

# INTERNATIONAL HIGHER EDUCATION

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## Academic Freedom: A Realistic Appraisal

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Everyone seems to favor academic freedom. Indeed, if university leaders or ministers of education were asked, they would claim that this privilege is universally practiced. Yet, problems concerning academic freedom exist almost everywhere—created by changing academic realities, political pressures, growing commercialization and marketization of higher education, or legal pressures. The purpose of this article is to argue that academic freedom needs to be carefully defined so that it can be defended in the global climate of complexity. A new, and probably more delimited, understanding of academic freedom is needed in the age of the Internet and the global knowledge economy

### A BIT OF HISTORY

Academic freedom has a long history in higher education but has always been contested by forces outside the university. Since the time of Martin Luther and Socrates, professors have been persecuted for their views—by state or religious authorities or by powerful interest groups who do not like dissenting views or uncomfortable truths. Modern academic freedom was perhaps first codified by Wilhelm von Humboldt when he developed the research university in Berlin in 1818. The German academic freedom idea was limited in scope. It included *Lehrfreiheit*—the freedom of professors to teach in their classrooms and to do research in the direct areas of expertise. The Humboldtian ideal did not include freedom to express views outside the professor's area of expertise and 19th-century Germany often disciplined academics who expressed dissenting opinions about politics and excluded socialists or other dissenters from holding academic appointments. It should also be noted that students were guaranteed *Lernfreiheit*—the freedom to study what they wished.

The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) first focused on academic freedom in 1915, and its statement emphasized three main principles: “to promote inquiry and advance the sum of human knowledge,” “to provide general instruction to the students,” and “to develop experts for various branches of the public service.” With the agreement of university presidents, the AAUP expanded the purview of academic freedom in 1940 to include professorial expression on topics outside of the direct academic expertise of the professor. In other words, professors had a wider range of freedom of expression, although the statement emphasizes professorial responsibility and recognizes some restrictions. In both the

German and American cases, academic freedom included protection of academic appointments through a tenure system: professors could not be fired for their research or views on a range of topics. Professors came to be protected in roles as members of the academic community as well. They could not be disciplined because they might oppose university leadership on issues relating to academic governance of policy. This broader definition, stemming from both German and American traditions, seems to be widely accepted globally in countries that have a traditional commitment to academic freedom, although it is possible to point to many violations of the accepted norms.

### CONTEMPORARY CONFUSION

At the same time, definitions about academic freedom are being expanded and contracted beyond generally accepted norms. Some now define academic freedom as virtually everything that permits effective teaching and research—faculty involvement in governance, adequate budgets for academic institutions, suitable conditions for teaching and learning such as appropriate classrooms and access to technology. This stretches academic freedom to include everything necessary for a successful university. At the other end of the spectrum, some countries or universities claim adherence to academic freedom where there are policies in place that restrict what can be taught in the classroom or on themes for research and publication.

Contemporary realities have also created complexities. The Internet, distance education, and related technological innovations, as well as the rise of multinational media conglomerates that increasingly control the distribution of knowledge, have raised questions about the ownership of knowledge. Issues related to academic freedom are involved in these technological debates.

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Is academic freedom a necessary condition for high-quality “world-class” universities today? The evidence seems to show the requirement. The various international rankings of universities give those institutions with a high degree of academic freedom the top scores. Few highly ranked universities systematically violate traditional norms of academic freedom. A high degree of academic freedom is particularly important for the social sciences and humanities, but all fields benefit from freedom of inquiry and a sense that the university is committed to the free expression of ideas.

### THE NEED FOR A NEW CONSENSUS

Academic freedom is without question a core value for higher education. In the knowledge economy of the 21st century aca-

democratic freedom needs some rethinking, with all of the pressures on higher education engendered by massification, commercialization, and accountability. What is needed is a return to the core concepts of academic freedom developed by von Humboldt and expanded in the AAUP's 1940 statement. Academic freedom, after all, is the right of professors to teach without constraint in their field of expertise, do research and publish, and express themselves in the public space (newspapers, the Internet, and so on). Academic freedom generally protects the employment of professors as well as providing the most ironclad guarantees possible—through a formal tenure or civil service system, or other arrangements.

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A statement issued by professors at the University of Cape Town in South Africa and quoted in a famous 1957 United States Supreme Court decision states:

It is the business of a university to provide that atmosphere which is most conducive to speculation, experiment and creation. It is an atmosphere in which there prevail "the four essential freedoms" of a university—to determine for itself on academic grounds who may teach, what may be taught, how it shall be taught, and who may be admitted to study.

These ideals neatly summarize many of the essential ideas of academic freedom.

Academic freedom does not essentially concern how universities are managed, whether they are adequately funded or even how the faculty is compensated. Academic freedom does not ensure that professors have a role in governance but should guarantee that they can speak out on internal management issues without fear of sanction. Academic freedom does not relate to accountability. Universities may legitimately demand appropriate productivity from faculty members. Professors' work may be evaluated, and inadequate performance may lead to sanctions or even, in extreme cases, firing, but only after careful procedures that do not violate academic freedom. Academic freedom protects professorial freedom of teaching, research, and expression—and nothing else.

#### CURRENT PROBLEMS

Traditional academic freedom is under threat in many places today, creating the need for more attention to be paid to contemporary challenges. These crises range from professors being subject to severe sanctions for their teaching, research,

or expression—including firing, jail, or even violence. Groups like Scholars at Risk provide assistance to such academics and publicize their problems. In some countries, restrictions exist on what can be researched, taught, and published. In some cases the restrictions are explicit, but in most cases the "red lines" that cannot be crossed are not clearly spelled out. Yet, academics may be sanctioned if they violate these terms.

The list of such countries and fields of inquiry is unfortunately rather long. In the United States, which has in general effective protections for academic freedom, problems are emerging. Courts have recently ruled that academics who speak out against the policies of their own universities and are penalized for such actions are not protected by academic freedom. The growing number of part-time teachers in many countries have no effective protection of their academic freedom, since they are often employed for just one course or for a short and often indeterminate period of time. The ownership of knowledge by multinational corporations or even by employing universities has become an issue of contention in some countries. Is it a violation of academic freedom for an external organization to control publication through ownership rights? Is academic freedom violated if governments impose curricular requirements of various kinds, as is the case in a significant number of countries? In short, academic freedom is under considerable stress today, and expanding the definition of this key concept to include basically everything makes the protection of the essentials of academic freedom increasingly difficult. The complexities of the 21st century require careful attention to the core principles of academic freedom so that they can be protected in an increasingly difficult environment. ■

## New Challenges to Academic Freedom in the United States

ROBERT M. O'NEIL

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Academic freedom in American higher education evolves in curious and often unpredictable ways. For those who teach at public or state-supported institutions, the courts play a major role in defining the scope of such freedom. For faculty at independent or private colleges and universities, whose policies are seldom subject to court review, standards are provided by organizations such as the American Association of

University Professors. Some faculties at institutions of both types may also be protected by collective bargaining agreements. After a decade or so with relatively few critical tests of the rights and liberties of US scholars, the past year or two has brought academic freedom to the fore in dramatic fashion. Three current tests merit special attention.

#### THE JOHN YOO CASE

The first case involved University of California-Berkeley law professor John Yoo. During the time he served as a high-legal adviser to the administration of President George W. Bush, Yoo offered views that seemed to validate or legitimize extreme methods of interrogation, potentially including torture—methods so controversial that the administration itself soon renounced their use. When several memoranda containing such counsel became public, demands emerged for university sanctions against the author, despite his long-tenured status on

*After a decade or so with relatively few critical tests of the rights and liberties of US scholars, the past year or two has brought academic freedom to the fore in dramatic fashion.*

the Berkeley faculty. Such demands intensified when a national commission suggested the disbarment of several of the “torture memo” architects and when a federal judge refused to dismiss a civil damage suit by torture victims against Yoo and several other White House legal advisers. The law school dean, however, refused to launch any formal inquiry that might lead to dismissal, insisting that Professor Yoo's statements were protected by academic freedom, even if they were incompatible with prevailing principles of international law. He left open the possibility that a criminal conviction based, for example, on war-crimes charges might warrant a harsher assessment.

The dean's position seems indisputably sound, though far from obvious to the average observer. Advocating that the United States depart from established international norms in its interrogation of detainees is surely controversial and conflicts with our expectations for a scholar's role in government. Moreover, Professor Yoo's counsel was presumably sought by the Bush administration because of his academic standing and faculty role. Yet academic freedom clearly extends beyond the classroom and scholarly journals and encompasses contentious views expressed in other settings and media. And if the offering of such dangerous (even unlawful) counsel to the national administration were to place the author's faculty position at risk, future scholars might well temper their views unacceptably or decline outright. If Professor Yoo is eventually charged with and convicted of a war crime, a less sympathetic response may be warranted. But for now, the dean's defense of academic freedom, even in so controversial a case, seems consistent with our traditions and values.

#### THE WILLIAM ROBINSON CASE

Meanwhile, a strikingly different though equally challenging issue was unfolding at another University of California campus. The University of California-Santa Barbara sociology professor William Robinson sent to his undergraduate class an e-mail message that was highly critical of Israel's treatment of Palestinians in Gaza. Though he was himself Jewish, Robinson had been increasingly troubled about conditions in Gaza and in his message strongly implied that Israel's role there was analogous to Nazi atrocities during the Holocaust. Accompanying photos added a graphic dimension to his charge, juxtaposing what one account termed “grisly photos of children's corpses” from both the current Middle East and from eastern Europe seven decades earlier.

Several of Robinson's students promptly conveyed to a national Jewish organization their deep concern about this message, and the organization in turn protested to university officials. A faculty senate committee soon launched an inquiry within a deeply divided campus. Many of Robinson's colleagues insisted that academic freedom protected such communication, while many outside groups and some within felt Robinson had crossed the line and had abused his position and had engaged an inexcusable anti-Semitism. After weeks of charges and countercharges involving at one point three separate faculty inquiries, the key committee announced in early summer that it was closing the matter and that no further action would be taken. The university administration concurred, and that ended the formal process.

The faculty committee's disposition did not, however, end debate and in fact left open, for further analysis, an intriguing set of issues. The novelty of the medium that Professor Robinson had used remained under closer scrutiny. Had he conveyed his views in class or shared them with students by more conventional means, they would surely have evoked concern, though even most critics would concede the material was directly related to the course and thus within the instructor's academic freedom. But e-mailing the message and the photos to all students in the class seemed to some a quite different (and reprehensible) act. For one thing, the communication was less clearly within the protected scope of a classroom or a course. Moreover, some critics claimed that Robinson had used campus facilities (the e-mail system and server) to broadcast a personal political view. For another, the inevitable impact of the “grisly photos” along with the Gaza-Holocaust analogy substantially raised the risks. Yet, the change in medium should not—and happily at Santa Barbara did not—diminish the safeguards of academic freedom even for contentious faculty expression.

#### THE WARD CHURCHILL CASE

Finally, there is the continuing saga of University of Colorado ethnic studies professor Ward Churchill. Although vindicated by a faculty committee for statements he made about the September 11 attacks in an essay posted on an obscure Web

site—referring to World Trade Center victims as “Little Eichmanns” and praising the hijackers for having “the courage of their convictions”—Churchill was eventually dismissed from his tenured post on the basis of substantial and serious misconduct on a separate research project. He brought suit in state court, initially seeking damages for wrongful dismissal; the jury agreed he had been fired improperly, but awarded him only nominal damages of one dollar. Churchill then returned to court, asking to be reinstated in his faculty position. He claimed that the research inquiry had been triggered solely (and in his view unconstitutionally) by the protected statements in the “Little Eichmanns” essay.

In midsummer 2009, a Colorado judge rejected these claims, deferring to the university's judgment and the process it had followed in the ultimately dispositive review of Churchill's research methodology. That ruling seems sound, though far from obvious, and it has been appealed to a higher court. Meanwhile, the lesson seems clear: If a subsequent inquiry about a totally different aspect of a professor's activity (research methodology versus extramural statements) were placed permanently off limits solely because controversial views might have helped trigger that inquiry, the institution could be left without recourse against a serious and wholly separate transgression. Such a result would be stretching academic freedom beyond its properly protective scope.

#### CONCLUSION

All three cases are extremely complicated and are very close to the elusive line that separates academic freedom from punishable misconduct. Quite some years have passed since our understanding of academic freedom has been so sharply tested. Yet the experiences recounted here should prepare us better for the inevitable next round of challenges. ■

## Academic Freedom at the Crossroads in the United States

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Academic freedom in the United States has long been associated with the values inherent in the First Amendment free-speech clause of the US Constitution. Indeed, in 1967 the United States Supreme Court definitively stated that academic freedom is “a special concern of the First Amendment.” Despite the fact that the First Amendment applies only to public institutions, academic freedom has been widely espoused as

a highly protected value of academia in almost all universities in the United States. In private universities, academic freedom protection is usually stated in a faculty contract or in university policy.

In recent years a deterioration of academic freedom has occurred in higher education institutions in the United States. Exacerbating this trend is that US courts, longstanding protectors of the value of free speech, have whittled away some of the traditional academic freedom protection afforded to faculty at public colleges and universities. Several factors have contributed to a general decline in protection of academic freedom. These factors threaten the future viability of academic freedom and the advantages to higher education and society.

#### EVENTS OF 9/11

The terrorist attack of 9/11 has resulted in an increased attention on national security, resulting in a scrutiny of views different from the official position of the US government. Faculty speech criticizing the US government resulted in demands by some groups and state legislatures for restricting “unpatriotic” faculty speech, especially in public universities, where some argued that taxpayers should not pay to support “anti-American” faculty. These instances directly affect academic freedom by their chilling effect on faculty speech. Before making statements critical of the US government or that could be construed as defending other countries or cultures deemed antagonistic to the United States, professors must consider the possible repercussions to that speech by students, administrators, legislatures, and the public. This movement has subsided to some extent, but the damage has weakened academic freedom through its disturbing effect on faculty speech.

#### (MIS-)APPLICATION OF THE BUSINESS MODEL

Many higher education institutions in the United States are now attempting to apply a business model of hierarchical management. Power and control are more centralized, resulting in a dramatic decrease in faculty autonomy. Shared governance is disappearing. Instead of providing oversight and overall coordination, administrators are making the decisions (even academic decisions) with less input from faculty. Faculty who openly disagree with the administration can be subjected to retaliatory action. These actions are generally supported by the courts. Courts used to dealing with centralized hierarchical organizations are deferring more to university administration on matters that under traditional academic freedom were decided by shared governance with the faculty.

#### US COURT DECISIONS

Although the US Supreme Court has stated that academic freedom is a special concern of the First Amendment, it has never precisely defined the protections provided by academic freedom. This has left it to the lower courts to determine how to analyze First Amendment faculty speech (academic freedom) issues. The results have been mixed, with some courts giving

great deference to the institution. Without a clear legal definition of academic freedom by the Supreme Court, faculty are hesitant to subject themselves to the expense and time to challenge an institution.

The most recent decision by the Supreme Court has created further ambiguity that some courts have used to reduce academic freedom protection. In *Garcetti v. Ceballos* (2006), the Supreme Court held that speech made by a public employee pursuant to that employee's official duties is not protected by the First Amendment. Justice Souter stated in his dissent that he hoped "that today's majority does not mean to imperil First Amendment protection of academic freedom in public colleges and universities, whose teachers necessarily speak and write "pursuant to official duties." In response, the majority opinion of the Court reserved the issue of whether this decision would apply in the same manner to a case involving speech related to scholarship and teaching by faculty at public universities. The result is that lower courts have the discretion as to whether to apply *Garcetti* to faculty speech cases or not.

Some courts have already applied *Garcetti's* holding to college faculty. In *Renken v. Gregory* (2008), a professor alleged that the university had reduced his pay and terminated his grant in retaliation for his criticism about the university's handling of a grant. The US Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit ruled that the situation in the case was pursuant to his job duties and not protected speech. In *Hong v. Grant* (2007), a professor alleged that he was denied a merit-salary increase because of his critical statements regarding hiring and promotion policies. US District Court for the Central District of

*The most recent decision by the Supreme Court has created further ambiguity that some courts have used to reduce academic freedom protection.*

California ruled that the case involved his job duties as a faculty member and not protected speech. Because faculty duties generally encompass more than teaching and research, this expansive definition of "official duties" threatens to make much faculty speech unprotected under the First Amendment, thereby causing important ramification for academic freedom.

The deterioration of academic freedom is not inevitable, and this trend can be reversed. Nevertheless, this approach has been supported by factors affecting the academy, which must be addressed. The Supreme Court could go far to restore the traditional protections afforded by academic freedom for the benefit of higher education and society. ■

## Is Greater Financial Independence Ahead for Universities?

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Moody's Investors Service is a leading credit-rating agency, providing credit and financial strength analysis of a wide range of organizations and securities. Moody's rates the credit quality and financial strength of over 500 universities and 250 other not-for-profit organizations. Our analysis of public universities is driven both by the structural policy environment of the country or locality the university works within as well as the particular market position, management and governance structure, operating performance, and balance-sheet strength of the university.

The financial effects of recessions are typically not felt immediately by leading global public universities because tough fiscal policy decisions often must funnel through a lengthy government budget process before impacting university funding. The government budgeting process, therefore, often renders university financial performance a lagging indicator of economic activity. This delayed impact is even more pronounced in the current recession due to the prevalence of short-term government stimulus spending, which often may postpone or soften funding reductions for universities. However, when stimulus spending expires and governments seek to achieve better budget balance, many universities are likely to experience substantial funding reductions or, at best, an extended period of limited funding growth. At the same time, universities face demand to enroll additional students as alternatives to education (i.e., employment) are weakened by economic contraction, forcing many people to seek opportunities in higher education to enhance skills and credentials. With policies of limiting enrollment places and tuition fees, market pressure to add capacity, and government funding unlikely to increase, Moody's expects unprecedented pressure on the current financial model of public universities.

### WILL THE FINANCIAL MODEL OF UNIVERSITIES EVOLVE?

For many nations, resolution of these countervailing fiscal and policy choices will be among the more significant public policy developments in the next decade, given the importance of creating a skilled labor force. One solution, with obvious economic and policy implications, would be for universities and policymakers to simply manage within the existing constraints of the system by scaling back enrollments, delaying access for underserved populations, seeking out cost efficiencies, and

limiting capital investment in the hopes of improved funding environments in the future. Clearly, room exists for improved efficiency and different teaching models to enhance access and availability of tertiary education without additional funding. However, the gap between any realistic view of future government funding and the level of demand and policy goals is likely to be substantial in many nations. It is difficult to imagine that efficiency measures such as expanding online education and developing new teaching models could fully alleviate the need for funding in the sector. Government policy that restricted the flow of capital into an industry despite that industry's favorable social and economic impacts on other sectors of the economy would appear to be suboptimal.

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Another possibility is for the model of funding for higher education to evolve toward a public-market-based funding mix. The capacity for most higher education institutions to raise tuition and other fees to generate revenue is substantial, given the large remaining implicit subsidy provided to middle- and upper-income students in most nations. The potential is especially large in systems where government policy has effectively eliminated or capped tuition levels. In some countries, we have already seen signs of rising independence of universities through reformed governance structures and introduction of nongovernmental revenue streams such as tuition deregulation or expanded capacity for nondomestic students. While nuances of how tuition fees are implemented and managed can have serious social-policy consequences, financial aid strategies exist to ensure that access for the weakest economic groups is protected from increased tuition.

#### **CAPITAL FINANCING AND DEBT CAPACITY**

Evolution is also possible for capital investment. As existing facilities age and the demand for cutting-edge research facilities grow, capital funding will be a particularly challenging area for university management.

Prior to the current recession, capital investment by universities was funded by one of several sources: direct government allocation, operating cash flow, philanthropy and corporate employer grants, or borrowing of various types. While it is difficult to estimate with any precision the balance of funding sources used in all nations, for institutions outside the United States, capital funding was heavily weighted toward government funding, either through direct allocations for capital or

by the fact that the majority of operating revenues were from government and therefore funding large portions of operating cash flow. US public and private institutions tend to rely on diversified sources, including government, private donors, employers, and capital-market borrowing to fund new investments. Government tax incentives to reduce borrowing costs have also encouraged substantial borrowing by US universities. For US public universities rated by Moody's, the median debt to revenue was 48 percent and the amount of outstanding debt has grown from \$101 million in fiscal year 2003 to nearly \$162 million in fiscal year 2007. For universities in Australia, median debt to revenue was just 7 percent.

While debt and leverage are viewed with a great deal of skepticism after the credit crisis, long-term financing of capital assets remains a rational strategy for policymakers and universities. Added borrowing by sovereigns at a time when their balance sheets are already stretched may be challenging to accomplish and could limit traditional sources of capital funding. However, most universities currently have very low debt levels and retain capacity to utilize borrowing to finance strategic projects on their own.

#### **CONCLUSION**

Universities play a unique role in the economies and public policy of their countries. Many face conflicting pressures of rising demand for their services, especially during recessions, while also needing to adjust to a weaker outlook for operating

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and capital funding from their traditional state sponsors. Student enrollment levels are likely generally to rise as the need for an educated workforce continues to expand around the world. Policymakers will continue to seek competitive societal and economic gains through expanded student participation rates, as well as research and development investments, even as they face more limited funding capacity. University relationships with sponsoring governments are likely to remain strong but possibly evolve gradually toward more independent university funding sources, including increased financing for capital purposes. ■

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## International Strategies for Increasing Attainment

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In the past decade, increasing attainment rates—the percentage of adult workers holding a degree beyond the secondary level—have replaced participation rates as a primary goal of higher education policy in many countries. Positively, this shift in focus means that policies in these countries are being designed to improve both access and success of students rather than emphasizing just more access as measured by traditional participation-rate measures.

In the United States these policy changes have resulted, first, in a debate over why a number of Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries are catching up or surpassing overall US attainment rates, especially for younger workers, while the United States spends more and commits more of its gross domestic product on higher education than any other OECD country. Second, these patterns raise questions about how other countries improve their attainment rates without increasing their costs per student and financial commitment.

### DIFFERENTIATION OF MEASURES

To address these two queries, Jobs for the Future as part of its Making Opportunity Affordable project recently published a report we cowrote entitled “Cost, Commitment, and Attainment: An International Comparison.” The report elaborates the importance to differentiate among key subcomponents when discussing three measures of tertiary education activity. Costs per student, for example, should be examined separately for education and research (although measuring research effort as OECD does on a per student basis makes little sense).

Public and private levels of commitment should be examined separately as well because countries that devote a lot of public resources to higher education rarely rely on private resources as well. The opposite also applies: countries that rely more on private resources to fund higher education typically do not invest as much in public resources. Canada is the principal exception to this rule.

For attainment, the report states the relevance of differentiating between bachelor's and sub-bachelor's (e.g., associate) degrees. Countries that rank highest on bachelor's-degree attainment such as Norway and the United States tend to have

low or mediocre sub-bachelor attainment rates. Countries such as Canada and Japan that have the highest sub-bachelor's rates of attainment do not represent countries with the highest rates of bachelor's-degree attainment. Definitely, the growing number of reports that cite the rankings on overall attainment rates should clarify this distinction.

### INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIES

Another key lesson to be learned includes the most beneficial aspects of moving international comparisons beyond statistical rankings to examining the strategies that countries use in achieving high rates of attainment. To that end, our review of OECD-reported statistics examines why attainment rates may have grown more rapidly in some countries than others. The report suggests that the following eight strategies may have helped various countries achieve increases in attainment in sustainable ways.

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*Increasing degree-completion rates.* One obvious way to raise attainment rates is to introduce regulations or provide incentives to institutions or students that lead to higher degree-completion rates. A number of countries have made strides in this regard. For example, Denmark now uses graduation measures in its funding formulas. At least a handful of OECD countries have increased the number of graduates relative to population—including Australia, Iceland, and Italy. Increasing degree-completion rates would seem to be a more sustainable way to improve attainment than encouraging large increases in enrollments, which could strain system capacities.

*Reducing time-to-degree.* Through the Bologna process, European countries are seeking to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of their higher education systems in a number of ways. One key focus involves reducing the normal time-to-degree for bachelor's degree programs, to three or four years from what has been five or more years in many European countries. A number of European and non-European countries have taken this approach, including Australia, Czech Republic, Iceland, Japan, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. The Bologna process also has stimulated some countries to institute reforms that help to lessen the average time-to-degree.

*Expanding sub-bachelor's programs.* A principal way for countries to stimulate growth in attainment at relatively modest levels of cost and commitment is to invest more heavily in their sub-bachelor's-degree programs, which tend to cost less per student than most bachelor's-degree programs. Canada and Japan

have both used this strategy to achieve very high levels of overall degree attainment.

*Making a high level of public commitment.* The investment of more resources in higher education often leads to higher levels of participation, which then may translate into higher rates of attainment. A number of countries, especially from Nordic regions, have made a significant public commitment to expanding their higher education systems and raising attainment rates. Ireland, too, has significantly increased its investment of public resources in higher education, but this increase came more from rapid national economic growth than from a high level of public commitment.

*Relying on the private sector to foster growth.* South Korea and Japan are the prime examples of industrialized countries that have relied on private-sector institutions to fuel growth in participation and attainment. Both have become worldwide leaders in attainment without a high cost per student or high level of public commitment. Some developing countries have pursued this strategy for increasing the size of their higher education systems with reasonable success.

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*Enrolling more students in universities.* Several Scandinavian countries now have bachelor's-degree attainment rates similar to or exceeding those in the United States, at least for their youngest workers. Norway, with the highest rate of bachelor's-degree attainment, has focused on bachelor's-degree programs, with a very small sector of sub-bachelor's programs. As a result, these countries tend to have relatively high levels of both education cost per student and public commitment. They also tend to spend more on research per student than do countries with smaller university sectors.

*Increasing tuition fees in the public sector.* Some OECD countries have raised their participation and thus their attainment rates by relying more on the fees paid by students attending public-sector institutions. Canada has followed this strategy, and it now has the highest overall attainment rate among OECD countries, although much of this growth has been in sub-bachelor's degrees. In the United States and New Zealand, higher public fees also have expanded resources, which in turn allow for higher enrollments. Australia is the prime example, through its Higher Education Contribution Scheme, of a country that now publicly funds higher fees initially, with students repaying these fees based on their income once they graduate. England and Thailand recently have adopted similar approaches.

*Recruiting abroad.* Another means for countries to increase resources and enrollments is to recruit more students from

other countries. The fees these students pay, which often approach market rates, can generate significant resources for a higher education system. Australia and New Zealand are particularly aggressive in this regard: overseas students represent one-fifth or more of total higher education enrollments. In Austria, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, overseas students represent at least one-tenth of enrollments. But to the extent that these students do not become citizens of the countries in which they study, large influxes of international students may not affect attainment rates significantly.

#### CONCLUSION

Each of these eight strategies are worth considering as countries around the world deal with economies in deep recession. Since the recovery from these hard times may be longer than normal, it is even more critical for political and education leaders to focus on higher education strategies that will lead to more degree attainment achieved in financially sustainable ways. ■

## The Unintended Effects of the Bologna Reforms

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When the Bologna Declaration was signed 10 years ago, the 29 ministers' commitment to concerted national reforms of their higher education systems and to the creation of common and readable degree structures was not taken seriously at first. Many stakeholders saw these goals as the inflated rhetoric that had become typical of European ministerial meetings. Now, however, close to the self-set deadline of 2010, after a process of unprecedented ministerial peer pressure, most of the reform objectives appear implemented, albeit in most countries in a merely formal and superficial manner.

The ideal of the Bologna reforms to improve the quality and international attractiveness of European higher education remains a vision, for it would have needed substantial investments, which few countries were ready to carry out. The prospect involved multiple policies: student-centered teaching, flexible curricula and learning paths, transparent descriptions of learning outcomes to facilitate student mobility and inter-institutional recognition of [program] study periods and higher education's adaptation to more diverse student qualifications and labor-market needs. However, such trends would have required better student-staff ratios and staff development than most countries were ready to provide.

At this juncture, one should go beyond accounting for short-falls—as helpful as that may be to refuel a deeper reform—and examine some unintended and unnoticed effects of the Bologna reforms that may have profoundly changed higher education, but only in ways unforeseen by the visionaries.

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#### EFFECTS AT THE SYSTEM LEVEL

Four of the many unintended effects of the Bologna reform process are of interest to higher education researchers and policymakers.

*An osmosis.* The Bologna process has created such a dense network of policy exchange and institutional comparison that one may expect policy choices at all levels to transpire much more rapidly into the political contexts of other European countries. The spread of policy discussions between countries has reached an unforeseen intensity that makes the European higher education landscape begin to appear as a common “European higher education area.” Bologna has brought about frequent transnational exchanges and policy consulting between European rectors’ conferences and university presidents in similar transitions. For example, the Slovak design of research evaluation was inspired by parts of the English Research Assessment Exercise; the French Programme Campus, in which 10 high-quality universities receive infrastructure support after competitive bidding, was modeled after the German Excellence Initiative; as well as the many national merger incentives that have been picked up from the Scandinavian practice.

*A catalyst.* The Bologna rhetoric of urgency and international competitiveness and the far-reaching systemic implications of its curricular and quality objectives have also acted as a stimulation for other “urgent” national reforms. Many national reform agendas went well beyond the Bologna “action lines” and were presented as inevitable ingredients of an increasingly international higher education arena. They often included increased institutional autonomy, new governance structures with stronger institutional leadership and more stakeholder influence, and greater proportions of performance-based funding. Examples include Austria, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, some of the German *Länder*, Belgian Flanders, Portugal, Slovakia, and most recently Spain. A recent European Commission-funded study on governance in Europe documents these convergences.

*Vocational drift.* With the emphasis on graduates’ “employability” and on the labor-market relevance of the new bachelor’s-degree level, the Bologna reforms strengthened the position of

the more professionally oriented higher education institutions, such as the *Fachhochschulen*, in many higher education systems in Europe (as can be seen in Norway, Germany, the Netherlands, and, to a lesser extent, in Switzerland). Together with the Lisbon agenda’s emphasis on innovation, the status of the less-traditional functions of universities rose to public recognition. While research universities have advanced, through international rankings, as an essential element of an internationally oriented higher education system, the overall effect of the weakened role of basic research and traditional academic research training can still be noted. Doctoral training is being reviewed in its efficacy and relevance for nonacademic employment. The resulting attention to transferable research skills training, which can be seen in Germany, Switzerland, Norway, Finland, Belgium, and France, may well be observed as an indirect effect of the Bologna reforms.

*Mass vs. elite degrees.* Recent studies on the implementation of the Bologna reforms show that the new two-tier curricula are often structured as a more mass-oriented bachelor’s- and a more selective or elite master’s-degree program. While many systems continue to regard the master’s as the main university degree, the nature of the first three years has clearly changed in its new bachelor’s habitat, based on the European University Association trends studies report. Most often, staff-intensive research training has been restricted to the master’s level, although some research universities are attempting to reverse such trends, as the League of European Research Universities reports. Wherever bachelor’s-degree education is accessible for all high school diploma holders, while master’s programs may select their students to fit their profiles, one may observe early

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signals of mass and elite dimensions of the system. Some less-resourced national systems (such as Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic) already simply allow the most-qualified students to continue into master’s programs. Overall, cost pressures and labor-market reactions to the new degrees are likely to determine whether bachelor’s degrees will become the main degree at least in some fields.

#### EFFECTS AT THE INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL

*Central leadership.* The Bologna reforms have helped strengthen the position of institutional leadership, creating an institutionwide process of consultation and decision making. Since the Bologna reforms were associated with governance in some countries the central-leadership position at institutions was enhanced there, resulting in controversy from students and academics in some places (e.g., France and Spain).

*Crosscutting.* The Bologna reforms also often led to attempts to dissolve the vertical boundaries that cut through many continental European universities, resulting in incentives to foster interdisciplinary programs or research. Especially at the new master's level, such new interfaces were sought and institutionalized. Another trend involves support for new interdisciplinary centers or doctoral-level schools within and between institutions, especially in Germany, France, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries.

*Stakeholders.* Finally, stakeholder influence, which has been associated with the relevance agenda of the Bologna reforms, has been strengthened not only through widespread new governance structures—such as institutional boards (e.g., in Austria, Denmark, Norway, and the Netherlands) and institutionalized advisory boards at program levels. While the direct influence of external stakeholders still raises skepticism at most traditional (self-declared science- or scholarship-driven) institutions, consulting relevant outside partners on program orientation is more widely accepted among academics from all types of institutions now, as recent studies show.

#### CONCLUSION

It is too early to tell whether the vision of a Europe in which a substantial proportion of students and graduates would study or work abroad, with full recognition of their prior studies and qualifications that open them doors abroad, will become a reality within the next decade. However, beyond such hopes for the realization of the Bologna reforms' deeper vision and potential, one should perhaps begin to look more closely at the effects that were never envisioned but have already become reality. ■

## Globalization, Universities, and Quality Assurance in Panama

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Higher education in the developing world has changed dramatically over the past two decades, mainly as a result of increasing globalization. It is the complex interplay of global and local forces, however, that determines subsequent effects on an individual country's university system. The most impacting of these forces come from two directions: economic and political. The economic aspect drives the business opportunity associated with higher education; the political aspect drives the vision for higher education a country develops through policy, legislation, and regulation. How the two factors interact and the kind of system they produce depend largely upon the quality-assurance mechanisms implemented.

The Republic of Panama is an illustrative case of a small, highly globalized country whose university system has grown exponentially since 1990—without a solid quality-assurance system. A recent study from the National Secretariat for Science, Technology and Innovation shows how this lack of quality assurance has allowed the business of university education to undermine the political vision. It further explains how this scenario impedes competitiveness. Studying this particular, but fairly representative, case may provide a glimpse of what developing countries in Latin America and elsewhere can expect given similar circumstances.

#### PANAMA'S UNIVERSITY SECTOR

Until the 1980s there were two universities in Panama. Today, the Ministry of Education recognizes 36, and the Public Registry lists over 95. These are large numbers for a country with a population of 3 million and potential university cohort of under 300,000. Simultaneous to this proliferation of institutions, global trends toward higher education convergence have pushed initiatives on program and standard harmonization that have, in turn, affected Panama's regulatory environment.

As most of university growth has occurred in the last 15 years, all but a few schools have been operating for a decade or less. Private universities account for the majority, with nearly all legally registered to operate for-profit. There are five public universities, representing almost 75 percent of enrollment. The oldest and largest is the University of Panama; the others have evolved recently, principally from former University of Panama departments or regional centers.

While the private sector represents just over a quarter of university enrollment, it is the fastest-growing segment. It accounts for all Public Registry institutions and 31 of the 36 ministry-recognized universities. Few are nonprofits. Many are products of transnational agreements with international providers, which create branch campuses, online distance-learning programs, "off-shore" degrees, franchising arrangements, or multinational corporations.

International higher education institutions represented in the Panamanian market include Florida State University, University of Louisville, Towson University, College of Notre Dame of Maryland, Florida International University, Universidad de San Martin of Colombia, McGill University (Canada), University of St. Louis, School of International Training, and ADEN Business School. Of these, only Florida State University can claim a full-branch campus, significant market presence, and thousands of graduates. Others generally franchise specific degrees or courses and several run study-abroad programs for outside students exclusively. So while international university presence is growing, with the exception of Florida State University, the overall impact on the sector is relatively weak.

Multinational for-profit university corporations represented in Panama include Laureate International Universities and the Whitney International University System. These companies

own multiple schools, have program offers that target lower-income populations, and attract larger enrollments.

Among the legally registered private universities, for dozens no contact data or basic information are available; many more could be considered “garage universities,” apartments or offices with signs in front that often disappear as quickly as they appear. Both phenomena raise concerns of diploma mills and fraudulent practice. Because Panama does not have an accreditation system in place, it is easy for fly-by-night schools to function and even thrive.

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#### BUSINESS VERSUS VISION

Panama, like many Latin American countries, has signed extensive legislation and agreements reflecting its higher education political globalization and vision for moving its universities toward international norms. The most significant initiatives are the 1998 law establishing Panama’s “city of knowledge,” which was designed to bring international business, technology, and academia together in a former US military facility; the 2003 accord founding the Central American University Accreditation Council; and the 2006 law creating Panama’s National Council for the Evaluation and Accreditation of University Education (CONEAUPA).

These visionary initiatives compete, however, with older, deeply rooted legal codes: the 1927 law facilitating creation of corporations, allowing nationals and internationals to establish businesses quickly, easily, and cheaply for any nonillegal enterprise, including higher education; and the 1972 constitutional article centralizing university-system control and private oversight in the University of Panama, an institution perceived to be dysfunctional at best and blatantly corrupt at worst. The former code fuels university proliferation since it is not difficult to obtain Ministry of Education recognition but is complicated for authorities to thwart those who fail to do so. The latter provides a business for the University of Panama and impedes the establishment of an autonomous quality assurance body; CONEAUPA, three years after inception, is still not operational.

Nonregulatory factors—a large pool of low-paid adjunct professors, a service-sector economy, and limited vocational options—further contribute to making higher education an attractive business. They also encourage universities to sell profitable modules for generic proficiencies like English, office protocol, and computer skills, alongside their degree courses.

#### IMPLICATIONS FOR COMPETITIVENESS

The general consensus in Panama is that the content and relevance of most university programs do not correspond to either international standards or market demand—a common problem for developing countries. But without a substantive, operational quality assurance body supported by both public and private sectors, economic globalization will dominate the political. Business will undermine vision. The upshot of this is that although higher education may become available to more of the population, the value of local degrees diminishes. This is already happening in Panama. A recent national study reports that 80 percent of mid- and high-level management holds degrees from universities outside the country.

Without credible quality assurance, developing countries’ university systems will not be positioned to contribute effectively to development or competitiveness. This will increase reliance on outside education and labor—particularly for countries like Panama where international services power the economy. Quality assurance is the first step to university capacity development. But to take this step, national mentality must shift from equating university development with business opportunity and toward equating it with strategic necessity. ■

## Canadian Universities’ Strategies for Internationalization

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The press and academic literature have focused on universities that embraced globalization, attracting a large share of foreign students to their campuses or launching global research networks. Indeed, notice is also taken of failures—such as a university dismantling an overseas branch campus a few months after its launch. Less attention is paid to the “average” higher education institution—possibly limited by its location, the regional/local mission, a lack of prestige or status—but the strategy seeks to broaden its internationalization strategy in response to globalization. Another gap in the existing literature involves how institutional culture relates to internationalization strategy and activities. We have tried to meet this deficiency by studying four comparable Canadian universities

in Ontario. Mainly undergraduate and relatively small, three of these institutions had less than 8,000 students, and one had about 17,000 students. We analyzed background documents from the government and the institutions, carried out site visits to the campuses of the institutions, and interviewed senior faculty and staff working in the area of internationalization.

Ontario's image as one of the most multicultural societies in the world enhances its universities' efforts to develop their internationalization activities. The higher education institu-

*A surprising similarity was found among the universities regarding a focus on international recruitment.*

tions are relatively autonomous, with the latitude to develop their own missions and strategies. The government lacks clarity with respect to its internationalization program, which gives institutions little guidance on how to progress. This situation becomes complicated by the two-tier government and provincial and federal responsibilities for different, and sometimes overlapping, aspects of higher education. The lack of a clear national strategy—with financial incentives for students and institutions—results in a meagre 1 percent of higher education students going abroad for study. The Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada has been promoting Canadian higher education lately, but a number of institutions still “suffer” from the lack of international appeal.

#### RESPONSES TO GLOBALIZATION

A surprising similarity was found among the universities regarding a focus on international recruitment, although they differed considerably in achieving this objective. International enrollment ranged from 1.2 to 8.5 percent, and main countries of origin also differed greatly. Emphasis varied on student versus staff mobility and on internationalizing the curriculum versus international research cooperation. The main reasons for internationalization—particularly international student recruitment—were portrayed as the value of student diversity as well as revenue generation.

We found that the institutional cultures influence responses to globalization. Two of the four universities, nurturing an entrepreneurial culture, showed the most systematic and extensive strategic response to the challenges of globalization. The fact that one of these universities also had elements of a bureaucratic culture did not inhibit the development of an effective strategic response. The university characterized as collegial and autocratic and one collegial/entrepreneurial university had a much more marginal strategic approach.

#### CONCLUSION

Bearing in mind that the evidence is limited to four universities, the findings support the notion of a relationship between

an entrepreneurial culture and the type of strategic response to globalization challenges. However, developing an appropriate comprehensive strategic response to globalization is not simply a matter of changing the culture. The literature on organizational culture shows that changes cannot happen overnight. Contextual factors such as governmental policies continue to play an important role.

Finally, there were indications in our research that culture and strategy may mutually reinforce each other: achievements in the area of internationalizing the curriculum, catering for student diversity, and other factors may reinforce an entrepreneurial spirit or help to spread an entrepreneurial culture across the university. Assuming that the four universities would like to broaden their internationalization portfolios, we recommended specific activities and strategies for each of the institutions. These recommendations ranged from making the vision and mission more explicit, developing appropriate budget allocations, giving internationalization a specific place (metaphorically and geographically) in the organizational structure, to developing strategic alliances with Canadian and/or foreign partners. ■

## Postgraduate Studies in Africa: The Looming Crisis

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Academic staff shortage has become a huge challenge for African universities, and no respite seems to be in sight. In fact, observers of the higher education scene on the continent unanimously identify this issue as one of the most critical challenges to the mission of these institutions. They contend that, if urgent concerted action is not undertaken soon enough to address the problem, the African academy will not only lose its ability to produce the requisite number of personnel to support the countries' human resource needs, but the quality of intellectual life will continue to erode. The foregoing concerns call for evaluating how well African institutions are developing the next generation of academics to combat the decline and thereby boosting academic staff capacity and reinvigorating intellectual life. A critical area for such efforts, and the focus of this article, is postgraduate training. The sample is made up of 15 universities and seven countries that are members of the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa (see <http://foundation-partnership.org/>).

**POSTGRADUATE STUDENT ENROLLMENT**

Some institutions seem to be making progress on the number and proportion of these enrollments. At the University of Ibadan, the percentage of postgraduate students increased from 18 percent of the total student population in 2001 to 35 percent in 2006. Other institutions, however, are registering declining rates. At the University of Ghana, for example, the proportion of postgraduate students reduced from 14 percent in 2000 to 7 percent in 2008. At the University of Kwazulu-Natal, the decline consisted of 32 percent in 2000 to 26 percent in 2007. Postgraduate enrollment at Makerere University dropped from 7 percent to 5 percent between 2006 and 2007, while only 3 percent of students at the Catholic University of Mozambique, in 2008, were postgraduates. The percentage of postgraduate enrollment remains relatively low in all countries—15 percent in South Africa, 7 percent in Nigeria, and 4 percent in Ghana.

**GENDER DISTRIBUTION**

Apart from South African institutions, which are close to gender parity in postgraduate enrollments, the rest of the continent is characterized by male dominance. The University of Kwazulu-Natal saw a reduction in the proportion of postgraduate females, between 2000 and 2005, from 54 percent to 50 percent, while at the University of Dar es Salaam the proportion dropped from 35 percent to 27 percent between 2002 and 2007. Hopefully, these trends will recover upwards, instead of going down further. At the University of Ghana, females made up only 25 percent of postgraduate enrollments in 2000, growing to 33 percent in 2008.

*These enrollments raise an even more sobering prognosis of the pipeline's potential to turn out adequate numbers of future academics.*

**MASTER'S AND DOCTORAL ENROLLEES AND PROGRAM CHOICES**

Analyses of the distribution of students, by program level, give cause for concern. In 2008 doctoral students at the University of Ghana stood at only 6 percent of total postgraduate enrollment, a marginal increase from the 2000 figure of 5 percent. The proportion at the University of Kwazulu-Natal went up from 7 percent in 2000 to 10 percent in 2005. The proportion of doctoral-level enrollments among postgraduate students in South Africa, stagnated at 1 percent between 2000 and 2006. While master's degree enrollments have increased over the years, the percentage of postgraduate students constituting the potential pool from which to draw the next generation of academics (i.e., master's and doctoral students) is still very small.

These enrollments raise an even more sobering prognosis of the pipeline's potential to turn out adequate numbers of future academics. The majority of postgraduate students are

pursuing programs at levels and in fields that are considered to provide them with opportunities for career advancement outside of academe. An inordinate number, over the last decade, has been in professional management programs such as the master of business administration.

*While postgraduate enrollments are a useful proxy for determining the potential pool of future academics, an even more crucial determinant is the percentage of students who complete their programs.*

**GRADUATION, RETENTION, AND COMPLETION RATES**

The doctoral graduates, compared to their master's degree counterparts, represent quite a small proportion. Only 11 of postgraduate students at the University of Ghana received doctoral degrees at the University of Ghana in 2006, representing a mere 2 percent of the postgraduate cohort. Just 6 percent and 1 percent of postgraduates from Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, in 2006, obtained master's degrees and doctoral degrees, respectively. The corresponding proportions for Stellenbosch University, in the same year, was 14 percent and 2 percent. In fact, only a quarter of postgraduate degrees awarded by South African institutions each year, between 2001 and 2006, were for master's programs, with a mere 1 percent for graduates of doctoral programs. The skewed gender distribution of master's and doctoral graduates is commonplace. Just 30 percent of the 182 doctoral graduates at the University of Ibadan, in 2006, were female. Only 34 percent of postgraduate degrees awarded at the University of Dar es Salaam went to females.

While postgraduate enrollments are a useful proxy for determining the potential pool of future academics, an even more crucial determinant is the percentage of students who complete their programs. The following illustration from the University of Kwazulu-Natal is instructive in alerting us to the need for such data and its importance for any strategic plans at growing the number of future academics. In the Faculty of Health Sciences at this university, the average dropout rates for thesis-based master's students, from 2000 to 2006, was about 56 percent while the corresponding figure for their doctoral counterparts was about 35 percent. With more than half of master's students and over a third of doctoral students dropping out of their programs, the next generation of academics is going to be negatively impacted. The statistics are even more worrisome when the related indicator of completion rates is assessed. The rates for thesis-based master's and doctoral students average about 11 percent and 10 percent, respectively, for the 2000–2006 period. With only a tenth of these cohorts graduating, there is obviously a huge disconnect

between intake and output, with serious implications for replenishing the professoriate with requisite numbers and appropriate levels of training.

#### CONCLUSION

Without a vibrant system of postgraduate training and viable strategies to support students for careers in academia, it will be nearly impossible to cultivate the next generation of academics. To regenerate academe, African tertiary institutions will not only have to improve the relative numbers, proportion, distribution, and quality of postgraduate students who enter but also ensure that these same characteristics are reflected in postgraduate output. Low enrollment, graduation, and time-to-completion rates, as well as high dropout rates in some programs, do not augur well for developing an adequate pool of high-quality future academics. Concerted efforts are needed to design and implement creative and complementary funding models, forward-looking curricula, and strategies for growing future academics. Increasing the low proportion of females in academe, for example, has to start with efforts at improving their numbers in postgraduate programs. Institutions' sensitivity and responsiveness to work-life circumstances and career development are particularly helpful in attracting and retaining the next generation of academics for the continent. ■

## Burundi: Challenges and Conflicts

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With a population of almost 9 million people, Burundi is an East Central African nation, equivalent in size to Massachusetts. Located below Rwanda and on the shore of Lake Tanganyika in the Great Rift Valley, Burundi is one of the poorest countries in the world; the annual per capita income is US\$138. More than half the national budget comes from external grants and loans from developed countries and international funds.

Although Burundi gained independence from Belgium in 1961, ethnic tension—actively promoted during colonization—has retarded the nation's development through the past two decades. Like its neighbor Rwanda, Burundi has just emerged from a 12-year civil war between its two major ethnic groups, the Hutu (85%) and the Tutsi (14%). Historically, the Tutsi have maintained the upper hand in the society, but a new constitution adopted in 2005 has secured more equitable political representation. A cease-fire was signed in 2006 by Hutu

rebels, but tension still rules social relations in this bilingual (Kirundi and French) country.

#### THE EDUCATIONAL SITUATION

Burundi's educational system reflects not only its colonial and war-torn past but also its precarious and meager national fiscal situation. About 60 percent of the population is literate. The government provides noncompulsory primary education for children aged 7 to 12 years, but only 36 percent complete primary education. Secondary enrollments hover around 14 percent with most high schools being concentrated in Bujumbura, the capital. Education receives 18 percent of the national budget, half of which is shared by secondary and tertiary education.

*With limited library and Internet resources in Burundi, students are disadvantaged in their dissertation research.*

Enrollment in higher education institutions is extremely low; 1 percent of the 18- to 22-year-olds attend one of the four universities. Located in Bujumbura, the state-supported University of Burundi enrolls approximately 4,000 students. Three private universities were established within the last decade and have ties to religious organizations. Two are located in Bujumbura—Université Lumière de Bujumbura and Université d'Espoir—and both enroll about 2,000 students; the third, Université de Ngozi, resides in a rural town about three hours away. Located also in Bujumbura are a technical institute and the Supérieur Normale Institut.

#### ACADEMIC LIFE

The continuing ethnic volatility and the meager financial status of the nation negatively affect the resources of the public university but also plague the new private institutions. The government allocation primarily supports professorial salaries, which are scaled by rank. Thus, limited resources for capital expenditures result in spartan buildings, inadequate library resources, and almost nonexistent instructional technology. Inadequate Internet access and e-mail system drive faculty and students to employ Yahoo and Gmail accounts. Although professors may retrieve some online resources on campus, students must go to cybercafés to access the Internet.

With no advanced degrees offered in the country, students must earn their doctorates in Europe or the United States. A pipeline for doctoral study runs from Burundi to several Belgian universities. However, Belgian universities have instituted a new strategy to evade immigration problems. Referred to as the "sandwich system," doctoral students study in Belgium for three months, collecting scholarly information, and are compelled to return to Burundi for the rest of the year. With limited library and Internet resources in Burundi, students are disadvantaged in their dissertation research.

The universities follow the traditional Belgian system of professorial rank: *chargé de cours* (instructor), *professeur associé* (associate professor), and *professeur ordinaire* (full professor). Without adequate resources, few instructors engage in research and are thereby trapped in the lower ranks. Insufficient salaries translate into professors cobbling a living wage by lecturing at multiple institutions and consulting when possible. In addition to the brain drain that exists, the limited scholarly resources at the university results in what I would call the “patriot penalty”: after earning their doctorate many who return are unable to sustain their careers at even a modicum of a professional level. A few professors are active scholars and some are addressing national issues, from biochemistry or from law. The *professeur ordinaire* who holds the UNESCO chair at the University of Burundi (and thus has external funding) is launching the *first* national research study. With modernization has come the collapse of traditional values, and sexual violence against women appears to be on the rise; this professor's large-scale project is to document and

*Without adequate resources, few instructors engage in research and are thereby trapped in the lower ranks. Insufficient salaries translate into professors cobbling a living wage by lecturing at multiple institutions and consulting when possible.*

address this escalating problem. Several professors from both the national and the two private universities in Bujumbura feel that professorial currency is degrading as time goes on.

Limited library resources and inadequate Internet connection at the universities preclude students from receiving state-of-the-art education. Professionals believe that students are often pushed only to utilize base cognitive skills even within their advanced (2nd-cycle) study. The curriculum replicates the traditional pre-Bologna Declaration European university degree structure and disciplinary areas, but the content and the cognitive processes emphasized may not do so. Conversations are occurring at the University of Burundi to adopt the BA- and MA-degree structure to replace 1st- and 2nd-cycle programs, but faculties appear to be resisting the effort. Not hampered by colonial tradition, the private universities offer nontraditional and vocational areas of study to students and thus provide an alternative. Unfortunately, the employment outlook for graduates is varied. Students who belong to the wrong ethnic group worry that their education will not lead to appropriate employment at graduation. Regardless of the new constitution, the country still operates via ethnic nepotism.

#### SIGNS OF HOPE

Several lights appear to be gaining wattage within and as a result of the educational system. First, the universities, particularly the private institutions, are actively pursuing relationships of various types with universities in the United States, Europe, and Canada. The Université Lumière de Bujumbura rector has established agreements with six higher education institutions outside Africa. A relationship with a Canadian university has broadened the curriculum in commerce. Little has come from other cooperative agreements, but the rector continues to pursue myriad avenues to help his institution. The same is true for the University of Ngozi. A technical institute in Spain has sent a team of faculty members and students with the necessary equipment to wire electronically the rural university for the Internet and to train Ngozi students and personnel to maintain and repair the system. Thus, one institution in the country is gaining stable access to the wider world.

A grassroots association has been established by a 1st-cycle student at the Université Lumière de Bujumbura (the equivalent of a first-year student) in a village just outside Bujumbura. This team of energetic young university students, recent graduates, and a professor-adviser are educating villagers on health and nutrition issues, providing counseling about and testing for HIV-AIDs, and are planning a secondary school to provide technical education. Having secured a substantial number of books for a library at their school, they are actively seeking funds to transport the shipment from the United States to Bujumbura.

*Burundi's educational system reflects not only its colonial and war-torn past but also its precarious and meager national fiscal situation.*

The ethnic wars, followed by continuing tension and political power struggles, coupled reportedly with a lack of governmental vision, have inhibited the significant gains realized by Burundi after independence. Regardless of the shortcomings of the resources at the universities, administrators are actively seeking assistance to modernize their infrastructure and curricular offerings. As both ethnic groups increasingly seek advanced education, the potential for new approaches to existing national issues and to social harmony expands. Reconciliation may come from the bottom up rather than from political leadership or the dozens of external nongovernmental organizations that seem primarily focused on relief. ■

## Japanese Higher Education: The “Haves” are Gaining and the “Have-nots” are Losing

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In this new period of a contracting global economy with no light at the end of the tunnel for the Japanese economy, the frequent debate in Japan concerns the division of society into the “winners’ group” and the “losers’ group.” In many cases where the bad economy threatens an organization—especially large ones—the Japanese government tends to intervene, overtly or covertly. The fear of the resulting chain reaction triggered by a large organization going bankrupt serves to propel action to sustain these organizations, although the size of an organization does not necessarily guarantee that it will “win.” Like any organization, many Japanese private higher education institutions face a risk of falling into the “losing group.”

### **POLARIZATION OF PRIVATE HIGHER EDUCATION**

This phenomenon in part results from the collective shortsightedness among university administrations of not taking a precautionary policy with respect to the falling population of the traditional college age cohort. In Japan, it is not common for people of nontraditional student age to enter or re-enter higher education institutions—due in part to the lower possibility of reentering full-time employment after delayed or additional education. Thus, the college market in Japan is primarily composed of the traditional-age student cohort. Although this cohort has been shrinking since 1994, the expansion of higher education institutions in Japan—including the opening of new institutions—has not stopped. As a result, a large number of institutions—particularly rural and small ones—fail to recruit enough students.

### **TEI-IN : THE OPERATION OF UNIVERSITIES**

The term *tei-in* refers to the quota for first-year students that a university registers with the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology. When a new school or department is opened, the quota is defined based on the accreditation standards set down by the Ministry of Education. We are conditioned to admit first-year students in numbers that do not exceed the quota by 30 percent, to qualify for the designated government subsidy. Government subsidy is intended to help develop private higher education institutions without worsening the teacher/students ratio. In the past, some institutions facing financial difficulties tried to improve the situation simply by increasing student numbers without matching them with

teacher numbers. It is each university’s responsibility to admit first-year students in conformity with the quota.

Admitting students in numbers over the quota, however, generates additional revenue over the budgeted income. For example, a university with a quota of 5,000 first-year students that admits 20 percent over the figure gains an extra tuition income of US\$12 million a year. This figure is derived from the 1,000 extra students, or 20 percent overage, multiplied by US\$12,000 (the average tuition at a four-year private higher education institution in Japan for the 2009/10 academic year). If the institution retains this 20 percent increase for four years, a large flow of “extra income” over the budgeted income contributes to the institution’s bottom line and financial health.

According to the statistics released by the Ministry of Education, the 20 largest universities in Japan together have 117,494 based on the first-year-student quota, although many of them admit students at a rate of 10 to 20 percent over the quota. Most of these institutions are located in metropolitan cities like Tokyo or Kyoto-Osaka. Of these, the largest university’s quota is about 14,180. If this university takes in first-year students at a rate of 20 percent over the quota, many small higher education institutions will be driven out from the college market. Forty-one institutions (7% of all private institutions) possess a quota greater than 2,500, and they enroll 858,222 students (42% of all these students at private institutions). A small group—comprising 18 percent of the private sector—enrolls 63 percent of all students.

*The college market in Japan is primarily composed of the traditional-age student cohort. Although this cohort has been shrinking since 1994, the expansion of higher education institutions in Japan—including the opening of new institutions—has not stopped.*

A strong tendency exists for high school applicants to flow into metropolitan areas, making it more difficult for small/rural higher education institutions to recruit students. To even worsen the chances of the latter institutions, the top 20 offer not only ample scholarship programs but also “dump tuition.” Tuition dumping is a practice similar to airlines offering deeply discounted tickets, known as much better than flying routes with empty seats. This scheme is an advantage that the large, urban higher education institutions gain over the small/rural ones.

Private higher education institutions should bear the responsibility for the hardship of their inability to recruit students so as to fill up the quotas. The Association of Private Higher Education Institutions should have applied the brakes on the expansion policy much earlier. The 18-year age cohort (“a”), has been shrinking, and thus both the quota for a specif-

ic institution (“ $x$ ”) and the quota for other institutions (“ $y$ ”) should also have been decreased to maintain equilibrium. If higher education institutions had acted according to the formula  $x + y = a$ , they should have realized that the expansion policy would equal bankruptcy.

According to further Ministry of Education statistics, about 43 percent of private institutions were below the quota for the academic year 2008/09, and 47 percent are in debt for the fiscal year 2007/08. Most of these are small higher education institutions located in rural areas. Tuition is the main source of income and, at many institutions, up to 80 percent of total revenue. Institutions that fail to recruit students not only lose financial resources but, if they fall below 70 percent of the quota, government subsidy as well. These institutions will experience a harder time in stopping the drainage of reserve funds so long as they fail to fill up slots to their *tei-in*.

#### FINANCIAL BURDEN OR ASSETS FOR PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS?

Private institutions’ are required, under the private school accounting laws, to maintain a certain amount of money as basic reserve funds. The reserve funds include 50 or 100 percent of the retirement payment for full-time faculty and depreciation expenses for new facilities (calculated according to a prescribed formula). Under a definite plan for construction of a new building, the necessary amount of money must be put aside as a reserve fund.

*A strong tendency exists for high school applicants to flow into metropolitan areas, thus making it more difficult for small/rural higher education institutions to recruit students.*

An institution’s fundamental reserves vary according to the size of an institution and whether it has any midterm plan for a new facility or campus expansion. When the bank interest rate was around 3 to 5 percent, many institutions put their reserve funds into bank accounts and realized income from assets. Now that the bank interest rate has lowered to 0.5 percent, many institutions carry out asset management by government securities, structured bonds, foreign-currency deposits, or bank debentures. These policies are at low to medium risk compared to investment trusts, equity investments, or derivatives trading.

The media reported that the anonymous K university (5,500 student *tei-in*), for example, lost US\$150 million before it withdrew its reserve fund from derivative trading. It had to make up its loss by a bank loan. Many higher education institutions obtain loans from banks for new buildings. In the case of another anonymous T university (1,700 student *tei-in*), instead of putting its reserve funds in high-risk but high-return derivatives, it managed its assets by structured bonds, bank debenture, and foreign currency trusts. It enjoyed a return rate of

2.69 percent in 2008, earning US\$15 million. However, the projected interest rate from asset management for this institution will be down to 1.25 percent, resulting in earnings of US\$7 million for 2009.

Clearly, it seems that small/rural colleges end up receiving less extra income from admissions over the *tei-in* level. This loss creates less scholarship money for capable students. Moreover, the attractiveness of the colleges to prospective students decreases, reflected concretely in fewer applications, and the greater likelihood of actual enrollments below the *tei-in*. The small/rural institutions are likely to lose prospective students as a negative cycle works against them. This tendency, in turn, augments the opportunities available to large, metropolitan higher education institutions. In Japan, a clear division is anticipated, with the larger institutions getting much larger and the smaller and rural ones getting much smaller. With no sign of extra assistance from the government directed to small/rural institutions, it is likely that some (specific number unknown) of them will be driven out from the college market. This is a hard fact that we will face in the foreseeable future. Large higher education institutions will survive these changing circumstances. ■

## Germany: The Quest for World-Class Universities

BARBARA M. KEHM

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Despite widespread criticism of global rankings, it has become politically attractive in nations across the globe to position at least one if not more of their universities among the top-ranking institutions. It is a matter of national prestige to have a global player among the higher education institutions in almost every system around the world. Germany, which has been known for the organizational diversity as well as legal homogeneity of its higher education system, shares this course of action. In 2004 the education and research federal minister thus made a proposal to identify Germany’s top-level institutions. “We need lighthouses” was the minister’s argument to secure Germany’s competitiveness and economic future in the emerging knowledge society and to strengthen the international visibility of German universities as high-quality institutions with cutting-edge research.

This plan formed the birth of the German “excellence initiative.” After complicated negotiations with the German states, which are politically and financially responsible for higher education, a competition was organized in three categories: gradu-

ate schools, clusters of excellence to carry out strategic research in interdisciplinary teams with various partners, and institutional development concepts with the potential to become top-level universities. In each category a considerable amount of extra funding was provided for altogether five years. The selection was a very complex and time-consuming procedure, and at the end 9 universities were identified in the third category, to become future elite institutions.

The initiative not only triggered more competition among German universities; it also marked a conscious shift toward a more vertical differentiation of the system as a whole.

*The initiative not only triggered more competition among German universities; it also marked a conscious shift toward a more vertical differentiation of the system as a whole.*

#### A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

The competition and its outcomes included two principal impacts. First, in the process the longstanding fiction was given up that all universities in Germany were basically equal. Second, universities that participated in the competition but were not selected and those that did not apply, given their slim odds for success, now feel related to the “second league” or even classified as losers. These attitudes were not surprising because no rational thought had been given to the issue of other forms and types of excellence rather than just research to merit support and reward. However, universities outside the excellence initiative still have a serious role to play of providing the pool of talents from which the top-level institutions might eventually recruit their students and academic staff. The institutions must be motivated to engage in these goals.

But what can be learned from the trends and impacts emerging out of this exercise in a more general way? At least eight critical issues should be mentioned:

First, based on a political prognosis about the competitiveness of the German higher education, research, and innovation system the initiative had identified a number of problems, some of which were purely reputational.

The selection process suffered from a lack of distinction between proven performance and potential to perform. Thus, the validity of the selection and award decisions suffered.

The open acknowledgement of existing differences among German universities did abolish the longstanding fiction of a relatively homogeneous system, in terms of quality. However, by focusing the process only on research, the importance of excellence in teaching was relegated as a second-rate qualification.

In general, the pressure to perform is passed on from the level of central management to the basic units, which tends to make the latter risk averse. However, avoiding unorthodox and

“risky” research might turn out to be the opposite of innovative and “cutting—edge” research.

Undecided, at the beginning of the process, was whether the initiative should be a sole event or one to repeat in the future. It remains unclear if a one-time approach may actually serve a catalytic function to achieve a sufficient critical mass so that unassisted development can continue after five years.

It was a serious political oversight not to consider the effects of the initiative on the overall configuration of the German higher education system and the implications for institutions that did not manage to win. It needs to be determined at one point in the future whether the extra funding will lead to better performance of the “lighthouses” only—and possibly the winners in the other categories—or of the system as a whole.

The term “excellence” has acquired a highly inflationary meaning, infiltrating widely into the expression of calls for proposals, tenders, and applications. However, the claim of excellence should not be mistaken for real excellence.

Finally, the excellence initiative can also be seen as a process for the distribution of reputation. Reputation, however, forms an attributed status or a social construct that can no longer be objectively measured and assessed, based on actual performance within the classical forms of peer review led by scholarly and scientific criteria.

#### COSTS AND BENEFITS

On the macrolevel, the identification of world-class universities through rankings or other types of competition is supposed to serve as a type of market regulation of the sector as a

*It was a serious political oversight not to consider the effects of the initiative on the overall configuration of the German higher education system and the implications for institutions that did not manage to win.*

whole. This arrangement does not only imply the abdication of the state as a key regulator, allowing rankings to become the drivers of development, but can also lead to ruinous competition among institutions, thus threatening the balance of the system as a whole.

The institutional rankings and other types of competition to identify “the best” may serve as some form of institutional characterization. However, the race for prestige and position can easily lead to mimetic isomorphism—that is, the imitation of “the best” by all the others. Thus, instead of focusing on a given institution’s individual strength, such a development will eventually lead to less profile and identity with questionable usefulness for the system as a whole.

It is common wisdom that no university is “excellent” across the board. A considerable amount of tacit knowledge—nationally as well as internationally—also covers which institu-

tions are “the best” in any given system of higher education. Whether this needs to be reproduced by rankings or by the identification of world-class universities, often with questionable methodologies, remains an open question. As early as 1983, Burton Clark emphasized that the knowledge created in universities is contextual, integrated, and culturally embedded. It is not something that can easily be measured. ■

## “Taking a Closer Look at the OECD Tertiary Statistics”: A Response

**ERIC CHARBONNIER**

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*The editor of IHE suggested that colleagues at OECD might wish to respond to the article on “Taking a Closer Look at the OECD Tertiary Statistics” by Arthur Hauptman, which was published in no. 55, Spring 2009.*

*E*ducation at a Glance is the annual result of a long collaboration between governments of OECD countries, experts, and institutions that participate in the Indicators of Education Systems program of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The publication is comprised of around 30 indicators along with over 100 tables and charts—that is, more than 25,000 figures closely verified every year.

Indicators are selected for their cohesiveness; together, they tell a coherent story, analyzing trends and challenges that face governments in the years to come. Cultural differences and peculiar features of education systems are carefully considered in order to create common definitions and a single methodology that countries need to observe. If these technical standards are not respected, data can and will be removed from the publication, either by the countries themselves or by the OECD.

Even with all these precautions, the quality of indicators can always be reinforced, and the constant improvement of national data collection is a good step in this direction. While Arthur Hauptman expresses his concerns about the methods used to calculate and report our indicators, several of his remarks deserve further comment.

### INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS AND ENROLLMENT RATIO

The high proportion of international students in some countries does have an impact on the indicators, especially in

Australia and New Zealand where international students make up over 15 percent of the enrolled student population. However, even when international students are excluded from the calculation (this is planned for the next edition of *Education at a Glance*, where the two different measures are available) the ranking of these two countries remains identical for the indicator on tertiary graduation rates.

Arthur Hauptman inaccurately described the calculation of enrollment rates. Enrollment rates are calculated as net enrollment rates, by dividing the number of students of a particular age or age group enrolled in all levels of education by the number of people in the population of that age or age group. The data are presented by age group (i.e., enrolled 20- to 29-year-olds as a percentage of the total 20- to 29-year-old population), and not by level of education. Additionally, international students are included in the numerator and the denominator of this ratio. The only potential skewing of data could be in situations where students residing in one country study in another, despite being accounted for in their resident country's population data. Such is the case for students in Luxembourg who reside there but most of whom study in tertiary programs in neighboring countries such as Germany, Belgium, and France.

### INDICATORS TO INTERPRET THE RESULTS

It is not necessarily an anomaly that university-level graduation and completion rates differ because access to tertiary education often influences the results. Japan is a case in point, with only 45 percent of young people entering university, compared to an average of 56 percent in OECD countries. The high completion rate (over 90%) compensates low access and allows Japan to rank at the level of the OECD average when analyzing the graduation rates.

*Indicators are selected for their cohesiveness; together, they tell a coherent story, analyzing trends and challenges that face governments in the years to come.*

It is true that the data extracted from labor-force surveys and data coming from institutions need to be closely checked to ensure their coherence, particularly with regard to the classification of educational programs covered in both types of surveys. However, the number of university-level graduates in Canada is below the level of education attained by the total population of 25- to 34-year-olds because the data coverage is not the same. When taking into account only the university level, Canada appears to be close to the OECD average for both indicators.

### PRIVATE FUNDING AND R&D

The United States' high level of expenditure on tertiary education is influenced by endowments and tuition fees that are

higher than in any other OECD country. However, the impact of university hospitals is relatively minor because only expenditure related to teaching of medical students and to R&D in teaching hospitals are included. Other countries—including Australia, Canada, Chile, Israel, Japan, South Korea, and New Zealand—are in a similar situation to that of the United States since more than 40 percent of their total expenditures are funded privately. Private funding increases the resources available to universities, and so it is therefore legitimate to take this

*This challenge is and will continue to be a notable one, as all statistics published in the past 20 years have confirmed that tertiary education is expanding at an extremely fast pace.*

spending into account in the indicators, especially in a period where many universities have difficulties to increase their resources.

R&D activities do influence the positions of countries in the ranking of expenditure per tertiary student. In Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland, R&D activities represent over 40 percent of total expenditure on education. However, *Education at a Glance* presents two types of indicators, one that includes R&D activities and another that excludes them in order to show just the results for educational core services.

#### **SIMILAR CRITERIA MAY NOT LEAD TO SIMILAR OUTCOMES**

Countries do vary in terms of size, level of wealth, and composition of the population, and these criteria need to be taken into account when interpreting the results and implementing reforms. Yet, it would be restrictive to consider that this does not allow comparison between OECD countries. Countries with seemingly similar situations show significant differences in performance. The OECD Programme for International Student Assessment study shows that the performances of 15-year-old students with an immigrant background (rather than native backgrounds) vary markedly across OECD countries

that have a large proportion of immigrants. In Canada and Sweden, for instance, the performances in science of 15-year-olds are better for second-generation than for first-generation immigrants. On the other hand, Germany experienced a significant setback in performances, which recently led the German government to reform its education system.

#### **STRATEGIES FOR INVESTING IN EXPANDING EDUCATION SYSTEMS**

Methodological clarifications on tertiary education data contained in this article should not overshadow the main trends reported in *Education at a Glance*. As discussed in this publication, the most important challenge facing all OECD countries in the years to come will be to find a balance between public and private funding while concurrently providing different forms of public subsidies to tertiary students. Some countries have successfully identified new sources of private funding, and others have increased their public spending. Countries that have chosen neither option are experiencing increasing difficulties to reconcile development with quality and equity. This challenge is and will continue to be a notable one, as all statistics published in the past 20 years have confirmed that tertiary education is expanding at an extremely fast pace. This expansion is caused both by labor-market demands, where the quantity of highly qualified jobs is generally superior to the potential number of tertiary graduates in almost all countries, and by the individual benefits brought about by a tertiary degree, in terms of higher salaries and improved job perspectives. Of course, some countries will even have difficulties replacing their retiring workforce in the coming decade.

Tertiary education will certainly continue to develop in the years to come, and every country will need to take significant measures to face this expansion while still maintaining the quality of university programs as well as equitable access. As the current economic situation hinders the financing of tertiary education, the pressure to develop will be even stronger. International comparisons will continue to fuel the public debate by describing and analyzing the efficiency of the different policies put in place by decision makers.

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## New Publications

Agarwal, Pawan. *Indian Higher Education: Envisioning the Future*. New Delhi, India: Sage, 2009. 488 pp. Rs. 895 (hb). ISBN 978-81-7829-941-9. Web site: [www.sagepublications.com](http://www.sagepublications.com).

The most thorough and insightful volume published in a long time concerning Indian higher education, this volume focuses on the overall structure and expansion of the system, now the third largest in the world, as well as other key issues. Among the themes are finance and management, access and equity, quality management, and the role of research. The author provides up-to-date statistics as well as thoughtful evaluation of these trends.

Banta, Trudy W, Elizabeth A. Jones, and Karen E. Black. *Designing Effective Assessment: Principles and Profiles of Good Practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2009. 338 pp. (pb). ISBN 978-0-470-39334-5. Web site: [www.josseybass.com](http://www.josseybass.com).

A practical US-focused guide to assessment of outcomes for a range of area of higher education, the book provides an overview of themes and some case-study guidelines. Among the areas considered are general education, undergraduate academic majors, faculty and staff development, program review, technology use, student affairs, community colleges, and graduate programs.

Bhandari, Rajika, and Shepherd Laughlin, eds. *Higher Education on the Move: New Developments in Global Mobility*. New York: Institute of International Education, 2008. 130 pp. \$24.95 (pb). ISBN 978-0-87206-315-0. Web site: [www.iiebooks.org](http://www.iiebooks.org).

An overview of key elements of global academic mobility, this book discusses scholar mobility and its impact, global student mobility, competitiveness in science and technology across countries and regions, the impact of rankings on the search for talent, and the General Agreement on Trade in Services and mobility.

Finkin, Matthew W., and Robert C. Post. *For the Common Good: Principles of American Academic Freedom*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009. 263 pp. (hb). ISBN 978-0-300-14354-6. Web site: [www.yalebooks.com](http://www.yalebooks.com).

In this book, two prominent American legal scholars provide a thoughtful discussion of the tradition and definition of academic

freedom in the United States, and a careful analysis of current trends and issues. Among their key concerns are freedom to teach, expression in the classroom and in the universities, freedom of research and publication, and freedom of expression outside the universities. The book concludes with a discussion of professional responsibility as it relates to academic freedom.

Kelshaw, Todd, Freyda Lazarus, and Judy Minier, eds. *Partnerships for Service-Learning: Impacts on Communities and Students*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2009. 295 pp. \$40 (hb). ISBN 978-0-470-45057-4. Web site: [www.josseybass.com](http://www.josseybass.com).

Service learning—the involvement of students in off-campus service activity, is related to on-campus learning—is a key theme in American higher education. This volume provides a series of case studies of how service learning works in a variety of programs throughout the United States.

Laughlin, Shepherd, ed. *U.S.-China Educational Exchange: Perspectives on a Growing Partnership*. New York: Institute of International Education, 2008. 114 pp. \$24.95 (pb). ISBN 978-0-87206-308-2. Web site: [www.iiebooks.org](http://www.iiebooks.org).

Some 10,000 American students study in China, and 70,000 Chinese students and an additional 10,000 scholars are in the United States. The educational links between the two countries have grown tremendously over the past 20 years. This volume examines aspects of US-China higher education relations, including governmental and institutional policies, campus-exchange programs, language issues, and scholarly exchanges.

Mohrman, Kathryn, Jian Shi, Sharon E. Feinblatt, and King W. Chow, eds. *Public Universities and Regional Development*. Chengdu, China: Sichuan University Press, 2009. 356 pp. \$38 (pb). ISBN 978-7-5614-4246-3. Web site: [www.scupress.com.cn](http://www.scupress.com.cn).

This volume provides case studies of how universities can contribute to regional development. Among the cases are Arizona State University's downtown campus and the city of Phoenix, Newcastle University's regional focus, Nanjing University and Jiangsu province, student engagement in community development, and others.

Morphew, Christopher C., and Peter D. Eckel, eds. *Privatizing the Public University: Perspectives from Across the Academy*.

Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. 204 pp. \$45 (hb). ISBN 978-0-8018-9164-9. Web site: [www.press.jhu.edu](http://www.press.jhu.edu).

In a period of severe budget problems in public higher education in the United States, this volume examines the growing trend toward privatizing the American research universities. Among the themes discussed are the political economy of privatization, governing a privatized university, the economic implications of privatization, lessons from other public agencies, and European trends in higher education privatization. Although this book focuses on the United States, it will be relevant for research universities in other countries.

Neumann, Anna. *Professing to Learn: Creating Tenured Lives and Careers in the American Research University*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. 306 pp. \$45 (hb). ISBN 978-0-8018-9131-1. Web site: [www.press.jhu.edu](http://www.press.jhu.edu).

Based on interviews, this volume explores the lives of newly tenured faculty members in American research universities. In many ways, these professors are the core of the research university because they are the younger generation of research-active faculty. Although the research universities are only a small proportion of US higher education, they are centrally important. This study looks at how professors shape their careers, what they think about teaching and research, how they work with colleagues, and other issues. While this book focuses only on the United States, it is relevant to research universities worldwide.

Oanda, Ibrahim Ogachi, Fatuma N. Chege, and Daniel M. Wesonga. *Privatization and Private Higher Education in Kenya: Implications for Access, Equity, and Knowledge Production*. Dakar, Senegal, CODESRIA, 2008. 108 pp. (pb). ISBN 978-286978-218-7. Web site: [www.codesria.org](http://www.codesria.org).

A critical discussion of the impact of the growing private higher education sector, with a particular emphasis on access and equity issues, this research examines problems created by the sector. The authors point out that the private sector has expanded the number of places available to students but pays little attention directly to access and equity issues. The book also discusses how the private sector may influence knowledge production.

Savicki, Victor. *Developing Intercultural Competence and Transformation*. Sterling, VA:

Stylus, 2009. 375 pp. \$29.95 (pb). ISBN 978-1-57922-266-6. Web site: [www.Stylyuspub.com](http://www.Stylyuspub.com).

Written from an American perspective, the authors of this volume focus on intercultural issues in international student life. Their concern is helping students to develop an understanding of other cultures as part of the study-abroad experience. There is a combination of case studies of how intercultural issues relate to specific countries and institutions and broader considerations of such

themes as affective education, intercultural competence, and integrating experience and understanding.

Van Vught, Frans A. *Mapping the Higher Education Landscape: Towards a European Classification of Higher Education*. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer, 2009. 170 pp. ff99.95. (hb). ISBN 978-90-481-2248-6. Web site: [www.springer.com](http://www.springer.com).

The European Commission is sponsoring an effort to classify European higher educa-

tion institutions and programs. This volume discusses some of the complexities and issues involved with understanding the diversity of academic systems in European countries and the challenges of creating appropriate classifications. Significant diversity is recognized, as are changes influenced by the Bologna process. Among the themes of chapters are discussions of the European Research Area, the design of classification schemes, and rankings and classifications.

## News of the Center

The Center played an active role at the July World Conference on Higher Education sponsored by UNESCO in Paris. More than 1,300 delegates, including some 60 ministers of higher education, participated. CIHE's Philip Altbach, Liz Reisberg, and Laura Rumbley authored a key document, *Trends in Global Higher Education: Tracking an Academic Revolution*, which served as the main background document for the conference. The 246-page report was published by UNESCO in English and French and the executive summary distributed in six languages. The report is available on the UNESCO Web site (<http://www.unesco.org/tools/fileretrieve/2844977e.pdf>). The CIHE Web site has a direct link. The Center has published its own edition for distribution in developing countries.

Following the UNESCO meeting, CIHE director, Philip Altbach, keynoted a conference sponsored by the Dhurakij Pundit University in Bangkok, Thailand. The conference was opened by Thailand's prime minister. He also spoke to the Thai Council on Higher Education on the theme of research universities.

In October, Philip Altbach will speak at a conference on globalization of higher education at Waseda University in Tokyo, Japan and later at the Third World-Class University con-

ference at the Shanghai Jiao Tong University in China. He will also chair the international advisory council at SJTU's Graduate School of Education.

The Center's new research project, cosponsored by the World Bank, concerns how several new research universities have developed in recent years as a way of understanding "best practices" as well as problems of academic success.

Center research associates Liz Reisberg and Laura Rumbley completed an evaluation of the Post-secondary Education Project (PSEP) in Ethiopia, a project supported by the World Bank to encourage initiatives at multiple levels within this rapidly expanding higher education system.

In May, Liz Reisberg delivered several workshops in Lima, Peru, on developing a national system for quality assurance in higher education for the Consejo Nacional de Educación.

We welcome a new CIHE research assistant, Anna Glass, who has been on the staff of the Salzburg Seminar in Austria and a higher education consultant in Europe. Anna will also be working on her doctorate in higher education. She joins Kara Godwin and Iván Pacheco. Prof. Ivar Bleiklie from the University of Bergen in Norway will join the Center for the coming academic year. In addition Xiong Wanxi from Beijing Normal University and Wang Qinghui from Shanghai Jiao Tong University will be visiting scholars.

The *Journal of International Higher Education (Guoji Gaodeng Jiaoyu)*, an online journal (<http://gse.sjtu.edu.cn/kxyj/xskw.htm>) with the aim of playing the role of bridge between Chinese and international higher education communities, was launched by the Graduate School of Education of Shanghai Jiao Tong University in November, 2008. It will have up to 10 issues each year, four of which will be translated from *International Higher Education*, published by the Center for International Higher Education of Boston College. The rest will focus on selected topics of both Chinese and international interest, such as world-class universities, university ranking, graduate education, and migration of academic talents. The articles focusing on selected topics will be translated into English and published online at <http://gse.sjtu.edu.cn/en/>.

**THE CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL HIGHER EDUCATION (CIHE)**

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

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

**CIHE WEB SITE**

The different sections of the Center Web site support the work of scholars and professionals in international higher education, with links to key resources in the field. All issues of *International Higher Education* are available online, with a searchable archive. In addition, the International Higher Education Clearinghouse (IHEC) is a source of articles,

reports, trends, databases, online newsletters, announcements of upcoming international conferences, links to professional associations, and resources on developments in the Bologna Process and the GATS. The Higher Education Corruption Monitor provides information from sources around the world, including a selection of news articles, a bibliography, and links to other agencies. The International Network for Higher Education in Africa (INHEA), is an information clearinghouse on research, development, and advocacy activities related to postsecondary education in Africa.

**THE PROGRAM IN HIGHER EDUCATION AT THE LYNCH SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, BOSTON COLLEGE**

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

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