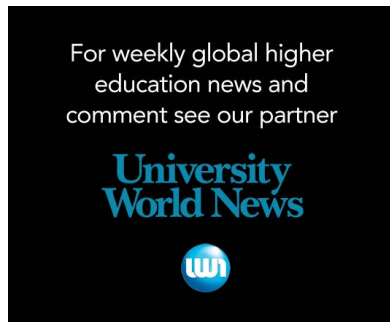


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Internationalization of Higher Education: Past and Future

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*This essay is based on the preface of the book *The Future Agenda for Internationalization in Higher Education*, edited by Douglas Proctor and Laura E. Rumbley (Routledge, 2018).*

Over the past 25 years, internationalization has evolved from a marginal and minor component to a global, strategic, and mainstream factor in higher education. Having been active participants in and analysts of that evolution, it seems appropriate to ask ourselves the question: where have we come from and where are we going?

In 1995, we cowrote “Strategies for Internationalization of Higher Education: Historical and Conceptual Perspectives” as the introductory chapter of what can be considered the first comparative international study on internationalization strategies, building on a small number of previous studies emanating primarily from American and European sources. Since then, while the meanings, rationales, and approaches to internationalization have evolved, as has the context in which it is taking place, the foundation for the study of internationalization has not substantively changed. Internationalization has become a very broad and varied concept, including many new rationales, approaches, and strategies in different and constantly changing contexts. It is revealing to see how the terminology used to describe the international dimension of higher education has evolved over the past five decades.

Who would have guessed in the past century—when the emphasis was on scholarships for foreign students, international development projects, and area studies—that we would today be discussing new developments such as branding, international programs and provider mobility, global citizenship, internationalization at home, MOOCs, global rankings, knowledge diplomacy, world class universities, cultural homogenization, franchising, and joint and double degree programs? International education has been a term used commonly throughout the years—and is still preferred in many countries.

NATIONALISM AND ISOLATIONISM ARE NOT NEW

Rereading our 1995 chapter, it is striking that the current anti-global, anti-immigration, and inward-looking political climate in different parts of the world was already announcing itself at that time: “The danger of isolationism, racism and monoculturalism is a threatening cloud hanging over the present interest in internationalisation of higher education.” That cloud has only become bigger and more threatening since, and may define present and future challenges of internationalization more than ever. We also referred to Clark Kerr’s analysis of the “partial convergence” of the cosmopolitan university. Did the twentieth century indeed become, as he stated, more universal? It may seem so, but the international dimensions of higher education today may have become too disconnected from the local context.

INTERNATIONALIZATION IS BROADER THAN UNDERGRADUATE MOBILITY

In the discourse and study of internationalization, a great deal of attention has been paid to all modes of international academic mobility—people, programs, providers, policies, and projects—but not enough has been paid to the internationalization of graduate education and research, including international coauthorship and other international research benchmarks. Research has become more complex in recent years. It requires, and is distinguished by, more international collaboration than in the past, and it is in-

In the discourse and study of internationalization, a great deal of attention has been paid to all modes of international academic mobility.

creasingly competitive in nature. National and institutional needs to acquire academic talent are urgent and processes around issues such as the awarding of patents and knowledge transfer require more support than ever. Growth in international research funding, patents, publications, and citations requires the development of internationalized, or globalized, research teams. Bibliometric analysis yields evidence of increasing collaboration within the international scientific community.

The generation of new knowledge through the production and application of research has introduced the notion of international education and research as a form of soft power. The use of knowledge as power is a development requiring serious reflection because soft power is character-

ized by competitiveness, dominance, and self-interest. An alternative to the power paradigm is the framework of diplomacy. Knowledge diplomacy involves the contribution that education and knowledge creation, sharing, and use make to international relations and engagement. But knowledge diplomacy should be seen as a reciprocal process. Mutual benefits and a two-way exchange are therefore essential to the concept of international education and research as a tool of knowledge diplomacy. In short, knowledge sharing and mutual benefits are fundamental to the understanding and operationalization of knowledge diplomacy.

IS INTERNATIONALIZATION REALLY COMPREHENSIVE?

There is no doubt that internationalization has come of age. No longer is it an ad hoc or marginalized part of the higher education landscape. University strategic plans, national policy statements, regionalization initiatives, international declarations, and academic articles all indicate the centrality of internationalization in the world of higher education. The popularity of the phrase “comprehensive internationalization” does not reflect widespread reality, however: for most institutions around the world, internationalization is still characterized by a collection of fragmented and unrelated activities. Meanwhile, the increasing commodification of higher education remains primarily oriented toward reaching targets without a debate on potential risks and ethical consequences. Yet, there is increased awareness that the notion of “internationalization” not only touches on relations between nations, but even more so on the relations between cultures and between realities at the global and local levels.

Economic and political rationales are increasingly the key drivers for national policies related to the internationalization of higher education, while academic and social/cultural motivations are not increasing in importance at the same rate. Because of the more interdependent and connected world in which we live, this imbalance must be addressed and recalibrated.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS

It may behoove us to look back at the last 20 or 30 years of internationalization and ask ourselves some questions. Has international higher education lived up to our expectations and its potential? What have been the values that have guided it through the information and communication revolution; the unprecedented mobility of people, ideas, and technology; the clash of cultures; and the periods of economic booms and busts? What have we learned from the past that will guide us into the future? Is the strong appeal for internationalization of the curriculum, international and intercultural learning outcomes, and global citizenship to be perceived as a return to the former days of cooperation

and exchange, or a call for a more responsible process of internationalization in reaction to the current political climate and the increased commercialization of internationalization? Who could have forecasted that internationalization would transform from what has been traditionally considered a process based on values of cooperation, partnership, exchange, mutual benefits, and capacity building to one that is increasingly characterized by competition, commercialization, self-interest, and status building?

As we look backward and forward, it is thus important to ask, what are the core principles and values underpinning internationalization of higher education that in 10 or 20 years from now will make us look back and be proud of the track record and contribution that international higher education has made to the more interdependent world we live in, the next generation of citizens, and the bottom billion people living in poverty on our planet? ■

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Battle of the Brand: Independent “American” Universities Abroad

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Earlier this year, Iraq’s ministry of higher education announced the opening of a new university for the academic year 2018–2019. The American University of Iraq–Baghdad will be the country’s third “American” university. This latest undertaking exemplifies a trend that has gripped the region and reverberated around the world over the past quarter century: the establishment of higher education institutions located outside the United States using the name “American” and issuing degrees at the bachelor’s level or higher, entities referred to here as “American universities abroad.” There are now 80 such institutions in more than 55 countries around the globe—from Nicaragua to Nigeria to Vietnam—with an estimated combined enrollment exceeding 150,000 students. While some American universities abroad can trace their histories as far back as the American Civil War, more than two-thirds have been established in the past three decades. Unfortunately, many of these newer enterprises offer only the name and not the content of American higher education. Indeed, slightly more than half

of all independent American universities abroad appear to be impostors, neither possessing nor actively pursuing US regional accreditation.

A QUALITY BRAND

Much of the interest in American universities abroad, in the Middle East and elsewhere, can be attributed to branding. A former president of the American University of Beirut once observed that the word “American” is to education what “Swiss” is to watches. With limited legal protections on the highly valued “American” name in many countries undergoing privatization, entrepreneurs have found its use an increasingly attractive option. Some serial entrepreneurs have even established multiple American universities abroad. Serhat Akpınar has created American-labeled higher education institutions in Cyprus and Moldova. Alex Lahlou has done so in Algeria and Libya. Manmadhan Nair

The median institution enrolls between 1,000 and 2,000 students on a \$20 million operating budget.

has taken the “American” brand to several Caribbean countries. While academics, clerics, and politicians have set up American universities abroad, the more dubious operations are associated with those from business backgrounds. The chairman of a Kuwaiti consulting company attempted to establish an “American University” in Maribor (Slovenia), but was forced to abandon the project when the town’s mayor was presented with criminal charges for selling the campus land significantly under market value. A similar controversy is unfolding in Malta, where the prime minister rezoned a protected beach to persuade a Jordanian hotelier to launch his American university project.

When founders of these “American” universities abroad do get their campuses up and running, they too often fall short of the mark of educational quality the label is meant to signal. Among the most egregious examples is the American University for Humanities in Tbilisi, Georgia, which was exposed as a degree mill during the mid-2000s. The episode led the US department of education to suspend and eventually revoke the authority of the American programmatic accreditor that had validated it. It is more common, however, for bad faith American universities abroad to fly under the radar. The “American” brand is strong enough in many locales that it obviates the need to engage US accreditors at all. Students continue to enroll regardless of external quality assurances. And when there are limited checks on

quality, deceivers sidestep transparency. Some use Facebook as their main communications instrument, foregoing websites altogether. Curious researchers are often rebuffed, too.

The rise of disingenuous for-profit institutions exploiting the “American” brand and weak quality assurance regimes has posed a challenge for the field’s legitimate actors, especially those comprising the 28-institution consortium, the Association of American International Colleges and Universities (AAICU). In 2008, AAICU member presidents attempted to codify standards for their rapidly expanding global field by cosigning the Cairo Declaration, a statement of principles affirming the centrality of institutional autonomy guaranteed by independent boards of trustees and quality assurance certified by US regional accreditation. It also asserted the importance of the liberal arts curriculum and nonprofit financial model to contrast the business and technical programs that dominated the offerings of proprietary impostors.

ADDITIONAL CHALLENGES

Maintaining a united front against charlatans has been complicated by institutional diversity among the genuine. The field includes large research universities like the American University in Cairo and small liberal arts colleges like the American College of Thessaloniki. The median institution enrolls between 1,000 and 2,000 students on a \$20 million operating budget. But the ranges are vast. The Arab American University in Palestine has over 10,000 students while the Irish American University enrolls fewer than 200 at any given time. The annual operating expenses of the American University of Sharjah and Lebanese American University exceed \$170 million. The American University of Armenia and the American University of Central Asia each spend less than \$10 million per year. Increasing heterogeneity makes it more and more difficult to find common cause.

Another key challenge for the field is clarification of institutions’ eligibility for US government funding. Several American universities abroad, incorporated and accredited in the United States, are seeking access to Title IV funds and the ability to compete for National Science Foundation grants. An earlier version of the Higher Education Act (HEA) included a favorable amendment, but legislation has stalled. Some American universities abroad already receive federal funding, principally through US Agency for International Development (USAID) and its American Schools and Hospitals Abroad unit. In aggregate, though, only four percent of AAICU member institutions’ operating budgets come from US government sources.

The worldwide rise of authoritarianism provides yet another challenge to American universities abroad. The Hun-

garian government’s recent crackdown on AAICU member Central European University (CEU) offers the highest profile example. While CEU seems poised to endure, others have not been able to survive such politically motivated attacks. The American University of Azerbaijan closed in 2000 and the American University of Myanmar was shut down earlier this year. Political pressure in Kiev stopped the American University of Ukraine from ever getting off the ground. Repeated assaults on the American University of Afghanistan demonstrate that even institutions with the support of local government are not immune to the damages of political extremism.

LOOKING FORWARD

Issues of funding and reputation are likely to dominate the field in coming years. While aid levels have remained basically the same thus far, the Trump administration’s isolationist “America First” foreign policy may eventually translate into even further funding reductions for American universities abroad, thereby raising the stakes for HEA eligibility. Meanwhile, the establishment of knock-off American universities abroad will surely continue apace, especially in low-income countries with permissive authorities. AAICU has had some success during the past decade in fending off brand dilution, but leaders of its member institutions continue to discuss strategies that would preserve the integrity of the “American” name. Options considered by AAICU in recent years include the development of an accreditation and/or rankings function. It may also pursue recognition by the US Treasury as a standards development organization. If AAICU can marshal the collective will, observers should expect one or more of these changes to take effect soon. ■

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Definitions of Transnational Higher Education

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Transnational higher education involves providers and programs crossing national borders. Providers take a variety of forms, with different ownership structures, objectives, strategies, disciplines, and types of students. The

purpose of this article is to identify the different types of transnational education providers, so that these institutions can be categorized and defined. The focus is only on institution mobility, and therefore program mobility—such as distance education, franchised programs, and joint or dual degrees—are outside the scope of the article.

In a previous issue of *International Higher Education* (No. 93, Spring 2018), Wilkins and Rumbley proposed a revised definition of international branch campus, as follows: “An international branch campus is an entity that is owned, at least in part, by a specific foreign higher education institution, which has some degree of responsibility for the overall strategy and quality assurance of the branch campus. The branch campus operates under the name of the foreign institution and offers programming and/or credentials that bear the name of the foreign institution. The branch has basic infrastructure such as a library, an open access computer lab and dining facilities, and, overall, students at the branch have a similar student experience to students at the home campus.”

The vast majority of transnational higher education institutions have fewer than 1,000 registered students.

To date, the term “international branch campus” has been applied to most transnational education operations that involve teaching at premises owned by a foreign institution, where the premises and awards gained by students bear the name of the foreign institution. However, the definition provided above does not actually apply or fit with the majority of transnational providers.

THE PREMISES

The vast majority of transnational higher education institutions have fewer than 1,000 registered students. As such, these institutions do not have the scale that is required to possess a campus that consists of land and premises providing teaching rooms, computer labs, a library, catering facilities, sports and leisure facilities, as well as offices for teaching and administrative staff. Rather, the majority of transnational institutions operate from a handful of rooms in an office block, and many of these institutions offer only a single qualification, or a very small number of qualifications, while others employ few or no full-time faculty in the host country.

A transnational institution that does not possess the scale to be classified as an international branch campus

may be referred to as an *international study center*, defined as follows:

“An international study center is an entity that is owned, at least in part, by a specific foreign higher education institution, which has some degree of responsibility for the overall strategy and quality assurance of the center. The center operates under the name of the foreign institution and offers programming and/or credentials that bear the name of the foreign institution. It is a relatively small-scale operation with fewer than 1,000 students. The center may offer only a single discipline or program, and may employ few or no full-time faculty.”

THE STUDENTS

International branch campuses and international study centers typically recruit the vast majority of their students in the host countries in which they are located. These students may be nationals of the host countries or expatriates. Some institutions are also successful at recruiting students from other countries in the region. However, some transnational institutions do not exist to provide education to students in the host or neighbouring countries, but rather to provide a study abroad experience to students based at the home country campus.

In the 1950s and 1960s, several American universities established overseas study centers and since then universities from other countries have opened similar centers. Common objectives of these centers are to improve the foreign language skills of students; to facilitate “in-the-field” study of specific disciplines; and to give students exposure to and experience of different cultures, which may promote a global mindset and ultimately world peace.

A transnational institution that exists primarily to provide a study abroad experience to students based at the home country campus may be referred to as an *international study abroad center*, defined as follows:

“An international study abroad center is an entity that is owned by a specific foreign higher education institution, usually for the purpose of providing students from the home campus with a study abroad experience. The center operates under the name of the foreign institution and offers programming and/or credentials that bear the name of the foreign institution. Often, students spend relatively short periods of time at the center (e.g. one semester) and most students gain academic credit.”

THE OWNERS

In recent years, universities based in different countries have formed various types of partnerships to establish new institutions that have their own legal status and, typically, names that either include both parent institutions (e.g., Yale–NUS College or Xi’an Jiatong Liverpool University) or neither institution (e.g., United International College, a partnership between Beijing Normal University and Hong

Kong Baptist University). These types of partnership have been particularly popular with leading, high-ranked institutions.

A transnational institution that is owned by two institutions that each have substantial responsibilities for strategic decision-making and that share profits or losses may be referred to as an *international joint venture institution*, defined as follows:

“An international joint venture institution is a higher education institution that is jointly owned by two or more institutions based in different countries. Each partner institution has some degree of responsibility for the overall strategy and quality assurance of the jointly owned entity, and the two parent institutions share profits and losses resulting from the joint venture.”

International collaboration and cooperation have always existed in higher education. Nowadays, there are many examples of independent universities that are associated with a foreign country’s higher education system and that rely on foreign institutions for advice, curriculum, resources, and quality assurance. Examples of such institutions include the American University in the Emirates, the Vietnamese-German University, and the British University in Dubai. The British University in Dubai has a partnership alliance with four leading British universities (Cardiff, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Manchester), which each advise or collaborate on matters related to program design, program delivery, research activities, and quality assurance.

An independent institution that follows a foreign higher education system and that is affiliated to at least one foreign institution may be referred to as a *foreign-backed institution*, defined as follows:

“A foreign-backed institution is an independent higher education institution that follows a foreign higher education system and that is affiliated to at least one foreign institution with which it collaborates or cooperates, and from which it receives advice, services, and/or resources.”

Independent institutions that follow a foreign higher education system but are not affiliated to a foreign institution (e.g. the American University of Beirut and the American University in Cairo) are *not* foreign-backed institutions since there is no transfer of curricula, staff, or resources across national borders.

CONCLUSION

Transnational higher education operates in a myriad of forms and modes. This article identifies the most common types of transnational providers and offers a possible definition for each type. The classification of transnational institutions provided will be useful for researchers and those publishing data on transnational education, but it is acknowledged that in practice, the institutions involved with transnational education are themselves using a variety of

terms to refer to their operations. For example, it is currently fashionable for institutions to refer to their international branch campuses simply as global campuses, while also emphasizing that the foreign outpost is *not* a branch. Such actions may be responses to previous accusations of academic colonialism, but they are often done with the approval and encouragement of host country governments and regulators. ■

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Importing Branch Campuses to Advance Egypt’s Development

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As Egypt builds a “new Cairo”—a government and business hub in the desert on Cairo’s outskirts—the government wants international branch campuses (IBCs) to be a part. Governments increasingly view internationalization as a means for advancing national policy priorities, driven by a combination of enhancing economic competitiveness and global reputation. Such government attention toward internationalization can be a welcome advance, as well as fraught with potentially troubling policy and practical implications.

Egypt is not the first country to declare IBC recruitment a component of a national strategy. Examples stretch from China to Qatar. Approaches vary. Some nations provide significant subsidies; others take a more free-market approach. A unifying aspect is leveraging “internationalization” to import foreign academic investment to build out local educational capacity. While yielding some benefits, the efforts also raise questions about sustainability and potential tradeoffs for IBCs.

Internationalization of Egyptian higher education, mainly through student mobility, has ballooned. In 2017, approximately 47,000 foreign college students enrolled in Egypt, a significant increase from fewer than 2,000 in 2010. The country emerged as a leading hub of student mobility in the Middle East due to public institutions being open to noncitizens, which is not the case in most Arab Gulf states; and affordable tuition rates relative to many

other regional institutions. IBCs are now viewed as an opportunity to extend the benefits of internationalization for the country. The effort to import IBCs symbolizes seemingly contradictory positions of the Egyptian government to embrace foreign investment and build international relationships as a means for strengthening the nation's role on the global stage, while also seeming to curb local freedoms of central importance to the IBCs it seeks to import.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN EGYPT

Egypt has 24 public universities and 23 private universities, including the American University in Cairo (1919) and an outpost of the Technical University of Berlin, opened in 2012. Enrollment in higher education has grown from approximately 2 million students in 2010 to nearly 2.8 million in 2017.

The intention is to raise Egypt's international education profile and attract global students; and IBCs are required to admit a certain proportion of Egyptian students.

Recent government policies have set a new agenda for higher education. These include increasing the number of college students by nearly 50 percent by 2030; improving the quality of provision through a new accreditation process; requiring new private higher education institutions to partner with highly ranked foreign partners; enhancing international competitiveness by increasing the number of universities ranked in the top 500 globally; increasing the number of international students by 50 percent; and better aligning educational offerings with the labor market demands.

BALANCING STATE AUTHORITY AND INSTITUTIONAL AUTONOMY

The growing student demand and new policy context may be alluring to potential international partners. It is important to look at the details, though. A new law on IBCs seeks to balance state oversight and engagement with the need for academic independence.

Which IBCs will be allowed to operate remains under strict government control; those approved will be allowed high degrees of flexibility in advancing their mission. The intention is to raise Egypt's international education profile and attract global students; and IBCs are required to admit

a certain proportion of Egyptian students. IBCs are granted administrative autonomy; and must employ a number of Egyptian staff and faculty. The Egyptian government will provide the facilities and some of the ongoing administrative support; and they will tax tuition income at not more than 1 percent to recover those investments. The law provides for freedom from academic interference from the government; yet the fuzzy edges of a university can make it difficult to operate freely when the surrounding environment does not have the same freedoms. Further details are uncertain; but there is a clear sense of active government engagement.

Moreover, Egypt's policy context is like the shifting sands of the desert. What may seem reasonable tradeoffs now may further evolve as IBCs become a reality. What that evolution will look like is hard to predict.

EGYPT'S INTEREST IN IBCs: SIGNALING, DIPLOMACY, AND LEAPFROGGING

The reasons to invest in education are well established. Why a nation pursues a foreign university—as opposed to, or in tandem with investing in its domestic sector—is not as clear. A recent statement from the Egyptian minister of higher education provides some insight: “The opportunity for UK universities to establish [IBCs] in Egypt will support Egypt's internationalization ambitions and labor market demands ... IBCs will contribute to the fabric of Egypt's higher education landscape and be catalysts for broader international partnerships between the United Kingdom and Egypt in research, innovation, and mobility.”

Recruiting a well-known foreign university to set up shop signals something interesting, if not important, happening in the importing nation that warrants attention from outside actors. Similar investment by (or in) the domestic system would likely not send the same signal, or at least not as loudly. The effort to build a new capital is an attention-seeking effort; and having well-known IBCs, particularly from global powers, further supports the attention worthiness. IBCs can be an important means for strengthening geopolitical relationships and a foundation on which to recruit other forms of investment. Possibly considered a new form of public diplomacy, an IBC creates a physical and cultural link between two nations. The hope of the Egyptian government is that the IBC can be a catalyst for further partnership.

Recruiting outposts of well-established universities can be a mechanism for importing the academic capital created in the foreign country to help develop the local education system. In many ways, this academic investment (comparable to foreign direct investment in business) can be a means to leapfrog educational development that would like-

ly be slower by only investing in domestic institutions. As such, it could advance Egypt's effort to be home to several top-ranked universities.

IMPLICATIONS FOR IBCs TO CONSIDER

Proponents argue that New Cairo is an important symbol of Egypt's future and a beacon for new investment. Critics worry that relocating the wealthier members of society to the new city and focusing IBCs in New Cairo will accentuate social class inequity.

Egypt is also a fluid and dynamic policy and political environment. Policies created today can be undone tomorrow. Recruiting an IBC can expand capacity, be structured to align with economic initiatives, and serve as a means to raise global rankings and recruit international students. However, what happens when the academic ethos of critical inquiry and free expression that contributed to the success of the home campus run into conflict with efforts by the host country to curtail such freedoms in the broader environment?

Universities setting up IBCs elsewhere have accepted such compromises when choosing to operate in similar environments, often arguing that it is easier to help change a society from within than from without. Indeed, IBCs can be embassies of knowledge and demonstration sites where academic freedom can be allowed to be experimented with and fostered separate from the constraints in the broader environment. However, such activities must be taken on carefully and often at some risk to the individual and the institution. This risk becomes heightened when in a dynamic policy environment that allows for unchecked bans on parts of the internet and where foreign establishments can as quickly go from being welcomed to being banned. Whether elite institutions will risk Egypt's shifting sands is hard to say; it may all depend on whether they see rewards outweighing risks. ■

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Xiamen University Malaysia: A Chinese Branch Campus

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With typical Chinese speed, the fourth and newest campus of Xiamen University (XMU), about 45 km outside of Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, has completed its first phase of development. This project was initially drafted in 2012, began in 2014, and started its second phase in November 2017. Among the ten international branch campus universities in Malaysia, Xiamen University Malaysia (XMUM) occupies the largest campus with a total gross floor area of 470,000 square meters, represents the largest overall investment (about RMB 1.5 billion, mostly by Xiamen University—which corresponds to over US\$37million), and is 100 percent owned by XMU. The branch campus celebrated its opening ceremony on February 22, 2016, and currently operates 15 programs, enrolling about 1,720 Malaysian, 950 Chinese, and 30 other international students. It is expected that in five years' time the total number of students will be 5,000.

The increase of international student flows into Malaysia over the years has proven the plan's effectiveness in the context of the growing competition of the global education market.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION, COMMERCIALIZATION, AND COMPETITION IN MALAYSIA

Before XMUM was founded, the Malaysian government invited three Australian and six British universities to establish branch campuses in various Malaysian states. These initiatives were based on a strategic plan called "the International Education Base of Asia," which started around 1990. The 1990s were an era during which the Malaysian economy began looking for new pathways rather than selling traditional natural resources. The increase of international student flows into Malaysia over the years has proven the plan's effectiveness in the context of the growing competition of the global education market. In particular, XMUM enrolls top quality international students; the Chinese students enrolled are *Gao Kao Yi Ben Sheng* (top level students of the national entrance examination of China). According to local education experts, it is the first time in history that Malaysia has attracted this number of *Yi Ben Sheng* from China, whose overseas study plans used to include only the United States, Britain, Australia, and other western countries.

The Malaysian strategic plan has created mutual benefits for both Malaysia and the majority of the participating international universities, as it has promoted the commercialization of education and stimulated strong competition between universities. As requested by the Malaysian government, international branch campus universities are private universities that charge high and continually rising tuition fees (generally RM 42,000 to 48,000 per year). Local private universities, mostly opened by Chinese–Malaysians, charge one-half to two-thirds of that amount, but none has gained world-ranking status. Malaysian public universities have low tuition fees and provide quality education with higher employability, but the system has privileged the admission of Malay students, maintaining enrollment quotas for all other nationalities. This uneven quota system has triggered a period of rise and decline of private universities. In contrast, XMUM charges RM 22,000 to 24,000 per year and publicly promises not to use a penny for any commercial usage or to refund its mother university in China, but to invest all its proceeds in local academic research and student scholarships.

With typical Chinese speed, the fourth and newest campus of Xiamen University (XMU), about 45 km outside of Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, has completed its first phase of development.

These tuition fees are not without problems, as, statistically, it will take XMUM 30 years to break even. It is not surprising, therefore, that XMUM has been questioned regarding the balance between financially sustainable and noncommercial spirit. Local recruitment professionals also express concerns about sustaining steady income streams and qualified human resources at XMUM in the long run. Well-established British and Australian branch universities, founded one or two decades ago, may prove to be strong competitors in recruitment and enrollment in the future. Finally, without any other shareholders, total ownership by the mother university means reputation but pressure, too. Fortunately, Chinese–Malaysians have anonymously made considerable donations to XMUM since 2013, following the example of patriotic overseas Chinese such as Mr. Tan Kah Kee, the Malaysia-based Chinese tycoon and founder of Xiamen University.

EDUCATION CONSENSUS WITHIN ASEAN AND CHINA

The Bologna Process has deeply affected the educational systems of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and of China, in particular its ECTS system (European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System). In 2007, ASEAN countries reached a consensus on degree and credit recognition. In 2016, with the rapid development of economic activities, ASEAN and China agreed to broaden the earlier agreement in order to promote higher education and cultural exchanges. With its ten international branch campuses, Malaysia is one of the leaders within the ASEAN region in terms of exchanges.

A successful model can be copied, and other countries in the region are attempting to emulate Malaysia's approach. Since 2007, Vientiane has authorized Suzhou University (China) to operate in Laos. In 2016, Thailand invited Yunnan University of Finance and Economics (China) to found Bangkok Business School together with Rangsit University. In 2013, against the background of globalization and China's involvement in the broader region, the Chinese government released the *Yi Dai Yi Lu* Framework (the One Belt One Road Policy: A New Silk Road linking Asia, Africa, and Europe). Since then, Chinese universities have been actively operating abroad, including recruiting international students to study in China, particularly ASEAN students. However, the EU model can hardly be replicated because mutual agreements on student exchange and recruitment have not yet been based upon a supragovernmental consensus within ASEAN; for instance, all ASEAN nations have decided to keep working within the Chinese *Yi Dai Yi Lu*, which has the advantage of not being mandatory.

The first Chinese overseas branch campus has therefore been called the "Friendship Bridge between Malaysia and China." According to local recruitment agencies, XMUM fits the educational market of Chinese–Malaysians, but its future operation will greatly depend on the relationship between governments. Tension may be traced back to the Cold War, when communication was discontinued between China and other nations in Southeast Asia. Chinese–Malaysian students in the 61 Independent Chinese Schools of Malaysia, which participate in the "Malaysian Independent Chinese Secondary School Examination" (UEC), were directly affected by the shutdown of relationships, in that from 1957 they were no longer admitted to Malaysian public universities, a ban that continues today. Since the 1990s, the Malaysian government has reoriented its national policies, shifting from protecting the interests of Malays to adapting to a more diversified ethnic and multicultural reality. The legal framework now protects Chinese–Malaysians, but most Chinese–Malaysian students taking national tests

are not widely enrolled in public universities, as admission quotas there remain the same.

To conclude, the process of founding XMUM reflects a blend of recent educational developments in Malaysia, ASEAN, and China. Even though the branch campus has had a successful start, the expansion of the globalized education market in Asia will mean intense competition in the future—but for that the university is well prepared.

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Forget the Competition Trope

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Prior to the rise of nationalist populism raising the specter of a dampening of internationalization in higher education, one of the most common tropes in related debates was the idea that there is a global race for international students. The evidence used to support this idea usually includes scholarship programs and international student recruitment schemes, which have been well documented over the years. Both academic and policy literature emphasize the transnational scale of this competition and position it as critical for economic success. Governments have thus been assumed to be intentionally seeking to win the global race by enrolling more students from abroad in their higher education institutions.

What is wrong with this picture? If governments are competing, in the same way that they do when it comes to other areas such as trade and international affairs, we would expect to see some kind of long-term pattern in their actions. That is what University of Toronto doctoral student Emma Sabzalieva and I sought to figure out: have major host countries in the Anglosphere actually engaged in a global race to attract the best international students?

We examined how public policy in Australia, Canada, England, and the United States dealt with international students in higher education between 2000 and 2016. We also looked at how policy frameworks impacting such students

changed over time. These four countries enrolled around 40 percent of all international students in 2015. For each country, we carried out a case study that traced changes in relevant policy over the period investigated, and identified the events associated with policy change. We interpreted the passing of legislation, the introduction of new programs, and relevant policy changes against the political background of each country. In our paper, “The politics of the great brain race: public policy and international student recruitment in Australia, Canada, England and the USA,” recently published in *Higher Education*, we argue that none of these major countries have dealt coherently with international student attraction and retention. Furthermore, the long-term outlook required to cope with the assumed global competition for students is glaringly absent.

We examined how public policy in Australia, Canada, England, and the United States dealt with international students in higher education between 2000 and 2016.

INCONSISTENT AND UNCOORDINATED

Our analysis shows that the long-term growth in international student enrollment across the four countries is largely decoupled from policy developments. Although there have been occasional fluctuations, international student enrollment has steadily increased in the four countries during the period in focus, and quite substantially: 226 percent in Canada, 110 percent in Australia, 81 percent in England, and 48 percent in the United States.

A different picture emerges from a review of policies in several sectors that shape the ability of international students to join a higher education institution and potentially remain in the four countries. Despite a shared policy rhetoric that evokes maintaining global competitiveness and attracting talent, none of the countries have maintained a consistent path of facilitating international student recruitment or retention, nor have they sought to pursue improvements in their policies and regulations.

In terms of immigration for example, restrictions on international students have been tightened at different points in time, and well before the onset of Brexit and the Trump administration. In England, for instance, changes to its point-based immigration system early in this decade pe-

nalized international students by restricting time limits on student visas, working rights, and the number of courses that they could take. Similarly, Canada's introduction of the Express Entry selection system in 2015, aiming at streamlining the visa application process and facilitating integration in the labor market, made it more competitive for international students to seek permanent residency. In both cases, the governments in power claimed to be competing for the best and brightest, while making it hard for international students to subsist or to become residents.

Looking at a range of areas such as health care, employment rules, regulations on dependents, financial aid, tuition fees, and taxation, it becomes clear that none of the countries displayed a pattern toward facilitating international student mobility. Public policy in those and other areas impact international students, and they span government agencies or ministries. Isolating policy to a single ministry overlooks the complexity required to manage issues connected to international students. Hence, coordination both across government and with the higher education sector is needed to address constraints on international students. The Prime Minister's Initiative in England and the recent strategy for international education in Australia are examples of policy initiatives that sought a cross-sectoral approach. For the most part, however, policy coordination in this area remains elusive.

CONCLUSION

If policy makers in the Anglosphere were intentionally engaging in a global race to recruit international students, one would expect to see policy changes in a certain direction. That is expected from countries that compete in a certain industry: decisive action is taken to maximize one's comparative advantage. In reality, policy changes that are consequential for the recruitment and possible retention of international students have been anything but consistent or convergent over the first 16 years in this century. While there may be similarities in the discourse governments use, invariably endorsing the ambition of universities to recruit students globally, over time policy action has followed divergent logics. In this context, international student numbers in the four countries have arguably grown *despite* rather than *because of* political and policy changes. ■

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Measuring Education Quality in Global Rankings: What's the Likelihood?

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The most influential global academic rankings—the highly influential Shanghai Academic Rankings of World Universities (ARWU), *Times Higher Education (THE)* World University Rankings, and QS Top University Rankings—have been in existence for more than a decade and are now a major force in shaping higher education worldwide. One of their key purposes is to demonstrate the world's best universities, based on their own criteria. However, they consider fewer than 5 percent of the more than 25,000 academic institutions worldwide. The rankings are influential—students make decisions on where to study; some governments allocate funds; and universities struggle to improve their position in them.

From the beginning, these rankings have focused primarily on research productivity. Reputational measures are also included in the QS and *THE* rankings, but these measures remain controversial due to low response rates that accentuate biases and limited perspective. Each survey indicator is considered independently, where multicollinearity is more persuasive—in other words, doctoral students, citations, research income, internationalization etc. are highly interdependent. Allowing for some overlap, research-related indicators constitute approximately 70 percent of the total score for QS while reputation influences 50 percent. Both ARWU and *THE* are 100 percent based on research/research-related indicators.

TEACHING/LEARNING ENTER THE RANKINGS EQUATION

Without question, teaching is the fundamental mission of most higher education institutions; with few exceptions, undergraduates comprise the majority of students enrolled in higher education worldwide. However, the “world-class” concept is derived from those universities that score highest in global rankings. This is relatively easy to explain.

Research-intensive universities tend to be the best known internationally and hence, the most recognizable in reputational surveys. Bibliometric data is easily captured, albeit that practice continues to undervalue art, humanities, and social sciences research as well as research with a regional or national orientation—especially research published in languages other than English.

Global rankings have been quick to capitalize on finding a solution to this issue by including more indicators about the quality of education and teaching. Richard Holmes pointed out that this remains “unmapped territory.” However, the problem is more fundamental than the choice of indicators. One reason teaching and learning have not been included in global rankings is the difficulty of measuring and comparing results across diverse countries, institutions, and students. In addition, there is the necessity to take account of how and what students learn, and how they change as a result of their academic experience without simply reflecting the student’s prior experience—their social capital. The focus is the quality of the learning environment and learning gain rather than the status or reputation of the institution. Thus, many individual colleges and universities seek to assess teaching quality using a variety of measures, including teaching portfolios and peer-assessment, for purposes of recruitment and promotion of faculty members. In many countries, faculty must acquire a credential in teaching and learning practice prior to, or upon, appointment. More importantly, it is misplaced to think we can measure teaching, at scale, distinct from the outcomes of learning. The concept of teaching quality as an institutional attribute is also problematic because research shows most differences occur within, rather than between, institutions.

MEASURING EDUCATION QUALITY AND STUDENT LEARNING

The debate about educational quality takes different forms in each country, but increasing emphasis is being put on learning outcomes, graduate attributes, life skills, and, crucially, what higher education institutions are contributing—or not—to student learning.

In 2011, following the success of PISA (Program for International Student Assessment), the OECD piloted its Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes (AHELO) project. By administering a common test to students in 17 countries, the aim was to identify and measure both good teaching and learning. Developed to challenge the prominence of global rankings based primarily on research output, AHELO proved controversial and was suspended. Another ranking alternative, PIAAC, the OECD Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies,

measures adults’ proficiency in literacy, numeracy, and problem solving in technology-rich environments—first published in 2013.

Measures of teaching quality are being developed in several nations. In 2016, England pioneered the Teaching Excellence Framework (TEF). The initial government concept was controversial, not least because results were to be tied to funding. TEF was developed by a consortium of key stakeholders to assess undergraduate provision and will be extended to disciplinary (subject) level beginning in 2020. National testing is another method; Brazil’s *Exame Nacional de Desempenho de Estudantes* (ENADE-National Examination on Student Performance) assesses student competence in various professional areas. The exam is aimed at evaluating university programs rather than student or academic knowledge. Likewise, Colombia has developed SaberPro with similar objectives. In the United States, the Collegiate Assessment of Academic Proficiency (CAAP), the Collegiate Learning Assessment (CLA), and the ETS

Measures of teaching quality are being developed in several nations.

Proficiency Profile seek to measure learning using national tests. There are also student self-reporting exercises, such as the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE) and, for the community college sector, the Community College Survey of Student Engagement (CCSSE). NSSE assesses the amount of time and effort students put into their studies and other educationally relevant activities, and how an institution deploys its resources and organizes the curriculum. The NSSE program has been duplicated in Australia, Canada, China, Ireland, New Zealand, and South Africa with similar initiatives in Japan, Korea, and Mexico.

WHAT GLOBAL RANKINGS ARE DOING

All global rankings, including the European Union’s U-Multirank (UMR), include indicators for educational quality—some more successfully than others. QS, *THE*, and U-Multirank (the latter at discipline level) use faculty-student ratio. However, due to different methods by which faculty and students are classified between disciplines and within institutions and countries, this is considered a highly unreliable indicator of educational quality. QS and *THE* both include a peer survey of teaching, but it is unclear on what

basis anyone can evaluate someone else's teaching without being in their classroom. ARWU uses Nobel Prizes/Field Medals awarded to alumni and faculty as a proxy for educational quality—which is clearly ridiculous.

THE has just launched its "Teaching Quality Ranking for Europe" drawing on the experience of the *Wall Street Journal/Times Higher Education* College Rankings. Fifty percent of that ranking is based on the *WSJ/THE* student survey and another 10 percent on the academic reputational survey. It also allocates 7.5 percent of the final score to the number of papers published and 7.5 percent to the faculty–student ratio. The student surveys appear to draw from the American NSSE methodology, but there is considerable debate about the use of such surveys on an international comparative basis without ensuring a representative sample and accounting for differences among students and the shortcomings of self-reported data. *THE* also uses the proportion of female students (10 percent) as a measure of inclusivity, but this is questionable, given that female students accounted for 54.1 percent of all tertiary students in the EU 28 as of 2015. Thus, it is worth noting how few underlying measures have anything to do with actual teaching—even if it is defined broadly.

CONCLUSION

Despite some scepticism about the methodological and practical aspects of a global ranking methodology, the race is on to establish one. There are various actions by ranking organizations, governments, and researchers to identify more appropriate ways, using more reliable data, to measure and compare education outcomes, graduate employability, university–society engagement, etc. In a globalized world with mobile students, graduates, and professionals, we need better information on how to evaluate an individual's capabilities and competencies.

But one of the lessons of rankings is that, without due care, indicators can lead to unintended consequences. We know that student outcomes will determine future opportunities. But conclusions based on simplistic methodologies could further disadvantage students who could and should benefit most, if universities become more selective and focus on students most likely to succeed in order to improve their position in global rankings.

Thus, it is clear that creating reliable international comparisons of educational outcomes is extremely challenging. Clearly, assessing teaching and learning is central to determining the quality of higher education, but using current methodologies to produce comparative data is foolhardy at best. Rather than deceiving ourselves by believing that rankings provide a meaningful measure of education quality, we should acknowledge that they simply use inadequate indi-

cators for commercial convenience. Or, better yet, we could admit, for now at least, that it is impossible to adequately assess education quality for purposes of international comparisons. ■

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World-Class Universities and the Common Good

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This article is a revised version of "A shift to the global common good in higher education," by Lin Tian, Yan Wu, and Nian Cai Liu (2017) in University World News; and it is also based on CWCU's unpublished book chapter for the WCU-7 conference "World-class universities: A double identity related to global common good(s)," by Lin Tian.

Globalization and the development of internationalization, the advancement of science and technology, the enhancement of life-long learning, and trends toward marketization and privatization all contribute to constant changes in the global higher education landscape. Against this backdrop, the term "public good(s)," which once dominated the field of higher education, is now being questioned. In 2015, UNESCO published a report titled *Rethinking Education towards a Global Common Good*, which proposes "common good" as a constructive alternative to "public good(s)" (the latter being traditionally considered closely associated with education and its outputs), with a distinct feature of *intrinsic value* and *sharing participation* (UNESCO, 2015). This article explores the relationship between world-class universities (WCUs) and this newly proposed notion of global common good(s). It states that WCUs, as a network or group, themselves play a role as global common good, and produce and contribute to global common good(s) benefiting not only individual students, but also the larger global society.

FROM “PUBLIC GOOD” TO “COMMON GOOD” IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Many scholars recognize the “public nature” of higher education and universities: creating and distributing knowledge, enhancing the quality of life of people who are educated, supplying innovations for the industry, and preparing citizens for democratic decision-making. However, aspects of this notion are being challenged.

It is argued that the growing privatization and increasing marketization of higher education damage the “public” character of higher education to some extent and blur the boundary between “public” and “private.” Also, the changing global landscape places more emphasis on “common” than on “public” in the educational process. According to UNESCO’s report, “common” learning encourages people to be proactive in the learning process, with shared efforts through various channels, thereby bringing benefits to all participants and changing the process from educating to learning. On the other hand, “public” education is often provided by the government, which easily generates free-riding (since governments often provide public education for free, with less emphasis on the correlation between individuals’ pay and use). Obtaining education may in some cases become a passive process, in which people are not stimulated to actively play a role.

It is argued that the growing privatization and increasing marketization of higher education damage the “public” character of higher education to some extent and blur the boundary between “public” and “private.”

Hence, it is better to shift from the notion of higher education as a “public good” to that of a “common good.” This implies that more emphasis can be placed on its “results” (the realization of fundamental rights for all people) rather than on the “method of supply” (whether it is delivered by a public or a private institution). Also, to a certain extent, the idea of higher education as a common good could justify the idea of diversified providers and financing of higher education, which can in certain cases bring greater efficiency. Moreover, when we think about the current demand for active and lifelong learning, it is clear that the notion of common good complements the concept of public good. A public good does not link pay (a person’s involvement in

the provision of a public good) and use (his or her use of it): a public good is open to free-riding, whereas a common good reflects the collective endeavor of all participants and its benefits are generated through shared action; also, learning through various channels, by people of all ages, results in the notion of lifelong learning.

WCUs’ ROLE RELATED TO GLOBAL COMMON GOOD(S)

In practice, higher education serves the common good through cultivating talents, advancing research, and providing service to society. This new era, which is marked by globalization and internationalization, new information technologies, environmental concerns, and dramatic policy changes such as Brexit, brings both opportunities and challenges for higher education institutions around the world. In addition to providing opportunities for self-development, WCUs, the world’s leading or elite universities, need to position themselves at the forefront of seeking conceptual and practical solutions to the pressing challenges of our time for the benefit of all mankind.

It is widely acknowledged that WCUs consist of both leading public and private universities worldwide, employing the most qualified faculty and attracting the best and brightest students from all around the world; that they focus on the international landscape and constantly adjust themselves according to the outside world; that they are committed to solving globally challenging issues and actively cooperate with other organizations. In this regard, WCUs have already transcended the idea of “public” and “private,” playing a role as global common good with an emphasis on global development and interconnectedness and the well-being of the global community.

This can be demonstrated by their three major functions: talent cultivation, scientific research, and service to society. After analyzing the mission and vision reports of the top 20 universities—widely acknowledged as WCUs—in the Academic Ranking of World Universities (2016), the main keywords relating to their three functions can be generalized as:

- Talent cultivation: international/global; world-class/excellent/best/outstanding; research-led/research-based; professional/skills; innovative/creative; diverse; inspiring; interdisciplinary; inclusive/open/free.
- Scientific research: excellence/world-class/highest-level; international/global/world; cooperation(s)/partnership; new/cutting-edge/original; knowledge/scholarship; interdisciplinary/cross-disciplinary/transdisciplinary; challenging/difficult.
- Service to society: social/society; world/inter-

national/global; community; nation/national; cooperation(s)/coordination(s)/partnership/interaction(s); engage/engagement; challenge(s)/challenging; excellent/significant; mankind/human beings; life/well-being/welfare.

In terms of talent cultivation, WCUs are making efforts to build a human capital pool consisting of the most distinguished and outstanding talents—to become the most important national and global resource. With respect to scientific research, WCUs intend to conduct the most advanced research and discover state-of-the-art knowledge, tackling challenging problems with international concerns so as to improve humankind's well-being. In terms of service to society, WCUs aim to confront the most complex and difficult global challenges for the benefit of human society, making an impact on the development and progress of the world in a transformative way, contributing to sustainable and peaceful development for all mankind and the whole world.

CONCLUSION

As leading research universities with a global reach, WCUs not only constitute a global common good, but also develop global common goods such as advanced knowledge and excellent research and thus contribute to the common good (i.e., peaceful development) intrinsically shared by all humans. Therefore, WCUs serve as a very important global common good. However, this does not mean that WCUs are capable of doing everything successfully. The notion of global common good tends to be a vision or a prospect to guide and lead their efforts of providing extensive world-class education, research, and extensive service to society, embracing opportunities, coping with challenges, and enhancing the sustainable development of the whole world. ■

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Access for Refugees into Higher Education: Paving Pathways to Integration

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For the past several years, refugee access to higher education has been a critical topic in the German context and represented a chance for universities to scale up services for all students, not just for refugees. Qualitative research on university administrative processes, including the support structures offered through the German Academic Exchange Service's (DAAD) Integra and Welcome programs, has reflected common hurdles refugee students face, including learning the German language; passing university preparation courses (varying in scope and duration); and going through credential assessment and subject matter competency testing. These students also compete for admission with all non-EU international students, who may have years of German language training and cultural familiarity. Finally, and perhaps most difficult, refugees have to work through socioemotional trauma, asylum uncertainty, and a societal backlash from some parts of the population against their presence in the country.

Over the past several years, there have been numerous German and international large-scale studies by governments, institutes, foundations, and researchers that have provided critically important information for understanding the processes and challenges around refugee integration in the tertiary context. Among these, the provision of services and the analytical work by the DAAD stand out. In its critical dual role as both a primary funder for refugee assistance and a convener of the many universities working to facilitate educational pathways for refugee and migrant integration, the DAAD has been uniquely positioned to shine a spotlight on the issue.

THE INTEGRATION OF REFUGEES AT GERMAN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

The DAAD's most recent report, *The integration of refugees at German higher education institutions*, is significant for two reasons. First, it "presents [new] evidence-based findings" on a large scale of the progress refugees students are mak-

ing. Second, it provides “an important basis for close monitoring” of the 100 million euros universities have utilized to support those same refugee students in pathway programs and other initiatives, which is key for accountability. These data are essential to countering criticism of refugee assistance from politically opposed groups like Germany’s right-leaning party, the *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD).

In its study, the DAAD outlines a range of issues that we believe apply not only in the German context but are also useful in other international settings where countries struggle to support refugee populations. Several of the points in the report also relate to students with a migrant background. In the paragraphs that follow, we highlight some of the report’s most salient points and their relation to more widely shared challenges facing education systems currently absorbing refugees and at-risk migrants.

Providing counseling to students on the sometimes bureaucratic university application process is vital.

PROCESSING PAPERWORK

The completion of complex paperwork to gain access to university has been recognized as burdensome in the scholarship on the refugee student experience, although the German tertiary sector is welcoming in the sense that it is tuition free for most students (only international students from outside the European Union are the exception in two German states). In the US context, for example, considerable research has been done on how the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA) proves a barrier for many students, including students of low socioeconomic status who are not first-language English speakers. Providing counseling to students on the sometimes bureaucratic university application process is vital, whether under the auspices of mandatory orientation classes, or as a required component of pathway programs already in place.

FROM SCHOOL TO COMMUNITY

Additionally, student coordination with job centers and other social service agencies has been highlighted as problematic. Students from a refugee background are necessarily involved with various social services, and the German case makes clear that needs often arise on the part of students that universities may be unable to address. As researchers in the Australian context have suggested, for example, a

centralized office on university campuses could offer on-site consultation and information to students about subsidized housing and other key resources. Alternately, a liaison in each university town or city might be appointed to serve as the first contact point for students in need.

ACCREDITATION HURDLES AND THE REFUGEE PASSPORT

The recognition of certificates and credits from the home country continues to merit attention, although progress in this area has been noteworthy. Indeed, the so-called “refugee passport” will be piloted in 2018–2020 in nine European countries and collates information on a student’s educational background, work experience, and language proficiency. While this document may eventually solve part of the problem with transfer of credits, intermediary measures need to be taken and strengthened. Students—whether they are refugees or migrants—who are informed they will not be able to transfer a high number of credits risk breaking off their course of study, or delaying it, which can often be a *de facto* decision to leave university altogether. In that regard, it is important for future policy makers to consider how accreditation agencies, state and local governments, and universities can think creatively about alternative modes of credit transfer. At the institutional level, the “independent study” might serve as a route for experienced students to demonstrate their level of expertise in a subject and gain credit without repeating coursework that costs extra time and money.

DAILY EXPENSES

Finally, the difficulty of financing transportation costs to and from the university, particularly in rural areas, may seem like a minor issue, but these expenses and other daily barriers are no small challenge for students from marginalized backgrounds. Indeed, universities in Canada and elsewhere, for example, are increasingly offering food banks on campus to serve students who struggle to balance costs. A number of German universities, including the University of Bayreuth, also offer small funds to assist with transportation costs, but these pools are limited. Institutions and social services agencies need to urgently address these surmountable barriers to student participation.

HELPING THE 99 PERCENTERS

The lessons emerging from the German tertiary ecosystem in light of the refugee influx apply not only to other national contexts that are experiencing refugee inflows, but are also useful for other global settings where migrant students are seeking access to university. This list spans the globe today: the UN Refugee Agency UNHCR’s latest figures identify 65.6 million displaced persons and 22.5 million refugees

around the world. Most of these individuals will seek education as the conduit back to normalcy, some will seek higher education, and a small number will go on to make remarkable contributions to human development, much as other notable refugees have historically done. We cannot turn our back on their potential and allow an entire generation or more to be lost.

Researchers and practitioners alike may look to the contemporary German case to learn from both best practices and common challenges. In this collaborative learning process, the larger community of educators including the DAAD in Germany, the Institute of International Education in the United States and the World University Service of Canada, among others, will come a step closer to supporting not only the 1 percent of refugees worldwide who access higher education, but also the 99 percent who remain excluded. ■

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African Academic Diaspora: Training and Research

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Tertiary education enrollment in sub-Saharan Africa nearly doubled from approximately 4.5 million in 2000 to 8.8 million in 2016 (UNESCO UIS). To meet the needs of new and expanding universities, several African governments, including Kenya and South Africa, have set targets or identified a need to increase the number of doctoral graduates by the thousands over the next decade in order to improve the quality and size of academic staff. A 2015 UNESCO Science Report advises that with expanded enrollment coming primarily from newly industrializing countries, the future of higher education is dependent on university networks that enable universities to share their faculty, courses, and research projects. University exchanges with academic diaspora are an effective entry point to do so. According to an April 2018 Pew Research Center report, sub-Saharan African immigrants in the United States are more highly educated than their counterparts in Europe, and 69 percent of those aged 25 or older in 2015 said that they had at least some tertiary education experience. A number of African universities and institutions have developed inno-

vative models to incorporate diaspora linkages in developing the next generation of academics.

DIASPORA ENGAGEMENT IN RESEARCH NETWORKS

The African Institute of Mathematical Sciences (AIMS) Research Chair program goals are to enable exceptional African graduates with more than two years of postdoctoral research experience who are based outside Africa to firmly establish themselves in Africa while continuing international-class research. AIMS has recruited eight African diaspora research chairs based in Europe and North America across its six centers in Cameroon, Ghana, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa, and Tanzania for four- to five-year terms, and plans to recruit an additional five in 2018. Founded in 2003, and headquartered in Kigali, Rwanda, AIMS recruits talented university graduates and provides them with the cutting-edge training in mathematics that they need to enter technical professions or pursue graduate studies in technical fields. Research Chairs support scientific development in Africa through research, teaching, and creating research groups of excellence with a focus on applied mathematical science and international and inter-African collaboration. Chairs' activities include master's, doctoral, and postdoctoral supervision; scientific event organization; coordinating visiting lecturers; and research mobilization and partnership building. AIMS has partnerships with over 200 universities, 300 researchers, and 500 lecturers worldwide, and produces approximately 70 peer-reviewed research publications and 300 dissertations per year. Exposing students to new mathematical science domains with top scientists from around the world, AIMS has since its inception graduated over 1500 alumni from 42 African countries, with graduates including over 30 percent of women. The majority of alumni are pursuing doctoral degrees or working in Africa.

INSTITUTIONAL DEPLOYMENT OF ACADEMIC DIASPORA

The Institute of Post-School Studies of the University of the Western Cape (UWC) in Cape Town, South Africa, and Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, Mozambique, have deployed diaspora academics to design a new doctoral program in comparative higher education, science, and innovation studies, aiming to produce researchers and practitioners for Africa's expanding higher education sector. Together with UWC faculty, diaspora visiting lecturers from leading institutions worldwide have contributed to curricula design, seminars and public lectures, short courses on research methodology, and doctoral cosupervision. To meet the increased demand for methodological training, the University of Ghana's (UG) Pan-African Doctoral Academy (PADA) has engaged 20 academics from the diaspora

who work alongside UG faculty. PADA supports doctoral students and early career faculty with training, mentoring, career guidance, and scholarship, with an overarching goal to increase the quality of PhD education in West Africa. PADA has trained 400 African doctoral students since its inception in 2014. Valuing the approach, vice-chancellors at Kwara State University in Nigeria and the University of Johannesburg in South Africa have replicated versions of the PADA diaspora model. Further, the Health Sciences Research Office of the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) in Johannesburg, South Africa, targets alumni in scarce skills domains for reciprocal research collaboration, lecturing, postgraduate supervision, and sharing of laboratories. Visits by 24 Wits diaspora alumni fellows over four years have led to ongoing collaboration with six leading universities, 14 joint publications, five joint grants, postgraduate supervision, and development of a health application database consortium.

Research Chairs support scientific development in Africa through research, teaching, and creating research groups of excellence.

ARE ACADEMIC DIASPORA LINKAGES SUSTAINABLE?

External funders have strengthened several of these programs, but are the linkages sustainable? A survey conducted by the Carnegie African Diaspora Fellowship Program—which has supported 335 academic diaspora fellowship visits to African universities since 2013—found that of 103 North American diaspora fellows who were funded for up to three-month visits at African universities, 98 percent reported having visited Africa in recent years before the fellowship. This survey saw a 77 percent response rate. Of the 98 percent of respondents who had recently visited Africa, 66 percent visited for personal reasons and 60 percent visited to conduct research. Thirty-three percent had previously visited their host institutions and 35 percent had worked virtually with host collaborators prior to the fellowship.

According to a six-month postfellowship survey, 78 percent of program participants reported that they continue to stay engaged in academic activities with their host collaborator. A one-year alumni survey of 58 fellows (a 53 percent survey response rate) showed that 84 percent of fellows reported that they communicate at least once or twice a month with scholars and administrators from their host institution, and 41 percent (24 fellows) reported that they visited the host institution following the initial project visit

for professional reasons. Progress in no- or low-cost technology and connectivity is enabling ongoing collaboration.

INTELLECTUAL REMITTANCES CONTRIBUTE TO EDUCATIONAL TARGETS

African governments have mostly been interested in financial remittances from the diaspora, but intellectual remittances provide a means to meet their educational targets. In his April 2018 inaugural speech, newly appointed prime minister Abiy Ahmed Ali of Ethiopia stated that maximum effort would be made to ensure that graduates from higher education institutions and technical and vocational colleges “harvest knowledge that is comparable to their endowment of abilities.” He subsequently called on the diaspora to contribute, saying that the government would continue with unreserved efforts to facilitate their active participation in the country’s affairs and its transformation in any way that they could. In a March 2018 presidential panel at the Next Einstein Forum in Kigali, Rwanda, President Paul Kagame claimed that 80–85 percent of Rwandans who had studied abroad had come back to Rwanda due to a conducive environment.

The future of higher education is increasingly transnational. According to UNESCO, four million students (2 percent of all university students) are registered abroad, and this figure is expected to double by 2025. In this context, creating connections between African universities and academic diaspora communities interested in sharing intellectual capital and resources is a catalyst for scholarly exchange, broader academic communities, and innovation in higher education. Early findings of academic diaspora linkage programs indicate substantial leveraging of additional funds, expertise, technology, and goodwill, which is benefiting both home and host institutions. ■

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Repositioning UK Partnerships Post-Brexit

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Following the Brexit referendum of June 2016, the implications for higher education and research of the United Kingdom leaving the European Union were not

immediately clear, and depended on how the UK government would interpret the referendum result and use it as a mandate to pursue either a “hard” or a “soft” Brexit. Two years later, the UK government’s volatile stance in the EU–UK Brexit negotiations and cabinet split over a hard or soft Brexit has in large part shaped the remaining available options for UK universities, globally recognized as beacons of teaching and research excellence, with four ranked in the top 10 (QS World University Rankings, 2019). The history, proximity, and favorable support mechanisms nurturing collaboration, both financial and technical (e.g., mobility grants, a European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System [ECTS] recognizing time spent abroad, etc.) within Europe made other European universities attractive partners. A hard Brexit would jeopardize this relationship, and the European Parliament’s Brexit steering committee concluded that while UK participation as a third country in the future “Horizon Europe” framework program was possible, it would not result in “net transfer from the European Union budget to the United Kingdom, nor any decision-making role for the United Kingdom” (*Times Higher Education*, 15 March 2018). This is problematic because the United Kingdom has always been a net receiver of EU research funds,

There has been much talk within the United Kingdom of boosting intra-Commonwealth partnerships.

exercised a leadership role on a high percentage of European Research Council grants, and has strongly influenced the shaping of the framework programs to its advantage.

It has become obvious that both sides are playing a poker game at a high level, and nothing will be agreed until everything is agreed. In the meantime, universities must cater to their current and prospective students and staff, and ensure that they remain attractive destinations. This can be achieved by continuing to offer a culturally enriching experience through teaching and research that remains open to the world. How are UK universities strategizing to stay connected to European and global partners, and to reaffirm their commitment to remain international organizations operating beyond territorial borders, regardless of—and perhaps in an attempt to overcome—the unhelpful Brexit context that risks isolating them?

WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE EUROPEAN REGION?

On the research side, the European Union’s framework

program for research and innovation, “Horizon 2020,” is the world’s largest international research funding program, with a budget of roughly € 80 billion (2014–2020). It will be succeeded by “Horizon Europe,” with a proposed budget of € 97.9 billion (2021–2027). While it is important to note absolute numbers, their sheer size makes them difficult to absorb. In terms of institutional dependence, over 40 midsized UK universities have received income exceeding 20 percent of their research income from EU government bodies. Oxford, Cambridge, University College London, Imperial College, and the University of Edinburgh have each secured hundreds of millions euro in research funds since 2014.

Beyond research and innovation funding, Erasmus+, the European Union’s all-encompassing program to support education, training, youth, and sport in Europe (2014–2020) with an allocated budget of € 14.7 billion, provides a successful framework for student and staff mobility. The enrichment of the student experience is difficult to quantify but very real, as is the added value of better language skills. Alternative mobility schemes will have to be devised, and while “going global” sounds appealing, it should not be assumed that the demand exists within the UK-based student body. Intra-European mobility remains a privilege for only a minority because of the associated costs, and opportunities in Australia, New Zealand, and North America will be more expensive (and in general fail to offer opportunities for language learning), because of the distance and lack of supporting funding frameworks.

CREATING NEW PARTNERSHIPS: LOOKING TOWARD THE COMMONWEALTH AND BEYOND

There has been much talk within the United Kingdom of boosting intra-Commonwealth partnerships, because of alleged shared values and a common heritage. The Commonwealth is an intergovernmental organization comprising 53 states and home to a population of 2.4 billion previously under direct British rule. It is a far more eclectic group than the EU²⁷. While tapping into this postcolonial organization appears attractive on paper, it should not, however, dissimulate the fact that at present, 31 of those countries are very small states, often with no registered public university, and only Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and Singapore are research powers on par with leading EU countries, as demonstrated by their research output and number of highly ranked universities. There is not a single university beyond those four Commonwealth countries ranked among the world’s top 150 (QS World University Rankings, 2019).

Focusing on Commonwealth countries could have limited results—beside the discrepancy in human rights values in some member countries, potentially endangering UK

staff and students working or studying abroad. The UK government has always been a strong advocate for focussing on excellence as the only basis for funding research. It would be difficult to see the United Kingdom channelling funds toward research infrastructure capacity building among other Commonwealth nations, especially in a hard Brexit scenario where the United Kingdom no longer has access to the EU framework programs and finds itself competing with the European Union from the outside.

UNIVERSITIES AS MASTERS OF THEIR OWN DESTINIES?

Based on research conducted at the Centre for Global Higher Education under the “Brexit, trade, migration, and higher education” project, at the leadership level, UK research intensive universities are keen to enter into comprehensive strategic partnerships including both research collaboration and mobility opportunities with highly ranked universities where a range of modules are taught in English, as they see these partnerships as a reflection of their own standing and reputation. This could lead to a small group of European and international universities becoming overwhelmed with requests from British universities to enter into strategic alliances, as the list of such overseas institutions is exhaustive. Large research intensive universities ranked in the top 100 in Australia, Canada, Germany, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Scandinavia, Singapore, and the United States are all considered priority partners. This rationalization of institutional, university-wide arrangements could further push both mobility flows and research collaboration to take place exclusively between so-called “like-minded” universities located predominantly in the Western world, creating ring-fenced alliances of institutions according to research intensity and rank. This “club” syndrome has partly been avoided in Europe because of the plethora of bottom-up arrangements agreed under Erasmus+, based on individual connections, and the relative freedom academics had in setting up their own exchanges and research partnerships. In the era of the corporate university, and because of Brexit-related uncertainty, this is increasingly no longer an option for UK universities.

CONCLUSION

In the two years that have passed since the Brexit referendum, the government has clarified little with regard to the United Kingdom’s participation in Erasmus+ and “Horizon Europe.” UK universities are concerned by the high level of ongoing uncertainty. Universities have a duty toward their students who enroll for a period of three to four years—with a recruitment cycle starting a year before—and toward their researchers working on collaborative projects for which application rounds will commence shortly. Cer-

tainty is a necessity as degree programs must be taught out, and because quality research proposals require unequivocal eligibility. Universities are looking to strengthen their institution-wide partnerships with European and overseas universities in order to remain internationally oriented and push away the specter of an isolated, inward-looking island. The UK government expects its universities to feed into the narrative of a “Global Britain,” but without providing any enabling framework. ■

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The Consolidation of Chinese Private Higher Education

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Higher education as an industry is facing unprecedented worldwide challenges due to an increase in competition and the need for greater efficiency. In China, the private sector in higher education is witnessing a trend of convergence by acquisitions, i.e., private educational groups acquiring other private institutions.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE EDUCATION MARKET

China is the world’s largest higher education market, followed by India and the United States. The total student enrollment in higher education in China reached 37 million in 2016. A burgeoning middle-class society presents vast opportunities for the industry and higher education has become a key area for investment in China. A report by Deloitte refers to the “golden age of the Chinese education market.” There has been a rapid increase of private capital flowing into the education industry in terms of both amount and frequency. According to Deloitte, in 2015 the amount of investment in the Chinese education industry was over twice that in 2014; the total amount of mergers and acquisitions increased by 165 percent year on year; and initial public offerings (IPOs) increased by 76 percent from the previous year.

According to Frost & Sullivan, the total revenue of the Chinese private higher education industry has been in-

creasing steadily from RMB 69.6 billion (US\$10.11 billion) in 2012 to RMB 95.4 billion (US\$13.86 billion) in 2016 and is expected to further increase to RMB 139.0 billion (US\$20.2 billion) in 2021. The total number of students enrolled in private higher education in China increased from 5.3 million in 2012 to 6.3 million in 2016 and is expected to further increase to 8.0 million in 2021. Currently, about 22 percent of students in higher education are studying at private institutions. In three years' time, this is expected to increase to 24 percent.

The Chinese government has invested greatly in improving basic and secondary education in terms of access and quality and is achieving very encouraging results. In higher education and vocational education, however, there is still a need for more affordable and quality education services offered by reliable private education providers. There are currently over 740 private higher education institutions in China, and thousands of private vocational and technical

Another feature of the higher education sector in China is that it has extremely high entry barriers.

schools, most of which are founded, sponsored, and operated by individuals. There is much room for improvement in efficiency and instructional quality at many of these institutions. China's fragmented private higher education industry is expected to undergo a wave of consolidation over the next decade, and the consolidation is expected to further promote students' access to quality education, create more opportunities for employment, and boost shared and sustainable prosperity in regional economies.

Another feature of the higher education sector in China is that it has extremely high entry barriers. One such barrier is the requirement to possess land and buildings. Elsewhere in the world, it is not uncommon for universities to operate on leased land and buildings, but in China land and building ownership is often a prerequisite to obtain a license to operate. This has serious implications for capital expenditure and for the time needed to prepare the application for license. Acquisitions thus offer an efficient point of market entry compared with creating new schools.

Other industries—including healthcare, banking, automobiles, and electronics—have seen waves of mergers and acquisitions. While circumstances may vary, the objective of these activities is generally similar to what we would

expect to see in higher education: specifically, to ensure continued growth and impact, greater efficiency, greater economies of scale, and improved quality, reputation, and competitiveness.

ACQUISITIONS REACH RECORD HIGHS

Acquisition activity in private higher education in China has recently reached record highs, and the momentum continues as higher education groups compete for market share. China Education Group became a listed company in Hong Kong in December 2017. Four cornerstone investors subscribed to the IPO of the company, including the International Finance Corporation of the World Bank, the Singapore Government Investment Corporation, the Chinese private equity firm Greenwoods, and Value Partners of Hong Kong. In the six months since its listing, its share price has increased by over 80 percent.

As the industry consolidates and competition heats up, the large players—which tend to have strong balance sheets—are expected to step up schools acquisitions to further enhance competitiveness. China Education Group raised \$420 million in its IPO. Three months later, the group acquired two schools in Zhengzhou and Xi'an in China. Zhengzhou School is China's largest vocational school with 24,000 students. Its size is equal to that of the second to the fifth largest schools combined. Meanwhile, Xi'an School is China's largest technical college with 20,000 students. Zhengzhou is the heart of Central China and Xi'an is the heart of Western China. Regional economies are growing rapidly and there is significant demand for quality education in those areas.

INTEGRATION IS KEY TO SUCCESS

Extensive research is required to identify schools with the greatest growth potential for acquisition. Private education groups normally evaluate schools based on their location, degree level, size, and subject areas, among other factors.

For any industry, integrating the acquired organizations to attain the intended acquisition objectives poses immense challenges. In fact, a large majority of mergers and acquisitions fail to achieve their hoped-for benefits. Some estimates put the success rate at less than 20 percent. China Education Group has a proven record of promoting its schools to be the top players in their respective categories and has earned the International Standards Organization's ISO9001 certification for its education management system. Its two universities have been ranked No 1 private university in China for nine straight years and No 1 private university in Guangdong province for 10 straight years, respectively.

Taking course development as an example, a newly acquired school may establish new programs with resources and experience from other schools in the education group, hence reducing the time and cost necessary for course development at the new school. Therefore, merged schools can benefit from increased enrollment, size, and programmatic diversity.

Looking ahead, markets are seeing an increasing demand for graduates with professional skills. According to Frost & Sullivan, the proportion of fresh higher education graduates among the overall young unemployed population in China has grown from 35 percent in 2005 to 45 percent in 2016. In order to stand out, private universities need to bolster their reputations by focusing on career-oriented education. The success of these acquisitions in the industry will depend on the ability of educational companies to leverage their resources to help the acquired schools meet the market's ever-changing needs. ■

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Family-Owned Private Higher Education Institutions in Africa

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The increasing surge of private higher education institutions (PHEIs) in Africa over the last two decades includes a largely uninvestigated species of institutions owned by individuals or families. Little has been written about these types of private institutions at either the global or regional level. This article broadly explores family-owned institutions in Africa where the literature on PHE itself still remains meager and poorly organized.

DEGREE OF PRESENCE

The number of family-owned institutions in Africa is currently increasing despite the overwhelming presence of religious PHEIs in many countries of the continent. This

new development may be partly attributed to the rise of the for-profit sector over the last two decades.

The presence of family-owned institutions can be influenced by the dominant type of private institutions operating in a given country. Their availability in countries such as Congo, Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe, which are dominated by religious PHEIs, is still limited but growing. Indeed, the categories of “religious” and “family-owned” are not mutually exclusive, as some families or individuals are involved in the establishment and/or ownership of religious (and other nonprofit) PHEIs.

Yet it is especially in countries such as Benin, Botswana, Ghana, Egypt, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Senegal, South Africa, Sudan, and Uganda, where the for-profit sector is gaining ground against religious PHEIs, that the family-owned phenomenon is especially strong. Where for-profit private institutions are legally allowed, they may provide ample opportunities for individual/family ownership to thrive. Ethiopia represents an extreme case, as the bulk of PHEIs (more than 90 percent of 130 accredited institutions) are owned by families and individual proprietors with profit motives. In contrast, in many countries family-owned institutions might not exceed 3–5 percent of PHEIs.

NATURE OF INSTITUTIONS

Most family-owned institutions in Africa exist as nonuniversity or professional schools with vocational orientations. Nonuniversity PHEIs are, for instance, most common in Botswana, Lesotho, South Africa, and Tunisia as compared to Ivory Coast, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Uganda, where private universities are available. In most cases, family-owned PHEIs with business orientations share the characteristics of demand absorbing, for-profit institutions. Most are small in size and offer programs designed to respond to market demands. Aside from the initial investment of their proprietors, they are heavily dependent on student fees, with little or no external support or income-generating activities. This heavy dependence on student fees can influence the way they are structured and managed.

Whereas academically excellent private institutions in Africa are most often religious, the majority of family-owned institutions are teaching institutions with little involvement in research and graduate studies. However, there are exceptions, as in the case of Morocco where government policy encourages PHEIs to assume elite status. Though quite few, there are also family-owned institutions in Ghana and Ethiopia that have succeeded in achieving a high level of credibility in terms of program quality.

STRENGTHS AND DEFICIENCIES

The wider acceptance of family-owned PHEIs is deter-

mined by their capacity to reconcile the elements of profitability with the academic orientations required at the tertiary education level. Notwithstanding challenges, achieving this needed balance is not always impossible, as the success of some institutions on the continent shows. Successful family-owned PHEIs are generally more nimble than other HEIs. Little deterred by the bureaucracy and red tape that commonly afflicts public HEIs, successful family-owned institutions are characterized by their dynamism, innovativeness, efficiency, and flexibility, which are critical to institutional success. Due to their interest to ensure social and economic viability, successful family-owned institutions minimize institutional spending, promote strategic planning and marketing, maintain contact with employers, offer job-placement services, student counseling and support, and promote increased accountability of their staff. They can have a strong commitment to community outreach programs, which include providing free professional services, contributions to charity, participation in local projects, and social initiatives like environmental protection, feeding the homeless, and assisting the community through capacity building training and donations.

Most family-owned institutions in Africa exist as nonuniversity or professional schools with vocational orientations.

Although there are family-owned institutions set up by proprietors with altruistic motives, a significant percentage of them are driven by owners whose prime goals are financial. Such institutions can have family members that assume key positions with little training and experience in running institutions. Institutional activities can be seriously jeopardized when the preparation, vision, and behavior of proprietors are not in tune with institutional needs and goals. Similar influences may be found in all forms of PHEIs as compared to their public counterparts, but they are magnified in poorly run family-owned PHEIs. One of the major reasons for the closure of many such institutions in various parts of Africa has been their owners' excessive profit drive, compromising the provision of quality higher education.

Where there is little self-control, the power that proprietors wield on the daily operation and future direction of the institutions is also a serious drawback to their social and academic legitimacy—which is critical to their wider acceptance. Proprietors who perceive their institutions pri-

marily as business entities can use their key positions to dictate institutional directions and operations. Such examples abound in many countries in Africa. The overbearing influence of proprietors is usually exhibited in such areas as unbridled expansion, little attention to long-term commitment, diverting earned profit to nonacademic purposes, arbitrary appointment of staff and managers, interference in academic affairs, and imposing authoritarian governance systems. Major decisions on important institutional issues may not be openly shared and discussed. Proprietors who act without due process of law and procedures infringe on the participation, authority, and decision-making powers of their chancellors and/or staff, in addition to eroding employee confidence and disrespecting individual rights and/or academic freedom. In Ethiopia, the influence of such proprietors is so pervasive that it usually determines the success or failure of their institutions. Similar observations abound across the continent and sometimes cast doubt on the wisdom of allowing such institutions to operate without legal restrictions in matters that are critical to institutional operations.

In conclusion, while the increasing involvement of family-owned PHEIs in the African higher education context requires better understanding of their nature, operations, and potential, their rise and the corresponding growth of the for-profit PHE sector appears likely to continue. Their wider acceptance, however, hinges on the manner in which these institutions operate and/or to what extent the institutions are able to resist the whims and shortsightedness of profit-mongering proprietors. ■

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The Thorny Excellence Initiative in India

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India is home to one of the most complex higher education systems in the world. With more than 860 universities and over 40,000 colleges enrolling 35 million students, it is also the second largest system in the world. Its unique structure of public universities affiliating with, and largely controlling teaching colleges (public or private), creates a web of institutions with varying quality. The size, scale, and organization of the system make it virtually unmanageable—and incoherent policy-making and bureaucratic hurdles add to the challenges. The existing quality assurance arrangements are inadequate. To cap the problems, India has underinvested in higher education for the past half-century.

Yet the pressure on the government of India to crack the global rankings has been increasing. There has finally been a recognition that India needs to join the world of twenty-first century higher education as it seeks to compete in the global knowledge economy. One of the first attempts proposed by the previous government in 2009 involved promoting 14 “Innovation Universities.” The plan did not go anywhere due to lack of funding and a change of government in New Delhi. Its new avatar, the “Institutions of Eminence” (IoE) initiative by the current government, has the goal of building 10 public and 10 private globally competitive universities.

The winners of the “excellence contest” of the IoE have now been announced. Only six were chosen—apparently because only six were affordable—a telling reality, especially since just three will receive any government funds. Further, none of the winners are actually multidisciplinary institutions, of the kind that is at the heart of any academic system. The three public institutions chosen, the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, and two Indian Institutes of Technology—Bombay and Delhi—are all technologically oriented institutions. The three private institutions are the Birla Institute of Technology and Science (BITS) at Pilani, the Manipal Academy of Higher Education, and the “greenfield” Jio Institute.

The public institutions will receive the equivalent of approximately US\$150 million over five years—the private ones get no government funding at all, but are provided institutional autonomy and significant freedom from government regulations. While the US\$150 million is “serious money,” it is by no means transformative. Indeed, compared to excellence programs in other countries, such as China, Russia, Germany, and France, this level of funding is paltry. The increased funding will help selected institutions with innovations or perhaps the ability to raise academic salaries to better compete internationally—but will not permit fundamental changes. If the IoE institutions focus mainly on making changes that will help them improve in

the global rankings, they will be missing a huge opportunity for key reforms, and they are unlikely to achieve the result of a high ranking anyway.

JIO AND THE GREENFIELD CONTEXT

In a recent book, *Accelerated Universities: Ideas and Money Combine to Build Academic Excellence*, Altbach, Reisberg, Salmi, and Froumin assert that creating a new university with world-class ambitions is more desirable than attempting to reform an existing one that is resistant to change. While creating a new university is a risky and demanding endeavor, it can achieve excellence faster with the right mix of leadership and resources. In the context of the IoE initiative, “greenfield” experiments are also risky, but in fact, almost all of India’s top academic institutions are the result of such initiatives. The first Indian Institutes of Technology were established in 1951 with the help of foreign partners to build top schools without having to deal with the entrenched bureaucracy of the traditional universities. Both BITS Pilani (1964) and Manipal (1953), private start-ups, were greenfield efforts at the time.

While creating a new university is a risky and demanding endeavor, it can achieve excellence faster with the right mix of leadership and resources.

The Jio initiative is funded by India’s richest and the world’s 14th richest man, Mukesh Ambani, who is a household name in India with his Reliance Industries company and cellphone service. Jio is not unusual in the Indian context. But it faces significant challenges, such as providing clarity concerning its basic organizing principle. How does it plan to differentiate from other universities, in India and abroad, and at the same time match the best academic practices elsewhere? While the Reliance Industries empire is the largest private business in India, the cost of creating a competitive world-class university is daunting, especially when starting from scratch. For example, the King Abdullah University of Science and Technology (KAUST) in Saudi Arabia, established in 2009, spent \$1.5 billion on its facilities and has an endowment of \$10 billion—for a current enrollment of 900 master’s and doctoral students.

JIO AND THE WORLD-CLASS CONCEPT

While each world-class university is unique, there are common requirements that are essential. In *The Road to Academic Excellence: The Making of World-Class Research Uni-*

versities, Altbach et al. point to three essential ingredients: talent, resources, and favorable governance. These three elements will, of course, be necessary for all the IoE chosen by the government of India. But let us focus on the specific needs of Jio Institute since, in our view, it faces unique opportunities and challenges and seems to be a highly ambitious endeavor. We have mentioned resources already, a daunting challenge, especially since no public funds will be made available to Jio or the other private institutions. Let us focus on talent (faculty and students) and governance.

Faculty are at the heart of any university, affecting every aspect of realizing and implementing the university mission. In the case of rankings ambition, research output is a key metric. So, attracting top research-oriented academic talent will not only require financial resources to pay faculty at global compensation rates, but also providing an attractive quality of life for their families on and off campus. Would Karjat—a city two hours away by car from Mumbai airport—be able to provide an ecosystem of soft and hard infrastructure critical for attracting the best international talent?

Student demand for quality education in India remains strong, and the Reliance brand and an innovative curriculum would make it relatively easy to attract top domestic students. However, the real challenge would be in attracting international students. The international student decision-making process is complex, with many global choices available to the best students. For example, an “institute” does not command as strong a recognition among international students and faculty as a “university.” Can the Reliance, Ambani, or Jio brand impress the global market and influence student choice toward India and the Jio Institute?

A positive element of the IoE program is the high degree of autonomy and freedom from government policy and regulatory constraints. However, Jio (and the others chosen for IoE) need to have creative ideas in terms of organization and governance. For example, to what degree do decision-making processes need to be collaborative, with faculty involvement as compared to top-down mandate? Top universities, after all, are not business enterprises but rather innovative communities of academics. Traditional corporate management styles do not align with the governance expectations of a creative university.

Building world-class universities is a resource-intensive and highly creative endeavor, which truly tests patience and persistence. Indian higher education is in dire need of exemplars of excellence. Realizing the ambition to build world-class universities in India through IoEs will require alignment of resources, talent (faculty and students), and governance. ■

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What about Provincial Institutions in Higher Education Policy in India?

ANAMIKA SRIVASTAVA AND NANDITA KOSHAL

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Focusing on a few “top” national research universities is now a conscious higher education policy choice of governments in many countries. By doing this, governments aim for a spot in the global university rankings, sometimes at the cost of ignoring the larger higher educational landscape. In the context of India, the latest move of the federal government to develop a few “Institutions of Eminence” (IoEs) is commendable. But in its grand vision to develop IoEs, the government should not lose sight of reforming its provincial educational system.

All Indian universities or university-level institutions (higher educational institutions that have the right to confer or grant degrees), either public or private, are established by the Act of the Indian Parliament/Federal Government Act or by a provincial government act. Most renowned higher education institutions such as the Indian Institutes of Technology, the Indian Institutes of Management, Jawaharlal Nehru University, and the University of Delhi are established and funded by the federal government. However, institutions established by provincial governments are predominant in the Indian higher education landscape. Provincial institutions comprise public universities, their affiliated colleges, and private universities. Almost 96 percent of the total number of higher education institutions in India are “provincial institutions.” Nearly 84 percent of the total enrollment and 92 percent of the total teaching staff in India are in provincial institutions. However, when it comes to performance in the framework of rankings, very few provincial institutions are “well performing.” According to the National Institutional Ranking Framework, meant to rank higher education institutions in India, only 20 provincial institutions featured in the top 100 in 2017. In the recently released QS BRICS ranking 2018, out of 65 Indian higher education institutions featured in the top 300, there are only 29 provincial institutions.

While often ignored or overlooked within the country’s higher education policy discourse, provincial institutions are in dire need of financial resources and governance re-

forms and require the urgent attention of policy makers.

THE NEED FOR FINANCIAL RESOURCES

While federal level institutions are funded by the federal government, provincial institutions, which constitute the majority of the higher education landscape in India, are funded by provincial governments, the federal government, and the private sector. According to an estimate, in 2014–2015, while 63.48 percent of the total public expenditure on higher education was incurred by the provincial governments, only 36.52 percent was incurred by the federal government. However, since the bulk of higher education institutions are financially dependent on provincial governments, the annual per capita budgeted expenditure of the provincial governments is very low compared to that of the federal government. While variations in higher education expenditure between the provinces can be correlated to the fiscal capacity and political ambitions of the provincial governments, this impacts on the quality of higher education. On the other hand, provincial institutions receive little support from the federal government. In 2016–2017, the federal government—through the department of higher education—transferred only 6 percent of its total budget on higher education to the provincial governments.

Institutions established by provincial governments are predominant in the Indian higher education landscape.

In 2013, the National Higher Education Mission (also known as *Rashtriya Uchchatar Shiksha Abhiyan* in Hindi, or RUSA), a scheme cofunded by the federal and provincial governments, was launched to fund provincial institutions. According to data on the RUSA website, as of January 2017, only 12.39 percent of the central funds committed in the XII plan period (2012–2017) have been released to the provinces. One of the main reasons behind this is the incapacity of provinces to provide their financial share and the inability of provincial institutions to justify their financial requirements.

EXTERNAL GOVERNANCE REFORM

Apart from financial reforms, provincial higher education is in need of external governance reforms. It is noteworthy that the tasks of maintenance and coordination of quality in higher education are the responsibility of the federal government. This means that higher education regulatory

bodies at the provincial level are left with the administrative role of implementing orders from federal-level regulatory bodies such as the University Grants Commission, the All India Council for Technical Education, the Bar Council of India, etc. There is little scope for creativity and innovation at the province level due to the approval procedure, where adherence to federal rules and regulation acts is an overarching constraint, inhibiting the ability of institutions to find solutions to their everyday problems.

INTERNAL GOVERNANCE REFORM

With respect to the internal governance structure of the universities, the importance of affiliation reforms needs to be pointed out. In India, colleges are required to be formally attached (affiliated) to a university, which is responsible for disbursing funding and providing information, manpower, and central directives to the affiliated college. The college, in turn, draws its recognition from that university. Universities are charged with communicating policies, reforms, and schemes to the colleges, in addition to managing exams and the publication of results, as well as the admission process. Colleges, on the other side, are responsible for implementing office orders sent by the affiliating university, collecting proof of implementation of these orders, and communicating with the university. In India, an affiliating university is tied to 143 colleges on average—while Chhatrapati Sahuji Maharaj Kanpur University, a provincial university in Uttar Pradesh, affiliates 896 colleges — and these figures indicate the extent to which both universities and colleges are burdened with added administrative responsibilities. Indeed, overburdened universities often transfer their administrative burden to their affiliated colleges. This calls for urgent internal governance reforms regarding affiliation, declaring some of the colleges autonomous, and adopting information and communication technology in everyday governance.

“CONTRACTUALIZATION” OF ACADEMIC LABOR

A related issue that urgently needs attention is the rise of “contractualization” and casualization of academic labor. Faculty who are hired on short-term, nonpermanent contracts are known as temporary or ad hoc (“make do”) teachers. Ad hoc faculty cause less financial burden, shoulder more administrative responsibilities in addition to their teaching load, can easily be “hired and fired,” and therefore have become a preferred option for the institutions. The “contractualization” of labor is higher at provincial institutions compared to federally funded institutions. According to a report of the All India Survey on Higher Education of the ministry of human resource development, between 2011 and 2016, there has been an increase of 71 percent in

the total number of temporary teachers employed at provincial institutions, compared to an increase of 52 percent at federally funded institutions.

CONCLUSION

Provincial institutions in India require urgent policy attention—and more than piecemeal efforts—from both the federal and the provincial governments. In particular, it is unfair to judge their performance according to parameters meant for assessing global research universities. Provincial public institutions must primarily address the needs of the young population in terms of affordable degrees. While India embarks on the journey of developing a few world-class research institutions, it should not ignore the need for quality but affordable teaching in its provincial institutions. ■

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Teaching in Indian Higher Education: Six Principles for Improvement

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Effective teaching in higher education plays an important role in promoting the development of learners, societies, and countries. Surprisingly, until recently there had been no large-scale empirical study in India on how to improve teaching in higher education institutions (HEIs). For the first time, the Centre for Policy Research in Higher Education (CPRHE) has completed a major study, titled “Teaching and Learning in Indian Higher Education,” which collected empirical data from both undergraduate and master’s level programs and across major disciplines. The study shows that there are considerable differences between teaching at the undergraduate and at the master’s levels, with an acute disconnect between teachers, students, and administration. This indicates why instruction in India’s higher education sector is largely ineffective in promoting learning. Our analysis proposes six key principles to improve teaching in Indian HEIs.

TEACHING AT THE UNDERGRADUATE AND MASTER’S LEVELS

As a common practice, instructors of Indian HEIs rush to complete their syllabi and tend to use suggestive teaching (focusing on end-term examinations), while analytical teaching takes a back seat. In the majority of undergraduate courses, teaching is therefore noninteractive, unidirectional, and monotonous. Digital information and communication technologies (ICTs) such as computers and projectors have merely replaced traditional blackboards and are rarely used beyond providing textual information. Regional languages are mostly used during lectures for the ease of understanding, although most study materials are available in English.

Another step toward inclusivity is feedback from students.

At the master’s level, teaching takes place through a combination of information-oriented and interactive lecturing. Teachers often encourage discussions in the classroom and are more willing to incorporate and integrate students’ prior knowledge. Although many continue teaching in traditional ways, some teachers modify their style according to the students’ requirements. Unlike in undergraduate classes, English is used as the main medium of instruction, alongside regional languages. However, the use of ICTs remains largely similar to the undergraduate level.

THE DISCONNECT

Interestingly, teachers who teach both undergraduate and master’s level courses change their teaching style from information-oriented, unidirectional teaching for lower degree classes, to a more interactive style at the graduate level. Students of both levels, however, want interactive teaching. To be precise, they all prefer knowledgeable, interactive, motivating, friendly, and open-minded teachers—the top-five preferred characteristics of an effective teacher by students across case-study HEIs.

Institutional administrators place blame on teacher shortages and large-size classes (with sometimes 150 or more students in a single classroom) as two major reasons for ineffective teaching. Instructors, on the other hand, blame the cumbersome syllabi, excessive administrative workload, and lack of student English language proficiency. These factors often force them to rush and practice prescriptive and routine teaching using regional language(s).

THE CORE REASONS

The study in focus here has found that since the late 1960s, HEI management in India has substantially reduced the autonomy of college teachers. Their role has, over time, been reduced to mere employees of large hierarchical organizations. This, along with the lack of rigorous teacher training, results in less effective teaching, especially at the undergraduate level. At the master's level, teachers use different methods, but there is limited follow-up assessment on whether these methods result in effective learning. Students are rarely consulted for detailed feedback and open discussion of challenges. The lack of training in and exposure to modern interactive teaching pedagogies, as well as continued traditional practices, have also resulted in a culture of information-oriented teaching, which has gained passive acceptance. The large-scale recruitment of meagerly paid contractual teachers without proper training has further worsened the situation.

SIX PRINCIPLES FOR IMPROVEMENT

- **Managing information-oriented teaching:** A major challenge for teachers and teacher trainers is to manage information-oriented, theory-based teaching with an instrumental approach. It is important to build strategic plans to redesign teachers' role as mentors, facilitators, and collaborative professionals. Mechanisms and administrative setups at the national and state levels should be (re)developed.
- **Promoting interactive teaching:** Reversing the long-haul culture of unidirectional teaching with interactivity is extremely difficult. This challenge can be addressed by taking small, progressive steps connecting all levels of education. Instructors must upgrade their teaching practices by bringing in more interactive components. Needless to say, teacher training focusing on analytical and dialogic-teaching pedagogies will help.
- **Integrated use of ICTs in regular classroom teaching:** Improving the digital content repository for students and teachers with authentic online resources is necessary to help students prepare for classes in advance. Classroom teaching time can thus be used more effectively for discussion and critical reflection. Online inter- and intrainstitutional forums would be helpful in identifying challenges as well as innovative solutions.
- **Inclusive measures:** In the context of massified higher education, a teacher needs to manage diversified classrooms. Practical solutions such as the combined use of English and regional languages initially help students to understand the lecture; but for sustainable gains, it is imperative to improve their English language proficiency. Establishing language laboratories will prove

beneficial. Special training and support are welcome steps to equip students with diverse levels of competence.

- **Constructive feedback from the students:** Another step toward inclusivity is feedback from students. It will not only help teachers to improve, but also enable them to understand the students' difficulties. While open discussions and anonymous feedback may help identify the challenges students face, cordial meetings between teachers, students, and administration at regular intervals are essential to bridge disconnects. Noticeably, students open up more and provide critical feedback when there is trust.
- **Overall improvement of infrastructure, administrative awareness, and sensitivity:** At some institutions, basic infrastructure requires a complete overhaul; others need to upgrade laboratories, supply commonly used materials, and improve their ICT infrastructure. All need modern language laboratories. Critically, institutional administrations need to understand the crux of the teaching process in order to fully and effectively support it.

CONCLUSION

India needs to improve the quality of its higher education teaching without delay. The above six principles are only relevant if implemented with dedication and robust planning. There is hope, considering recent accelerated initiatives to reform teaching in India: a multilayered and progressive implementation will ensure success and sustenance. ■

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Employability of Graduates in India—Hard Realities

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This article is based on an ongoing study at the CPRHE.

While a number of academics argue for the importance of a humanistic education, those who propagate the importance of a market-responsive, skill-based education

are rapidly gaining ground. The concept of “employability skills” has become the focus of both employers and employees in developed as well as in developing countries. Over the last 20 years, definitions of employability have shifted from demand-led skills sets toward a more holistic view of “graduate attributes” including “softer” transferable skills and person-centered qualities, to be developed in conjunction with subject-specific knowledge, skills, and competencies. In the context of a dynamic labor market and fast changing technology, constant “reskilling” and “upskilling” are also required. Such demands—of shaping holistic individuals with humanistic education and professional training, to increase their chances to obtain sustainable employment—pose severe challenges to higher education systems around the globe. The problem is more acute in countries like India, not just because of the sheer size of its population, but on account of its demographic bulge of young people, leading to an ever growing student population and deficient higher education sector.

The concept of “employability skills” has become the focus of both employers and employees in developed as well as in developing countries.

POOR GRADUATE EMPLOYABILITY

The job market in India is beset with imbalances in terms of the graduate labor force, on the side of both demand and supply. Such imbalances, matched with a low job growth, lead to a precarious situation, with college and university graduates consistently lying below required standards. It is estimated that hardly a quarter of engineering graduates and only 10 percent of other graduates are employable. A large body of highly educated graduates are forced to take up jobs much below their educational qualifications or enter into unsuccessful entrepreneurial pursuits. This has created a new kind of demand–supply imbalance—higher education graduates being at the same time over- and underskilled. Graduates are also forced to further supplement and complement their formal university education with other forms of skills-based education, resulting in the creation of new forms of postsecondary degree provision by underregulated private institutions charging high fees—posing additional challenges of equity and quality. Some of the basic distortions explaining the demand–supply imbalances are highlighted below.

- **General vs technical/professional disciplines:** Although the number of higher education graduates seeking jobs has been rising rapidly in the past few years, a breakdown by streams of study reveals that a majority are from general academic disciplines, with arts graduates topping the list. Meanwhile, on the demand side, it is the professionally and technically qualified graduates that employers are seeking, even in nontechnical industries and professional functions. Data reveals that more than 70 percent of college degree holders are currently engaged in the service sector, with IT/IT-enabled services (ITeS) and financial services leading with a proportion of over 50 percent. There may be two explanations for this phenomenon. First, industries and occupations related to engineering and science have been among the top five on employment indexes across major regions of the world in recent times, and second, comparatively, this group of graduates is better equipped with critical twenty-first century skills because they come from better sociocultural, economic, and academic backgrounds in India. Thus, a considerable proportion of the graduate workforce finds it difficult to get jobs, as the labor market for liberal arts graduates is narrower than for professional graduates.

The challenge here is twofold. First, motivating and training youth for other, growing sectors of the economy and second, frequent upgrading and updating of skills delivery in the highly dynamic, volatile, tech savvy IT/ITeS and financial services industry, which employs the vast majority. It is also a matter of great concern that the largest pool of graduates in nontechnical, general, and social sciences programs are generalists with broad socioeconomic knowledge, but without any specific technical skills suited to a particular employment segment.

- **Quality:** Data reveals that a considerable number of people in India require skills training, as India’s labor force is characterized by its low knowledge base. Of the 500 million to be skilled by 2020, 25 percent are at the “college plus” level, which corresponds to 125 million individuals. Educating and training this large mass in new knowledge and skills domains is daunting. While industry needs are fast shifting—from basic to specialized ones—due to industrial transformation toward greater automation and sophistication, the majority of higher education institutions find themselves incapable of responding to these challenges, either by curricular modifications or through industry–academia collaborations, for a variety of reasons ranging from infrastructural to financial to human resource constraints. Barring a few quality institutions at the top, the system as

such is producing graduates equipped only with basic skills, often of poor quality.

- **Degree vs diploma imbalance:** There is a strong “degree vs diploma” taboo in India. The ratio of degree to diploma holders is around 2:1, while a ratio of 1:3 would make the most sense for the economy. On the one hand, there are very few diploma programs available at public institutions—the sector is dominated by private providers charging high fees—and on the other, societal perception on the usefulness of degrees for the job market is such that the prestige attached to diplomas is low. These are significant deterrents for youth when selecting their course programs.
- **Equity:** Finally, disparities in terms of employability skills have regional, socioeconomic, and gender connotations. Multiple factors such as family and cultural background, place of residence, quality and type of earlier education, and capability and ability to access additional learning all result in differential employability quotients across groups and individuals. The problem of skills is far more severe in rural and semiurban centres. Studies show that the gap between the employability of technical graduates between tier I and tier II cities is almost 50 percent, and is much higher for graduates from other streams. Girls and graduates from socially and economically underprivileged segments face heavier disadvantages.

CONCLUSION

The challenge to train employable higher education graduates while ensuring quality and equity is considerable. Higher education in India needs to make a leap from education for the sake of education to education for employment, by strategically correcting grave systemic distortions and focusing on “sustainable employability skills” programs, in order to facilitate the transition of graduates to the world of work. ■

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Graduate Student Unionization: A Unique American Issue?

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Since the turn of the century, the unionization of graduate students has become a phenomenon sweeping private colleges and universities across the United States. Situated in the broader context of student activism, and governed by the laws of the respective states, graduate student unionization in public universities has a longer history and a wider spread. At private institutions—although the movement started back in the 1950s—successive rulings by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) in the past 15 years or so has accelerated the demand for graduate unions. With the drive for unionization becoming wider and stronger, and the related pushback from university administrations, there are tensions and even disruptions on several campuses. While the issue continues to be contentious in the United States, this article seeks to identify comparable practices elsewhere.

GENERAL CATEGORIES

Broadly speaking, graduate student unions can be divided into two main categories. On the one hand, in the more traditional sense of “student unions”, we may identify the collective body that brings students together, often including both graduate and undergraduate students. Such unions, called by different names in different countries (such as association, union, guild, council, parliament, government, organization, etc.) voice the common interest and concerns of students not only on matters directly related to themselves, but also on a range of broader social, economic, and political issues. On the other hand, graduate student unions, sometimes also referred to as graduate employee unions—the type of unions that are currently a hot topic in private universities in the United States—represent the interests of a specific category of graduate students. They are particularly concerned with the benefits and labor rights of graduate students who provide services to their universities in exchange for compensation.

ORGANIZATION

In several countries across Europe, including Denmark, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, and Swe-

den, doctoral candidates are considered employees rather than students. Therefore, they can become members of the respective labor unions. For instance, the Swedish Association of University Teachers (an association of 23 independent unions) and the Finnish Union of University Researchers and Teachers (the largest in the country) both welcome doctoral candidates as members, when certain requirements are met. In the latter case, for example, a student must have at least a one-year contract of employment with the university.

In other cases, graduate student unions may be organized as extensions of labor unions in other sectors, such as the United Auto Workers in the United States and the Canadian Union of Public Employees in Canada. Elsewhere, as in Australia and the United Kingdom, graduate student unions are under the umbrella of student organizations, and are often supported by the respective universities.

Both in Australia and the United Kingdom, membership to graduate student unions is automatic upon registration in any one of the graduate programs of the respective universities.

PURPOSE

In the United States, graduate student unions see themselves as extensions of labor unions, from which they receive support. They seek the legal mandate to represent graduate students in collective bargaining, specifically on contract negotiations for, among others, pay, benefits, and working conditions. In a comparable case in Canada, several leading institutions have had unions of teaching and research assistants since the 1970s. The first such union was established in 1973 at the University of Toronto, which between 1975 and 1977 effectively negotiated to reduce significant pay disparities and to establish procedures for hiring, grievances, and dispute resolution.

While the primary goal of student unions in most places is to represent and defend the interests of the general student population, even those few unions that are specific to graduate students differ in certain ways from the ongoing unionization effort of graduate students in the United States. For example, the Graduate Union of the University of Cambridge (one of the very few student unions in the United Kingdom that is exclusively for graduate students) states as its main objective “the advancement of education” of its members. The union aims to promote the interests

and welfare of its members, to be a channel between its members and the university and bodies external to the university, and to provide social, cultural, sporting, and recreational activities. The objectives and foci of graduate student unions are the same at other leading institutions in the United Kingdom such as the University of York, Imperial College London, and the University of Kent, to mention a few.

Similarly, in Australia, graduate student associations at prominent institutions like the University of Melbourne, as well as the Council of Australian Postgraduate Associations, aim to promote the general educational and welfare interests of students. As the national voice of graduate students, the council serves as an authoritative source of information on relevant issues and works with government and nongovernment bodies to influence higher education policies.

It is, however, unjust to portray graduate student unions in the United States as exclusively concerned with benefits for its members. Although economic benefits and job security are predominant issues, unionization campaign organizers across different institutions have also raised educational and noneducational issues, including quality of education, gender relations, diversity and inclusion, sexual identity, immigrant and undocumented students, etc.

MEMBERSHIP

Both in Australia and the United Kingdom, membership to graduate student unions is automatic upon registration in any one of the graduate programs of the respective universities, including master’s programs in research degrees. There are no requirements related to university employment during enrollment. In fact, at some institutions (e.g., the University of Cambridge), graduate researchers and postdocs who are not students, visiting graduate students from other universities, and spouses or partners of full members are eligible as “associate members” and benefit from different services provided by the union. In others (e.g., the University of York), recent graduates are qualified to be members and may serve in union leadership positions. Unions are often affiliated with the university and receive support like any other student organizations.

In the United States, eligibility to become a member of a union is restricted by the condition of employment. In fact, for decades, the question of whether or not graduate teaching and research assistants can unionize has been pinned on the question of whether or not they can be considered employees. In its most recent ruling, the NLRB in 2016 broadly defined the requirement to entitle anyone, including undergraduates, to seek collective bargaining as long as they provide services to the university in exchange for compensation. This will probably continue to make membership a contentious issue.

In general, the literature on graduate student unionization reveals three trends: graduate students with employment contracts, generally considered as employees and able to join unions (e.g., Finland, Sweden, etc.); graduate students considered as students and represented only by general interest unions/associations (e.g., Australia and the United Kingdom); and graduate students considered as both students and employees and able to participate in unions (e.g., Canada and United States). What is unique to the United States is perhaps that, no matter how contentious, the unionization effort is likely to continue vigorously, fueled by sentiment against the growing corporatization of higher education institutions, which some strongly associate with the “exploitation” of graduate students and adjunct faculty. This is, conceivably, further exacerbated by the ever-increasing tuition and fees that leave graduates with a pile of debt, and the overall divisive political climate. ■

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The Future of American Undergraduate Education

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To read The Future of Undergraduate Education, The Future of America, and other publications issued by the Commission on the Future of Undergraduate Education, please visit www.amacad.org/cfue.

Progress toward universal basic and secondary education in most countries has been slow and difficult, but the global trend over time is toward greater opportunity for more students from different backgrounds and regions. Building upon its history of educational expansion for young learners, the United States is now approaching universal access to post-secondary education with almost 90 percent of high school graduates enrolling in a two- or four-year college or university during young adulthood. Unfortunately, serious limitations must be addressed for more students to gain the economic

and personal benefits that come along with a college education and for the country to continue as a democratic nation of economic opportunity. To ensure that students receive the education they need, we must focus on completion and affordability while more strongly emphasizing quality.

IMPROVING COMPLETION AND AFFORDABILITY

Like many higher education institutions worldwide, American colleges and universities struggle with completion and affordability. In the United States, too few students graduate, with only about 55 percent of students completing a college credential. More students are borrowing more money to pay for college, with over 60 percent taking out loans; and those who do not graduate are the most likely to have trouble paying back their loans, further limiting their economic opportunity. These obstacles are particularly acute for underrepresented minorities and students from low-income families, meaning that the country is missing out on large reservoirs of human potential. Many institutions, policy groups, and researchers now focus on completion and affordability and many promising practices show solid results. For example, Florida State University increased its completion rates from 63 to 79 percent over a period of years using data to identify barriers and implementing support structures to help students. The Australian and English income-based loan programs are exemplars in helping to reduce default rates and the United States should draw upon these models.

In addition to completion and affordability, greater attention needs to be paid to the purposes of the learning that takes place during college and how we may realistically deliver on this promise of future prosperity.

TAKING COLLEGE TEACHING MORE SERIOUSLY

Debates over the value of vocational versus liberal arts education have a long history in the United States, but this perceived division is a false choice; college graduates need to master a range of academic, practical, and civic skills. Students in every field need to acquire a blend of abilities associated with the liberal arts such as communication, critical thinking, and teamwork in addition to technical and practical skills. These students will stand the best chance of performing effectively at work, participating in their communities, and learning over their lifetimes.

Over the past 40 years, a growing body of research has deepened our understanding of how people learn and, in turn, has brought insights into how teachers can best teach. This research offers a range of evidence-based teaching practices linked with a host of positive outcomes including increased student learning, reductions in achievement gaps, and increased persistence. Yet the use of evidence-based teaching techniques throughout the country's 4,700 colleges and uni-

versities is not the norm, even though the primary determinant of a quality education is the teaching and learning relationship between faculty and students.

Across many institutions, more attention is paid to faculty research than to faculty teaching. Relatively little focus on measuring and observing teaching performance takes place, except for student questionnaires, which are generally a weak indicator of performance. The things that we know do work are not widely used. For example, the K–12 education sector shows that conscientious observation of classrooms by trained individuals with organized ways of providing feedback can be very effective in improving teaching performance. However, this practice is far from the norm throughout American college classrooms.

These obstacles are particularly acute for underrepresented minorities and students from low-income families, meaning that the country is missing out on large reservoirs of human potential.

The reality is that the main occupation of the majority of college faculty is teaching undergraduates, yet faculty often get very little initial training, ongoing support, or recognition for this central work. Further, the growing number of “contingent” faculty—an international trend—allows institutions to save money by relying more heavily on short-term, part-time instructors who are paid less, have few benefits and negligible job security, and often lack a voice in governance. Even more concerning, they often have scant time and opportunity to engage with students. And yet, contingent faculty now account for at least half of all instructional faculty at the country’s public research universities and more than 80 percent at our two-year public community colleges.

In short, college teaching needs to be taken far more seriously. Even if the United States graduates more students and reduces debt levels, this will be an empty and expensive victory if students are not equipped with the knowledge, skills, and attitudes required to navigate their lives well.

MAKING PROGRESS

The transformation of a teaching workforce rooted in disciplinary expertise to include pedagogical expertise will not be easy. Colleges and universities first need to signal unambiguously that they care about teaching. More institu-

tions should give more weight to effective teaching practices when faculty are being evaluated for promotion or contract renewal. This should be accompanied by making mentoring and other structured resources available to faculty. Those faculty—and there are many—who devote time and energy to improving their teaching need to be singled out and rewarded.

Institutions must be willing to find the resources and determination to improve the working conditions of faculty who are in part-time positions and, where they can, aim to make these positions full-time with longer-term contracts. We suspect that for many of these faculty, respectful treatment and a voice in governance count at least as much as extra dollars in their paycheck. Without these changes, it will be hard to make progress in any substantial way.

We also must reconsider the whole concept of what it means to be a teaching professional. Master’s and doctoral programs that graduate students who go on to teach at the postsecondary level should include meaningful teacher training opportunities. Currently, the PhD is almost exclusively a research degree and not a teaching degree, although plenty of doctoral students go on to teach full-time.

Although American higher education faces huge challenges, there are also real reasons for optimism. For all of the doubts raised about the benefits of a college education, it delivers on its promises of greater individual and social prosperity; more institutions are improving in their efforts to graduate students; and technological opportunities enacted carefully are further increasing student success. Progress is not guaranteed, and good things will happen only with sustained effort, but if we can sustain focus on the work, combining patience with urgency, we can, through undergraduate education, make great advances as individuals and as a nation. ■

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NEW PUBLICATIONS

(Editor's note: We welcome suggestions from readers for books on higher education published especially outside of the United States and United Kingdom. This list was compiled by Edward Choi, graduate assistant at CIHE.)

Albright, James, ed. *English Tertiary Education in Vietnam*. Routledge, 2018. 190 pp. £ 95.00 (hb). Website: www.routledge.com

Arday, Jason, and Heidi Safia Mirza, eds. *Dismantling Race in Higher Education*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018. 396 pp. \$49.99 (sb). Website: www.palgrave.com

Badran, Adnan, Elias Baydoun, and John R. Hillman, eds. *Universities in Arab Countries: An Urgent Need for Change: Underpinning the Transition to a Peaceful and Prosperous Future*. Springer International Publishing, 2018. 317 pp. \$129 (hb). Website: www.springer.com

Fardoun, Habib M., Kevin J. Downing, and Mandy Mok, eds. *The Future of Higher Education in the Middle East and Africa*. Springer International Publishing, 2018. 249 pp. \$59.99 (hb). Website: www.springer.com

Gacel-Avila, Jocelyne, and Scilia Rodríguez-Rodríguez. *Internacionalización de la Educación Superior en América Latina y el Caribe. Un Balance*. Universidad de Guadalajara, 2018.

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- Hans de Wit, Laura Rumbley, and Dara Melnyk, eds. The Boston College Center for International Higher Education, Year in Review, 2017–2018, *CIHE Perspectives* no. 9, published in 2018. This report provides an overview of our activities over the academic year and offers a collection of articles—original or recently published—from graduate students, research fellows, and visiting scholars, as well as from Founding Director Philip G. Altbach, Associate Director Laura E. Rumbley, and Director Hans de Wit. We are proud of the many products we have created and the results accomplished over the year, and this report illustrates our accomplishments.
- Hans de Wit, Laura E. Rumbley, Fiona Hunter, Edward Choi, and Lisa Unangst, editors of the section “Higher Education as a Global Reality.” In J. C. Shin, P. Teixeira (eds.), *Encyclopedia of International Higher Education Systems and Institutions*, forthcoming. Springer Science+Business Media: Dordrecht. This section includes 60 contributions from authors from all over the world on internationalization and globalization in higher education.
- Hans de Wit, Andrés Bernasconi, Visnja Car, Fiona Hunter, Michael James, and Daniela Véliz, eds. *Identity and Internationalization in Catholic Universities: Exploring Institutional Pathways in Context*. Global Perspectives on Higher Education series, Volume: 41. Brill/Sense, 2018 (<https://brill.com/abstract/title/39121>). This publication explores the relationship between Catholic identity, mission, and internationalization in Catholic universities of different types and located in different contexts. It includes 16 case studies from Latin America, the United States, the Asia Pacific, and Europe, and chapters on regional perspectives on Catholic higher education as well as, more specifically, Jesuit higher education, the global network of La Salle universities,

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