Inhibiting Factors

The slow progress of internationalization at Indonesian universities can be ascribed to national and organizational problems. At the national level, there is no unified policy on internationalization. The government has been keen to create world-class universities in Indonesia, but the road map has never been made clear. Premature planning and contradictory statements by Indonesian officials regarding the opening of international branch campuses indicate a lack of policy coherence. The rationale for internationalization and its role in the quality improvement of Indonesian higher education remains largely unknown.

At the organizational level, the management of many Indonesian universities has not undergone adequate transformation and a *status quo* culture is pervasive. Among academics, an entrenched patronage system in some universities may force junior academics to be subservient to the will and direction of senior academics. Innovative junior academics can wait long before securing the opportunity to hold leadership positions and transform the organization. Moreover, university leaders may often be chosen because of their seniority of service, not necessarily because of organizational skills and a proven track record in managing

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innovative education programs, let alone internationalization efforts. Consequently, the organizational culture in some universities may not be conducive to fostering staff members who can quickly respond to change. Coupled with the absence of a unified policy, these organizational ailments seem to have turned higher education institutions into sluggish organizations that are reluctant to welcome new internationalization initiatives from the government. In fact, through the mass media, many Indonesian academics opposed the two initiatives above and called them neocolonialist and an unbridled commodification of higher education, without any consideration of the government's goal to improve quality.

The Fate of Internationalization in Indonesia

The fate of internationalization of higher education in Indonesia largely depends on national policy-makers and actors at the level of universities. Conceptualized as a part of quality improvement, internationalization holds potential for Indonesian higher education development. If the Indonesian government should be willing to develop a robust internationalization policy as a means to improve the higher education sector, much could be adapted from the policies of neighboring countries. How Malaysia incorporates international branch campuses so that foreign quality providers can absorb unmet demand for higher education can serve as a model, for instance.

However, considering the resistance against internationalization initiatives within Indonesian universities, the biggest issue that Indonesia must tackle is transforming the organizational culture and management of universities. Without major efforts to do so, the future of the Indonesian workforce is in jeopardy. A study done by the Boston Consulting Group in 2013 predicted that Indonesian companies would trail behind in future years, as they were unable to recruit quality talent. By 2020, recruiting entry-level candidates will be difficult, as only half of the positions will be filled. At the senior management level, the Indonesian workforce will not have enough global exposure and leadership skills to keep up with regional and global competition. To transform the management and culture of universities, Indonesia can learn from the policies of its Asian neighbors. The Chinese 211 and 985 projects have experience that can be contextualized to the Indonesian situation, particularly on how to drive the transformation of key institutions to help them become world-class universities. The willingness to learn from the experiences of its neighbors may hold the key to transforming and internationalizing Indonesian higher education. ∎

India Takes Slow Steps toward Internationalization

Pushkar

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There is a growing consensus in India among government officials and many university leaders that Indian universities need to improve significantly on the internationalization dimension, especially in terms of international students and faculty. This emerging consensus is in part due to the consistently poor performance of Indian universities in various world university rankings. Only a few Indian institutions count among the top 500 universities

worldwide. Even fewer, no more than one or two, have occasionally figured among the top 200. The poor performance of Indian universities in world rankings is in large part due to deficits in terms of research production, both quantitatively and qualitatively. In addition, most institutions—including the various branches of the well-known Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs)—fare poorly on the internationalization dimension. One of the reasons why Indian universities do not attract larger numbers of international students is because of the poor quality of education at most institutions, though other factors—including bureaucratic hurdles and the near-complete indifference among public universities to the international sphere—play a role as well.

Indian officials now believe that with greater internationalization, the country's universities will improve their positions in world university rankings. For that reason, over the past year or so, the government and the IITs have taken several initiatives to attract larger numbers of international students and faculty.

Current Numbers
India has 903 universities and nearly 50,000 colleges and other kinds of degree-awarding institutions. At the last count, more than 36 million students were enrolled in these institutions and their numbers will keep growing in the coming years. However, international students make up only a small number of the total. In 2010–2011, there were 27,531 international students in India. Their numbers increased to 46,144 in 2017–18, an increase of 67 percent. While this increase may appear to be significant, it is not. There are many more Indian students in the United States alone—more than 200,000 Indians in 2017–2018. Tens of thousands of Indian students study in other Western countries, including non-English speaking countries. Non-Western countries have become popular destinations as well. More than 18,000 Indians study in China, more than in the United Kingdom, and their numbers are expected to keep growing. Finally, even though the numbers of international students in Indian higher education have increased over time, they still comprise less than 0.2 percent of the total student population.

The number of foreign faculty at Indian universities is also small. For example, only 40 foreign nationals teach across the 23 IITs. This is less than 1 percent of all faculty members. Some private universities have done relatively well in recruiting international faculty, but, overall, there are far too few foreign faculty teaching at Indian higher education institutions.

New Initiatives to Attract International Students
The Indian government has belatedly recognized that

world-ranked universities bring prestige and are a source of soft power. To that end, it launched a new initiative in 2016 to promote its best universities on the world stage. The so-called Institutions of Eminence (IoE) initiative—somewhat similar to China's Projects 211 and 985 in the late 1990s—aimed to identity 20 eminent universities, 10 each in the public and private sectors. These eminent institutions are to have near-complete autonomy from the government which, many believe, is responsible for the current dismal state of higher education. Among other things, these universities are permitted to hire larger numbers of international faculty, up to 25 percent of the total. The expectation is that eminent universities will improve their world rankings over time and attract larger numbers of international students, which in turn will further boost their rankings. However, the initiative remains on the slow track with only six institutions selected so far.

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Another initiative taken by the government in mid-2018 was the "Study in India" portal, which aims to make it easier for international students to select suitable Indian universities. According to Prakash Javadekar, the human resource development minister in charge of education, "India can become a hub of affordable education for foreign students." The government's goal is to increase the number of international students to 200,000 in five years. In support of this goal, officials announced that 55 percent of 15,000 total places on offer across institutions would be supported by merit-based fee-waivers at differential rates for students from Asia and Africa.

Apart from the "Study in India" initiative, the IIT Council, the highest decision-making body for all IITs, decided that each IIT would be free to independently set fees for international students. The idea was that each IIT could charge competitive fees in order to attract students from low income countries in the region and beyond. IIT–Delhi has led the way by reducing tuition fees substantially for international students, especially for graduate studies.

Initiatives to Attract International Faculty
In November 2018, in an effort to attract larger numbers of international faculty, the Indian government waived all

relevant security clearance requirements for this population. This addressed the slow pace of India's bureaucracy; indeed, both interested institutions and international faculty have tended to lose interest when the clearance process spanned many months. Universities can now hire foreigners directly, without clearance from the ministries of home affairs (MHA) and external affairs (MEA). Mandatory clearance is now limited to foreigners from "Prior Reference Category" countries such as Afghanistan and Pakistan. The government has also allowed Indians with foreign passports who are also registered as Overseas Citizens of India (similar to a second passport) to be appointed as tenured faculty members without clearance from the MHA or MEA.

On their own initiative, the IITs have agreed to look collectively and proactively for foreign faculty. The IIT Council decided that each of the older and well-established IITs would be responsible for recruiting foreign faculty from one or more geographical areas, both for itself and for other IITs. For example, the United States was divided into three regions and allocated to IIT–Bombay (West Coast), IIT–Delhi (southern US), and IIT–Madras (East Coast). The strategy seems convoluted but does indicate that the IITs may be serious about proactively hiring larger numbers of international faculty.

Concluding Remarks
These recent initiatives by the Indian government and select public institutions—the IITs—are unlikely to be immediately successful. Even with incentives for foreign students, a "Study in India" portal will not be sufficient to attract larger numbers to India. Indian universities certainly need to be better promoted abroad. Currently, some private universities actively seek to attract students from African countries and elsewhere, but there is no wider strategy in place yet to promote "Studying in India." In addition, overall living conditions for foreigners can be challenging even in larger cities, due to poor residential facilities at universities, racism, and crime.

With respect to international faculty, the IITs will struggle to offer competitive salaries to potential faculty. Furthermore, many IITs are located in far-flung places and do not offer the comforts of larger cities. They are unlikely to be attractive for foreigners. IITs in large cosmopolitan cities such as Mumbai and New Delhi face different sets of problems. New Delhi's toxic air, for example, makes world headlines, and is a major put off for foreigners. Finally, the nature of India's current politics may also deter students and teachers from coming to India. ■

Critical Thinking and Ideology in Chinese Higher Education

Du Xiaoxin

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Some may think universities in China lack academic freedom, as they are politically controlled by the party–state in various ways. For example, 10 percent of the total number of credits taken by a student must come from political education courses; academic staff need to be cautious about what they say; and discussing certain historical events in class is taboo. However, these and other mechanisms of political socialization do not necessarily eliminate all efforts of academic freedom. In an attempt to improve the global reputation of Chinese higher education, the state encourages Chinese universities to be innovative and to promote critical thinking, as expected of world-class universities. However, this may significantly counter the effectiveness of the political indoctrination that the Communist Party of China (CPC) wishes to implement throughout China's higher education system. Fudan University (FDU) in Shanghai is a leading university with a long history of pursuing academic excellence and striving for university autonomy. As such, it is an ideal case for examining the tensions between the political and academic tasks of universities. This article is based on fieldwork done in 2014 by the author, using mixed data collection methods and including document review, questionnaires, observation, and interviews.

Different Expectations
The tension is rooted in the different expectations placed on FDU's academic staff by the state, the university management, and the students.

For its part, the state expects FDU—and all universities in China—to be globally recognized as academically outstanding, while at the same time being politically reliable and continuously serving China's development needs, as a state-supervised entity. The state's expectations of students' education goals are captured by the 1950s slogan, "Red and Expert." In other words, it expects students to aspire to be experts in their field, while at the same time being the successors to, and builders of, Chinese socialism.

In response to these state expectations, FDU focuses on training teachers not to introduce politically incorrect content in their classes, to avoid running afoul of the National