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International Education: Alternatives to the Market

**Peter Scott**

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The widespread assumption that academic mobility and international education are “good things” may need to be tested periodically—to ensure, first, that the lessons of mass higher education at home have been fully incorporated into concepts of international education; and second, that the even more important lessons of globalization have been factored into policies for international education. It may be insufficient simply to define international education as a mass activity, characterized by mass flows between countries and continents or large-scale student flows as one of the most dramatic examples of globalization. It is still rare for international education to be discussed on the basis of the growing tide of economic migrants and asylum seekers or on the new information and communications technologies that have, in effect, “abolished” centuries-old ideas of time and space.

**Mass Higher Education**

Mass higher education systems, with almost open access, are now the dominant types in almost all advanced societies, as well as the increasing emphasis on considerations of social equity and economic utility. As a result, traditional academic and scientific cultures have been eroded, as more and more study takes place off campus in the community, in the workplace, and in people’s homes. Likewise, research (or, more broadly, knowledge production) has moved out of the library and the laboratory and become a highly distributed activity. Most higher education systems have not simply experienced quantitative growth (in the number of students and institutions) but in addition a qualitative revolution, in terms of values and of ethos. The whole *habitus* of higher education is changing. It has become a social, as much as an academic, enterprise; or, conversely, it has become part of the knowledge-services industry—the supply chain of the knowledge economy, producing highly skilled workers and useful knowledge.

**Student Demography**

One of the most obvious changes has dealt with the demography of students. Modern higher education systems now have mass-student populations, ranging from at least a third to more than half of the relevant age groups. The fact that access to higher education—and especially to elite universities—is still socially unequal should not be allowed to disguise the scale of the social transformation in higher education. Students are now much more representative of the wider community. They are no longer an elite group, differentiated from the mass of the population. This change of the social base of higher education, of course, reflects the wider transformation in European societies over the past half century—for example, the erosion of older class-based differences, partly as a result of greater social mobility; the decline of traditional “proletarian” industry; and the mass-media culture that embraces us all. A particularly striking aspect of this social transformation is the revolution in gender relations and the status of women. Most societies have become much more open and more fluid.

However, the status of international students tends to be different. They are more likely to come from more privileged backgrounds than home students. Many also come from societies that have resisted the deep democratization of Europe (as opposed to the shallow democratization of mass-media culture, global brands, and the rest). For some, their experience of studying abroad is a reinforcement of an already privileged status, although for a minority that experience may also have a radicalizing effect. In some cases their societies, while embracing economic modernization and the most-advanced technologies, have resisted what they see as the social liberalization, even the moral chaos, of the West. As a result, there are often radically different articulations between higher education and society with respect to home and international students.

**Intellectual Base**

The intellectual base of higher education has been transformed as well as its social base. In teaching, problem-based learning and new forms of project-based assessment are now common. All these things are very familiar to home students. But the expectations of many international students—and, even more so, of their parents and others who fund them—can be rather different. They tend to favor more traditional patterns of teaching over more open styles of learning. Some may even associate these more open styles with the alleged moral chaos of the West. They also tend to study a different range of subjects—more likely
engineering, computing, and business and management and less likely the humanities and the more critical social sciences. As a result divergence may exist between more open learning and critical subjects, preferred by home students, and more traditional teaching and professional subjects favored by international students. A further difference is that the recruitment of international students is typically a market game, while the admission of home students is still much regarded as a public good. These dissonances may prove that the optimistic view needs to be revised of the expansion of national higher education systems and the growth of international education, both as aspects of a powerful form of liberalization. A better description may be of rival forms of liberalization, the social liberalization characteristic of mass-democratic higher education, and the economic free market in higher education that affects international education.

**Globalization**

With regard to mass higher education, too little may be made of its connections—or lack of connections—with, and implications for, international education. In the case of globalization it is possible that too much is made of these connections. At times, a simplistic relationship can be assumed: globalization is an irresistible force and the advance of international education is part of that irresistible force. Little consideration is given to the possibility that globalization is not necessarily such an irresistible force (at any rate in its neoliberal manifestation) or that its connection with international education is best seen as an epiphemomenon of globalization. There is a tendency to concentrate on this single path of development for globalization—in other words, that the inevitable trajectory is toward free-market capitalism, mass-media culture, global brands, and multiparty democracy. In fact, there are several forms of globalization, and the future is much more open than the single-path theory suggests.

Even the single-path view of globalization is more complex than it appears at first sight. For some people, globalization offers great opportunities, to pursue global careers; or, if not global careers, to have their still predominantly national careers enhanced by a significant global added-value dimension. For other people, of course, globalization may mean imposed economic migration, the destabilizing of familiar communities and stable societies, and even separation from families and friends. For some institutions, especially the most successful universities in the West, the trend offers equally glittering opportunities—new research collaborations with like-minded universities in other countries, the prestige of global-university league tables (as an extension of national institutional hierarchies perhaps eroded by progressive social policies), an alternative income stream if state funding is constrained, and even a new model of entrepreneurialism extendable to the rest of the university. For other institutions, of course, globalization is a threat: their academic vitality is sucked out as their most-promising researchers move abroad and their institutional norms (even their national values) are called into question, as teams from various global agencies prescribe market policies and proscribe alternative strategies. These structural inequalities of free-market globalization will remain even if the winners and losers change. These structural inequalities are bred in its bone, part of globalization’s DNA.

There is no single globalization with its centers of power among gleaming corporate skyscrapers in world cities. With many forms of globalization, some violently clash. For example, there are many forms of resistance to free-market globalization—for example, the worldwide environmental movements (and other social movements) that are becoming an increasingly powerful force even in old politics. The global networks that have been developed by these new movements are at least both as dense and sophisticated as those of global capitalism. Yet, at times a profound unease rises about establishing connections between alternative forms of globalization and international education (and academic mobility), despite the fact that internationally mobile students (and staff) play a key role in developing these new global social movements and forms of political action. Perhaps this role is at least as significant as pious assertions about promoting better international understanding or selfish arguments about the contribution of international mobility to the global knowledge economy. It may also be a role that relates much better to the core critical values of the university. An urgent need exists to engage more actively with alternative globalizations and in the process to forge a deeper understanding of international education.

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**Access Means Inequality**

**Philip G. Altbach**

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It seems a contradiction that access would bring inequality to higher education, but that trend is the usual case. Students, and institutions, while catering to mass access, provide vastly different quality, facilities, and focus than do elite institutions at the top, and this gulf has widened as access has expanded worldwide. Furthermore, mass higher education has, for a majority of students worldwide,
lowered quality and increased dropout rates. All of these consequences have become inevitable and logical. These effects do not argue against access but rather call for a more realistic understanding of the implications of massification and the steps needed to ameliorate the problems created by dramatic increases in enrollments.

Mass higher education now forms a worldwide phenomenon. Enrollments constitute more than 150 million worldwide, having increased by 53 percent in just a decade. Twenty-six percent of the age group now participates in postsecondary education globally, up from 19 percent in 2000. In many of the rich countries, access is over half and in some over 80 percent, and in much of the developing world enrollments are dramatically increasing. This increase in access has been universally hailed—contributing to social mobility for individuals, the expansion of the knowledge economy of nations, and an increase in skill levels worldwide. In the first decade of the 21st century, quite likely more students will study in academic institutions than in the previous 10 centuries combined.

Massification has moved largely from the developed countries, which have achieved high participation rates, to developing and some middle-income nations. In fact, the majority of enrollment growth in the coming several decades will take place in two countries—China and India. China enrolls about 23 percent and India around 12 percent of the age cohort. The region with the lowest enrollment rate, sub-Saharan Africa, which in 2007 was educating only 6 percent of the age group, is expanding access but has a long way to go.

The Consequences of Access
Access brings a series of inevitable changes to higher education systems. The specific impacts and conditions will vary by location, but all countries experience these factors to some extent. Countries that have more financial resources, a strong commitment to postsecondary education, and perhaps a slower growth curve may be less dramatically affected than others; but the impact is universal and of great relevance to policymakers and the higher education community.

Student populations not only expand but also become more diverse. Traditionally, universities educated only a small elite—often fewer than 5 percent of the age group. These students came from top-secondary schools and from well-educated and affluent families. Access opens higher education to young people from an array of social class and educational backgrounds, to students from rural backgrounds, and to students who are the first in their families to study at higher education institutions. One of the most dramatic implications of greater access constitutes the expansion of women’s enrollments. Women are now the majority of students in many countries. Serving students from diverse backgrounds and generally without a high-quality secondary education is a challenge. Serving these students is often more expensive than educating a small elite because tutoring, counseling, and other services are needed but are seldom available. At one time, universities assumed that almost all of the small student populations they were educating had obtained a high-quality secondary education and were prepared for academic study. Expanded access has delivered many students who have neither the academic background nor the ability that was once the norm.

Expanded access obviously requires more facilities. Existing universities and other postsecondary institutions have expanded, new institutions have been built, but supply can seldom keep up with demand. Deterioration in the conditions of study for students is common if not universal. Overcrowding, inadequate libraries and other study facilities, and the inability to provide students with the courses needed to graduate constitute familiar circumstances.

Access brings a series of inevitable changes to higher education systems. The specific impacts and conditions will vary by location, but all countries experience these factors to some extent.

The academic profession has been stretched to the breaking point. Close to half of those teaching in postsecondary education worldwide possess only a bachelor’s degree. Class sizes have increased, and students receive little personal attention from professors. Academic salaries have deteriorated, and many academics must hold more than one job to survive. It is likely that access has produced, on average, a poorer learning environment for students, in part because the academic profession has not grown fast enough to keep up with expansion.

Demand for access has contributed to the rise of private higher education in many countries. Governments have been unable to fund public-postsecondary institutions to meet expanding enrollments, and the private sector has taken up the slack. In much of Latin America, where public universities dominated the sector two decades ago, private institutions now educate half or more of the students. Most of the new private institutions are “demand absorbing”—unselective and often poor-quality schools providing a degree and little else. Many are for-profit. First-generation
students may be forced to attend these new private schools, which often charge relatively high tuition, because they cannot gain access to the public sector.

Massification has created the demand for quality assurance and accreditation, but few countries have been able to set up and enforce effective regimes to ensure appropriate quality standards. This environment means that at least for the present there is little transparency or knowledge about the effectiveness of much of higher education provision, particularly at institutions that serve a mass clientele.

Access growth has meant a significant increase in non-completion rates in higher education. Even in the United States, the country that developed the first mass higher education system and allocated significant resources to higher education, the proportion has increased significantly of students who take more than the standard four years to complete an undergraduate degree or who do not complete any degree. Many countries are unable to cope with increased demand and routinely “flunk out” a significant proportion of entering students.

The inevitability of inequality

The reality of postsecondary education, in an era of access combined with fiscal constraint and ever-increasing costs, is that inequality within higher education systems is here to stay. Most countries have or are creating differentiated systems of higher education that will include different kinds of institutions serving specific needs. This process is inevitable and largely positive. However, the research universities at the top of any system tend to serve an elite clientele and have high status, while institutions lower in the hierarchy cater to students who cannot compete for the limited seats at the top. Major and growing differences exist in funding, quality, and facilities within systems. Given financial and staffing constraints, institutional inequalities will continue. Students will come from more diverse backgrounds and in many ways will be more difficult to serve effectively.

All of these issues constitute a deep contradiction for 21st-century higher education. As access expands, inequalities within the higher education system also grow. Conditions of study for many students deteriorate. More of them fail to obtain degrees. The economic benefits assumed to accrue to persons with a postsecondary qualification probably decline for many. Access remains an important goal—and an inevitable goal—of higher education everywhere, but it creates many challenges.

Asian University Presses in the Digital Age

Paul H. Kratoska

University presses in Asia and the West publish scholarly material, with limited commercial appeal, and face common problems arising from falling sales, rising costs, and the shift to electronic media for teaching materials. However, in North America a large number of presses are competing for a shrinking market, while Asia represents a growing market, especially for English-language publishing. Electronic publications have begun to appear in the region, but their effects are difficult to predict.

In 1950, there were more than 60 university presses in North America but just 12 in East Asia, where most scholarly publishing was handled by commercial academic presses. The final decades of the century brought a dramatic upsurge in university publishing in the latter region: China now has more than 110 university presses, Korea more than 70, Japan more than 30, and in Southeast Asia nearly every major university operates a press.

This development came at a time when North American university presses were running into serious difficulties. Sales had dropped to 500 copies or less per title, and much talk was focused on a crisis in academic publishing. Commercial academic presses responded to the situation by raising prices to $150 or more per copy and selling almost exclusively to libraries; but university presses, operating as not-for-profit educational publishers, attempted to maintain more affordable prices. To earn additional income, some offered trade publications—coffee-table books,
cookbooks, hiking guides, bird-watching manuals, and the like. University publishers also began asking authors to provide subventions to support their books.

Asian Trends

University presses in East Asia operate on a different basis. In China, they are expected to cover a significant portion of their expenses and make a financial contribution to the university. Much of their output forms textbooks and general readings; and authors of scholarly research works are expected to cover publication costs, generally with funds obtained from university grants. In Japan, university press publications are heavily subsidized by foundations, university research grants, or government bodies such as the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science. In Southeast Asia, university presses tend to follow the American model, relying on a combination of sales and university grants to survive.

The focus of university publishing in East Asia has been changing. While textbooks remain important, research publications now make up 80 percent of the output in Japan, and around half in Korea and China.

The indexes produced by the Thomson Reuters Institute for Scientific Information (ISI) are one standard measure of research quality, and some Asian universities place a premium on publication in any of the roughly 12,000 journals monitored for the ISI indexes. (For example, the University of Malaya expects members of the academic staff to publish 16 articles in ISI journals to qualify for promotion to full professor.) Nearly all ISI journals are in English, and partly for that reason universities place a premium on English-language publishing. For promotion and tenure exercises in China and Korea, publications in English are worth more than publications in Chinese or Korean. Japanese universities give equal weight to articles or books in English and Japanese, but junior scholars are under considerable pressure to publish some of their research findings in English.

For many disciplines, the emphasis on citations has led to a shift from books to articles as the primary locus of academic discussion in the West, a trend that is less apparent in Asia. Scholars in East Asia continue to build personal libraries and in the arts and social sciences to value books over journal articles.

Asian Futures

Two Asian university presses, NUS Press (formerly Singapore University Press) and Hong Kong University Press, publish primarily in English. Both have altered their publishing profiles over the past decade, moving away from an emphasis on local topics and developing strong lists of titles on East and Southeast Asia for international distribution. They struggle to overcome local perceptions that publication in the West is preferable to publication at home, but scholars in China, Japan, and Korea are often as interested in reaching the wider Asian market as they are in selling books in the West and see publishing in Hong Kong or Singapore as a way to accomplish that objective.

The growth of electronic publishing complicates the situation. Scholars in East Asia continue to value printed books and to build personal libraries. However, the major Asian universities, like those in North America, now offer course readings in electronic formats that can be accessed on personal computers, and students rarely if ever go to the library or handle physical books in preparing course assignments. With appropriate pricing, electronic materials have
the potential to improve educational standards generally across Asia, where many universities have long struggled to operate with inadequate library facilities.

E-book readers of the sort that have been available for several years in North America are just beginning to appear in Asia, but the extent to which they will be used by scholars to read academic materials is not yet clear. The same is true of such readers’ impact on academic publishing. University presses in Asia, as elsewhere, need to find ways to produce and sell electronic editions of the material they publish, and most lack the resources to develop their own e-press. A solution may lie in issuing e-books through publishing consortia, but it is also possible that e-books will complete the ascendancy of large commercial publishing operations.

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The Conundrums of MBA Rankings

Ricardo Betti

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One of the most popular readings for master of business administration applicants, the so-called MBA Rankings do not offer prospective candidates much help to make informed choices about preferred programs.

After 23 years of experience as an admissions consultant, I came to the conclusion that, given the extensive differences among the available rankings, readers would better spend their time analyzing the ranking criteria before making any valid inferences based on this superficial quality measurement.

Nevertheless, it is not so easy to break resistances and challenge deeply entrenched cultural habits, which include endless lists of rankings about almost every issue on earth. Modern society heavily consumes “top 10” lists, and MBA programs are no exception. The competition among different magazines compels them to publish their own rankings, and each statistician in charge of creating them aims to be original and come up with a different product—proliferating irrelevant or highly subjective measures of little help to the puzzled candidate facing the task of selecting a good school among thousands of options all over the world.

Problems and Contradictions

Otherwise respectable publications such as US News & World Report, Business Week, Financial Times, Wall Street Journal, the Economist, Forbes, and Fortune, to name seven, invest considerable research effort and resources to develop and publish annual (or biennial, in some cases) rankings, supposedly shedding light on the difficult “which MBA” query, evaluating major programs around the world, and attributing to them a questionable classification, to say the least.

For the past 20 years or so, I have patiently matched these seven rankings of the most popular business schools, finding inconsistencies such as the ones verifiable in the current publications: Harvard Business School is simultaneously evaluated as number 1, 2, 3, 14, 5, 3, and 2, depending on the magazine. The same phenomenon occurs with Stanford University Graduate School of Business (1, 6, 4, 19, 7, 1, 4), the University of Pennsylvania Wharton School (5, 4, 2, 11, 9, 5, 1), Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) (3, 9, 8, 4, 19, 14, 3), University of Chicago Booth School of Business (5, 1, 9, 4, 4, 6), Northwestern University Kellogg School of Management (4, 3, 22, 12, 15, 8, 5), Columbia University Business School (9, 7, 6, 3, 20, 6, 6), and all the other schools contemplated by the surveys.

Rankings should be viewed only as an additional source of information (and not the main one), only acceptable if the candidates could dig into the methodology used to construct the ranking and so understand what is being measured by each different publication.

My compilation encompasses all schools listed as a top 10 in any of these seven rankings; in 2010, a total of 22 schools can boast this coveted status. If a candidate decides to be more selective and pick just the top 5, he or she will come up with 15 schools. Those rare candidates that come into my office claiming that they want to study at the world’s best MBA program will still have to decide among seven different options (Harvard, Stanford, Chicago, London Business School, Tuck School of Business at Dartmouth, IESE Business School at University of Navarra [Barcelona, Spain], and Wharton [Pennsylvania]).

Rankings should be viewed only as an additional source of information (and not the main one), only acceptable if the candidates could dig into the methodology used to construct the ranking and so understand what is being measured by each different publication.

For example, the Wall Street Journal is totally based on a survey of the recruiters’ opinion at each participant school;
Fortune magazine’s ranking is compiled based on schools’ reputations with polled recruiters and career-placement track records. To arrive at the job placement score, Fortune examines the percentage of students who secure jobs within three months of graduation (20% weighting), the average number of job offers per student (also weighted 20%) and average salary in a student’s first post-MBA position (accounting for the remaining 60%).

In this way, Fortune’s methodology is a combination of the Wall Street Journal’s approach of surveying corporate recruiters and Forbes’ focus on postgraduation salary as a measure of return on investment. Business Week, on the other hand, relies heavily on the schools’ reputation with polled MBA students, while the US News & World Report puts more emphasis on hard data, such as Graduate Management Admission Council scores, grade-point averages, salaries, and the like. The Economist and Financial Times blend American and European schools, placing respectively IESE (Barcelona) and London as the world’s best MBA programs.

Any scientific mind would refuse to utilize such incongruous numbers as a reliable measure of anything at all.

Other less-popular rankings try to measure different attributes: MIT was first at the Webometrics 2009, which assessed the “presence of the school in the Web”; Wharton is first at the University of Texas-Dallas ranking, which evaluates the school’s contribution to academic research; Yale is first among the non-profit MBAs; MIT is first among the Techno-MBAs; Duke is first in Intellectual Capital. The list of rankings is immense and causes more uncertainty than concrete help.

What To Do?
Any scientific mind would refuse to utilize such incongruous numbers as a reliable measure of anything at all. Unfortunately, most candidates do not make such a scientific analysis of this matter, opting to elect one of the above rankings as the absolute truth and making decisions of lasting impact based on that imprecise tool. Part of my job is to reveal the inadequacy of such an approach, stimulating candidates to learn as much as possible about each school—to understand their own goals, drives, needs, and aspirations, to speak with alumni, and whenever possible, to visit the schools before making any decision.

Discipline and Institution Commitment: Professorial Views

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This article is one in IHE’s series focusing on the Changing Academic Profession Project, an 18-nation survey of faculty attitudes worldwide.

A mid increasing expectations for socioeconomic relevance, higher education confronts, in many countries, a similar set of challenges: declining general-support levels linked with more performance-based funding, expanded enrollment demand, an increasingly knowledge-based and global economy, and a more intense managerialism. While giving unprecedented centrality to academic work, deteriorating conditions of work and of increased accountability has placed more performance pressure on the faculty.

More than 20 years ago Burton R. Clark wrote that academics live in small and different worlds, defined by the elements of their disciplines and institutions. This article explores the faculty’s commitment and involvement, which constitute a critical dimension of their work.

International Comparisons
As part of the 2007 Changing Academic Profession International Survey, faculty from 18 countries were asked to rate the importance they ascribed to their academic discipline or field and to their institution. In countries with higher education systems that can be considered “mature” (Australia, Canada, Finland, Germany, Hong Kong, Italy, Japan, Korea, Norway, United Kingdom, and the United States) or “emerging” (Argentina, Brazil, China, Malaysia, Mexico, Portugal, and South Africa), 80 percent or more of full-time academics (except for Italy, 78 percent) indicated their disciplinary affiliation to be very or fairly important. On the other hand, faculty from none of the 11 mature countries ascribed a similar importance to their institutional affiliation.

In contrast, 80 percent or more of the faculty from 4 of the 7 emerging countries reported their institutional affiliation as very or fairly important to them.

So, while faculty from all surveyed countries are highly committed to their disciplines, an average of 89 and 91 percent for mature and emerging countries, academics in these countries differ considerably in terms of their self-reported institutional commitment: first, on average 57 percent of
the faculty in mature countries rated their institutional affiliation as very or fairly important; and second, 78 percent of faculty in emerging countries did so. The academic profession has long been associated with disciplinary specialization and involvement, so the first result is to be expected. However, how can we explain the diversity in the reported affiliation to institutions? In this note we explore a “pull” and “push” model that has been used previously in explaining student international mobility.

Factors External to Institutions
Several aspects associated with mature countries are making academics increasingly responsive to our contemporary knowledge-based and global society and, therefore, less centered on their institutions. Such factors can be seen as “pulling away” academics from their institutions.

The Outside Job Market. Among faculty in mature countries, more recently hired ones are willing to work outside higher education. When grouped according to periods in which they obtained their first full-time appointment, as an increment in nine mature countries, 10 to 33 percent of faculty reported considering, during the last five years, the possibility of going to work outside higher education. Among emerging countries, in contrast, faculty from only two countries manifested a similar tendency.

The Interinstitutional Nature of Research. When asked about their research activities, an average of 64 percent of faculty from mature countries reported to collaborate with colleagues from other institutions within their own country, while 57 percent of those from emerging countries did so. This difference widens when faculty are asked about collaborating with colleagues from other countries: on average, 52 percent from mature countries reported to do so, while an average of 36 percent from emerging countries did so.

National Cultural, Economic, and Organizational Variables. Faculty in mature countries have considered, more than their counterparts from emerging countries, the possibility of moving to an academic position in another institution, whether in the same (32 vs. 22%) or in a different (22 vs. 14%) country. Linked to this potential mobility, 43 percent, on average, of the faculty in emerging countries reported to hold a doctorate, while 72 percent of academics in mature countries did so. So, faculty in mature countries appear to be more external-oriented and, potentially, less fixed to their institutions.

Factors Internal to Institutions
Factors that disengage and “push” faculty away from their institutions can also be found inside higher education institutions. Related to the increasing managerialism of the sector, the following aspects are examples of this, particularly in the case of mature countries.

On average, faculty in mature countries consider, less often than their counterparts in emerging countries, that top-level administrators provide a competent leadership (36 vs. 44%). Also, less faculty in mature countries indicated a good communication between management and academics (26 vs. 36%), and less collegiality in decision-making processes within their institutions (26 vs. 35%). Additionally, they observed a stronger performance orientation in their institutions (55 vs. 45%) and, possibly associated to such orientation, they also reported more frequently to consider their jobs as a source of considerable personal strain (46 vs. 34%). Finally, faculty in mature countries saw more of a cumbersome administrative process in their institutions (63 vs. 52%) while, at the same time, they considered less frequently that the overall working conditions in higher education have improved (22 vs. 44%).

So, while faculty from all surveyed countries are highly committed to their disciplines, an average of 89 and 91 percent for mature and emerging countries, academics in these countries differ considerably in terms of their self-reported institutional commitment.

While figures for the previous management aspects are not positive in general, it is indeed telling that faculty in mature countries have a more pessimistic perception of what is going on in their institutions. They see less of an improvement in higher education working conditions since they started their career, and at the same time, they perceive a more antagonistic management milieu. In both cases, a normal consequence could be academics’ wanting to look for alternative and better work environments.

Conclusion
During the last three-to-four decades, the internal and external context of higher education has changed quite dramatically. Living in a world defined by their disciplines and institutions, academics’ commitment to both can be seen as a barometer of their adjustment to change. As it turns out, not discipline but, rather, institutional commitment is the most sensitive to these disruptions and developments, particularly for faculty in mature countries. Parallel to this institutional commitment change, faculty, again particularly in mature countries, report that doing work outside higher education is becoming more attractive. Are we to see
The “Decline” of the Private Sector

an exodus of faculty from higher education in the near future? Will the quality of academic work suffer? Care should be taken to monitor these developments and turn national attention toward assessing their implications for the continued and future “relevance” of the national higher education system, in general, and of the academic profession, in particular.

The Decline of Private Higher Education: A Special Section

One of the key trends in international higher education, the rapid expansion of the private sector now holds one-third of all global enrollments. However, the growth is not unbroken or inexorable and sometimes stalls and even reverses. This special section on the decline of private higher education seeks to identify the major dynamics (including causes) of private higher education decline. Certain dynamics may have the greatest effect in a given world region or country. Sometimes we see multiple or inter-related factors within a country. In any event, dynamics such as public expansion, elevation of educational institutions to higher education status, demographic stagnation, and privatization within public higher education institutions have reversed the private higher education proportional growth in various countries.

Yet, to debate the dynamics of private higher education decline it is relevant to evaluate the shape and weight of decline. A country may experience decline in different private subsectors whether or not there is decline in the private sector overall. Declines may constitute steep or slight, temporary or long-lasting procedures. The pieces in this special section show that private higher education decline can be a noteworthy reality alongside the much-larger reality of private higher education growth. This special IHE section is coordinated by Joanna Musial, a doctoral research associate in PROPHE, University at Albany, SUNY. E-mail: jm684672@albany.edu.

An International Exploration of Decline

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Growth has rightly formed a dominant theme in the study of private higher education, and expansion continues mostly unabated. However, the decline of private higher education constitutes an untold reality, and growth is not a uniform, omnipresent, or inevitable course. History even records private higher education abolition. Less radically, various types of private higher education declines occur even while private numbers usually grow—a more common phenomenon on the public side in recent decades.

Reasons for private higher education decline can be categorized in two broad categories—(1) social and (2) political or public-sector policies.

Social Factors

The decline of private higher education is seriously caused by the lapse of social identity and distinctiveness that previously fueled private growth. The weakening of Catholic identity in the Americas is a prominent case in point. The distinctive Catholic orientation has become less defining even at private institutions that remain officially Catholic. Fewer families choose private education on religious grounds. Similarly, as mainstream society becomes more open mainstream to young women, fewer families choose private education on gender grounds.

A different socially based decline is demographically induced, as a population shift comes to affect overall demand for higher education. The demographic shift could, most dramatically, produce in higher education an actual fall or at least a reversal of strong growth. Such a basis of private higher education decrease is not common in the developing world, while there are cases (see the article on Thailand in this special section) and it is a powerful factor in the developed world. Demographic decline has not affected western European private higher education much, since private higher education is still a small sector in most countries. Yet, in Portugal, the country with the largest private higher education sector, that share fell from 36 to 25 percent, from 1996 to 2006. Some programs no longer attract applicants, and some private higher education institutions have faced deaths or at least mergers. Eastern Europe has much higher shares of private higher education, and thus the sector is more vulnerable to demographic decline.
From 1996 to 2006, Georgian private higher education fell from 34 to 22 percent of enrollment. Russian private higher education may in the next few years suffer from the national demographic crisis.

With the Republic of Korea following suit, Japan already shows the sharpest effects of demographic stagnation as a rare case of private higher education decline in absolute numbers, though the public sector has seen similar losses. Within the private sector, the lower-status nonuniversities have suffered most, though the sector has also shown entrepreneurial skill in adding nontraditional student populations. Still, the near future could witness difficulty for the Japanese private sector, including institutional closings and mergers.

**Politics and the Impact of the Public Sector**

On the political side, public policy can strongly impact private higher education. Many policies or postures promote growth, but others have undermined growth; among the latter are the following four.

*Hostile government.* At the extreme, government has banned private higher education. In much of the world, private higher education was banned before it ever emerged. But communism (in eastern Europe and China) has been the most significant example about decline. Other left-leaning governments have abolished private higher education (Pakistan and Turkey), though such bans have generally been short-lived. Much less dramatically, left-leaning democratic governments have sharply boosted public-sector growth. Argentina’s 1983 redemocratization brought sudden open admissions at the national public university, and the private higher education sector dropped from 22 to 13 percent by 1985. Today, some governments have come to power on broad anti-privatization platforms.

*Regulation.* In other situations, without a modification of government administration, public-policy change brings a decline in private higher education. Government sometimes moves to increased regulation of private higher education. This is striking as “delayed regulation” after an initial private higher education period of rather laissez-faire proliferation. Such an evolution has been visible in much of eastern Europe, Africa, and Latin America. Licensing standards emerge or expand, accreditation is introduced, and laws are promulgated. Sometimes regulation of matters such as program offerings exceeds options faced by public universities, with their relative autonomy, own statutes, venerable legitimacy, and political power. Examples have included Thailand, Japan, Argentina, and Brazil. Rules (e.g., in accreditation) imposed on private higher education are really more suitable to the public sector. Often, public universities lobby powerfully for more restrictions on private higher education. Government-set tuition caps can be onerous for private higher education size.

*Public higher education expansion.* As noted, historically, periods of sharp public expansion have occurred, which, in turn, decrease the private higher education sector’s share. This is what happened, for example, with the huge postwar development of US two-year public community colleges. Both Colombia and Thailand show the effects of rapid public expansion on the private higher education sector, as the respective articles in this special section show. Enrollment grows in existing public institutions, new institutions are created, and existing institutions are elevated to higher education status.

*Privatization within the public sector.* Public higher education—like other challenged public enterprises—can partly privatize. The paradox is captivating: public institutions protect themselves against private ones by privatizing themselves. Of course, the self-privatization is only partial; public universities almost never become private ones. Or it is less a matter of public university desire than necessity, due to the competition from private institutions or to government pushing their hands. Measures include “private” management methods, more market responsiveness, increasing in contracting, and so forth. Given the continuing public advantages of low or no tuition and often of traditional status, a degree of such privatization can be an effective bump against private higher education.

Perhaps the most dramatic (and threatening) public partial privatization is the opening of second “modules.” Tuition charging and market oriented, these programs allow public universities to take in more students than otherwise and in other ways compete right on the private universities’ turf. Kenya is a strong example, where the private share has fallen from around 20 to 10 percent. In Georgia, the proportion of self-financed students within public universities’ rose to 43 percent by 2002, and private higher education’s share of total higher education diminished. Several Asian public universities now also have module II programs.

**Conclusion**

Many types of private higher education do decline and for various reasons. Yet, private higher education grows significantly despite all the negative factors identified. The overall
private higher education decrease almost always refers to public- and private-sector shares, not absolute enrollment. Even proportional decline in the private sector applies only to a minority of countries. The most vulnerable private higher education is the demand-absorbing type, which underscores that all parts of the sector do not face constant vulnerability. Moreover, private higher education institutions are not inevitably hapless sufferers; evidence of new initiatives includes reaching out (including internationally) to new kinds of students, in new modalities.

The demographic shift could, most dramatically, produce in higher education an actual fall or at least a reversal

Similarly, between the private and public sectors, some factors may bring about private higher education decline alongside factors that create private higher education growth. In sum, even though growth remains the major trend for private higher education, the decline of private higher education warrants analysis for contemporary dynamics as well as historical and future ones. The major and traditional question of how society divides its activities into private and public sectors is today overwhelmingly answered in higher education as a shift to the private, but it is neither a uniform nor unrelenting shift.

The Decline of Colombian Private Higher Education

LINA URIBE

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Colombia has experienced a surprising phenomenon in higher education. While opening access to a substantially greater portion of the relevant age-cohort group (36% in 2009 against only 19% in 2000), the system registered a proportional downturn in private enrollment. Such a decline is particularly unexpected, given that, historically, Colombia has largely grown its higher education system as a result of the private initiative. In fact within Latin America, Colombia trailed only Brazil, for many decades, in the private sector’s proportional share of total enrollment.

Colombia’s private majority peaked at 68 percent in 1996, but private enrollment progressively fell to 45 percent in 2007, thereby returning to its 1970 level. To be sure, Colombia’s private proportional downturn does not involve an absolute decrease, given that private higher education has experienced a slight increase in enrollments after 1997 (8,700 new enrollments per year on average within private institutions against 45,000 new students annually entering private institutions between 1995 and 1997).

PUBLIC EXPANSION

One factor of the private sector’s downfall possibly relates to the increased tuition for private institutions, reducing affordability, and shrinking the tuition gap between public and private institutions. Much more important, however, in explaining the private sector’s drop is the astonishing public education growth. Private enrollment increased only by 18 percent, while public higher education expanded by 196 percent between 1997 and 2007. The system achieved almost 590,000 new enrollments during that period, of which 84 percent of new students were in the public sector.

The growth of public higher education is based on governmental actions within a set of varied policies and programs to increase coverage, as a fundamental goal. Public expansion definitely succeeded. In contrast, a government effort to stimulate demand for private nonuniversity programs through student financial aid has not had similar impact (only about 7,000 new entrants came into nonuniversity private colleges between 2002 and 2005).

TRENDS

The private-sector decline in Colombia is opposite to Latin America’s overall expansion of private enrollment, which has progressively grown to 49 percent. Furthermore, the decline experienced by Colombia appears unique in recent years (1990s–2000s) among Latin American countries, where private sectors have grown (Chile, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru, and Nicaragua) or remained stable (Argentina, Bolivia, and Paraguay).

On the other hand, even though Colombia’s private enrollment decline lasted a complete decade, in 2008 the enrollment growth shifted again to be higher in private institutions than in public ones (8.3% and 4.3%, respectively). This fact fits the tentative global finding in which declines are seen to exist for certain time periods.

The Colombian case also fits a more robust phenomenon found in the global private higher education literature—private-sector decline amid private enrollment growth. A more specific factor fit is how the private-sector decline is largely the result of the upgrading of a type of
public education to higher education status, as shown in
the article on Thailand in this issue. On the other hand, the
Colombian private decline does not fit those cases (e.g., Ja-
pan), where declining demographics explain the downturn
in private higher education. While the Colombian popula-
tion aged 17-to-21 years increased only by 9 percent, higher
education enrollment grew by 44 percent, between 2002
and 2008.

Ups and Downs across Central and Eastern Europe
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Studies of private higher education in the countries of the
European Union (EU) have identified sizable differenc-
es in private provision between central and eastern European-
countries and their western counterparts. Larger private
higher education sectors are much more common across
central and eastern Europe, while private sectors in western
European countries have remained mostly marginal. Ten
central and eastern European countries joined the EU in
2004 and 2007 and aligned the reform agendas of their
higher education systems with the wider processes of Eu-
ropeanization and harmonization. They include Bulgaria,
the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania,
Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia.

After the fall of the communist regimes in 1989, private
institutions of higher education multiplied to varying
degrees in all countries of central and eastern Europe. The
establishment of private institutions in postcommunist Eu-
rope took place rather quickly. While most cited examples
come from Latvia, Poland, and Romania—where more than
one-third of all students are currently enrolled in private
institutions—the majority of central and eastern European
countries maintain private enrollment patterns ranging be-
tween 7 and 21 percent.

Over the last decade, private enrollments across central
and eastern Europe reveal different dynamics in national
arrangements of private and public sectors, based on a
conscious attempt on the part of national governments to
optimize the provision of higher education in their coun-
tries. Most recent trends reveal slow private growth in most
of these 10 countries. Yet, examples of temporary decline,
within all or some forms of private provision, have also
been noted throughout the decade. Alongside the cases
and trends in the other articles of this special section, the
declines in central and eastern Europe are mostly small in
scope and persistence, underscoring that this aspect of pri-
vate higher education does not need to be viewed as dra-
matic or permanent.

Private University Enrollments
At least one period of temporary decline in private provision
can be identified in most central and eastern European EU
countries between 1999 and 2009. Enrollments in the pri-
vate-university sector went down as a result of legal changes
in Bulgaria, between 1999 and 2000; in Estonia, between
2002 and 2003; in Hungary, in 2003; and in Romania, be-
tween 2001 and 2003. Drastic, but still temporary, redu-
tion of private provision occurred in Slovenia, where private
university enrollments plummeted by almost 100 percent
in 2003. In most of those cases, private university enroll-
ments picked up subsequently, while rarely surpassing
the predecline levels—as in Bulgaria and in only two other
countries, Latvia and Hungary—private-university enroll-
ments have maintained the downward trend. Thus, for the
most part, private declines in university enrollment have
been limited in duration.

Private Nonuniversity Enrollments
The private provision in the nonuniversity sector needs
to be examined as well. Growth (often extensive) is
more common than decline in these lower professionally
oriented qualifications and institutions—often known as
professional colleges, offering short-cycle degrees and qual-
ifications. In most countries, many of these colleges were
created early on after the political changes. The nonuniver-
sity institutions tend to be smaller, focus mostly on teach-
ing, and have a relatively narrow programmatic scope of
occupation-oriented programs—concentrating on manage-
ment, marketing, economics, agricultural studies, insur-
ance and finances, tourism, computer sciences, and theater.
They are primarily student oriented, often closely connected
with the labor market and regionally engaged. Private-non-university enrollments have shown more resilience in several countries in the region. Examples come from Bulgaria, Lithuania, and Latvia. For the period 2004/05–2008/09, private-college enrollments in Bulgaria and Lithuania rose by 208 percent and by 74 percent in Latvia. The number of short-cycle colleges increased most pronouncedly in Latvia—where they doubled—while a slight increase of 3 percent in the numbers of colleges is also noted in the Czech Republic.

In several central and eastern European countries, growth in the private-nonuniversity, short-cycle higher education subsectors probably formed an emerging future trend within the overall region and beyond. The intense factors of this trend might include the necessity for creating a wide variety of lifelong-learning opportunities, the growing need for retraining and further education from increasing numbers of adult learners, the declining ability of state budgets to support large-scale educational provision for more people, and the necessity to relate higher education provision to the world of work.

However, growth of this sector has not formed a widespread phenomenon throughout the region. A decline in nonuniversity private enrollments has also been noted. The private-nonuniversity enrollments grew by 63 percent in Estonia in 2002 and then declined, only to pick up slowly after 2005. Similar examples come from Latvia and Slovenia, while private-nonuniversity enrollments in Poland, Romania, and Slovakia have been decreasing over the last several years. Of course, private-nonuniversity enrollments across the region are much smaller in general, and rates of decline or growth rarely have a strong impact on the overall higher education sector.

The Resilence of Private Institutions
The variety of private higher education development among central and eastern European countries reflects each country’s ongoing search of optimal approaches to balance high demand with limited resources and shifting demographic trends. Across the region, private higher education institutions are relatively new but have played an important role in increasing educational opportunity and satisfying demand. Declines in private provision of higher education have been limited in range and time, yet have occurred in both the university and nonuniversity private sectors—and sometimes in total private enrollments. However, a consideration of the university and nonuniversity sectors separately indicates that private provision in the region has remained resilient, especially in the nonuniversity sector.

The Decline of Thai Private Higher Education

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The rapid growth of Thai private higher education during the 1990s brought the sector to a peak of 20 percent of the total higher education enrollment, lasting for a whole decade. However, since 2002 the private higher education sector has experienced stagnant and declining enrollment (in both colleges and universities). By 2007 private higher education constituted just 10 percent of the system. In contrast, almost all types of public higher education institutions increased their enrollment percentages. The exception has been the public Open Admission University subsector, where even absolute enrollment has declined since 2003. While private higher education leaders speculate that public expansion and public privatization are the main factors for their declining market share, their public counterparts argue that such a drop mainly involves the country’s population shifts.

Privatization of public universities is another facet of public-sector expansion challenging private higher education growth.

Public Expansion
Private higher education institutions are concerned about hefty public expansion. Such a tension occurs where public universities have increased their branch campuses. Since the late 1990s branch campuses have become a popular policy for public universities. They typically offer full- and part-time programs operated in secondary schools or shopping malls. They also offer programs similar to those already provided by private higher education in nearby locations. Most features of this rather nonselective public expansion echo characteristics of demand-absorbing private higher education in Thailand and worldwide. However, little burgeoning demand exists for these private institutions to absorb. Thus, Thai public expansion instead pulls away existing demand from private higher education institutions. Meanwhile, branch campuses of private higher ed-
ucation institutions were forbidden until the private higher education act 2550 (in 2007) deregulated this policy. Nevertheless, private higher education institutions willing to expand are still encumbered by regulations that closely monitor them in many aspects. Consequently, only a few private universities practice the branch campus opportunity.

Furthermore, the private higher education sector declines even where public institutions do not expand. Instead, some public education institutions are elevated to university status. The major examples are Rajabhat Institutes (teachers colleges) and Rajamangkla Institutes of Technology. Both were uplifted to university status in 2003, thereby raising the enrollment share of the public sector.

Government policy increasing public seats in the Central University Admissions system is another challenge to private higher education. Although the policy does not specify on diminishing private higher education, it has that effect. A common private higher education complaint is that most public universities do not limit their admissions to only one round, but prolong the process by also accepting applications subsequently. It becomes more burdensome for private higher education institutions to recruit prospective students. In the end, all private institutions feel the impact of less restrictive public growth.

**Public Privatization**

Privatization of public universities is another facet of public-sector expansion challenging private higher education growth. As the privatization brings autonomy in management and choice to the public universities, it allows them to act more effectively in the increasingly competitive marketplace. Although private higher education institutions are often flexible, efficient, and speedy—compared to traditional public counterparts—once becoming autonomous, public universities narrow that gap. A key issue is that they then combine this autonomy with their financial advantage; whereas private higher education institutions do not receive any direct government funding, all public universities are government subsidized for their annual operations. In becoming autonomous, public universities still receive government budgets but are not regulated under the old bureaucratic procedures. With a block grant, autonomous universities are able to manage their financial allocation without interference. Because of the financial subsidies paired with the new freedom, public autonomous universities are at an advantage in the market competition.

Nonetheless, some private higher education institutions are not bothered by this public transformation as long as the government enforces similar standards on both sectors. However, private higher education institutions are often more regulated than are their public university counterparts.

**Further Decline?**

Whether Thailand’s private higher education share continues to decline will depend in large part on the extension, intensification, or weakening of public-sector dynamics that have already taken their toll on private higher education. Principally, this includes public expansion—in terms of the growth within higher education and elevation of public institutions to university status—and through public partial privatization. Regarding public expansion, Thailand’s total higher education already constitutes 56 percent of the cohort-age group, so the system may not receive much room to expand at the recent rate. On the other hand, in view of the global and especially regional context much of the expansion may come on the private end. The Thai private higher education share (10%) is far from the East Asian share (38.6%). It is not known whether the private higher education sector will resume its earlier growth or continue to decline.

Other dynamics will also present challenges to private higher education. Not accepting responsibility for private higher education’s present enrollment struggle, public universities point instead to shifting demographics. Thailand has been in a population-declining phase since the 1990s. Statistics project a drop of the 10-to-24-year age group, which will eventually result in decreased demand for higher education. Such a population fall-off could especially hit private higher education’s demand-absorbing subsector. As in East Asia, generally, this is the largest private subsector which will eventually result in decreased demand for higher education. Such a population fall-off could especially hit private higher education’s demand-absorbing subsector. As in East Asia, generally, this is the largest private subsector and is composed of small institutions, usually among the least-desired choices for prospective students. Japan’s demographic fall has hit higher education especially on the low-end institutions. A question involves how many such Thai private higher education institutions will be able to survive shrinking supply, particularly if the public sector keeps expanding.

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**Government policy increasing public seats in the Central University Admissions system is another challenge to private higher education.**

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India’s New Accreditation Law

Pawan Agarwal

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In India, an unprecedented growth has been under way in the number of universities and colleges. During the past five years alone, 200 new universities and 8,000 new colleges were added, taking the totals to 525 and 25,950, respectively. This exceptional growth has raised concerns about quality. Voluntary accreditation established two decades ago is struggling to demonstrate its viability. Less than one-sixth of the colleges and one-third of all universities have obtained accreditation so far. The issue is not based on capacity alone; accreditation has no consequences and therefore is not valued much. Most universities and colleges are unwilling to subject themselves to accreditation.

The New Accreditation Law

A new accreditation law is currently before the Indian Parliament for approval. The law would provide mandatory periodic accreditation of all institutions and programs by registered accreditation agencies. Mandatory accreditation of over 26,500 institutions and a mind-boggling number of programs would require many competent and reliable accrediting agencies. The law therefore provides for a National Accreditation Regulatory Authority for Higher Educational Institutions that will register such agencies and monitor and audit their functioning. The full text of the National Accreditation Regulatory Authority for Higher Educational Institutions Bill, 2010, is available at http://164.100.47.5/newcommittee/press_release/bill/Committee%20on%20HRD/The%20National%20Accreditation.pdf.

Under the law, accreditation agencies would constitute nonprofit entities strictly regulated by the national authority and would run primarily on accreditation fees collected by them from institutions. Their ownership, governing board, and bylaws could only be changed with the approval of the authority. Further, the accreditation process and fees they charge would also be prescribed by the authority. Norms and standards to be followed by the accreditation agencies would, however, be specified by the concerned statutory regulatory bodies. The existing accreditation agencies, namely National Accreditation and Assessment Council and National Board of Accreditation, will both continue to function until they are registered with the new authority.

All new institutions would require compulsory accreditation before they admit students, although existing institutions and programs would get three-years time to do so. Those that are already accredited will go for accreditation only after their current period of accreditation expires. In the new law, for nonaccreditation, there are stiff penalties extending up to two years of imprisonment or fines up to one million rupees (US$22,000), or both. Central government may, however, exempt some institutions from mandatory accreditation.

The law brings quality in higher education to the center stage. It provides an autonomous institutional structure with statutory backing to register and regulate competent professional accreditation agencies. The law makes the registration and accreditation process time bound, transparent, and reliable. It expects to provide credible information on academic quality and assist student mobility across institutions. India aspires to bring its quality-assurance practices at par with the global standards with this course of action. By favoring multiple agencies, the law provides choice to higher education institutions. However, given the size and complexity of the system, its implementation is going to be a humongous task.

Implementation Challenges

Effective implementation of this law requires understanding of realities and resolution of several areas of ambiguities in the law itself. Accreditation and regulation are often interchangeably used. In some countries, accreditation means approval by a government authority, while accreditation practiced in India is a US import, with external quality assurance based on peer review. This pattern is aimed at maintaining and improving academic standards. It assures that students achieve specific levels of knowledge, skills, and abilities as a consequence of their engagement in a particular education program.

In the United States, accreditation includes consideration of physical infrastructure, human resources (including faculty), administration, and governance structures. For some professional fields, there may be additional licensing evaluations. To be effective, India’s accreditation practices have to build upon a prevailing system of recognition and approval of institutions and programs. The law seems to ignore them.

The law is based on unreal expectations. It assumes that several competent accreditation agencies will come up and accredit all institutions and programs in the next three years and then do so periodically thereafter. This process is unlikely to happen due to stringent (rightly so) eligibility conditions. For fear of prosecution, it is likely that many more institutions would submit themselves for accreditation, but it is doubtful if all of them would be accredited any
time soon. Many institutions and programs would remain unaccredited and might face closure and stringent penalties. Closure of institutions and programs is not easy, given the fallout on students and staff and that prosecution is often a long-drawn process.

In contrast, US voluntary accreditation derives its influence almost entirely from the fact that the national government utilizes institutional accreditation to determine college and university eligibility for federal student aid, which is an important funding source for most institutions. In addition, students from unaccredited institutions are unable to transfer to accredited institutions. As a result, students opt only for accredited institutions; unaccredited institutions are nonviable and hence wither away overtime rather than being prosecuted or forced to close.

Voluntary accreditation established two decades ago is struggling to demonstrate its viability. Less than one-sixth of the colleges and one-third of all universities have obtained accreditation so far.

A Way Forward
Considering the mammoth task of accrediting about 26,500 institutions and hundreds of thousands of programs offered by them, it is necessary to design an effective quality-assurance strategy for the country. With 90 percent enrollment at the undergraduate level and 60 percent at the postgraduate level in colleges affiliated to the universities, affiliating universities could play an important role.

Responsibility of accreditation could be shared. For instance, accreditation of arts and science colleges in the states (other than those affiliated to the central institutions—those funded by the central government) may devolve on the state government or agencies under them. Programs other than professional programs are usually not accredited, and their quality is assured through the institutional accreditation process. This would take away a large burden of program accreditation.

Specialized stand-alone professional institutions in areas such as engineering, architecture, pharmacy, and nursing could be accredited by the concerned professional agency avoiding duplication of efforts. There is a possibility of roping private agencies in as specialized programs of study like insurance, maritime education, and so on. Credit Rating and Information Services of India Ltd is already accrediting maritime institutions on behalf of the Directorate General of Shipping, a government agency. There could be a few more opportunities like this.

The remaining universities and colleges could be accredited by the National Accreditation and Assessment Council. This agency could be reorganized into five independent regional accreditation councils. Based on objective criteria and using an exemption clause in the new law, some top research-intensive institutions may be declared as self-accrediting institutions in the spirit of giving them full autonomy. Thus, it is possible to cover all institutions and programs through a planned and decentralized approach and responsibility sharing.

In place of making accreditation mandatory by law, it would be more practical to create other requirements. Accreditation could be mandatory to access all types of government funds—institutional or research grants and student aid. Accredited institutions could be ensured not to take students on transfer from unaccredited ones. Also, institutions that do not seek government funds could be brought into the accreditation fold. The power of student choice would make accreditation de facto mandatory.

Conclusion
Implementing India’s new accreditation into its present form, despite its laudable objective and pious intent, would be an uphill task and a long struggle. Accreditation as conceived in the new law is not really a quality-assurance practice but, rather, a binding government regulation that is unlikely to work. The new law should rely on linking accreditation to government funding and student transfer in place of stiff penalties. A holistic and structured approach with multiple agencies is needed to assure quality for the large and expanding Indian higher education system.

India’s Proposed Reforms: Somewhat Half-Baked

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From down here in Thiruvananthapuram, the capital of Kerala in south India, the government’s higher education reform proposals look a bit different than in glitzy New Delhi. Kerala, ruled now by mild-mannered communists,
who have had power here off and on for the past half century, is less market oriented and commercialized than up north. The state has universal literacy, the highest in India, a lack of visible poverty in striking contrast to much of the recent state of affairs in India, and a higher education access rate of about 18 percent—double the national average. Kerala’s main export is its people, many well educated, who work all over the world but particularly in the Gulf countries. Indeed, a quarter of the state’s income consists of remittances from those workers—many of them well-educated professionals.

A conference devoted to a discussion of the reform policies, soon to go before Parliament with a strong likelihood of passing, was unsurprisingly critical of most of the measures. The overriding criticism involved the underlying commitment in the reforms to linking Indian higher education to global trends of commercializing higher education and uncritically linking India to the global knowledge economy. The spearhead of internationalization is the bill to open India’s higher education system to foreign institutions. The proposals were criticized for uncritical acceptance of yet to be determined foreign institutions and initiatives, unrealistic expectations for foreign institutions to provide significant access, and new ideas for India’s admittedly moribund academic system. Some see the proposals as a kind of “new neocolonialism.”

While the foreign providers’ proposals have received the most international coverage, they include only a small part of a large package of changes. There was wide criticism of “dictation from Delhi” and the “regulation raj” of too much centralization of a higher education system that has traditionally given a great deal of autonomy for the states—as stipulated in India’s constitution. A proposal to set up a powerful self-perpetuating panel to rule on a range of higher education issues faced criticisms, as did a bill that would set up tribunals to adjudicate problems in the system.

Accreditation has long been a problem in India. The agency set up several decades ago has only accredited a small proportion of India’s universities and colleges. The reforms propose a new mechanism and dismantled the old one but do not clarify exactly how the new arrangements will work. The reform proposals recognize that Indian higher education suffers from significant corruption and proposes new mechanisms to prevent that. Several of the existing key agencies that have controlled higher education nationally, such as the University Grants Commission and the All-India Council for Technical Education, have uncertain futures.

The critics pointed to problem after problem in the actual forthcoming legislation: unclear wording, incomplete plans for specific agencies, unrealistic expectations for proposed committees, and other lapses. For this observer, it did seem that the legislation, at the very least, needs some significant tweaking if it is to have a good chance of success even on its own terms.

Additional proposals, not specifically tied to the legislation, also seem rather unrealistic. The minister of Human Resource Development, Kapil Sibal, who is a powerhouse of ideas and proposals, has by fiat set up at least one central government university in each of India’s states. He has proposed an expanded number of Indian Institutes of Technology and Indian Institutes of Management, crown jewels in India’s postsecondary system, and promised a dozen or more “world-class research universities” in a short period of time. The problems involving all of the proposals are manifold—perhaps the most significant issue is personnel, since there are simply not enough high-quality academics to take up jobs in these new institutions. Indeed, the existing IITs are facing serious staffing problems as many academics are reaching retirement age. Further, the amounts of new funding being made available for these initiatives is completely inadequate.

The overriding criticism involved the underlying commitment in the reforms to linking Indian higher education to global trends of commercializing higher education and uncritically linking India to the global knowledge economy.

Viewed from down south, the flaws in India’s grand plans seem rather clear. Perhaps the Delhi power elite believes that change can come on the cheap with somewhat half-baked plans. Perhaps they just want to get the country’s higher education system out of its lethargy. The current set of plans, like many of the ill-fated reform proposals of the past, does little to change India’s 20,000 undergraduate colleges—currently steeped in bureaucracy and outdated teaching methods—and little to reform the country’s 400-plus universities. Without grappling with the existing universities, reform will in any case be very incomplete. It is all daunting—perhaps “mission impossible.”

(This article also appears in Times Higher Education.)

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Kerala: The Dilemmas of Equality in Higher Education

Philip G. Altbach and Eldho Mathews

One of India’s smaller states offers some interesting lessons concerning higher education and its role in development as well as alternative approaches to higher education policy. The state of Kerala, on India’s southwest coast, is unusual in the Indian context. The state’s social and political circumstances have contributed to its higher education development. Kerala has a population of 31 million, with an unusual religious mix by Indian standards—one-quarter Christian, one-quarter Muslim, and about half Hindu. It may be a useful case not only for India but for other developing countries.

While not wealthy even by Indian standards—it ranks ninth in gross domestic product among India’s 28 states—Kerala is by most measures the most advanced state in India in education. It has universal literacy and enrolls around 18 percent of the age group in postsecondary education, double India’s average and almost on a par with rapidly developing China. Women constitute more than 60 percent of the total higher education enrollment—the highest in India. The state also boasts the highest Human Development Index rating in India, with the highest life expectancy and the lowest infant-mortality rate.

Politically, Kerala also represents an interesting case. Its current government is a coalition dominated by the Communist Party of India (Marxist). The communists, who have been in power off and on since the 1950s, have in many ways shaped modern Kerala’s society. Kerala was the first state in the world to actually elect communists to power. Early on, they were able to push through meaningful land reform and have emphasized social services, education, and income redistribution. An active media keeps debate lively and helps to promote transparency and a high degree, by Indian standards, of probity in government. Everyone seems to belong to a union—including university and college teachers, students, and campus workers. One vice chancellor said that one of her main jobs was keeping track of and consulting with unions. Most of the population seem to be represented by some organization, thus giving a voice to much of the population.

The vast chasm between rich and poor, so evident in India and much of the developing world, seems much less obvious in everyday life in Kerala. Corruption seems less endemic and social relations, in general, more stable.

Kerala missed out on India’s “industrial revolution.” Perhaps industries were leery of the well-entrenched unions. This means that the pollution of the environment common elsewhere is largely missing in Kerala—the state’s informal motto is “God’s Own Country”—an effort to build up Kerala’s successful tourist industry. There is also not much of an economic base—agriculture and the fishing sector remain important, as does tourism, and also the export of skilled personnel, especially to the Gulf countries. Here, Kerala’s high levels of literacy and its well-educated population have contributed to the attractiveness of its world force. Almost a quarter of the state’s gross domestic product comes from the remittances of overseas workers. Policymakers are now fostering “technoparks” in the hope of making the state attractive to India’s burgeoning information-technology sector; the first technopark was established in Thiruvananthapuram, the state’s capital in 1990. Yet, Bangalore is currently the major hub for information technology companies and is India’s “silicon valley,” and Kerala is struggling to catch up.

Higher Education in the Mix

Kerala shares India’s higher education problems but has tried with some success to ameliorate them. The “affiliating” system ties undergraduate colleges to universities that set examinations, impose a variety of rules, and regulate them. The University of Kerala, one among the first 16 universities established in India, is the state’s premier institution. It has 198 affiliated colleges that educate around 100,000 students. Some of these colleges are located as far as 140 kilometers from the university campus. A majority of the colleges are private and managed by a variety of religious, social, and other nonprofit organizations. Many are “aided” and receive government funds; they tend to be the better ones in terms of infrastructure and facilities. The growth in recent years of private colleges, mainly in such fields as medicine, engineering, information technology, nursing, and management studies that receive no government funding—many of which are quasi-for-profit—has created problems for the university authorities as they are asked to provide affiliation to institutions that may be of questionable quality. Nearly half of the affiliated colleges—a total of 797 in the state—are controlled by private management, mainly sponsored by the Christian or Muslim minority communities or individuals belonging to these communities.

Facilities at most of the colleges and in the university departments as well are well below international standards,
often with outdated laboratories and rudimentary information technology facilities and inadequate libraries. In addition to supervising the colleges, the universities provide postbaccalaureate instruction. All postsecondary education in the state is in English.

**Kerala’s Higher Education Policies**

The state’s approach to higher education is somewhat unique in the Indian context. Most higher education in the state was at one time supervised and funded by the state government. However, this situation has been changing, especially during the last decade. Resource crunch and budget constraints have forced the universities to change priorities. While India’s central government has with a few exceptions ignored Kerala, given its commitment to sponsor at least one central university in each of India’s states, the government plans are proceeding to build a central institution in a rather isolated location in the northern part of the state. This development is not understood by most higher education experts in the state, since it is unlikely that such an institution located far from academic or urban centers can succeed.

In keeping with its egalitarian philosophy, the government has provided generally equal support to all of the universities and has not identified any as a “flagship.” Thus, there are few nationally or internationally prominent universities in the state. One exception is the Cochin University of Science and Technology. The central Ministry of Human Resource Development recognized the university’s excellence and supported upgrading it to the level of the Indian Institutes of Technology. However, a campaign against the conversion of the university into an IIT forced the authorities to shelve the plans. The Indian Institute of Science and Technology has been recently established by the central government in Thiruvananthapuram. The Sree Chitra Tirunal Institute for Medical Sciences & Technology, Thiruvananthapuram, is another exception; this institution has the status of a university and offers postdoctoral, doctoral, and postgraduate courses in medical specialties and health care technology and is under the administrative control of the Department of Science and Technology, Government of India. Indian Institute of Science Education and Research, Thiruvananthapuram, established in 2008, can also be considered a nationally prominent institution. It is an autonomous institution affiliated to the Ministry of Human Resources Development. As a matter of policy, Kerala might be well served if these institutions were closely linked or even merged so as to combine these high-quality institutions and produce a world-class scientific institution in the state.

Several of the arts and sciences undergraduate colleges that have a long historical tradition—such as University College in Thiruvananthapuram, the capital, or Maharaja’s College in Kochi—are able to attract a number of bright students. But these institutions’ facilities are far from world class. However, most of the top students prefer professional courses in engineering, medicine (which is an undergraduate subject area in India), and business. Currently there are 96 engineering colleges in Kerala. Almost 90 percent of them had started functioning during the last decade, and only 11 of these colleges are government sponsored. Of the 96 colleges, 60 of them are purely private institutions. In general, their facilities are no better than the average found in the state.

Kerala has instituted a few significant reforms—changes suggested by national authorities but not initiated widely so far. These innovations include a semester system and reforms in the traditional undergraduate examinations. The idea is to provide better assessment through more frequent examinations and evaluations tied more closely to course content. This reform required significant changes in the way the curriculum was organized, how courses are taught, and how they are assessed. Policymakers hope that it will result in improvements in teaching. The Higher Education Council was set up to provide advice to the state government, conduct research on higher education issues, and serve as a forum for discussion about higher education. The central government recommended that all of the states organize such agencies, but so far only a few states have done so. The council does not have the power to implement reforms and only makes recommendations to government and the universities. Kerala, like all of the states, is grappling with the rapid and largely unregulated expansion of new private colleges and specialized postsecondary institutions. On the one hand, there is a need for greater access, and these new private colleges provide this. But on the other, many of them are of dubious quality, operate on the edges of quality control, and are largely organized to earn a profit for the owners. They serve high-demand fields such as management, information technology, and related technical fields. A few are medical colleges. So far, a good deal of grumbling about
these institutions has taken place but little action to control them.

Although an increase in the number of higher education institutions and student enrollment over the last two decades has taken place, inequalities based on the quality of primary and secondary schooling have been on the rise during this period. One of the most observable effects of this change is in the relationship between type of schools attended and admission to professional colleges. This trend is evident in the outcome of medical-engineering entrance examinations conducted by the government. Entrance to the medical and engineering colleges in Kerala is largely based on an entrance examination conducted by the government every year. However, students from the Central Board of Secondary Education affiliated schools and Council for the Indian School Certificate Examinations affiliated schools have a better chance to bag the top ranks of this examination. Most of these schools are in the unaided/for profit sector. However, more than 80 percent of the higher secondary students in the state are pursing studies in post-secondary institutions affiliated to the Directorate of Higher Secondary Education of the Government of Kerala.

**The state's approach to higher education is somewhat unique in the Indian context.**

The majority of the top-rank holders of the entrance examination for professional programs emerge from the middle and upper strata of the society. The parents have the financial capacity to send these students to entrance coaching centers. This has created a situation in which the entry routes to higher education are differentiated on the basis of wealth. Coupled with this, personal and parental choices have become an important feature of Kerala’s higher education. Students and parents these days are quite conscious about the inseparable link between academic choice and careers. The emergence of a new middle class in Kerala society accentuated this phenomenon. Naturally, this period witnessed an increase in the number of self-supporting students from Kerala going abroad to study.

**A Way Forward**

Kerala quietly has provided acceptable-quality higher education, by Indian standards, to a remarkably large part of its population. It has implemented several meaningful reforms in recent years, and higher education remains an issue of concern for the government and the public at large. A few policy initiatives may be useful to further improve the system.

The state’s higher education institutions are largely similar in quality, focus, and funding. With the few exceptions noted here, none of these stand out either within the state or nationally. A mass higher education system needs to be differentiated—with institutions serving different missions, patterns of funding, and quality. Kerala needs at least one “world-class” university—an institution that can attract the best students in the state, be recognized as among the top universities in India, and gain visibility abroad as well. This strategy will not be easy since Kerala has a strong tradition of egalitarianism, but it is a necessary policy if the state is to fully participate in the global knowledge society of the 21st century. It is likely that the University of Kerala, perhaps merged with several high-profile scientific institutions located in the capital, is the logical choice, probably along with the Cochin University of Science and Technology. This does not mean that the other universities can be neglected. Some will focus largely on teaching and serving their specific regions, while a few, perhaps those focusing on science and technology, can retain some research mission.

In common with all regions of India, the large number of colleges affiliated to universities need to be appropriately supervised but at the same time permitted leeway to start innovative programs and achieve a degree of autonomy. A special problem concerns the growing number of new private “unaided” colleges, a majority of which are for-profit. Perhaps an effective accrediting system, supervised by the Higher Education Council or some other governmental body, could provide a basic standard of quality for all of the colleges and remove some of the burden from the universities.

Kerala’s universities have the potential of jump-starting the state’s move into the knowledge era. They can provide the training needed for a new generation of professionals ready to work in information technology and other knowledge industries. Kerala has the disadvantage of starting late. The giant info-tech superpower in Bangalore, for example, is far ahead—even though the first “technopark” in India was established in Thiruvananthapuram. But Kerala has a well-educated workforce, a tradition of hard work, and an ability to collaborate with people from many different backgrounds. An important step would be to immediately improve the quality of engineering education. The info-tech companies estimate that only one-fifth of engineering graduates can be immediately put to work; the rest need additional training. If Kerala can provide an engineering
education that can produce engineers who can be immediately put to work without expensive further education, it will immediately improve its prospects for luring high technology to the state. Moreover, these graduates will be quite competitive on the international job market as well. The state’s higher education future is complex but practical. Expansion will continue, although the pressures may be somewhat less than in other parts of India because of Kerala’s impressive access rates. Careful attention needs to be given to the organization of the higher education system. Some additional funds are required to transform at least one university into a research-intensive institution, while at the same time supporting a better-defined differentiated higher education system.

**New Publications**


Writing from an American perspective, the authors provide a “how to” approach to study-abroad experiences for students. For study abroad, the themes discussed include preparatory courses, language courses, service learning, capacity building on campus, and others.


With a selection of essays on aspects of higher education in East Asia, this book features such topics as knowledge systems in East Asia, cross-border higher education in China, second-language acquisition, transnational–higher education in Japan and China, and dual-degree programs between Russia and China. The themes are all relating to international aspects of Asian higher education.


The focus of this book is on American community colleges, along with the culture of teaching and learning in these institutions. The author argues that teachers do not adequately understand intellectual and other needs of their students, and at the same time, students may not be fully prepared for study. The book is based on interviews and observations.


The increasingly close links between research done in universities and economic and social innovation in society are explored in this book. The academic research enterprise (the research focus of universities) is discussed in terms of national innovation strategies and governmental policies in general. Most of the book consists of case studies of Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development countries, including the United States, Canada, Australia, Germany, Finland, and others. The US states of California and Pennsylvania are also discussed.


Focusing on the Arab Gulf countries, this book discusses Oman in detail. The broad theme is how global influences affect higher education in the region. Special attention is paid to curriculum reform and labor markets as well as the broader themes of globalization.


A multidisciplinary look at the complex issues of access and equity in global higher education, this volume focuses on historical and cultural contexts, globalization and access, student-support mechanisms, intervention strategies, and related themes.


The author argues that in American graduate schools there has historically been discrimination against women. Men have been favored and treated better. He argues that the culture of American graduate schools must change to make the atmosphere more welcoming to women and members of racial and ethnic minority groups. In addition, members of these groups need to be promoted to senior faculty positions.


Sponsored by the TIAA-CREF Institute, this book considers the impact of globalization and internationalization on American higher education. Among the topics included are internationalizing the scholarly experience of faculty, improving study abroad, bringing international students to American campuses, international research collaboration, and others.
One of the few international analyses of issues of funding postsecondary education, this volume stresses cost sharing and related financial issues. Among the themes discussed are the spread and nature of tuition fees, student-loan schemes in practice, means-testing and parental contributions to higher education, and the implications of financial austerity on higher education.


The focus of the volume is a broad historical analysis of intellectual property and piracy of books, ideas, and science. Issues include the development of copyright, piracy in the Enlightenment, the nature of science and intellectual property, and piracy in the digital age.


A wide-ranging global consideration of academic rankings in their various manifestations, this book provides unique overviews on this controversial topic. Among the themes considered are a global survey of rankings and league tables, reputation indicators and rankings, the influence of rankings, rankings and the impact on university reform, the stratification of European higher education, and others...


A critical analysis of contemporary American higher education, this book focuses on issues such as vocationalism, the rise of managerialism, the role of the disciplines, and others.

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**News of the Center**

In early July, the Center organized a successful three-day leadership seminar for 25 vice chancellors and rectors from Africa under the sponsorship of the Africa Development Institute, in Tunisia. CIHE director Philip Altbach and research associate Liz Reisberg, along with Professor Bruce Johnstone of SUNY-Buffalo and Professor Marijk van der Wende, the dean of Amsterdam University College, were the faculty for the seminar.

At the invitation of the government of Kerala in south India, Philip Altbach spent two weeks as an Erudite Scholar offering lectures and discussing higher education issues with academic and government colleagues. He appeared on television several times and had a chance to travel to several universities in the state. He also consulted with the Azim Premji Foundation in Bangalore, relating to their plans for a new university devoted to education. Altbach will participate in a conference on world-class universities in Brussels, Belgium, sponsored by the Academic Cooperation Association in October and will also speak at a conference of directors of university-based institutes of advanced studies in Freiburg, Germany. Laura E. Rumbley, a former CIHE research associate, is now deputy director at the Academic Cooperation Association.

CIHE’s collaboration with the State University-Higher School of Economics in Moscow, Russia, continues. Our joint-research project on academic remuneration worldwide will result in a working conference in Moscow in October. The project involves researchers from 30 countries and will result in a new book comparing academic compensation worldwide. CIHE graduate research associate Iván Pacheco and research associate Liz Reisberg are involved with organizing the conference and will participate in it.

The Center has launched a new Web site that takes full advantage of Web 2.0. The new site offers a content management system that provides visitors with a more powerful interface to search the vast resources that CIHE has made available by way of our Web site. In addition to _International Higher Education_, we host information about other freely available publications and reports, a calendar of conferences and seminars, a database of experts and scholars on key issues in our field, a directory of relevant journals and research centers, and many other useful resources for scholars of international higher education.

We welcome Yukiko Shimmi from Japan, a new graduate research assistant and doctoral student in higher education. Ms. Shimmi recently completed her master’s degree at the University of Minnesota. Anna Glass, a graduate research assistant last year at CIHE, has joined the staff of UNESCO’s division of higher education in Paris.

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

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

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

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

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