INTERNATIONAL HIGHER EDUCATION

The Vintage Handicap: Can a Young University Achieve World-Class Status?

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What chance does a university stand to be among the best, if it does not have hundreds of years of experience? The top 10 universities in the latest Shanghai Academic Ranking of World Universities ranking (2011) were all founded before 1900, and two are more than eight centuries old. As is the case with good wines, academic excellence requires a wealth of expertise, careful care, and a long maturity period.

However, this notion has been challenged recently on several counts. First, the regular publication of annual global rankings appears to imply that significant progress could be expected from one year to the other. Second, the decision of several countries to step up investment in support of their elite universities, under various "Excellence Initiatives," shows their determination to obtain drastic improvement within a few years. Finally, several universities were recently created in emerging economies (i.e., Kazakhstan and Saudi Arabia), with the declared ambition of rapidly becoming "world-class."

Based on the publication of the first "Under Fifty" ranking by *Times Higher Education*, which lists the most promising emerging universities in the world, is it realistic to believe that a university could reach the top at an accelerated pace? To address this question, this article draws on the findings of recent publications, which have looked at the challenge of establishing world-class universities.

THE WEIGHT OF TRADITION

The conceptual framework developed to understand the outstanding results of world-class universities—highly sought graduates, leading-edge research, and dynamic technology transfer—singled out three complementary sets of factors at play: (a) a high concentration of talent (faculty and students), (b) abundant resources to offer a rich learning environment and facilitate advanced research, and (c) favorable governance features that encourage strategic vision, innovation, and flexibility.

Looking at these factors, clearly there is no shortcut for achieving the concentration of academic and financial resources needed, to become a world-class university. Developing a strong culture of excellence, especially in research, is the result of incremental progress and consolidation over several decades, sometimes centuries.

But being an old university is no guarantee of academic excellence. The first Shanghai global ranking, published in 2003, did not give historical brand names, such as Bologna (ranked 201–251), Heidelberg (ranked 58), or Sorbonne (ranked 65)—a standing commensurate with their international reputation. These institutions simply did not stack up against universities with adequate funding, modern governance, research talent, and institutional autonomy—absolutely fundamental elements of a world-class university.

THE FAST MOVERS

Four of the case studies, analyzed in *The Road to Academic Excellence,* document examples of new institutions, which have achieved preeminence in a few decades. The most successful four institutions, using the criterion of their position in the Shanghai and *Times Higher Education* rankings, are the Indian Institutes of Technology, the National University of Singapore, Hong Kong University of Science

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and Technology, and the Pohang University of Science and Technology, in South Korea. The South Korean and Hong Kong universities came first and third in the "Under Fifty" ranking.

From the beginning, the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology has benefited from a unique combination of favorable factors. At a critical moment of transformation for the entire territory, as a result of the handover to China, the new university was established with a clear vision, strong leadership, an outstanding academic body, an innovative educational model, ample resources, and a supportive governance framework.

Is this example too exceptional to offer useful lessons? The various case studies documented in *The Road to Academic Excellence* highlight important generic elements. Among the key "accelerating factors" supporting the quest for excellence, the most influential appears to be reliance on

the diaspora. As shown by the cases of the Pohang University of Science and Technology and Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, bringing overseas scholars back to their country of origin is an effective way of rapidly building up the academic strength of an institution. Combined to this, a second element seen in the case studies is the use of English as the main working language, which enhances greatly the ability of an institution to attract highly qualified foreign academics, as the National University of Singapore has managed to accomplish.

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Concentrating on niche areas, such as the science and engineering disciplines, is a third manner of achieving a critical mass more rapidly, as illustrated by the experiences of the Pohang University of Science and Technology, the Indian Institutes of Technology, and the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. Two of the most dynamic European institutions, ETH Zürich (Federal Institute of Technology of Zürich) and EPFL Lausanne (Federal Institute of Technology of Lausanne), are also engineering schools.

A fourth approach consists of using benchmarking to orient an institution's upgrading efforts. Shanghai Jiao Tong University, for instance, anchored its strategic planning work in careful comparisons with leading Chinese universities, first, moving later to include peer foreign universities in the benchmarking exercise.

A final way of driving improvements quickly is to introduce curriculum and pedagogical innovations. The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, for example, was the first US-style university in Hong Kong. The Higher School of Economics in Moscow was among the first Russian institutions to offer a curriculum that integrates teaching and research. These kinds of innovative features—part of the "late comer advantage"—are crucial for new institutions seeking to entice students away from existing universities.

The trajectory of the universities analyzed in *The Road to Academic Excellence* suggests that it may be easier to reach world-class status by establishing a new institution than by attempting to upgrade an existing one. This does not mean that it is impossible for an existing university to improve significantly, but it is more challenging to create a culture

of excellence where one did not flourish. The Danish University of Aarhus has been undergoing impressive changes under the impetus of an innovative rector, keen on encouraging progress "without a burning platform," just as the University of the South Pacific's vice-chancellor has been leading strategic change under the banner of "good is not good enough."

Conclusion

Today's leading universities are enjoying what could be called the "vintage" element. But, in recent years, the recognition that tertiary education is part of a country's competitive advantage has changed how governments look at the role of universities. There is a growing belief that, with proper leadership and investment, existing universities can be drastically transformed into world-class institutions, over a relatively short period. While not impossible, creating a top university—through upgrading—poses, however, greater challenges than developing a new institution from scratch.

In either case, it is clear that building excellence remains a long-term endeavor, requiring measured approaches for sustainability. Even those institutions able to take advantage of the kinds of accelerating factors, mentioned

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in this article, should bear in mind that taking a research university to the top requires decades of relentless efforts. Unlike a vintage wine which will vary in taste and quality from year to year, a university on the path to academic excellence should stay the course and keep the long view at all times. As Daniel Lincoln recently wrote, "excellence, like all things of abiding value, is a marathon, not a sprint." ∎

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Another Week, Another Scandal: Immigration Dilemmas and Political Confusion

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Immigration regulations for international students seem to be changing somewhat unpredictably of late, in major receiving countries. In several English-speaking nations, immigration regulation has become a significant policy issue, and international students are the frequent focus of recent crackdowns. These changes have the potential for altering the landscape of global student flows and might even slow the increases in student numbers of the past two decades. In this context, the expansion of recent years might actually have been a temporary "bubble."

Recent Scandals

The latest crisis involved London Metropolitan University (LMU), an institution with one of the largest enrollments of international students in the United Kingdom. The UK Border Authority withdrew its "highly trusted sponsor" status from the university, after an audit revealed that a significant number of international students did not have appropriate or adequate documentation to remain in the United Kingdom, adequate English-language skills, or had not registered for classes. Some of these students may need to return to their home countries. Other international students, legitimately enrolled, are panicked. A large percentage of London Metropolitan University's international students come from India. As explained by the manager of a firm that places students at UK universities (quoted recently in the *Guardian* newspaper): "We divide the market into two categories: the university market for genuine students and the immigration market." The challenge for immigration authorities is how to distinguish the two groups, when both arrive with student visas. Many observers see the LMU case as the tip of the iceberg of questionable admissions and recruiting practices in the United Kingdom.

Scandals have made national headlines in the United States, as well. In August 2012, the head of Herguan University in California was arrested on charges of visa fraud. This follows the similar case of Tri-Valley University, and both serve mainly Indian students with little intention of studying. Both appear to have operated profitably as "visa mills." As neither institution is duly accredited, one has to wonder why these were authorized to issue student visas at all.

But there are different levels of misdeeds, and not all merit an immediate and draconian response. The US State Department caused mayhem last May after determining that 600 instructors, attached to Chinese government–sponsored Confucius Institutes, were inappropriately documented and would have to leave the country immediately and then reapply for visas in order to return. In this case there was no subterfuge, only a seemingly innocent misunderstanding of confusing visa regulations. In the end, no instructors were deported, but the way the State Department handled the incident came close to causing a major diplomatic tangle with the Chinese government.

Political Pressure and Political Response

It seems that there is a "perfect storm" of concern over the movement of individuals across borders. In North America, Europe, and Australia, the issue of immigration is increas-

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ingly present in political discourse. Perhaps reacting to job losses due to the economic recession and a general conservative trend in many countries, immigration has become a political "hot button." The United Kingdom, for example, has a policy goal to reduce immigration into the country. In many other European countries, immigration is politically sensitive, often used by populists on the extreme right as a central and provocative theme. Many US states have made illegal immigration a political focus.

Australia seems to vacillate between wanting more and wanting less immigration. In a move earlier this year, graduating international students will now be allowed to remain to work for two to four years (up from a previous limit of 18 months) without any restrictions on the type of employment

Malaysia wants more foreign students but recently introduced new restrictions to constrain the flow. The government now requires students to demonstrate that they have been accepted to a higher education institution before entering the country, also that international students study Bahasa Malaysia during their first year and that they buy

medical insurance. These new measures are indicative of an international trend toward greater regulation.

More governments are concerned that the flow of international students needs more oversight and controls. In the past, academic institutions have been given considerable leeway over the admission of international students and the subsequent granting of study visas. Immigration authorities relied on academic institutions to ensure that only qualified, legitimate students are recommended for visas. Recent events indicate that a segment of educational institutions, typically those highly dependent on income from international students, may be taking advantage of their freedom as gatekeepers and not behaving "in the spirit of the law."

Scandals have made national headlines in the United States, as well.

Protection for Whom?

International students are easy targets in this rarified environment. As a transient group they are not well-positioned to become a political force or to create a lobby to speak for them. But importantly, they are less of a threat than other temporary visitors. Unlike tourists who enter countries and are impossible to track afterwards, international students are registered at an educational institution and entered into immigration databases.

International students are also particularly vulnerable to exploitation. They are subject to confusing and changing laws that they can only barely comprehend, evidenced in the debacle with the instructors of the Confucius Institutes. These students and scholars are likely to accept (and often pay for!) advice from others, who may not have the student's best interest at heart. They are also less likely to know the rights and protection available to them in another country, raising concerns in Australia that the new work privileges will encourage unscrupulous employers to exploit this new class of foreign workers.

Much as governments need to protect visas programs from abuse, so students need to be protected from abusers.

The New Ethos

The landscape of international higher education has changed in recent years and this contributes to the necessity of screening students more carefully. Some academic institutions rely on international students to balance the budget. At these institutions, international students have become a "cash cow." Australia is the best example—with government policy for several decades encouraging earning revenue through international endeavors. While the United States has no national policy concerning international ventures, several states—notably, New York and Washington—have determined that income from international students should be an important part of a public institution's financial strategy. At some institutions, international students now represent the difference between enrollment shortfalls and survival, due to changing demographics in their traditional student market.

It is worth noting that some receiving countries welcome international students without the same degree of "commercialization." Canada, for example, while it does charge international students higher fees, permits highly skilled graduates from abroad to remain in the country after completing their studies. In the Canadian case, international students promise an influx of talent as well as additional revenue. Germany, Norway, and several other European countries do not charge fees to international students.

Internationalization has presented new opportunities for commercialization in countries where institutions have a long history of autonomy. Institutional leaders who represent a new ethos, more attentive to revenue than to educational integrity or quality, are free to subsume various dimensions of the academic enterprise—including admissions, student supervision, degree qualifications—to the bottom line.

This new ethos is evident where universities have outsourced overseas, recruiting to agents and recruiters who are paid commissions for delivering applications and enrolling international students. Of course, the introduction of third-party recruiter adds another level of interaction between the university and the student giving immigration authorities additional reason for concern about how students are screened for admission and visas.

Adressing the Problem

The general reaction from the academic community has been negative to the imposition of additional governmental restrictions concerning overseas students and other aspects of international higher education. Few people acknowledge the seriousness of the problem and express concern that stricter immigration policies will reduce international enrollments and contribute to an "unwelcoming" image overseas.

The problem is that immigration and border enforcement agencies tend to respond, by applying legal and bureaucratic rules that lack nuance. Considering that the majority of the millions of internationally mobile students are

qualified for the programs, where they are enrolled, and that they contribute intellectually as well as economically to the institutions that host them, dramatic changes in immigration should be contemplated carefully. When individuals enter a country in violation of immigration regulations, they are (and should be) subjected to sanctions. When institutions ignore rules or admit unqualified students, they should be subjected to penalties or legal action. In some cases, they are closed down. This is inevitable.

In fact, governments do need to bring some additional discipline to the management of international higher education, particularly where financial interests may determine institutional policy and practice. But this needs to be done in a way that does not penalize everyone.

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Reconsidering the Concept of Internationalization

HANS DE WIT

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The International Association of Universities has started to rethink the internationalization process and practices, so as to position internationalization and its underlying values in the current global knowledge society (www. iau-aiu.net). Beyond just radical change of its concept, one should go back to its original meaning and foundation and understand which contextual factors are influencing the original image and requiring further fine-tuning.

A RELATIVELY YOUNG CONCEPT

Contrary to what many people assume, the significance of internationalization in higher education is not older than two decades. Before the 1990s, the collective term used was "international education." This was less a concept than an umbrella term, to embrace a whole series of fragmented and rather unrelated international activities in higher education: study abroad, foreign student advising, student and staff exchange, development education, and area studies. Only in the last two decades could one observe a gradual transition from the use of "international education" to "internationalization of higher education," and the creation of a more conceptual approach to internationalization.

Several factors—such as, the fall of the iron curtain, the European unification process, and the increased globalization of our economies and societies—played a role in this transfer from a fragmented and marginal notion of "international education" to a more integrated, that is, "comprehensive" concept of internationalization.

WHY RETHINKING THE CONCEPT?

If internationalization is still a relatively young concept, there is even a need for rethinking—based on a number of main factors. In the first place, the discourse of internationalization does not seem to always associate the reality, in which internationalization is still more a synonym of international education—i.e., a summing up of fragmented and rather unrelated terms—than a comprehensive process and concept. In that respect, one has to consider the NAFSA: Association of International Educators report, by John Hudzik, "Comprehensive Internationalization: From Concept to Action" (www.nafsa.org/cizn), more as a wake-up call than as the introduction of a new concept. Comprehensive internationalization is a tautology: internationalization is not internationalization if it is not comprehensive, and then it is old-fashioned international education.

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The further development of globalization, the increase of commodification in higher education, and of the notion of a global knowledge society and economy have also resulted in a new range of forms, providers, and products—such as, branch campuses, franchises, and trade in education services. In addition, as a consequence now, sometimes even conflicting dimensions, views, and elements are emerging in the discourse of internationalization.

Also, the international higher education context is rapidly changing. Until recently, "internationalization" like "international education" was predominantly a Western phenomenon, in which the developing countries only played a reactive role. The emerging economies and the higher education community in other parts of the world are altering the landscape of internationalization. Moving away from a Western, neocolonial concept, as several educators perceive "internationalization," this principle has to incorporate these emerging other views.

De-internationalization?

Africa—a region with numerous academics with a foreign degree, graduates with a study-abroad experience, as well as imported knowledge and concepts from abroad—probably holds a more internationalized education than any other region. But the impact of that situation is not necessarily positive, and maybe initially Africa needs to go through a process of de-internationalization and liberate itself from these external influences, before it can develop its own position in the global knowledge society.

Furthermore, the discourse on internationalization is overly dominated by a small group of stakeholders: higher education leaders, governments, and international bodies. Other stakeholders, such as the professional field, and in particular the faculty and the student voice are far less heard. Thus, the discourse is insufficiently influenced by those who should be mostly impacted by it.

Related to the previous point, too much of the discourse

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is oriented to the national and institutional level, with little attention for the program level: research, the curriculum, and the teaching and learning process—which should be more at the core of internationalization, as expressed by movements such as "Internationalization at Home."

More Attention to Ethics Needed

In the sixth place, internationalization is too much input/output focused—a quantitative approach on numbers, instead of an outcome-based approach. Also, discourse has consisted too little attention on norms, values, or ethics of internationalization practice. The approach has been too pragmatically oriented toward reaching targets, without a debate on the potential risks and ethical consequences. The recent debates on the use of agents in the United States—the problems with diploma fraud and the lack of quality assurance on cross-border delivery—illustrate the need for more attention to the ethics and values of internationalization.

A last point, based on the need for rethinking of internationalization, is the increased awareness that the notion of "internationalization" is not only related to the relation

between nations but even more seriously to the relation between cultures and between the global and local.

All these points are rationales for rethinking internationalization. The inclusive reason is that internationalization of higher education is considered much as a goal in itself, instead of as a means to an end. Internationalization is a strategy for enhancing the quality of education and research. That objective is too much forgotten in striving for quantitative goals. The rethinking exercise initiated by the International Association of Universities, more than an attempt to redefine the still young concept of internationalization, has to be a call for action to bring the core values and objectives of internationalization back to the forefront.

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Mapping Internationalization: Accelerated Activity with Mixed Results

Patti McGill Peterson and Lindsay Mathers Addington

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It is essential to understand how US higher education institutions are internationalizing themselves—to address the goal of preparing graduates for productive lives in a society that increasingly operates across international borders. A strategic and comprehensive approach to internationalization is critical to meeting that goal.

Surveying Internationalization on US Campuses

To analyze the reality of internationalization on US campuses, the American Council on Education recently surveyed accredited, degree-granting institutions across the United States, to assess the current state of internationalization and to examine progress since the research was last conducted, in 2006. As the third report in 10 years, *Mapping Internationalization on U.S. Campuses: 2012 Edition* represents the only comprehensive source of data on internationalization in US higher education institutions, from all sectors.

The research inspected colleges' and universities' internationalization and global efforts across six critical areas, based on the Center for Internationalization and Global Engagement's definition of comprehensive internationalization: a coordinated process that seeks to align and integrate international policies, programs, and initiatives along several dimensions. These include articulated institutional commitment; administrative structure and staffing; curriculum, cocurriculum, and learning outcomes; faculty policies and practices; student mobility; and international collaboration and partnerships.

Positive Advances in Comprehensive Internationalization

Among the most striking findings from the 2011 data is that institutions' perceptions about the level of internationalization activities on their campuses are quite positive, with the majority reporting that internationalization efforts are increasing on their campuses.

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More attention is being paid, based on internationalizing some aspects of the curriculum. In 2011, a modest increase (4%) occurred among institutions—requiring undergraduates to take a course featuring global trends and issues, as part of general education programs. Even more significant were the increases across all sectors in the institutions developing global student learning outcomes—up 10 percent since 2006. Of institutions that have such outcomes, the majority of institutions assess them, primarily through course assessments or program evaluations. Assessing progress reinforces the articulated commitment to internationalization. These are all positive signs for internationalizing the curriculum.

More institutions are considering international background, experience, and interests in hiring faculty in fields that are not explicitly international or global. Of institutions, 68 percent indicated they give such preference, which is a sharp increase from the 32 percent of institutions doing so in 2006. Faculty plays a critical role in achieving the ultimate goal of comprehensive internationalization—

student learning—and, hiring practices are an important indicator that institutions recognize the authority of faculty in this process.

Student mobility continues as a focus with more institutions dedicating funding and resources in this area. More institutions are investing in sending domestic students abroad by providing institutional scholarships for students to use toward such programs. In 2011, 9 in 10 doctoral institutions had such funding available, with approximately two-thirds of master's and baccalaureate institutions and one-quarter of associate and special focus institutions. Additionally, a greater number of institutions are funding faculty to take students abroad than in prior years. Looking at student mobility from the other direction—the inward flow of international students—more institutions are also dedicating resources to this initiative. A majority of doctoral, master's, and baccalaureate institutions provided scholarships or other financial aid for international undergraduate students in 2011, and more institutions funded travel for staff to recruit this population of students. Overall, 31 percent of institutions fund such travel—ranging from 13 percent of special focus institutions to 78 percent of doctoral institutions.

Colleges and universities recognize that global education is critical to their missions, even given the high-stakes budget pressure that they have experienced in the past few years. Among institutions reporting an accelerated focus on internationalization since 2008, funding for these efforts has increased or remained steady at many institutions. However, despite this dedication of resources and progress in some areas, the results of the survey shed light on elements in which US campuses can improve.

Concerns in Comprehensive Internationalization

Though perceptions about internationalization were positive and certain areas saw improvements, the general optimism is not always grounded in reality as some findings showed.

Some troubling trends occur in the data about curriculum that raise a concern about depth versus breadth. Despite slight increases in institutions offering courses directed on global issues, institutions that require undergraduates to take courses based on perspectives and issues from other countries or regions decreased across all sectors, as did institutions with an undergraduate foreign language requirement for graduation. These are essential areas if institutions are serious about global learning goals for students.

Though positive gains were seen in hiring faculty with international backgrounds, the number of institutions supporting faculty in acquiring or furthering their international knowledge and skills decreased. In 2011, for example, decreases were seen in institutions funding faculty to study

or conduct research abroad and in offering on-campus opportunities such as workshops on internationalizing the curriculum. Institutions that have guidelines specifying international work or experience as a consideration in faculty promotion and tenure decisions have remained the same—at only 8 percent, since 2006. This stands in sharp contradiction to the willingness of institutions to consider these factors in faculty hiring.

While efforts to recruit international students are on the rise, the data did not show a commensurate increase in support services for this population of students or in activities that facilitate interaction and mutual learning with American peers. Comprehensive internationalization requires careful planning for the integration and support of international students into campus life.

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Conclusion

In an era of tight budgets and competing demands, clearly institutions must prioritize their internationalization activities and initiatives. As evidence of this, the data showed that some colleges and universities are taking action in certain areas, to increase the level of internationalization on their campuses. However, comprehensive internationalization—a process that requires a deep commitment across the institution, a dedicated team of senior campus leaders, and the support of numerous constituents—cannot be accomplished by focusing on just one element or several discrete pieces.

Moving forward, the US higher education community will need to develop and share successful comprehensive internationalization models that enhance traditional paradigms but also create new ways to bring global learning to nontraditional students. Ultimately, strategies for internationalizing colleges and universities will need to reflect the rapidly changing global environment. ∎

Five Models of International Branch Campus Facility Ownership

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IHE dedicates an article in each issue to a contribution from the Cross-Border Education Research Team (C-BERT), headquartered at the State University of New York at Albany. More information about C-BERT can be found at www.globalhighered.org.

Setting up an overseas campus can be a costly endeavor. One reason is the expense associated with building and maintaining a physical infrastructure in another country. In fact, mentioning an international branch campus (IBC) causes many people to think of small replicas of the home campus, set up in a foreign desert or jungle. However, only a handful of campuses are comprised of buildings and grounds that would be identifiable as a setting for higher learning. Even when they do have a full campus in the traditional sense, many do not actually own the facilities that they use. For example, the University of Nottingham's campuses in China and Malaysia have replicas of the iconic bell tower located on the UK campus; yet, they do not actually own those buildings.

Our many site visits to IBCs revealed a range of campus types. While some have many buildings, others have only a few rooms. Some are rented; others are fully owned by the home campus. Still others use space provided by partners, which is, however, not owned or rented by the home campus. However, information on this topic has remained largely anecdotal. So, when an international survey of IBCs was conducted, the ownership arrangements of their campus was specifically questioned.

Survey Methods and IBC Definition

The survey, conducted in the fall of 2011, was distributed to 180 institutions that met the definition of an entity that is owned, at least in part, by a foreign education provider; operated in the name of the foreign education provider; en-

gages in at least some face-to-face teaching; and provides access to an entire academic program that leads to a credential awarded by the foreign education provider. The only reference to the facilities is that there must be a physical location and space for face-to-face teaching. The mention of ownership in this definition refers to the corporate entity and does not necessarily mean ownership of the campus. Each respondent was asked to describe the ownership of their facilities, and then their written responses were analyzed.

Setting up an overseas campus can be a costly endeavor. One reason is the expense associated with building and maintaining a physical infrastructure in another country.

Information on ownership was received from 50 international branch campuses. The findings revealed five basic types of ownership patterns: (1) wholly owned by the home campus, (2) rented from a private party, (3) owned by the local government, (4) owned by a private partner, or (5) owned by an educational partner.

Wholly Owned

The most common ownership arrangement (14 IBCs; 28%) was for the home campus to wholly own the facilities of the IBC. This was somewhat surprising as the arrangement has the most financial risk associated with it. The development of a bricks and mortar campus can be quite costly; and should something go wrong (e.g., enrollments drop or the government changes the regulations), it may be difficult to recover the sunk costs if the campus operations are forced to close or be altered. However, it can also provide a level of stability as the home campus does not have to coordinate with a separate organization, in terms of the use or upkeep of the facilities. It also reduces the likelihood of a partner trying to leverage their ownership of campus to influence academic operations.

Government Partners

After the wholly owned campus, the next most frequently cited arrangement (11 IBCs; 22%) was for the local government to subsidize the cost of, and thereby own, the local campus. This model seems to be most common, where governments see IBCs as part of their economic growth strategy and want to provide incentives to attract specific institutions. Depending on the country, ownership can be

by either local or national governments. In Qatar, the development of Education City, and the building of campus facilities, is handled by the Qatar Foundation, which is sponsored by the national government. Whereas, in Australia, Malaysia, and Europe, there are examples of local and state governments, investing in the facilities as a way to attract foreign institutions—which would help support local economic growth. In fact, at least two examples were found of local governments stepping up to build facilities for IBCs after the national government refused to support the development of a new public university in their region.

Private Investors

A third ownership structure is found when a foreign academic institution (10 IBCs; 20%) partners with a local private partner, usually an investment firm or property developer, to build the campus. In these cases, the private partner sometimes receives a stake in the revenues produced by the IBC, or they use the IBC as an "amenity" to help sell other property they own in the immediate vicinity.

Renting

Nine (18%) of the institutions rent their campus space. A couple of the rented facilities were located in Europe, but most of these institutions were located in Dubai Knowledge Village or Dubai International Academic City, which were designed primarily as a real estate development for foreign institutions to rent space. In this model, multiple institutions rent similar space in the same buildings or nearby buildings, creating a sort of shopping mall effect, whereby students have many academic options available to choose from. One of the more costly aspects of this endeavor is that the campuses had to pay for the furnishing and fixtures in addition to renting the space. In some instances, renting seems to be a transitional phase, as some institutions later build their own stand-alone campus buildings, moving out of the nearby rental facilities.

Academic Partners

Finally, in a very interesting arrangement, the IBC (6 IBCs; 12%) is housed within the academic facilities of another campus. This partnership, of which examples were found in Asia and the Middle East, does not count as a dual or joint-degree program, as there is no academic partnership in place. Instead, the IBC uses the facilities to offer stand-alone academic programs. It is located in facilities owned by another college or university but operates separately from the other institution.

Conclusion

While the label "international branch campus" can imply that the ownership or condition of facilities is important

in the model, most operating definitions only require that there be a physical presence in a foreign country. The research has revealed that IBCs actually come in many shapes and sizes, ranging from rented storefronts to government subsidized architectural wonders. These data reveal five models that universities use when seeking to establish an IBC's physical plant. It is important to note, however, that the use of these models will be limited, based on local regulations (e.g., some countries do not allow foreign ownership of facilities), as well as the ability to find a willing government, private, or academic partner to provide the space. Each arrangement comes with its own set of opportunities and obstacles. Wholly owned endeavors provide some stability and freedom from external interference but also pose a financial risk, should the enrollments not meet projections or government hospitality lapse. Partnering reduces the financial risks, but could lead to outside interference in academic affairs. While the models of facility ownership have been identified, more research is needed to understand their operational implications. ∎

Is Postsecondary Education Affordable?

Sandy Baum and Saul Schwartz

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The evolution of higher education from a privilege for the elite to an economic and social necessity for broad segments of the population has created financing challenges, along with new opportunities, for students and their families. Governments that were able to provide free or low-priced access to universities for the select few have found it necessary to charge rising levels of tuition, even as less-affluent citizens aspire to enroll. In a number of countries—including Canada, Chile, and England—students have taken to the streets to protest tuition policies.

Students are less militant in the United States; but there, as elsewhere, rising college prices and stagnating incomes have led to the widespread perception that postsecondary education is "unaffordable" for more and more people.

Yet, it is not obvious what "unaffordable" means. What price is relevant—the published price of postsecondary study, the price people actually pay, or the price people should be expected to pay? Efforts to increase educational opportunity can be hindered if policymakers do not have a clear idea of the meaning of an "affordable" or "unaffordable" education.

The Subjectivity of What Students Can Pay

Purchases are objectively unaffordable if people do not have access to the cash to pay the asked-for price. While this may be the case for some potential postsecondary students, the widespread availability of government-sponsored student loans and grants makes this absolute constraint relatively uncommon. Rather, postsecondary study is considered unaffordable because it is expensive, requires the sacrifice of other goods and services, or involves the accumulation of debt.

Thus, affordability is subjective. Some parents make great sacrifices, in order to pay for the education of their children. Others, with greater resources, are unwilling to sacrifice current consumption for the uncertain benefits of higher education. The difference between these parents relates not only to their incomes but also in their preferences and priorities.

In addition, the status quo is the reference point for judging affordability. Québec students, with the lowest tuition in North America, took to the streets this past spring, when higher tuition rates were proposed—despite the relatively low charges there. German states introduced tuition fees in 2006, but protests by German students have contributed to a return to zero tuition in some cases.

Net price

Perceptions of the price of postsecondary tuition are distorted by the visibility of published or "sticker" prices and the reality that many students pay significantly lower prices. Government-funded grant aid, institutional scholarships, tax credits, deferred payment through subsidized loans, and subsidies from other sources create a complex system that clearly lowers the price of education for some students but also makes predicting and understanding the price very difficult.

The gap between net price and actual price can be large. In 2007/08, the latest year for which data are available, low-income American students received enough grant aid, on average, to cover all tuition and fees at public two-year and four-year colleges. Nonetheless, that fact had little impact

on the perception that rising prices put college out of reach for all but the most affluent students. In addition, to a lack of understanding of net prices, there is substantial evidence that most people overestimate the published prices. Policymakers must give careful consideration to policies that ensure both that postsecondary education is actually affordable and that it is perceived as affordable.

Postsecondary Education as an Investment

One reason to care about affordability is that postsecondary education can provide low-income students with the opportunity to obtain better jobs and, as a result, to earn higher incomes over the long-term. Implicit in that concern is that postsecondary education is an investment that pays off over the life of the student. In the countries with high tuition, conversations about whether or not college is affordable would be strengthened by a focus on how much debt students can afford to repay—rather than how much of their current incomes parents can afford to devote to a year of college for their children.

Yet, it is not obvious what "unaffordable" means. What price is relevant— the published price of postsecondary study, the price people actually pay, or the price people should be expected to pay?

Many students borrow to pay postsecondary costs. On average, these students can expect to repay their loans out of the earnings premium that results from their education. However, despite the high-average return to postsecondary education, the earnings of individuals vary at each level of educational attainment; college does not pay off well for everyone. Even if the expected return is high enough to make going to college a good economic choice, the risk of ending up with low earnings and an unmanageable debt burden may make the investment unappealing to some potential borrowers. The riskiness of the investment affects perceived affordability.

While the investment perspective implies that family income is not relevant, as long as there is no constraint on how much students can borrow, the funds that well-off parents give to their children diminish their need to borrow. In a more equitable world, all students would receive the same total subsidy, either from parents or from other sources.

Government and institutions would fill the gap for students whose parents are in no position to pay.

Conclusion

As policymakers attempt to address the problem of funding postsecondary education in an environment of rising prices, strained government budgets, and limited household resources, it is useful to think about what it really means for postsecondary education to be affordable.

Many students borrow to pay postsecondary costs.

Affordability is subjective. It depends on preferences as well as available resources and prices. Moreover, judgments about whether or not prices are too high depend on familial expectations and on views about how the cost of education should be shared between students and society. Those judgments are also affected by the status quo; when low tuition is increased, concerns about affordability also increase—even if the new level of tuition remains low compared to higher tuition systems.

While many students and families confront real difficulties paying for study, the perception of affordability is sometimes worse than the reality—because both people believe published prices are higher than they actually are and also many students and families are unaware of the magnitude of the financial aid available to them.

Postsecondary education is an investment with a high-average rate of return, but it is an uncertain investment that does not always pay off. A weak economy increases the uncertainty associated with the level and timing of the return to this investment. This uncertainty may make postsecondary study seem unaffordable.

The costs and risks associated with postsecondary education are most detrimental for students whose families are unable to provide significant financial assistance. Grant aid for low- and moderate-income students can substitute for parental support, reducing the extra risk that low-income students take on because of their greater need to borrow.

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Strategies for Meeting Rising Demand, with Fewer Government Resources

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Virtually all countries around the world are facing the challenge of consistently meeting the rising demand for higher education. A few countries, such as Norway and Saudi Arabia, have decided and been able to devote enough public resources to meet the challenge of adequately funding growing demand. However, for most countries, the challenge remains how to do more, with fewer public resources, to maintain accessible higher education systems of high quality, in the future.

Three basic strategies are available to meet this challenge: raising the prices for public higher education to offset the constraints on public funds; reducing resources per student, either by achieving greater efficiencies or enrolling more students; and encouraging the expansion of the private sector, to reduce the strain on taxpayer funds to pay for higher education.

In considering the relative merits of these three strategies, it is important that an essential trade-off and dilemma be recognized—namely, that it is very difficult to expand access and to improve quality at the same time. Since the policies that will expand access often detract from quality, actions that are likely to improve quality are often achieved by limiting access.

Moreover, the roles of higher education institutions and governments are often in conflict with regard to promoting access and protecting quality. Maintaining or improving quality is the top priority of institutional officials and faculty, who would like to maximize resources per student. By contrast, ensuring or expanding access is the primary objective of government officials, as they would like to maximize access and to promote efficiency by minimizing resources per student. Thus, the task of meeting rising demand when public resources are stable or declining is complicated by this large difference in traditional roles and responsibilities.

Increasing Tuition Fees

The most frequently used strategy for dealing with limits in public resources in most countries is increasing the revenues generated from tuition fees and other charges. This cost recovery approach can be achieved, in one of several ways. One is to increase the level of tuition fees for all current students. Another is changing the mix of students, by increasing the number of international or out-of-state students who pay higher fees. Still, another approach is to establish a parallel fee structure, in which students who do not gain entrance on the basis of entrance exam scores may enroll as "nonregular" students and pay fees that are much higher than for the "regular" students; these parallel fees often equal or exceed the full per student costs of education. These parallel fee structures are particularly prevalent in certain regions, including eastern Europe and a number of Asian countries.

Maintaining or improving quality by ensuring adequate levels of resources per student is the primary purpose of any kind of fee increase. Yet, higher fees can allow for increased access, if they are accompanied by expanded enrollments. If, on the other hand, prices are increased while enrollments are not, the result almost always will be more limited access. Higher prices also can deter students with more modest means from enrolling, unless accompanied by increased amounts of student financial aid.

> **For most countries, the challenge remains how to do more, with fewer public resources, to maintain accessible higher education systems of high quality, in the future.**

Reducing Resources per Student

Another frequently used strategy, to address the mismatch between growing demand and limited public resources, is to reduce the amount of resources devoted to each student. One format for institutions is to cut programs and staff or find more cost-effective ways to teach and increase operational efficiency. This route to greater efficiency often includes shrinking the size of the enterprise, by capping enrollments, so that adequate resources can be provided to the students who do enroll. Another avenue to reduce resources spent on each student takes the opposite tack of increasing enrollments, thereby reducing resources per student. Governments can encourage more enrollments by providing additional student financial aid, to stimulate more demand or by placing a floor on the number of students, which institutions may enroll—thereby allowing the number of students to increase beyond the levels already funded by government.

Approaches for improving efficiency can be found in countries throughout the world. Institutions in many countries, states, and provinces deal with cutbacks in government funds by cutting programs and staffs—often the first response to reductions in public funds. In a number of instances enrollments are capped to ensure adequate resources per student and to minimize future budgetary exposure, from student financial aid being awarded to more students. New Zealand and England are two prominent examples of countries that have capped enrollments, not because it would lead to more public support of institutions but because student loan subsidies would rise.

One format for institutions is to cut programs and staff or find more cost-effective ways to teach and increase operational efficiency.

Many countries allow institutions to increase their enrollments—beyond government-funded levels, without providing more government funding for these additional students. Economic theory suggests that these institutions should expand their enrollments, as long as the fees received are equal or greater than the marginal costs attached to these additional students.

These approaches create different effects on quality and access. Efforts to cut costs and programs to achieve efficiency typically lead to lower quality—while capping enrollments detracts from access—but may improve quality as it will lead to more resources being spread over fewer students. On the other hand, providing more student aid or placing a floor on enrollments could increase access, but it may well do so at the expense of quality—as existing resources are being spread over a larger number of students.

If institutions retain the fees paid by additional students, the negative effects on quality will be offset partially or fully by the increased resources generated by the additional fees. Similarly, if enrollment expansions are accomplished simply by increasing class size and student/faculty ratios, quality is likely to suffer. But if low teaching loads are increased or programs with low enrollments are targeted for expansion, there could be little adverse impact on quality or it might even be improved.

Expanding the Private Sector

The third strategy for meeting demand in tough times is to allow the private sector of higher education to grow. Thus, governments decide that they cannot meet demand, by funding expansion in the public sector, and instead encourage the private sector to grow to accommodate surging demand. This encouragement can take several forms, including loosening the regulatory environment and allowing government-funded student aid to be portable to students attending private institutions. Vouchers or student loans are two examples of this approach.

Asia is perhaps the region that has most adopted the private-sector strategy. In South Korea, Japan, and Indonesia, far more than half of all students enroll in private institutions, and a number of other Asian countries also have large numbers of private-sector students. The Middle East and South America are two other examples of regions that have developed large private-sectors of higher education.

This private-sector emphasis obviously is designed to expand access without correspondingly increasing public resources to meet demand. But it also raises important questions about quality, as private-sector institutions often are of lower quality than their more well-funded public counterparts. The United States is an obvious counterexample to this generalization, as American private institutions often are better funded than public institutions. Quality becomes an even greater concern when for-profit institutions

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Many countries allow institutions to increase their enrollments—beyond government-funded levels, without providing more government funding for these additional students.

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are the primary form of private provider, as they often focus on attracting low-income students who often are particularly unprepared to do college-level work. One means for counteracting this very legitimate concern about quality is to ensure that strong quality-assurance systems are in place that will prevent the emergence and continuation of low-quality institutions.

In sum, countries would be well-advised to consider each of these approaches, in addressing concerns about how to meet rising demand with limited public resources. Each approach has its advantages and disadvantages with regard to quality and access. The right mix depends in large part on the history and the circumstances of individual countries. ∎

Cambodian Higher Education—Subprime Degrees?

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The Cambodian economy has achieved a healthy average growth rate of about 7 percent, over the past decade. Higher education has expanded more than tenfold, in the same period, and now includes 91 institutions (68 universities and 23 institutes or schools) of which 59 percent are private institutions, and almost 200,000 students. Access has improved greatly, as many new institutions and branch campuses of existing institutions have opened in provincial centers.

Challenges

In spite of the relatively positive macroeconomic situation and being named as a priority ministry, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport is the only one whose budget share has steadily declined, in each of the last five successive years. Higher education receives a smaller proportion of the national budget (less than 1%) and has the lowest participation rate (approximately 5%) of any of its regional neighbors. Consequently, the higher education sector is facing some serious challenges. Lecturers at government institutions still only receive a salary that is a fraction of a livable wage (a base of about US$120, per month), forcing them to seek employment in the private sector. Less than 10 percent of lecturers in both public and private institutions hold PhDs. There is virtually no government funding for research. Consequently, less than a handful of universities have created any research, and almost all have been donor initiated and funded. There are virtually no government scholarships for study abroad. Even the so-called scholarships for local study in higher education are only fee-free places at government institutions without a subsistence allowance. The proportion of scholarship places to the number of high school graduates has steadily decreased.

Recent reports by major donors (World Bank, Asian Development Bank, United Nations Development Program, and others) have described a picture of low qualitative and quantitative internal and external efficiencies. In spite of the low participation rate, an oversupply of underskilled graduates still occurs in some areas and an undersupply in areas of high demand. About 60 percent of students graduate in business, social science, and law and only less than 25 percent in agriculture, education, health, engineering, and the hard sciences. What will be the social consequences of large numbers of unemployed and underemployed graduates, and how will Cambodia be able to compete regionally if the Association of South East Asian Nations' vision of an integrated economic community by 2015 is realized?

Underlying Causes of Systemic Weaknesses

But this mismatch with societal needs is not new. It is almost 15 years since the first private university opened and began a period of rapid, almost unregulated expansion and commercialization of higher education in Cambodia. The number of students has increased from about 10,000 in 1997 to almost 200,000 now. However, little improvement in relevance has occurred in the 10 years since the regulatory instruments, a law on registration of institutions, and the Accreditation Committee of Cambodia were created to deal with it. Perhaps it was hoped that market forces would automatically improve quality, but so far the competition has mostly resulted in a race to the bottom, as institutions compete by lowering fees and offering discounts, and "free Wi-Fi."

A lack of regulation has led to a large number of higher education institutions, but many of the so-called universities registered are obviously lacking the technical requirements to be called a university. A handful of institutions could possibly justify the use of the term; and a few of those are steadily gaining credibility as quality institutions. Nev-

> **Higher education receives a smaller proportion of the national budget (less than 1%) and has the lowest participation rate (approximately 5%) of any of its regional neighbors.**

ertheless, some others have no faculty holding recognized postgraduate degrees, and yet have gained a license to issue degrees up to the PhD level. Many institutions advertise a wide range of degrees but lack qualified staff to teach them, in spite of regulations defining the requirements for the establishment of higher education institutions having been in force since 2002. The reasons for this situation are most likely related to the highly politicized nature of the sector where politically powerful vested interests outweigh the rational implementation of regulations.

Consequences of Ineffective Regulation

Regardless, while the causes are being debated, a situation analogous to the economic crisis is being created. A "bubble" is forming of university graduates with worthless degrees. Intense competition has led to the existence of risky and exotic educational products, where capacity to pay is more important than academic ability. As a result, many institutions are offering "subprime" degrees: degrees that have little actual value, due to a variety of factors—including, selection of students with low capacity, teaching by unqualified faculty, minimal evaluation, and corruption. Some of their exotic educational products include associate degrees offered to those who failed their 12th grade exams and science courses that have no laboratory components. The degrees obtained are more like symbols of compliance—with the system and membership of a patronage network than of knowledge and skills—and should more correctly be called receipts.

What will happen when graduates holding subprime degrees use them to try to find a job and default? Many students have invested significant sums in worthless degrees and rightfully may be unhappy, when they fail to recoup their investment through employment. Some universities have already collapsed, and widespread unemployment and underemployment among university graduates have already been reported. It remains to be seen when and how their discontent will become evident, but there is no shortage of examples in other countries, where student discontent has led to social unrest. Apparently, little official concern has been provided about this, perhaps since the government pays no unemployment benefits and also since it has a conscription law, created in 2006, which it has never applied but could be used in such an eventuality. One more aspect of the analogy, with the financial crisis, is who finally suffers the consequences—rarely the owners of institutions or the regulators.

Conclusion

There is a lack of independent public information about higher education institutions, which could help prospective students make more informed choices and thus provide some pressure for improvements in quality. Many institutions refuse to give information about teaching faculty to prospective students, and even more surprisingly, few students challenge this. Consequently, in the absence of accurate public information about institutions and widespread ignorance about market needs and the meaning of quality education, many students depend on rumors and hearsay to choose courses that are often inappropriate and of low quality.

So, in spite of the fact that education has been named a priority ministry by the Cambodian government, clearly higher education is not; and the reason may be related to another systemic weakness mentioned in the recent reports, referred to earlier—i.e., old-fashioned teaching methodologies that fail to challenge students to think and analyse. Perhaps a government that is increasingly autocratic and sensitive to opposition voices is reluctant to encourage a system that should promote critical thinking and has a vested interest in maintaining the status quo.

The light at the end of the tunnel is emanating from the growing number of young graduates returning from study abroad (on foreign-funded scholarships), who have experienced more functional systems and different ways of learning. These graduates are less likely to accept old models of management and more likely to use new teaching methodologies. Some are employed by the Accreditation Committee of Cambodia, which has managed to evaluate foundation year (first year) courses and is about to begin institutional evaluations. As these young, highly qualified academics gradually move up through the ranks and gain influence and as the old guard at the top gradually retire, it is hoped that higher education in Cambodia may gradually improve. ∎

Nepal's Higher Education: Public vs. Private?

Bala Raju Nikku

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As one of the poorest countries in the world, Nepal (with 30 million people) is going through a series of transitions and is rewriting its constitution. Access to education and now to higher education is limited in Nepal.

The rapidly changing political climate in Nepal may lead to further development of higher education in the recently declared republic, which replaced the centuries-old monarchy. The record of higher education development in Nepal is short but has been growing since the establishment of democracy only in the 1950s. The Tribhuvan University established in 1959 was the oldest and the only university (until 1992), initiated with the help of India and the United States. Prior to the establishment of the Tribhuvan University, some classes were conducted in Kathmandu, the capital city, under the prescribed courses of Patna Uni-

versity (state of Bihar, India). It conducted its own examinations and conferred degrees to successful students. By 1965, in Nepal there were 5 colleges with total enrollment of 5,000 and 51 community colleges with a total enrollment of 10,000.

Development of New Universities

Only in 1992, the Kathmandu University was established under an act of parliament using public, private partnership modalities. The establishment of that university paved the way for expansion of private-sector involvement in higher education in the country. To date there are only five universities serving the 30 million population of Nepal: the Tribhuvan University, Nepal Sanskrit University (established in the 1980s as part of a Royal Commission on Higher Education), Kathmandu University (in 1992), Purbanchal University in the eastern region (in 1994), and the Pokhara University in the western region (in 1997). These institutions were developed as regional universities in the mid-1990s as per the recommendations of the 1992 National Education Commission. The establishment of two more regional universities are under pipeline. Lumbini University has just been initiated; and two autonomous medical institutions—BP Koirala Institute of Health Sciences and National Academy of Medical Sciences—are doing particularly well.

> **The rapidly changing political climate in Nepal may lead to further development of higher education in the recently declared republic, which replaced the centuries-old monarchy.**

Access: Challenges and Opportunities

Enrollment increased in higher education from 17,000 in 1971 to 103,290 in 2001 and then to about 254,856 by 2005/06. Data on the enrollment of students at the constituent campuses of Tribhuvan University for 2005/06 indicate 153,116 students were enrolled. These numbers suggest a massive demand (market) for the higher education. However, both access to and quality of higher education, qualified human resources, and research capabilities have become core issues. Politicization of higher education, 10 years of internal conflict (1996–2006), and weak governance mechanisms further damaged the higher education sector, despite the support from international donor bilateral agencies.

The experience of six decades of higher education in Nepal is not promising. The country is among the least developed countries (though bigger than Malaysia and Australia in terms of the population of 30 million), but contributes to internationalization of higher education. There are more than 200 education consultancies currently in Kathmandu Valley, working hard with Nepalese students who could afford to pay fees to universities, to send them abroad every year. Nepal also attracted Indian investment for establish-

> **The experience of six decades of higher education in Nepal is not promising.**

ing institutions that offer medical education. The aim is to attract rich Indian and foreign students who can pay huge sums as fees and donations, for their medical education in Nepal. For example, the Manipal Education and Medical Group—a private education group from India—has set up a medical and dental college in Nepal. The majority of international students studying in Indian universities are also from Nepal—due to affordability, quality, reputation, geographical proximity, and also the scholarships offered by the Indian government.

Privatization of Higher Education

Private higher education in Nepal has grown in size over the last two decades and surpassed public higher education. To cite an example: Kathmandu University, a private university, receives large financial support from the government. The per student University Grants Commission grant for Kathmandu University is more than the per capita grant given to the public colleges, affiliated with Tribhuvan University. Thus, while public institutions cater to poor students, private institutions serve the middle and rich classes. Legacies of prejudice, marginalization, social exclusion, and denial are still enmeshed in Nepal's social composition, despite the increased levels of access to higher education. Hence, the crux of the nation's problems is how to enhance access to quality and affordable higher education for all citizens, without discrimination on the basis of class, creed, caste, geography, and religion.

The Way Forward

Policymakers need to debate on how Nepal can benefit and contribute to global initiatives—such as, UNESCO's World Declaration on Higher Education for the 21st Century, which provides an international framework at systems and

institutional levels. How can politicians, policymakers, university bureaucrats, market forces, and learners themselves understand and practice the real significance of higher education, which can forge closer links to societal needs and the world of work?

In 2008, Nepal had been declared a federal republic. Currently, the constitution is being rewritten, and Nepalese are hoping for peace, prosperity, equality, and justice. This process is another chance for Nepal to carve its policy to promote of higher education. So far, this policy on higher education seems only looking at universities as laboratories to breed students into "party politics" and use them to meet the ambitions and self-interests of political parties and their leaders. If this continues, unfortunately the Republic of Nepal will be no different than the past regimes, in which access to higher education has been determined by the class and affinity to the rulers.

Nepal faces an opportunity to exploit and to transform the country into a world-class learning center.

In addition, there is an urgent need to resolve the political, ecological, sociological, and intellectual requirements of Nepalese society, and it is going through a series of transformations and restructuring. Nepali academics should play a vital role and lobby for constitutional rights that determine the forms of knowledge to be cultivated in public and private higher education institutions. This is an immediate responsibility of the academic community and cannot be left to the vagaries of Nepalese politicians, who see higher education as "expensive" for the government and hence families need to invest and students should "buy." With its rich history and natural resources, Nepal faces an opportunity to exploit and to transform the country into a world-class learning center. It is not the lack of resources but the lack of governance to use these resources for the development of higher education. These are the immediate concerns that Nepal must address, in order to stay relevant in the rapidly changing Nepalese society, in particular, and worldwide. ∎

Nalanda Redux: Is a World-Class University Possible in Rural Bihar?

PHILIP G. ALTBACH

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The Indian and Bihar government, with the support of the East Asian Summit, is resurrecting the 6th century Nalanda University, near its original site in rural northern Bihar. Significant funds have been earmarked for the project, and planning is now under way. Impressive international linkages have already been made. The concept, of course, is wonderful—to recreate in modern garb a true cultural and intellectual treasure of ancient India. The plan for the university focuses on the humanities, social sciences, ecology, and business studies—not the usual engineering and technology emphasis. But some serious practical and conceptual questions need to be asked.

LOCATION, LOCATION

The site of academic institutions is of key importance. For Nalanda International University, which wants to attract the best and brightest from India and the world, location is of special relevance. Are top students and faculty going to be attracted to rural Bihar? Perhaps, unfortunately, this option is not likely. The best minds want to be in the center of intellectual, cultural, and political life. Scholars want to be able to easily mingle with peers and value easy travel connections. The Internet assists scholarly communication, but it does not at all replace human interaction. Top academics value amenities, not only good libraries and laboratories, but also art museums and even an array of attractive restaurants and coffeehouses.

The experience in India and elsewhere, in recent decades, is that it is difficult to build top institutions far from centers. Several of the original Indian Institutes of Technology were located near but not in major urban centers. Thus, there was room to build a campus, while at the same time permitting relatively easy access to a wider intellectual community and to urban centers. Some of the new central universities, as well as the new Indian Institutes of Technology, located away from cities and communities are finding it difficult to attract the best faculty and students.

There are some examples of recently established "green field" academic institutions. Without doubt the most expensive is the King Abdullah University of Science and Tech-

nology, located near Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Located near a large city, benefiting from a multibillion-dollar endowment and an unlimited construction budget, and connections with top universities overseas, its success is not assured. Luring the best academics to Saudi Arabia is not an easy task. It is significant that King Abdullah, who established the university, kept it separate from the Saudi government, with its own budget and endowment. He did not want the new institution to get bogged down in governmental bureaucracy. This example may have some relevance for India.

The Pohang University of Science and Technology, on the other hand, seems to constitute a significant success, although located in a provincial city in South Korea. Just 20 years old, it is well-ranked globally. A private institution, it has benefited from the deep pockets of the Pohang Steel Company. The Japanese government located a technological university on the island of Okinawa, far from the Japanese mainland, several decades ago and made a huge investment. Many claim that it is a success, but the jury seems to be out.

Some of the great American public universities may also offer some insights. Most of the best of them were established in the 19th century in or close to urban centers—the University of California-Berkeley, for example, is near San Francisco and the University of Michigan is near Detroit, while the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign is in the middle of corn fields. While the latter is a fine university, it is not as distinguished as Berkeley or Michigan—and it suffers when competing for top faculty.

The best minds want to be in the center of intellectual, cultural, and political life.

Universities as "Development Projects"
Governments in many countries decide on the location of new universities for many reasons. Students in an area may not have access to a convenient place to study. A particular region may be in need of investment or development. Or local politicians may have a loud voice. There are often good arguments for placing higher education institutions in locales, where they can contribute to economic growth, student access, or other laudable social goals. India has often been quite successful with this tactic.

However, it is always a mistake to try to locate a top-level research university to meet development goals. The initial investment is large, and the chances of success are limited. The fact is that the needs of a research university are quite specialized and not comparable to those of an academic institution focused mainly on teaching.

The new Nalanda's location is dictated by the site of the original Nalanda and not by specific development goals. However, most likely, part of the motivation is to bring resources and modernization to Bihar—there is even talk of moving the site of an airport.

Can It Work?
The challenges facing the new Nalanda, in its effort to become a world-class university, are daunting. As noted, location is a highly negative factor, perhaps even a determining one. Money may also be an issue—building a top-class university is extraordinarily expensive, especially in a rural and undeveloped location—even with assistance of foreign donors and the central government. Funding for the first stages of development is significant, and levels of financial support must be maintained over time to ensure success. Nalanda International University, as an institution that plans, quite rightly, to stress ecology, development, peace studies, and similar "soft subjects," will find it difficult to obtain recognition in the global rankings, which largely measure the hard sciences. The best tactic here is to forget about the rankings, but this is not an easy thing to do. The involvement of many agencies, of both state and central government, may create bottlenecks and bureaucracy—which often seems to be the case in India, as well as elsewhere.

Perhaps the best course of action would be to keep the name and the spirit of Nalanda but move the university to a more practical location. ∎

Higher Education for Development in Rwanda

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Perhaps more than any other African government, the government of Rwanda has focused on higher education, as a core component of its national development strategy. In the face of donor pressure to prioritize primary education, Rwanda has championed the importance of higher

education as a catalyst for development. In many ways, Rwanda is a unique case, given its small size, land-locked location, and recent tragic history. However, the Rwandan experience offers valuable insights into the enormous potential—and the significant challenges—that face countries intending to build higher education capacity, to stimulate economic development.

In 2000, the Rwandan government issued its blueprint development strategy for the country, known as *Vision 2020*. Chief among the priorities in the plan was the need to develop Rwanda's human capacity to transform the country into a knowledge-based economy, capable of competing on the international economic stage. The strategy elaborated the need for a skilled workforce—trained in disciplines such as information technology, engineering, and management. Since the late 1990s, Rwanda has spent a higher proportion of its education budget on higher education than almost any other country in sub-Saharan Africa. This unprecedented financial support for higher education has led to a dramatic expansion in the sector, both in terms of student enrollment and the number of institutions. With an annual growth rate of approximately 13 percent, higher education is one of the most rapidly expanding sectors in the country.

This dynamic context presents a unique opportunity for Rwanda's higher education sector, to demonstrate the critical role that universities can play in national development efforts. However, the government's vision can only be achieved if Rwanda's universities are able to provide an educational experience of sufficient quality to their students. This article will outline some of the recent successes of Rwanda's higher education sector and highlight some significant challenges for quality, which continue to hinder Rwanda's public universities. Although a significant private higher education market occurs in Rwanda, public universities receive the vast majority of government funding.

A Brief Overview of Rwandan Higher Education

Rwanda's higher education system currently consists of 29 institutions (17 public and 12 private). An independent government agency, the Higher Education Council, was established in 2007 and is housed within the Ministry of Education. Since the formation of the Higher Education Council, the sector has changed dramatically, as new institutions have been established and new government policies have altered university admissions policies, the structure of the academic calendar, and student funding programs.

Significant Successes

In the past 10 years, higher education in Rwanda has achieved a number of impressive successes. Chief among these is the rapid growth of the sector. In 2011, 73,674 students were enrolled at Rwanda's universities. Although still only 2 percent of the eligible population, enrollment has risen exponentially in recent years. On average, student enrollments have risen by 20 to 25 percent a year since 1995.

At the same time, Rwanda's universities have made a number of improvements to their curricular offerings and infrastructure. The Higher Education Council has also formalized the mechanisms for protecting Rwandan students from potentially bogus institutions, by establishing national accreditation and audit policies.

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Significant Challenges

Despite the impressive achievements of the sector, Rwanda's universities continue to face serious obstacles, many with a significant impact on the quality of university education in Rwanda.

Although public universities receive considerable governmental funding, in comparison with other countries in the region, adequate funding remains an issue for universities, particularly following a 2010 decision to reduce state funding to university budgets, by 25 percent, to redirect funding to vocational training. As a result of the cuts, universities are now expected to generate income—to support their activities. Most have opted to do so through increased tuition fees, admission of larger numbers of private students (who pay higher fees), or the establishment of consultancy arrangements.

Institutions also face a critical shortage of committed faculty. The growing number of private universities has increased demand for faculty positions. As the supply of academic staff has not increased at the same rate, this expansion has resulted in a growing trend for academic staff to hold part-time jobs at multiple institutions. In addition to part-time teaching, some staff members also conduct consultancies with international organizations—to supplement their largely inadequate salaries. Such faculty's overcommitment inevitably affects the quality of education at the public universities, while also diminishing any potential of increasing research output or graduate programs.

Compounding these challenges, universities have needed to react to a dramatic change in Rwanda's national

language of instruction. As a result of its colonial legacy, Rwanda's education institutions used French from the time of independence until the mid-1990s. In 1996, a bilingual education system was introduced, under which universities were required to offer instruction in both French and English. In 2008, the Rwandan government announced that, effective in 2010, English would be the sole language of instruction in Rwanda, at all education levels. University students now study entirely in English. Although the change in language of instruction is supported by many, due to the potential benefits of employment prospects for graduates, the decision resulted in enormous consequences for students currently enrolled in university. As the majority of current university students used French throughout primary and secondary school, many struggle to follow lectures and read notes in English, raising concerns about their comprehension and retention of information.

Furthermore, despite 15 years of support for higher education in Rwanda, students appear to be graduating without many of the skills required by the labor market. A recent *National Skills Survey* published by the Higher Education Council suggests that graduates lack critical competencies—including communications, technical, and prob-

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lem-solving skills. Although increasing student access is a positive development, university education could be argued as of questionable value, unless it results in the development of skills that graduates need to use once they enter the workforce.

Moving Forward

The government is working to address a number of the infrastructural and financial challenges facing universities, by improving efficiency and investing in research facilities and information and communications technology. However, many of these changes cannot improve the *academic* quality of Rwanda's public universities. Rather, increased attention must be paid to what is or is not working in terms of *student learning*—particularly related to the unique cultural, social, and economic situation of Rwanda—to truly revitalize the sector.

Much has been invested in, and much is rightly expected out of Rwanda's universities. The urgent and critical need of the day is for Rwanda's universities to seek ways to significantly improve the quality of the academic experience for their students, in order to secure a globally competitive, innovative, and creative workforce for the country's future development. ∎

African Students in India: Patterns of Mobility

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Under British colonial power, the British higher education system was introduced into both India and Africa; and the legacy continues till today, when India and most of the countries in Africa are independent nations. After national independence in 1947, India, having a better educational infrastructure, started attracting African students to Indian universities for higher education. The movement of African students to India has of late shown a dramatic decline. This raises a concern in India, and it is necessary to understand the reasons for this decline and to devise ways to reverse the deterioration. In this communication, while analyzing this issue, only students who actually cross national borders and live in India for their studies are taken into consideration. Students who are registered with Indian universities for distance education programs have not been taken into account, for one believes that the true international education experience occurs only through cross-border education.

Rise and Fall

In 1990/91, a total of 6,222 African students, from over 35 African countries, were studying in nearly 100 education institutions in India. At that time, nearly 12,900 international students were studying in India. Thus, the African student population formed nearly 48 percent of the total international students in India—showing India as a preferred destination of the African students. The other half of the international student population came, primarily, from Asia and the Middle East, while a small number of other

students, from developed countries, had come for a much short-term global experience. The situation is different today, with the number of students from Asia nearly four times more than those from Africa; those from the developed world continue to be at a low level.

Over the years, the number of African students has steadily decreased, declining to about 2,700 in 2009/10. The African student population is now only 15 percent of the international student population. This percentage decline is significant, considering the fact that, as a commonwealth country—with similar evolution of a higher education system, as in most of the African countries—India should have attracted the African students in a more significant way; also since studying and living in India is less expensive than in other parts of the world. It is relevant to point out that, in India, foreign students are not looked upon as income sources. Unlike in the case of the developed Anglo-Saxon countries, the Indian government does not collect or publish statistics concerning income or other advantages from international students.

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Distance Education Initiatives

The Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) in New Delhi is the largest distance higher education institution in the world. It has ambitious plans for providing cross-border education to students in West Asia and Africa. This Pan-African e-network started functioning in 2008, and IGNOU signed Memoranda of Understanding with 16 African countries. Teaching is conducted through a teleconferencing mode with a two-way communication link between students in Africa and a studio set up at IGNOU. The programs delivered are at postgraduate, undergraduate, diploma, and certificate levels. In the year 2008/09, over 2,000 African students had signed for the program, and over 3,000 did so in 2009/10. However, recent information received from Nigeria indicates that in 2008/09, of the 49 students admitted, many dropped out and only 24 successfully completed the program. Apparently, external funding that was available for this program has been stopped, resulting in this withdrawal.

While, a useful mode, distance education, without crossing national borders, does not include true spirit of international education—a principal objective to provide cross-cultural experiences. Thus, one of the reasons for the decline in the inflow of African students into India could well be the relative success of distance education initiatives by IGNOU, in Africa. However, one needs to evaluate other possible reasons for the decline. It may be noted that in 2008/09, out of the total international students in India, about 27 percent were in distance education programs. For African students, the corresponding number was as high as 45 percent. These numbers may appear small, compared to the nearly 4 million students registered with IGNOU. Nevertheless, this raises the question of the impact of distance education on internationalization of higher education, in which student mobility is an important factor.

Other Possible Causes

Indian institutions have not figured well in the top 500 world university rankings. Therefore, international students are unsure whether the quality of education that they may get in India would enable them to compete for jobs in the global market. In addition, with Africa's economic development, the capacity and willingness to pay for higher education has enhanced; and the choice for studying in developed countries is preferred, even though education and living in India is still considered inexpensive.

The admission procedures for international students, in Indian universities, are very cumbersome with time-consuming visa and document verification procedures. This has been a deterrent for students now having a wider choice across the world. India is known to be a hospitable country, and guests are honored and respected. However, there is apprehension that, for reasons of race and color, African students do find it difficult to be accepted in the Indian society; something that India should be concerned about.

The setting up of the African Union and its new initiative of setting up Pan-African universities across the various African countries, with partnerships from outside Africa, has also helped the students to stay within the African continent and also obtain an international exposure, as part of their education.

India has not created any major efforts at marketing Indian education abroad. Other developed and some developing countries—such as China—have arranged major marketing and partnership efforts that have attracted African students and weaned them away from India.

New Initiatives?

Given the decline of the African student population, the Indian government needs to evolve a strategy to enhance and

strengthen the India-Africa education partnership, through a combined effort of the Indian university system and the government education system.

The political forum of the India-Africa Summit, set up a few years before, should include "Higher Education Exchanges," as part of the major collaboration agenda; universities from both sides should participate in this political forum. The forum needs to encourage collaboration between the several hundred Indian and African universities by establishing an India-Africa University Network. Higher education for women is a common agenda for India and Africa; setting up an Indo-African Women's University in Africa could be a very positive initiative.

Indian and African universities should have discussions about sharing experiences on internationalization of higher education—a common agenda for both. The African Union has already organized three such conferences, in which India should participate. Joint conferences, on higher education issues of common interest should be or-

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ganized periodically. There are subject areas like skills development, vocational training at the postsecondary level, medical education, technical and management education, and legal studies that are specifically needed in India and Africa. Collaborative arrangements for the setting up of institutions, in both countries should be explored, through public and private partnership models.

India has over 50 corporations operating in Africa. These should be involved in supporting educational exchanges, through sponsoring scholarships and internships. They could also help African students studying in India to obtain suitable placement in their companies operating in the host country, when the students return home.

CONCLUSION

The declining population of African students should be seen by India, as a matter of concern for losing its traditional education partner. Possibly, India has taken for granted its robust relations with Africa, while other countries are wooing Africa. India needs to attract international students to its campuses, in order to expose its own students to other cultures of the world. It is time that several new initiatives are developed by India as a part of formulating a new education diplomacy policy. ∎

The Western Balkans: Analyzing a Higher Education Problem Area

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The summer 2012 issue of *International Higher Education* (no. 68) included articles on higher education in two countries from the former Yugoslavia—Philip G. Altbach on Slovenia and Stamenka Uvalic-Trumbic on Serbia—and a review of developments in another Balkan country—Romania, by Paul Serban Agachi. The picture that emerges from these reviews is of higher education systems with undoubted strengths, struggling to overcome dysfunctional historical legacies, dating from before and after the formally communist period, but certainly strongly conditioned by it.

It may be worthwhile to compare the situations reported in these countries, with those found across the countries of the fragmented region now known as the Western Balkans—Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro, as well as Serbia. Albania is a special case, not having been part of the Yugoslav state and having suffered under the dictatorship of Enver Hoxha from 1945 to 1985—a regime that may justifiably be termed lunatic. All these countries are struggling still to come to terms with the situation created by the violent breakup of Yugoslavia, between 1991 and 1995. All are trying to build economies based on national borders that define small states, with few natural resources and poor communications. Several have internal ethnic divisions and unresolved postconflict situations, which exacerbate other difficulties. These countries are seeking European Union membership, which, however, seems a distant prospect for varying issues that include dysfunctional political structures, unreliable legal processes, weak economies, and endemic corruption. This group of small countries, then, presents the most intractable reconstruction and development challenge found in Europe today.

Small Countries, Big Problems

As might be expected, the higher education systems of these countries reflect these wider difficulties. Their chronic lack of resources, while pressing, will probably be easier to deal with than their fragmented structures, organizational rigidity, intellectual isolation, and endemic corruption; and what Serban Agachi, speaking of Romania, calls "fake values," "lack of initiative," and "hidden disobedience" from the communist period. The issues that Altbach identifies, as priorities for change in Slovenian higher education—particularly stronger internal leadership, sustainable funding, differentiated missions and selectivity, and internationalization—apply with even greater force across the Western Balkans.

In addition, certain features of the higher education systems of the Western Balkans stand out. Perhaps most obviously, the small sizes of these systems must be problematical. Montenegro, with a population of 600,000, has

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All these countries are struggling still to come to terms with the situation created by the violent breakup of Yugoslavia, between 1991 and 1995.

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one public university; Macedonia, with a population of two million, has two reasonably significant public universities and one well-established private nonprofit university. It is hard to see how viable, modern higher education can be possible in these situations, even if there are effective administration at ministry and institutional levels. The difficulty is not institutional numbers or sizes, while some of the universities are actually rather too large. Yet, as Altbach hints, small systems without preexisting international traditions are prone to insularity.

As if these countries were not already small enough, ethnic tensions create internal subdivisions, in Macedonia and especially Bosnia-Herzegovina, a country with four and a half million people, has 14 ministries of education, although not all of them deal with higher education. The internal division between the Bosniac/Croat-dominated federation and the Serb-dominated Republika Srpska prevents any sensible national restructuring plans; and even within the federation, ethnic tensions have led to the creation of two universities, one Croat and one (clearly unviable) Bosniac, in the small city of Mostar. Here, universities are being used as symbols, to identify a set of political aims.

Higher education is being used to demonstrate the area's power and to reward the supporters of local politicians—to help implement divisive programs of identity politics.

Fragmented Universities in Fragmented Societies

Fragmentation is also a characteristic of internal university organization in the region, stemming from the Yugoslav tradition of strong faculties and chair systems within them. Expansion took place by creating new chairs, leading to sprawling, unwieldy structures; institutional restructuring was rare. Despite current attempts in places to integrate faculties for creating stronger unitary universities, this internal conflict persists—making institutional change hard to manage, because of multiple and competing sources of authority. A formal institutional mission of differentiation is hardly attempted. Though not historically justifiable, it is hard to avoid seeing these institutional divisions as mirroring the fragmentation found at national and regional levels.

In her article, Uvalic-Trumbic identifies academic corruption as a key problem for Serbian universities. It remains a serious issue throughout the region and, obviously, undermines any attempts to persuade Western universities to trust claims about academic standards there. The still-widespread use of frequent one-to-one oral examinations is one factor that facilitates academic corruption, but simply changing processes (as with the move to written examinations in Serbia or new, quality-assurance procedures) is unlikely to eradicate a deep-rooted problem. (I described one such attempt in Georgia in *International Higher Education* no. 42, 2006.)

Uvalic-Trumbic also notes that the alleged implementation of Bologna reforms in Serbia has probably "been merely cosmetic." This was also our conclusion from around the region, where typically the Bologna process has had little impact in practice. For example, in several instances, 3+1 or 3+2 degrees (that is, in Bologna terms, a first-cycle degree combined with a master's degree) were being offered to maintain the traditional four- or five-year first-degree pattern, supported by the professorial hierarchies, but thereby losing the efficiency gains that Bologna structures are intended to provide. This seems to be another sample of the inward-looking nature of the higher education system, subverting the formal adherence to modernization and European standards. It is tempting to conclude, noting Serban Agachi's comment about "hidden disobedience," that the large gap between policy and practice is a carryover from communist days, where formal statements of ideological principle were used to mask their actual practices.

Conclusion

This article draws on work undertaken for the Open Society Foundation. One way forward for Serbian universities,

Uvalic-Trumbic proposes, is "to develop joint doctoral studies with other countries of the region. Creating regional disciplinary networks . . . might be a mechanism for reducing the number of universities, increasing quality, and reinforcing the relevance of study programs." Work we have undertaken for the Open Society Foundation led us to similar conclusions, suggesting support for small-scale research collaboration between groups of universities in the region and one or more international partners. The precise topic of the research, we suggested, would be less important than being one in which the regional partners have an interest and have some basic capability on which to build. This approach could encourage interfaculty, interinstitutional, transregional, and international collaboration—thereby, mitigating to some extent the problems of fragmentation. It could provide a context for much-needed transfer of expertise, in subject knowledge, pedagogy, and research methods.

It would be naive in the extreme to think that rather limited reforms in university processes might somehow overcome the multiple problems of the deeply divided societies in the region. Nevertheless, there might be wider benefits through demonstrating that collaborative activities within the region can have positive results. That is to say, change may be more likely to percolate upwards from the universities rather than downwards from dysfunctional political structures.

Should Japanese Universities Shift the Academic Calendar?

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An effort to internationalize universities often conflicts with domestic systems, and it is seen at Japanese universities, currently. In Japan, to internationalize the university, a shift of the academic calendar from April to fall (September or October) was suggested by the internal panel of the University of Tokyo, in May 2012. This shift is to align the academic calendar to the world standard. Though this suggestion is still under discussion, major Japanese universities and the Japanese government, as well as industry, have started to discuss the issues and obstacles of implementation. While this suggestion might become a potential symbol of the reform for the internationalization of Japanese higher education, it has highlighted conflicts with traditional and domestic systems in many ways. Shifting the academic calendar faces difficulties at the University of Tokyo and other Japanese universities.

REASONS AND CONCEPTS

The University of Tokyo's internal panel suggested that the university should start its academic calendar in the fall (September or October), within five years, in order to accelerate the internationalization of higher education across Japan. According to the report, 70 percent of countries in the world start higher education academic years in either September or October (including not only Western countries but also China, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, and Taiwan), whereas most Japanese universities start in April. Some Japanese universities already admit students in the fall, but this is not the norm. Therefore, the alignment of the academic calendar with the world standard will help promote international exchanges of students and scholars and increase research collaboration at the university level. With the new academic calendar, students can participate in study-abroad programs for a semester or a year, without conflicting with course schedules or delaying graduation. Professors and researchers will face less constrains regarding teaching or administrative responsibilities, when they hope to conduct research or teach abroad as visiting scholars.

Shifting the academic year also seems to be an effective use of summer break. The current academic calendar prevents students from fully engaging in other activities, during summer—including exchange programs, volunteer positions and internships, especially for students hoping to travel abroad. In addition, shifting the academic calendar also introduces the potential for a "gap term" (six-month break) between high school graduation and university entrance. The benefit of the gap term for students is the opportunity to engage in activities that broaden their perspectives and stimulate their interest through volunteering, studying abroad, and other beneficial uses of their time.

OBSTACLES AND CHALLENGES

Despite the potential merits of changing the academic year, several challenges for the actual implementation have been raised. These issues seem to be caused from the dilemma between national and international systems. For example,

most universities' academic year does not match the schedule of other areas of Japanese society. The Japanese traditional academic calendar, from the pre-kindergarten to the tertiary levels, starts in April and ends in March. Moreover, the government and private sector in Japan start their fiscal year in April and hire a majority of new employees once a year, in April. Also, major certification exams—such as, the public servant, doctor, nurse, and lawyer exams—assume exam takers will start working in April. Many Japanese people prefer the current cycle, with no downtime between high school and college graduations, before they start working. Furthermore, although not relevant for non-Japanese people, beginning the school year of K–12 and college and the annual cherry blossom season is culturally significant among the Japanese.

In Japan, to internationalize the university, a shift of the academic calendar from April to fall (September or October) was suggested by the internal panel of the University of Tokyo.

Another concern is that shifting the academic calendar just at some universities will complicate the situation further. Unlike the University of Tokyo and some other institutions that aim for international competitiveness, most Japanese universities and colleges serve domestic students and, therefore, have no incentive to shift their academic calendar. Also, the major universities considering this shift, do face some disagreement about the method of implementation. For example, Waseda University, a leading private institution, developed a unique solution by partially introducing a quarter system for altering the academic calendar—to promote international exchanges and internationalization of the university.

If only a few universities shift their academic calendar, it could be confusing and problematic for students, the government, companies, and universities. For students who choose to attend universities in Japan that begin in September, their status during the gap term between high school graduation and university entrance is still unclear. The hiring schedule of university graduates at traditional Japanese companies need to become more flexible than the current rigid system, which hires employees only in April, to accommodate varying university graduation dates; otherwise, some students might face disadvantages. Between government and universities, the difference in fiscal year

and academic year at some universities might cause issues in budgeting and financial allocation.

ALTERNATIVES AND OTHER PROCEDURES

The University of Tokyo's report, the president of the university, and public opinion seem to agree that higher education internationalization cannot be achieved mainly by shifting of academic year. Rather, shifting the academic calendar should be discussed simultaneously, along with other types of reforms. Thus, to promote studying abroad among Japanese domestic students, the university could emphasize and improve internal support systems—such as securing study-abroad transfer credit, promoting smooth transitions through language preparation and pre- and post-orientations, and providing scholarship opportunities. However, to attract international scholars and students to Japan, the enhancement of educational quality and ways to overcome language barriers might be more critical than shifting the academic calendar. While differing the academic calendar might play a symbolic role in propelling overarching university reform, not addressing all other potential obstacles will not help the university to build up international competitiveness. Regardless of whether shifting the academic year is implemented or not, the University of Tokyo and other Japanese universities, as well as Japanese society, seriously need to assess the current situation and strategically plan the future direction of Japanese higher education. ∎

Declining Higher Education Quality Affects Postsecondary Choices: A Peruvian Case

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Few adolescents in the developing world receive sufficient guidance to make crucial life decisions during the transition from secondary to postsecondary education and into the labor market. Consequently, a significant number of graduates regret the decisions they make. The excessive rigidity of most higher education systems prevents lateral shifts between programs or from technical to university education. In addition, in Peru limited information about the range of programs and their labor market outcomes, combined with an increasing number of low-quality providers, contribute to the problem.

A recent survey of Peru's urban working-age population revealed that only 35 percent of young professionals (ages 22 to 30) were satisfied with the postsecondary choices they had made. This implies that, if given the opportunity, nearly two-thirds of young professionals would choose another career or institution, a different degree (university or technical), or would have entered the labor market directly after completing their secondary education.

Why are so many students dissatisfied? According to the data: a significant proportion of the graduates of technical school programs would have chosen a university degree (42%); and a large proportion of university graduates regret their choice of institution (an increase from 11% to 23%, during the last decade).

The first result is a consequence of a structural problem within Peruvian higher education: the system is highly fragmented. The lack of integration means that while university graduates can pursue postgraduate education, technical education is effectively terminal and such graduates seeking further schooling would need to begin postsecondary education again, basically from day one. The situation is made worse by the fact that professional and economic opportunities in the labor market are biased against graduates from the technical education sector.

Dissatisfaction with the choice of institution reflects another problem, common to many developing countries—the recent and rapid expansion of the private sector and its uncertain quality.

Enrollment vs. Quality

During the past 15 years, Peru has experienced a boom in private higher education supply. The number of private universities increased rapidly during the 1980s (an average of 1.7 new private university per year), but growth reached a historic peak (an average of 3.3 per year) during the following decade. Meanwhile, public universities were not able to respond to increased demand, due to budget constraints. As a result, the share of students enrolled in private universities now represents 60 percent of the total student population, up from only 40 percent in 1996.

This trend coincides with an important shift in incentives for higher education providers. In 1996, the Peruvian government passed a law (Legislative Decree 882) to promote private investment in education, which allowed private institutions to operate under the same rules as private businesses. These incentives, together with increased demand from families enjoying larger earnings (per capita gross domestic product grew 53% between 2000 and 2010), created attractive conditions for private providers. Private universities, created between 1996 and 2010, currently accommodate 134,370 students—concentrating 17 percent of the total university student population in these new institutions.

Most of the new private institutions operate for-profit and receive powerful incentives to maximize enrollment, since each additional student almost entirely renders profit, once fixed operating costs have been covered. Enrollment tends to concentrate in "popular" programs. Given the lack of career guidance, adolescents often choose these "popular" programs, with limited knowledge of future possibilities in the labor market. The risk is that for-profit providers will accommodate demand endlessly, without concern for employment outcomes unless restrained by external regulation.

If higher education quality is judged in part by whether graduates acquire the knowledge necessary to integrate successfully into the labor market, there is no reason why private providers should be more or less effective than public ones. Yet Peru lacks mechanisms to assess the future needs of the labor market, which might inform decisions about the creation of new higher education institutions and degree programs.

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Thus, the rapid expansion documented above has sparked three results that conspire against university education quality. A decline in selectivity: The average admissions ratio (the number of admitted students divided by the number of applicants) increased from 30 percent in 1996 to 45 percent in 2009. In a country with poor primary and secondary education (Peru ranked 63 and 64 out of 65 countries in the 2009 Program for International Student Assessment tests), this implies a decline in the level of basic skills of the average student.

In addition, there has been a shift in faculty composition, in favor of more part-time lecturers and fewer full-time professors. The percentage of full-time professors fell from 47 percent in 1996 to 35 percent in 2010. Currently, full-time professors in public universities represent 68 percent of their total faculty and in private universities, only 17 percent. This trend also implies a decline in research activity that has an effect on the analytical content of courses and lectures.

Degree offerings do not respond to the needs of the labor market. In other words, new institutions are most likely to offer popular programs that do not entail major investments in infrastructure or equipment. Business administration is currently the most popular career choice among high school graduates (accounting for more than 15% of total university enrollment). Not surprisingly, 70 percent of the new private universities offer programs in this area, despite the fact that nearly one-third of graduates with this profession are unemployed.

More Information and Better Decisions

Comprehensive information about labor market opportunities for graduates of different postsecondary programs constitutes a crucial element for measuring the effectiveness of higher education in any society but especially for developing countries. Peru has been lacking these data for too long. Perhaps, there was no need for this information when access to higher education in Peru was limited to a wealthy and better-informed elite.

The massification of higher education and the diversification of supply impose an urgent need for employment data. Unfortunately, data will be difficult to collect. Few higher education institutions in Peru follow their graduates' trajectory into the labor market. Alternatively, one could rely on income data from the taxation system but that would obtain an incomplete and biased picture, given the high degree of informality in the Peruvian labor market (two-thirds of all jobs). Household surveys should be undertaken to capture the employability and income differentials resulting from specific degree programs and institutions. This would provide more accurate information in developing countries with high levels of informality in the labor markets and little accountability from higher education institutions. Made public, this information would assist adolescents to make better choices, while creating incentives for higher education institutions to provide an education with more promising educational outcomes. As quality-assurance mechanisms are consolidated in the developing world, this kind of database can be complemented by information collected directly from higher education institutions about their programs, their faculty, infrastructure, and data about the employment of their graduates.

The alignment of higher education with labor market needs in developing countries merits a great deal of attention. Better data collection and the dissemination of this information are critical issues for improving the effectiveness of higher education. ∎

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Amano, Ikuo. *The Origins of Japanese Credentialism*. Melbourne, Australia: Trans-Pacific Press, 2011. 251 pp. $89.95 (hb). ISBN 978-1-92090-133-2. Web site: www.trans-pacificpress.com.

Amano, one of Japan's most distinguished sociologists wrote this classic study in 1981, and it is now available in English. The author traces the development of selection systems in Japanese education, discusses the public examination system, and in general provides an analysis of how Japan developed its focus on credentialism overtime.

Biggs, John, and Catherine Tang. *Teaching for Quality Learning at University*. Maidenhead, UK: Open Univ. Press, 2011. 389 pp. (pb). ISBN 978-0-33-524275-7. Web site: www.openup.co.uk.

This is the 4th edition of a widely used guide to teaching and learning quality. It is intended both as a "how to" book and also as a broader consideration of the key issues involved with teaching and learning. The volume focuses on designing outcomes-based programs and discusses other themes as well.

Capshaw, James H. *Herman B. Wells: The Promise of the American University*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana Univ. Press, 2012. 480 pp. $35 (hb). ISBN 978-0-253-35720-5. Web site: www.iupress.indiana.edu.

Wells, who was one of the "giants" of the building of America's research universities, served as president and chancellor of Indiana University for 63 years. This biography provides his own story as well as a discussion of the role of leadership in academic development.

Davies, Martin, Marcia Devlin, and Malcolm Tight, eds. *Interdisciplinary Higher Education: Perspectives and Practicalities*. Bingley, UK: Emerald, 2010. 349 pp. (hb). ISBN 978-0-85724-371-3.

This volume contains essays focusing on many aspects of interdisciplinary studies. Among the topics featured are developing student skills in interdisciplinary programs, health research from an interdisciplinary perspective, environmental curriculum design, and others.

Fethke, Gary C., and Andrew J. Policano. *Public No More: A New Path to Excellence for America's Public Universities*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 2012. 262 pp. (hb). ISBN 978-0-8047-8050-1. Web site: www:sup.org.

The authors argue about the changes that have taken place in American public higher education in recent years, most notably the dramatic decline of public support.

They advocate more financial and administrative autonomy for public universities, and more powerful administration, among other things.

Fitzgerald, Tanya, Julie White, and Helen M. Gunter. *Hard Labor? Academic World and the Changing Landscape of Higher Education.* Bingley, UK: Emerald, 2012. 205 pp. (hb). ISBN 978-0-78052-500-6.

A series of essays made the point that the conditions of academic work in Australia and the United Kingdom, and by implication in other countries, have recently deteriorated. Corporate styles of government, marketization, and the use of new public management in universities are purported to be responsible for many of these negative changes.

Fuller, Alison, Sue Heath, and Brenda Johnston, eds. *Rethinking Widening Participation in Higher Education: The Role of Social Networks.* New York: Routledge, 2011. 164 pp. (pb). ISBN 978-0-415-57564-5. Web site: www.routledge.com/education.

Examining the relevance of social networks—such as families, partners, and friends—to expand participation in higher education, this British-based study looks at this topic from a range of perspectives.

Ginsberg, Benjamin. *The Fall of the Faculty: The Rise of the All-Administrative University and Why It Matters.* New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2012. 248 pp. $29.95 (hb). ISBN 978-0-199782444. Web site: www.oup.com.

This book is written from the perspective of American research universities, but its theme is relevant globally. The author argues that research universities have traditionally benefited from "shared governance," in which the faculty have considerable authority and that in recent years that power has been largely ceded to administrators, to the detriment of the university.

Hartman, Eva, ed. *The Internationalization of Higher Education: Towards a New Research Agenda in Critical Higher Education Studies.* New York: Routledge, 2011. 151 pp. (hb). ISBN 978-0-415-67227-6. Web site: www.

routledge.com/education.

A series of essays focusing broadly on internationalization of higher education from a critical perspective, this volume features such themes as Brazilian higher education from a postcolonial perspective, internationalization in South Africa higher education, China's Confucius Institutes, globalizing and corporatization in British higher education, and others.

Higher Education in the World 4: Higher Education's Commitment to Sustainability—From Understanding to Action. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. 341 pp. (pb). ISBN: 978-0-230-53555-8. Web site: www.guninetwork.org.

The fourth in an annual series of comprehensive volumes prepared by the Global University Network for Innovation, this book focuses on the broad theme of sustainability—defined broadly in societal and ecological terms. Chapters discuss broad themes of sustainability and the global crisis. These are followed by explorations of what is happening in various regions in higher education.

Kezar, Adrianna, ed. *Embracing Non-Tenure Track Faculty: Changing Campuses for the New Faculty Majority.* New York: Routledge, 2012. 232 pp. (pb). ISBN 978-0-415-89114-1. Web site: www.routledge.com/education.

Focusing on the fact that a majority of new academic appointments to American universities are not on the traditional "tenure track," this volume focuses on nontenure stream faculty. The approach is practical—providing a discussion about how to best integrate these academics into academic institutions in the United States and Canada.

Kupfer, Antonia, ed. *Globalization, Higher Education, the Labor Market, and Inequality.* New York: Routledge, 2012. 230 pp. (bb). ISBN 978-0-415-69346-2. Web site: www.routledge.com/education.

Focusing on issues of global higher education inequality and labor markets, this book features discussion of such themes as the impact of tuition fees in Australia and

England, gender inequality and higher education careers, credential inflation in Japan, educational inequality and reform in New Zealand, and others. There is little relationship of the essays in this volume to globalization.

Locke, William, William K. Cummings, and Donald Fisher, eds. *Changing Governance and Management in Higher Education: The Perspectives of the Academy.* Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer, 2011. 390 pp. $139 (hb). ISBN 978-94-007-1139-6. Web site: www.springer.com.

This is the second volume in the series relating to the Changing Academic Profession study—a major survey of the attitudes of the academic profession worldwide. This book focuses on the views of the academic profession, concerning governance and management and how academics see administrators. Case studies from a dozen countries are included, as well as several comparative chapters.

MacFarlane, Bruce. *Intellectual Leadership in Higher Education: Renewing the Role of the University Professor.* New York: Routledge, 2012. 160 pp. (pb). ISBN 978-0-415-56082-5. Web site: www.routledge.com/education.

The author focuses on senior professors, a group at the heart of any effective university, who have been largely ignored in current debates about entrepreneurialism and globalization. He argues that the various roles of the professor as teacher, researcher, and academic citizen need to be better understood and carefully nurtured.

Martin, Robert E. *The College Cost Disease: Higher Cost and Lower Quality.* Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2011. 198 pp. $99.95 (hb). ISBN 978-1-84980-616-9. Web site: www.e-elgar.com.

There is considerable criticism in the United States of the increasing costs of tuition for higher education, especially among conservative policymakers and economists. This volume provides a clearly written argument that tuition costs have unnecessarily increased in recent years, further claiming the quality has declined as prices have risen.

Martínez-Alemán, Ana M. *Accountability, Pragmatic Aims, and the American University*. New York: Routledge, 2012. 136 pp. (pb). ISBN 978-0-415-99163-6. Web site: www.routledge.com/education.

Through philosophical and historical lenses, this analysis discusses the changes in views about teaching and learning and about accountability in American research universities. Using John Dewey's philosophy, the author argues for traditional academic values and critiques contemporary managerial trends.

Molesworth, Mike, Richard Scullion, and Elizabeth Nixon, eds. *The Marketization of Higher Education and the Student as Consumer*. New York: Routledge, 2012. 245 pp. (pb). ISBN 978-0-415-58447-0. Web site: www.routledge.com/education.

An effort to explain how market forces emerged in British higher education and how these forces are now shaping postsecondary education, the authors take a balanced perspective on a controversial topic. Among the topics considered are the roles of students as "consumers" in the marketized university, branding and its role, the political economy of student life, and others.

Pannikar, K. N., and M. Bhaskaran Nair, eds. *Globalization and Higher Education in India*. Delhi: Pearson, 2012. 266 pp. Rs. 799 (hb). ISBN 978-81-317-6116-8. Web site: www.pearsoned.co.in.

A wide-ranging discussion of important issues facing Indian higher education, some of which are directly related to globalization, this volume focuses on internationalization of Indian higher education, themes in the development of a knowledge society, intellectual property rights, public-private partnerships, minority rights and higher education, and related issues.

Pelfrey, Patricia A. *Entrepreneurial President: Richard Atkinson and the University of California, 1995–2003*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2012. 233 pp. $49.95 (hb). ISBN 978-0-520-27080-0. Web site: www.ucpress.edu.

An analysis of the presidency of Richard Atkinson at the University of California,

this volume provides insights into the management of a complex and distinguished university system through a discussion of several crises and how academic leadership responded to them.

Peterson, Patti McGill, ed. *Confronting Challenges to the Liberal Arts Curriculum: Perspectives of Developing and Transitional Countries*. New York: Routledge, 2012. 247 pp. $46.95 (pb). ISBN 978-0-415-50606.9. Web site: www.routledge.com/education.

The first comprehensive global analysis of liberal arts education, this book focuses especially on transitional and developing countries. The basic argument is that the liberal arts play a key role in higher education development and in creativity and critical thinking for students. The book provides case studies of key countries, including China, South Africa, Russia, India, Mexico, Turkey, and others.

Pierce, Susan Resnick. *On Being Presidential: A Guide for College and University Leaders*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2012. 208 pp. (hb). ISBN 978-1-118—2776-9. Web site: www.josseybass.com.

A guide to the complexities and challenges of the American university presidency, this book discusses such issues as fundraising, relations with governing boards, the multifaceted presidential role, and other themes. It is based on the experience of a university president and consultant. While related to the American system, this book will be relevant in some other countries.

Pinheiro, Rómulo, Paul Benneworth, and Glen A. Jones, eds. *Universities and Regional Development: A Critical Assessment of Tensions and Contradictions*. New York: Routledge, 2012. 265 pp. $170 (hb). ISBN 978-0-415-98355-8. Web site: www.routledge.com/education.

Assuming the increasing commercial and economic roles of higher education worldwide, this book examines the regional roles that universities play. Economic development is considered, but social and other roles are also part of the analysis. Most of the chapters discuss countries and regions, in-

cluding Poland, Moldova, Chile, and others. Themes such as the role of universities in agricultural development are also discussed.

Pusser, Brian, Ken Kempner, Simon Marginson, and Imanol Odorika, eds. *Universities and the Public Sphere: Knowledge Creation and State Building in the Era of Globalization*. New York: Routledge, 2012. 261 pp. $160 (hb). ISBN 978-0-415-87847-0. Web site: www.routledge.com/education.

A series of essays that take a critical stance toward global neoliberal trends in higher education, this book features discussion of neoracism among international students, the international student market, rankings from the perspective of Japan, the corporatization of national universities in Finland, neoliberal restructuring of higher education in South Africa, and others.

Sutin, Stewart E., Daniel Derrico, Rosalind Latiner Raby, and Edward J. Valeau, eds. *Increasing Effectiveness of the Community College Financial Model: A Global Perspective for the Global Economy*. New York: Palgrave, 2011. 296 pp. (hb). ISBN 978-0-230-10536-2. Web site: www.palgrave.com.

Although the subtitle of this book indicates that it has a global perspective, the large majority of the chapters concern the United States, although some authors relate their material to an international perspective. The focus on the community college is valuable, as little research is available on this key sector. Among the themes discussed are resource allocation and planning, facilities management, funding issues, and others. Case studies from China, the United Kingdom and several American states are included.

Temple, Paul, ed. *Universities in the Knowledge Economy: Higher Education and Global Change*. New York: Routledge, 2012. 247 pp. $170 (hb). ISBN 978-0-415-88466-2. Web site: www.routledge.com/education.

The focus of this book is on the role of the university as a producer and disseminator of knowledge, including the role of the university in the informal knowledge economy, Chinese universities in the knowl-

edge economy, universities and their contributions to regional economies, managing university partnerships with enterprises, university organization and knowledge production, and others.

Wankel, Charles, and Agata Stachowicz-Stanusch, eds. *Management Education for Integrity: Ethically Education Tomorrow's Business Leaders*. Bingley, UK: Emerald, 2011. 259 pp.(hb). ISBN 958-1-78052-068-1.

Focusing on ethics in management education, this volume provides a range of perspectives, mostly American, concerning this topic. Among the themes explored are transcending the amoral business curricula, a framework for ethics in management education, moral engagement, Spanish business education, integrity awareness in China, and others.

News of the Center

The Center's collaboration with the American Council on Education continues successfully. Our first *International Briefs for Higher Education Leaders,* combined with an ACE-sponsored webinar, focused on China. The second *Brief* in the series focused on "Global Engagement: New Modalities" and was published in November 2012, with an accompanying webinar. We are now working our third publication, which highlights India.

Working with the Program on Innovation, Higher Education and Research for Development (IHERD) of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, the Center sponsored an invitation-only workshop at Boston College in October on "Research University Networking for Development." The workshop brought together 40 experienced scholars and policy analysts as well as emerging experts from 20 countries to focus on the role of research universities in the development process. The Center's collaborative project with the National Research University-Higher School of Economics in Moscow, which highlights career opportunities and working conditions of new faculty members in 10 different countries, is proceeding. A working meeting in Moscow, held in October 2012, reviewed the research produced for this project. A final report will be produced in 2013.

Philip G. Altbach spoke at the Beijing Forum in October and was keynote speaker at the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry annual conference in New Delhi. He also spoke at the National University of Educational Policy and Administration. His book, *A Half-Century of Indian Higher Education: Essays by Philip G. Altbach*, edited by Pawan Agarwal, was published by Sage Publishers in India. Laura E. Rumbley represented CIHE at the 3rd International Conference of the Russian Association of Higher Education Researchers, in Moscow on October 19–20, 2012, and the 24th annual conference of the European Association for International Education (EAIE), held in Dublin in September.

Center graduate assistant Yukiko Shimmi copresented a paper (with former CIHE graduate assistant Kara Godwin) at the 2012 annual conference of the Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE) in Las Vegas in November.

The Center's collaboration with C-BERT (Cross-Border Education Research Team) at the State University of New York at Albany, managed by graduate assistant David Stanfield, is now operating.

The Center welcomes Fulbrighter Szilvia Barta as a visiting scholar during the period of January–June 2013.

Corrections to: "The Study-Abroad Fever among Chinese Students" by Zha Qiang.

In Number 69, pp. 15 & 16: the sentence that reads "Chinese higher education enrollment grew at an annual rate of 46.2 percent between 1998 and 2010" should have read "...of 17 percent between 1998 and 2010." Also, "Qian Xuesheng" should have been "Qian Xuesen."

Join the American Council on Education (ACE) and CIHE for an upcoming webinar:

India: The Next Frontier
Thursday, April 25, 2013
2:00–3:30 pm EDT

Expert panelists will discuss the Indian higher education system, and opportunities for US institutions to establish partnerships and work effectively with Indian counterparts. Participants will receive a printed brief featuring 12 related articles prior to the webinar, and will have the opportunity to pose questions to the panelists.

This webinar and *Brief* are part of the "International Briefs for Higher Education Leaders" series co-sponsored by ACE and CIHE.

Contact the American Council on Education's Center for Internationalization and Global Engagement for more information about webinar registration: cige@acenet.edu.

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The Center For International Higher Education (CIHE)

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

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

CIHE Web Site

The different sections of the Center Web site support the work of scholars and professionals in international higher education, with links to key resources in the field. All issues of International Higher Education are available online, with a searchable archive. In addition, the International Higher Education Clearinghouse (IHEC) is a source of articles, reports, trends, databases, online newsletters, announcements of upcoming international conferences, links to professional associations, and resources on developments in the Bologna Process and the GATS. The Higher Education Corruption Monitor provides information from sources around the world, including a selection of news articles, a bibliography, and links to other agencies. The International Network for Higher Education in Africa (INHEA), is an information clearinghouse on research, development, and advocacy activities related to postsecondary education in Africa.

The Program in Higher Education at the Lynch School of Education, Boston College

The Center is closely related to the graduate program in higher education at Boston College. The program offers master's and doctoral degrees that feature a social science–based approach to the study of higher education. The Administrative Fellows initiative provides financial assistance as well as work experience in a variety of administrative settings. Specializations are offered in higher education administration, student affairs and development, and international education. For additional information, please contact Dr. Karen Arnold (arnoldk@bc.edu) or visit our Web site: http://www.bc.edu/schools/lsoe/.

Opinions expressed here do not necessarily reflect the views of the Center for International Higher Education.