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The Dilemmas of Ranking

Philip G. Altbach

Philip G. Altbach is Professor of Higher Education and Director of the Center for International Higher Education at Boston College.

Rankings of academic institutions, programs, and departments are all the rage worldwide. National rankings are ubiquitous and at least two worldwide rankings exist. These operations are widely criticized for questionable or flawed methods as well as for the concept itself, but everyone uses them. When done well, they can be valuable to consumers, policymakers, and to academic institutions themselves as they compare themselves with peer institutions at home or abroad.

Rankings range from irresponsible musings by self-appointed experts and money-making schemes by commercial organizations to, at their best, serious efforts by academic or research organizations. Publications—including U.S. News and World Report in the United States, the Times Higher Education Supplement (THES) and the Financial Times in Britain, Der Spiegel in Germany, Reforma in Mexico, and Asiaweek (now defunct), and others—have sponsored rankings. A few outlets, such as U.S. News and THES, have achieved a degree of respectability. Rankings have achieved a degree of public legitimacy and an aura of credibility because respected research and policy organizations have sponsored some of them. The research and teaching assessments carried out by the funding councils in the United Kingdom, the rankings of disciplines done by the National Research Council in the United States, and some others are examples. This past year, Shanghai Jiaotong University and the THES have published worldwide university rankings.

The Rationale for Rankings

Rankings and league tables have been around for a long time, but there has been dramatic growth in the past several decades. The stakes are now much higher. Rankings serve a variety of purposes, good and bad. Rankings are also inevitable—in the era of massification, those who finance higher education and the public want to know which academic institutions are the best. Governments and funding authorities want to know how best to invest their resources and need to be able to differentiate among a large number of institutions. Mass higher education requires differentiation since institutions serve diverse purposes and students attend universities for many reasons. Rankings can help to define differentiated academic systems if they can be devised to capture a variety of metrics, and thus make decision making easier.

Universities also try to legitimate their positions for reasons of prestige, student and staff recruitment, and other goals. There is increasing competition among universities and countries for funds, prestige, and the best and brightest students and staff. Intense competition also exists among students to study at the most prestigious schools. Faculty compete to be appointed at the best possible universities. Institutions compete for research grants and public support. Competition has long been a part of a small number of academic systems, such as the United States and, to some extent, Canada, but it is a new factor in most countries. Until recently, most countries had small and elite academic institutions, and it made little difference where a student matriculated. Ranking and competition did not exist.

Problems

The problem with ranking concerns the practice, not the principle. How is it possible to accurately measure a nation’s academic system, or for that matter the quality of a single institution? Or of academic institutions worldwide? Many rankings resemble “popularity contests”—asking groups in the academic community, especially administrators, their opinions about peer institutions. This method is especially popular among the many magazines and newspapers worldwide that rank institutions. Even the most sophisticated rankings include these peer opinions, although many more measures are also included.

Rankings count factors such as external funding, numbers of articles and books written by faculty members, library resources, proportion of faculty members with advanced degrees, and quality of students (measured by scores on admissions or other tests). These numbers are assumed to be a proxy for quality, which they are to a significant extent. However, the number of articles published does not necessarily relate to the quality or impact of the articles. Institutions strong in the biomedical sciences will usually have more external grant or contract funds than those with strength in the humanities or social sciences. Rankings generally do not include teaching quality. There are, in fact, no widely accepted methods for measuring teaching quality, and assessing the impact of education on students is so far an unexplored area as well.

Universities have different missions and goals—and ranking also tends to ignore these issues. The rankings generally emphasize the norms of the top research universities. The assumption is that “one size fits all” and that the norms of the research universities are the gold standard. Focusing on undergraduate teaching, stressing specific programs in limited professional fields, providing access to underserved populations, and other goals are not rewarded in most ranking schemes.

International Concerns

If rankings are problematical nationally, they present even
more challenges globally. Publication counts often stress established refereed journals included in such databases as those of the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI). These are mainly journals published in English and selected with the norms of the major academic systems of the United States and Britain in mind. While English is increasingly the language of science, it is not necessarily the central medium of communication in the humanities, law, and a number of other fields. Using international recognition such as Nobel Prizes as a proxy for excellence downplays the social sciences and humanities, fields in which Nobels are not awarded, and causes further disadvantages for developing countries and smaller universities around the world. Using citation counts as a way of measuring excellence also presents serious problems. Such counts emphasize material in English and journals that are readily available in the larger academic systems. It is well known, for example, that American scientists mainly cite other Americans and tend to ignore scholarship from other countries. This may artificially boost the ranking of US universities. The fact is that essentially all of the measures used to assess quality and construct rankings enhance the stature of the large universities in the major English-speaking centers of science and scholarship and especially the United States and the United Kingdom. It is also the case that universities with medical schools and strength in the hard sciences generally have a significant advantage because these fields generate more external funding, and researchers in them publish more articles.

If rankings are problematical nationally, they present even more challenges globally.

Conclusion
Rankings and league tables play a useful role. They focus attention on key aspects of academic achievement and may influence policymakers who might otherwise be content to slash budgets and maintain mediocrity. Everyone wants to be “number one,” and countries want to have top-ranking universities. They may stimulate the academic community to strive to improve quality and encourage competition and productivity. Rankings are benchmarks of excellence for the public. And they help to mark differences among academic institutions and in this way help may lead to differentiated goals and missions in academic systems.

Yet, they often measure the wrong things, and they use flawed metrics to do the measurements. They privilege the already privileged and stress certain academic disciplines (mainly in the hard sciences) over others. Rankings ignore key academic roles such as teaching and do not look at all at how students are affected by their academic experience.

The solutions to these significant problems will be a difficult task. There are many conflicting interests at play in the “ranking game.” Creating generally agreed criteria that can be used to do the rankings may be a useful first step. Providing appropriate ways of measuring them is also necessary. Transparency throughout the process is central—many of the current rankers are notably unclear about both criteria and methods. Applying the norms and values of the major academic “powers” will not accurately measure quality worldwide, nor will it result in meaningful international rankings. In the competitive and market-oriented academic world of the 21st century, rankings are inevitable and probably necessary. The challenge is to ensure that they provide accurate and relevant assessments, and measure the right things.

The Leaders of the World’s Top 100 Universities

Amanda Goodall

Amanda Goodall is a doctoral researcher at Warwick Business School, University of Warwick, UK, CV4 7AL. E-mail: amanda@amandagoodall.com. A longer version of the article can be obtained by contacting the author.

The importance of research universities to nations’ populations and economies is largely undisputed. Of equal interest are issues of university leadership and governance. Major changes have taken place in the sector through increased competition and subsequently in the role of university leaders. There has been an explosion of literature in the field of university leadership, but little information is available about the actual leaders of the world’s universities, in particular the world’s top research universities.

This article reports on a study that looks at the characteristics of 100 university leaders—focusing on those running top universities—so as to understand the actions of successful organizations. A specific question is addressed: are top universities led by top researchers? If the best universities—which have the widest choice of candidates—systematically appoint top researchers as their presidents, this could be one form of evidence that, on average, better researchers may make better presidents.

When looking at the individuals who lead the world’s top 100 universities it is possible to find both a handful of Nobel Prize winners and some leaders with few or no research citations. It might be concluded from this fact that no systematic link exists between research output and university leadership. Yet there is a strong correlation between the research background of a leader and the position of the university in a world league table.

Identifying a “Top” Research University

As higher education has become global, in the recruitment of international students and staff, so have league tables. In 2003 the first global league table of universities was produced by the Institute of Education at Jiao Tong University (SJTU) in
Spent most of their careers in nonresearch positions in industry or government, and a small group went almost directly into academic administration.

The majority have been academics, though two presidents went into government, and a small group went into industry. Of the 100, 51 are located in the United States, where 50 percent of the institutions are located. US universities are unevenly spread across the world’s top 100. They dominate the top 20 with 17 universities, and have 30 in the top 40. Of the 100 total, only 4 in the bottom 20 are US based.

Thirty-seven institutions out of 100 are located in European countries—11 in the United Kingdom, 7 in Germany, 4 in both France and Sweden, 3 in Switzerland, 2 in the Netherlands, and 1 each in Austria, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Italy, and Russia. Finally, there are 12 universities in the rest of the world—5 in Japan, 4 in Canada, 2 in Australia, and 1 in Israel.

**Universities in the World’s Top 100**

The 2004 edition of the SJTU global table reveals that universities in the top 100 are dominated by the United States, where 51 of the institutions are located. US universities are unevenly spread across the world’s top 100. They dominate the top 20 with 17 universities, and have 30 in the top 40. Of the 100 total, only 4 in the bottom 20 are US based.

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**Who Are the Leaders?**

The national location of an institution is not always reflected in the nationality of its president. For example, the top 10 universities are found in two countries, the United States (8) and the United Kingdom (2); whereas the leaders come from 4, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

There are 15 female presidents among the 100. Of particular interest is that six of these presidents are at the world’s top 20 universities, and 10 are within the top 50 group. Thus it is more common to find a female leader among the top universities than those lower down in the 100 group. Regarding their location, North America dominates with 9 female presidents in the United States and 2 in Canada. The remaining 4 are in Denmark, France, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

Every president in the group of 100 universities has a PhD. The majority have been academics, though two presidents spent most of their careers in nonresearch positions in industry or government, and a small group went almost directly into academic administration.

It is increasingly difficult to identify the ages of presidents. Some European universities still publish date-of-birth information, though they are in the minority. Birth dates can be loosely calculated by using an individual’s age at first-degree graduation. Using this method, it is possible to produce an approximate average age of the 100 presidents, which is 59 years.

It is also interesting to look at the disciplinary backgrounds of the 100 leaders. Fifty-two have come from a scientific discipline. The scientists are dominated by the life sciences, at 50 percent, but there are also 11 engineers, 6 physicists, 5 chemists, and 4 computer scientists.

Thirty-seven of the 100 presidents of the world’s top universities are social scientists. The largest disciplinary group among the social scientists is that of lawyers, who number 15. Within a second group of 16 there is an even spread of educationalists, political scientists, sociologists, and those from public and social policy. Finally, there are 6 economists. Only 11 presidents are from the arts and humanities. Leaders from the arts have been declining in number since the early 1900s, when that was the dominant discipline among university leaders.

**Top Researchers Lead the Top Universities**

The research history of the 100 leaders—based on the number of scholarly publication citations and rated against disciplinary citation norms—reveals that there are 12 extremely highly cited presidents who are among the top 250 in their fields (see www.isihighlycited.com). (The citation information used in this study comes from Web of Science, the on-line database comprising the Science Citation Index.) Such individuals are more common at the top universities. Six are at the top 20 universities, 3 at the next 20, 2 at the next, and 1 in the fourth quartile. Finally, there are 3 Nobel Prize winners among the presidents (all in medicine)—two in the top 20 and one in the 20- to-40 category.

When the citations of each president’s publications are totaled, normalized by discipline, and then correlated with the position of a university in the league table, we find an interesting pattern. The higher the global ranking of a university, the more likely it is that the citations of its president will also be high. Indeed, those leading the top 50 universities are those two and a half times more highly cited than those at the bottom 50. And a president at a top 20 university has almost five times the citations of a leader in the bottom quintile. In other words, better universities appoint better researchers to lead them.

**Conclusion**

A simple link between the position of a university and the research history of its leader does not explain causality. Further research is required. These results do, however, suggest that being a good manager and leader is enhanced in a university context if a president is a successful researcher. The core work of a university is research and research-led teaching. It may be that a leader who has inherent knowledge of the core business can make all the difference to a university’s performance.
Global Trends in Funding Higher Education

Jandhyala B. G. Tilak

Jandhyala B. G. Tilak is professor at the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi, India. Email: jtitak@vsnl.com.

The decline in public expenditure on higher education has been a global crisis and the most important trend. Compelled by economic reform policies or convinced of the rationale for the reduced role of the state in funding higher education, most countries have inflicted serious cuts in public budgets for higher education. This trend exists in many countries, in some or all of the following areas: total public expenditure on higher education, per student expenditures, public higher education expenditure’s share in relation to a particular country’s national income or total government budget expenditure, and allocations in absolute and relative terms to important programs that include research, scholarships, and so on. The decline is not confined to developing countries, though it is more prevalent in developing than in developed countries. There has been a significant fall even in advanced countries such as the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand—though generally higher education in high-income countries has not suffered much. The decline is steep in some countries—such as Botswana, Jamaica, Hungary, and New Zealand.

Increase in Cost Recovery

The decline in public expenditure is accompanied by increased efforts regarding cost recovery by introducing tuition fees in countries where higher education used to be provided free of charge and increasing fee rates in others where fees already existed. Though a good number of countries used to provide higher education for free, now except for a few countries (e.g., Brazil, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, and some European countries) a majority of countries now charge fees in higher education, in some cases small nominal and in others reasonably large amounts. Tuition fees were introduced in China and Britain in 1998 and in Austria in 2001. In just a few countries—such as Sweden and Finland—tuition fees are not allowed in higher education by the national constitution. Some countries (e.g., India) have also hiked tuition fees selectively to equal the costs, while providing free or subsidized higher education to some or many students. This dual-track system of tuition fees is becoming common now in many countries.

While for social and political reasons, tuition fees have been neither introduced nor increased to very high levels in some countries, in several countries “user” charges are introduced or hiked for many services that universities used to provide free or at heavily subsidized prices—such as housing and food service in the university hostels, medical services, transport, in addition to price hikes for admissions application forms and the like. While tuition fees alone may not form a significant part of the universities’ income, other student fees seem to account for ever higher proportions.

Student Loans: Solution or Problem

Student-loan programs are becoming popular in many countries. However, loans as a mechanism for financing education are also associated with certain inherent weaknesses, apart from poor rates of recovery. In recent years, loans were introduced in many countries, such as China and Thailand, where they did not exist earlier. Loan programs were revitalized in many other countries, with a view to increasing the rates of recovery of loan amounts. Several loan programs were changed into income-contingent loans, and government-operated loan schemes were replaced by commercial bank-operated loan schemes (e.g., in India). While there seem to be short-term financial benefits in the loan programs operated by commercial banks, in the long run the programs can create more problems than they solve. The fundamental assumption underlying loan programs is that higher education is neither a public good nor a social-merit good but, rather, a highly individualized private good, as the mechanism of loans shifts the responsibility of funding higher education from society to families and more importantly within families from the parents to the individual students themselves.

Increase in Nongovernmental Resources

An equally important recent trend is governments’ encouragement or insistence that public universities generate resources from “third parties” such as the corporate sector. Accordingly, public universities in many countries have created ways of generating funds from the corporate sector by selling services, mainly consultancy and physical products and patents. The corporate sector also finds it convenient to provide research funds to universities and research institutions, if such projects benefit businesses. An increasing reliance on corporate funds by universities may shift the balance of higher education’s mission toward activities with the greatest commercial potential, in the end changing the very character of higher education institutions. Traditional academic disciplines of study and research may give way to market-relevant, resource-generating studies. Reliance on corporate funds may also lead to distortions in research priorities and even research outcomes.
The Mantra of Privatization
Privatization has become the mantra of the day everywhere, including the case of higher education. In addition to the above-mentioned methods of financial privatization, governments in many countries seem increasingly to be getting wedded to the neoliberal philosophy that centers on the role of markets in every sphere. Governments promote the growth of private higher education institutions—most of which can be described as “for-profit” institutions. The wave of privatization of higher education has become so massive that even predominantly public higher education systems began to emerge as predominantly private in a very short period, making the relative presence of the public higher education sector almost invisible.

The Purpose of Internationalization
Lastly, in many countries the cuts in public funding also forced higher education institutions to look abroad for financing. Under the policy of internationalization, many universities have been following aggressive strategies to attract foreign students, who are charged fees above the per student costs. Foreign students thus subsidize the higher education of local students. It is unfortunate that even some of the best universities in the world, such as Oxford and Cambridge, also seem to be adopting the same approaches—contrary to what they did earlier, namely offering scholarships to foreign students to attract and promote the best talent. In the framework of the World Trade Organization, many countries find it convenient to sell cheap higher education degrees to gullible students in developing countries by adopting different modes under the General Agreement on Trade in Services. Universities are fast becoming entrepreneurial institutions both domestically and internationally.

Conclusion
The 1998 UNESCO World Conference on Higher Education, the 2002 Report of the international Task Force on Higher Education and Society sponsored by the World Bank and UNESCO, and the 2004 World Bank policy paper on higher education, which all underscored the importance of public higher education in national development, have not made a significant impact on the policies of governments or international development organizations in relation to funding higher education. What seems to be forgotten is the golden rule in education: the best method of financing education, including higher education, is financing by the state through its tax and nontax revenues.

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Student Loans in Thailand: From Social Targeting to Cost Sharing

Adrian Ziderman
Adrian Ziderman is professor of economics at Bar-Ilan University, Israel, where he holds the Sir Isaac Wolfson Chair in Economics and Business Administration. Address: Economics Department, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan 52900, Israel. E-mail: zidera@mail.biu.ac.il.

The purpose served by government-sponsored student loan schemes varies from country to country. Two major but contrasting objectives for loan schemes may be identified.

Cost sharing: public universities throughout the world, and particularly in developing countries, are underfinanced; budgetary parsimony has resulted in public universities turning to greater cost recovery, in an effort to tap alternative sources of funding. This may take the form of higher, more realistic tuition fees or increased payments for subsidized lodgings and meals. Recourse to the banking system for a regular loan to ease this payment burden may be unavailable to students; banks are notoriously loath to lend for educational programs—a clear case of market failure. Hence, there is a role for a government-backed student loan scheme to fill this gap.

Social targeting: these schemes are concerned explicitly and directly with enhancing the access to higher education of the poor. Where targeted specifically at disadvantaged groups, loan schemes (particularly where subsidized) can lead to greater access of the poor to university education, thus contributing to social equity.

Social Targeting in the Thailand Scheme
The student loan scheme in Thailand is a leading example of the social targeting model. The scheme, which began operations in 1996, is aimed specifically at disadvantaged students, enrolled in both tertiary education and in upper-secondary general and vocational schooling.

The declared aim of the Thai loan scheme to increase the access of the poor to upper-secondary and tertiary education—through the targeting of loans to needy students under extremely favorable repayment conditions—has been complemented, de facto, by other objectives. Thus while the scheme was not designed as a vehicle for extensive cost recovery, the introduction of the scheme in 1996 was accompanied by increases in tuition fees at public educational institutions, though not at all of them.

The Thai scheme is of considerable interest, as one of the few examples of a national loan scheme that is both unambiguously aimed at serving disadvantaged groups of the population and also relatively large in size and wide in student coverage, ensuring a strong national impact. The scheme is run through
the national Students Loans Scheme Committee (SLSC), which receives annual subventions from the national budget.

**Major Shortcomings**
The scheme has been less than successful in realizing its central objective of reaching out to assist the poor. Targeting is not effective. The SLSC has set the family-income ceiling for loans eligibility at three times the income officially designated as defining poverty; thus many nonpoor students receive loans. Moreover, the maximum loan sizes, notably for living expenses, are set more or less arbitrarily by the SLSC with no account taken of actual levels of student expenditure needs. Yet many loan recipients receive considerably smaller loans than designated by the SLSC; this is the result of the decentralized system adopted to distribute loans to students.

Each university receives a loans budget, which it distributes among eligible student applicants. One advantage of this decentralized system is that it might facilitate proactive targeting, since educational institutions are better placed both to identify students in need and also to encourage potential students to take up loans.

**Student-loan programs are becoming popular in many countries. However, loans as a mechanism for financing education are also associated with certain inherent weaknesses, apart from poor rates of recovery.**

However, two conditions are necessary for a decentralized system to work successfully. First, the total loan scheme budget should be distributed to higher education institutions on the basis of objective needs-related criteria—that is, based on the socioeconomic profile of the student body in each institution. Second, actual individual loan size and eligibility criteria (including the cutoff ceiling for parental income) should be standardized across all institutions, to ensure horizontal equity.

These two conditions are not met in the Thailand scheme. Individual education institutions receive loan budgets through a system of top-down budget allocation, from the central SLSC. Institutional loan budgets are fixed in relation to enrollment size rather than the number of low-income students. The result is that some institutions with large numbers of poor students receive too few funds to provide loans to all students in need, while other institutions are able to offer loans to eligible but not highly disadvantaged students. More important, the considerable autonomy granted to education institutions in fixing the size of individual loans results not only in considerable inequities across the system but also in inadequately sized loans. Some private institutions use the loan system as a mechanism for attracting students, by offering loans for tuition only to a larger number of students, not all of whom are highly disadvantaged. Consequently, many poor students do not receive loans for living expenses at all. Likewise, the amounts received may fall considerably short of the loan size recommended by the national SLSC, with negative effects on access.

Finally, the rapid growth of the scheme, considerably in excess of plans, led to budgetary cutbacks. In consequence, education institutions have evidently preferred to spread declining loan budgets over a broader student population, reducing individual loan size below recommended (maximum) levels; this has further blunted the effect of the scheme in assisting the most needy students.

**Toward Cost Sharing**
The scheme has been subject to much criticism, and public debate has ensued on ways to reform the system. In April 2004, the Thai cabinet passed a resolution endorsing the plan for a new (rather than reformed) loan scheme for Thailand. The new scheme—the Thailand Income Contingent and Allowance Loan (TICAL) scheme—is closely modeled on the successful Australian Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS)—arguably too closely, given the very different institutional contexts in the two countries. As in HECS, repayment collection is to be assigned to the tax authorities and would be income contingent—that is, set as a percentage of current income, with a higher percentage being due on larger incomes.

The introduction of TICAL will lead to a complete reorientation of the objectives being pursued by the national loan scheme, with many of the shortcomings relating to inadequate treatment of the poor remaining intact under TICAL.

Rather than being aimed at assisting the poor to gain entry to, and continue with, tertiary-level studies, TICAL focuses on easing the heavy burden on the government to fund tertiary education. A massive reduction in direct budgetary allocations to institutions and considerably greater cost recovery are envisaged. A substantial increase in university tuition fees will be accompanied by the introduction of TICAL. As with HECS, loans will be available to all members of the student population but will be restricted to covering tuition fees; alternatively, students may pay tuition fees up front, at a discount. Loans for living expenses are no longer available, but a special fund is to be set up to provide grants to poor students, the amount of grant support depending on family income; this, again, parallels HECS provisions.

The availability of maintenance grants for the poor serves as a kind of safety net, designed to contain any deleterious effects of the new loan measures on the access by the poor. But it does little to reach out to poor potential students, to attempt to raise the proportion of poor youngsters enrolling in tertiary education. Will the new scheme place additional barriers in the path
of increased access for the poor? Will it be consistent with raising their participation in higher education? The available evidence for HECS is not encouraging. True, there is no evidence of a fall in the proportion of lower socioeconomic status groups enrolling in university studies since HECS was introduced. But while not damaging the prospects of the poor for enrolling in tertiary education, HECS has done little positively to promote their access.

In sum, under the new TICAL scheme the aim of facilitating cost recovery is of central concern, displacing the more direct social objectives of broader access to higher education for the poor that were dominant under the old scheme.

Austria’s Fachhochschulen and the Market-Based Model

Erich Leitner

Erich Leitner is professor of education and higher education at the University of Klagenfurt and a member of the executive board of the University for Applied Sciences in Carinthia. Address: Universität Klagenfurt, Universitätsstrasse 24, A9020 Klagenfurt, Austria. E-mail: erich.leitner@uni-klu.ac.at.

In the international context, the higher education system of the Republic of Austria entered the road to institutional differentiation very late (in the 1990s), with the creation of a nonuniversity sector of higher education. During the gradual process of liberalization, universities, previously administered directly by the federal Ministry of Education, evolved into state-controlled institutions. Privately run Fachhochschulen were introduced in 1993 and private universities in 1999. (Fachhochschulen are similar to the former polytechnics in Britain and now call themselves universities for applied sciences.) In 2002, the existing public (i.e., state) universities became autonomous institutions. The leading ideas underlying these reforms were the concepts of neoliberalism and increased bureaucratic authority. The Fachhochschulen represent the first model of Austrian higher education to follow this conceptual approach.

The public universities, which are completely financed by tax revenues, constitute the dominant segment of the Austrian higher education system in terms of numbers and type. In a sign of Austria’s liberal education policy, these public universities are characterized by free and unrestricted access. All prospective students with an upper-secondary-school diploma can study where, what, when, and as long as they wish. This situation led to many courses at universities being overcrowded and to many teaching staff being overburdened. Under these circumstances, a sense of responsibility or special concern for students hardly exists. As a consequence, this system produces extremely high dropout rates (as high as 50 percent), long study periods (due in part to the fact that students can determine the timing of their final exams), and a lack of coordination of higher education degrees with the needs of the labor market.

As has been pointed out before, apart from the very few private universities that mostly offer only two or three degree programs, the financing of higher education, is almost exclusively derived from tax revenues. Austrians tend to regard higher education less as an investment in their own professional and life opportunities than as a largely societal activity for which the state is expected to pay. This traditional viewpoint resembles the mind-set of the public in Germany, where university fees are presently also being debated. The introduction of such fees in Austria in 2001 (approximately US$450 per semester) still meets with strong public resistance.

The Fachhochschulen had been intended as a radical break from the traditional system. The foundation and the running of Fachhochschulen were placed fully in the hands of the private sector. During the last 10 years, more than 140 degree programs have been established at Fachhochschulen, presently with more than 20,000 students. The limited number of enrollments for each degree program at Fachhochschulen are determined based on the labor-market demands for graduates of the various programs.

The study places for each program, to which annually roughly 50 to 60 students can be accepted, are allocated by a specific selection procedure carried out by those in charge of the respective programs. The curricula are worked out in collaboration between academics and potential employers. Vocationally oriented academic training is thus being offered in close cooperation with industries. Each eight-semester program includes a practical-work semester. Undergraduate theses are usually designed in close cooperation with research and development projects of economic enterprises.

The study programs are predominantly in technical and economic subject areas, although recently more social science studies are also offered. The teaching staff include academics (for instance, some faculty at public universities hold part-time positions at Fachhochschulen), as well as people with vocational positions. At present only about 17 percent of Fachhochschulen teaching staff are employed full time; the others have only reduced teaching obligations on a contractual basis. In contrast to public universities where academics are civil servants and therefore in tenured positions, the personnel structure at Fachhochschulen results in a high degree of flexibility and adaptability to the changing requirements of the market.

The Fachhochschulen had been intended as a radical break from the traditional system.
Originally, the intention had been to organize Fachhochschule programs based on an independently financed market-based model and to create a competitive situation between Fachhochschulen as well as between Fachhochschulen and universities. The Austrian economic sector, in particular industries, which had vigorously promoted the foundation of Fachhochschulen, showed little interest in their continuous funding. The argument put forward by industries was that they had to pay sufficient taxes anyway. Cost-covering fees could also not be demanded from students.

A compromise called for the participation of the government in funding an agreed number of study places for each of the respective study programs. Today about US$8,500 from tax revenues is spent on each study place. However, when students, for whatever reasons, drop out of the programs, the government funding is reduced. While students at universities, these institutions, particularly if they offer technical subjects, cannot be run on such a financial basis. In almost all cases, the states (Austria is a federally structured country) play a financial role, as well as often local communities. The downside of this financial mix consists of the fact that higher education and science policies are often entangled in a web of provincial political interests.

In conclusion, the privately run Fachhochschulen in Austria have very successfully developed during the first 10 years of their existence. Above all, the numerous private initiatives to establish and operate such institutions have shown the country’s entrepreneurial potential. The Fachhochschulen nowadays represent a serious competition for the universities, despite the fact that both types of higher education institutions depend to the same extent on the public purse. While the originally envisaged market-based model has been used in the planning of programs and the adjustment of curricula to meet the demands of the labor market, in the context of funding matters these market principles have encountered a lot of mental resistance.

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The privately run Fachhochschulen in Austria have very successfully developed during the first 10 years of their existence.

Fachhochschulen pay the same amount of fees as those at universities, these institutions, particularly if they offer technical subjects, cannot be run on such a financial basis. In almost all cases, the states (Austria is a federally structured country) play a financial role, as well as often local communities. The downside of this financial mix consists of the fact that higher education and science policies are often entangled in a web of provincial political interests.

In conclusion, the privately run Fachhochschulen in Austria have very successfully developed during the first 10 years of their existence. Above all, the numerous private initiatives to establish and operate such institutions have shown the country’s entrepreneurial potential. The Fachhochschulen nowadays represent a serious competition for the universities, despite the fact that both types of higher education institutions depend to the same extent on the public purse. While the originally envisaged market-based model has been used in the planning of programs and the adjustment of curricula to meet the demands of the labor market, in the context of funding matters these market principles have encountered a lot of mental resistance.

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The Liberalization of Thai Education: Point of No Return

**Gamon Savatsomboon**

Gamon Savatsomboon is director of the graduate school at Northeastern University. Address: 199/19 Mitraphab Road, Muang, Khon Kaen, Thailand. E-mail: gamon_s@yahoo.com.

The 1997 economic crisis caused Thailand to embark on higher education reforms. Neoliberalism, a commitment provided to the International Monetary Fund, was adopted as a reform strategy. The strategy is well documented and has induced competition among universities for student enrollments. For instance, one of the largest private northeastern universities saw a 20 percent decrease in new students between 2004 and 2005, the opposite trend to the public sector. This article draws upon the experiences of public and private universities in the northeast of Thailand to illustrate the events taking place elsewhere in the country. The policy constellation in the country has led to five major developments.

First, in 1997, the autonomous-university policy was introduced in the public university sector. Public universities are now given greater freedom in administrative and academic terms. Furthermore, the government, in 2004, granted autonomy of decision making to both public and private universities. In effect, all decisions now rest with university boards.

Second, the private higher education sector has recently been experiencing deregulation. Consequently, it is easier for private operators to establish private higher education institutions. The number of private universities and colleges has now increased to 54, from just 1 in 1969.

Third, privatization has followed the user-pay model, which is based on the philosophy that higher education increases the earning power of individuals who possess it, and thus individuals must pay for the cost of higher education. This philosophy also underpins the full-fee programs offered by public universities.

Fourth, students will shortly be empowered to choose a university, as they will be provided with Income Contingency Loan (ICL) vouchers. Presently, money is allocated to universities on a quota basis, with the effect that students have to follow the money. ICLs are scheduled to be implemented in 2006.

Finally, because of budget constraints, public universities now perceive they have to support themselves financially. As a result, they are increasing enrollments through expansion and diversification via regular and full-fee programs.

**Public Universities’ Responses**

The principal effect of liberalization is that students now constitute sources of money and power. Public universities in particular are able to employ a variety of methods in attracting students and increasing enrollments. First, open-enrollment
schemes have been introduced. Student intake is made independent of faculty capacity, and intake is boosted, relying on rapid hiring of staff. Advertising for such programs has seen hitherto unknown aggressive recruitment methods. This intake feeds into adjunct programs, which are full-fee programs specifically for students who have failed the universities’ regular admissions systems. Public universities from Bangkok, as well as local universities, have established satellite or branch campuses throughout the northeast in order to take advantage of these developments. Public universities are also expanding their offerings through new degree programs or other new programs, such as courses for vocational students enrolled at various institutions.

**The Positive Side of Competition**

Competition has its advantages. Enrollment expansion, diversification, and ICLs lead to “choice” and expanded opportunities for students, primarily through the adjunct programs. Enrollment expansion and diversification also help absorb demand for higher education, while maximizing the resources of public universities. New degrees and more specialized degree programs are being created to attract and stimulate diverse groups of students. Departments also earn extra income through the adjunct programs. This money can be channeled toward staff development. At a personal level, faculty members can supplement their income by teaching courses in the adjunct programs.

**The Drawbacks of Competition**

Competition has its drawbacks. As there is now sufficient supply in the public sector, private universities, generally seen as less prestigious than the public, are suffering. However, the rapid increase in student numbers is also affecting the public sector.

Private universities, which previously functioned as demand absorbers, are experiencing a reduction in student enrollments, which could lead to commercial failure. Most are not in a position to compete with public universities because they lack the financial means or business interest, or both. As a result, they are attempting to employ cost-reduction strategies rather than promote the quality of their programs. This is unlikely to prove a viable long-term solution.

In the public university system, there are concerns about declining quality. Students enrolled in the adjunct programs are dropping out because they cannot handle the course requirements. Faculty members have protested, on ethical grounds, teaching in the adjunct programs because they perceive that the students are unqualified. Further, regular and adjunct program students are sometimes segregated in terms of both timetables and grades, the latter leading to double standards in the awarding of degrees.

Some effects that may have long-term implications are also emerging. It can be speculated that if a large number of students continue to drop out from the adjunct programs, public universities might experience pressure to lower their standards to maintain their student numbers. Faculty members are increasingly burdened by teaching loads, with less time for research. This is a serious issue at a time when the government is urging the production of more research. Finally, public universities are having to cancel or combine non-market-driven degree programs. This leads to less specialization in certain areas. All these issues may seriously affect the country’s development.

A potential solution to all these problems is auditing. Private universities have traditionally been subject to more stringent external auditing than public universities. Auditing of the massive expansion in public-sector student numbers is currently considered lax in terms of faculty numbers and qualifications and in the quality of course offerings.

**Conclusion**

Thailand has reached the point of no return in liberalizing its university sector. Whether or not competition is enhancing quality is still undecided. There are two opposing views on competition. One states that cost reduction and quality of services are achieved through competition. The other states that competition leads to “shoddy” goods and services. In Thailand, competition certainly has its advantages. However, in the age of market-driven liberalization, Thai universities are torn between quality and quantity. It is imperative that Thailand develops in the direction of quality, however, as poorly qualified scientists, pharmacists, and engineers will not enhance Thailand’s international position and may pose a risk to development. Quality must be at the pinnacle of both public and private universities.

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The Comparative Academic Performance of International Students

Alan Olsen, Zena Burgess, and Raj Sharma

Alan Olsen is director of Strategy Policy and Research in Education Limited, 3H Old Peak Mansion, 5 Old Peak Road, Hong Kong. E-mail: Alan.Olsen@spre.com.hk. Zena Burgess was director of international operations at Swinburne University of Technology, Melbourne, Australia. Raj Sharma is associate director and senior research fellow at Swinburne University of Technology, Melbourne, Australia.

International students do just as well as Australian students. This is the key finding from a study of the academic performance of 338,000 full-time students at 22 Australian universities in 2003.

The results of the study are important to international education professionals globally at a time when there have been allegations that Australian universities were dropping standards to favor foreign students. The Sydney Morning Herald claimed in June 2005 to have found evidence of quality falling at universities to cater to international students with poor English seeking degrees so as to be accepted for migration.

The research proved these allegations to be untrue. Australian students passed 89.4 percent of courses attempted, international students 88.8 percent. The results suggest that in their recruitment of international students Australian universities set their standards at about the right level.

Consistent with research globally, the study found a gender difference. Female students passed 91.6 percent of courses attempted, male students 86.5 percent. Simply, girls did better than boys.

The Study

Australia uses the “student progress rate” as the indicator of the extent to which students complete their studies with maximum efficiency. The student progress rate for a student, between 0 percent and 100 percent, is the proportion of study load passed to study load attempted or, simply, courses passed as a percentage of courses attempted. The student progress rate is a key performance indicator in the Australian university system, with all universities maintaining the rates for all students.

In 2004, the 38-member universities of the Australian Vice-Chancellors’ Committee, the council of Australia’s university presidents, were asked to participate in a study using student progress rates for 2003; 22 universities took part.

For both Australian and international students, the study included only students studying full time on campus in Australia. There was no international student population with which to compare Australian students studying part time, and there was no Australian student population with which to compare international students studying at offshore campuses.

The 22 participating universities provided student progress rates for 2003 on 338,445 full-time students on campus in Australia: 264,516 (78 percent) Australian students and 73,929 (22 percent) international students; 184,002 (54 percent) females and 154,443 (46 percent) males.

The research compared student progress rates for Australian students and international students. The 264,516 Australian students passed 89.4 percent of what they attempted, the 73,929 international students 88.8 percent. Overall, there was no difference.

Institutions

Australian students outperformed international students at 13 universities, international students outperformed Australian students at 5 universities, and at 4 universities there was no difference.

Field of Education

Australia conforms to an international classification on broad field of education. Student progress rates vary across these fields, ranging from 82.9 percent for students in information technology to 94.5 percent for students in health sciences.

The research compared student progress rates for Australian and international students in each broad field of education. In architecture/building, health, and business, Australian students outperformed international students. In science, information technology, engineering, education, arts, and agriculture/environment, international students outperformed Australian students; and in creative arts there was no difference.

International students do just as well as Australian students. This is the key finding from a study of the academic performance of 338,000 full-time students at 22 Australian universities in 2003.

Gender

The 148,963 Australian female students passed 91.7 percent of courses attempted, the 115,553 Australian males 86.4 percent. The 35,039 international female students passed 90.9 percent of courses attempted, the 38,890 international males 86.8 percent. Overall, the 184,002 female students passed 91.6 percent of courses attempted, the 154,443 males 86.5 percent. Simply, girls did better than boys.

The gender makeup of the Australian and international cohorts differs: 56 percent of Australian students are female, and 47 percent of international students are female. The Australian cohort, relatively heavy with females, might be expected to outperform the international cohort. But the research found no difference overall.
The 148,963 Australian female students passed 91.7 percent of courses attempted, the 35,039 international females 90.9 percent. The 115,553 Australian male students passed 86.4 percent of courses attempted, the 38,890 international males 86.8 percent. Overall, there was no difference: the 264,516 Australian students passed 89.4 percent of courses attempted, the 73,929 international students 88.8 percent.

Levels of Study
There were 1,908 postgraduate research students in the study. Progress rates for postgraduate research students need to be treated with caution, so these 1,908 postgraduate research students, 0.6 percent of the study, were removed from this analysis by level of study.

The 16,839 Australian postgraduate coursework (i.e., not postgraduate research) students passed 94.7 percent of courses attempted, the 246,127 Australian undergraduates 89.3 percent. The 22,592 international postgraduate coursework students passed 92.9 percent of courses attempted, the 50,979 international undergraduates 87 percent. Overall, the 39,431 postgraduate coursework students passed 93.7 percent of courses attempted, the 297,106 undergraduates 88.9 percent. Simply, postgraduates did better than undergraduates.

The makeup by level of study of the Australian and international cohorts differs: 6 percent of Australian students are postgraduate coursework students, 31 percent of international students are postgraduate coursework students. The international cohort, relatively heavy with postgraduate coursework students, might be expected to outperform the Australian cohort. It is perhaps because of the makeup by levels of study that the research found no difference overall.

The key finding from this study is that at the 22 universities in 2003 international students performed as well as Australian students.

The 246,127 Australian undergraduates passed 89.3 percent of courses attempted, the 50,979 international undergraduates 87 percent. The 16,839 Australian postgraduate coursework students passed 94.7 percent of courses attempted, the 22,592 international postgraduate coursework students 92.9 percent. Overall, there was no difference: the 262,966 Australian students passed 89.6 percent of courses attempted, the 73,571 international students 88.8 percent.

Conclusion
The key finding from this study is that at the 22 universities in 2003 international students performed as well as Australian students. Two other results are very clear. Female students performed better than male students, and postgraduate coursework students performed better than undergraduate students.

The Australian cohort, relatively heavy with females, might be expected to outperform the international cohort, but the international cohort, relatively heavy with coursework postgraduate students, might be expected to outperform the Australian cohort. Overall, there is no difference: Australian students passed 89.4 percent of courses attempted, international students passed 88.8 percent.

A report of this study, rich in tables and charts, can be downloaded from the International Education Association of Australia website: www.ieaa.org.au/news/.

Pushing Through Bologna Reforms: The Hungarian Case

Anthony Morgan

Anthony Morgan is professor of higher education in the Department of Educational Policy and Leadership at the University of Utah. E-mail: anthony.morgan@ed.utah.edu.

Hungary signed off on the Bologna process in 1999 and was admitted to the European Union in May 2004. The Hungarian Parliament passed a new higher education law in June 2005—driven in large measure by the pressures and provisions of the Bologna process. This relatively rapid adoption of change has hit a snag, however, as some provisions of the new law have been challenged in Hungary’s Constitutional Court, which began hearings on the matter this fall. In the meantime, governmental decrees have filled the gap between law and required policies for implementation. Any required revisions in the challenged law will have to be renegotiated through Parliament by a government facing reelection in spring 2006.

This article was based on a series of interviews in August and September 2005 conducted at the Ministry of Education and the University of Szeged as well as on a review of documents in English that have been part of the Bologna process.

Degree Structural Changes
Hungary has opted to move from its current five-year diploma to a three-year baccalaureate, a two-year master’s degree, and the PhD as the highest degree. Government officials see this structure as not only complying with the accords of the Bologna process but also reducing the amount of government subsidies for state-supported students. By contrast, many faculty see a three-year first degree as a threat to the quality of pro-
programs and inadequate preparation for the labor market. Some faculty interviewed suggested that MA-level training will become the standard, therefore only breaking the current five-year diploma into three-year and two-year components. This possibility appears to be precluded, however, by provisions in the new law and decrees that limit the number of government-funded enrollments at the master’s level to on average one-third (ranging from about 10 percent to 100 percent by disciplinary or professional field) of government-funded baccalaureate places.

University-College Tensions
The right to offer the new first degree (BA) is a hotly contested issue between universities and colleges. Many university faculty believe only university-level institutions have sufficiently high levels of program quality to offer the baccalaureate and have enlisted the support of the Hungarian Accreditation Committee, dominated by university faculty, as their ally. Colleges, on the other hand, were successful in seeking a provision in the new law that the baccalaureate, at least in some disciplines such as business studies and the technical sciences, include one semester of a practicum that they believe colleges are uniquely qualified to provide. Teacher training is another area where this tension will be played out. Current thinking and draft decrees place teacher certification at the master’s level, which ironically could make pedagogical colleges primarily master’s level institutions. One way forward is seen in yet further mergers or at least agreements between colleges and universities. This battle over the baccalaureate and master’s degree territories has yet to be fought although strategic alliances are being built in both government and accreditation circles.

Credit and Transfer Systems
A central component of the Bologna process is credit accrual and transfer provisions to promote greater mobility across Europe. The first-level and most commonly implemented form of this principle is the European Credit and Transfer System, which allows students to take courses in other countries that may count for degree programs in their home country. Much more difficult to implement in transition countries are credit and transfer systems that operate within the home university. In most areas of Eastern Europe and the Balkans, university faculties operate somewhat like academic silos where students take virtually all of their classes within their disciplinary faculty. There has been some loosening of this system in Hungary in recent years—for example, pharmacy students at the University of Szeged now take basic chemistry classes from the Faculty of Science. But there is a long way to go to achieve the extent of efficiencies that many reformers have advocated. Such reforms are impacting job security as well as perceived issues of quality control.

Governing Boards
Increased European interest in boards as an important component in governance reforms is also being played out in Hungary. In fact this provision of the new law is probably the most keenly contested issue before the Constitutional Court because it allegedly violates the faculty’s right to make judgments in scientific matters. The new Hungarian law provides for nine-member boards—five elected by the institutional senate and who cannot be employees of the institution (but who can be academics at other institutions); three members elected by the minister of education; and the rector (who is appointed by this board) as an ex officio member and president of the board. At smaller institutions, the law provides that these boards will have only seven members, two of whom would be chosen by the minister.

This controversial provision for boards in the new law is not a requirement of the Bologna process but comes rather from an increasing sense in government policy circles that a new management structure is needed if institutions of higher education are to function independently and responsibly. As one former deputy state secretary for higher education said, “The rules of the game are changing.” In addition, Hungary’s neighbor, Austria, has recently implemented a bold change in governance with institutional boards as the centerpiece of redesign.

Boards under the proposed new Hungarian law would have the power to select a rector and the chief financial officer and approve bylaws of university senates, the institutional development plan including new programs, any institutional joint ventures and entrepreneurial initiatives, and all property transactions.

Changing Demographics
A provision of the July 19, 2005 draft resolution of the European Council states that one of the most important functions of European states is the responsibility for strategic direction of their higher education systems. One of the most significant strategic issues looming for Hungarian as well as other higher education systems in the broader region is a decline in the college-age population. There are currently between 160,000 and 170,000 applicants for first-year study in Hungary’s colleges and universities. In six to seven years that
number will probably decline to 110,000 or 120,000. Those interviewed at governmental policy levels were very aware of and concerned about this coming change, while those interviewed at the institutional level seemed much less concerned. Given the implications for funding, admissions standards, and a range of important issues, the lack of institutional attention here was surprising.

What is the probable outcome of this projected decline in traditional college-aged student numbers combined with the push for Bologna reforms? Laszlo Dinya, president of the government’s Bologna Committee, outlined what he saw as three possible scenarios. The first is an optimistic scenario where most institutions recognize the changes needed, institute Bologna-type reforms, and adapt successfully to demographic changes. Maygar Balint, minister of education, believes that institutions can adapt by attracting more fee-paying foreign students, engaging in more adult education or lifelong learning, and significantly expanding their externally funded research and development, as well as other entrepreneurial activities. The second scenario is a pessimistic one where very few institutions adopt significant reforms or the reforms adopted are largely symbolic in nature. Faced with significant declines in enrollments and funding, a large number of institutions will be either closed or merged. The third scenario is what Professor Dinya sees as the most probable. He sees about one-third of institutions making significant Bologna-type reforms and surviving, even thriving, in the new demographic and governmental funding environment. Another one-third of institutions will either close or merge. The final third will struggle and be less viable institutions with quality problems but probably will survive.

Having worked in Hungary for over 12 years, I saw significant change in that time period. But more change has occurred at the national policy level than the institutional or operational level. During the mid-1990s, national policy change was being driven by the prospect of a World Bank loan with many, perhaps too many, reform strings attached. Since 1999, however, the Bologna process has become the primary driving force behind policy changes at the national level. While the legitimacy of this policy impetus is more widely accepted at the institutional level than was the World Bank loan, the specific meaning and implementation of these reforms are encountering long-standing cultural and structural barriers at the faculty level. Here the pace and longer-term outcomes may be quite different. One final example is that prior to the reforms of the late 1990s, the city of Szeged had four separate colleges and universities. After the merger reforms there was one consolidated university—the University of Szeged. Yet, as one long-time observer in Szeged said, we now have 11 fairly independent faculties instead of four institutions. Consolidation in policy and name is clear but perhaps in practice there is more fragmentation and less change that occurs. Bologna holds out the prospect of deeper reform, but changing deeply held cultural norms and disturbing job security takes much longer than policymakers hope or believe.

Australia as an Higher Education Exporter

Grant Harmon

Grant Harmon is an emeritus professor in the Centre for Higher Education Management and Policy, University of New England, Armidale, NSW 2351 Australia. E-mail: gharman@une.edu.au.

This article discusses some key issues facing Australia today as a leading exporter of international education. In a little over a decade, Australian universities have made impressive developments toward the goal of internationalization of higher education. With government support, they have put considerable efforts into internationalizing curricula and achieving enhanced international research collaboration and benchmarking. But the most dramatic and important developments have been in the expansion of fee-paying international students.

Today Australia is the third-largest commercial exporter of higher education services internationally, coming in rank order after the United States and the United Kingdom. In 2004, Australian public universities enrolled a total of 210,197 international students, constituting 22.6 percent of the country’s total higher education enrollments. Private colleges enroll an additional 30,000 international students, while each semester public universities also attract about 8,000 to 10,000 study-abroad and exchange students. Both are not counted in official statistics for public institutions.

The majority of international students study at the undergraduate level, mostly for a three- or four-year bachelor’s degree. In 2004, however, 40.2 percent studied for postgraduate qualifications, including 3.4 percent for doctoral degrees. The largest enrollments in 2004 were at Monash University (17,077), RMIT University (15,132), Curtin University (14,319), and Central Queensland University (10,460).

While export education has developed quickly to become an important component of the higher education sector, a number of issues call for careful monitoring and discussion. Three will be dealt with here: future demand for international student places, “offshore” international enrollments, and quality assurance and risk.
Future Student Demand

Australia has developed a special niche within the international export market, focusing particularly on providing English-language higher education to nations in the Asia Pacific region, whose own higher education sectors are unable to meet demand for student places, and to a lesser extent more widely to non-English-speaking countries. The majority of international students come mainly from a relatively small number of East Asian countries, although more recently significant numbers are being recruited from the Indian subcontinent and Europe.

While short-term student enrollment prospects until recently have been encouraging, considerable concern now exists about future demand within those East Asian countries that are expanding their own higher education systems and entering the English-language export market. However, despite major fears early this year about a possible major downturn, enrollments for 2005, in fact, increased by 6 percent, with the increases coming mainly from China and India. But significantly, there were decreases in the traditional markets of Indonesia, Hong Kong, Malaysia, and Singapore. Singapore, Hong Kong, and Malaysia have already entered in the international student market for English-language courses as suppliers. Singapore aims to increase its foreign student enrollments from the current 60,000 to 150,000 within 10 years.

“Offshore” Education

In recent years, the balance between in-country enrollments and offshore enrollments of international students has changed, with a marked increase in the proportion of offshore. About two-thirds of international students study on university campuses within Australia, while the remainder are enrolled offshore with partner institutions, at institutions that offer Australian courses on a franchised basis, at overseas Australian university campuses, and as independent distance-education students.

Almost every Australian university has multiple partnership agreements with overseas institutions for course delivery. Such partners are mainly local public and private universities, but partners also include private non-degree-granting colleges (which often teach the first two years of Australian courses), professional associations, and business firms. In its audit reports on a number of universities, the Australian Universities Quality Agency has been critical of some of these partnerships and the choice of agents to recruit international students.

A growing number of universities now operate campuses in overseas countries. Many of these are partnerships where a commercial partner owns and develops the campus and the Australian university provides academic programs. But in a small number of cases Australian universities have developed their own campuses and fully own their operations.

The most ambitious are Monash University, which has major campuses in Malaysia and South Africa and study centers in Italy and London, and RMIT University, which, with World Bank and Asian Development Bank loans of US$30 million, has set up in Ho Chi Minh City (HCMC) the first foreign private university in Vietnam—which this year moved to its new purpose-built campus across the river. Both the Monash campus in South Africa and the RMIT International in Vietnam have been developed without commercial partners.

The same will be true for UNSW Asia, which planned to open in Singapore in March 2007. The Singapore government announced in 2004 that it had chosen the University of New South Wales to establish the first foreign university. UNSW Asia, which will be the university’s first offshore campus and the first wholly owned research and teaching institution to be established overseas by an Australian university, is being developed with financial and other support from the Singapore Economic Development Board. Students will have the opportunity to move between the Sydney and Singapore campuses as part of their studies, and the aim is to have at least 70 percent of the student population drawn from Asia and around the world and up to 30 percent from Singapore.

Offshore international education has many attractions particularly in terms of often lower tuition fee levels and providing Western-style English-language education in the home country of students. But it provides major management challenges and considerable financial risks, especially in the development of major campuses without commercial partners.

Quality Assurance and Risks

A second issue relates to quality assurance and risk, especially with offshore ventures. The Australian Universities Quality Agency already audits all offshore operations as part of its program of regular university audits, but in response to public criticism of alleged low academic standards and “soft marking” for international students, the Australian government has provided additional funding for increased audits of offshore ventures.

Australian universities recognize the importance of taking quality assurance seriously for international students. Various allegations about low academic standards and soft marking, often made by disgruntled academics, have been seriously investigated, and most universities have in place well-developed quality assurance policies. But at the same time, there are major quality issues involved, particularly in working with overseas partners, as well as major financial risks concerning overseas campus developments by Australian public universities. This is of particular concern to state governments that technically are the owners of all public universities except for

Today Australia is the third-largest commercial exporter of higher education services internationally, coming in rank order after the United States and the United Kingdom.
the Australian National University in the federal capital, Canberra.

**Conclusion**

The threat of a downturn in international student enrollments, as well as recent major losses incurred by IDP Education, a marketing company owned jointly by the Australian universities, has slightly dampened the buoyant enthusiasm of Australian universities about the future of international student enrollments. But most universities still appear to be optimistic and continue with plans for future initiatives. Moreover, recent studies of student preferences have been encouraging. One such study reported in October 2005 that—in interviews that JWT Education, a research firm, conducted with 332 undergraduates from 10 Asian markets—Australia’s popularity as a student study destination had increased appreciably since 2000.

**Employment and China’s Private Universities: Key Concerns**

**Jing Lin**

Jing Lin is associate professor in the Department of Educational Policy and Leadership at the University of Maryland, College of Education, College Park, MD 20742. E-mail: jinglin@wam.umd.edu.

China currently has more than 1,200 private higher learning institutions. Riding the tide of higher education expansion, about 50 private universities have become *wanren daxue*, meaning they are universities enrolling between 10,000 and 35,000 students. Regardless of the size of their institution, the big concern of Chinese private university students is their job opportunity. From 2003 to 2005, the author visited a dozen private universities throughout China. Interviews with students indicate that private university students are very worried about their employment prospects.

Indeed, they should have concerns: while only 70 to 80 percent of public university graduates find jobs upon graduation, private university students have just 60 to 70 percent employment rates upon graduation. Graduates of private institutions often end up with jobs that pay from 600 to 900 yuan a month, an amount many people with no higher education can easily earn in a wide range of jobs. Since reemerging in the country after 1982, without government support, private universities in China have had a lower social status and are generally held to be of substandard quality. Due to these factors, their graduates often face discrimination in the job market. Once they learn that job applicants graduated from a private university, employers lose interest in or are reluctant to hire them. Encounters with graduates who have faced such problems have intensified the concern of students currently studying at private universities.

**Strategies to Increase Job Opportunities**

To survive and expand, private universities give top priority to their students’ employment opportunities. They regularly host job fairs on campus and form collaborative relationships with businesses. Universities have focused on training students with: (a) practical skills that allow students to find what they call “a cross between white-collar and blue-collar jobs”; (b) multiple skills that include typing, English-language translation, driving, etc.; and (c) specialized skills for a niche market—for example, real estate management, which is on high demand with China’s rapid increase in the construction of commercial residential communities. The universities also try to provide their students with “sufficient theoretical knowledge and creative ability,” as one university puts it. Some universities offer courses on starting private businesses and invite successful graduates back to share their experiences.

**Private universities in China have had a lower social status and are generally held to be of sub-standard quality.**

With these strategies, some universities sustained high employment rates for years. For example, Beijing City University, Yellow River University of Science and Technology, and Shanghai Jianqiao Vocational Technical College are reported to have achieved more than a 90 percent employment rate for years. In 2005, the Chinese University Association Net (http://www.cuaa.net/2005mb/fenlei/) produced a ranking of private universities by employment rate. Twenty-six universities were listed as having employment rates from 95 to 100 percent in 2004.

**Competition and Student Management**

One factor behind the low employment rates of private university graduates relates to the highly uniform subject areas offered by private universities. For example, most private universities shy away from the natural sciences, which require equipment and laboratories, and almost all offer programs in international trade, computer science, accounting, finance, foreign languages, as well as other fields. The lack of program diversity creates fierce competition among the graduates of private universities for similar jobs.

Private university students tend to possess lower academic achievement levels and poor discipline. Grouped at the bottom 25 percent of students taking the national university entrance exam, these individuals are usually admitted by private universities after all public universities have chosen their enrollees. In our fieldwork, private-sector students are usually described as “having poor study habits, lacking self-control and self-dis-
discipline, having low interest in study, lacking big goals in life,” and so forth. To shape their students’ behavior, many private universities administer “military style” management, which means students are monitored in the classroom as well as in their dormitories. They fence in their campuses and do not allow students to go off campus during the week, and staff check dorms every day to learn which students did not return to sleep. Students are strictly monitored for their class attendance records, and class directors, who are teachers assigned to work with students in all aspect of their lives, closely follow students’ lives, constantly talking with them and organizing extracurricular activities to occupy their free time. Private universities use such measures to ensure their students acquire the needed skills and develop the discipline to be employable.

In another attempt to increase job opportunities for their students, private universities are moving toward establishing what they call “education conglomerates.” Beijing Jili University has set up such a model. Jili University was founded by Jili Inc., which currently owns five other colleges and vocational technical schools. In addition, the corporation owns companies that manufacture cars, motorcycles, and other products and is also involved in the biological industry and tourism. By 2005, the Jill, Inc. intends to provide 8,000 to 10,000 jobs to the graduates of Jili University. Jili and other private universities are hoping to use this strategy to provide funding for the institutions to continue to survive and grow and also offer their graduates job opportunities.

**Conclusion**

In some parts of the country—such as Xi’an—private universities have leapt from their initial stage to form a “collective strength.” Many have become huge campuses with 6,000 to 30,000 students and have won the recognition of society. Taking advantage of this new reality, they are trying to hire more-qualified teachers, raising the bar of their educational qualifications; they are also trying to hire more full-time teachers, increasing the ratio from 30–50 percent to 70–80 percent. Universities with good graduate employment rates are also beginning to raise the bar for student admissions, although most private universities remain highly unselective and accept nearly all applicants.

The future of China’s private universities will continue to hinge upon their employment record. They will need to improve their teaching quality and administrative efficiency, paying attention to student needs. Private universities are already setting goals to strengthen their niche programs, although they face strong competition from public universities. The family-style management, which characterizes many private universities, needs to be reformed to give more power to faculty and administrators. As long as there are diverse needs from China’s booming market economy, private universities will continue to exist and grow.

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**Private Universities and Government Policy in Japan**

**Hideo Akabayashi**

Hideo Akabayashi is associate professor of economics at Keio University and a visiting scholar at the National Bureau of Economic Research, Cambridge, MA. Address: 2-15-45 Mita, Minato-ku, Tokyo 108-8345 Japan. E-mail: hakab@econ.keio.ac.jp.

Japanese private universities have recently been said to be losing ground to national (including local public) universities. In June 2005, Hagi International University, a small private college in the rural western part of Japan, was forced to start a legal rehabilitation process to avoid the closing of campus due to a sharp decline in enrollments. According to a government agency (the Promotional and Mutual Aid Corporation for Private Schools of Japan), 160 of the total 542 four-year private universities now have lower student enrollments than the enrollment quota (teiin) approved by the Ministry of Education. This situation threatens many small institutions that rely exclusively on tuition revenue for operating.

Most observers attribute this situation to the declining college-age population, myopic strategies of private institutions (such as investing in a new campus with a small and ill-focused program despite fashionable names), a lack of strong endowments, the low quality of teaching, and other issues. However, the demographic change has had an uneven impact on the higher education system, with the biggest blow affecting the lowest-ranked institutions. This situation seems to have emerged from the inconsistency between government deregulations, the demographic trend, and the strategies of private universities to survive in the industry.

**The Question of Deregulation**

Japanese government has been deregulating the higher education system over the past 10 years. However, even after the recent major reform in 2004, the ministry still maintains the authority to approve the establishment of new institutions or major academic programs (gakubu) at any type of institution by reviewing the proposed curriculum, facility, faculty-student ratio, and expected enrollments.
If a private university wants to alter the approved program, especially when the change involves an increase in the total enrollments at the institution, it needs to obtain an approval from the ministry. Such an approval is not required of national universities. Such biased regulations regarding private institutions have impeded rational and timely decision making by these institutions.

**Approval of New Programs**
The 1998 University Council report claimed that colleges in the 21st century must pursue diversity, uniqueness, and internationalization—sending a message that the approval of new programs may be difficult unless the proposals have something to do with these keywords. Under this pressure, higher education institutions have tried to follow those suggestions when they wish to obtain a new student quota. The keywords in the report have been interpreted in a superficial way in order to appeal to the ministry.

Hagi International University, which was established in 1999 after converting from a two-year women’s junior college, obtained an additional quota of a 160 students for new degree programs in “international studies” and “business information,” in a Faculty of International Information. This university has faced the challenge of trying to follow the government’s current priorities in a period of declining enrollments. Although these programs were named using the keywords in the University Council report, they failed to meet the local demand that a small local college should have considered. The first-year enrollments dropped to only 22 students in 2004 in comparison to a 300 quota of students. In October 2005, the university announced that it would cut back the quota and propose a new program focusing on local elderly care management.

**Assignment of Student Quotas**
Enrollment quotas are one of the most conflicting and problematic concepts in the Japanese higher education system, especially for private institutions. Quotas exist for all types of institutions and seem not strictly enforced by the government. However, the amount of subsidy to private institutions depends explicitly on whether the program complies with the approved educational conditions, including enrollment. Institutions with a 50 percent lower enrollment rate than the approved quota are likely to face the suspension of government subsidy for not fulfilling the initial promise.

For private institutions, raising quotas still requires much paperwork and negotiation while nothing is required to lower them. Since the ministry is reluctant to give an institution a new student quota, it is unlikely that an increase in quota will be approved easily once it has been lowered. Thus, private institutions tend to set their initial quotas higher than necessary and are reluctant to adjust the student numbers in response to a changing environment. Cutting the costs is difficult since all the educational conditions are approved based on the quota.

The compliance to the quota is also said to strongly affect the budget of national universities. Some argue that, following the government initiatives in the 1990s to expand graduate school enrollments, many top national institutions were forced to accept unqualified graduate students in order to fill the expanded quota.

**Competition with Public Universities**
In an era of rapid demographic decline, quotas work as an obstacle to maintaining the quality of education. Although the 2000–2007 quotas at national institutions declined by 1 percent, the actual first-year enrollment figures increased by 1 percent. Since the national universities offer higher-quality education at lower tuition rates than private universities, most able students tend to go to national universities. Most freshman enrollments are determined in a very short period after the national institutions give entrance exams in February. The vacancies are filled in the order of the college hierarchy. Thus, the lowest-ranked private schools are destined to absorb the whole demographic shock and often find their quotas unfilled in April, at the beginning of the academic year.

As the number of potential students declines, any private university is now matched to students who are less prepared and more indifferent to the education quality offered 10 years ago. The gap between students’ readiness and the school’s expectation is the largest at the bottom of hierarchy, as is the financial impact on the school. The only way the schools can survive is to cut the cost—and perhaps quality—to meet the demand from less-qualified students. Therefore, the education quality assurance at private universities cannot be adequately addressed unless these circumstances are taken into consideration.

**Regulations’ Ongoing Impact**
The trouble with Japanese private universities is not simply the consequence of the aggregate shortage of potential students. If one looks at unregulated vocational schools, there is clearly an increasing demand for professional skills beyond secondary education in areas such as accounting, legal services, care management, computer programming, and business-sector English. Many vocational schools succeed by efficiently providing such training.

The issues facing private institutions should be addressed in relation to the national education policy. Although the Japanese government has deregulated the higher education
system over the past decade, there still remain crucial regulations, with a strong concentration on private institutions. These regulations affect every aspect of the operation of private universities, impeding their flexible adjustment in the size and content of education. Small regulations can have a huge impact on the bottom of the hierarchy. Ignoring these repercussions would result in any reform effort of higher education system going nowhere.

Universities Without Corruption: A New Approach for Georgia's Higher Education

Paul Temple
Paul Temple is lecturer in higher education management at the Institute of Education, University of London. Address: 55-59 Gordon Sq. London WC1H ONTUK. E-mail: p.temple@ioe.ac.uk.

Philip Altbach recently described corruption as an “unprecedented threat to higher education” (“Academic Corruption: The Continuing Challenge,” International Higher Education, winter 2005), and recent issues of IHE have presented a range of valuable case studies of higher education corruption. An analysis of corruption in Kyrgyzstan’s universities by Madeleine Reeves (“Academic Integrity and Its Limits in Kyrgyzstan,” IHE, fall 2004) draws attention to the need to look beyond the university if the causes of corruption, rather than merely its symptoms, are to be confronted. As Georgy Petrov and I have argued in a recent paper on higher education corruption in post-Soviet states (Higher Education Management and Policy, 16(1), 2004), a pervasive lack of trust in formal structures and processes in these countries, which we suggest may be explained in terms of low levels of social capital, means that attempts at anticorruption technical fixes (for example, the grafting on of Western administrative procedures) will fail.

The Republic of Georgia, however, represents a case of a serious attempt to deal with university corruption as part of a wider attempt at social and economic transformation.

The Republic of Georgia, however, represents a case of a serious attempt to deal with university corruption as part of a wider attempt at social and economic transformation. In November 2003, Georgia’s peaceful “rose revolution” began the erosion of post-Soviet authoritarian systems around Russia’s borders, which was given further impetus by Ukraine’s “orange revolution” a year later. Georgia’s new government, led by Mikhail Saakashvili, has the general aim of bringing Georgia “into Europe.”

One of the government’s objectives is to create a modern, efficient, and, above all, uncorrupt university system. Its main tool in achieving this objective is the 2004 higher education law, supported by a local program known as “universities without corruption.” The speed of the law’s introduction indicates the priority given by the new government to higher education. This is therefore a crucial moment for Georgia’s universities.

The Current Situation
The universities of Georgia, as creations of the Soviet state, conformed to the standard Soviet pattern. Although the system was characterized by rigid organizational structures, highly didactic academic methods, and an ideological component in many subjects—as well as by close political control—there were undoubtedly academic strengths to be found in many faculties of Georgian universities during the Soviet period.

The years following Georgia’s 1990 breakaway from the collapsing Soviet Union, until the formation of the Saakashvili government in 2004, were ones of extreme difficulty for the universities. The effects of this period are only too apparent today in badly run-down and poorly equipped buildings, outdated libraries and other facilities, and, most important of all, aging, underpaid and demoralized academic staff.

By 2004, Georgia was said to have some 300 “universities,” a number now reduced to about 110—this in a country of some five million people. Most of these were new private institutions, established during a time characterized by lack of control and run as money-making businesses. A new national accreditation process is now aimed at bringing some order to this chaotic situation, which threatened to further undermine the country’s international academic reputation.

Corruption is reported to have been a major problem in Georgia in the later Soviet period, even when measured against the considerable achievements in this field found elsewhere in the Soviet Union. The problem is generally considered to have become even more acute in Georgia in the period after 1990, when ineffective governments themselves became major sites of corruption. Corruption became widespread in the universities, as it did throughout the former Soviet Union, but apparently with few of the corrective mechanisms that—as Georgy Petrov and I found—to some extent limited university corruption in Russia.

Change in the University System
Georgia’s 2004 higher education law provides the legal framework for change in the public universities. An appropriate legal framework is often a necessary part of university reform,
but it is not on its own a sufficient step: changed attitudes in society, new methods in the universities, and adequate resources are also required.

Many provisions of the new law are aimed directly at the problem of corruption. Thus, a bicameral arrangement for governance has been introduced, with a senate as the overall body responsible for policy and finance and an academic council responsible for academic matters. The greater transparency in decision making as a result of power sharing, which it is hoped this model will provide, is intended as a safeguard against corruption.

This separation of powers includes the creation of the new office of the chancellor (based on the German model), an elective post responsible for administrative and financial matters, accountable to both the senate and the academic council but not to the rector. An organizational distinction has therefore been drawn between the rector’s responsibilities for academic matters and the chancellor’s responsibilities for the nonacademic—particularly financial—management of the university. This separation of powers is, again, intended to reduce the risk of corruption—though of course it will not assist directly in preventing corruption from occurring in the teacher-student relationship. As many academic decisions produce administrative and financial consequences, this separation of powers builds a permanent tension into the management of the university as a whole; and the law seems to recognize this by setting out a procedure for resolving financial conflicts. I gather that the risks of such conflicts were judged to be worth accepting, if the likelihood of academic decisions being corruptly influenced was thereby reduced.

Another element in making the university’s governance and management more transparent is the law’s provision for one-third of the senate’s members to be students. This appears likely to radically change the nature of university governance in Georgia, particularly if students organize themselves so as vote in a bloc. From the perspective of a university manager, this does raise some practical issues, given an individual student’s likely short-term senate membership, as set against the relatively long-term nature of much university decision making.

The law also mandates the establishment in each university of a “quality provision service.” This policy may also be seen as a way of introducing transparent academic decision-making processes to make corruption more difficult. The actual content of this “quality” activity is not specified by the law, other than in its references to “systematic evaluation” of teaching and research. One important quality-related point to note is that there is now a general recognition at Georgian universities that the long tradition of the private, individual oral examination is no longer acceptable and must be replaced (or at least supplemented) by written examinations. The creation of such a “paper trail” that can be independently scrutinized is clearly a key anticorruption development.

All Georgian state universities must struggle to survive on inadequate resources. The positive aspect of the situation is that student tuition fees, submitted to honest accounting, now make up about 50 percent—sometimes more—of most universities’ income: the Soviet-era tradition of total reliance on state support has disappeared. The future possibility therefore exists for universities to benefit from a buoyant, non-state-income stream. When students are paying relatively large sums in tuition fees, and have a powerful voice in university governance, it is perhaps possible that an enhanced sense of student “ownership” will further reduce the likelihood of corruption. That was certainly my sense from several recent discussions with student groups.

**Corruption, Politics, Society**

Anticorruption measures at Georgian universities seem to have a chance of succeeding because they form part of a wider program of national reforms, driven by a government with a strong, democratic, modernizing mandate. These steps to counter corruption within the universities are not simply technical fixes, unrelated to wider organizational or social change, but form part of a completely new scheme for governance and management in the university. They are also of a piece with more general public-sector reform in the country. Changes to structures and responsibilities in the university are being introduced on foundations laid by more wide-ranging, changed understandings among academics, as exemplified by the recognition that the old oral examination tradition must go. We may consider that corruption is being tackled at Georgian universities through broader attempts at the formation of social capital.

Author’s note: My recent work in Georgia was undertaken in conjunction with the Liberty Institute of Georgia, at the request of the British Council Georgia.

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**New Developments in Colombia’s Higher Education**

**Consuelo Uribe**

Consuelo Uribe is associate professor and dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences at Javeriana University in Bogota. Address: Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Edificio Manuel Briceño, 3er Piso, Bogota, Colombia. E-mail: cuube@javeriana.edu.co.

Access to higher education by Colombia’s youth population is lagging behind by international and regional standards.
The country’s 22 percent enrollment rate does not meet the country’s needs in terms of technological and economic development. A large majority of students in higher education are enrolled in university-type institutions on average in five-year programs, while technological and technical institutions only have a fifth of all students.

Higher education enrollment rates in Latin America are on average 25 percent, which is largely not up to the level in other developing areas of the world, such as the so-called Asian Tigers. Colombia’s enrollment rate is lower than the regional average, lagging behind neighboring countries such as Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Peru.

Colombia’s mediocre rate of access to higher education has been blamed for much of the country’s faulty economic performance, producing a working population with low skills, inadequate connection of its population to the global world, poor scientific and technological training, low productivity and participation in research and development, and scant occupational mobility.

The Public-Private Mix
A unique characteristic of Colombia’s educational system is the composition of public and private enrollments at the different levels of education. Whereas most primary (81 percent) and secondary (72 percent) students attend public institutions, 70 percent of students attend private higher education institutions. This contrast has to do with higher education institutions’ role as relatively good businesses and public institutions having their growth restricted due to fiscal constraints.

This trend has serious consequences concerning higher education access for graduates of public secondary schools. Public universities (both national and regional) admit only about 15 percent of the new students. In national universities, there are always more candidates than places. Instead of moving to towns with extra places available at public universities, most students apply to private institutions with a range of academic standards, prices, and traditions.

The differences in public and private enrollments between basic and higher education in Colombia are related to the constraints on access to public universities. The limited access to subsidized (public) higher education means that the students who fail to gain admission and cannot afford to pay tuition opt out of the educational system.

The Evaluation System
In contrast to the generally grim situation of its higher education system, Colombia is a Latin American country with one of the more complete and rigorous systems of government-led evaluation and accreditation schemes.

Evaluation through achievement tests was first instituted in 1970 for students graduating from secondary schools. The mandatory ICFES exam—named after the institute that designs and administers the tests—forms the main basis for determining admission to higher education institutions. Students from private, urban, and day schools consistently produce higher scores.

Evaluation of both public and private primary and secondary students (third, fifth, seventh, and ninth graders) was first introduced in 1990. This is called the SABER test, and it is designed and administered by ICFES. These tests have confirmed the higher performance of students from private, urban, and day schools.

A final exam (ECAES) for university undergraduates was introduced in 2000 for a few programs and became mandatory in 2003 for students in most professional programs. The ECAES scores are generally high at public national universities, with a few private elite universities matching or outdoing them.

The previously mentioned divergence between public and private enrollments at secondary and postsecondary levels is at odds with the configuration of test scores: mediocre or low test scores prevail for students from public institutions at primary and secondary schools and high scores for students at a number of public universities. This is a peculiar phenomenon in Colombia. It means that many graduates of private schools with the necessary skills to attend competitive public universities are being admitted there, displacing those from public schools who cannot afford to pay private-university tuition costs. No wonder disparate income levels are an acute problem in the country.

The Accreditation System
Higher education accreditation in Colombia is government led and covers two aspects: institutions and programs. The National Council of Accreditation (NCA) has established the two-tier accreditation system. During the 10 years that the NCA has been operating, a total of 503 programs have been accredited. Institutional accreditation started in 2003 and has been granted to a total of 10 universities, 6 of which are private. Accreditation is granted for six to nine years. The “top 10” accredited universities, along with the National University of Colombia (outside of the accreditation track), are the ones with the highest ECAES scores.

Accreditation and quality assurance were both set up to counter the growth of private institutions with less than opti-
mal performance standards. Accreditation of public institutions has also been encouraged, given that some of the regional and local universities are having a hard time matching the standards of national institutions and private universities of excellence.

**Reforms of Government Monitoring**

Autonomy is the aspect that most likely comes to mind when higher education is mentioned in Colombia. The term is included in the 1991 Constitution in reference to tertiary education institutions and is developed further in statutory law. However, autonomy resulted in the proliferation of institutions that are having a hard time with evaluation and accreditation.

The current Uribe administration initiated a series of measures to reform the monitoring of both basic and upper levels of education. In higher education, the measures aimed at controlling the proliferation of programs with low quality standards and coordinating the monitoring of higher education with that of preschool, primary, and secondary schools. The steps taken have included the creation of a Vice-Ministry of Higher Education within the Ministry of Education, the setting of minimum standards for granting accreditation, redefining academic credit and the curriculum of credit-based programs, and enhancing technical and technological education. The last set of measures involves setting performance indicators for public universities as a basis for granting up to 12 percent of their budget. These indicators include completion time and dropout and enrollment rates, which all need to be improved if a public university wants to receive its entire approved budget. Teachers’ salaries would also be pegged more strictly to productivity.

**Conclusion**

Whereas the measures taken by the Uribe administration will have an impact on Colombia’s higher education system, the results have yet to be seen. The approach is well conceived in the sense that reforms include primary and secondary education as well and the public and private mix of the different levels. Yet, the challenge is big and the needs are extensive.

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**Problems of Leadership and Reform in Pakistan**

**S. Zulfiqar Gilani**

S. Zulfiqar Gilani is director of the Centre for Higher Education Transformation. Address: Centre for Higher Education Transformation, First Floor, Waheed Plaza, 52-W, Blue Area, Islamabad, Pakistan. E-mail: director@chet.edu.pk.

The process of reforming higher education in Pakistan started with great optimism and energy in early 2001 and gathered momentum during the following two years but seems to have hit a rocky road since. While there are a multiple reasons for the prevailing situation, I see the single-most-important factor that hampered positive change as the individual limitations of the key leaders, including the vice chancellors. Those who were expected to lead the reform, barring exceptions, exhibited a lack of vision and understanding, as well as the requisite qualities.

The reform effort in higher education in Pakistan gathered momentum during three years, from 2001 through 2003, spurred on by the 2000 World Bank-UNESCO report, *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise*. In Pakistan, the Task Force for Improving Higher Education (TF) and the subsequent Steering committee on Higher Education (SCHE)—in both of which I served as an active member—spearheaded the effort.

**The Inner Sanctum**

To begin with, most individuals in the two groups established to conceptualize and develop a road map for reforms largely failed to rise up to their tasks. The members’ approach to the deliberations remained oppositional and subversive, rather than facilitative. The individuals had been selected by virtue of their positions held or some related factors. We were anyhow caught up in a paradox: most of us were likely to lose in one way or another, if and when the reforms were implemented. Those benefiting from the chaotic system were tasked to change it in a manner that could hurt their interests, which could undermine the very efforts the two groups were supposed to further. Despite the difficulties, the TF managed to produce a set of radical recommendations that, if implemented as envisaged, could bring about a sea change for the better.

**Stakeholder Resistance**

Of the many reforms proposed by the TF, a central one was to change the governance and management of universities, to make them more autonomous and introduce transparency and accountability into their administrative functioning. Here the main battles emerged with the chancellors, vice chancellors, and some senior members of the education bureaucracy. The chancellors foresaw an erosion of their unchecked powers. Most of the vice chancellors were concerned because the proposed reforms envisaged a transparent process of selection, a system of accountability of their performance, and checks on the blanket emergency powers they enjoyed. The systematization of university governance would similarly erode the power of the education bureaucracy.

Outwardly, all of them lamented the dire state of affairs in higher education and supported reform, as the pressure for that was coming from the highest authorities. However, behind the scenes their resistance to change was dogged and, unfortunately, effective. They clouded issues by quoting precedence, and raising legalistic and/or procedural constraints. Their opposition was informed by the mindset that the state...
and its various organs must have hegemony and control, despite evidence that in Pakistan the outmoded functioning of the state is the problem that stifles the establishment of good-governance and credible and efficient institutions. Their position was that a better implementation, by “good” people, of prevailing procedures and systems will solve the problems.

**Leadership Deficit**

The TF had recommended that the arena for reform should be the universities, and as a corollary the figure of the vice chancellor emerged as the linchpin for taking forward the reforms. However, the appointment of the vice chancellor is the prerogative of the chancellor, and amazingly there are no criteria for this appointment, nor is there any transparent process that could ensure merit. Consequently, we have many vice chancellors who are not the best leaders—many not having been academics to begin with. Nevertheless, appointment as a vice chancellor bestows considerable executive powers on the person, and she or he has a key role in the trajectory of institutional functioning. Unfortunately, most are averse to learning and change. Their decisions and actions are primarily informed by what they consider would please the higher-ups, the desire to retain their positions, and secondarily with professional or institutional requirements. Thus, the most critical positions of higher education management are occupied by individuals who may not be too suitable for the job, are inwardly anxious and insecure, and lack the necessary qualities to provide credible leadership. The rather whimsical methods of their appointment, and the conditions of service; their lack of vision, confidence in themselves; and low institutional or professional commitment—all combine to make a pessimistic mix for reform.

**Conclusion**

The reform effort in Pakistan was derailed because of two crucial weaknesses. First, the overall mode of state functioning, policymaking, and governance is top-down, nontransparent, and rigidly hierarchical. That mindset bedevils reform in higher education, in general, and the manner in which universities function, in particular. For example, the TF had recommended that to drive and facilitate the reform effort, an apex Higher Education Commission should be established, which was done in late 2002. However, the commission is functioning like any other Pakistani bureaucracy. Second, at the microlevel, the leadership of institutions of higher learning is extremely weak. As indicated above, the leaders remained largely opposed to reform, and concern for improvements in institutional functioning remains a low priority. Initially, the majority of vice chancellors felt obliged to go along with the flow, they kept making the right noises at the right times and places but bided their time and tried to do as little as absolutely necessary. As the fervor for change started waning, the beginning of which was around late 2002, the old attitudes were reasserted. Those for the status quo but adept at the game of position, reascended; and, in an ironic twist, those who championed reform were marginalized or ended up on the defensive: proving once again that in Pakistan the winning approach is doing the least, mouthing the right things, and staying the course of the status quo. The unfortunate upshot is that the reform process that was initiated with fanfare has largely come to naught, and, some argue, has made the situation worse. The broader lesson that our case illustrates is that the determinants of the outcomes of such efforts are the commitment, honesty of purpose, and know-how of key actors; and the wider psychosocial and political context that shape and inform their decisions and actions.

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**Recognition of Education for Refugees: The Norwegian Experience**

**Marit Egner**

Marit Egner is an adviser of the Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education (NOKUT). Address: NOKUT, P.O.Box 1708 Vika, N-0121 Oslo, Norway E-mail: Marit.Egner@nokut.no.

Many refugees arrive in Europe with few, if any, educational documents. Often it is difficult to obtain verifications from their countries of origin. Some people exploit this situation by producing fraudulent documents, and this necessitates an alternative method that enables candidates with bona fide qualifications to demonstrate the authenticity of their qualifications. Today, 100,000 refugees are settled in Norway, a country of only 4.5 million inhabitants, and about 15 percent of these refugees have some form of higher education.

In the Lisbon Convention, the issues relating to refugee credentials are covered by Article VII. The signatories are expected to put in place fair and expeditious systems for evaluation of qualifications for refugees with insufficient documentation.

In 1999, a working group from the European Network of National Information Centers on Academic Recognition and Mobility (ENIC) suggested using a “background paper” for refugees, based on the applicants’ own reconstructions of their educational backgrounds. In 2003, a Norwegian procedure for recognition of refugee qualifications was developed, mainly built on the ENIC recommendations and experiences with assessment of prior learning. There is, however, a difference between assessing documented informal prior learning and assessing undocumented, but formal, qualifications of refugees—the latter learning being a planned process, often within a known education system.

**The Norwegian Refugee Process**

The procedure has two phases. The first is to establish the applicant’s educational portfolio by collecting supporting evidence and reconstructing his or her course descriptions. The
second phase is an evaluation of the applicant’s education, comparing it to the Norwegian higher education system through an evaluation interview. While the first phase may be guided by administrators, the second must engage academic staff at the higher education institutions.

The Pilot Project
In 2004, the Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education (NOKUT) carried out a pilot project, together with Oslo University College and Narvik University College, to assess the procedure. The project only admitted candidates with engineering degrees for the sake of coherence and comparability, and there were 20 candidates from Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, and the former Yugoslavia. Their dates of graduation spanned from 1977 to 2000. Six candidates were recruited from the northern part of Norway and 14 from the Oslo region. In the first phase the candidates were assisted either by NOKUT or by municipal refugee consultants, but in the second phase, all the candidates were called in for evaluation interviews at one of the two university colleges.

Four candidates received recognition of their degrees as equivalent to a three-year Norwegian bachelor’s degree, 12 candidates received recognition as having one or two years of higher education, and four did not get any recognition of higher education. Where full recognition was not granted, the candidate received advice on further education possibilities.

There was no language requirement for participation, and in a few Afghan cases language problems were a barrier to an accurate positioning of the candidate’s level in engineering. If future candidates wait until they have a good command of Norwegian or English, the validity of the evaluation interview will be enhanced and the candidates will have a smoother transition into further studies or professional employment. Another lesson gleaned from the project was that in order to decide the candidate’s level of expertise it was important to involve academic staff with expert knowledge in the candidate’s particular specialty.

The time span from the candidates’ graduation to their initiation into the recognition project was up to 25 years. Some candidates had acquired new professional competence while others had never worked as engineers and lacked experience with recent technological developments.

One dilemma was that where a normal credential evaluation would have yielded recognition as a bachelor’s degree, even if the candidate’s knowledge and skills had eroded, the refugee candidates’ portfolios were assessed compared to a 2004 Norwegian bachelor of engineering. To solve this, one candidate’s education was recognized as being equivalent to a Norwegian engineering degree from the same time period as the candidate’s degree.

Some candidates had originally given up their profession as previous attempts to obtain recognition had failed, but with the results from the pilot project they had to reconsider this stance and consequently felt a new need for career guidance.

The Costs
The main cost in the recognition process was the salaries, and the procedure was estimated to require three to seven workdays divided between administrative and academic staff. This was lower than for similar testing in secondary vocational education and less costly than reeducating the candidate. The number of eligible refugees seems to be small, probably less than 200 annually in Norway, but because documentation problems are not registered systematically, the category is hard to trace in statistics.

One Year Later
One year after the project, 15 candidates were contacted by NOKUT to gain information on their use of the recognition. Five out of these 15 continued their studies in 2004/2005 while 6 expressed a wish to continue as soon as the language requirements for admission were fulfilled. Of the 4 with bachelor’s-degree level recognition, two were studying at the master’s level, and one had used the recognition to improve on his employment contract.

One candidate had received no higher education recognition, but had been admitted as a first year student. He found the requirements too demanding and thus withdrew. Those who studied for the final year of a Norwegian bachelor’s degree were content because it supplied them with an engineering vocabulary in the Norwegian language, an updating in engineering, and increased ICT skills. Some still worked in irrelevant jobs while they improved their Norwegian-language proficiency or searched for a relevant job, or simply because they had given up on engineering.

NOKUT and the Ministry of Education and Research have advised Norwegian higher education institutions to implement the procedure, and information and application forms are available on NOKUT’s website. A number of institutions have started using the procedure, but to avoid a large influx of applicants to the institutions, there has been no official launching event.

The Future
Generally, the practice in recognition nowadays is to place more emphasis on getting educational documentation straight from the institutions abroad in order to avoid fraud. This is possible because the lines of communication gradually open up to most countries. There will, however, always be some countries and institutions where verification is impossible for different reasons. Therefore, the need for a special recognition process for refugees cannot be expected to disappear. In most cases an applicant with educational documents can expect a better result through the normal recognition process; hence the recognition procedure for refugees is not considered an easy way out but as a solution for exceptional cases where recognition cannot be based on documents or information from the institution.
News of the Center

We are in the final stages of updating Higher Education: A Worldwide Inventory of Centers and Programs, by David Engberg and Philip G. Altbach and published in 2000 by the Center and Oryx Publishers. The new edition, to be published in 2006, will thoroughly update the original book and provide complete information concerning the infrastructure of the field of higher education around the world. We invite anyone involved with a center or program in higher education who has not already returned our questionnaire to contact Leslie Bozeman (bozemanl@bc.edu), and we will provide an electronic questionnaire.

The Center’s copublishing arrangement with Sense Publishers in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, is successfully under way. So far, two books have been published—Altbach and Levy’s edited volume on private higher education and the inventory of women’s universities worldwide by Purcell, et al. Books are available at Sense Publishers (www.sensepublishers.com).

The Fulbright New Century Scholars program is fully operational. Center director Philip Altbach is the coordinator for NCS, and 30 senior scholars from around the world are now working on six different projects. Laura Rumbley, CIHE graduate assistant, is providing staff assistance to the NCS initiative. A midterm conference will be held in Cairo, Egypt, in March 2006, to discuss the projects and to meet with senior Egyptian higher education leaders. The first NCS conference was held at Boston College in September.


Center director Philip Altbach gave keynote addresses at two conferences recently. He spoke at the international section of the national Association for the Study of Higher Education meetings in Philadelphia and at an international conference of the Global University Network for Improvement (GUNI) in Barcelona, Spain. He also presented a paper at the Academic Cooperation Association’s conference in Vienna.

The Journal of Higher Education in Africa’s main editorial office will move to the Dakar, Senegal headquarters of the Council for Social Science Development in Africa (CODESRIA) early in 2006. Assistant Professor (research) Damtew Teferra will continue to provide editorial assistance to the journal. Teferra recently presented papers at a conference in Bergen, Norway and at the GUNI conference in Spain. He also is coauthor of a research report on African higher education for the African Higher Education Partnership.

The Center’s website on corruption in higher education continues under the leadership of Natia Janashia, and the website on international higher education issues (IHEC) is also expanding under the leadership of research associate Liz Reisberg. The Center is also updating our list of higher education journals. Laura Rumbley is coordinating this project.

New Publications


A “how to” guide” for strategic development for American higher education leaders, this volume argues that it is vital to move from tactical responses to a broader strategic vision. That vision must be based on an understanding of the context of the institution and a range of factors.


The focus of this volume is on how international trends are affecting Latin America and how Latin American higher education systems are internationalizing. Several overview chapters are followed by case studies of Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Cuba, Mexico, and Peru.


This complex analysis of the American university focuses on how the changing environment, within and outside academe, is affecting academic work and the academic disciplines. Discussing the field of English studies as well as other fields and interdisciplinary areas, the author examines how academics are adjusting to changing circumstances. He is looking for new paradigms of academic work to replace the existing disciplinary ways of thinking.


While the title of this book is somewhat misleading in that the 2004 reforms affect mainly the national universities and are only now taking hold, this book is a very useful and up-to-date discussion of key themes in Japanese higher education in a broad context. Among the themes considered are graduate and professional education, the examination system, the role of IT, the “Centers of Excellence” programs, the role of the national government regarding the universities, American university transplants in Japan, and other topics.


Written in semifictional form, this volume examines the culture, for both professors and students, at the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis. The author is an English professor at the academy.

There is a growing interest in North America in the role of the community college in baccalaureate education. Some people have argued that community colleges should be allowed to offer bachelor’s degrees, while others focus on better articulation between these institutions and four-year colleges and universities. This volume examines the range of issues involved, such as institutional collaboration, applied baccalaureates, and others. Several case studies are included.


With several international points of reference but a primary focus on contemporary Argentina, this book explores two sides of the university financing issue: the effects of public spending policy on institutions of higher education, and the impact of institutional behavior and characteristics on public policy decision-making processes and outcomes.


The publication is a new name for the History of Higher Education Annual. The 2005 edition features articles on gender issues in 19th century colleges, the historical development of psychological testing, a historical perspective on political interference in higher education in Texas, and others. Brief descriptions of recent doctoral dissertations in the history of higher education are also included. The focus of this publication is concerned with how U.S. policymakers, analysts, and the academic community have discussed study abroad over time.


The papers from a conference on the Bologna process, broadly defined, are included in this volume. Such themes are the impact on Bologna on countries outside of Europe, the realistic prospects for higher education integration, curriculum restructuring, lessons from the United States for Europe, and others.


A comprehensive analysis of teachers of foreign languages in American higher education, this volume reports on a survey of faculty members as well on interviews. There is a special emphasis on teachers of less commonly taught languages. Not surprisingly, language teachers have lower salaries and less adequate working conditions than many other academics, and a significant proportion are part-time instructors.


A comprehensive analytic reference volume focusing broadly on issues of financing higher education, this book provides wide geographical coverage as well as a range of perspectives. Among the themes considered are regional financial trends, international approaches to financing higher education, issues of accountability and financing, and others. A useful statistical summary is provided. This volume is the first contribution of the Global university Network for Innovations (GUNI).


A thorough historical analysis of the development of higher education, this volume is unique in that it focuses on the premodern period. It looks at Islamic Africa as well as the better-understood era of European colonization. The book examines how the various European powers approached higher education development and discusses the implications of colonial rule. It is the most comprehensive work on the history of higher education in Africa available anywhere.


This series of brief vignettes of life at Notre Dame University provides a perspective on a premier Catholic university. Fr. Malloy, the recently retired president of the university, is in a unique position to reflect on his experience as student, faculty member, and administrator of the university. Student and faculty life are discussed.


How do search committees select future colleagues in French, German and US research universities? How then is a price negotiated between the chosen candidate and the recruiting institution? What do we learn about academic labor markets when one looks at such decisions?


This data-filled report, sponsored by the National Research Council and other US government advisory agencies, focuses on the “pipeline” of graduate students and postdoc- toral scholars in science and engineering coming to the United States. The report argues that it is urgent for the US economy to welcome students and scholars and that the economy depends on a significant number of them staying in the United States following graduation and training. Such issues as global capacity, immigration difficulties, and other factors are cited in the current decline in numbers. Suggestions are made for improving the situation.


This book is a follow-up to Ernest Boyer’s influential Scholarship Reconsidered. That book made the argument that faculty work should be rewarded along a number of
dimensions and that research should be more broadly defined. This volume discusses some of the new ways of thinking about scholarship and how some have been implemented. A series of campus case studies are provided. While this book focuses exclusively on the United States, the issues are widely relevant.


The focus of this book is on successful academic leadership in American higher education. The author, a professor of management, focuses on case studies of six iconic American presidents, including Clark Kerr of the University of California, William Friday of the University of North Carolina, Fr. Theodore Hesburgh of Notre Dame University, and several others. Leadership style, institutional arrangements, and some biographical details are, among other things, discussed.


Produced by the Committee on Science, Engineering and Public Policy of the National Academies, this book focuses on the impact on American science, education, and economy of international students and postdoctoral scholars. The underlying concern is the need for international students and scholars for American higher education and science. The main focus is on science and engineering. Among the topics considered are immigration policy, flows of students and scholars, and the globalization of science and engineering.


An analysis of the process of change at two women’s colleges in the Philippines in the context of new challenges for higher education generally and the changing role of women's institutions, this book focuses on how academic leadership copes with these pressures and how the institutions fit into the broader context of Philippine society.

A unique examination of American undergraduate life and learning at a large public university, this book is based on the experiences of an anthropology professor who became a student in order to study student life and culture. She looks at life in residence halls, learning styles and patterns, campus life, and related issues.


An analysis of the development of higher education policy in the years immediately following the end of apartheid in South Africa, this book discusses the political debates and the reactions from various constituencies relating to proposals for higher education policy change. Basing his arguments on interviews and document analysis, the author shows that the process of change has been quite complex and contested.


A series of essays by the president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, this book covers a range of issues relating to teaching and learning in higher education. Among the topics considered are teaching portfolios, teaching assessment, philosophy of teaching, and others.


Established in 1862, MIT is today the most prominent technological university in the United States. This volume discusses the early years of MIT up to 1870. Among the issues considered are the development of the curriculum, the struggle to find funding and support for the establishment of a new type of postsecondary institution in Boston, and the philosophy of technological education at the time.


This volume presents an analysis of how ideas about economics as an academic field and trends in economic thinking traveled from the United States to Russia. Three prominent Russian academic institutions are used as case studies to examine the impact of the overseas experiences of professors and students, literature in the field, and related factors.


Markets, competition, loans and fees, making academic decisions based on market forces, and related issues are at the heart of this volume. National and case studies from such countries as the United States, Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, Portugal and several others are combined with comparative discussions of internal efficiency in universities and market forces, loans and grants to students, market coordination, and other topics.


A comprehensive survey and analysis of student financial assistance in American higher education, this volume provides useful historical background as well as discussion of current issues. The stress is on the elite sector. Wilkinson points out that institutions have many motivations for offering financial aid. He also discusses the evolution of governmental assistance programs.


An analysis of the forces in American higher education that have pushed the system toward marketization and away from a concern for the public good, this book discusses such factors as the role of rankings and the intense competition for the best students, problems facing the professoriate, the role of teaching, the difficulties of creating a mission for academic institutions, and others. The authors argue that higher education needs to focus on the public good as well as on institutional goals.


Analyzing data from a range of US colleges and universities, the author finds that there
are economic benefits from attending high-quality institutions, but the situation is complex and generalizations are difficult to make. The implications of the results for admissions and other policies are discussed.


A comparative examination of student loan arrangements in five Asian countries (China, Hong Kong, South Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand), this volume examines the strengths and weaknesses of the schemes, including implications for equity, financial viability, organizational factors, and others.

Internet Resources
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