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From Higher to Tertiary Education: Where Do We Go from Here?

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The OECD's 1998 publication, *Redefining Tertiary Education*, spoke of "a sweeping shift in orientation toward even higher levels of participation, driven strongly by demands reflecting the diverse interests of clients rather than the supply-led, institution-directed expansion witnessed previously." In opting for the term "tertiary education" rather than "higher education" or "postsecondary education," the OECD report refers not only to increased participation from learners with a wider range of backgrounds, ages, and interests in a diverse array of learning options. The new orientation points to a provision that is more inclusive, focuses more on learners, and shifts from a hierarchy of programs and institutions toward a breadth of flexible, transparent, interconnected, and recognized learning pathways. These directions are already reflected in new policy thinking in four areas: access and equity, standards and qualifications, partnerships and networks, and life-cycle financing.

Access and Equity

Once participation reaches 70 percent or more of a generation—as is now the case in Australia, Finland, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States—the transition between secondary education and tertiary-level studies becomes less meaningful as an indicator of access and equity. Further, the tendency for students to undertake studies in more than one program or to acquire more than one qualification means that participation and performance in a single program are insufficient as measures of access and success. Pathways are not equal. For some students, combining vocational and academic qualifications (as in France, Germany, Japan, or the Netherlands) or acquiring double degrees (as in Australia) improves immediate chances on the labor market and likely enhances long-term career prospects. Other students ranking lower in access qualifications or lacking resources may find themselves in second- or third-choice options that lead to "involuntary pathways," when failure requires a switch to another program.

New policy ideas focus on the progress of learners in study programs and through pathways. Policies that reflect these directions include the "10-point programme" in Belgium (Flemish Community) and a new modular approach in France that allows first-year university students to develop study skills, sample different subject areas, and receive credit toward a diploma in the chosen study field. In the United States, a more radical change in this direction would be to

incorporate "remedial education," which presently stands apart, into bachelor's degree programs. The general education component of the bachelor's degree would become the stage of learning where all students are brought up to an advanced level.

Standards and Formal Qualifications

Increased participation and diversity in tertiary-level studies make it more difficult to define and align programs and learning against a single, common standard. Growth in private and cross-border programs and the provision of ICT-based tertiary education add to the range of learning objectives and qualifications.

In the United Kingdom, Individual Learning Accounts, opened up in a bank by individual learners, are eligible for partial matching contributions from the government.

New policy approaches not only seek to recognize and foster such diversity but also to balance flexibility against the need for simplicity, clarity in intended learning outcomes, and quality assurance. Qualifications frameworks provide one means to recognize and foster learning across different types of tertiary education programs and from outside formal tertiary education. It has proved difficult to encompass the linkages in learning for a qualification on such frameworks, where recognition is given for mastery of specific skills acquired independently of each other, in any sequence and at any time. The new Irish Qualifications Authority may offer a more promising approach. It sits flexibly over several sector-based curriculum and qualification bodies and has a clear focus on the learner and learning.

Partnerships and Networks

Partnerships are not new: franchising and articulation arrangements and cooperation between universities are common and growing. New policy thinking advances purposeful strategies to shape partnerships or networks. Network Norway, for example, encompasses all tertiary education institutions in the country, so as to allow each institution to draw on the resources, expertise, and information available across the network. The Mjoes Commission, in its May 2000 report *Freedom with Responsibility*, anticipates the extension of this network outside of Norway's borders. The French government offers incentive funding to tertiary education institutions that work together through the infrastructure of a regional

pôle universitaire. Interinstitution cooperation often involves links with regional authorities and local industry.

Life-cycle Financing

Programs to enable students (or parents) to spread the learner's costs over time via savings instruments and loan or deferred payment arrangements are common in nearly all OECD countries. In the new policy thinking, some countries are considering ways to align financing with new patterns of participation over a lifetime. A 1997 green paper issued by the New Zealand Ministry of Education proposed the option of eligibility for further public subsidy for students enrolling *after a break in tertiary study*, in anticipation of retraining and upskilling needs (the proposal was not adopted). In the Netherlands, the Hermans Committee proposed providing each student with an account of NLG 20,400 to be applied to up to 4 years of study. Students would be eligible to draw on the

account over 10 years, provided that they commenced studies (entered the scheme) before age 25. In the United Kingdom, Individual Learning Accounts (ILAs), opened up in a bank by individual learners, are eligible for partial matching contributions from the government. Learners can draw on these accounts at any age to meet expenses for courses. Tertiary education institutions may develop modules eligible for ILA support, as can a wide range of other providers.

These policy initiatives—often innovative departures from long-standing approaches—reflect movement toward a tertiary education system that fully welcomes demand, encompasses systemwide and lifelong participation, and relies on flexible boundary-spanning partnerships and networks. There will be benefit to monitoring further policy development along these lines to judge how well the new policy thinking leads to and supports effective responses to changing expectations and circumstances. ■

The Impact of Consumerism, Capitalism, and For-profit Competition on American Higher Education

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American higher education is irretrievably immersed in a merciless marketplace. Increasingly, three aspects of that marketplace—consumerism, capitalism, and for-profit competition—are changing higher education and the way it does business. These three forces, and their implications for institutions and faculty, are described below.

The Triumph of Consumerism

Students have become customers, and colleges have become vendors. Increasingly, class attendance and participation are voluntary, arrival and departure times self-determined, and a passing grade is a student-consumer expectation. Now more than ever before, students believe the chief benefit of a college education is to increase earnings potential.

The competition for student-consumers has caused the vast majority of schools to bombard students with four-color brochures and promise such amenities as state-of-the-art weight rooms and entertainment centers. Price has become negotiable. Financial aid, alias tuition discount, has become as complicated and as competitive as haggling over the price of a new car. Auctioned tuition(s) and spammed applications to 100 institutions are just around the corner, with the quality of the customer (the best students) determining the quality of the product (the best universities, at the best prices).

The Lure of Capitalism

The costs of consumerism (such as marketing, discounting, and amenities), coupled with the decrease in state support and federally funded research, have made generating new revenue sources imperative. Both public and private colleges raise money through campaigns and annual funds. For example, more than 20 percent of all voluntary support now comes from corporate sponsorship, nonrefereed federal research dollars increased 250 percent from 1996 to 2000, and colleges and universities license logos and trademarks for every conceivable item from blazers to bloomers. Division I football and basketball games are played away or at neutral sites during primetime—however dark or cold—to maximize revenues, not student participation. Over 500 colleges have entered agreements with for-profit vendors to carry commercial advertisements on their websites in order to defray design and maintenance costs and to generate additional revenue.

For-profit, or publicly traded, corporations have entered the arena of higher education and plan to stay.

In addition, courses are now for sale. Corporations are sponsoring courses, in which students conduct market research or related work for the client. Saturn alone has funded more than 200 colleges. University business schools

have struck deals with corporations to create course materials for employee training and education, resulting in on-line, accredited MBAs. Pharmaceutical companies are striking deals to fund biology research budgets and faculty positions in return for first rights to license agreements on research discoveries. Finally, universities have established for-profit subsidiaries to function as financially self-sufficient teaching or research entities with streamlined governance structures. For example, Pennsylvania State University, New York University, the University of Maryland, Duke University, and Babson College all have commercial subsidiaries.

For-Profit Competitors

For-profit, or publicly traded, corporations have entered the arena of higher education and plan to stay. The major players include IT&T, Jones International University, DeVry, Sylvan Learning, Harcourt Brace, and the Apollo Group. DeVry has 15 U.S. campuses, which enroll 48,000 students in technical education and in management with the Keller Graduate School of Management. Sylvan Learning has established a foothold in international higher education with the purchase of a campus in Spain and with plans to purchase others soon. Harcourt Brace announced plans to open an on-line college this fall, offering two- and four-year degrees in Massachusetts with a goal of 20,000 students by 2005 and \$45 million in tuition revenue.

American higher education is irretrievably immersed in a merciless marketplace.

The Apollo Group, operator of the University of Phoenix, has been described as the “800-pound gorilla” in the postsecondary market and is expected to have a five-year earnings growth rate of 24.7 percent. Phoenix enrolls about 75,000 students—nearly 14,000 on-line—a 22 percent increase over last year, at some 51 campuses and 80 learning centers in 15 states, Puerto Rico, and Canada. The company’s on-line enrollments this year are up 44 percent to 13,779. To cite just one example of Phoenix’s market pull, there has been an 11 percent drop overall in the number of bachelor’s degrees awarded in business, yet the number of students enrolled in such programs at for-profit institutions has increased 180 percent; the number has tripled at the master’s degree level. Phoenix accounted for 3,261, or 58 percent, of the bachelor’s degrees in business from for-profit institutions, and for 2,087 master’s degrees in 1997.

Implications for Institutions

The increase in consumerism, capitalism, and for-profit competition will likely influence how higher education is organized, who is in charge, outcomes and expectations of higher education, and the distribution of resources and capital to institutions.

In the future, colleges and universities will have more subsidiary operations or financially self-sufficient teaching or research entities. They will function like universities within universities, similar to airlines within airlines (Metrojet within US Air). Likewise, there will be greater emphasis on increased efficiencies, especially among smaller private colleges. To stay competitive, independent colleges may have to join forces in a franchise system and share marketing costs, delivery systems, and curriculum development. The result may be academic ATM cards for students, guaranteeing admission to 40 affiliated private institutions for the price of one tuition.

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The more resource-thirsty the institution, the more the core of governance will shift away from faculty and the power of expertise to public agents (governing boards, legislatures, corporations, consumers, and donors) and the power of the purse.

Increased competition will place greater emphasis on outcomes as low-subsidy private colleges and most public colleges will be under intense pressure to demonstrate value added—to provide pervasive evidence that graduates can think logically, argue intelligently, write clearly, speak eloquently, work collaboratively, and earn a considerable income. Private colleges that add values as well as being value-added—whether religiously grounded or through mission and values—will enjoy a competitive advantage.

Moreover, institutions will be expected to produce more than learning outcomes. We are still at the dawn of academic entrepreneurship within the academy, and there will likely be more technology transfer, patent ownership, and business and technology licensing within higher education.

As higher education responds to these market forces, a greater divide between the have and have-not institutions will develop. Institutions with the most prestige and strongest brand name will have greater access to capital, and those without these assets will find their share of the market dwindling.

Implications for Faculty

As the courses of superstars are “unplugged” and offered on-line by for-profit companies worldwide, faculty teaching roles will change and there will be a decoupling of faculty from particular institutions.

The traditional control faculty exert over the curriculum design may become moot as colleges buy “Arthur Miller on a disk” or off-the-shelf products from brand-name curriculum factories like Amherst, Brown, or Williams. The strongest institutions will be these producers and wholesalers—the curriculum factories of the superstars. The rest will be the retailers with slimmer margins and greater dependency. While most faculty will become facilitators of these “world-class courses,” the faculty who provide the intellectual capital for these ventures may become free agents teaching at hundreds of colleges and universities at once for extraordinary income from royalties or licenses. The richer

the faculty member, the less value and claim tenure will hold. Joint appointments and regular movement between the academy and industry will increase as lines blur between independent and sponsored research, knowledge discovery, and knowledge transfer.

Conclusion

These trends and their impact on American higher education are likely to continue unless and until the higher education market responds negatively to runaway costs among high-end providers, to commercialization and profit motive in higher education, or to less-personalized, technology-driven delivery systems. None of these scenarios seem likely as long as the frontrunners, trend setters, and price leaders accumulate a greater advantage, or unless and until a demonstrable, empirical case can be made that any of these developments threaten the quality of higher education as gauged by any of its constituencies. ■

The Challenge of Lifelong Learning for Higher Education

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The Concept of Lifelong Learning

Supranational organizations like the OECD, UNESCO, and, in particular, the European Union are currently strongly promoting the concept of lifelong learning as a complement to the emergence of the “knowledge” society and the various social, economic, and educational changes it seems to entail. Many national governments in Europe have adopted the issue and given it a much more prominent position on their political agendas. Now more than ever, as centers of knowledge production and dissemination, higher education institutions are expected to play an important role in the provision and delivery of lifelong learning opportunities.

Within the context of lifelong learning, new objectives of education are being addressed. Beyond personal development with a reference to the individual, there are also additional objectives like social cohesion (in reference to society) and economic growth (in reference to market forces). Although a variety of interpretations are connected to the concept of lifelong learning, its core characteristics can be summarized as follows: a strong emphasis on the intrinsic rather than the instrumental value of education and learning; universal access to learning opportunities; recognition of learning in diverse settings and not only in educational institutions; learning throughout the lifespan; a diversity of methods of teaching and learning and modes of delivery unlike conventional education; a shift in emphasis from learning substance to learning process; and a

shift from teaching to learning and from supply to demand in educational provisions.

Now more than ever, as centers of knowledge production and dissemination, higher education institutions are expected to play an important role in the provision and delivery of lifelong learning opportunities.

A recently completed research project about the implications of lifelong learning for universities in the EU, analyzing and comparing lifelong learning policies and practices in seven EU member states, has revealed considerable gaps between the rhetoric about and actual implementation of lifelong learning. These gaps are due to high expectations combined with a number of conceptual dilemmas and inconsistencies in developing relevant policies.

Dilemmas and Inconsistencies

The inconsistencies in lifelong learning as a concept derive from the fact that it is supposed to serve a number of contradictory objectives: as an instrument to enhance democratization, equality of opportunity, and social cohesion and as a way to improve the development of human resources (in EU policy terminology, “employability”) in response to the demands of globalization and economic competitiveness. These dual aims of promoting equal-

ity and enhancing competitiveness not only interfere with the traditional notions of a university education dedicated to the pursuit and dissemination of knowledge and truth, it is also doubtful that these aims can be realized at the same time and in the same institutional setting without compromising one or the other.

The concept of knowledge within the framework of lifelong learning is informed by at least three different value patterns.

The concept of knowledge within the framework of lifelong learning is informed by at least three different value patterns: a democratic concept of knowledge to enhance social inclusion, cohesion and participation; an economic concept of knowledge that serves income generation, wealth creation, and global competitiveness; and a concept of knowledge in which knowledge production in itself forms the point of departure.

It might be said, therefore, that lifelong learning tends to contribute to the fragmentation of knowledge, while at the same time enhancing the appropriation of knowledge by individual learners.

Implications for Higher Education

The concept of lifelong learning and related policies have a number of implications for the structure of higher education institutions and the organization of knowledge. Creating more learning opportunities for new and different categories of students means that students will no longer all start from a broadly shared knowledge base but will instead have acquired their knowledge from multiple sources and diverse types and fields of knowledge (family, work experience, etc.). The idea of exempting students from certain parts of a degree program—piloted in France and the United Kingdom—by accrediting their learning outside the academic system implies a shift toward varied and, to some extent, externally determined definitions of what constitutes a curriculum and, more importantly, a degree.

Accreditation of work-based and experiential learning threatens the legitimacy of knowledge organization in universities by replacing the regulating powers of disciplines and collegiality with multidisciplinary, dynamic, and more transient forms of knowledge formation. This shift is reinforced by the requirement that universities develop demand-led provisions of lifelong learning rather than continuing to offer supply-led forms, or—as is the case in Norway and Sweden—providing educational services that have been contracted or commissioned by companies for their employ-

ees. Thus, the core functions of a curriculum will likely become the transmission and appropriation of transferable skills and competences that can be widely used and applied

The shift from knowledge to (transferable) skills parallels the shift from content to process. This implies a more action-oriented concept of knowledge in which issues of “learning to learn”—understanding one’s own learning processes and identifying knowledge gaps and progress—will move into the foreground. The development of skills for learning seems to be a reaction to the growing obsolescence of established knowledge, which seems to be one of the key features of knowledge in the information society.

This shift in focus from knowledge to skills will also create new roles for teachers and learners. Teachers’ expertise in higher education will no longer rest solely upon advanced specialist knowledge grounded primarily in discipline-based study and research but also upon an understanding of learning processes and the ability to convey the transferability of their knowledge to a range of problems outside the academic world. Teachers will become “facilitators,” helping learners to become “reflective practitioners.” Not only will “knowing” be conceptualized as various forms of action (problem solving, decision making, etc.), but it will also cut through traditional distinctions between theory and practice, knowledge and skills.

These are but a few of the implications of lifelong learning and the new concepts of knowledge linked to it. If knowledge becomes a substantially more social and more directly economic production, what can, should, or must universities do to secure their institutional and functional survival?

Lifelong Learning as Threat or Challenge?

The European comparative study about the implications of lifelong learning for universities has shown one clear trend in all seven of the countries included. Regardless of the varying extent to which traditional notions of continuing (professional) education are integrated and accepted within the frameworks of university education, institutions typically tend to react to the new challenges linked to the concept of lifelong learning and its implications for the organization of knowledge in two ways. On the one hand, they realize that rejecting the idea of lifelong learning has become “politically incorrect” and have adopted it on a policy level. In the absence of any real leadership, however, institutions often struggle with lack of structures, funds, and incentives. The demand to implement the new concepts linked to the idea of lifelong learning is often met by rhetoric and a simple replacement of the term “continuing education” by that of “lifelong learning” without any change in practices and provisions. On the other hand, many diverse pilot projects, experiments, and new models are integrating the concept of lifelong learning into university programs

and making it part of the structure of tertiary education. Examples include the United Kingdom and France, which are quite advanced in the development of procedures to recognize and accredit work-based learning; Germany, which has numerous special university provisions for senior citizens; Greece, which has established an open university; and Sweden and Norway, which tend

to rely on their established quota systems for older students. Despite continuing skepticism among academic teachers, the issue of lifelong learning has become part of the ongoing reform agenda in Europe, part of efforts universities are undertaking to improve their interaction and cooperation with their environment and with a wider range of external stakeholders. ■

Should Universities in Developing Countries Stop Doing R&D?

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As we witness the transformation of many developed nations into knowledge-based societies, the difficulties for developing countries trying to catch up seem insurmountable. Research universities—along with other public- and private-sector institutions in the industrialized world—continue to develop technology products at unprecedented pace. At present, the world is thus observing how the gulf between developed and developing countries keeps widening. While industrialized nations such as the United States, Japan, and the countries in Western Europe invest between 2 and 3 percent of their GDP in research and development (R&D), the countries of the developing world rarely reach 1 percent on the same indicator. The close link between industry and university R&D in the developed world makes scientific and technological research an important tool for economic development. More often than not, however, university R&D in developing nations lacks effective demand from local industry, making it basically academia oriented. This situation is especially disturbing when university research does not contribute significantly to the solution of urgent local societal needs.

Some countries of the Third World are trying to replicate the successful experiences of Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Malaysia, countries that have proven that it is possible to achieve economic growth based on the contributions of local R&D. It has not been possible thus far to achieve successful results because the coordination of government, universities, and local industry in a clear innovative strategy has not occurred. As a consequence, the viability of developing countries' R&D is an issue of growing concern among scholars, scientists, and policymakers.

Latin America and, more particularly, Argentina and Mexico, are cases that illustrate the current situation of R&D within the developing world. The knowledge produced in Latin America represents less than 3 percent of the world's sci-

entific production. This is not surprising given its low investment in R&D. Public expenditures in R&D of all Latin American countries are equivalent to the expenses in R&D of merely a couple of multinational corporations. In Argentina and Mexico—the countries in the region that (along with Brazil) have a tradition of and personnel in R&D—R&D investments have remained significantly low (less than 0.5 percent of GDP). The number of scientists and engineers in R&D is also low (between 14,000 and 16,500), while in the industrialized countries it reaches figures above 50,000. Other indicators show that most R&D funds in Argentina and Mexico come from public money (more than 80 percent). There are very few graduates at the doctoral level training for careers in research. Consequently, with very limited resources and small R&D communities, the output is irrelevant when measured by the number of patents granted to residents and nonresidents. In relation to this indicator, royalties and license fees payments are much higher than receipts.

It remains to be seen whether the current globalization process and the growing availability of technology communication and information constitute a real chance to overcome the lack of relevance that local R&D has had so far in the developing world.

It is also worth mentioning that R&D in Argentina and Mexico occurs at the large, publicly funded universities. Argentina's University of Buenos Aires (UBA) and Mexico's National Autonomous University (UNAM) are, along with Brazil's University of Sao Paulo and University of Campinas, among the most prestigious institutions for scientific research in Latin America. Despite having the oldest research tradition and employing the largest number of scientists (many of whom are highly distinguished), UBA and UNAM are also too large, with enrollments near and above 200,000 students, respectively, and are plagued by tight budgets, excessive bureaucracy, overpoliticization, weak

links with local industry, and so on. As is the case with most Latin American institutions of higher education, UBA and UNAM share a strong professional orientation that can be observed in their schools of engineering, medicine, law, accounting, and philosophy and letters. In most of these schools R&D constitutes only a marginal activity.

With all the enormous problems exemplified by these universities and the marginal role that local R&D plays in addressing societal needs, the question arises over whether universities in developing countries should stop doing R&D. There is, of course, no easy answer to this dilemma, since the creation and diffusion of knowledge remain among the principal missions of the modern university. Likewise, some of the large, public institutions possess important research facilities and equipment that have been accumulated over decades. Several universities also employ significant numbers of scientists and technicians whose training (frequently obtained at prestigious universities in industrialized nations) represent a significant investment in money and time. All these resources must not be wasted. Two approaches exist to make local R&D more relevant. First, local R&D should be

focused on the creation and consolidation of “niches,” in which a number of scientists and technologists concentrate on specific areas and become highly competitive in those fields. Second, R&D efforts should also be directed to the solution of the most urgent needs of the local society—such as health, energy, food, education and pollution.

It remains to be seen whether the current globalization process and the growing availability of technology communication and information constitute a real chance to overcome the lack of relevance that local R&D has had so far in the developing world. It is possible that the existing gap between the industrialized and the developing nations will widen as a result of technology. The risks of losing track in the present vertiginous knowledge race is more real than ever, as information goes back and forth from one point to the other in the world at unprecedented speed. Thus researchers and technologists in developing countries must take advantage of communications networks to maintain and improve the exchanges with the world's prime places of R&D, thus avoiding the perils of moving from marginalization to exclusion. ■

Attitudes About International Education in the United States

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Dramatic geopolitical shifts and technological expansion during the last century have prompted much discussion about the role of higher education in preparing a more globally literate national citizenry. But to what end? Today, evidence suggests that few postsecondary graduates have adequate understanding of the world beyond U.S. borders, speak another language with any degree of fluency, or can function competently in different cultures.

To better understand and promote international education in the United States, the American Council on Education (ACE), the umbrella organization for over 1,800 colleges and universities and nearly 200 national and regional higher education associations and organizations, has launched a multiyear initiative aimed at mapping current international activity and stimulating campus dialogue about what constitutes effective international education. Documents recently published by the ACE provide some introductory insights into international activity nationwide as well as public perception of its importance.

Public Opinion on International Education

Despite at times conflicting accounts from the media and various political authorities, a popular consensus seems to exist

that international education at the postsecondary level is important. In a random telephone survey of 1,000 Americans over the age of 18 conducted for the ACE in September 2000, respondents indicated that international education was an important personal and national concern.

- Knowledge about international issues is important, especially for future generations. Over 50 percent of respondents believed it was important personally; almost 90 percent considered it important for their children or young people today.
- Colleges and universities should require international training for students and provide them with international skills and knowledge. Over 70 percent of the sample said students should be required to study a foreign language in college if they did not already know one. More than three out of four supported requiring students to take international courses.
- College and university students should have an international experience as part of their overall education. Over 70 percent of the respondents agreed that students should have a study, work, or internship experience abroad sometime during their postsecondary studies.
- More than 75 percent of those asked specified that international education opportunities would be an important consideration in selecting a college or university.

A companion survey of 500 high school seniors intending to enroll at a four-year college or university produced similar findings, confirming a broad national base of support for international education. Conducted by the ACE and the Arts & Science Group, Inc./*studentPOLL*, the random national poll found that:

- Incoming freshmen believe it is important that colleges and universities offer international experiences and opportu-

nities. Over 80 percent of those responding believed it important that colleges and universities offer opportunities to interact with students from other countries. Nearly 75 percent felt it important that their college offer courses on international topics. Over 70 percent said it was important that their institution offer study abroad programs.

- The majority of freshmen plan on studying international topics and having international experiences during their programs of study. Nearly 60 percent said they plan to study a foreign language. Half of the respondents indicated that they intend to take courses that focus on the history or culture of another country, and almost half (48 percent) noted that they hoped to study abroad.

- International experiences are not uncommon among incoming freshman. Of the students surveyed, 98 percent had studied a foreign language in high school, over half had traveled outside the United States, and more than three out of four had had some sort of international experience.

International Education in Overview

How do these findings correspond with current practice? Despite current rhetoric, a recently completed ACE report, *Internationalization of U.S. Higher Education: Preliminary Status Report 2000*, on the status of international education at U.S. colleges and universities shows that the state of internationalization nationally remains low and that little improvement has been made over the past decade. Major findings of the report include:

- Foreign-language study and competency has decreased dramatically, with requirements in 4-year institutions dropping from 34 percent in 1965 to just over 22 percent in 1995. Total enrollments in foreign-language study have declined from a high of 16 percent of total enrollments in the 1960s to a current average of less than 8 percent. Of those students studying a foreign language, less than 40 percent continue past the introductory level.

- Very few students study abroad. Despite recent optimism about participation levels, less than 114,000 of the country's 14 million plus postsecondary student population studied abroad in 1999—or less than 1 percent. Less than 3 percent of American students study abroad over the course of their higher education programs. Also, there is a trend toward shorter study abroad experiences.

- Current classroom and other activities provide students with only rudimentary international skills and competencies. Less than 7 percent of all higher education students were able to meet even the basic standards of “global preparedness,” according to a scale that defined preparedness as four or more credits of international studies and a certain number of years of foreign-language study.

- Federal funding for international education has declined over the past decade. The Department of State's Fulbright program has borne a 43 percent reduction in constant dollar funding since 1994. State-level funding has similarly declined.

Making the Rhetoric a Reality

These findings and others suggest an unfortunate dichotomy in current higher education practice: while there is significant public support for international education opportunities, little of substance is actually being done and postsecondary graduates remain at best poorly prepared for work requiring some international perspective.

To be sure, higher education has a complicated set of competing values and interests, disciplinary and institutional traditions, and funding. Forcing a new set of educational expectations, like internationalization, into this mix is thus no mean task. Still, as the cultures and peoples of the world continue to intermingle with increasing frequency, pressures will intensify to promote international understanding.

In this changed environment, colleges and universities, as keepers and transmitters of knowledge, must find ways to modify their educational offerings. Those that do not run the risk of obsolescence in an educational marketplace that increasingly values graduates who can speak multiple languages and are cross-culturally competent. ■

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Student Loans in Comparative and International Perspective

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In higher education systems across the world, the trend toward increased cost sharing in public universities and the growth of private institutions have led to the creation of many ways to assist students in paying ever more of their own education and related expenses. These modes of assistance fall into two categories: grants and loans—though it could be argued that service agreements, in which a student's education expenses are paid in return for work or public or military service, constitute a third major category of aid. Both grant and loan programs draw support from a variety of sources—public, private, nonprofit, and nongovernmental. Grants are essentially gifts, whether to help the brightest, the poorest, the most interesting, the most enterprising, the most well-connected, or simply the luckiest students. Student loans, however, are not as easy to characterize. Depending on the terms, a loan may resemble a grant or may actually increase the cost of higher education over time. Inflation and other unpredictable economic vagaries can also contribute to that outcome. The institutions that capitalize and administer student loans can do so out of benevolence or out of a desire to turn a profit. While student loans can be an effective equity tool to help students who otherwise could not afford higher education, their cost and difficulty of procurement may negate any equity effect. Student loans seem to defy straightforward analysis.

Student loans as an instrument of financial aid are all the more curious when we consider the findings of research on student loans and the practice of lending. The literature tells us that—especially in developing coun-

tries or in times of high inflation—student loans are not always an efficient or even a practical way to assist students in gaining access to and paying for their education.

In higher education systems across the world, the trend toward increased cost sharing in public universities and the growth of private institutions have led to the creation of many ways to assist students in paying ever more of their own education and related expenses.

Administration of student loans is often said to be complicated and expensive, while student tracking and repayment can often be difficult or impossible to ensure. Indeed, the literature cites program cost and student default to be the top reasons for program failure. Nevertheless, student loan programs continue to proliferate with each program attempting to beat the odds. What is so appealing about student loan programs? Is it the notion of student self-help or the idea that lending institutions might be able to save or even make money from such an enterprise? Whatever the reasons, student loan programs continue to be a growing presence in higher education the world over. It is for this reason that we hope to capture some of our information about student loan programs. We hope that these short contributions will stimulate discussion and analysis so that we can refine our understanding of student loans—their role, advantages, drawbacks, and general character. ■

Student Loans: The World Bank Experience

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An International Perspective

Student loan schemes exist in more than 60 countries, making them an increasingly important financing mechanism for higher education. Traditionally, public agencies have run student loan programs, but in recent years new loan agents have appeared: commercial banks, for-profit

private agencies, and nonprofit institutions. Many schemes are national in scope, but in the State of Sonora a very effective public agency has operated since 1981. In Brazil, in the State of Rio Grande do Sul, a group of alumni created a successful student loan foundation in the 1970s (FUNDAPLUB). Student loan institutions (SLIs) worldwide are funded by the following sources: governments, students, firms, alumni, and international agencies. In addition to the repayments by beneficiaries and income generated through their own financial investments, public agencies often receive additional funding through budgetary contributions, either from the national government or

from a provincial government. Other possible sources are proceeds from a national lottery (Brazil), a payroll tax (Panama), a tax on profits of commercial banks (Costa Rica), and a gambling tax (Hong Kong).

In a 1992 World Bank review (*Deferred Cost Recovery for Higher Education*) of international experience with student loan schemes in industrialized and developing countries, authors Albrecht and Ziderman found mixed results. Because of heavily subsidized interest rates, high default rates, and high administrative costs (up to 25 percent in many Latin American schemes), the repayment rate of loans has not been significant. In many cases, it would have been cheaper to substitute loans with outright grants. Even those loan programs that have functioned reasonably well in developing countries—such as ICETEX in Colombia, CONAPE in Costa Rica, or FUNDAPEC in the Dominican Republic—are relatively small in scale.

A number of countries are adopting income-contingent loan systems, in which loan repayments are a fixed proportion of a graduate's annual income. The administration of income-contingent loan systems is generally simpler and cheaper than with other systems, because loan repayment and recovery is handled through existing collection mechanisms (e.g., tax administration, the social security system). Income-contingent loans are also more equitable, since graduates' payments are in direct proportion to their income. The student support system in Sweden, for example, minimizes the risk of student default by limiting repayments to 4 percent of income after graduation. Ghana collects payments through the national social security system. In Australia, income-linked loan payments are made through the tax system. Even though income-contingent loans offer considerable promise, their feasibility depends heavily on the existence of a reliable income tax or social security system.

The collection of delinquent loans can be enforced through moral persuasion, legal suits, credit blacklisting, the publication of a "shame" list, or the seizure of collateral assets.

World Bank Experience

The World Bank's first association with student loans came in 1992, with a project to assist the conversion of the Venezuelan Scholarship Foundation, FUNDAYACUCHO, into a SLI. The Bank is presently supporting the establishment or strengthening of SLIs in Jamaica, Brazil, Mexico, Hungary, Bulgaria, and China.

SLIs can face bottlenecks along any one of the following dimensions: demand, funding and coverage, financial viability, and targeting. Demand problems occur when students are unaware that loans are available or when the financial products offered are not attractive. Students need to know of the existence of the program and understand the obligations involved (grace period, repayment obligations, interest rate, etc.). The attractiveness of student loans is determined by cultural factors such as attitudes toward borrowing and risk aversion, by the economic terms of the loans, and by the credibility of the student loan agency.

Funding problems reflect constraints on the availability of financial resources to offer new loans and to expand coverage. To compensate for declining public resources, the more enterprising SLIs tap funds from private sources. ICETEX in Colombia and FUNDAPEC in the Dominican Republic administer trust funds for student loans on behalf of companies and philanthropists.

If loan programs are to be financially viable in the long term, interest rates must be raised to compensate for inflation and keep returns positive in real terms. FUNDAPEC is one of the few private student loan agencies operating successfully with a positive interest rate. As part of a reform supported by the World Bank, the Sonora Institute has also raised its interest rate to eliminate the 20 percent subsidy introduced in the aftermath of the Mexican peso crisis of December 1994.

Loan programs require effective collection mechanisms. The Sonora Student Loan Institute has managed to keep defaults at acceptable levels (12 percent), thanks to an efficient management information system and a philosophy of personalized relations with the beneficiaries. By contrast, FUNDAYACUCHO in Venezuela was regarded for a long period as a lenient institution that did not care about loan collection.

The collection of delinquent loans can be enforced through moral persuasion, legal suits, credit blacklisting, the publication of a "shame" list, or the seizure of collateral assets. The feasibility and effectiveness of each approach depends on each country's cultural norms and legal practices. In Colombia, one of the better private universities (Universidad de los Andes) works closely with the ICETEX to encourage its graduates to keep current with their loan repayment obligations. The design of the SOFES student loan agency in Mexico presents innovative features to minimize the financial impact of default. Each of the 32 private universities who own SOFES is directly responsible for on-time repayment of the loans contracted by its individual students.

Targeting is an issue if there is leakage, when the social characteristics of the selected beneficiaries do not correspond to the planned distribution of recipients. The Student Loan Bureau of Jamaica has had a higher than expected

proportion of beneficiaries from the wealthiest quintiles. Rigorous selection and screening criteria are needed to address targeting issues. In countries without reliable income tax data, SLIs have no choice but to use indirect parameters such as data on family assets and educational background, in order to screen applicants properly.

Overly stringent guarantee conditions can also eliminate applicants from the poorest families. In Poland, where in 1998 the government established a student loan scheme managed through commercial banks, many eligible students were turned down because they were unable to satisfy the guarantee conditions imposed by the banks. To address this issue, SLIs can establish a guarantee fund to help those students from the lower income groups that find it difficult to secure adequate collateral. Such a guarantee fund was built into the design of SOFES, the new student loan agency in Mexico set up by the Federation of Private Universities.

Beyond their primary social role of providing financial aid, loan programs can also have a positive impact on the quality of higher education through the eligibility criteria imposed on both beneficiaries and participating institutions.

Finally, it is worth underlining that SLIs are extremely sensitive to sudden shifts in economic conditions. The Mexican peso crisis in December 1994 forced the Sonora Institute to lower its interest rate to protect students from high inflation, which worked to the detriment of the Institute's financial viability. The Argentinean student loan body, INCE, went into bankruptcy in the late 1980s, a direct casualty of the hyperinflation period. The 1998 downturn in the Colombian economy, combined with ill-advised financial investments, has forced ICETEX to reduce its coverage, from 12 percent down to 8 percent of the student population.

Conclusion

By their very nature, SLIs face a perpetual dilemma. As instruments of equity promotion, they serve an important social purpose in providing funding to students from low income groups. As financial institutions, they must operate in a sustainable manner. These two inherently antagonistic objectives are difficult to reconcile.

Beyond their primary social role of providing fi-

ancial aid, loan programs can also have a positive impact on the quality of higher education through the eligibility criteria imposed on both beneficiaries and participating institutions. Also, because they are more aware of the value of their education, student loan beneficiaries often achieve better academic results than their peers who have not received loans. ■

Financing Higher Education: The Potential Contribution of Fees and Student Loans

Maureen Woodhall

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Significant shifts have recently taken place in attitudes of governments, international agencies, and donors toward higher education. Optimism and growth in the 1960s and 1970s, when budget allocations for education tended to rise, driven both by rising social demand and by belief in the economic benefits of investment in human capital, gave way in the 1980s to stagnant or declining budgets, as governments in many parts of the world grappled with political and economic crises, structural adjustment, and widespread poverty and unemployment. At the same time, many donors switched priorities and emphasis away from higher to primary education, partly as a result of arguments that primary education was a more profitable social investment than higher education.

Demands of the "Knowledge Economy"

In the 1990s the balance again shifted, as increased emphasis on the "knowledge economy" and on the social and economic benefits of higher education led to reassessment of its role and to pressure for expansion, more equitable access, and improvements in quality of higher education. The recent report, published by the World Bank, *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise*, by the Task Force on Higher Education and Society, argued that "Higher education simultaneously improves individual lives and enriches the wider society, indicating a substantial overlap between private and public interests." At a time of severe financial constraints, however, the crucial question is how these "overlapping interests" should shape the financing of higher education, in particular what should be the

role of cost sharing. The fact that university graduates can expect better job opportunities and higher lifetime earnings than those with only primary or secondary schooling has been widely used by governments and international agencies to support greater cost sharing in higher education, through tuition fees and student loans, rather than grants or bursaries, to provide financial support for students.

The fact that university graduates can expect better job opportunities and higher lifetime earnings than those with only primary or secondary schooling has been widely used by governments and international agencies to support greater cost sharing in higher education.

Higher education in many countries is still mainly concentrated in public universities and largely publicly financed, but the 1990s saw two significant changes in many industrialized and developing countries: first, the growth of private institutions and, second, financial diversification in public institutions, through introduction of or increases in tuition fees, and increased reliance on nongovernment sources of funding, including research and consultancy income and income generation.

Privatization

With increasing recognition that private institutions can play an important role in meeting excess demand for higher education many countries now permit or even encourage the growth of private universities, colleges, or other post-secondary institutions. New private universities have been established in several African countries, including Kenya, Mozambique, Uganda and Zimbabwe; in Asia, including China, Indonesia, Thailand and Vietnam; and in many European transition economies. In some cases the growth in private enrollments has been dramatic.

Another common development has been the growth of cost recovery in public institutions.

Cost Recovery for Public Institutions

Another common development has been the growth of cost recovery in public institutions. The Task Force report describes how the University of Makerere in Uganda “moved

from a situation where none of its students paid fees to one where more than 70 percent do. Where previously the government covered all running costs, now more than 30 percent is internally generated,” and concluded that this experience “puts to rest the notion that the state must be the sole provider of higher education in Africa.” University tuition fees have become a contentious issue in recent years in countries as diverse as Hungary, India, Russia, South Africa, the United Kingdom, and Vietnam. So far, the overall contribution of cost recovery is relatively small in many of these countries, but as demand for higher education increases, the pressure to relieve financial burdens on government, by introducing or increasing tuition fees, is likely to grow.

Attempts to shift part of the costs of higher education from the state to students or parents has reemphasized the crucial role of financial support for students, and there has been growing interest in student loans to supplement or replace grants.

Attempts to shift part of the costs of higher education from the state to students or parents has reemphasized the crucial role of financial support for students, and there has been growing interest in student loans to supplement or replace grants. The World Bank’s report, *Higher Education: The Lessons of Experience*, argued that “cost sharing cannot be implemented equitably without a functioning student loan program to assist students who need to borrow for their education.” Student loan programs now exist in over 50 countries, including Canada, the United States, several European countries, much of Latin America and the Caribbean, and in increasing numbers of countries in Africa and Asia. The Australian Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS) has attracted particular interest, since it uses the tax system to collect repayments on an income-contingent basis. In many developing countries, however, student loans have been beset by problems, particularly administrative failures and high rates of default. A 1995 study by Ziderman and Albrecht, *Financing Universities in Developing Countries*, found that average rates of loan recovery varied from 67 percent in Sweden and Barbados to virtually zero in Kenya and Venezuela (although both countries have since then introduced significant reforms to boost loan recovery).

Designing Student Loan Programs

The International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) organized four international forums on experience with

student loans in Europe and the United States, Asia, English-speaking Africa, and Latin America. Their overall conclusion was that student loans can help facilitate cost recovery and improve equity, but only if they are well designed and efficiently administered. Ideally, loans should be regarded as one element of student financial aid policy—supplementing rather than replacing targeted scholarships for the most financially needy students. International experience suggests that to make an effective contribution to cost recovery, while ensuring equitable access to higher education, a student loan program should meet at least six criteria for effective design and management: (1) efficient institutional management, including adequate systems for selection of borrowers, disbursement of loans, record-keeping, data storage and processing; (2) sound financial management, including setting appropriate interest rates to reflect inflation and maintain the capital value of the loan fund, and cover administrative costs; (3) effective criteria and mechanisms for determining eligibility for loans, targeting interest subsidies and deferral or forgiveness of loan repayments; (4) adequate legal frameworks to ensure that

loan recovery is legally enforceable; (5) effective loan collection, using either commercial banks, the income tax system (as in Australia and the United Kingdom), national insurance mechanisms (as in Ghana and Singapore), or employers (as in China and Kenya) to ensure high rates of repayment and minimize default; and (6) information and publicity to ensure understanding and acceptance of the terms for borrowing and repayment of loans.

In the past, many student loan programs failed to meet these criteria, but a number of recently introduced reforms in several countries, including Kenya, have improved the performance of management and loan recovery. A new student loan scheme has been established in China, and several countries—including Hungary, Mozambique, and the Philippines—are currently considering introducing student loans and hope to profit from international experience in designing and implementing an effective and equitable student loan program. As demand for higher education continues to grow—both from individuals and from the labor market—tuition fees and student loans are likely to remain firmly on the international higher education agenda. ■

Structuring for Success: Planning for an Effective Student Loan Scheme

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Student loan policy goals and the social, political, and economic conditions that drive them certainly vary from country to country. Even within a country, conditions change, and their ebb and flow play a significant role in a loan scheme's success. With 20 years of experience in managing (what I believe to be) a very successful state student-loan agency within the Federal Family Education Loan Program (the largest single source of financial assistance for American students), I offer a few observations on the essential components of an effective student loan scheme.

First, the need for sustained commitment by government to the goal of expanding access to tertiary education for all its citizens is essential. Government does not have to operate a student loan scheme directly, but government must play an essential role in at least overseeing it. Government is in the best position to identify and target its nation's educational needs, for it can mandate eligibility criteria to promote equity in educational opportunity and, if necessary, devote resources to targeted subsidies and other interventions promoting awareness and access among its nation's poorest citizens. In its over-

sight capacity, government can monitor the scheme's effectiveness, administrative integrity, and financial viability.

Clearly, no one single blueprint for a student loan scheme would work in every country or region. However, there are certain characteristics and requirements common to any sustainable system of credit. Under the aegis of reliable, long-term government support and oversight, these factors can be accounted for in the context of student loans by a broad template consisting of “the five M's” of student loan fundamentals.

1. *Mission.* The program's mission is its roadmap, to be used for decision making at all levels. The various stakeholders in the program need to be considered. For example, it is not really enough simply to state that you want to provide educational opportunity for your citizens. Government and lenders require accountability; citizens are entitled to reliable information and responsive, equitable service; schools expect efficient delivery of funds, and so on. The program's scope and specific operational functions should be specified early on as well, along with its short- and long-term objectives.

2. *Money.* How will you finance the program? Will government fund the program directly, or are commercial capital sources available, perhaps backed by a government-subsidized reserve fund as a backstop guarantee against defaults? Once funding is secured, how will loans

be disbursed—directly to students or to schools on the students' behalf? What about additional money to students for books and living expenses? What will the interest rate be for students and should it be subsidized by government?

Government does not have to operate a student loan scheme directly, but government must play an essential role in at least overseeing it.

(Some analysts, notably Nicholas Barr of the London School of Economics and Political Science, contend that interest subsidies, particularly in an environment of scarce resources, are costly, inefficient, untargeted, and unfair.) How will your program protect its funds against fraud and abuse? How will loans be serviced throughout repayment? Is an income-contingent or a graduated repayment schedule feasible?

3. *Management.* What managing technologies and reporting capabilities will be available? How should the organization be structured to meet its stated goals? How will staff be hired and trained? How will the program's assets be managed for maximum returns? Will management be in a position to develop partnerships among other public and private organizations to enhance program performance with such services as job placement and borrower location assistance?

4. *Marketing.* How will you let people know about your program? What media channels are available and most likely to be effective? What kind of campaigns can develop positive values and attitudes among the public toward debt management and a commitment to repayment?

5. *Maintenance.* Each loan account must be maintained on a centralized system to accurately reflect its repayment status, current balance, and payment history. Decisions to be made include the repayment process itself. How will contact with students be maintained after they graduate? Will students receive monthly statements or coupon books? Will payments be deducted by employers, or will some other repayment system be employed? What channels will be established to respond to borrower inquiries and complaints?

The "five Ms" as presented here are limited in detail, but they can serve as a starting point for creative and productive planning. They are excerpted from the *Student Loan Program Workbook*, developed by the Colorado Student Loan Program. This and other information regarding student loans in developing countries will be posted on the World Bank's website for tertiary education at: <www.worldbank.org/education/tertiary>. ■

The Jamaican Student Loan Scheme

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Jamaica is the largest English-speaking country in the Caribbean, with a population of about 2.5 million and a per capita GDP of about U.S.\$1,680. It has inherited an English education system with a very elitist higher education subsector. In 2000, enrollment of nine years of primary and junior secondary education is practically universal, but only 60 percent of the relevant age group is enrolled in senior secondary education and less than 15 percent in tertiary education institutions. Nonetheless, the demand for tertiary education is growing, particularly from the middle and working classes.

Public resources, however, have been severely constrained as Jamaica experienced either low or negative economic growth throughout most of the 1980s and 1990s. Public expenditures on education are as high as 7 percent of GDP, and tertiary education expenditures account for about 22 percent of the total. Fiscal deficits put pressure on public tertiary education institutions to recover a higher percentage of their cost from students than before. In 2000, tuition fees ranged from about 10 percent at teacher training colleges to nearly 18 percent at the University of West Indies. The combination of the growing demand for tertiary education from the middle and working classes, and the need of the government to pursue cost recovery thus made it necessary to increase student loans and grants to enable students to finance tertiary education.

Student loan schemes in Jamaica have a long history. The Students' Loan Fund Act of 1971 established the Students Loan Bureau (SLB) as a statutory body authorized to make loans to Jamaican nationals pursuing higher education in Jamaica or in other parts of the Caribbean. Eligibility was means-tested. A Students' Loan Council set policies for the SLB. In the early days when tertiary education was practically free, student loans were very small in amount and were used to cover various student expenses. The average number of loans processed annually increased from 1,000 in 1971 to some 6,000 in 2000. In the 1970s, approval rates were over 90 percent of applicants; at present, they are still over 80 percent. In recent years, the average loan amounted to about \$1,000.

The Student Loan Fund was intended to operate as a revolving fund, maintained by investments, repayment, and government contributions. However, because of the historically negative interest rates, high administrative costs, and low repayment rates, the fund has depended mainly on govern-

ment funding and external borrowing—two Inter-American Development Bank projects (U.S.\$8 million in 1971, and U.S.\$8.5 million in 1976) and two World Bank projects (U.S.\$3.5 million in 1987 and U.S.\$28.5 million in 1996).

The scheme has been redesigned a number of times. At first, it was managed by the SLB and funded by government budgetary allocation. In 1993, the Bankers' Association (and its members) was brought in to subscribe an Education Bond issued by the SLB. The trust fund was managed by the West Indies Trust Company and the loans were processed by the SLB, while the government guaranteed principal and interest in the event of default. This scheme proved to be unsustainable for the above-mentioned reasons.

In 1996, the arrangement was changed once again. The SLB continued to determine eligibility of applicants, but commercial banks played a key role. The banks assessed whether the loan recipients could provide collateral. If they could, the banks would assume repayment risks; if not, the government would guarantee the principal and interest. The banks also handled disbursement and collection and were compensated by administrative fees. Interest rates were fixed and capitalized during the course of study, but were floated at 5 percentage points above the passbook saving rates after the student graduated. The interest rates were positive and above inflation rates but were still below the market lending rates. This scheme, however, was not successful because the banks did not find it profitable, classifying almost all loans as government guaranteed, while students were outraged to be asked to

provide collateral.

In 2000, the design was again restructured to centralize administration in the SLB from application processing to disbursement and collection in order to make it easier for students to deal with only one organization and for the SLB to have a greater sense of ownership and accountability. The long-term goal is to convert the SLB into a self-funding organization that will borrow from the private sector and sell its loans to a secondary market. The government's role is to reinsure to facilitate liquidity. Thus far, only centralization of administration has been achieved. Collection must be improved before the student loans will be seen as profitable on the secondary market.

Given the long history of providing student loans, many lessons have emerged: how interest rates should be set, how to involve the private sector, and how to improve administrative efficiency by using technology to assist loan processing, disbursement, and collection. The administrative capacity of the SLB, together with the existence of institutions for tracking repayment in society (such as credit bureaus), is critical in determining whether a certain design can be implemented. Ultimately, the sustainability of a student loan scheme hinges on whether the economy is growing, whether students can find employment, and whether emigration is common among graduates from tertiary education institutions. If a student loan scheme is financially unsustainable, governments would be well advised to meet the demand for higher education while containing costs through lower cost alternatives, such as distance tertiary education or twinning programs with other universities to make it more affordable for students.

Putting Reality Ahead of Myths: A Key to Reform in Latin America

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Myth, Reality, and Reform

The quest for increased reform in Latin American higher education requires sober but balanced assessment of its reality. Myths have their purposes, but the weight of myth over reality in assessing higher education in Latin America disguises the nature and depth of problems and sheds little light on what has been achieved to date and can realistically be achieved in the near future. Central to an accurate view of both the present and a much-improved future is understanding and appreciating the different functions of higher education. This process is hampered by the overarching myth that a classical university

of academic excellence is the appropriate model—desirable and realistic—for higher education throughout Latin America.

These themes of myths versus reality are central to a new book aimed at both analysis and policy for Latin American higher education (*Myth, Reality, and Reform: Higher Education Policy in Latin America*, by Claudio de Moura Castro and Daniel C. Levy, distributed by Johns Hopkins University Press for the Inter-American Development Bank). The book is a longer, more scholarly version of the Inter-American Development Bank's first strategy paper on higher education. Although the focus is on Latin America, much of the evaluation and prescription, notably including the discussion of functional differentiation, could be relevant more widely.

Twin myths often dominate assessment of the performance of higher education in Latin America. One, common within the region's universities, minimizes deficiencies and the need for major change. The other, common in critiques disseminated by governments and international financial institutions, bashes the system and seeks change through the

introduction of externally developed policies. Identifying existing positive features, with an eye toward how they might be supported while weaker features are reformed, would be a more effective approach to assessing the higher education systems. In fact, performance is very diverse. As functions themselves vary across nations, sectors, institutions, and units within institutions, it is vital to identify patterns of success and failure and distinguish between the real and perceived functions undertaken.

There will soon be some 10 million students enrolled in higher education throughout Latin America, which will necessitate large public and private expenditures.

A tentative typology lays out four major functions: academic leadership, professional development, technological training and development, and general higher education. (The authors will further define and explore these functions in a forthcoming *IHE* article). General higher education is the most vexing function, not well understood in the region. It is a postsecondary education that typically purports to be professional in its curriculum, method of instruction, and rhetoric. Instead, general higher education ends up being “quasi-professional,” in that it produces graduates who do not find employment directly related to their fields of study. Unfortunately, this usually means that general higher education is weak by default, instead of strong by design.

Failure to identify the different functions also contributes to sloppy assessment and a lack of appropriate policies. Ironically, the lack of clarity leads to both insufficient criticism, as institutions hide behind rationales that do not fit them, and excessive criticism, as institutions appear to fail in their ostensible missions while performing other less conspicuous though equally credible ones.

The stakes are high. There will soon be some 10 million students enrolled in higher education throughout Latin America, which will necessitate large public and private expenditures. Higher education policy must be linked to development and to building societies that are more productive, informed, prosperous, just, fulfilling, and democratic. The high stakes underscore the importance of rejecting the myth that higher education is not relevant to national development or that the state or society does not directly influence or impact higher education. Equally misleading, however, is the myth that higher education will improve dramatically if only it is expanded and nourished solely by an increase in public funds.

Achievements and Problems

The myth that Latin American higher education is a failure overlooks many salient achievements. First, significant change has occurred, defying stereotypes of stagnation. Much of this change has come through calculated public policy reforms. Several countries have launched national policy initiatives that move away from “statist” policies and a focus on public institutions and, instead, open systems to more competition and institutional differentiation. Less appreciated is that much change has come outside such reforms and legislation, indeed often in spite of laws and national rules. A prime example of largely unplanned change to date is the stunning growth of private higher education. Another is the emergence and growth of new fields of study. The bulk of enrollments are no longer in law, medicine, and civil engineering but are moving increasingly toward commercially oriented fields that have not been mandated by government manpower planning. Another significant accomplishment of Latin American higher education that defies negative stereotypes is that graduates, instead of languishing in unemployment or in menial jobs, do significantly better than their less-educated peers on the job market. Individual rates of return for higher education remain high. Professional education remains strong in many places, and the limited pockets of true academic leadership are expanding.

For many people, higher education has also been a major vehicle for social mobility. It has often been an arena for social interaction and national integration. It has also been a venue for political participation that has, at least sometimes, been quite a positive factor for freedom and democracy. Universities have been centers for the development of ideas and of intellectual and cultural life.

The negative myths of Latin American higher education frequently ignore or downplay such positive achievements, by comparing actual performance to idealized expectations—such as the miraculous impacts higher education would have on economic development or social progress. Unreal expectations include catching up to higher education levels in the First World or the extraordinary notion that virtually all higher education should be modeled after the research university. When these expectations are unfulfilled, higher education then appears to be failing its students and communities.

There are, of course, significant problems in Latin American higher education. First, on average, educational quality is low. Second, teaching and learning often remain locked in old pedagogical practices. Third, enrollments and institutional proliferation have greatly exceeded the financial and human resources needed to sustain the quality of higher education offerings. Fourth, inefficiencies and inequities are rampant, as are political conflicts, which often block academic change. Fifth, higher education faces a crisis of legitimacy in how it is perceived by the state and

by much of society. Of course, some failings are the result of or are exacerbated by forces outside higher education's control, while others result from inefficiencies within institutions and systems.

Functional Differentiation

To move beyond a general listing of achievements and problems, the analysis must turn more specifically to real institutions and functions. To date, the university myth has been such that assessments focus too much on universities and on their purported aims rather than on their real functions. In reality, academic leadership as it is conventionally associated with the term university remains poorly developed in Latin America. Most of what higher education does, even most of what universities do, does not involve academic leadership. Much of the best academic work being done in Latin America (meaningful publications, scholarly dialogue and evaluation, and rigorous graduate education) is now performed outside universities, with the exception of a few places.

Latin American higher education either greatly distorts its actual performance in order to claim compliance with a university ideal or else it is judged a failure. Unfortunately, too many one-size-fits-all public policies treat different institutions, units, and individuals the same. Public policy often glorifies and rewards places that purportedly (but rarely, in fact), display academic leadership. This public recognition undermines other university functions as well as other institutions that truly are academic leaders yet lack the official title of "university." Universities are often lavished with rights and resources while other institutions are blocked from sources of funding or the granting of graduate degrees. This situation creates incen-

tives for the worst sort of mimicry. Rather than pretending that all higher education institutions do or should pursue the same ends, scholars and policymakers need to deal more with higher education's true functions.

One approach is to regard four of the functions listed above as essential to modern higher education and its role in national development. It is, therefore, important to minimize invidious comparisons among the functions. This means rejecting the common tendency to regard academic leadership as the *best* or *highest* and either technological or general education as the *worst* or *lowest*. Instead, the main policy rationale for analyzing specific functions is to help match performance with appropriate mechanisms, rules, and incentives. Policies or programs that suit one function may be pointless or even detrimental for others. Although figuring out what will work best is not easy, it is worth doing to move higher education policy forward from a one-size-fits-all policy.

For each of the four functions—academic leadership, professional development, technological training and development, and general higher education—a parallel set of questions requires consideration. What is the proper balance between achievements and problems, and what are the key variables that determine that balance? Which public policy is most effective for addressing present problems and for helping institutions to carry out their mix of functions? Consideration of such crucial issues as subsidization, incentives, and quality control shows that public policies appropriate for one function are quite often inappropriate for others. Thus, instead of trying to design national policy and legislation for a mythical university that will fulfill the singular function of academic leadership, macro and micro policy needs to become much more realistic and to discriminate depending on the particular function. ■

Higher Education and the New Mexican Government

Manuel Gil Antón

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On July 2, 2000, after 70 years without change in the political composition of the federal government, Vicente Fox, the candidate for Partido acción nacional (PAN—National Action Party) and the Alianza por el cambio (Alliance for Change) was elected president of Mexico for a six-year term. This change has produced a feeling of hope and considerable concern about the future of the country. How will higher education change as a result of the politi-

cal changes? Will this be the beginning of a new era of public policies that are radically different from those of the PRI, the party that governed Mexico for the past 70 years. Will there be continuity in the trends observed in the 1990s?

The 1990s

The past decade saw a huge growth in Mexican higher education. The national enrollment went from 1,200,000 to nearly 2,000,000—a growth of 66 percent. At the beginning of the decade, 14 percent of the college age cohort in Mexico was enrolled in some kind of higher education. By the year 2000, this had increased to 20 percent. Seventy thousand new academic positions were needed, and the number of institutions of higher education went from 800 to 1,250. The main catalyst for growth in the previous decades had been the public sector. In these 10 years, the expansion occurred with a large push from the private sector: 47 percent of all new places in higher education were generated by private institutions, and 60

percent of new academic positions were in the private sector. Formerly concentrated in the public sector, nearly 30 percent of the national enrollment in higher education in Mexico today is within the private sector.

Meanwhile, the process of decentralizing in higher education from the capital to the states has continued. There is a growing tendency for enrollments to be concentrated in a few fields (law, accounting, and business administration have more than a third of the students), and participation by women has reached 50 percent nationwide. Multiple evaluation mechanisms have been established in public institutions and strong efforts made to increase the quality of work conditions for full-time academics.

Looking Ahead Toward 2006

Experts calculate that over the next six years national enrollments will grow by 1,000,000 students, the result of an increment in the 18-to-24-year age cohort and the improvement in the quality of secondary education. In order to serve the student numbers, we will need 55,000 new professors. Where will these new students find places to study? Will it be mostly the public sector that takes them in and, if so, will it be in the traditional modalities—public four-year universities—or in short two-year courses in new institutions such as technological universities?

The Transition

The public, keen on knowing the programs of the new government and the people who will be in charge, must wait five months until the president assumes his post (the first day of December). Fox formed a transition team for science and technology and another one for education. It is notable that this last one is coordinated by the dean of the Instituto tecnológico y de estudios superiores de Monterrey (ITESM—Technological and Higher Studies Institute of Monterrey), one of the most prestigious private institutions in Mexico. The members of the team have experience in different areas. One of the members, for example, is the general secretary of the Asociación Nacional de universidades e instituciones de educación superior (ANUIES—National Association of Universities and Institutions of Higher Education), an organization that includes and represents the deans of all public institutions.

People in the traditional higher education elite have strongly criticized the views of the people close to Fox. This opposition has been well covered by the press in the last few weeks. Is this an expression of their defense of the values of public higher education or is it only a defense of their long-held positions of power? It is very likely that both motivations are at work.

Central Issues

Though the specific proposals of the transition team on higher education have not been made public, two issues seem priorities on the next government's agenda: first, the organization of a National Scholarships and Educational Credit Program, to aid students and decrease dropouts for eco-

nomics reasons; and, second, the growing use of virtual strategies in order to widen access to higher education.

These two policies have generated criticism from the public sector: Dr. de la Fuente, dean of the UNAM said: "the university must not depend on the market . . . and we, the UNAM, are not a *virtual* university." On the other hand, the left, which believes in the right to free higher education—now the case only at the UNAM, since all other public institutions charge fees, and most of these fees are more than merely symbolic—sees great risks in the idea of scholarships or systems of educational credit.

As of November 2000, in the absence of any official announcements from Fox, intellectuals and public opinion are still trying to speculate on the future of higher education and the risks and problems that may ensue.

Unavoidable Realities

Regardless of what Fox and his team may have in mind on the subject of education, it is a fact that the 2001 budget will be austere, as was this year's. Fox has correctly stated that without a tax reform that increases public funds it will not be possible to implement the central programs of his plan. Such a tax reform will be very difficult to achieve in a parliament where Fox lacks a majority.

Demands on higher education will grow at great speed, and Fox's policies will be strongly criticized by the followers of the old regime. It remains to be seen whether Fox and his ministers will be granted sufficient time to set up their plans for scholarships and wider access. ■

Higher Education Subsidies in Argentina

Martin Gonzalez Rozada and Alicia Menendez

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The Argentine central government heavily subsidizes higher education by financing tuition-free public universities serving all students, regardless of their economic and academic background. Enrollment is open to all individuals with a high school degree. In 1998, almost 83 percent of more than one million undergraduates in the greater Buenos Aires area were attending public universities. During the last decade, this figure has been increasing at an average annual rate of 3.6 percent. A direct consequence of

this “overpopulation” of public institutions is an associated decrease in the quality of education.

The current organization of public higher education presents several other problems. The most obvious is the availability (or lack thereof) of public funds for the growing student numbers—given the severe fiscal constraints in the country. The system has also had unintended distributional consequences. Although standard models of public provision of college education tend to imply a transfer from the rich to the poor, new empirical and theoretical work show that free higher education implies a transfer from lower to higher income groups.

Of course, students attending public universities defend the status quo. They are active, organized, and very vocal. The argument for the tuition-free university is made on grounds of equal opportunity and access to education for all. In Argentina, this is far from being the case; our work shows that only a privileged group is able to attend college. Poorer students are excluded from higher education, so they are not able to enjoy the subsidy. In reality, tuition-free public universities do not seem to benefit the poor.

The Population under Study

We analyze data from the May 1998 Permanent Household Survey, which covers the greater Buenos Aires region. In Argentina, universities are located throughout the country, but the majority are in the main urban areas, and in 1998, more than 50 percent of university students were concentrated in Buenos Aires. Our analysis focuses on this region. We examine the group that is between 17 and 34 years of age and without a college degree. Approximately 18 percent of them are enrolled in the university. The rest have finished or abandoned their formal schooling.

The most striking difference between those who attend college and those who do not is their family per capita income. The average family income for those who do not attend college is \$269 a month, less than half the \$615 average that of university students. The distribution of education among parents is also very different. Almost half the college students have fathers who attended university, while less than 7 percent of the nonattendees' fathers did. We find a similar pattern among the mothers.

Almost 70 percent of university students belong to the wealthiest 30 percent of the population, while only 11 percent belong to the poorest 50 percent. This was not always the situation. Using comparable data from 1974, we find that the probability of attending college was much higher for those at the bottom half of the income distribution then. Almost 30 percent of the college students in 1974 belonged to the bottom 50 percent of the income distribution.

University Attendance

By modeling the probability of attending college as a function of a family's socioeconomic background and personal

characteristics, we find socioeconomic background to be an important determinant of college attendance. Individuals coming from families with higher income have a greater probability of attending college, after controlling for sociodemographic characteristics. Also, the probability of attending college is greater for those individuals belonging to a family whose head of household has a high school or college degree. Having attended a private school also increases the chances of attending university. This may reflect differences between public and private institutions and how those differences affect the demand for additional education.

Our results clearly imply that income is an important determinant of college attendance. Its effect on attendance is greater at the top of the income distribution. For example, doubling per capita income from \$50 to \$100 would only increase the chance of attending the university by 14 percent. However, increasing per capita income from \$500 to \$1,000 would raise the probability by 128 percent.

Students at public universities seem to have the ability to pay; therefore one might argue that the equity and efficiency of the system could be improved by charging tuition.

Public vs. Private University Students

Students in private universities are similar to those in public institutions in many aspects. The educational level of the students' parents is not statistically different. Among students in private universities, 69 percent attended private secondary schools. This figure is not much lower than that among students in public institutions, almost half of whom come from private high schools. It should be noted that private high schools are not tuition-free, in some cases charging a higher fee than private universities.

As mentioned earlier, very few students (less than 12 percent) belong to the bottom 50 percent of the income distribution. Surprisingly, the figure is somewhat higher among the students in private institutions, almost 14 percent. A multivariate analysis indicates that per capita family income has no effect on the probability of attending a public institution, as opposed to a private, after controlling for sociodemographic variables. Educational level of the head of the household and number of siblings have no effect either. In brief, none of the variables related to personal characteristics, income, and family background appear to affect whether students attend a private or a public university. The only variable that seems to have an effect is prior attendance at a public high school, which raises the probability of attending a

public college. This may reflect differences in taste or differences between public and private schools, such as quality of education, that may affect the demand for higher education.

Conclusion

College students in Argentina belong to the country's wealthiest families. Almost 50 percent of the students at public universities belong to the highest 20 percent of the income distribution. Moreover, 90 percent of the students

at public universities have a higher than the median per capita family income, and 46 percent attended private high schools. Since the public university is tuition-free, this is an implicit subsidy of the richest families.

Students at public universities seem to have the ability to pay; therefore one might argue that the equity and efficiency of the system could be improved by charging tuition. To complement this policy, universities should offer selective scholarships and student loans, in order to attract the most talented students from poor families. ■

A New Journal

Christian Higher Education: A Journal of Applied Research and Practice invites religious educators to submit papers for review and possible publication. The journal, a peer-reviewed, interdisciplinary periodical, is published by Taylor & Francis, Publishers. Taylor & Francis is a major international, commercial publisher with offices in the United Kingdom and the United States. The focus of *Christian Higher Education* is not on theology *per se* but on *applied* educational research and innovative experimental and demonstration programs and practices at Christian colleges, universities, seminaries, and institutes around the world. The journal is not affiliated in any way with a particular confession within the Christian religion, whether Catholic, Protestant, or Orthodox. Instead, this ecumenical, quarterly-published journal is an independent, high-visibility, premier archival forum for practitioners and researchers within the Christian religion regardless of theological persuasion. The purposes of the journal include the stimulation and cross-fertilization of ideas and the dissemination of information about research and practice taking place within Christian higher education.

The journal is currently soliciting papers from faculty, administrators, and all others associated with Christian higher education. Of particular interest to the journal are papers about program developments being innovated and tested by those engaged in the study and modern practice of Christian higher education. Essays should explore educational problems and discuss issues in depth. Papers are invited regarding innovative educational leadership practices and teaching and learning programs at the cutting edge of progress. These papers should provide fresh insights into creative ways and means of improving Christian higher education. Research papers published must be clearly rooted in solid analytical methodologies, whether qualitative or quantitative. All materials published in the journal represent original contributions to the growing literature in the burgeoning field of Christian higher education.

For further details, contact the editor, Dr. D. Barry Lumsden, University of North Texas, Higher Education Program, P.O. Box 311337, Denton, Texas 76203-1337. Fax: 940-369-7177.

New Book Series Announced

Two new book series have been established. These series will highlight key research and analysis in the field of higher education. Both have an international focus.

- The Greenwood Studies in Higher Education is a new series published by Greenwood Publishers. It will feature books on all aspects of higher education. The series is edited by Philip G. Altbach. Proposals can be sent to Dr. Altbach or directly to Greenwood Publishers. Ms. Jane Garry is the sponsoring editor at Greenwood. Her e-mail address is: <jgarry@greenwood.com>.
- The RoutledgeFalmer Dissertation Series in Higher Education—this book series publishes the best research-based doctoral dissertations. The series provides a source for the best research on higher education in a timely way. It is multidisciplinary and publishes dissertations using all methodologies. Authors are expected to revise their work modestly for publication. Books will be published in hardback editions. The first four titles in the series will be published in early 2001. Publication typically takes from seven to nine months, and a standard royalty is offered to all authors. Proposals for books in the series are welcome. Please contact either Dr. Philip G. Altbach or Dr. Farideh Koohi-Kamali, Dissertations Editor, RoutledgeFalmer, 29 W. 35th St., New York, NY 10001, USA. E-mail: fkamali@routledge-ny.com.

Current Trends in Higher Education Development in China

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The current transition of the Chinese economy from a static, centrally planned economy to a dynamic socialist market economy, along with rapid economic growth, has led to a series of profound social and economic changes. Over the past two years, these changes have impacted the higher education system in three especially striking ways.

Rapid Expansion of Enrollments

In recent years, China has experienced ever-increasing demands for higher education. The higher education system has expanded very quickly over the last two years, with the number of new students enrolled in universities and colleges rising from 1 million in 1998, to 1.5 million in 1999, and to 2 million in 2000. In 2000, total postsecondary enrollments exceeded 10 million. Overall enrollment rates have reached about 10 percent of the age cohort. It is estimated that postsecondary education enrollments will total 16 million by 2005, creating one of the largest higher education systems in the world. Enrollment rates will exceed 15 percent, which according to international standards would mark a transition from elite to mass higher education.

What forces are driving this rapid expansion of higher education enrollments? Both deliberate governmental policies and private demand for higher education opportunities have had an impact. First, in recent years the government has implemented a national policy to “invigorate the country by science and education.” Education is considered critical to national economic success, given the need for well-educated manpower—especially highly specialized personnel.

Second, about three years ago when the growth of the Chinese economy began to slow while the savings rate remained very high, the government deliberately focused on higher education expansion as one way to increase both public and private spending and thus stimulate the economy. It was argued that enrolling more students would require building more classroom buildings, laboratories, libraries, dining halls, and dormitories, as well as requiring the hiring of more faculty members, staff, and campus workers. Indeed, while many Chinese families are reluctant to spend their savings on expensive consumer goods, they are very willing to pay the costs for their children’s education.

Third, recent studies on the Chinese labor market showed the rate of return of higher education in China for the younger generation is much higher than it was for the previous generation. The income of college graduates is substantially higher than that of those without higher education

qualifications. Since the government-controlled job assignment system is being gradually replaced by labor market forces, the perceived benefits of a higher rate of return has further stimulated individual demand for higher education opportunities.

Fourth, the rapid expansion of enrollments is also related to achievements in primary and secondary education. By 1999, enrollment in primary education exceeded 99 percent, while the rates for junior high school and senior high school exceeded 88 percent and 41 percent, respectively. A large proportion of students who complete primary and secondary school wish to continue on for a college degree. This increase in the number of qualified students provided the basis for higher education expansion and created social and political pressures on the government for that expansion.

Current Problems

The rapid increase in enrollments is also associated with some problems, however. The first is the widespread concern about quality issues. Quality inputs, especially quality faculty, could not be developed as rapidly as needed. During the expansion, some two-year specialized institutes upgraded themselves into colleges, and some colleges enlarged their programs—in both cases without sufficient attention to quality.

Another concern is future job placement for the rapidly increasing number of graduates. Though the overall potential labor market demand for college graduates is great in China, many people doubt that the labor market can absorb such a sudden increase in supply. The issue becomes more serious when one considers how the expansion was distributed among fields of study. More often, institutions tend to take in more students in less-expensive programs, which might result in an oversupply in some types of majors and short supply in others. For example, the current Chinese labor market needs more graduates in computer science and technology, but the number of graduates in this field is lower than at any point in the past 20 years. Starting this year, the number of graduates in computer science majors will exceed the number of history majors by a small margin.

Recent studies on the Chinese labor market show the rate of return of higher education in China for the younger generation is much higher than the previous generation.

Because of the mismatch of expertise and skills to

supply and demand, a considerable number of college graduates are unemployed. This year, an estimated 80 percent of college graduates will get jobs within three months. Among the hundreds of universities and colleges in China, only four had job placement rates of 95 percent. All four are engineering-oriented institutions. The rising enrollments will make the employment issue a serious challenge for China in the years to come.

Cost Recovery from Students

The higher education system expanded so fast that state appropriations for higher education simply could not keep up with the rising costs, which led to tight budgets for universities. Although the Chinese government has made a great effort to fund education, the fact is that today almost all universities and colleges face serious financial constraints. Although salaries and fringe benefits account for an increasing share of the total budget of universities, the compensation for faculty members is still lower when compared to other professions, because of the much larger bonuses and benefits awarded to employees with similar qualifications in other employment sectors. This situation has resulted in an unstable teaching force, with many faculty members having left teaching or intending to leave. In addition, since a growing proportion of the budget goes to salary payments, there is a serious shortage of funds for both nonsalary instructional expenditures and necessary facilities, library books, and equipment. This situation has resulted in underequipped laboratories and libraries.

Chinese universities have responded to the financial constraints with heavy-handed measures. To improve management and to raise institutional efficiency and effectiveness, implementing cost-recovery policies and raising tuition and fees have become widely used strategies. In 2000, tuition at many Chinese universities was increased by about 20 percent. Charging tuition has proven both necessary and feasible in light of recent changes in the distribution of the national income. In the early 1980s, about 30 percent of GDP went to the state, 25 percent to industry, and 45 percent to individual families. In the mid- and late 1990s, only about 10 percent went to the state, 20 percent to industry, and 70 percent to individual families. Income distribution is very uneven among different social groups in China. Along with institutionalizing cost-recovery initiatives from beneficiaries and raising fees to an appropriate level, the government also set up large-scale student loan programs in response to the uneven income distribution, allocating a large amount of funds to subsidize interest payments for students from needy families. Since such a policy reduced the cost of higher education, and proportionally increased the number of student places in universities for the younger generation, structural equity in terms of the distribution of public re-

sources for education greatly improved as a result.

Restructuring the System

Restructuring the higher education system is another dramatic development in China. Over the past several decades, the Chinese higher education system was shaped by the centrally planned economy, with its many central-line ministries—such as the Ministry of the Electronics Industry, Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry, Ministry of the Chemical Industry, Ministry of the Machinery Industry, Ministry of the Railways, Ministry of the Agriculture, and Ministry of Public Health. Each of these central ministries ran their own university system, with many specialized higher education institutions. Among the 1,000 universities and colleges in China, about 700 were operated at the local level by the provinces and municipalities; at the national level, only 36 universities belonged to the Ministry of Education, while more than 300 belonged to different central-line ministries. For example, the Ministry of the Chemical Industry used to run about 10 specialized colleges in chemical engineering and technology; the Ministry of Public Health used to run many medical colleges, which were separate from the comprehensive universities. These specialized colleges and universities were supposed to provide specialized personnel for factories and companies in the specific industry under the specific central ministry. Thus, the Chinese higher education system was departmentalized and segmented.

With the deepening of reform, however, the production of factories and companies was no longer dictated by the mandates of the governmental agencies but was subject to the demands of the market place. Many central-line ministries, which used to govern the different sectors of industrial production, were completely eliminated. Most of those specialized colleges changed jurisdictions. Some of the large ones were reassigned to the Ministry of Education, while most of them were given to provincial governments. In the past two years, more than 300 universities and colleges were reorganized. Some of the small ones or overly specialized ones merged with large universities—to make them more comprehensive, flexible, and adaptable to rapidly changing labor market needs. For example, the Beijing Medical University merged into Peking University. In Zhejiang Province, three universities (Zhejiang Agriculture University, Zhenjiang Medical University, and Hanzhou University) merged into Zhejiang University. In Shandong Province, Shandong Polytechnic University and Shandong Medical University were merged into Shandong University. With more than 300 universities and colleges changing jurisdictions and facing reorganization and mergers, the overall structure of the Chinese higher education system changed dramatically.

The ultimate goal of the current economic reforms in China is to develop a dynamic market economy, in order to make China an integral part of the international

economy. The target of current Chinese higher education reform is to establish an institutional framework to fit into this new social and economic context. Developing and institutionalizing such a new framework, however, remain tremendous challenge for China. There are still a series of reforms to be tackled, including reorientation of the government/university relationship, stipulation of the legal status of higher education institutions,

granting more autonomy to universities, and enabling universities to operate according to the needs of socio-economic development and labor market demands. The state needs to change its role from one of direct management to one of providing higher education policy guidance, through supervision, coordination, evaluation and accreditation, and information services. It is certain that China is now moving ahead in this direction.

News of the Center and the Program of Higher Education

The Center is involved in several new publications related to our initiative on the changing academic workplace. A special theme issue of *Higher Education* appears early in 2001 featuring articles on the changing academic workplace in Europe and the United States. This issue, coedited by Philip G. Altbach and Richard Chait, stems from the conference cosponsored by the Harvard Project on Academic Appointments, the Center for International Higher Education, and the new higher education initiative at the University of Amsterdam. A book relating to this issue and including several additional chapters and a comprehensive bibliography on the academic profession has also been published by the Center. Entitled *The Changing Academic Workplace: Comparative Perspectives*, this volume is available in limited quantities. It is free to those in developing countries and available for U.S.\$15 for postage and handling to others (orders must be prepaid and checks must be made out to Boston Colleges in U.S. dollars).

Higher Education: A Worldwide Inventory of Centers and Programs, edited by Philip G. Altbach and David Engberg, remains available from the Center. A commercial edition is also available from Oryx Publishers, 4041 North Central, Phoenix, AZ 85012, USA. Price: \$45 (cloth).

Center director Philip G. Altbach was recently in Cuba to give a series of lectures as part of an exchange sponsored by the Cuban Academy of Sciences and the U.S. Social Science Research Council. His host in Cuba was CEPES, the Cuban Higher Education Center. He will be one of the keynote speakers in March at a conference on "Globalization and Higher Education: Views from the South," sponsored by the British Society for Research into Higher Education and the Educational Policy Unit of the University of Western Cape, South Africa. The conference will take place in South Africa.

Erratum

We regret that the name of Jürgen Enders was left out, as coeditor, of our special theme issue of *Higher Education* on the changing academic workplace. This is most unfortunate as Dr. Enders was involved in the development of this special issue from the beginning and has been a valuable colleague in our work on the academic profession. We apologize to our colleague for this oversight.

ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education

The ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education is a prominent center for higher education information (ERIC database, website, publications). ERIC acquires the major published and unpublished education literature, abstracts and indexes it, and adds the literature to the ERIC database. In addition to the database, we have an extensive publications series and website.

Our website—www.eriche.org—contains valuable resources (web links, workshops, bibliographies) for higher education practitioners, faculty, and students. Our updated website includes some new services and sections: secure online credit card ordering for our ASHE-ERIC Report Series; a classroom use request form for faculty considering using a monograph from the Report Series; an electronic newsletter; and "Cool Higher Education Site of the Month."

Our major, award-winning publication is the ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report Series. The Association for the Study of Higher Education and the ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education publish eight reports each year. It is the most peer-reviewed and widely distributed series on higher education in the United States. The series allows professionals in higher education to keep up with all the major research and scholarly literature affecting their work, institutions, and professional development. These 120-page monographs help draw on the ERIC database to synthesize the latest research and report on activities that affect higher education institutions, personnel, and programs.

The ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report Series is always looking for new authors to submit proposals for future monographs. Our website contains a list of calls for proposals, author guidelines, and sample monograph proposals. We can also be contacted at 1-800-773-ERIC.

New Publications

Troubled Times: Academic Freedom in New Zealand, edited by Rob Crozier. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press, 2000. 301 pp. NZ\$29.95 (paper). ISBN 0-86469-371-0. Address: Dunmore Press, POB 5115, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

The increased "marketization" of higher education is creating serious threats to academic freedom. This volume, based on a report on academic freedom by the Association of University Staff in New Zealand, discusses the challenges created by funding crises, government regulation, and related issues. While the book focuses on New Zealand, the topics are relevant worldwide.

Women Becoming Mathematicians: Creating a Professional Identity in Post-World War II America, by Margaret A. M. Murray. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000. 277 pp. \$29.95 (cloth). ISBN: 0-26213-369-5. Address: MIT Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA 02142, USA.

An analysis of how women entered the mathematics profession in American universities in the years following the Second World War, this book is based on interviews with 36 women mathematics professors, and follows the careers of the interviewees. Only 11 percent of doctorates in mathematics have been awarded to women over a period of almost a century.

Management Fads in Higher Education: Where They Come From, What They Do, Why They Fail, by Robert Birnbaum. San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 2000. 285 pp. (cloth). ISBN 0-7879-4456-4. Address: Jossey Bass Publishers, 350 Sansome St., San Francisco, CA 94104, USA.

In this fascinating volume, Birnbaum takes a careful look at the various "new ideas" that have been proposed for managing American universities since the 1960s—including management by objectives, zero-based budgeting,

benchmarking, planning programming budget systems, and others. He discusses how fads start, why they often fail, and what these developments mean. This book will be of interest to an international readership even though the examples are all from the United States.

A Thousand Flowers: Social Struggles Against Structural Adjustment in African Universities, edited by Silvia Federici, George Caffentzis, and Ousseina Alidou. Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 2000. 248 pp. \$21.95 (paper), ISBN 0-86543-773-4. Address: Africa World Press, POB 1892, Trenton, NJ 08607, USA and POB 48, Asmara, Eritrea.

Two distinct topics are considered in this volume—the programs of the World Bank and related agencies in Africa and student activism in Africa. The two are related because in some cases, student activism is stimulated by and directed at World Bank initiatives. Most of the chapters are taken from the publications of the Committee for Academic Freedom in Africa and are reprinted in this volume. The perspectives of the contributors are critical of the policies of the major multilateral donor agencies.

The Academic Corporation: A History of College and University Governing Boards, by Edwin D. Duryea. New York: Falmer Press, 2000. 274 pp. \$65. (cloth). ISBN 0-8153-3376-5. Address: RoutledgeFalmer Publishers, 29 W. 35th St. New York, NY 10001, USA.

A broad historical analysis of governing boards in universities in Europe and especially in the United States, this volume includes a discussion of the medieval and English roots of university governance, an analysis of the development of corporate autonomy for higher education, the development of governing boards, and how these boards operate in practice.

Voices of Conflict: Desegregating South African Universities, by Reitumetse Obakeng Mabokela. New York: Falmer Press, 2000. 184 pp. \$75 (cloth). ISBN 0-8153-

3308-0. Address: RoutledgeFalmer Publishers, 29 W. 35th St. New York, NY 10001, USA.

A case study of how two key South African universities (Cape Town and Stellenbosch) dealt with the manifold problems of racial desegregation following the end of apartheid, this book is one of the first full-scale studies of how South African universities are coping with transition. Among the topics considered are how academic programs have adapted to change, the perceptions of students, faculty, and administrators concerning change, and related issues.

The Universities' Responsibilities to Society: International Perspectives, edited by Guy Neave. Oxford: Pergamon, 2000. 298 pp. \$90.50 (cloth). ISBN 0-08-043569-6. Address: Elsevier Science, POB 945, Madison Sq. Station, New York, NY 10160, USA.

This volume, which stems from a 1997 conference of university presidents and rectors held in Thailand, focuses on the social responsibilities of universities. Included are papers on diverse topics, such as information technology, academic freedom, scientific communications, and many others.

Universities and the Community: Use of Time in Universities in Japan, by Keith J. Morgan. Hiroshima: Research Institute on Higher Education, Hiroshima University, 1999. 88 pp. (paper). Address: Research Institute on Higher Education, Hiroshima University, 2-2 Kagamiyama 1-chome, Higashi-Hiroshima 739, Japan.

This study is based on a survey of Japanese professors on their use of time, involvement in community activities, productivity in terms of publications, and related issues. Both national and private universities are included.

Academia in Upheaval: Origins, Transfers, and Transformations of the Communist Academic Regimes in Russia and East Central Europe, edited by Michael David-Fox and Gyorgy Peteri. Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey, 2000. 352 pp. \$69.95 (cloth).

ISBN 0-89789-708-0. Address: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, POB 5007, Westport, CT. 06881, USA.

A careful historical analysis of the "sovietization" of higher education in Russia and Eastern Europe, this volume features case studies of the formation of the Soviet Academy of Science and of the impact of Stalin on the universities and on scientific research. It also includes studies of how Soviet academic practices were transferred to Eastern Europe and a discussion of the continuing impact of these influences on contemporary Eastern Europe.

Toward a Higher Education Landscape: Meeting the Equity, Quality and Social Development Imperatives of South Africa in the 21st Century. Pretoria, South Africa: Council on Higher Education, 2000. 69 pp (paper). ISBN 1-919856-02-1. Address: Council on Higher Education, 123 Schoeman St., Pretoria 0002, South Africa.

This commission report discusses the goals and challenges facing South Africa's higher education system and recommends more differentiation and coordination and a national steering and planning mechanism.

Higher Education Reform for Quality Higher Education Management in the 21st Century. Hiroshima, Japan: Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University, 2000. 183 pp. (paper). Address: RIHE, Hiroshima University, 2-2 Kagamiyama 1-chome, Higashi-Hiroshima 739-8512, Japan.

The 11th in the RIHE's International Seminar Reports series, this book features a report of a six-nation president's summit that took place in Hiroshima on the topic of higher education management and leadership. Among the topics considered are the economic, technological, social, and political forces affecting higher education. Among the countries considered are the United States, Switzerland, Singapore, Japan, China, and Germany.

Historic Factors Influencing Korean Higher Education, by Lee Jeong-kyu. Seoul, Ko-

rea: Jimoondang Publishing, 2000. 226 pp. (cloth). ISBN 0-9705481-1-7. Address: Jimoondang International, 575 Easton Ave., Somerset, NJ 08873, USA.

This book presents a historical discussion focusing on the religious and philosophical factors influencing the development and current situation of Korean higher education, including Buddhism, Confucianism, and most recently, Christianity.

Financing a College Education: How It Works, How It's Changing, edited by Jacqueline E. King. Phoenix, Ariz.: Oryx Press, 1999. 216 pp. (cloth). ISBN 1-573356-177-0. Address: Oryx Press, 4041 Central Ave., Phoenix AZ 85012.

A broad consideration of financing undergraduate education in the United States, this book features chapters on how students and families pay for college, student aid, borrowing to pay for higher education, merit- vs. need-based aid, and related issues.

Traveling Through the Boondocks: In and Out of the Academic Hierarchy, by Terry Caesar. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000. 203 pp. \$19.95 (paper). ISBN 0-7914-4660-3. Address: SUNY Press, State University Plaza, Albany, NY 12246, USA.

Reflections of an iconoclastic professor of English, this volume sheds light on the realities of academic life in the less prestigious sector of American colleges and universities. The author discusses the daily realities of working in a midlevel American college and discusses the role of professors from these institutions in the academic system. Terry Caesar writes with style and sensitivity about a key sector of American academe.

Jesuit Education 21, edited by Martin R. Tripole, S.J. Philadelphia, Penn.: St. Joseph's University Press, 2000. \$70. 544 pp. (cloth). ISBN 0-91601-32-0. Address: St. Joseph's University Press, 5600 City Line Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19131, USA.

A compilation of papers given at the

2000 conference on Jesuit education, this volume features such topics as the mission for Jesuit higher education in the 21st century, higher education and culture, social justice and higher education in the Jesuit tradition, the impact of the new media and technology, the effect of higher education on students, and others.

Rethinking the Future of the University, edited by David Lyle Jeffrey and Dominic Manganiello. Ottawa, Canada: University of Ottawa Press, 1998. 134 pp. \$26 (paper) ISBN 0-7766-0481-3. Address: University of Ottawa Press, 542 King Edward, Ottawa, Ont. Canada K1N 6N5.

A Canadian perspective on some of the key issues facing contemporary higher education, this anthology looks at technology, the role of the academic profession, the future of teaching, the politicization of the university, and other topics. This volume stems from a lecture series held at the University of Ottawa.

Policies on Faculty Appointment: Standard Practices and Unusual Circumstances, edited by Cathy A. Trower. Bolton, Mass.: Anker Publishing, 2000. 336 pp. \$29.95 (paper). ISBN 1-882982-38-X. Address: Anker Publishers, POB 249, Bolton MA 01740, USA.

Focusing on the various aspects of faculty appointment, evaluation, and promotion in the United States, this book covers such issues as academic freedom, faculty career development and evaluation, misbehavior by faculty members, posttenure review, and the dismissal of tenured faculty. The data for the analyses come from the Harvard Project on Faculty Appointments. Although the discussion is U.S.-focused, the topics in this book will be of great relevance internationally.

Transnational Competence: Rethinking the U.S.-Japan Educational Relationship, edited by John N. Hawkins and William K. Cummings. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000. 205 pp. (paper). ISBN 0-7914-4632-8. Address: SUNY Press, State

University Plaza, Albany, NY 12246, USA.

The United States and Japan have had a long and complex relationship in terms of educational and cultural exchange. This volume examines this topic and includes considerations of knowledge networks, student exchanges, transnational competence, foreign language education, school exchanges, and others. U.S. and Japanese researchers worked together in developing a set of essays on these topics.

Anxious Intellectuals: Academic Professionals, Public Intellectuals, and Enlightenment Values, by John Michael. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2000. 218 pp \$17.95 (paper). \$49.95 (cloth). ISBN 0-8223-2496-2. Address: Duke University Press, Box 90660, Durham, NC 27708, USA.

A discussion of the ideas and philosophical background of key American academic intellectuals, this book explores contemporary ideas in light of Enlightenment ideals. Academic intellectuals from a range of fields (from African-American studies to astronomy) and from a range of political and ideological perspectives are examined.

Benchmarking for Higher Education, edited by Norman Jackson and Helen Lund. Buckingham, U.K.: Open University Press, 2000. 275 pp. \$42.95 (paper). ISBN 336-20453-8. Address: Open University Press, Celtic Court, 22 Ballmoor, Buckingham MK18 1XW, UK

Benchmarking has become a popular tool for measuring performance, self-improvement, and effective programming in higher education. This volume looks at such aspects of benchmarking as learning environments, student experiences, administrative practices, libraries and information systems, and others. The examples are all from Britain, but the experiences are relevant internationally.

Academic Freedom and Christian Scholarship, by Anthony J. Diekema. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. Eerdmans Publishing

Co., 2000. 214 pp. \$22 (paper). ISBN 0-8028-4756-0. Address: Wm. Eerdmans Publishers, 255 Jefferson Ave. SE., Grand Rapids, MI 49503, USA.

An argument for academic freedom and its relevance to higher education in Christian colleges and universities, this book discusses both the broader trends in higher education and also the special characteristics of Christian academic institutions. The author defends traditional ideals of academic freedom and argues that they must be a more prominent concern of the academic community.

Academic Disciplines: Holland's Theory and the Study of College Students and Faculty, by John C. Smart, Kenneth A. Feldman, and Corinna A. Ethington. Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 2000. 296 pp. \$39.95 (cloth). ISBN 0-8265-1305-0. Address: Vanderbilt University Press, Box 1813, Station B, Nashville TN 37235, USA.

Taking as a basis John Holland's theory of careers, this study discusses how students choose career and disciplinary paths in higher education, and the effect of different styles of teaching and learning. An analysis of US college students forms the research basis for this volume.

Department and Discipline: Chicago Sociology at One Hundred, by Andrew Abbott. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999. 249 pp. (paper). ISBN 0-226-00099-0. Address: University of Chicago Press, 5801 S. Ellis Ave., Chicago, IL 60637, USA.

The Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago is not only one of the oldest departments in its discipline in the world, but has also had a central leadership position in the field. From 1915 to 1935, the "Chicago school of sociology" pioneered an approach to the discipline that had wide influence. Chicago is also the home of one of the field's main journals, the *American Journal of Sociology*. This book analyzes the Chicago Department of

Sociology and the development of the discipline.

History of Higher Education Annual, edited by Roger Geiger. 226 pp. (paper). (\$15, \$20 foreign). ISSN 0737-2698. Address: Higher Education Program, 403 S. Allen St., Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA 16801 USA.

The *History of Higher Education Annual*, now in its 19th year of publication, focuses on historical aspects of higher education, mainly (but not exclusively) in the United States. The 1999 volume is a theme issue on Southern Higher Education in the 20th century, dealing with developments in America's southern region. Articles include considerations of racial segregation and other racial issues, case studies of the University of Georgia, Emory University, and the University of South Carolina.

Succeeding in an Academic Career: A Guide for Faculty of Color, edited by Mildred Garcia. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000. 184 pp. \$56.50 (cloth). ISBN: 0-313-29906-4. Address: Greenwood Publishers, 88 Post Rd., West. Westport CT 06881, USA.

This book is aimed faculty of color (African American, Latino, Asian, and others) working in American colleges and universities. Its purpose is to assist in shaping a successful academic career. Among the topics considered are departmental culture and politics; balancing teaching, research and service; networking; career stages; and student involvement. The book is predicated on the idea that nonwhite faculty in American higher education face special circumstances.

Higher Education Resources from Germany

The series of reports and monographs from the Wissenschaftliches Zentrum für Berufs- und Hochschulforschung at the Universität Gesamthochschule Kassel (Center for Research on Higher Education and Work at the University

of Kassel) is a valuable resource for analysis of higher education in Germany as well as comparatively. Most of the publications are in German and constitute one of the most important sources of research relating to German higher education. A book series, Hochschule und Beruf, is published in cooperation with Campus Verlag and includes more than 20 titles on research on German higher education as well as international exchanges and related topics. The Werkstattberichte series includes monographic studies. Informa-

tion can be obtained from the Wissenschaftliches Zentrum für Berufs- und Hochschulforschung, Universität Gesamthochschule Kassel, Henschelstr. 4, D 34109 Kassel, Germany.

The Institut für Hochschulforschung Wittenberg of the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg (Institute for Higher Education Research at the Martin Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg) focuses mainly on higher education issues in the former German

Democratic Republic (East Germany). The Arbeitsberichte (Working Papers) series publishes original research relating to higher education in eastern Germany. The institute also has well-organized bibliographical resources available. Address: Universitätsstiftung Leucorea, Collegienstr. 62b, D-06886 Lutherstadt Wittenberg, Germany.

Internet Resource

Visit the Center's website, located at: <http://www.bc.edu/cihe/>

An Initiative in International Higher Education

The Boston College Center for International Higher Education provides a unique service to colleges and universities worldwide. While it has as its primary aim providing information and publications to colleges and universities related to the Jesuit tradition, it also has a broader mission to be a focal point for discussion and thoughtful analysis of higher education. The Center provides information and analysis for those involved in managing the higher education enterprise internationally through publications, conferences, and the maintenance of a database of individuals and institutions. The Center is especially concerned with creating dialogue and cooperation among academic institutions in the industrialized nations and those in the developing countries of the Third World.

Programs and Resources

The Boston College Center for International Higher Education has as its purpose the stimulation of an international consciousness among Jesuit and other institutions concerning issues of higher education and the provision of documentation and analysis relating to higher education development. The following activities form the core of the Center's activities during its initial period of development:

- newsletter;
- publication series;
- study opportunities;
- conferences;
- bibliographical and document service; and
- networking and information technology.

The Center receives funding from the Ford Foundation for its core activities as well as specific projects.

The Program in Higher Education

The Program in Higher Education offers masters and doctoral degree study in the field of higher education. The Program has been preparing professionals in higher education for three decades, and features a rigorous 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 in higher education administration, student affairs, international higher education, and others are offered. The Higher Education Program works closely with the Center for International Higher Education. Additional information about the program in Higher Education is available from Dr. Karen Arnold, Coordinator, Program in Higher Education, Campion Hall, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA 02467, USA. Fax: (617) 552-8422 e-mail: <arnold@bc.edu>. More information about the program—including course descriptions and degree requirements—can be found online at the program's WWW site:

http://infoeagle.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/soe/hea/HEA.html

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