinging on their role as mothers. As argued by Goulden, Wolfinger and Masson (2013), a majority of female faculty think that academic life is incompatible with family life. Subsequently, only few women apply for full professorship, which in turn engenders a pipeline line problem resulting in their under-representation in full professor ranks. While it can be argued that wom-

en without children may have better prospects than those raising children, existing studies indicate that irrespective of their family status, women are still less likely to be promoted because of their gender and as a result, their economic gains are less than for their male peers.

The under-representation of women in full professorship in Canada is comparable to the UK (20% of full professors are female). Whereas in comparison to Norway (25% of full professors are women) and the US (24%), it is somewhat worse. Based on aforementioned percentages, it is logical to conclude that the issue of gender disparities in academia are not only specific to Canada. This problem is also embedded in the academic habitus of other OECD countries.

Organizational change recommendations

Taking into account the aforementioned factors, Canadian universities need to foster a workplace culture with a reward structure that is entirely gender neutral. The current androcentric culture of academe needs to be dismantled with careful attention to effective organizational policies and practices. Principles of gender equity must be practically and systemically put at the epicenter of promotion pro-

cesses and expectations. Members of university evaluation committees, department chairs and all faculty members should be trained in best gender equity evaluation practices. Greater accountability must be demanded from academic administrators and performance evaluators who may discriminate against female faculty.

Better mechanisms for recognizing the value of contributions by female faculty are crucial to changing the culture. They should be recognized and promoted in the same way that male faculty are. Furthermore, effective policies regarding family responsibilities for women (and men) need to be developed to lessen the tension between academic life and family life. Policies should be implemented to the extent that they can facilitate female assistant and associate professors to achieve full professorship and that may imply changes to the traditional timetable to achieve tenure. Motherhood must not be treated as a liability. Overall, university administrations in concert with faculty associations should consider engaging in further studies to address the following factors: the problem of the "glass ceiling", an androcentric academic culture, and penalties for motherhood.

UNETHICAL BEHAVIOR IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The Slippery Business of Plagiarism

Elena Denisova-Schmidt

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Plagiarism is a widespread problem around the world. It can take various forms—copying and pasting text without acknowledging its source, "recycling" or self-plagiarism (presenting the same paper several times as original), purchasing papers from an agency or a ghostwriter and submitting them as one's own. With the benefit of new technologies,

cheating is booming, such that some countries are describing a 'plagiarism epidemic' (Ali, 2016). In the United Kingdom, for example, almost 50,000 university students were caught cheating from 2012 to 2015. This is only the reported cases—how many more cases remain undetected?

Students, especially those who come from cor-

rupt environments where plagiarism is prevalent but ignored or seen as a trivial offense, need better guidance about the consequences of violating the rules of academic integrity. For example, during the academic year 2014-2015, the Department of Immigration in Australia cancelled 9,250 international student visas—plagiarism was one of the reasons cited in addition to other forms of academic misconduct. Students need to understand that plagiarism during the course of their university studies could have significant repercussions—not only in the short-term, but also for their future careers.

Some famous politicians have been implicated in plagiarism scandals. Following the public scandal revolving around plagiarism identified in their dissertations, German Defense Minister Karl-Theodor zu Guttenberg resigned in 2011 and German Education Minister Annette Schavan in 2013. Evidence of plagiarism was found in the dissertation of Ursula von der Leyen, the current German Defense Minister. Igor Danchenko and Clifford Gaddy, scholars at the Brookings Institute, found extensive plagiarism in the dissertation of Russian President, Vladimir Putin, "Strategic Planning of the Reproduction of the Mineral Resource Base of a Region under Condi-

tions of the Formation of Market Relations (St. Petersburg and Leningrad Oblast)," which he'd successfully defended at the St. Petersburg Mining Institute in 1997. U.S. Vice President Joe Biden was thwarted by a plagiarism scandal that dated back to his law school years and that ended his 1988 presidential campaign.

Can undetected plagiarism during a person's studies embolden the inclination to cheat in a future profession? High profile personalities including Timothy Parker, the crossword puzzle editor for USA Today, and Fareed Zakaria, CNN anchor, have been caught in recent plagiarism scandals. Are more students cheating now than before? Not according to the recent study by Curtis and Vardanega (2016), who actually observed a downward trend among students at Australian universities in 2004-2014. At least since some forms of plagiarism can now be detected. Scholars have raised the alarm, however, indicating that about 70% of students do not consider all types of plagiarism (see Table 1) to be wrong. In another study, Curtis et al. (2013) found that only 25% of first-year students at Murdoch University recognize all practices considered to be plagiarism; this number increased to 50% after completing

TABLE 1. **Types of Plagiarism**

SHAM PARAPHRASING	material copied verbatim from text and source acknowledged in-line but represented as paraphrased
ILLICIT PARAPHRASING	material paraphrased from text without in-line acknowledgement of source
OTHER PLAGIARISM	material copied from another student's assignment with the knowledge of the other student
VERBATIM COPYING	material copied verbatim from text without in-line acknowledgement of the source
RECYCLING	same assignment submitted more than once for different courses
GHOSTWRITING	assignment written by third party and represented by student as own work
PURLOINING	assignment copied from another student's assignment or other person's paper without that person's knowledge

Source: Walker, J. (1998). Student plagiarism in universities: what are we doing about it? Higher Education Research & Development, 17(1), 89-106, p. 103.

courses on academic integrity. Curtis and Vardanega (2013) argue that text-matching software and educational interventions help to protect standards of academic integrity and are among the most successful mechanisms for positively change. Denisova-Schmidt et al. (2016) discovered that the frequency of use of some forms of cheating might increase significantly during university studies. Comparing first-year students with more advanced students at selected Russian universities, the scholars found that copying off during exams or tests increases by 25%; downloading term papers (or other papers) from the internet by 15%; and purchasing term papers (or other papers) from special agencies or from other students by 12.5%. The scholars also voiced concern about the students' lack of awareness of what constitutes cheating. Copying and pasting from the Internet without any acknowledgement of source seems to be business as usual for many students at Russian universities.

Many unprepared students are sent to universities all around the world. If secondary school education is failing to address this problem, then higher education institutions must acknowledge this issue by developing a better understanding of why students resort to plagiarism and addressing these motivations specifically. In addition to various anti-plagiarism policies and procedures, incorporating the use of special software programs like Turnitin or Unplag, and developing ratings of universities based on their tolerance of plagiarism (The Moscow Times, 2016), the faculty should present assign-

ments and expectations more clearly to students. All of these remedies might still be insufficient when plagiarism is the only way that some students feel they can succeed or when plagiarism is a plea for help (Rubinstein, 2016).

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Higher Education: A Hotbed of Corruption?

Goolam Mohamedbhai

Published on July 26, 2015

Hardly any week goes by without the appearance of an article on corruption in higher education. The stories cover not only individual students or faculty but also whole institutions and even countries. And corruption in higher education has even crossed borders and become global. One cannot help asking whether higher education has become the hotbed of corruption.

"Competition for resources, fame and notoriety place extraordinary pressures on higher education institutions.......In some instances, corruption has invaded whole systems of higher education and threatens the reputation of research products and graduates, regardless of their guilt and innocence" (Heyneman, 2013). This quote comes from Transparency International's 2013 Global Corruption Report: Education. It can well be illustrated by what is apparently happening in Australia. In April 2015, the Four Corners program of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation revealed examples of how the standards of Australian universities are being compromised through corrupt practices, mainly as a result of the pressure on them to recruit foreign students and to ensure that they pass the exams in order to obtain much-needed funds. The examples given included the involvement of fraudulent recruitment agents, universities graduating poorly qualified or unqualified nurses, widespread plagiarism, cheating and exploitation. The program was appropriately labelled 'Degrees of Deception'. In 2014, a story appeared relating how fraud and corruption within and outside Australia's immigration services enabled thousands of foreign students to acquire illegal permanent residency visas in Australia, thereby resulting in unemployment of Australian graduates.

Corruption appears to be rampant in Russia as well. In September 2014, a paper was published in the online journal International Education Studies, describing the alarming situation of corruption in modern Russian higher education that might take the form of cheating on entrance exams, paying a bribe to facilitate the admissions process, or bribing professors for better grades. Corruption is also suspected among faculty and senior administrators who may clandestinely negotiate any number of benefits for themselves. It mentions that nearly 50% of the student intake of 7.5 million in 2008/2009 academic year had to face corruption and adds that "the corruption component of the whole industry could be compared with the budget of a small country". The paper gives examples of the wide range of corrupt practices in higher education, mentioning the case of a Dean who accepted a bribe of €30,000 for a PhD admission, and the feedback from the Moscow Police that some 30-40 Professors are caught each year for accepting bribes for good grades.

Africa, of course, has its fair share of corruption in higher education. It is reported that in May 2015, South African authorities shut down 42 bogus colleges and universities that were offering fake and unaccredited programs, including three supposedly US-based universities offering degrees in 15 days. In Nigeria, which has the largest higher education system in Africa, areas where corruption occurs most frequently among academic staff are in promotions, falsified research for publication in journals, fake journals, obligating students to buy texts written by the professor and other corrupt practices related to publications. Some professors indulge extortion of money for handouts and marks, and sexual harassment. In a 2012 anonymous survey among 475 students in three East African universities, about a third of the students admitted to plagiarism and to fabrication of references, 25% to collusion in an examination to communicate answers, and 5% to impersonating someone else in an examination. Even a

small country like Mauritius has not been immune to corruption. A couple of supposedly branch campuses of private Indian universities, set up in Mauritius without the necessary approval of Indian authorities and offering degrees that would not be recognized in Mauritius or India, are in the process of being closed down.

The sale of fake degree certificates of well-established universities and the operation of institutions that provide degrees with hardly any period of study, commonly known as degree mills, are now well-known. There are reported cases of even politicians, religious leaders and other senior officials in various countries, developed and developing, who have purchased fake degrees. Most of the degree mills are located in North America and Europe, while others are scattered globally in hidden locations. So far, attempts at stopping the operation of degree mills have had limited success. UNESCO has created a portal that lists all the recognized higher education institutions in different regions of the world. While this is helpful, a more aggressive approach would have been to create a 'blacklist' of known and identified degree mills. No organization has so far established and made public such a list, no doubt fearing legal and political repercussions.

But perhaps the most shocking corruption scandal, known as the Vyapam scam, has just surfaced in India. Vyapam is a government body in the Indian state of Madhya Pradesh and is responsible for conducting entrance examinations for government jobs and for admissions to higher education institutions, including the much sought-after medical colleges. There had been earlier reports of irregularities in Vyapam but until recently no one had imagined the scale of the admission and recruitment scam, involving politicians, businessmen, senior officials and some 2,500 impersonators taking exams in the name of weaker students. More than 2,000 people have been arrested. Worse, tens of people directly involved in the scam have died, some in suspected cases of murder and suicide. The matter has now been referred to India's Central Bureau of Investigation.

It is high time now to declare war on corruption in higher education. Action must be taken at multiple fronts: institutional, national, regional and global. There are already organizations addressing some of the issues, such as UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) and the US-based Council for Higher Education Accreditation (CHEA). But there is a need to set up, perhaps by UNESCO, of a consortium of relevant national, regional and international organizations to devise appropriate strategies, policies and actions for combating the scourge. The guiding principle for the consortium should be that higher education is neither a business nor an industry, but a social good impregnated with values. The war on corruption in higher education must be vigorously fought and won; if not, the national and global consequences could be too serious to be even contemplated.

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Politicians, Fake Degrees, and Plagiarism

Philip G. Altbach

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Last February Kenya's Commission on Higher Education refused to recognize degree certificates from unrecognized higher education institutions. The article in University World News, noted that numerous politicians were claiming such "degrees," including several ministers (Waruru, 2013). At the same time, the University of Düsseldorf in Germany withdrew the doctoral degree of the Minister of Education after an investigation for plagiarism. In 2013 the same university revoked the PhD awarded to Science and Education Minister, Annette Schavan, also for plagiarism (Schiermeier, 2013). In 2011, the German minister of defense, Karl-Theodor zu Guttenberg, was forced to resign after plagiarism was found in his doctoral dissertation. The prestige of holding an advanced degree in Germany is particularly high, and thus the temptation to cut corners perhaps quite high as a result.

In Pakistan when the constitution required that candidates for public office hold university degrees, fake degrees were rampant (Khan, 2013). The Pakistani Supreme Court ordered that the degrees of elected candidates had to be verified, a process became more complicated and controversial than anyone could have imagined. In 2012, rather than pursue the offenders, the constitution was amended to eliminate the degree requirement.

In "A Plague of Plagiarism at the Heart of Politics," Times Higher Education, focuses on a series of plagiarism cases among top officials in several countries, including Romania, where academic degrees seem to be available for sale (Jump, 2013). Are politicians more prone to this kind of hanky-panky than others in society? Is degree fakery and plagiarism a global epidemic? Are there effective means of checking on the veracity of academic work? One Pakistani provincial chief minister said, when accused of having a fake degree, "A degree is a degree. It does not matter if it is real or fake." This type of fraud pervades the corporate sector as well. In February of this year nine people were put on trial for the involvement in providing fake graduate degrees to executives of major international corporation including many in the Fortune 500 (Sharma, 2012).

It seems that we have reduced university education to a credential and, as a result, reduced its meaning and value. After all, there are many paths to a credential, some less ethical than others. As the news articles referenced above indicate, fraud is not limited to diploma mills—established universities are vulnerable as well. What is to be done? There is no way of stopping duplicitous behavior of this sort. Those who wish to cut corners regardless of principle will, of course, find ways. Technology has made forgery and plagiarism easier to commit but sometimes also easier to detect. Oversight by a reliable and transparent quality assurance regime is essential, as are national systems that make public (and easily accessible) the accreditation status of academic institutions and its degrees. These measures go hand in hand. Public awareness of fraudulent practice and aggressive sanctions are critical. In the cases cited in this blog, an attentive media, public watchdogs, and public censure drew attention to the fraud and created an atmosphere where perpetrators suffer consequences. Indeed, it is likely that whistleblowers and journalists will be key elements in protecting society from infractions of this kind in the future. Perhaps continuing publicity and effective controls will help but it is doubtful that the temptation to claim unearned credentials will disappear.

Clearly we need to stop taking degrees on a CV at face value. Sadly, the fraud of a few throws into question the degrees dutifully earned by thousands as a result of their intellectual commitment and hard work. Sadly, we now live in a world where the potential misdeeds of a few cause us to question the deeds of all.

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RESEARCH AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Internationalists and Locals: Research Productivity across Europe

Marek Kwiek

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The relationships between international cooperation and research productivity have been widely discussed in research literature. International research collaboration is often found to be a critical factor in predicting high research productivity.

The question is whether and to what extent international collaboration indeed correlates to higher than average research productivity and whether the relationships are consistent across all academic disciplines. The analysis was conducted with reference to two separate groups of academics, termed "internationalists" and "locals". We defined "internationalists" as academics with involvement in international collaboration and "locals," academics indicating a lack of involvement in international collaboration. The data were drawn from the global CAP study, "Changing Academic Profession" and the European EUROAC project, "Academic Profession in Europe: Responses to Societal Challenges." The primary data come from 11 European countries documenting 17,211 individual cases.

Our research demonstrates that across all major clusters of academic fields, the difference in productivity between European "internationalists" and "locals" is statistically significant at a high level (p < 0.001). European academics collaborating with international colleagues in research had published (on average) substantially more articles in academic books or journals than their colleagues in the same academic field who were not collaborating internationally.

The percentage of academics collaborating internationally in research across Europe is high — on average by two-thirds of academics. There are huge cross-disciplinary and cross-national differences, though. Academics in the physical sciences and mathematics are by far the most internationalized (Three-fourth of them are collaborating internationally) and academics in the professional fields are the least internationalized (Only about half of them are collaborating internationally).

Internationalists in 11 European countries across all academic fields had published on average

about twice as many articles as locals. In some academic fields, such as engineering internationalists produced on average about 140 percent more and in the physical sciences and mathematics, about 120 percent more articles, while in humanities, social sciences and the professional fields, about 70 percent more articles during the three-year period of the study (2005-2007 for CAP and 2008-2010 for EUROAC countries). Internationalists in life sciences and medical sciences, the academic field with the highest productivity rate, produced on average 8.80 articles (about 80 percent more than locals who produced an average of 4.91 articles. The academic field with the highest productivity rate differential between internationalists and locals in Europe is engineering with the average productivity rates of 6.97 articles for the former group and 2.91 for the latter.

In the 11 European countries studied, international collaboration in research correlates with a substantially higher number of publications. Only in the Netherlands, the most highly internationalized system in Europe, were the results not statistically significant. If we assume that the mean number of publication of locals is 100 percent, then the field mean for internationals varies from about 240 to more than 400. International collaboration pays off most significantly in engineering where academics collaborating internationally produce four times more publications, and least in the humanities and social sciences and professions (about two and a half times more).

We also organized four categories of countries—internationalization leaders, followers, moderates, and laggards. The internationalization leaders are the relatively small systems of Ireland and the Netherlands, where, on average, more than four in every five academics are collaborating internationally, followed by Austria, Switzerland and Finland. In the internationalization followers were about three-fourths of academics participate in international research. The two least internationalized systems, or internationalization laggards, are the relatively big systems of Poland and Germany where slightly less than a half of all academics collaborate internationally. The remaining countries are internationalization moderates. The correlation of high research productivity with international collaboration does not mean the identification of causal relationships. International cooperation in research may be generally undertaken by more productive academics and, as such, may be sought after by the more productive academics elsewhere. Also more productive academics tend to have better access to funding for international cooperation. There is also an important difference between publication numbers and their scientific significance. Quantity does not necessarily reflect scientific value although it is often assumed in the studies on the social stratification in science that a higher number of publications tends to lead to more consequential research.

Conclusions

Research productivity of European academics is strongly correlated with international research collaboration; the average research productivity rate of European academics involved in international collaboration (internationalists) is consistently higher than the rate of European academics not involved in international collaboration (locals) in all academic fields and in the 11 countries studied.

The distinction between internationalists and locals permeates European research. Some systems, institutions, and academics are consistently more internationalized in research than others. For internationalists, the international academic community is a reference group, while locals publish predominantly for the national academic community.

Internationalization increasingly plays a stratifying role in the academy, though more international collaboration tends to mean higher publishing rates and those who do not collaborate internationally may be losing more than ever in terms of resources and prestige as well as academic "accumulative disadvantage".

Competition has become a permanent reality of the European research landscape and local prestige combined with local publications may no longer suffice in the race for national or international resources and academic recognition. Huge cross-disciplinary and cross-national differences apply but, in general, the internationalization of research in European universities is progressing rapidly.

How International Is Peer Review?

Liudvika Leišyte

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Impartiality in peer review has been a focus of recent debate as a number of studies have shown that peer review is not as impartial as it is assumed to be (e.g. Lamont, 2009). Studies have shown that peer-review in academia is biased against many characteristics of the author such as prestige, affiliation, content orientation (such as conservatism), interdisciplinary biases, the social characteristics of peer-reviewers, and the composition of the peer-review team. I find it especially interesting that language, as well as nationality, are a strong source of bias in peer review. If a non-native speaker is submitting a manuscript in English, the reviewer will most probably comment or even reject it based on the quality of the writing, even though the article would eventually be proofread and edited by a native-English speaking professional.

When considering bias in peer review one must consider the scientific ethos of universalism that contributes to research quality following Robert Merton's (1973) the Normative Structure of Science. However, my recent research on the composition of editorial boards in West and East/Central European journals, the composition of the peer review panels of research councils in the selected European countries (Leisyte, 2014), the study of grant applications by March, Jayasinghe and Bond (2008), as well as peer review committee composition study (Van Arensbergen, 2014) have shown that although the internationalization of peer review and research quality are strongly interconnected in various research evaluation regimes, peer review is rarely impartial when it comes to nationality. The internationalization of peer review varies from country to country and from one scientific discipline to another. Larger countries that have a more significant critical mass of scientists in different fields tend to have 'native' editorial boards. Journals and peer review committees for research councils that distribute funding tend to rely on national expertise in their research evaluation exercises (if and when they conduct such exercises at the national level).

My study also demonstrated differences in the extent of the internationalization between selected Western and Central and Eastern European (CEE) academic journals' editorial boards. Western European journals' editorial boards seem to be more internationally oriented than CEE editorial boards. Further, journals in hard sciences, such as in chemistry, seem to be more internationally oriented in the European context than in humanities and social sciences. Interestingly, in the US, selected social sciences/humanities journals seem to be more international in board composition than hard science editorial boards. Research council boards reflect only limited internationalization. Most of the European peer-review boards studied are populated by home-country nationals, with the exception of some smaller countries that are more likely to include international scholars on their peer-review boards.

Thus, despite the claims of the impartiality of peer review, nationality and language biases continue to influence the peer review process by academic journals, research council review committees as well as other national research evaluation exercises. This calls for more thoughtful discussion and debate about what constitutes world-class research quality in different countries and different disciplines and how it is evaluated. Greater respect to a diversity of approaches, traditions, languages and nationalities are a few elements that should be incorporated into peer review processes by journal editors, policymakers and others who design research evaluation schemes. This should include attention specifically to the number of international experts included in the committees and journal review boards with (perhaps) at least one-third international. Further, review and editorial guidelines could address the tendency towards an English-language bias by insuring that the reviewers are picked from different language

backgrounds and nationalities. In some disciplines and fields it will be more difficult to accomplish than in others—probably in scientific disciplines, like chemistry for example, international participation will be easier to achieve than in history. But awareness of the problem and a commitment to take concrete steps to diminish biases in peer review would be a positive step forward for the international research community.

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HIGHER EDUCATION GOVERNANCE, THE STATE, AND THE MARKET

A Quiet Revolution in Chinese Universities

Qiang Zha and Qiubo Yang

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In the decade to come, many changes with respect to the governance of Chinese universities are expected. At the policy level, the National Outline for Medium- and Long-Term Educational Reform and Development (2010-2020) or the 2020 Blueprint, calls for building a modern university system on Chinese soil, granting and securing academic freedom and university autonomy. Chinese universities are now encouraged to draw up their charters that are supposed to define the boundaries within which they should have jurisdiction. Observers are curious as well as doubtful that the government will voluntarily take its hands off and whether universities will enjoy true autonomy over their own operations. A quiet revolution might now be observed along with emergence of a group of separate experimental colleges at 17 universities.

A "Special Zone" within Chinese Universities

This initiative started in 2011 to establish a special zone within the realm of higher education, to experiment with more faculty authority over academic affairs and latitude for innovation. It embarked on a broad idea without explicit guidelines until November 2012 when China's Ministry of Education officially assumed oversight of experimental colleges with specific objectives, including implementation of democratic governance, autonomy over program development, new faculty hiring, student recruitment, resource allocations, and pedagogical reform. A charter and a board will comprise the core of institutionalized arrangements for democratic governance in each experimental unit. A professorial committee will nominate candidates for deanships

and represent the faculty in decision-making related to teaching, research and administration within the unit. An academic committee will oversee disciplinary area development and academic performance assessment, to protect the unit from interference in the academic sphere. The experimental colleges are being encouraged to build internal capacity to manage their own development, including the establishment of incentive and regulatory mechanisms. They are assuming responsibility and risk.

How Do Experimental Colleges Operate?

In a sense, this experimentation in academic sphere is similar to the economic initiative in the 1980s with the establishment of a number of special economic zones in China, that spearheaded the opening up of the country's economy. Both initiatives attempt to break through restraints imposed by the existing system—economic and academic—and feature a bottom-up approach of "crossing a river by feeling the stones." The experimental colleges have come up with different and sometimes unique practices along the lines set out by this initiative. For instance, in Tianjin University (founded in 1895 as China's the first modern university), the College of Precision Instrument & Opto-electronics Engineering is the university's experimental unit and has adopted a unique approach to administration, placing academics at the core of decision-making, optimizing their academic power and abolishing the traditional administrative unit of department to cut down and curb administrative power in the operations of teaching and research. Now a system consisting of PI (Principal Investigator)-led groups is put in place to operate major research activities, executed by project teams within the group. In such a system, an academic PI has the full power to decide new hires and resource allocations. The PI and the project leaders under him/her are supposed to be recruited globally. In the organization of teaching, a system based on a Chair Professor (CP) is created; this person is in charge of program and curriculum development, educational standards and teaching content, student evaluation and assessment in a specific field, as well as appointment of course instructors and evaluation of teaching outcome. Both the Principal Investigator and the Chair Professor are appointed for a term of three years, and evaluation of their performance is tied to their term of appointment, rather than conducted annually.

Such autonomy over academic operations also finds expression in student recruitment. In the case of Tianjin University, new students still have to be screened through the national university entrance examination (gaokao), but a new path selects students partially on their gaokao scores and partially on their performance in interviews organized and conducted by the College. Now an increasing portion of the students come through such a path, whereby their gaokao scores account for 60% and interview performance makes the other 40% of their application; the interview is entirely controlled by the College, evaluated on the content and items judged important by a local expert academic panel.

Experimental Colleges Usher in a Quiet Revolution

Given the absence and insufficiency of democratic governance in Chinese universities for decades, the universities often suffer from inertia in exercising their autonomy—even if they are provided with such an opportunity—let alone pushing for more autonomy. To facilitate progress, dynamism and initiatives need to be brought into play from the bottom up. While the 2020 Blueprint expresses the policy design from the top, the practice of granting university charters exhibits a top-down approach as well, whereby Chinese universities are required to work their charters from a pattern/model pre-set by the government. In contrast, the experience of experimental colleges showcases a bottom-up approach, whereby grassroots initiatives can be identified and implemented. Notably, the whole idea of creating experimental colleges stemmed from a suggestion made by a group of veteran scholars in March 2010.

In many senses, this group of experimental colleges has ushered in a quiet revolution in Chinese higher education, in comparison with more notable moves such as the policy initiative of establishing a modern university system in the 2020 Blueprint

and the ongoing practice of granting university charters. Compared with those top-down moves, the experimental colleges are more likely to develop autonomous practices into existing operations, often in an innovative way. Nonetheless, this view doesn't rule out the future challenges and risks that might stand in their way. Considering the dependent behaviour of Chinese organizations in the past, it will be challenging to keep the current innovative practices (e.g., the PI-led research groups and CP-led

teaching platforms in the case of Tianjin University) from sliding back onto the old path (becoming another kind of administrative or bureaucratic mechanism. Even this is not going to happen, it will still be tricky to prevent too much power from following to and concentrating in the hands of a few PIs and CPs, on one hand, and to ensure a wide participation of the faculty in decision-making, on the other.

University Democracy in Democracies?

Daniel Levy

Published on February 17, 2013

The Issue

Egypt recently moved toward the election of deans and presidents in its public universities. Wherever dictatorship falls and governments are suddenly elected by the citizens, as in the Middle East today or Eastern Europe in 1989, or more sporadically over time in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, a major higher education question arises: should there be a significant counterpart of internal, representational, electoral, university democracy (henceforth "university democracy")?

Let's put aside here the question of the balance of power between university autonomy and government control in a democracy. What I address is mostly different: how the university (within a democratic national political system) should be governed internally. Should faculty elect not just department chairs but deans? Presidents? Should students have a vote? Should they serve on decision-making committees? Should students and faculty serve on boards and, if so, should they elect their own representatives or should their representatives be appointed by others? Who should set curriculum and disciplinary policy?

Rather than tackling such questions individually, I identify two contrasting basic views of democracy that play out very differently in the general consideration of the appropriateness of internal, representational, electoral, university democracy. Of course

advocacy (and reality) often falls between the extremes of either full democracy or no democracy but common differences are major.

The View Favoring University Democracy

One basic view sees the proper approach to such questions as obvious: There should be direct democratic parallels between the national political system and the university. Democracy for the country should mean considerable corresponding democracy for the university. Like citizens of a country, members of a university community should be able to participate actively, have an important voice in policymaking, and elect many of their leaders, who, in turn, should be largely accountable to their constituencies. Democracy is good, more democracy is better.

The case for university democracy may be particularly important for new national democracies. It is often the new democracies that starkly face the question of whether to have university democracy. Many (such as Putin's Russia) are "formal democracies," not consolidated, robust democracies. They are fragile or they have many undemocratic features. Society remains largely undemocratic. There's only limited democracy outside or in between national elections, and there are major limitations on freedom of expression, information, and free association.

Those who favor university democracy believe that it can help, however modestly, in these cases of weak national democracy. On the one hand, it can provide at least some truly democratic space. On the other hand, it can be a model and a force for national level democracy. Along with other democratic societal institutions, the university should breed positive political socialization for democratic norms, participation, trust, tolerance, the practice of negotiation and compromise-- in short a democratic political culture.

Perhaps the best known historical tradition of university democracy is the Latin American "co-government" (begun with the Cordoba, Argentina reforms of 1918). Proportional representation on decision-making bodies and direct election of administrators remain hallmark features in many of the region's public universities. The Western European student revolt of the 1960s and 1970s made parallel demands for widespread student and faculty roles in governance. Though such internal democracy has been buffeted in recent decades by state sector managerialism and pressures for increased accountability, market forces, the growth of private institutions, and neo-liberal favoring of "consumer choice" over collective decision-making through representational processes, Latin America itself in recent years has had a revival of movements for widespread democracy inside public universities.

The View Opposing University Democracy

In stark contrast is the view that national democracy (whether strong or limited) should not include university democracy. Vibrant national democracy does not, in this vision, require that societal institutions be internally democratic. Some of the rationales for this position are generically relevant for societal institutions and associations that form part of a pluralist democracy. Pluralist democracy famously allows for hierarchy within churches, advocacy organizations, businesses, unions—and educational institutions. The reasoning is especially powerful for private institutions where membership or participation is voluntary; institutions of choice need not internally provide unrestricted voice that determines policy. But the reasoning applies also to many public organizations. Of course there are debates over the shape and volume of voice, participation, and representation within institutions, but the vision I identify here is antithetical to overall university democracy.

Some take the view further: not only are internally democratic institutions not required within national democracies, they are detrimental to it. A national democracy needs strong autonomous societal institutions that can chart and pursue clear courses of action. Institutional autonomy can be undermined by the internal conflict and uncertainty associated with widespread and shifting representation and electoral politics.

For the particular case of the universities, one might relax the case against university democracy a bit: we're dealing with a highly educated community and socializing youth for the broader democratic stage. On the other hand, the case against electoral and representational democracy might be strengthened when it comes to universities: academic and policy decisions should be made by highly trained and capable experts, not the community at large.

In this view Latin American co-government, in those instances in which it appears in extreme form, epitomizes the ills of university democracy with its pursuit of votes over sound academic policy, chronic conflict and confusion, rampant inefficiency, shoddy teaching, poor research, and lack of accountability to society and democratic government. South Asia's public universities are often similarly depicted by those opposed to university democracy. In contrast, the most prominent and most prominently invoked example of a national democracy that basically denies university democracy is of course the United States.

Such are two very contrasting visions of whether to have ample university democracy inside democratic political systems. Almost everyone professes to be for national democracy but democracy is a complex concept with different legitimate views of what it is—and with different legitimate views of what it must include and when is appropriate to nourish it. Should a democratic national political system have democratic universities? There's not just one common answer.

Controversy over the role of the private sector in Latin America

Dante J. Salto

Published on May 31, 2016

National traditions have played a major role when it comes to favoring public or private sector higher education expansion. For example, Argentina reached "universal" thresholds mainly through public sector enrollment, Chile (since the 1980s) mainly through the private sector. However, most of the region's countries that are only halfway or less toward a universal goal are today relying heavily on the private sector. At least, this is true for the two largest higher education systems—Brazil, which had long grown mostly through the private sector, and Mexico, which had historically relied more on public expansion.

The region's increasing reliance on private higher education for access occurs through both the expansion of traditional and the emergence of new private forms. Especially the new private forms lack legitimacy in the eyes of many higher education leaders and much of the general public. But these reservations are mitigated by the convenience offered by this sector to reach enrollment targets as it is difficult to squeeze more money out of government budgets. In many cases, convenience trumps ideology.

Such issues were prominent among those discussed in an expert summit on Latin American higher education held on March 4-7, 2016 in Colombia. Several participants mentioned two usual suspects in explaining higher education diversification—demographic trends signaling a larger number of working age adults able to access higher education and structural resource constraints.

That controversy, even intense controversy, would accompany private growth is hardly new, but today's battles take some new forms. This is striking as legally for-profit institutions open in some countries. Remarkably, now the private nonprofit sector joins forces with the public sector in reaction to the new private breed. Mentioning profit and education in the same breath upsets many stomachs in the education community. But in reality, many nonprofit institutions have long been generating revenues for internal use and many have crossed the line into corrupt, illegal profiting. Governments tackle this issue with at least two different, somewhat opposing strategies: going after those institutions allegedly involved in illegal activities or pursuing benefit from the situation by allowing these institutions to choose to become legally for-profit (and then collect taxes from these previously tax-exempt organizations). Brazil, Peru, and Chile (non-university level) are the countries that have most prominently embraced the latter option. Initially promoted by politically centrist or frankly neo-liberal governments, for-profits have not only survived but actually flourished under left-leaning governments. Brazil is the paradigmatic example. Instead of attacking for-profits, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's administration (2003-2010) increased public funding for the private sector by making financial aid to students and tax exemptions available to for-profit institutions for extending access to youth from poor backgrounds.

But the discussion at the Colombia summit made clear that a reasonable analysis of privatization has to address counter-trends as well. Chilean public policy seeks to restrict the country's robust public tuition policy imposed by the military government during the 1980s. A traditionally market-friendly country such as Colombia has mostly relied on the public sector for the most recent access expansion and has squelched plans to allow for-profit universities. To some people Colombia's rapid public expansion has come as a surprise since this initiative was sponsored by the World Bank, an entity usually linked to the promotion of diversification through private sector involvement. However, the Colombian example shows that today, even when the public sector plays the lead-

ing role in expanding the system, it does so increasingly through new public management strategies, such as the promotion of modern managerial practices and diversification of funding sources; in short, such expansion may be considered public-private more than simply public in the grand historical tradition of full public funding and management.

Although highly controversial, new forms of private higher education have been used by both right and left regimes in Latin America. In today's Latin America, thinking about and making public policy for higher education, especially access policy, inevitably includes private higher education. That this strategy sometimes holds even for left-leaning governments is striking. Yet we'd be kidding ourselves to think we've entered an era of left-right consensus about private higher education or the role of private activity. While some stakeholders battle to expand private higher education, others battle to roll it back. Only time will tell, but the chances are that the private sector still has the potential to increase its enrollment share in those Latin American countries that have yet to progress from mass to universal participation.

Politics: The Bane of Indian Higher Education

Philip G. Altbach

Prior to the recent elections that swept the Congress government out of power and instilled Narendra Modi, a proposal was made to establish two universities in the Rae Bareily parliamentary constituency of Congress leader Sonia Gandhi—one an aviation institution and the other a women's university. This is yet another example of the domination of politics over sound educational planning in Indian higher education. India will not build world-class universities or for that matter, a quality higher system, if politics continue to interfere with rational decision making.

Plenty of Rational Ideas

Bodies such as the Planning Commission and the University Grants Commission (UGC), both key central government policy agencies are, of course, subject to political realities, but they at least possess expertise and a sense of national needs and requirements for academic quality. With few exceptions, this cannot be said for those responsible for higher education decisions at the level of the states, where many key decisions are made. There is little expertise or understanding of the broader needs of the colleges and universities. Gujarat, Modi's home state, seems to be the exception as there, has at least been some strategic thinking about the role of higher education in the economic and social development of the state.

The Infusion of Politics

Politics exacerbate India's higher education dilemmas at almost every level of development. In the past decade or so, India's plan to increase the number of high-quality, research-oriented universities failed in part because of the intrusion of politics impeding any decision about the location of some of these new universities. Many were placed in out of the way places, designated by powerful interests. Building effective research universities away from urban areas and centers of commerce only adds to the challenge of developing decent quality infrastructure and contracting qualified faculty and staff.

One of the continuing problems of India's higher education landscape is the profusion of undergraduate colleges. Indeed, India's 34,000 colleges represent more than half of the world's higher education institutions. Experts agree that many of these colleges are too small to be effective, are not adequately funded, and increasingly depend on stu-

dent tuition for survival—some do not even have Internet connectivity. Many of these colleges were established by politicians or business people, seeking a base for local power and influence. University and state authorities are pressed to approve these colleges, even when there is little evidence of need or quality. Recent efforts by accreditation authorities and the UGC to force many substandard colleges to close or raise their standards have met with political opposition. If there is one particularly volatile issue that consumes Indian higher education, it is debate over substandard, tiny, and inadequately financed undergraduate colleges.

What Can Be Done?

The answer is simple but the implementation perhaps impossible—remove direct political influence over critical higher education decisions. Is another women's university truly needed? Should a new university be focused entirely on aviation? Should central universities be under the control of ministries other than the Ministry of Education, Civil Aviation for instance? The answer to all of these questions is of course, "no," but at the least a rational planning process could be established that would review major project proposals prior to their implementation.

In order to ensure rational planning, several changes are needed. Of course, the first one is a commitment to end the interference of politics and parochial priorities on higher education policies of all kinds—a mammoth task given the half-century in which political influence has been unrestrained.

The second is perhaps less obvious. India has a notable lack of expertise in regard to higher education. At the central level, no highly regarded research or policy institutes focus on higher education, and very few experts work on the topic. Statistics are spotty and often unreliable. The key public agencies that have responsibility for higher education, such as the UGC or the National Assessment and Accreditation Council, do not have much research capacity. The situation in the states is even more dire, since no state has an adequate infrastructure to support good decisions about higher education and few collect accurate data.

India needs a commitment to rational higher education planning and decision making, and this will require "thinking capacity" and data. Most important, higher education cannot continue to be a political football.

Tenure of University Presidents

Andrés Bernasconi

Published on June 23, 2013

In the US, university presidents are serving longer (8.5 years on average) and into older age: 49 percent are now older than 60 years of age, compared to 14 percent 20 years ago. In this regard, the US is an anomaly since presidents serve at the discretion of their boards and can remain in office longer than presidents elected by the professoriate (the traditional European model) whose tenures are usually limited in length by regulation, internal politics, or national changes in government.

I found myself pondering the question of presidential tenure after I got wind of two pieces of news.

In my country, Chile, the rector of a private university announced that she was stepping down after 31 years at the helm of her institution. She had founded this university in the early 1980's, and then presided over its rise in the first decade and its fall in the subsequent two. Clearly, too long.

In Brazil, the prestigious State University of Campinas held presidential elections a few months ago. The incumbent leadership lost, and left office after only four years—time to launch important innovations but not enough time to develop them. Clearly, too short. The ballot was close. So close, in-

deed, that the fate of the university was decided by the administrative staff (Yes, they vote in Campinas, as do students), who favored the winning candidate by a margin of 4 to 1, while the losing party received 52% of the faculty vote. Leaving aside the weird impact of the vote of the administrative staff in Campinas, the fact is that when elections are held every four years, the presidency is up for grabs quite often.

In Chile, the tenure of presidents at public universities who are elected by the faculty, is limited by law to two, 4-year terms. There is no term limit in the case of private institutions. My unsystematic, yet close, evaluation of university presidencies in Chile suggests that the rectors who succeeded in noticeably changing their institutions for the better held

the office for over 10 years. It seems that shorter periods are not sufficient for that level of impact. On the other hand, a long tenure can result in damage to the institution when, as it is often the case with private institutions in Latin America, presidents are often (also) owners of their institution and there is no independent board to put an end to poor leadership at the top.

Effective governance is not, of course, principally a matter of the length of presidential mandates. But whether presidents are elected by their constituents or appointed by a board has an effect on the kind of scrutiny given to a president and determines whether a successful administration is allowed to continue or whether ineffectual chiefs will be removed from office.

DIVERSIFICATION, RANKINGS, AND QUALITY ASSURANCE

Are Excellence Initiatives Working?

Jamil Salmi

Published on July 12, 2016

In order to accelerate the transformation process towards building "world-class" universities, a few governments - China, France, Germany, Japan, Russia and Spain, for example - have launched so-called "excellence initiatives", consisting of large injections of additional funding to boost the performance of their university sector. While many of these programs are fairly young, having started in the past decade or even more recently, they have begun to impact the participating universities in a significant way. This makes it imperative to assess how effective these excellence initiatives have been and draw lessons from recent and ongoing experiences. For that purpose, the Russian Academic Excellence Project 5-100 convened an International Conference on Ex-

cellence Initiatives in St. Petersburg at the end of June 2016, in collaboration with IREG Observatory on Academic Rankings and Excellence.

One of the most innovative features of this International Conference on Excellence Initiatives, was that it brought together government representatives (Ministry officials and managers of Excellence Initiatives implementation offices), university leaders—the "victims" or beneficiaries of these excellence initiatives—and higher education researchers focusing on rankings and other measures of academic excellence.

While the first excellence initiatives, especially in East Asia and the Nordic countries, reflected a long-term national commitment to strengthen the

contribution of tertiary education to economic development, the most recent wave seems to be stimulated by the perception of a competitive disadvantage relative to the stellar performance of foreign universities, as measured by the global rankings. This was definitely the case with the 2012 French initiative that has encouraged mergers and alliances to give more visibility to the top universities in the country, or the 2013 Academic Excellence Project in Russia, which explicitly aims to place 5 universities among the top 100 in the rankings by 2020. As a result, most of the Excellence Initiatives promote internationalization as a key strategy for attracting top academic talent, thus strengthening the research capacity of leading universities and reducing the limitations that result from "inbreeding."

Conference discussions noted that most excellence initiatives put more emphasis on research than teaching. Spain is an exception, where careful consideration is being given to the balanced development of a strong research capacity, modern teaching and learning practices, and active collaboration with the economic environment.

Many excellence initiatives mark a significant philosophical shift in the funding policies of the participating countries, notably in Europe. In France, Germany, Russia and Spain, where all public universities had traditionally been considered to be equally good in terms of performance, the excellence initiatives have brought a move away from the principle of uniform budget entitlements towards a substantial element of competitive, performance-based funding.

Indeed, the selection process to choose the beneficiary universities and/or centers of excellence is perhaps the most noteworthy element of excellence initiatives. In the majority of cases, the government's approach has involved a competition among eligible universities with a thorough peer review process to select the best proposals. The peer review process usually relies on the work of expert evaluation teams including a mix of national and international experts.

As competition for funding among universities gets fiercer, the importance of cooperation should not be overlooked. Evidence shows that researchers are most effective when they participate in collaborative projects, nationally or internationally. During the Conference, participants explained how the international collaborative research promoted by excellence initiatives tends to be of higher quality with greater influence than traditional research. The Canadian program of chairs of excellence, for example, has brought about unexpected synergies resulting from increased collaborations across universities.

One of the other positive outcomes of excellence initiatives is that they have allowed a new generation of university leaders to emerge. The successful transformation and upgrading of universities, which is what excellence initiatives pursue, requires a bold vision and the capacity to change the mindset of the academic community in the pursuit of academic excellence.

Conference participants devoted time to the need to set up proper monitoring and evaluation mechanisms to assess the results of excellence initiatives. Are the global rankings adequate measures to provide a good sense of the effectiveness of the programs? Would benchmarking be a more appropriate approach to evaluate the impact of excellence initiatives?

Measuring the effectiveness and impact of excellence initiatives on the beneficiary universities is not an easy task for at least two reasons: time and attribution. First, upgrading a university takes many years, eight to ten at the very minimum. Since many excellence initiatives are fairly recent, attempts at measuring success could be premature. It is indeed unlikely that the scientific production of beneficiary universities would increase significantly within the first few years of an excellence initiative. A thorough analysis would therefore require looking at a reasonably large sample of institutions for comparison purposes, either within a given country or across countries, over many years. The second challenge is related to attribution. Even if a correlation could be established from a large sample of institutions, it would be difficult to demonstrate that the excellence initiatives actually caused the observed change.

In the absence of impact analyses of the recent excellence initiatives, comparing the results of the top universities in the Academic Ranking of World

Universities (Shanghai Ranking) over the past decade (2004-2014) offers a few insights. The four countries that have made considerable progress are China (24 additional universities in the top 500), Australia (5 additional universities), Saudi Arabia and Taiwan (4 additional universities each). All four countries have had one or more excellence initiatives, that have provided increased and sustained investment in top universities.

At the bottom of the list, the main "losers" are Japan and the United States, which place, respectively, 15 and 24 universities fewer among the top 500 in 2014 compared to ten years earlier. In the case of the United States, it is interesting to note the relatively higher proportion of public universities that dropped out of the ranking, which tends to confirm the adverse impact of the significant reduction in public subsidies since the 2007 financial crisis (or even before in some States).

At the institutional level, the five universities that have climbed most significantly in the ranking over the past decade—Shanghai Jiao Tao University and Fudan University in China, King Saud University in Saudi Arabia, the University of Aix-Marseille in France, and the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology—have all received additional funding from their respective national excellence initiatives.

Besides supporting entire universities in their improvement efforts, many excellence initiatives have offered funding to build critical mass by establishing new centers of excellence or strengthening existing ones, oftentimes with a focus on multidisciplinary approaches. A recent OECD review of excellence initiatives found that one of their major benefits has been to provide funding for high-impact / high-risk basic research as well as for interdisciplinary and cooperative research endeavors.

Finally, conference participants warned that excellence initiatives may engender negative behaviors and carry adverse consequences. Policy makers and university leaders must keep in mind the risk of harmful effects on teaching and learning quality because of the research emphasis of most excellence initiatives, reduced equality of opportunities for students from underprivileged groups as universities become more selective, and diminished institutional diversity as all institutions aspire to become world-class universities. Another challenge faced by several excellence initiatives is the absence of corresponding governance reforms to free institutions from the constraints of civil service regulations; beneficiary universities tend to create parallel tracks to provide a positive environment for their star researchers, with state-of-the-art laboratories and US-style doctoral programs, operating in isolation from the rest of the university, that may remain untouched and unimproved by the excellence initiative.

Quality in Africa: New Initiatives

Goolam Mohamedbhai

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The poor quality of higher education in sub-Saharan Africa has been the subject of many articles, reports and papers in recent years. The situation, which was perhaps at its worst at the beginning of the 21st century, has significantly improved; but more, much more remains to be done.

The reasons for poor quality are known: large enrolment of students beyond the carrying capacity of the institutions; acute lack of funding in public institutions; severe shortage of qualified faculty; poor governance; internal, institutional inefficiency; inadequate linkages with the productive sector; and a proliferation of private, for-profit providers. The consequences are equally known: inadequate and crumbling infrastructure; programs, departments and even institutions that fail to be nationally ac-

credited; large unemployment of graduates; abysmally poor research output; and, ultimately, higher education institutions being unable to contribute to the development of Africa.

There have been several initiatives undertaken at institutional, national, regional and continental levels over the past decade or so to redress the situation. Several universities, for example, have made huge efforts to raise funds, to upgrade the qualifications of their faculty, to encourage research and even to set up an internal quality assurance system. At national level, countries are setting up quality assurance agencies for accrediting institutions and their programs. A couple of regional bodies have been able to attract donor funding to support quality assurance initiatives. And, at continental level, the African Union Commission has launched several projects for quality improvement as part of its higher education harmonization strategy, in particular its African Quality Rating Mechanism (AQRM), which encourages institutions to undertake a self-assessment of their activities against set standards.

Yet, these initiatives have had, with a few exceptions limited impact on improving quality in higher education. There are several reasons for this. First, almost all of them have been dependent on donor funding over a limited period, and once the project ends and the funds stop, the initiative becomes unsustainable. So lack of funding is a serious constraint. Second, many of them are disparate and uncoordinated and do not involve all the key stakeholders at national or regional level. Third, there is a general lack of knowledge about the quality assurance process. This lack of capacity applies to both the institutions and the national quality assurance agencies, and few countries have developed standards and guidelines for quality assurance. Fourth, there is no experience in properly evaluating private or transnational institutions, or postgraduate programs, or open and distance learning institutions, all of which are rapidly growing in Africa.

However, two new initiatives have just been launched which could, in the long term, make a difference. Although they have the same objective of improving quality, they adopt two very different approaches.

The first one is the 'Harmonization of African Higher Education Quality Assurance and Accreditation' or HAQAA. It is funded by the European Union (EU) and forms part of the Joint Africa-EU Strategy, which was adopted in 2007 and which provides a framework for long-term cooperation between Africa and Europe on identified, mutual and complementary interests. The idea is for Africa to develop a quality assurance and accreditation model which is specific to the continent but which uses the experiences of Europe. It is a three-year project which started in December 2015. The objectives include: the development of the Pan-African Quality Assurance and Accreditation system; enhancing regional collaboration in quality assurance and among regional networks; capacity building in internal and external quality assurance at the institutional, national and regional level; and promoting good practices and sharing experiences between Europe and Africa. The partners of the project are the European University Association, the Association of African Universities (AAU), the European Association of Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA), the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), and the University of Barcelona, Spain. In many ways, HAQAA will build on past quality assurance initiatives in Africa and attempt to address some of the challenges experienced in implementing and sustaining them.

The second new initiative is the 'Benchmarking of African Universities', which is being developed by the World Bank as part of its project on 'Partnership for Skills in Applied Sciences, Engineering and Technology', or PASET. PASET, launched by the World Bank in 2013, supports Africa's socio-economic transformation by promoting the building of technical and scientific skills over the whole spectrum of education. Benchmarking is not really a quality assurance or accreditation tool but complements it and is perhaps the more appropriate alternative to global ranking for African universities.

The main objective of the Benchmarking initiative is to improve the quality and relevance of African universities by comparing data and performance indicators of one institution with others. A pilot benchmarking exercise involving seven African uni-

versities was first undertaken in 2014 with the assistance of Shanghai Jiao Tong University of China, the same university that first started global ranking. Based on the positive outcome of that pilot study, it was decided to extend it to a larger number of universities. A major workshop was held in November 2015, co-organized with the AAU, where participants from a wide range of higher education stakeholders discussed the appropriate methodology and indicators to be used. Subsequently, universities and quality assurance agencies from all over Africa have been invited to participate in the next phase by submitting the relevant institutional data. These will be analyzed and discussed at a forthcoming workshop

in June 2016 and a roadmap for the next phase established, which will invariably include, initially, capacity building in benchmarking in universities and quality assurance agencies. What is interesting with this initiative is that it encourages universities to collect and compile institutional data, vital for strategic planning but which not many of them actually do effectively.

These two new initiatives complement each other and, if successfully implemented, should bring about marked quality improvement in African higher education.

Unleashing Mass Access—Tallying Collateral Losses

Damtew Teferra

Published on April 28, 2013

At a conference this month to honor the work of Philip G. Altbach, a number of regional and international issues of the field were presented by world's leaders in international higher education. It became clear that the issues that confront different regions of the world are basically similar from access to funding, from quality to unemployment. This editorial is prompted by this dialogue and focuses on the opportunities and ramifications of expanding access to higher education in Africa.

The Growth—and the Gains

The unprecedented expansion of the higher education system in Africa is often described as "massive." Still, the enrollment rate hovers around 5-6 percent. Martin Trow's taxonomy of higher education recognizes three stages—elite, massive and universal. Africa, with a single-digit enrollment rate uncomfortably sits on the "elite" landscape—far removed from mass access and light years away from universal access. Africa has many mountains yet to climb to move beyond elite.

At a national level, many countries that had just

one "flagship" university, opened a dozen— in some cases more—in a short span of time. In some countries, as in Malawi—arguably a country with the lowest enrollment rates in the world—the growth however has been in enrollments within existing institutions. Where hundreds and a few thousands were accommodated, now several hundreds of thousands are hosted.

If the expansion of public institutions is remarkable, the growth of private institutions could be described as "phenomenal." Dozens now adorn the higher education landscape although their "market" share still remains small despite garnering some 25 per cent in many countries already.

The expansion of the higher education system has provided opportunities for many students—an estimated 10 million now in the continent. It has also contributed to the development of the region by providing knowledge workers, albeit far from sufficient. What is noticeable however is that, the steady and enviable growth of the African economy has not been credited to the remarkable growth of the higher education system. It appears that the issues of

dwindling quality in higher education and un(der) employment may have upstaged the ostensible contribution of massive higher education to growing economies.

The Emerging Hurdles

To be sure, Africa has to expand its system much more to address its insatiable appetite for access and to compete with more globalized knowledge societies and economies. Developments in higher education have been guided by internal and external factors including the liberalization of the global economy and the transformative capacity of the information and communication technologies. In many cases, the expansion of African higher education has not followed a well-organized and systematic approach.

Lately higher education has begun to reflect campaign manifestos and narrowly-defined expansion regimes influenced by ethnic, cultural and religious influences. From Kenya to Ghana the competing parties included university education in their campaign agendas. As a consequence, the motives, the modalities, the locations of institutions, and the "partisan" recruitment and enrollment in higher education are now a cause for concern. The unwieldy politics of African "democratization" are ominously creeping onto the higher education landscape.

Egalitarianism Trumping Differentiation?

The wave of "massification" as well as increasing number of "village universities" stand out, as challenges and threats in advancing competitive institutions in Africa. Africa needs "village" institutions in great numbers, much like the United States needs community colleges, but not at the expense of the quality or innovation essential to a knowledge economy.

To be sure, available resources for all sectors—even when backed by internal commitment and external support—are limited. If all institutions are to be treated equally the national potential may be greatly degraded as resources are already spread thin with the shift from the "flagship" to the new ones. The challenge remains to strike a healthy balance between expanding access and advancing com-

petitiveness. The time for serious strategic and systematic differentiation of the higher education system in Africa has arrived.

Hypocrisy in Quality Control: Officiating Double Standard?

Expanding access has had considerable impact on the quality of higher education around the world. While measuring quality has always been tricky, Philip Altbach's musing "on the general decline of the qualifications of academic staff in a classroom" is illustrative. Some of the major players including the late Ethiopian Prime Minister, Meles Zenawi, and the Nigerian President, Jonathan Goodluck, described current quality as "dangerous" and "embarrassing". At a 2012 graduation ceremony at Makerere University, Mahmoud Mamdani in concurrence noted the "quality of teaching reached an all-time low." The uneasy relationship between access and quality in African higher education cannot be clearer.

In the meantime, the hypocrisy of a double standard in demanding quality in private, but not necessarily in public institutions is troubling. Cases abound where publicly funded institutions are conferred the status of a "university" while they are no better than "dignified" high schools; and yet this status for deserving private institutions may be denied. The blame could be fairly distributed across stakeholders including students, parents, and non-governmental entities who often demand "good service" from private, but not public, providers. Private institutions should and must be regulated, but the quality demanded of private institutions should be demanded of public ones.

Employment—The Sole Incentive of Access?

The discussion of access often leads to concern for employment and employability. While access to higher education in the region is still "elitist", the status of un(der)employment, ironically, remains "massive". Since the Arab spring, the issue of (un) employment has attracted global attention in social, economic, media and political circles.

Access to higher education has often been con-

ceived as simply providing the opportunity for employment and increased economic status. And yet, the broader contribution of higher education to cultural development, personal growth and livelihood, community welfare, and advancement of "democratic" values has had less traction.

Conclusion

Expanding access to higher education remains vital to the development of the continent. But this could be possible, among others, through the provision of good quality education. While efforts to establish "centers of excellence" at sub-regional, regional and continental levels are progressing, they are not being cultivated in many countries—at least not in a consistent or systematic manner.

There should be no qualms about expanding higher education in Africa, if its citizens are to live better and function in the international knowledge society. But now the focus should shift from expansion to consolidation, from egalitarianism to differentiation, and from access to success.

INTERNATIONALIZATION AND GLOBALIZATION

Internationalization as National Policy

Hans de Wit

Published on August 23, 2015

The internationalization of higher education (IoHE) is a relatively new but broad and varied phenomenon shaped over the past 25 years by the globalisation of our economies and societies and the increased importance of knowledge for sustaining them. IoHE is driven by a dynamic combination of constantly evolving political, economic, socio-cultural and academic rationales. Motivations take on different forms and dimensions in different regions and countries and in different institutions and programs. There is no single model that fits all nations. Regional and national contexts are varied and changing, and the same is true of their universities.

Recent surveys such as the Global Survey on Internationalization administered by the International Association of Universities IAU) and similar surveys by the European University Association (EUA) and the European Association for International Education (EAIE) indicate that the majority of institutions of higher education in Europe (and increasingly elsewhere in the world) have an explicit internationalization policy and increasingly integrate internationalization as a key pillar of their overall institutional mission and strategies. But at the national level, such strategies and policies were rather absent until recently. A study completed for the European Parliament, a project of the Centre for Higher Education Internationalization (CHEI) in partnership with the IAU, and another by the EAIE have analysed seventeen national policies—ten from Europe and seven from the rest of the world (de Wit, Hunter, Egron-Polak, & Howard, 2015). The study identified ten key developments reflecting the increased interest of national governments to internationalize their higher education sector:

- Growing importance of internationalization at all levels (broader range of activities, more strategic approaches, emerging national strategies and ambitions);

- Increase in institutional strategies for internationalization (but also risks of homogenisation, focus on quantitative results only);

- Challenge of funding everywhere;

- Trend towards increased privatisation in IoHE with the intention of revenue generation for multiple parties;

- Competitive pressures of globalisation, with increasing convergence of aspirations, if not yet actions;

- Evident shift from (only) cooperation to (more) competition;

- Emerging regionalisation, with Europe often seen as an example;

- The number of international activities is rising everywhere, with challenge of quantity versus quality;

- Lack of sufficient data for comparative analysis and decision-making;

- Emerging areas of focus are: internationalization of the curriculum, transnational education and digital learning.

Internationalization has now become a mainstream issue at the national level in most countries of the world, and particularly in Europe. The rhetoric speaks of more comprehensive and strategic policies for internationalization, but in reality there is still a long way to go in most cases. Even in Europe, seen around the world for best-practices in internationalization, there is still much to be done, and there is an uneven degree of accomplishment across the different countries, with significant challenges in Southern and, especially, Central and Eastern Europe.

Most national strategies, including within Europe, are still predominantly focused on mobility, short-term and/or long-term economic gains, recruitment and/or training of talented students and scholars, and international reputation and visibility. This implies that far greater efforts are still needed to incorporate these approaches into more comprehensive strategies, in which internationalization of the curriculum and learning outcomes as a means to enhance the quality of education and research, receive more attention.

The study concludes that the future in Europe looks potentially bright, but further positive development and impact will only occur if the various stakeholders and participants maintain an open dialogue about rationales, benefits, means, opportunities and obstacles in this ongoing process of change. And one cannot ignore the fact that Internationalization of Higher Education is also being challenged by increasingly profound social, economic and cultural issues, such as the financial crisis spreading across Europe, unfavourable demographic trends, immigration and the growing ethnic and religious tensions. Some of these negative trends have become particularly evident during the past few months, such as government policies in China and Russia that block open collaboration and exchange. That internationalization in many national policies is viewed primarily as a scheme to serve national interests—capacity building, talent recruitment, income generation, national security and so on—is understandable. But internationalization without open lines and unimpeded linkages operates in contradiction to its generally accepted intentions and objectives that are to promote cooperation and exchange across borders.

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Teaching in English: A Contentious Debate

Hans de Wit

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One of the more controversial issues in internationalization is the dominance of English as language of instruction and the dissemination of scholarship.

Recently, two countries seem to be at the forefront of the debate. In Europe, The Netherlands has been implementing courses and degree programs in English since the mid-1990s. In Asia, South Korea leads other countries in developing English taught courses, a trend provoking considerable debate. In the Netherlands attitudes are shifting from rather positive to more critical assessments, resulting in a national discussion led by key scholars to abandon the unconditional use of English in the classroom.

Clearly the use of English dominates research and scholarly publications. The ranking of academic journals, their impact and their ownership is dictated by the Anglo-Saxon world. More and more academic journals, books and articles as well as doctoral theses are written in English, as this is perceived to be the only way to merit international recognition. The use of English in doctoral studies—in particular in the sciences—has become accepted as the international norm.

In teaching and learning though, the importance of English has been more gradual. Beginning in the 1990s, English-language instruction expanded in Scandinavia and the Netherlands to stimulate participation in European exchange programs such as ERASMUS. The only way to create a balanced exchange within Europe where French, German, English and Spanish dominate, was to use a language that was (and still is) the first or second language of communication—English. Gradually, complete courses and degree programs were taught in English, in the face of protests from the political sphere and the media asserting that the trend could subjugate national language and culture.

By the 21st century, opposition began to disappear and other European countries like Germany, France, Spain and Central and Eastern Europe started to develop courses in English as well, followed by countries like South Korea and China. This trend was so powerful that in 2011, I felt compelled to point out that teaching in English was not synonymous with internationalization. Still, the trend continues and national and international leaders in higher education around the world strive for more English-language instruction, justifying this policy

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with the need to compete for international students and talent and creating an international classroom environment for domestic students. English is becoming a key factor at all levels with an increase of bilingual and English language programs in primary and secondary schools.

Opposition tends to come from older professors who are not capable of teaching in English and defend their opposition as preserving national language and culture against foreign influences. A recent article by Ursula Lindsey (2015) in the Chronicle of Higher Education illustrates this: "The enthusiasm for English isn't universal. Skeptics note that switching to English does not solve all the underly-

ing problems of troubled educational systems. Some see the turn away from their native language as a threat to Arab identity. Others worry that English-language education exacerbates the divide between the haves and have-nots" (para. 5). Ignoring such sentiments is a mistake.

In South Korea, as a recent article by William Patrick Leonard (2015) notes that, one third of the courses are taught in English and some new universities teach completely in that language. On the one hand, this is intended to prepare Korean students for a global workforce; on the other hand it is designed to attract more international students in a competitive global market. It also makes Korean higher education an interesting work place for international faculty, as there are too few Korean academics capable of teaching in English.

In The Netherlands, research universities now teach predominantly in English at the graduate level, while undergraduate education is still mainly in Dutch. But at the primarily vocational universities of applied sciences, English is also becoming a standard. There are over 200 bachelor programs in English at Dutch Universities of Applied Sciences. Following the lead of important research universities—Maastricht, Groningen and Wageningen—several institutions of applied sciences—Stenden, Hanze Groningen—are advocating bilingual instruction. NHTV Breda University of Applied Science has decided to teach completely English.

Opposition to this trend is growing, not so much from the conservative nationalists as in the 1990s, but from academics. They understand and recognise the importance of globalisation and the implications of an English-dominated global workplace, but they question the enthusiasm with which university leadership promotes English instruction, even when the quality of delivery is not guaranteed. In a recent statement, titled 'The great manifesto of the Dutch Language' a group of eminent academics—ironically some affiliated with English-named research centers—defined ten actions needed to limit the unqualified advance of English in Dutch higher education.

The manifesto asks for compliance with the law of higher education, that states that teaching and ex-aminations should be in Dutch unless there are good reasons not to do so. They ask for open debate within the universities with all stakeholders about the compliance with the law and more attention to languages in general—the Dutch language as well as foreign languages. They make an appeal to base decisions to pursue English instruction on content-based arguments and not on economic or ideological grounds, such as the recruitment of international students or progress in international rankings. They also call for a better preparation of students for a career in Dutch society and for a stronger link between higher education and society. They demand more attention to educating students in speaking, reading and writing in their own language.

Several of these actions make absolute sense, even for doctoral theses. Reading an interesting Dutch thesis as member of the reading committee recently, I wondered if the thesis would have been more relevant and interesting if it had been written in Dutch. There has to be a stop to the automatic move to English in Dutch higher education and elsewhere.

Still, while I agree with the need to connect higher education and learning to Dutch society, at the same time I recognize the importance of preparing students for a global workforce and global citizenship, and that requires foreign language proficiency. Arguments that attention to foreign languages in higher education threatens the level of Dutch are not sustained by research. In other words, the manifesto is a strange mix of solid arguments but also nationalistic and inward looking sentiments. Regardless, the manifest is an important wake-up call. What lessons can other countries learn from the debate in the Netherlands?

- Internationalization of higher education does not necessarily imply the need to teaching in English

- There has to be academic rationale for teaching in English rather than economic and ideological motivations

- Decisions about teaching in English have to be considered in an open debate between internal and external stakeholders

- Teaching in English is more than simply trans-

lating a course or program from one language to the other but must consider implications for content, teaching strategy and learning outcomes

- Foreign language education should not focus exclusively on English and should find a stronger base in primary and secondary education

- Teaching in English should not replace the importance of providing national and international students with opportunities to learn and use the local language and culture

- These arguments apply to countries where the national language has limited global presence but also in countries where the primary language is Spanish, Mandarin, French, German, and even English. The fact that half of the UK universities allow foreign students to use dictionaries during exams (Gye, 2015) but not local students is an illustration of how absurd we are in addressing language issues in higher education.

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National Policies for Internationalization – Do They Work?

Robin Matross Helms and Laura E. Rumbley

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We recently tackled the question of national policies and other issues in a report (Helms, Rumbley, Brajkovic, & Mihut, 2015) produced by our respective organizations, the American Council on Education's Center for Internationalization and Global Engagement and the Boston College Center for International Higher Education. We first gathered examples of policies from around the world—no small task, it turns out—and developed a categorization scheme to make sense of the wide variety we encountered. In the end, we sorted the policies into five main types, based on their primary focus:

- **Student mobility.** Policies designed to encourage and facilitate student mobility truly stand out as the most common focal point for policymaking related to internationalization of higher education. A broad array of nationally funded student mobility scholarship programs—from Saudi Arabia to Chile, Kazakhstan to Brazil, among many others—are the prime manifestations of this policy focus.

- **Scholar mobility and research collaboration.** Policy activity in this area is being undertaken by many countries around the world, as well as by key regions—notably Europe, where the European Union is investing heavily in this area under the Horizon 2020 initiative, and specifically through such mechanisms as the Marie Skłodowska-Curie actions. Common types of initiatives in this category include support for visiting scholars, programs and grants to send faculty abroad, policies to repatriate faculty liv-

ing in other countries, and project-based research grants.

- **Cross-border education**. Whether involving branch campuses and other kinds of physical "outposts," or virtual (or hybrid) forms, such as MOOCs, national policy and program activity in this realm includes initiatives to foster partnerships for capacity building, create educational "hubs," encourage domestic institutions to establish campuses and programs abroad, and more effectively regulate cross-border activity in practice.
- **Internationalization at home (IaH).** IaH is a nascent but rapidly emerging critical focal point for internationalization. Few policy documents currently address it overtly. The European Commission's 2013 strategy for internationalization, European Higher Education in the World, is a notable exception. But, this is surely an important space to watch for future policy developments.
- **"Comprehensive internationalization" policies.** We see a small number of initiatives that present a rather sweeping set of rationales, action lines, focus areas, and/or geographic orientations, rather than being singularly focused on specific action lines. Again, the European Commission's policy vision for internationalization stands out, but so does Canada's "International Education Strategy" (2014) and Malaysia's "Internationalization Policy for Higher Education Malaysia" (2011), among others.

Gathering and sorting policy examples is one thing—addressing questions of effectiveness and impact presents a much greater analytical challenge. Understandably, quantifiable measurement of impact is most common. We know, for example, that the Finnish government's strategy for the "Internationalization of Higher Education Institutions in Finland 2009-2015" included an enrollment goal of 20,000 non-Finnish degree students by 2015. According to data from the Institute of International Education's Project Atlas, the actual number for 2013-2014 was 19,886—just over 100 students short of the 2015 goal. Along similar lines, Malaysia's 2011 Inter-

nationalization Policy included a goal of 200,000 international students studying in Malaysia by 2020; with 135,502 international students enrolled as of the end of 2014—a 16.5% increase over the previous year—the country is, according to an education ministry official, on track to meet its 2020 goal.

However, when it comes to the more nebulous, longer-term outcomes and impact of such policies, specific data and clear answers about impact are fairly scarce. This may be due to the sheer newness of many of the internationalization policies now in place around the world. In many other cases, evaluation of impact appears not be built in to policy implementation structures.

Though challenging to measure, our examination of policies worldwide suggests that policymakers should focus on several key factors in order to ensure significant impact:

- **Don't underestimate the importance of government funding**. As national budgets become tighter, governments often seek alternative funding sources to support their internationalization policies. In the U.S., for example, the White House and State Department's "100,000 Strong" initiatives focusing on China and Latin America rely heavily on funding from diverse sources, including public-private partnerships, corporate sponsorship, donations, and support from foreign governments. Funding diversity is fine, but an adequate base of government funding signals the importance of policies, and serves as a catalyst for other investment. And, when partner countries are involved, significant investment by just one government can lead to an unbalanced relationship that may jeopardize the success of the initiative and hinder future collaborations.
- **Engage the right players.** We know from our analysis that many different actors are involved in the development and implementation of government-initiated internationalization policies. Depending on the context, these may include regional bodies (e.g. the EU and Organization of American States), Ministries of Education, other government agencies and sub-agencies, and

quasi-governmental organizations (e.g. CampusFrance, the China Scholarship Council). Finding the right configuration of actors is important—some entities may find it difficult to implement alone a complex, multifaceted initiative, while, conversely, too many actors may lead to duplication of effort and inefficiencies that can diminish policy effectiveness.

- **Avoid undermining one policy with another.** For most countries, the national policy environment is complex and interlocking. Initiatives undertaken in one area can have a direct influence on efforts being undertaken in other policy spheres. Classic examples in relation to internationalization include the intersection between national objectives to attract international students and scholars, and visa and immigration policies that control access to the country. If policies are developed and implemented in isolation from one another, or directly at cross-purposes, policy effectiveness will suffer.

- **Seek synergies between national and institution-level internationalization policies.** Around the world, higher education institutions are developing their own internationalization policies, strategies, and initiatives, which may or may not take align with governmental efforts. In the US, for example, public diplomacy is a key goal of State Department student mobility programs, which are a cornerstone of government-spon-

sored internationalization-related policies. Yet ACE's 2011 Mapping Internationalization on US Campuses study found that only 1% of surveyed US institutions cited participating in public diplomacy efforts as one of their main reasons for internationalization. Direct communication between government agencies and higher education institutions can help both sides design policies and programs that capitalize on and further enhance each other's efforts.

Will individual countries' internationalization policies ultimately achieve their short- and long-term, goals? Only time will tell. But perhaps the bigger question is what the overall impact of such policies will be on higher education worldwide. The impact of country-level policies will be maximized when we find the synergies among them—when our policies are mutually supportive and reinforcing.

This is not necessarily an easy task—it requires broad awareness of policies in place (something the ACE - CIHE report tries to provide), and dialogue among national and institutional policymakers. In the report, we note that "ensuring that higher education around the world benefits from the best of what comprehensive, sustained, values-driven internationalization has to offer will take a great deal of creativity, substantial resources, and sheer hard work." Hard, yes—but, most certainly worthwhile.

REGIONAL AND NATIONAL ANALYSES

Enduring Challenges for Latin America

Andrés Bernasconi and Marcelo Knobel

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In March, 2016, during one weekend in the beautiful city of Cartagena, Colombia, a group of 25 experts of Higher Education in Latin America met in an informal setting to discuss the main challenges

of higher education in the region. The group had attendees from many Latin American countries and the US, including academics from Universities, consultants, funding agencies, among others. In fact, the meeting started a day before with an interesting seminar held at the Universidad del Norte, in Barranquilla.

Although there is a rather long university tradition in some countries of the region, the higher education system is still quite underdeveloped, albeit its unprecedented growth in enrollments and numbers of institutions in the last 30 years, which have expanded access considerably and provided groups, previously excluded, with opportunities for higher education. The political and economic instabilities, allied with urgent challenges in many other sectors, makes the actual landscape of HE in Latin America extremely complex. Each country has a different history, public policies, and challenges, but there are some strikingly common issues in the higher education sector that deserve further thought. One of the most visible aspects is the perennial dislocation between the trajectory of higher education in Latin America and higher education in the rest of the world. Not only is higher education in the region not improving at the same pace that in other parts of the world, but often times, large parts of it seem to deliberately want to go against global trends. It is not the public policy part of higher education that challenges worldwide currents. On the contrary, with few exceptions, governments have pushed institutions (not always wisely, no doubt) to be more accountable, more effective, more inclusive, more productive, and more efficient. It is mostly the universities, especially those—usually public—at the apex of each national system, that have chosen to tread their own path of resistance to change and preservation of the interests of their internal constituents at the expense of much needed "aggiornamiento". Of course, the fact that some of our universities ignore reforms taking place elsewhere does not prove them wrong in rejecting examples from abroad, but certainly puts the burden of proof on those who want to stay the same, for it is unlikely (not impossible, just unlikely) that higher education systems as marginal as those of Latin America may be privy to development

tracks unbeknown to more advanced systems.

Linked to this problem is the obsolescence of the governance structures and practices of the public higher education sector in the region, that evolved in a strongly cooperative atmosphere, which hinders the further development of the good public universities. These universities have, for the most part, done hitherto great service to their countries and their societies. The question is whether they are prepared to move to the next step, as demanded from the knowledge society. Politically active faculty, often in alliance with students and administrative staff with governance rights, successfully block attempts to make universities more accountable to stakeholders other than their own faculty and their vested interests. The younger generation of scholars, largely better trained for research than their predecessors, find it hard to get academic jobs in universities clogged with ageing professors who cling to their posts because, with very few exceptions, retirement is financially ruinous. Good quality work in some parts of the system exist in spite, not because, of the governing arrangements of the universities and their administrative procedures.

Money is an issue too: higher education is generally underfunded in the region. But ministers of finance are reluctant to contemplate increasing public investment in higher education if institutions aren't willing to guarantee they will use the extra money transparently and effectively. This puts the systems in a bind: improving is difficult in the absence of increased funding. It is no surprise then, that much of the growth has taken place in the private sectors of higher education. As private institutions successfully stake claims on public funding, a private vs. public tension emerges, allied to the discussion of who pays for what, which are the public goods worth subsidizing, what funds should be allocated competitively and which as direct transfers, what are the quality requirements below which no public money should be invested, and other related issues that are hot in the policy debate in several countries of the region these days.

The important issue of expanding the access to higher education, with the corresponding challenges of economical sustainability, quality, and social

inclusion, is also a common characteristic of the region. While most countries have expanded access enormously, some are still lagging behind, especially in Central America, with gross enrollment rates below 30%. Where access has increased fastest, countries are now dealing with the detrimental effects on quality of unregulated, unsupported, hasty expansion. Accreditation and other quality assurance mechanisms are now ubiquitous in the region, and have had some beneficial impact in promoting internal assessment, quality control, and improvement.

Although these and other challenges in the region are gigantic, it is worth noting that the higher education sector has changed drastically in the last 30 years, and it is well known that the pace of change of universities is considerably slower than that of other organizations, considering their long historical roots,

a certain necessary detachment from the here and now, and their generally privileged station in society. There are interesting movements towards a diversification of the higher education system in some countries, as well as increasing concern regarding social inclusion and affirmative actions. The region has some important examples of massive assessment exams, and a graduate education that is continuously improving. Also, an interesting outcome of the Cartagena meeting was the realization that there is a good and rapidly growing number of people, committed to the study of the several aspects of higher education in Latin America and the Caribbean, and willing to actively participate in proposing possible solutions, by means of a collaborative effort.

Higher Ed and Ethiopia's State of Emergency

Ayenachew Woldegiyorgis

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For a year now, Ethiopia has confronted protests in Oromia, the largest regional state. The protest started in opposition to the expansion plan of the capital, Addis Ababa, into Oromia towns and villages. Then the protest engaged the second largest regional state, Amhara, contributing to further political tensions.

Following a stampede that took place during the celebration of thanksgiving by the Oromo people on October 2nd that left dozens of people dead, the protest intensified. The country descended into turmoil it has not seen in over a decade. On October 9th, the government of Ethiopia declared a six-month state of emergency that imposed restrictions on a wide array of rights while granting the prime minister a sweeping power.

The detailed directive for the execution of the state of emergency contained 31 articles. Three of the 31 articles refer to education institutions. Article 5 pro-

hibits "conducting strikes that disturb the learning and teaching process, shutting down educational institutions or causing damage to these institutions." Article 28 gives unprecedented authority to law enforcement officers, to detain and conduct search and seizure without a court warrant, and monitor and restrict any communication (radio, television, writings, images, photograph, theater and film). Sub-article 7 specifically grants power to legal officers to take measures against students and employees who participate in the disturbance of academic institutions; and to order the institutions themselves to take administrative measures. Finally, Article 30 states that, as for other private and government institutions, law enforcement "may enter schools, universities, [or] other higher education institutions, and take necessary measures to stop disturbances and detain the persons involved."

These provisions underscore the current gloomy environment of Ethiopian higher education. Ethiopi-

an higher education institutions have been a hotbed of protest and resistance to political power since the 1960s. Therefore, the relationship between universities and government has always been a precarious one.

Since 2014, university students have been very active in the Oromo protest. In many public universities on-campus demonstrations, sit-ins, boycotts of cafeteria services, and so on have been held, to which government forces responded by arresting students involved in the protest and taking administrative measures against them. One month into the state of

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emergency, the state media announced that 11,607 people had been arrested. Though details are not officially available, anyone who is familiar with Ethiopian politics can guess that a sizable number would be from the universities.

The declaration of the state of emergency has a direct and serious impact on higher education institutions and their operation. Some of the adversary effects may be immediate and last only during the state of emergency while most will be, unfortunately, long lasting.

University administrators, leaders, student representatives, leaders of academic units and even faculty are likely to be intensely engaged in ad-hoc structures and activities focused on security matters. The bureaucratic and academic structure within the universities would be largely dominated by this parallel political structure. Key resources and the attention of top management would be directed toward the political agenda instead of pursuing strategic institutional goals. In addition to the clear misuse of

public resources, this could wipe out the momentum that was slowly building up in some universities towards improvement.

One of the measures taken by the government since the declaration of the state of emergency is restricted access to the internet. While the teaching-learning process in an Ethiopian university does not typically depend on online resources, this could affect partnership projects, scientific collaborations, research fieldwork, etc. In recent years many of the major universities have demonstrated a growing commitment to research, often conducted in partnership with universities abroad. However, this state of emergency may not only disrupt current work, but also cause potential partners to hesitate to engage in future collaborations.

The ever-fragile academic freedom is the most obvious victim of these measures. The command post is endowed with the authority to monitor and restrict any form of communication. It also has the power to respond as it sees fit on any act of "incitement and communication that causes public disturbance and riots." Though the obvious goal of this

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In the polarized political environment of Ethiopian public higher education, it is not uncommon for faculty to be censored by their students in the classroom.

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restriction is to control the circulation of inflammatory messages, it is not clear what counts as causing public disturbance. In the polarized political environment of Ethiopian public higher education, it is not uncommon for faculty to be censored by their students in the classroom, by the administration or by their own peers. Further, this contributes to the "with-us-or-against-us" sort of mentality and incentivizes some individuals to seize the opportunity to

gain power by showing political loyalty, consequently causing damage to collegial relationships and civil dialog. Under these circumstances, academic freedom, close to non-existent even in good times, is now in serious jeopardy.

This scenario could contribute to the already severe problem of brain drain. Given the circumstances, those who have the chance—particularly the younger university teachers—would try harder to leave the country, while those already abroad are less likely to return home. The long term impact of increasing brain drain is immeasurable.

Different countries have issued travel warnings to Ethiopia. Though the government offered assurance that tourists can freely travel to any part of the country, several tour operators in different countries are reported to have canceled trips to Ethiopia. This also affects the inbound mobility of international students. Although there is no official data in this regard, there has been a discernable growth, in recent years, in the number of students and faculty, particularly from Europe, doing short term visits to

Ethiopian universities. The image and conditions generated by the state of emergency are going to affect the attractiveness of the country as a destination for mobile students and scholars for years to come.

Further, the aftermath of the state of emergency will likely impact the academic calendar and scheduling, the assignment of new students to the different universities (in line with their ethnic backgrounds and the regions they would go to), the nature and extent of extracurricular activities, and the space for engagement in critical thinking and constructive dialog.

This situation allows for abuse of power—emotional and physical harassment are likely to prevail. Learning requires a peaceful environment. With the current militarization of the university and the prevailing tension, serious learning is very unlikely to happen. This is a big setback to the pale glimpse of hope that Ethiopian higher education was beginning to see.

Small Island States in the Indian Ocean

Goolam Mohamedbhai

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Small island states, because of their small population and limited employment opportunities, face daunting challenges in setting up a higher education sector of their own. They do need qualified personnel and professionals, but economies of scale handicap them in setting up full-fledged training programmes. In the 1960s, before becoming independent from Britain, the small island of Mauritius faced such challenges. It then had a population of the order of 700,000, a booming sugar industry and good potential for tourism and manufacturing. The national debate then was on whether to create a university or to continue sending students to overseas universities, often resulting in brain drain. Finally,

in 1966, Mauritius decided to set up its own university, building on the existing College of Agriculture. Now, nearly half a century later and with a population of nearly 1.3 million, one wonders how Mauritius would have developed without a higher education sector of its own.

Two other island states—the Seychelles and the Maldives—faced the same dilemma, the former being the smallest country in Africa and the latter the smallest in Asia. Both of them, like Mauritius, are famous tourist destinations.

The Seychelles, with a current population of about 88,000, is made up of about 115 islands but only a few are inhabited. It became independent

from Britain in 1976. It has several post-secondary institutions, including the Seychelles Polytechnic, the National Institute of Education, the Seychelles Agricultural and Horticultural Training Centre, the Maritime Training Centre and the National Institute for Health and Social Studies, all falling under the aegis of the relevant Ministries. In 2009 the University of Seychelles (UniSey) was set up with the Faculties of Humanities and Science. The approach was to offer external degree programmes of the University of London. Graduating students are awarded two certificates, one from the University of London and the other from UniSey. Currently courses in Business Administration, Banking and Finance and Information Systems are offered but eventually courses in Teacher Education, Marine Science and Tourism and Hospitality will be added. Courses are delivered with the assistance of the Royal Holloway, the Goldsmith College and the LSE, all of the University of London. There are substantial tuition fees for all the courses but the Government of Seychelles has put in place a scholarship scheme to provide financial assistance to students.

The Maldives is made up of 1,192 islands of which 200 are inhabited. Its estimated population is about 320,000. Initially an independent Islamic sultanate, it later became a British Protectorate and then independent in 1965. In 1998, the Maldives College of Higher Education was established, integrating all the existing post-secondary institutions, such as the Institute for Teacher Education, the Vocational Training Centre, the School of Hotel and Catering Services and the Centre for Management and Administration. A few years later the College became the Maldives National University (MNU), having 8 Faculties (Arts, Education, Engineering Technology, Health Science, Hospitality & Tourism, Islamic Studies, Management & Computing and Shariah & Law) and 2 Centres (Maritime Studies and Open Learning). It offers a wide range of courses of 1-3 years' duration ranging from Certificate to Diploma and Bachelor's Degree. It charges a modest annual tuition fee. Its estimated student population is around 2,000.

Clearly, Seychelles and the Maldives have used different approaches—the former maintaining its existing post-secondary institutions and creating a separate university, the latter integrating its institutions within its university. Seychelles opted for the award of external degrees while Maldives went for its own qualifications. Both have their own merits but the crucial issue is the long-term sustainability of the approach used. Also, what is not clear is whether assistance from other developing countries was sought. There are now well-established higher education systems in neighboring countries (for example Kenya or South Africa in the case of Seychelles and India or Pakistan in the case of Maldives) and surely the island states would have benefitted from the experiences and advice of their neighbors. Mauritius could equally have shared its experiences with both of them.

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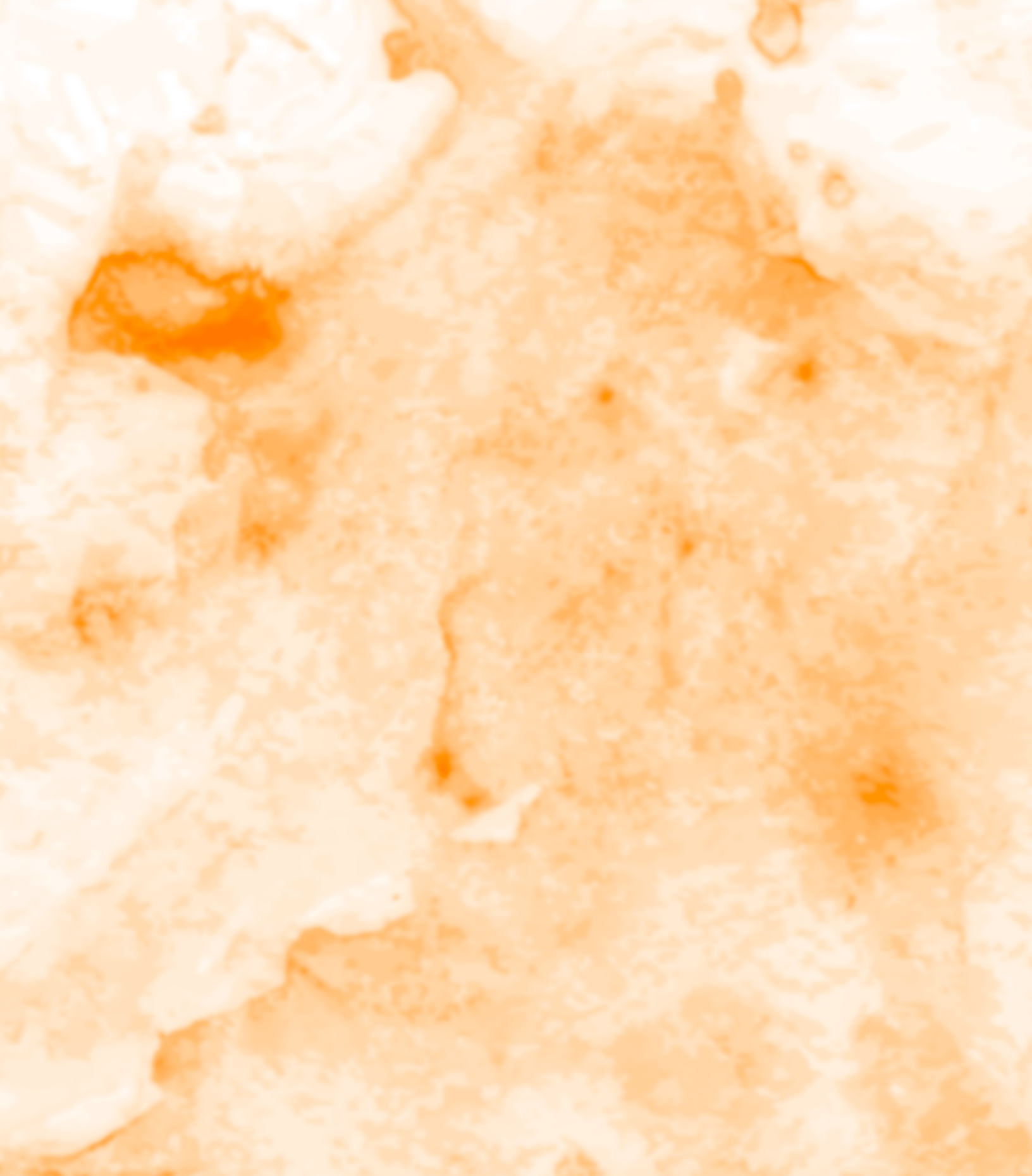
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