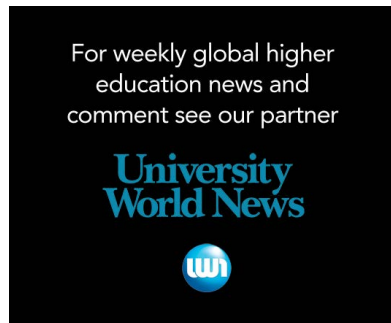


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An Agenda in Motion: Women's Issues in Latin American Higher Education

ALMA MALDONADO-MALDONADO AND FELICITAS ACOSTA

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In 2015, on a reality show in Brazil called “Master Chef,” a 12-year-old female participant started receiving harassment messages from male members of the audience. As a result, an organization for women’s rights decided to start a campaign on Twitter to condemn sexual harassment against girls, using the hashtag: #miprimeroasido (my first harassment). Brazilian women reacted to that and started sharing their experiences of sexual harassment, most of which took place when they were young girls. The following year, in 2016, a similar movement was started by a Colombian feminist who lived in Mexico City. She promoted the use of another hashtag: #MiPrimerAcoso (my first harassment) to denounce the violence suffered by women in Mexico. In the days that followed, more than 100,000 women participated in this initiative of sharing early recollections of sexual harassment. Again, most of these women reported having been harassed when they were very young, little girls between seven and nine years old. Violence against women appears to be a very common practice in Latin America. Indeed, the region reports the most significant number of female homicides worldwide.

The culture of *machismo* seems to be an intrinsic characteristic of the relationship between women and men in most Latin American countries. Women living in these countries experience physical and psychological violence, discrimination, lack of equal opportunities, and limited recognition for their work, abilities, and capacities. In 40 years, there have been only ten women presidents in Latin American—in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Nicaragua, and Panama. However, the role of women in the most prestigious positions in the legislature, government, industry, science, business, and society in general is marginal. The MeToo and Time’s Up movements (2017) deal with the issue of women’s role in present-day society and exhibit cases of male power directed against women, particularly those in more vulnerable positions. This article offers a reflection about what is happening in this regard at universities in the region.

WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION

In Latin America, the gender gap in education is not as pronounced as in other regions of the world: in 2013, higher education enrollment was about 13.15 million women vs. 10.44 million men. Access is not a significant issue but other problems demand attention, for instance what types of higher education institutions and programs women are able to access, women's drop-out rate due to youth pregnancy, and disparities regarding the labor market as well as salaries.

There are three primary areas of concern in current debates regarding gender and harassment: disparities between men and women concerning the most prestigious and best paid positions in academia and administration; sexual harassment suffered by female college students; and female faculty falling victim to abuse of power by men in higher positions.

In Mexico, during the most optimistic periods, only about 16 percent of university presidents have been women; there is still a long way to go in this area. While the number of women in senior leadership has increased, on the whole this is a reflection of how hard it is for women to reach top positions in universities. The glass ceiling seems unbreakable. The same takes place in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) areas, where female enrollment represents less than 10 percent of recruitment. In 2009, only 19 percent of women belonged to the top level of the most important peer review system for faculty.

In Latin America, the gender gap in education is not as pronounced as in other regions of the world.

As a consequence of the public debate on the MeToo and Time's Up movements and the #MiPrimerAcoso campaign, Mexican student activists became more proactive in denouncing male faculty members accused of harassing female students. Accusations have taken place at the largest and most prestigious universities in Mexico: the National Autonomous University of Mexico, the Center for Economics Research and Teaching, Autonomous Metropolitan University, Ibero-American University, and others. Due to the lack of relevant protocols, public accusations via social networks and demonstrations on campuses were the primary means used by students to highlight sexual harassment. In cases of power abuse against students, sexual favors for instance, formal mechanisms must be in place to start procedures against faculty at these institutions. At present, many universities are working on this topic. Fewer cases

of harassment or targeting of female faculty come to light for different reasons: the power structure in academia, the career implications of denouncing male peers or managers, and the fact that women may feel more vulnerable. If a movement similar to #MyFirstHarassment was promoted in higher education institutions, it is not hard to imagine that many women would follow suit.

Public universities in Argentina share characteristics with Mexico. Around 48 percent of university scholars are women, but they do not occupy leading positions in similar proportions. There are remarkably few female rectors, only five at more than 57 national public universities, although the number of female deans has grown in recent years. This situation is also reflected at the national council for scientific and technical research, where 54 percent of early-career researchers are women, but only 25 percent make it to the top of the career ladder.

There has been some progress toward a gender agenda in recent years. A national university became the first to extend maternity leave to six months for women and one month for men (it is usually three months for women and three days for men). National universities created over the past 20 years have adopted gender policies and action protocols for the prevention of gender or sexual violence or discrimination. In 2015, the most well-known national university, Universidad de Buenos Aires, passed a resolution for such a protocol, which proved to be timely as a case of sexual harassment was brought by students against a faculty member in the same time period. Since then, it has primarily been students who have brought new accusations using resources such as social media. Additionally, student organizations, which historically have been active in demonstrations, have shown significant presence at the International Women's Day march on March 8. Up to now, they seem to be taking the lead in setting an agenda that addresses discrimination against women in the country.

MOVING FORWARD

Clearly, the situation in Latin America regarding violence and discrimination against women needs much more attention, and calls for the development of protocols as well as a continuing discussion about how to increase equal opportunities in academia, universities, and the labor market. In the case of higher education institutions, there seems to be a convergence between groups of activists demanding public attention to particular cases—mainly with the help of social networks and mass media—and authorities, who cannot ignore the victims any longer. This could be a signal that higher education institutions are moving to change their policies in order to prevent sexual harassment from happening, and shaping policies to solve the disparities between women and men at all levels. Both students and fac-

ulty are more aware of their rights and limits. This is good news for the region, but it also means a major challenge for higher education institutions.

Note: While this article was in production, an important protest at Chilean universities was taking place. Several university buildings of at least 15 institutions have been occupied by female student activists, including the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. Students are protesting against gender violence and for establishing protocols to report sexual harassment cases, to achieve a non-sexist education and to change the curriculum among other demands. ■

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Sexual Harassment at African Higher Education Institutions

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In Africa, enrolling in higher education institutions (HEIs) is an aspiration of many young people and their families and represents an investment in their own socioeconomic progress. This is why university graduation ceremonies are celebrated with great pomp—the ceremonies anticipate significant long-term benefits. Higher education institutions are the power engine of Africa's progress. Additionally, issues of gender equality and diversity have gained momentum in the twenty-first century as it has become widely acknowledged that balanced economic and social progress is only possible with these tenets. Most governments in Africa have adopted and ratified policies such as the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Freedoms (1948) and the African Union Gender Policy (2009), which mandate them to observe and practice gender equity and empower women in higher education institutions.

THE VULNERABILITY OF WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN AFRICA

In Egypt, 99 percent of women experience sexual harassment. In South Africa, three-quarters of women experience some form of abuse or sexual violence. In 2014 and 2015,

South African police recorded 53,000 rape cases annually. In the Democratic Republic of Congo and in Rwanda, many women report sexual violence by intimate partners. In Uganda, sexual harassment and gender-based violence against women, including abductions and murder, make the headlines on a weekly basis. Globally, 35 percent of women experience physical or sexual violence of all kinds. Women suffer derogatory comments and unsolicited sexual advances.

Students enrolling in higher education institutions in Africa have different backgrounds: some are freshly graduated from high school, some are mature-age entrants. Over 90 percent of the younger students are from poor families. Unlike higher education institutions, secondary schools and most homes are restrictive and heavily regulated when it comes to relations between the sexes. Traditionally, girls and boys are socialized differently, which has a negative im-

In Egypt, 99 percent of women experience sexual harassment. In South Africa, three-quarters of women experience some form of abuse or sexual violence.

pact outside of these regulated spaces. Young female students entering HEIs are vulnerable, innocent, unexposed, and naïve, eager to explore their newly discovered freedom, sometimes ending up with unplanned pregnancies and dropping out altogether. The rampant, sexual manipulation of women, girls, and sometimes boys, happens within and outside the institutions. Most universities in Africa have gender policies and policies against sexual harassment, but several factors contribute to sexual harassment and gender-based violence. University hostels, where disadvantaged female and male students stay, are often cheap and unregulated, serving as the first location for sexual harassment because they attract sexual predators. Other contributing factors include financial need, the imperative to get good grades to open doors on a scarce labor market, graduate unemployment, and peer pressure. Monitoring systems are often in place, but are weakened by unprofessional administration. A strong patriarchal tradition, often aggravated by sheer misogynistic behavior, undermine female staff and students systematically, contributing to denying them advancement and ruining their academic careers. Some perpetrators of gender-based violence are persons of responsibility and influence on the students, such as faculty, course coordinators, and examination officers. Finally, substance abuse contributes to a culture that is uncondusive to respect

between the sexes.

STRATEGIC ADVANCEMENT OF GENDER EQUITY AND EQUALITY

Strategic advancement toward gender equality and a violence-free society should include sensitizing and empowering men and boys on gender issues. Dedicated professional counselors, psychologists, deans of students, and wardens should work in an organized and structured manner with student peers, executive management, and faculties to offer counseling, sensitization, and open discussions on what triggers sexual harassment and gender-based violence. Coordinating both academic and extracurricular activities such as nature clubs, sports, and games gives opportunities for feedback and keeps young people busy and healthy. Student counselling on social issues, responsible residential life at universities, prevention against diseases such as HIV/AIDS and hepatitis combined with a strict institutional culture and gender policy are practical ways to build inclusive, respectful, and diverse academic communities. Consistently communicating, advising, and sensitizing students is crucial. Reversing a nefarious culture requires bold institutional leadership dealing decisively with cases of sexual misconduct, coupled with a rigorous selection of professional staff.

CONCLUSION

Sexual harassment and gender-based violence in higher education are signs of institutional failure. Indeed, victims may see their academic careers stunted or destroyed. The vicious cycle of poverty and moral decadence is perpetuated. Endemic gender-based violence and sexual harassment undermine the attainment of the Sustainable Development Goals in the African context. ■

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The #MeToo Movement as a Global Learning Moment

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Most women around the world have experienced sexual harassment, assault, and violence, or have at times been pushed into a zone where they knew it did not feel

right. They have experienced the “same” moment, and yet for each of them it has been a different moment. For some it was an “aha” moment; for some the pain, emotional and physical, may have been unbearable, lasting for days, months, or years. For others still, this moment had to be deeply buried. It could not be spoken about because of its cultural and political context; it was identifiable but stripped of the power that comes from naming. This moment of articulation and recognition may be shaped by women’s age, sexual orientation, trans status, race, ethnicity, socioeconomic position, religion, by broader cultural practices, and by a great many other formative experiences, present and past.

This essay places the #MeToo movement within the context of global learning. Given the global nature of sexual harassment, assault, and violence against women, but also given the common dismissal of such women’s experiences, what responsibilities do we have as international educators? How should we place this particular moment within a larger and broader effort in order to provide our students with global and international understanding? How can we harness this global movement in ways that will advance intercultural and intracultural awareness? How can we engage our students, faculty, and staff members in exploring these spaces of lived experiences that are so full of emotions, fear, and pain, but at the same time are embedded within diverse cultural practices in ways that may well give rise to misunderstandings?

THE COMPLEXITIES OF THE MOMENT

This is a very powerful and yet a very complicated moment. It is powerful because it resonates with women around the world and therefore presents an opportunity to have conversations in different parts of the world and with people representing different cultural experiences and perspectives: this is an opportunity for global learning at home and abroad. As I travel to different countries, I also hear denial, dismissal, and open criticism. #MeToo does not resonate with everyone; for many, it is seen as a matter of a privilege that women living under extreme poverty or in war-torn countries cannot afford.

This is an exciting moment because women are defining what harassment, violence, and assault mean for them. How have these lived experiences affected their own understandings of their bodies or of their positions within the larger society? But it is also a complicated moment because it requires from us a recognition that it is formed by local cultural context, political climate, powerful institutions, class, racial and ethnic privileges, heteronormativity, and many other pressures, exercised by networks of power and domination.

THE GENDERED HIERARCHIES OF POWER

Many research papers, articles, legal briefings, conferences, and seminars have attempted to define sexual harassment, assault, or violence against women. Women have spoken, written, demonstrated, and testified, yet it remains that many definitions and much of the current legal framework has been written by men and decided by men. Male-dominated religions govern, legislate, and control the bulk of cultural practices. Most legislative and executive bodies are dominated by men. The legal profession is governed predominantly by men. Patriarchal standards form the norms.

THE INVISIBILITY OF DIVERSITY

Most importantly, in our quest for a voice and for action we need to acknowledge diversity. Women vary in many ways, in skin color, ethnicity, sexual orientation, trans status, age, cultural beliefs, and/or socioeconomic status. Moreover, their intersecting identity markings make some women more vulnerable than others. All these variations demand that all their voices be heard, acknowledged, and reckoned with.

This is an exciting moment because women are defining what harassment, violence, and assault mean for them.

Diversity remains a weak point of #MeToo, but also of international education. Too often, we speak in categories—of immigrants, international students, first-generation students, transfer students—and we do so without reflecting on what these categories tell us about those students' identities, their experiences, and their lives. Too often, the appeal of these large-scale categories leads us to a lack of a nuanced understanding that harassment or rape have different meanings in different cultural and national contexts; what for some is a criminal act is for others just a daily incident.

Too often, we focus only on students, while faculty and staff members seem to be left aside. We need to recognize that many men, because of their skin color, their sexual orientation, their trans status, or/and their class, do experience violence. As international educators, it is our responsibility to work with others, on our campuses, to foster a climate where inclusivity matters to everybody.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATORS AS FACILITATORS OF GLOBAL CONVERSATIONS

While, today, women define harassment, violence, and/or

assault based on their experiences, we, international educators, need to understand what this moment means for our institutions and for our strategies and approaches to internationalization. To be pervasive and comprehensive, internationalization needs to focus not solely on what policies and programs we should be establishing, but on creating spaces that are conducive to intercultural learning, conversations that are globally informed, and spaces that acknowledge different experiences and diversity.

What are we hearing from women—including students, faculty, and staff members—and how do we translate these voices into a powerful learning and teaching moment? How do we facilitate recognition of our own socially, politically, and economically formed cultures, so that we can confront and learn from this moment, in order better to understand those with different points of view or beliefs? How willing are international offices and senior international officers to speak out about and embrace this moment? How do we become self-reflective and recognize that international education administrators will represent different points of view? These are not new questions, yet many still await answers. The #MeToo movement started in 2006 but came to be heard and acknowledged only in 2017.

CHALLENGES REMAIN

Many students, faculty, and staff members are today keenly aware of their individual agency and of the complexities of their identities; these are not trivial dimensions of identity. As we rethink our strategies for internationalization, we need to be empowered by the diversity and difference surrounding us. As international educators, we have numerous tools available to us to make it happen: study away and study abroad; joint teaching opportunities with partners in different countries; short-term, theme-focused seminars; collaborative research and internships with NGOs; living and learning communities; annual themes that engage an entire campus in a conversation; staff exchanges; students' global leadership programs; and much more. In such contexts, exploration of what different terms, phrases, actions, policies, strategies, and everyday practices mean will provide our students with opportunities and experiences for broader and more grounded conversations; we must use all the tools we have.

The development of new strategies requires our collective awareness, understanding, and commitment to listening, learning, and engaging in intercultural, but also intracultural, conversations through cross-unit dialogue and action. Most of all, we, as international educators, have to create a sense of belonging regardless of diverse assumptions, beliefs, and practices. ■

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Gender and Higher Education: Increasing Exposure of Harassment and Pay Gaps

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A rape trial involving a young woman, at the time 19 years old, and two well-known Irish rugby players in early 2018 had the island of Ireland mesmerized. Unlike such trials in the Republic of Ireland, rape cases in Northern Ireland come under UK legal jurisdiction. Hence, not only were the identities of the accused known, but the explicit sexual details were reported upon daily. The woman's identity was supposed to be hidden, but she was quickly identified and social media went into over-drive. After nine weeks, the two men, and their friends, were all acquitted. As commentators said, it is a court of law where guilt needs to be proven beyond a reasonable doubt, and not a court of morals or laddish behavior.

It was a #MeToo moment of sorts. Rallies were held, #IBelieveHer trended at number one, and the Dublin Rape Crisis Centre reported an increase in calls. The level of public outrage clashed with the level of tolerance normally displayed to issues of sexual harassment and gender discrimination.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT ON CAMPUS

Sexual harassment on college campuses tends to get less attention, despite occasional media reports about the need to tackle the “epidemic” of harassment by staff toward students, and students against students. *The Guardian* (6 March 2017) conducted a survey in 2017 showing that UK students had made at least 169 allegations of sexual misconduct against university staff between 2011 and 2017. At least another 127 allegations were made about staff by colleagues.

According to Universities UK, progress tackling student-to-student harassment is most effective where there is active senior leadership, but less progress has been made in tackling hate crime, hate-based harassment, and staff-to-student sexual misconduct. While the overall results correspond with a study by the National Union of Students (NUS), the latter focused its attention on power relations within the academy, and particularly on staff–student sexual misconduct.

Bullying and harassment, including sexual harassment, have also been issues on Irish campuses. Universities have a discipline code, but the general view is that students are adults and should take responsibility for their own actions—which lets the university off the hook. The codes, which include staff, cover sexual harassment, physical violence, bullying, cheating or plagiarism, and smoking indoors. In extreme cases, students can be expelled. In 2017, *The Irish Times* (6 November 2017) reported a number of cases involving students, most of which involved complaints against men.

These issues have prompted a wider public conversation about sex education, especially around the concept of “consent.” In Ireland, the minister for education has announced a major review of relationship and sexuality education (RSE) in primary and second-level schools. Universities in Ireland and the United Kingdom are prescribing “consent” training for incoming freshmen. The National University of Ireland Galway (NUIG) *Smart Consent* training workshops aim to “help you explore the different dimensions of consent.”

On a professional level, I am familiar with cases involving power relationships between graduate students and supervisors. Such behavior affects male as well as female students; it is often normalized and difficult to monitor. There are also instances when the culture of discourse descends into what I call verbal rape. In the case of one-to-one music or vocal teaching, as in conservatoires, or during the course of student mentoring, windows had to be placed in doors, or doors left open, as a protection for all concerned. The issues become even more complicated where dual-sector institutions or facility sharing practices bring school and university students together for an enriched learning environment or simply efficiency gains, but with very different behavioral guidelines required.

There is a huge reluctance to bring forward cases where one's integrity or conduct may be questioned or future career prospects threatened, especially for women. While there have always been individual cases, college sexual harassment has been slower to garner attention in Europe than in the United States. Ultimately, a lack of research, combined with a lack of understanding, means the full scale is unknown, and universities lack basic guidelines. Narrow definitions of excellence also shape organisational culture and academic behavior.

GENDER PAY GAP

Promotion and pay is a different matter. As one of the few women holding a vice-presidential position in Ireland over the last 20 years, I can attest to the slow pace of change. In fact, as women progress through a typical academic career path, they become increasingly underrepresented compared to men. The data is indisputable.

The EU publishes *SHE Figures*, which monitor the gender dimension in research and innovation across the European Union. In 2002, the share of tertiary graduates was similar for both sexes, however the percentage of female graduates has since grown by almost twice the rate. In 2016, the gender gap in the European Union, meaning the proportion of women aged 30–34 that had attained tertiary education, exceeded men by 9.5 percent, with women outnumbering men in almost all member states.

Yet, women earn on average 16 percent less than men. Only 20 percent of heads of European higher education institutions are women. In 2013, women were 21 percent of top-level researchers, having made very limited progress since 2010. Among scientific and administrative board leaders, women constitute only 22 percent, and 28 percent of board members. The greatest variability is at professorial level, with most EU countries having institutions with no female full professors.

Bullying and harassment, including sexual harassment, have also been issues on Irish campuses.

The gender pay gap recently made headlines in the United Kingdom when 2018 figures were published. This refers to the difference between the average earnings of men and women, expressed relative to men's earnings. While it may not tell us anything we did not already know—that men dominate top earning positions—the results are striking. The median pay gap is 9.8 percent nationally, but 18.4 percent among universities. Women in two universities are paid 37.7 percent less than men. As the BBC reported, of the prestigious Russell Group, Durham University fares worst with a 29.3 percent gap.

In Ireland, the Higher Education Authority (HEA) published the *National Review of Gender Equality in Irish Higher Education Institutions* (2016), with wide-ranging recommendations. There has never been a female president since the first university was established ca. 426 years ago, and there are currently only two female presidents in the institute of technology sector. The figures are particularly acute by discipline, with the greatest discrepancy in science, technology, engineering, maths, and medicine (STEMM). Professorial appointments have provoked great outcry, with a landmark award being given to a woman at NUIG by the Equality Tribunal in 2009, on the grounds of gender discrimination.

Yet, Ireland is also an example of what can happen when policy and funding drive behavior. The Athena SWAN

Charter was established in the United Kingdom in 2005 to encourage and recognize commitment to advancing the careers of women in STEMM. It has since been expanded to all disciplines and adopted in Ireland. There are three award levels, bronze being “entry level,” certifying institutions’ commitment to the 10 key principles, and requiring a critical self-analysis and action plan. Most significantly, the three Irish research funding councils have made it a requirement that an HEI achieves the bronze by 2019, and a silver by 2023, to be eligible for research funding.

As a result, all HEIs are actively engaged in appointing a vice-president for equality, diversity, and inclusion, and busy making appointments at the senior level. Training is being introduced to address unconscious bias, and is required for senior management. But progress is very slow. It could take decades to reach the recommended gender balance of 40 percent. Hence, there is talk of quotas. The take-away is that nothing moves institutions faster than money. I am getting over my frustration with women being appointed simply to meet new regulations—but have we not had that experience with men for decades. ■

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Sexual Violence in Ethiopian Higher Education

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Higher education in Africa is in the grip of sexual violence. For example, one of the continent's leading institutions, Makerere University in Uganda, recently made international headlines for the appalling revelations of a two month-long investigation that shook the whole institution. A closer look at the situation in Ethiopia can help understand the nature and extent of the problem.

AN INSTITUTIONAL EXAMPLE

Hanna Tefera had been the director of the University Gender Affairs Directorate at Adama Science and Technology University since November 2013. On January 18, 2018, she received a letter of dismissal from her position for unstated reasons. Tefera said her removal was sudden and she did not know anything as to why. Meanwhile, *Addis Standard* reported that Tefera's removal was related to a case she was

investigating. Last December, she wrote a letter to the president of the university reporting a sexual assault committed against a female student and demanding an immediate inquiry into the matter. The letter stated that the student had been attacked by an unidentified armed man who broke into her dormitory. Referencing relevant provisions of the constitution and the regulations of the university, Tefera condemned the crime. She underlined that, if a dormitory search was necessary, it would have been appropriate to send in female soldiers. (Following political instability in the past couple of years, the military has been deployed at universities to control potential protests and disruptions.) In her letter, Tefera further expressed her concern about multiple cases of sexual harassment reported to her office, and demanded that the university take serious measures.

It is reported that Tefera was fired following a direct order from a board member of the university, who was also a senior officer in the National Defense Forces. This case symbolizes the overall situation and the indifference of the university leadership. In such circumstances, how can a university be a safe learning environment for female students? What can student services professionals do to mitigate the situation?

MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM

Owing to deep-rooted, patriarchal traditions in Ethiopia, society is plagued by gender bias, inequality, and sexual violence. Higher education is no exception. A recent study at Wolaita Sodo University, for instance, reported that out of 462 female students in the study, 36.1 percent said they had experienced sexual violence since they joined the university, while the figure was 45.4 percent for their experience over their whole lifetime. Another study at Madawalabu University found that out of 411 female students in its sample, 41.1 percent had experienced sexual violence over their lifetime and 25.4 percent had experienced it in the previous 12 months. Exploring why female students drop out, a study at Jimma University found that 82.4 percent of the respondents (out of 108 students who had dropped out) said it was related to sexual harassment; 57.4 percent said pregnancy was among the reasons for dropping out. Studies at other universities have also reported similar, prevalent sexual violence. Sexual violence is reported to have been committed by fellow students, faculty, and university employees, as well as other people unrelated to the universities. Some students come to the university with previous experience of sexual violence. Combined with insufficient counseling and support services, this makes it very difficult for them to overcome their trauma and feel comfortable in the university environment.

Studies on this issue agree that available support for female students is very limited. While cultural norms and

taboos inhibit students from coming forward to seek help, in cases when they actually do, support services are often ill prepared and understaffed. The psychological aspect of the learning environment is largely underemphasized.

THE BIGGER ISSUE: GENDER BIAS

Over the past decade, progress has been made in narrowing the gender gap both in student enrollment (from 24.4 percent of undergraduate student population in 2005 to 32 percent in 2015) and in faculty composition (from 10.3 percent in 2005 to 12 percent in 2015). Nonetheless, women continue to experience high levels of differential treatment. Despite benefits at the entry level, gender bias and sexual

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violence continue to damage the experience of female students and deter them from succeeding. Female students are also largely concentrated in the fields of social sciences and humanities. It has even been reported that institutions actively discourage female students from choosing fields in the hard sciences, as a strategy to reduce the dropout rate of female students—ironically, this is considered an “affirmative action” measure.

Meanwhile, a recent study revealed that women are 50 percent less likely to hold the rank of lecturer and 72 percent less likely to hold the rank of assistant professor or above. This staggering difference is explained by a number of factors that deter women from progressing in their careers, despite overall statistical improvements.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

While a top-down approach to behavioral change is arguably slow and less effective, a peer-based approach seems a viable alternative, though by no means the only one. Attitudinal change in the university community is crucial to prevent sexual violence from happening and give victims the confidence to speak out and seek help. Decades of social/psychological research have shown that bystanders are more likely to intervene when they have a clear understanding of the violence and the skills needed to engage in prosocial behavior without compromising their own safety. There have been cases showing that empowering students and student leaders as bystanders is an effective way to fight sexual violence on campus.

This requires engagement in university-wide and continuous awareness programs. In doing so, it is important to consider a few points. First, the program should reach the entire university community. Engaging with those who are thought to have less awareness or those who are naturally drawn to the issue is not enough. Second, considering that certain aspects of gender bias and sexual violence are so deeply rooted in social norms, it is important to start with a clarification of the meaning of sexual violence and its manifestations. Third, programs should include different mechanisms of engagement and incentives to increase participation and sustainability.

Cognizant of resource constraints and limited qualified personnel, a possible remedy is the use of volunteer training of trainers, with standardized materials and quality control, that multiplies through a pyramid scheme to reach every part of the university over a certain period. Once that is achieved, offering mandatory training to all new students and employees can be a possible further step in order to ensure sustainability.

This peer-based approach is not a substitute for other strategies, nor is it sufficient on its own. It has to be used as an integrated component of broad-based approaches, both top-down and bottom-up. It is worth noting that the explicit commitment of university and system-level leadership is a crucial force for success. Promoting a safe and supportive working environment for women in senior management and among faculty and staff, as well as strengthening student services with qualified staff and sufficient resources, are indispensable measures to be taken by institutions and by the government. However, the perceivable absence of genuine commitment from the top should not deter student services and gender affairs offices from striving for change within current constraints. ■

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Brexit and Universities: Toward a Reconfiguration of the European Higher Education Sector?

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In a 2016 referendum, 51.9 percent of registered voters were in favor of the United Kingdom leaving the European Union. The “Brexit” process—the practicalities of which are still largely unknown—was officially triggered in May 2017. Brexit may have serious implications for higher education in the United Kingdom and beyond.

At present, the United Kingdom is the second largest recipient of competitive research funding from the European Union after Germany. UK researchers are more likely to be chosen as leaders in collaborative funding bids, and the United Kingdom is a favorite destination of individual recipients of research fellowships. Six percent of students and a staggering 17 percent of staff at UK universities are from other EU countries. While the prestige of UK higher education institutions plays a part in this success, the United Kingdom benefits from its position as a “gateway” to Europe, attracting students and researchers for this reason also.

In addition, nearly half of the academic papers produced by the United Kingdom are written in collaboration with at least one international partner—and among the top 20 countries UK academics cooperate the most with, 13 are in the European Union. A significant proportion of these jointly authored papers arise from research collaborations funded by the European Union. Finally, several key pan-European research facilities such as the High Power Laser Energy Research Facility are based in the United Kingdom. Free movement, which is guaranteed under the rules of EU membership at present, is essential for these research facilities to be used to their full potential.

A “hard Brexit” could be devastating for the UK higher education sector. Yet, it is clear that the UK higher education system will not be the only one affected in the event of a “hard Brexit” where, in the worst-case scenario, EU students would be charged full international fees to study in the United Kingdom, freedom of movement for researchers would be restricted, and the United Kingdom would no longer be able to participate in collaborative bids for funding.

THE BREXIT AND EUROPE RESEARCH PROJECT AT CGHE

In this context, the Centre for Global Higher Education (CGHE) set out to investigate the potential impact of Brexit on higher education and research across Europe. We were able to gather researchers from 10 research centers on higher education in Denmark, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, and Switzerland, as well as the United Kingdom. Over the following few months, 127 interviews were conducted across these countries with key individuals at the national level as well as with university leaders, academics, and internationally mobile early-career researchers. Research participants were encouraged to reflect on the impact of Brexit on their institutions and their respective national systems.

BETWEEN RISK AND OPPORTUNITY: AN UNEVEN IMPACT

The research revealed contrasting attitudes from one country to another. Strikingly, participants in Eastern European countries such as Hungary and Poland (as well as some interviewees in Portugal) expressed the view that they were not valued collaborators of the United Kingdom in the first place, and that the impact of Brexit would therefore be relatively limited.

A “hard Brexit” could be devastating for the UK higher education sector.

The bigger countries in our study, such as Germany, may in fact benefit from a possible reallocation of funds. Northern European countries such as Denmark and the Netherlands were more ambivalent. On the one hand, given their performance in terms of grant capture and research productivity, and also given the fact they tend to offer courses in English, they are well positioned to benefit from a withdrawal of the United Kingdom. Yet, part of their success owes to their Anglo-Saxon orientation. In this sense, it was felt that the departure of the United Kingdom would compound the negative impact of political changes in the United States on future collaborations with valued partners. Dutch and Danish participants also made it clear that they relied on the United Kingdom as a political ally in discussions at the EU level—where there are tensions between countries favoring competitive research funding and countries preferring a less competitive and more egalitarian system. Ireland may find itself in an ambiguous situation, poised to benefit in terms of international student flows, yet largely dependent on the UK system in many ways. The fate of students and expatriates in the United Kingdom was also

a matter of concern, in particular for Poland and Portugal.

Overall, it was felt that the United Kingdom had a lot to lose in terms of attractiveness and reputation. UK participants were particularly concerned about the risk of losing funding in the humanities and social sciences, doubting that the UK government would replace the funding for these sectors in a context of the growing marketization of higher education. Fears were also expressed by staff on temporary research contracts interviewed in Switzerland that nonpermanent academics would suffer most.

A RECONFIGURATION OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION AND RESEARCH LANDSCAPE

While cooperation is a key principle of the current system, not all countries are equal partners. The Erasmus program was designed as a reciprocal student exchange scheme. However, some countries receive a lot more students than they send: this is the case in particular of Ireland and the United Kingdom, where only a limited number of home students take up this European mobility opportunity. Success rates in European Research Council applications vary widely from one country to another, and networks of affinities are clearly discernible—often clustered around one of the bigger countries such as Germany and the United Kingdom, and to a lesser extent Spain, France, and Italy.

Planning ahead for an unpredictable Brexit, in most countries interview participants envisaged replacing the United Kingdom with another strong research partner and/or reinforcing existing links within and outside the region. On the one hand, some participants—in particular academics—were eager to continue collaborating with their UK colleagues no matter what shape Brexit would take. On the other hand, the majority of research participants shared pragmatic views and emerging strategies to minimize the cost of Brexit to their own national systems and institutions; and these often implied partially excluding UK partners from collaborations.

A THREAT TO THE EUROPEAN PROJECT AT LARGE

EU membership has played a significant role in the success of the United Kingdom, but the research productivity and reputation of UK institutions have also helped the region in achieving great visibility in the global higher education and research landscape.

One salient point that came up repeatedly across the study is a concern not only for the quality and reputation of European higher education and research, but for the future of the European project at large. Regional reputation would be under strain if the United Kingdom was completely cut off in “punishment” for the Brexit vote. On the other hand, favorable terms and a more positive outcome for the United Kingdom might encourage anti-EU movements elsewhere.

This would send a rather xenophobic message to potential international applicants and ultimately put the whole European project at risk. Brexit is thus a matter of concern on many different levels for the whole region.

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India and China: Two Major Higher Education Hubs in Asia

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India and China are considered to be potential major hubs in Asia for international students. Both have large and diverse higher education systems. Students from both countries are keen to enter the global employment market. It is this challenge that demands the respective national education systems produce “global citizens” with the high-level, high-quality, diverse, and international educational backgrounds needed on the global market. International higher education also involves having a diverse international student population enrolled in local higher education institutions (HEI). Both countries are trying to attract large numbers of international students into their systems. This article briefly reviews the international education status of India and China and highlights some crucial parameters governing the two systems.

HIGHER EDUCATION INFRASTRUCTURE

India has 799 universities and nearly 38,000 (mainly undergraduate) affiliated colleges; China has 2,880 universities. Their respective national enrollments are 34.5 million and 47.9 million. Both systems encourage the establishment of private HEIs. China has made major efforts to improve more than 100 of its universities, and seven of them are now ranked in the top 200 by the *Times Higher Education* (THE) world university ranking. India has been tinkering with some reforms, trying to improve its top universi-

ties, but so far none of the Indian universities are ranked in the top 200 globally. In spite of the fact that English is the language of instruction at most Indian HEIs, they have not been able to attract international students because of their poor ranking. Chinese universities have gone out of their way in this regard and are offering programs taught in English at some of their good universities. Chinese English-medium medical institutions are even attracting students from India, as Chinese authorities have ensured that these institutions are recognized by the Medical Council of India. India has not made any such major reform to attract international students. Further, China has set up the China Scholarship Council (CSC) as a nonprofit organization under the Chinese ministry of education, offering scholarships to international students to study in China. This council also offers scholarships to Chinese students for study abroad. The Indian agency coordinating the higher education sector, the University Grants Commission (UGC), does not have any such promotional measures to attract international students or to encourage Indian students to get international exposure. Clearly, the Chinese educational infrastructure is significantly more favorable to international education and international students.

STUDENT MOBILITY IN INDIA AND CHINA

The mobility of both inbound and outbound students has become an important dimension of internationalization programs. In 2015, there were 181,872 Indian students studying abroad, while during the same period, 523,700 Chinese students were studying abroad. India does not restrict studying abroad, but, unlike China, it does not offer many scholarships. While India has demonstrated steady growth, China has shown sizable upward and downward variations. But the trend is clear: China is keen to expose its students to study abroad and has taken concrete steps to provide them with national scholarships. In India, a few elite institutions like the Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) have recently started some internship abroad programs for their engineering students, with some scholarship support and the help of partner institutions. In the long run, the well-educated Chinese workforce will definitely provide tough competition to young Indian professionals seeking employment abroad. The Chinese are catching up on their English language skills, which for many years have been a great advantage for Indian students.

The most noticeable change in the internationalization programs of India and China is in the area of receiving international students. In 2015, India attracted only 42,420 international students, while, that same year, China was able to attract 397,635 international students. This was a result of a major national initiative, the establishment of the CSC, which not only helps to centrally recruit international

students but also offers them scholarships based on merit. India has yet to set up such a centrally coordinated agency. The impact of this initiative is that 10 percent of globally mobile students are now studying in China. China has even been successful in attracting Indian students, with the Indian student population in China growing from 8,145 in 2008 to 16,694 in 2015. Interestingly, 80 percent of these students are pursuing undergraduate, English-medium medical degrees. In comparison, data provided by the All India Survey for Higher Education (AISHE) of the Indian ministry of human resource development reveals a total of only 185 Chinese students studying in India during 2015–2016. The majority of these students study commerce, management, computer science, and other sciences. This imbalance clearly shows that, within Asia, China is a more attractive education hub.

The mobility of both inbound and outbound students has become an important dimension of internationalization programs.

To attract international students (and provide international quality education to its own students), China has encouraged four accredited American HEIs to set up a base in China. India's policy toward foreign education providers wishing to establish campuses in India has been very restrictive. As a result, not a single foreign institution has been attracted to set up a campus on Indian soil.

CONCLUSION

Both India and China have very large and comparable higher education infrastructures. In a globalized world, both have the potential to attract a large number of international students from other parts of the world—both developed and developing. China has recognized the importance of undertaking reforms to internationalize its higher education. As mentioned above, seven of its universities are now ranked among the top 200 worldwide, it attracts 10 times more international students than India, and it is also ensuring that a significant portion of its own student population is exposed to education abroad. India has made no such efforts. As a result, Chinese students studying abroad outnumber Indian students and enter the global employment market with an advantage. China has opened its doors to quality foreign university campuses attracting foreign as well as local students. Unless India takes very aggressive measures to reform its higher education system, it will lose

the race to China as Asia's most attractive education hub. Higher education is a means for economic development. The ministry of human resource development and the ministry of commerce in India must join efforts to develop a new plan to ensure economic development through higher education. ■

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“Super-Short-Term” Study Abroad in Japan: A Dramatic Increase

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Since the mid-2000s, Japanese students have reportedly been developing an “inward-looking” attitude (some likely reasons are discussed in an article by Shimmi in *IHE*, issue 66, 2012). In recent times, there has been a dramatic increase of students participating in “super-short-term” study-abroad programs, lasting from one week up to one month. According to the Japan Student Service Organization (JASSO), the number of Japanese students who participated in such super-short-term programs more than tripled between 2009 and 2016, increasing from 16,873 to 60,145. This reflects a growing global trend among college students, especially in developed countries. This article discusses the background of this trend in Japan as well as emerging challenges.

THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT'S NEW POLICIES ON STUDYING ABROAD

During the postwar period, the central focus of the Japanese government's internationalization policy was on attracting international students to come and study in Japan. However, with the decline, from the late 2000s, of the number of Japanese students studying abroad, the government (under the Abe administration) started prioritizing the promotion of outbound mobility in order to foster a globally-minded workforce for Japanese companies. Until that point, studying abroad had been mainly considered as a private choice, and governmental support for Japanese students to study abroad had been limited. In its effort to promote study abroad, the government increased scholarships available

for individual students and provided competitive funds for universities to develop support systems in order to broaden the range of study abroad options.

With respect to scholarships, in 2008, the government increased the budget for JASSO study-abroad scholarships for students enrolled at Japanese universities. Currently, this scholarship can be granted to students who participate in one of their university's study abroad programs with a duration of eight days to one year. The number of recipients dramatically increased from 627 in 2008 to 22,000 in 2017. In addition, in 2014, the government established another scholarship program called "*Tobitate!*" ("Leap for Tomorrow!") Young Ambassador Program (A Public-Private

In order to leverage the current increase in the numbers of super-short-term study-abroad participants, it is crucial to provide opportunities for students to continue developing their global competencies after returning home.

Partnership Encouraging Students Study Abroad), with funding from both the government and private companies. "*Tobitate*" scholarships are intended for students who study abroad for periods varying from 28 days to two years. By 2017, about 3,000 university students had studied abroad with "*Tobitate*" scholarships.

With respect to competitive funds for universities, since 2011, the Inter-University Exchange Project has provided funds for two-way exchanges between Japan and regions that are specified each year. Through this scheme, by 2017 the number of Japanese students who had studied abroad reached 14,712, while the number of international students who had studied in Japan reached 15,289. In addition, from 2012 to 2016, the Go Global Japan Project provided funds to 42 universities to develop study abroad programs for students to acquire competencies for the new global society. The aim of recipient universities was to send 58,500 students abroad through this project. Other programs—such as the Top Global University Program, started in 2014—also aim to stimulate Japanese students to study abroad.

UNEXPECTED CONSEQUENCES AND CHALLENGES

Although these scholarships and grants were not meant for this in particular, universities specifically increased opportunities for super-short-term programs abroad, because, for a number of reasons, they appear to be more accessible for

Japanese students. First, the short duration of the program prevents time conflicts with other activities, such as looking for jobs at Japanese companies, typically conducted during a certain period in the year; preparing for national qualification examinations; and participating in club activities. Second, super-short-term programs tend to require lower participation fees than longer programs. Third, super-short-term programs that focus on foreign language learning at the basic level are popular among Japanese students because many students do not have sufficient foreign language skills to participate in longer exchange programs, during which they are required to take courses at partner universities together with local students.

The recent government support has been effective in increasing the number of students studying abroad for at least super-short-term programs; in comparison, the number of participants in longer-term programs has not increased as much. Moreover, although participating in short-term study-abroad programs can be a step for "inward-looking" students toward becoming more open to other cultures, super-short-term study abroad programs are considered too short to enhance the students' foreign language and cross-cultural competencies, compared to longer-term programs. Similar observations have been made in the United States and other countries.

NURTURING "OUTWARD-LOOKING" STUDENTS

In order to leverage the current increase in the numbers of super-short-term study-abroad participants, it is crucial to provide opportunities for students to continue developing their global competencies after returning home. As an example, encouraging students to participate in longer programs could be a possibility, but efforts are necessary to reduce existing obstacles, by providing adequate scholarships, solving issues related to companies' hiring systems, and developing mechanisms to allow students to easily transfer credits earned abroad. Opportunities for international exchange on home campuses should be increased both in curricular activities, e.g., with English-taught courses, and extracurricular activities, e.g., language exchanges, tutoring, peer-support, and buddy systems.

In addition, in order to respond to the current skepticism about the effect of super-short-term study-abroad programs, it is important to conduct assessments to measure the impact of the programs as well as the students' learning outcomes, and to continue improve the quality of these super-short-term programs. Collecting and assessing evidence on the value of the short-term study-abroad experience to develop global competencies is necessary to build support. These recently developed super-short-term programs are meant mainly for students with a basic level in a foreign language; more advanced programs, requir-

ing high foreign language and cross-cultural skills (such as project-based learning with local students in a host country) can be an additional option for students to continue developing their competencies. Developing an environment for students to utilize and build on their experiences during super-short-term study abroad programs will be key to making this new trend an opportunity to nurture future “outward-looking” graduates. ■

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Pathway Colleges: A New Institutional Form in Canada

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International undergraduate students represent an important source of tuition revenue for many higher education systems, especially in the context of declining support from austerity-focused governments. In an effort to increase international undergraduate recruitment, Canadian universities are creating partnerships with or directly hosting “pathway colleges.” Pathway colleges are semiautonomous or privately operated institutions that have transfer agreements with partner universities to offer enrollment pathways for international students who lack the academic or linguistic credentials to allow direct entry to undergraduate degree programs at the university level. Whereas pathway colleges exist in other countries, the format is relatively new in Canada, where they have gone largely unexamined to this point. What little has been written on the topic has drawn attention to the colleges’ reliance on part-time instructors, their potential to increase “corporatization” of the academy, and the possibility that some international students might be misled by the marketing materials regarding the likelihood of transfer to an established Canadian university. Considering these concerns, we call for increased attention to the policies and practices of pathway colleges. Drawing on Canadian data, we offer a brief typology of these institutions, identify some possible concerns about their impact on public higher education systems, and suggest some directions for future research.

To better understand this phenomenon, we studied the 96 institutions that belong to Universities Canada, a national advocacy organization for the sector. The pathway

college relationship is becoming commonplace among public Canadian universities: our research revealed that 69 of the 96 institutions, or 72 percent of Canadian universities, had an affiliation with at least one pathway college. As pathway colleges are a new institutional model in Canada, there are significant variations in the form they take. Our research revealed three useful axes of comparison that give a sense of the general shape of the pathway college phenomenon in Canada: ownership, curriculum, and the transfer mechanism.

OWNERSHIP

We noted two forms of ownership within Canadian pathway colleges: private partnerships or colleges owned by public host institutions. Of the 69 universities that have an affiliation with a pathway program, 22 (32 percent) of them have affiliations with pathway colleges that are private, for-profit institutions. These private pathway colleges are usually owned by large international educational companies, such as Navitas or Study Group, and operate separately from the partner university. These privately owned pathway colleges promise academic or linguistic “upgrading,” and explicitly advertise access to the partner institutions as part of their recruiting materials. The remaining pathway colleges (68 percent) are owned by the host institutions. These hosted pathway colleges are demarcated from the partner institution, however, with their own admissions criteria, and with students attending most or all of their classes separate from the rest of the student body.

CURRICULUM

Pathway colleges in Canada are also usefully differentiated based on their curriculum. Of the 69 pathway colleges in our sample, 44 (64 percent) offer a mixed academic and linguistic program of study. In some cases, the academic element of these programs represents a year or more of a four-year undergraduate degree, while in others it is a small number of courses. These mixed academic–language programs promise additional assistance to students who need to upgrade their linguistic or academic performance for entry to the partner institution. A smaller number of pathway colleges, 25 (36 percent), offer language-only or English for Academic Purposes (EAP) programs. In these cases, students are offered English (or in Francophone regions, French) language upgrading programs that promise to prepare them for the linguistic requirements of the partner institution. Pathway colleges that are owned and operated by a public university are slightly more likely to be EAP programs (38 percent) than those run by corporate partners (of which 32 percent are EAP programs), but mixed programs are more common in both cases.

TRANSFER MECHANISM

A final comparison that helps to understand this emerging institutional form is the type of pathway, or transfer mechanism, that is offered to international students. A small number of pathway colleges (8 of 69, or 12 percent) require students to reapply to the partner institution after completing the pathway program. But the vast majority of pathway colleges in Canada (88 percent) promise students direct entry to the partner university once they have successfully completed the pathway program. All of the corporately owned pathway colleges offer direct entry to one or more institutions. Direct entry is a valuable recruiting tool that corporate partners may require before entering formal relationships with universities.

The pathway college relationship is becoming commonplace among public Canadian universities: our research revealed that 69 of the 96 institutions, or 72 percent of Canadian universities, had an affiliation with at least one pathway college.

DISCUSSION

In light of the Canadian example, pathway colleges represent a significant new institutional form. Their impact on existing institutions is unclear at this point. However, we see the potential for an increased influence of private higher education models within countries with a strong public higher education sector, like Canada. Whereas differential tuition pricing for international and domestic students has already drawn attention to corporate pricing models, the pathway college model permits institutions and their governing boards to operate a “test case” for privatization within the walls of the public university, with many international and local examples to justify moving in this direction. This effect is already visible in the similarities in form between private pathway colleges and those owned by partner institutions. This is unsurprising, considering that pathway programs represent significant income generation for institutions, both by expanding their full fee paying international student population, and by adding an additional year of enrollment per student. At a systems level, these pathways potentially usurp international student tuition dollars from community colleges, which also actively seek to recruit students from abroad. In these ways, pathway colleges are already changing the higher education landscape.

Much more research is needed to gauge the full extent of pathway college influence. Within Canada, one concern is that pathway colleges may incentivize institutions to accept students who are unlikely to succeed in the partner institution. Another is that pathway college students will not receive the same academic or student services as those at the parent institution, potentially isolating them from counseling, ombudspersons, or other support systems. Similarly, preliminary examinations suggest that the pathway college emphasis on revenue generation (and in some cases profit) means that instructors and staff are more likely to be non-union and precarious. The need for more research is pressing, as the influence of pathway colleges on the public system as a whole may mean that pressures to compete will drive other institutions to adopt similar models.

Perhaps even more important is to examine these pathway colleges in the international context. Many of the corporate partners operate in several countries, inviting questions about how different policy regimes shape the resulting pathway colleges. We question how—or if—these multinational companies standardize their pathways across the world, which would have implications not only for how we perceive the flows of international students, but also for the extent of global corporatization of this mobility, beyond what is typically understood as a matter of recruitment agents and admissions application preparation. We see pathway colleges as representative of a shift toward a postsecondary policy landscape that enables a more interdependent, international, and “flexibilized” model, challenging the assumptions of higher education systems and the notion of separate public/private sectors. ■

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Inclusive Internationalization: Improving Access and Equity

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Internationalization is not an isolated phenomenon in higher education; it is embedded in the broader context of higher education in the global arena. Elitism, commercialization, high costs of study, corruption, fraud, and quantity versus quality are all common global themes in international higher education, influencing internationalization and vice versa. An inclusive approach must take into account the varied sociopolitical, economic, and demographic contexts in different parts of the world, and must address the issue that current internationalization policies and practices are not inclusive and leave out the great majority of students worldwide.

TWO MAIN PARADOXES

In higher education, we are faced with two main paradoxes. First, while we may be striving to increase internationalization and global engagement, in many countries isolationist and nationalist trends result in a disconnect between local and global. Second, while credit and degree mobility is increasing globally, this billion-dollar industry reaches only a small student elite, leaving 99 percent of the world's student population behind.

Although still in its early stages throughout the emerging and developing world, massification has increased access to higher education. Access vs equity is an issue in general, but represents an even greater challenge for international education. We know the many benefits of international experiences as well as its many drivers. Yet, in some emerging and developing economies, degree mobility is only for 1–2 percent of students and may have negative connotations, being seen as draining talent from the home country perspective.

Turning to credit mobility/study abroad, this has been seen as a key route toward internationalization for students. Yet outside Europe and the United States, the percentage of credit-mobile students is even lower than those seeking degrees. In other words, although mobility gets most attention in terms of internationalization policy and practice, only a very small number of students take part. Universities UK recently found students from higher managerial and professional backgrounds almost five times more likely to be mobile than students from long-term unemployment backgrounds. Furthermore, mobile students earn higher university grades and higher salaries than their nonmobile counterparts, meaning greater advantage to those already privileged. There is in addition a lack of representation in terms of income, ethnicity, migration history, or disability.

INCREASING SHORT-TERM MOBILITY

Increasing access to mobility is not easy, with funding a major constraint. One attempt to increase numbers is through more short-term opportunities. We know many benefits

can accrue from even short-term mobility (work placement, study, or volunteering abroad), including transferable employability skills, e.g. team work, team leadership, organizational skills, project management, problem solving, networking, mediation skills, conflict resolution, decision making, and interpersonal skills. Short-term mobility can also develop intercultural competence skills such as willingness to take risks, patience, sensitivity, flexibility, open-mindedness, humility, respect, and creativity.

The European mobility participation target for the 48 Bologna Process signature countries is 20 percent by 2020, while in the United States, doubling study abroad numbers, as planned, would result in a similar percentage. Yet, even reaching these targets means that the majority of students, i.e. 80 percent, will not receive the benefits noted here. In emerging and developing countries, that percentage is closer to 99 percent. Mobility may be important and necessary, but it is insufficient to deliver inclusive internationalization.

Short-term mobility can also develop intercultural competence skills such as willingness to take risks, patience, sensitivity, flexibility, open-mindedness, humility, respect, and creativity.

INTEGRATING MOBILITY INTO THE CURRICULUM

Importantly, we must see mobility as merely one aspect of the internationalized curriculum, which incorporates internationalized learning outcomes into its core, thus making internationalization available for all. Inviting students to reflect on their study abroad helps consolidate their own learning outcomes and contributes diversity of perspective for others. The same applies to actively engaging students from diverse geographical, national, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds in the classroom. This is an approach various commentators suggest we have still to fully utilize. It will not, in itself, internationalize the curriculum: a more fundamental review of program content, pedagogy, assessment, and learning outcomes is needed to achieve that. However, it supports the incorporation of alternative perspectives into learning, teaching, and assessment processes.

TOWARD A MORE INCLUSIVE APPROACH

We believe internationalization policies fail to address all of those for whom they are intended and that there should be a renewed focus on students and staff who do not travel. Until we incorporate inclusive internationalization into the

experience of all students, we run the risk of perpetuating the kind of elitism we try to fight. If we want to address these two paradoxes, focusing on mobility is counterproductive. It excludes the large majority of students, and confirms the nationalist-populist argument that it is, in fact, intellectual elitism.

Inclusive and comprehensive internationalization requires us to reframe our thinking, regardless of the context we live in. Internationalization for all should be the starting point for institutional strategies, reflecting an awareness that all students must be engaged in this agenda for their future lives as citizens and as professionals.

In summary, for internationalization to be inclusive and not elitist, it must address access and equity and requires us to:

- Incorporate internationalization at home as essential to internationalization for all.
- Recognize, value, and utilize classroom diversity, bringing alternative perspectives to study programs—from international students, those returning from mobility experiences, and students from diverse communities in the local population.
- Involve the whole institution in delivering inclusive internationalization.
- Bridge the local and the global in research, education, and service.
- Focus on regional as well as global partnerships to help deliver an inclusive internationalization agenda. ■

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Realizing the Benefits of Massification

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This is a revised version of a paper published in *Higher Education in Southeast Asia and Beyond (HESB)*, a publication of the Head Foundation in Singapore.

Since the beginning of this century, systems of higher education around the world have expanded rapidly. Not only middle-income, but also low-income countries have either already become “massified”—in terms of the definition provided by Trow (2006)—or are in the process of becoming so. Higher education is experiencing an unprecedented

rate of growth in gross enrollment ratios (GER). As remarkable as this success story is, it should not be assumed that “massification” is unambiguously and necessarily a good thing. While any increase in student access to higher education is a cause for celebration, massification has given rise to a range of issues that should be more widely debated.

To begin with, it needs to be recognized that growth in GER in higher education often reflects an increasing level of economic prosperity and social and political confidence within various countries. As they become integrated into the global economy, they inevitably consider the expansion of their systems of higher education as necessary for them to take advantage of the global flows of capital, the shifting modes of production, and the global supply chains. Not surprisingly, therefore, governments around the world have

Has a pool of appropriately trained academic staff been available or been prepared to look after the needs of new cohorts of students, many of whom come from families that lack traditions of higher learning?

been prepared to allocate large sums of public money into higher education; facilitate greater private investment in the development of new universities and colleges; and encourage the public to view an investment in higher education as an outlay that is likely to bring good returns to both the individuals and the nation.

TOO RAPID AND AD HOC

In this line of thinking, massification of higher education should clearly be welcomed, since it raises a country’s level of education and signals its prosperity and prestige. It is, however, important to consider whether the speed of growth in GERs has not in fact been too rapid, and its form too ad hoc. We need to ask if the respective massifying systems of higher education have been able to cope with the pace of change. To what extent has the drive toward massification been stimulated by demand rather than by proper consideration of issues of supply—by opportunism rather than systematic processes of policy analysis and development?

As the demand for higher education among the rapidly growing middle class in developing economies has grown, we need to ask what kind of job governments have done in adequately preparing their public higher education institutions (HEIs) to expand—with appropriate levels of support, resource allocation, and capacity building. Has a pool of

appropriately trained academic staff been available or been prepared to look after the needs of new cohorts of students, many of whom come from families that lack traditions of higher learning? Most governments have tried to “soak up” demand by allowing the entry into the sector of a range of private providers with varying degrees of commitment, expertise, and resources to provide quality higher education. The approval and quality assurance processes to which these hastily established private institutions are subjected have been, at best, uneven. It is important to ask, moreover, if government bureaucracies themselves have the expertise to develop and implement the mechanisms necessary to coordinate the work of private HEIs.

The use of technology has often been considered as a viable option for meeting the growing demand for higher education at a reasonable cost. Experience around the world has shown, however, that online learning can often be much more expensive and complex than traditional “brick and mortar” education if it is to be done properly and sustainably. It is a folly to assume that pedagogic expertise in this area can be developed cheaply and quickly without sacrificing quality.

A number of universities in developing economies, both public and private, have been created as a result of rebadging or rebranding existing technical schools, polytechnics, and teachers’ colleges, without any substantial shifts in the ways in which they are expected to operate, or in the types of students they recruit. Many are grossly underfunded and are widely regarded as “overcrowded factories.” They lack the libraries and laboratories that any decent HEI should possess. At the same time, little is done to forge systems designed to develop academic staff professionally. While it is true that not every member of staff employed at HEIs needs to be a researcher or publish in international journals, an institution that is committed to higher learning must not be permitted to overlook its responsibility to ensure that its staff possess advanced levels of knowledge in their subject area, as well as a scholarly disposition. In this way, the task of capacity building should be regarded as central in any attempts at massification.

ISSUES OF CAPACITY

In the haste to establish new universities and expand existing ones without any substantial focus on capacity building, curriculum options at most HEIs in developing economies have inevitably been narrow, often restricted to subjects that do not require expensive laboratories, extensive libraries, and highly qualified staff. For example, programs in business and management, which are assumed to be cost effective and affordable to many new students, have in recent decades experienced explosive growth, while the number of programs in much-needed STEM areas has been limited.

As a result, there has been an oversupply of graduates in some areas, while a shortage exists in others. Many graduates, moreover, do not possess the knowledge and skills that employers consider necessary in the changing labor market geared toward the global economy. The students are often unable to secure a job in their area of study, therefore creating a risk that, in the longer term, systems of higher education might generate a legitimization and motivation crisis among their graduates. Nor will these graduates be able to make the kind of contribution to national economic development that governments hope from the massification of their systems of higher education. What this shows is that massification is not inevitably a good thing. Much depends on its purposes and outcomes, the ways it is organized and coordinated, and the contribution it is able to make to the development of the knowledge and skills needed in the global economy.

An increase in GER in higher education may thus be necessary but is not sufficient to drive economic growth and prosperity. What is required, additionally, are more comprehensive programs of higher education reform. This would involve reimagining and renewing curriculum and teaching methods, as well as the ways in which HEIs are structured and governed. Above all, it demands capacity building and adequate measures in planning and quality assurance. The question of the forms in which massification is achieved should therefore lie at the heart of debates over the expansion of systems of higher education. Broader questions about the purposes of higher learning are just as crucial, not only in relation to economic growth, but also with respect to social and cultural development. These imperatives cannot be realized by relying on emerging higher education market forces alone. ■

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Universal Access to Quality Tertiary Education in the Philippines

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There is increasing attention worldwide on the debate regarding who pays university tuition fees. In contrast to other governments, the Philippine authorities have recently introduced a subsidy to cover tuition fees for Philippine students at all State Universities and Colleges (SUCs). This Universal Access to Quality Tertiary Education Act was signed into law on August 3, 2017. It commits to “provide adequate funding ... to increase the participation rate among all socioeconomic classes in tertiary education.” The subsidy applies to first undergraduate degrees in all tertiary education institutions. The Act also increases income-contingent loans available to the poorest.

There is a concern that the policy will lead to an exodus of students from private to public providers. As a result of a constitutional commitment to maintaining both public and private institutions, the Act allows for a subsidy toward fees at private institutions at a rate equivalent to their near-

The Act aims principally to address dropout rates: only a quarter of students in higher education graduate at present.

est SUC. Students can also benefit from support for books, supplies, transportation, accommodation, and other related expenses. The Act counters a longstanding trend of increasing fees in higher education. Philippine Senator Benjamin Aquino IV, the Act’s key supporter, suggested that the provision of free tuition would “unlock the door to a brighter future,” thus “empower(ing) more Filipinos with the promise of a college diploma.” This resounded strongly among Filipinos, who value higher education qualifications.

The government’s allocation to higher education has recently seen significant increases, doubling from US\$484.47 million in 2010 to approximately US\$1 billion in 2016, although spending per capita remains relatively low. The Philippine constitution demands that education receive the largest share of the national budget, and national authorities have allocated US\$793 million (1 percent of the budget) to introduce the subsidy in 2018. The national economy is projected to expand at over 6 percent in the medium term and the subsidy appears affordable. However, while the measure is politically popular, it has been fiercely debated.

SUPPORT AND OPPOSITION

The Act aims principally to address dropout rates: only a quarter of students in higher education graduate at pres-

ent. The Act is meant to help those dropping out because of a financial shortfall. This support would not primarily redistribute resources, but rather assist those who face difficulties in the last phase of their studies. The Act is also intended to enhance quality. Tertiary institutions in the Philippines are governed by the Commission for Higher Education Development (CHED), which monitors, evaluates, and manages quality assurance and enhancement. The Act originally included an enrollment cap for every SUC, which could only be increased if SUCs met increased quality standards set by the regulator. However, in the final version of the Act, there is no longer a cap; SUCs will be able to set student numbers themselves.

Stakeholders express three key criticisms. First, there are already a number of programs in place to improve equitable access. SUCs are already subsidized by the government and tuition is significantly cheaper than in the private sector. The system of “socialized tuition” also implies that students pay in proportion to their family income. Second, the Act disproportionately benefits the middle-to-upper classes, because the bulk of SUC students come from moderate to well-off backgrounds. Only 12 percent of SUC students belong to the first and second poorest deciles—while 17 percent come from the ninth and richest deciles. The Act is characterized as having an “unintended regressive impact.” The National Union of Students raise concerns that SUCs might raise other school fees to compensate for their lack of control over tuition fee income. These other fees are not automatically covered by the subsidy and could penalize the poorest students further (tuition fees comprise only between 20 to 30 percent of the total cost of a degree.) Third, reducing the cost of SUCs could lead to an exodus out of private and into public institutions. Of the 1,943 Philippine tertiary institutions, 88 percent are private and 12 percent are public. Approximately 54 percent of students are enrolled in private higher education and 46 percent in public. Given that enrollment is already on the increase in public higher education institutions, there is concern that this initiative could dramatically alter the sector. This comes in conjunction with the move to extend compulsory education from 11 to 13 years in the “K-to-12” program. During the transition period, which ends in 2018, smaller cohorts have entered university as students have been kept for an additional year in secondary education. This has affected the finances of higher education institutions, placing particular pressure on private institutions. The exodus of students could also be mirrored by a migration of faculty, as salaries are often lower in private institutions, whereas SUCs pay a standardized government salary.

CONCLUSION

The Act’s potential effects go beyond economic efficiency

and targeting specific economic groups. It sends a powerful signal, particularly to poor and struggling students, that higher education is accessible to all. The rhetoric of “life dreams” establishes a narrative of prosperity based on merit and work, in which higher education plays a critical role.

However, there are important questions about this initiative’s sustainability. In principle, the Act allows *all* Filipinos to access quality tertiary education and commits to “provide adequate funding,” potentially establishing universal access. The Philippines has a young and growing population: the number of 15–24 year olds has increased from 17.6 million in 2006 to 19.9 million in 2016. As the “K-to-12” transition period ends, more students will be entering higher education. Given the powerful hold of the higher education “dream” among Filipinos, we expect a large increase in entrants into higher education, which may not have been expected when preparing the Act’s budget. The absence of a cap on student numbers in the final version of the law confirms an intention to expand the sector, incentivizing SUC leaders to raise revenue by increasing student numbers. This could exacerbate the projected flight of students and faculty from private to public institutions. Thanks to the expanding economy, the Act is affordable in the short-to-medium term. But concerns about a rapid expansion of student numbers call its long-term sustainability into question.

Can the Philippines afford *not* to introduce such a policy? For the country to compete with its regional rivals as a knowledge economy, expanding access to higher education would likely provide a competitive advantage. With its large service sector and rapid industrialization, the Philippines is well equipped to take advantage of the skilled workforce provided by expanding enrollment in higher education. ■

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The “Champagne Tower” of Science Publishing

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Since World War II, there has been an exponential growth of publications in life sciences. Between the late 1960s and 2000, the number of publications doubled approximately every 14 years, but more recently, the rate has in-

creased even further, doubling approximately every 12 years. On the one hand, this growth can be seen as positive in signifying investment in science, especially in emerging economies, which should lead to faster scientific progress. On the other hand, however, the exponential growth of published papers means that journal editors are “flooded” by publications, which they find difficult to process, while scientists find it ever more difficult to keep on top of them. The more science is produced, the more noise in the system, and the more difficult it is for scientists to tell what is trustworthy and what is not. Thus, scientists are increasingly concerned about the ability of the scientific community to control the quality of the increasing flow of scientific outputs.

And, unsurprisingly, open-access journals often charge significant publication fees.

SCARCITY OF PUBLICATION SPACE IN TOP JOURNALS

In my research funded by the British Academy, I investigated the nature of the overflow in science publications by asking the question: how are paper submissions distributed among journals? Unsurprisingly, I found that publishing in the top-tier journals—*Cell*, *Nature*, or *Science*—appears to be the Holy Grail of science as it guarantees academic positions, grants, and membership on editorial boards. A scientist’s career success depends on publishing as many papers as possible in these prestigious journals. Additionally, publishing in the top journals is said by scientists to increase their chances of publishing in the top journals in the future. But these journals maintain an artificial scarcity of spaces, which Neal Young and his colleagues in 2008 labelled as the “winner’s curse” in their influential article. The authors likened the artificial page limits in prestigious journals to artificial scarcity in economics to restrict supply of a commodity. In the past, before the era of online journals, print page limits were limited so the scarcity of publication slots was justified; nowadays, however, it is harder to justify high rejection rates other than by the rationale that extremely low acceptance rates signal high status to successful authors.

THE HIERARCHIES IN LIFE SCIENCE JOURNALS

So what happens to the papers rejected from these three top journals? The traditional response was that most authors of rejected papers would aim for a lower tier of journals, with some choosing smaller specialist journals for the outlet of

their work. Recently, however, a different mechanism of cascading the papers down the hierarchy of journals has become popular. Some journals pass the rejected papers, with the authors' permission, to what is sometimes referred to as their "sister journals," bearing the same brand. For example, the journal families of *Cell*, *Nature*, or *Science* now comprise smaller journals under their own brand and offer these journals as outlets for good quality work that has been rejected from the top journals. For example, with the author's permission, *Science* transfers papers to its sister journals *Science Immunology*, *Science Advances*, *Science Robotics*, or *Science Signalling*. The stated goal of this transfer mechanism is to help authors find a place to publish their paper as quickly and smoothly as possible. Indeed, this practice is beneficial for the authors, as their papers are published faster than they would be otherwise. For the journal families, the practice of transfers also makes good business sense, because it allows publishers to capture a greater share of the market. One of the editors I interviewed commented, "If you get a paper, review it, and reject it, the financial model tells you you've not made any money, you've spent money but you've not made any. If you can cascade it, (...) it gets published then in your open-access journal that's a bit lower, but you now monetize the submission." And, unsurprisingly, open-access journals often charge significant publication fees.

Some of the editors of smaller journals raised concerns that this system reinforces the monopoly of the biggest brands, as sister journals soak up rejected papers. The concern expressed by some editors of the middle-tier, small, specialist journals was that the papers that used to be submitted to their journals are now published in the journals owned by the three big families *Cell*, *Nature*, and *Science*. One journal editor commented on the power of the *Nature* brand, "*Nature* is one of the most powerful brands in the world, even more powerful than most fashion brands. People flock to these journals at all costs. The name alone stands for prestige and quality and successes in research."

Undeniably, finding a place to publish a paper as quickly and smoothly as possible is important to all authors, so the trickle-down arrangements may be a good solution for authors as well as editors. And, indeed, this is what I found: some authors saw these arrangements as par for the course—they submit their paper, for example, to *Nature*, knowing that they will probably get it into *Nature Communications*. However, the editors of smaller specialist journals worry about this trend, as they feel that they are being squeezed out by the big brands. While the big journals see increases in submissions, mid-tier, specialist journals (mostly with impact factors under 10) experience a fall in the numbers of submissions and see their share of the market of publications decreasing. Most editors of these

smaller specialist journals would like to see their numbers rise, but as one editor pessimistically commented, "The future of this market is fighting for submissions."

THE "CHAMPAGNE TOWER" OF LIFE SCIENCE JOURNALS

The metaphor that I believe best captures the hierarchical nature of science publishing is that of the champagne tower. Just as the glasses in the tower are organized in tiers, so are scientific journals, with prestigious elite journals at the top (*Cell*, *Nature*, *Science*) and lowest-ranked journals at the bottom. In between are various tiers of journals in decreasing order according to their impact factor. When rejected from the top tier journals, papers, like champagne, trickle down the champagne tower, metaphorically "losing their bubbles" on the way down. Journal editors sometimes express a cynical view that everything will get published somewhere, eventually. So if lower-tier journals soak up rejected papers, it is worth considering who owns these "champagne glasses"—are these lower-tier journals small specialist publications run by scientific associations, or are they journals owned by the big families? Who benefits from these arrangements, and who loses out? The practice I researched is currently common in the life sciences, but it is increasingly piloted in the social sciences. Before accepting the practice uncritically, I argue that editors of social science journals should carefully consider both its advantages and disadvantages. ■

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Higher Education Journals: An Emerging Field

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Higher education journals are, arguably, the most significant repository for the outputs of higher education research. Therefore, it is important—whether you are a higher education researcher or someone with an interest in that research—to know something about them. How many are they? What do they focus on? Who owns them? Where are they based? How old are they? How much do they publish? Which are the best? What does the future hold?

This article summarizes the findings of an investigation into these questions, though it has to be emphasized that the answers provided are not definitive and that this is

a volatile field. The study is confined to peer-reviewed academic journals published in the English language that focus exclusively on higher education research. There are, of course, many nonacademic higher education journals, and academic journals that publish some articles on higher education. There are also many higher education journals published in Chinese, French, German, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, and other languages. While these are excluded from the present study, they are all worthy of investigation.

HOW MANY ARE THEY AND WHAT DO THEY FOCUS ON?

Even with these limitations, this is not a straightforward question to answer. There is no definitive list of academic journals. New journals are established every year; existing journals shut down, change their names, or amalgamate. The Center for International Higher Education itself maintains a list, but this includes some journals that are not wholly focused on higher education, and some that are not academic in orientation.

A new list has therefore been compiled during the last few years by noting down the title every time an unknown journal was mentioned, and then searching online for further details. Based on this work, 121 current academic journals published in the English language and wholly focused on higher education have so far been identified. (It would be foolish to claim that this list is wholly comprehensive: how could it be? Some journals will have been missed, particularly newer ones available only online, focusing on a discipline, and/or housed in a relatively obscure institution.) The majority of the journals identified (79) focus on a specific topic, theme, or sector. There are, for example, journals focusing on assessment, community colleges, diversity, engagement, international students, management, outreach, policy, quality, religion, research, student affairs, teaching, women, and work-based learning. By comparison, generic (19), discipline-focused (19), and nation-focused (4) higher education journals are rather less common.

WHO OWNS THEM, WHERE ARE THEY BASED?

The journals are fairly evenly split between those that are owned by learned societies (e.g. AIR, NASPA, SRHE), and those that are owned by their publishers (e.g. Springer, Taylor & Francis). For several, mainly recently established online journals, it was not possible to determine ownership. In terms of country of origin, 56 of the journals were initially established in the United States, 28 in the United Kingdom, six each in Australia and Canada, and nine in eight other countries. For 16 of the journals, it was not possible to identify a country of origin.

An indicator of the national or international focus of a journal is provided by the make-up of their editorial board (this information could not be identified for seven jour-

nals). A substantial minority, 54, were entirely composed of academics based in one country; most of these, 47, were US based. A smaller number, 42, had international editorial boards. The remaining 18 journals had what might be called “split” editorial boards, with a substantial number of members based in one country and the remainder distributed across the world.

HOW OLD ARE THEY, HOW MUCH DO THEY PUBLISH?

The oldest of the journals identified, *Academic Medicine*, started publication in 1926, followed by the first generic higher education journal, the *Journal of Higher Education*, in 1930, and the first to be founded outside of the United States, *Higher Education Quarterly*, in 1947. Higher education research publishing really took off during the 1970s, with 18 new journals founded in that decade (that have survived), bringing the number then published to 40. Twelve more higher education journals were added in the 1980s, and a further 15 in the 1990s; 54 of the journals identified have been founded since the year 2000. It should not be forgotten, however, that at least a dozen higher education journals have discontinued publication over this period, while others have amalgamated and lost their original identity.

121 current academic journals published in the English language and wholly focused on higher education have so far been identified.

The “biggest” of the journals identified, in terms of volume of publication, was *Studies in Higher Education*, which published 2,286 pages in 2016. It was followed by *Academic Medicine*, with 1,707 pages, and *Higher Education* with 1,646. In all, 14 of the journals published more than 1,000 pages of articles in 2016. At the other end of the scale, there were a few journals publishing less than 100 pages; these journals were typically recently established and/or highly specialized. The journals identified published between them well over 40,000 pages of articles in 2016 alone. If we assume an average of 400 words per printed page, this amounts to around 16 million words in just one year!

WHICH ARE THE BEST, AND WHAT DOES THE FUTURE HOLD?

Alternative journal ranking systems are available via the SCImago Journal Rank Indicator, which compares a broad range of journals in terms of their relative citation rates. The highest ranked of the higher education-specific publica-

tions was one of the specialist journals, *Internet and Higher Education*, which had a rank of 3.561 for articles published in 2015. It was followed by *Academic Medicine* (2.202), and then three generic higher education journals which were very similarly ranked: *Research in Higher Education* (1.724), *Higher Education* (1.717), and the *Review of Higher Education* (1.703). Eight other journals had rankings in excess of 1.0. The 13 highest ranked higher education journals include both the oldest established journals and some relatively new ones, the largest and some with a relatively small output, and seven that are international, three that are wholly American, and three that have split editorial boards.

It is to be expected that the number of higher education journals and their output of articles will continue to increase, as higher education continues to expand and interest in researching it grows. Print versions of journals will largely cease to exist, with virtually all publication and access online. The trend toward free, open access for an increasing number of journals and articles will continue, but well-established, high quality journals will likely still charge for access. ■

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The Vanishing Public Monopoly

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PROPHE (Program for Research on Private Higher Education) has a regular column in IHE.

The spectacular expansion of private higher education (PHE) over now more than a half century is most often quantitatively depicted by rising raw enrollment, as well as by the rising private share of total enrollment. PHE now has more than 60 million students, a third of the world's total.

Private growth can be seen as largely complementary to public growth, as public enrollment growth has itself been unprecedented in its raw magnitude. But it is likewise valid to recognize a distinct casualty of private expansion—the near disappearance of public monopoly. By public monopoly we mean simply the absence of private institutions, whether they are proscribed by law or simply de facto non-existent. The private institutions that break public monopoly can be nonprofit or for-profit; nonprofit is the more com-

mon legal form globally, but both forms are growing and the boundaries between the two are often unclear.

Public monopoly was long a common norm. It reigned in Africa, the Arab region, Eastern Europe, and parts of Asia as recently as 1989 and beyond. To be sure, it had dissipated earlier in Latin America, and many developed countries had long had anywhere from public near monopolies to substantial dual sectors. In mid-century, however, Communism brought a dramatic increase in public monopoly. There would also be subsequent scattered nationalizations of private sectors (e.g., Turkey, Pakistan).

VANISHING PUBLIC MONOPOLY

But there is no mistaking the global erosion of public monopoly in recent decades. The singular sudden tumbling came with Communism's 1989 demise in all of Eastern Europe and much of Central Asia. And quite beyond that, each decade since 1990 has continued to see the number of single-sector systems decline notably.

By 2000, the main international database (UNESCO's)

Private growth can be seen as largely complementary to public growth, as public enrollment growth has itself been unprecedented in its raw magnitude.

showed only 39 countries with no private sector; by 2010, 24. This is 24 out of 179 countries with available sectoral data. Yet the closer analysis of PROPHE's dataset shows that only 10 countries retain public monopoly: Algeria, Bhutan, Cuba, Djibouti, Eritrea, Greece, Luxembourg, Myanmar, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.

Whereas the most important fact about this list is its small size, also striking is the absence of several particular countries. Communist China abandoned public monopoly in the early 1980s, Communist Vietnam following suit thereafter, each now with roughly 15 percent private shares. (North Korea is not in the 179 country database but even it, however weirdly, ostensibly has an Evangelical private university.) Like China and Vietnam, Turkey allows PHE even while not allowing religious higher education. None of the populist-left regimes rising in Latin America since the 1980s (Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Venezuela) has even threatened to close PHE.

Furthermore, even the list of only 10 understates how limited public monopoly now is. First, three of the 10 systems have fewer than 10,000 total enrollments, and an additional three systems fewer than 300,000. Only Algeria, Cuba, Greece, and Myanmar retain public monopoly in

sizeable systems. Second, several of the countries (Greece, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan) allow an international or cross-border presence that is basically private. PHE registers there as zero enrollments simply because there is no state-recognized degree. Similarly, isolated domestic PHE programs exist without culminating in officially recognized degrees.

THE TENUOUS TEN

Moreover, several of the 10 countries (e.g., Myanmar) already have active public discussion about private creation. Enabling legislation has sometimes been drafted. In Algeria, the largest of the systems, concrete proposals for private development have existed for a few years. Licensing applications are often precursors to actual PHE.

One salient political observation illuminates the present list, with implications for its persistence. The political regimes are markedly inclined to the left (however nebulous this term). True, we have seen that leftist orientation is no guarantee of public monopoly; the compatibility of leftist regimes with PHE is a striking sign of our times, of the contemporary precariousness of public monopoly. It does not, however, negate the reality that the group of 10 is far more to the left than the great bulk of the 169 other countries.

Cuba is the clearest illustration. The only country in the Americas with a Communist regime is the only one with no PHE. Indeed, Cuba has so far not had any serious discussion of potential PHE. The last of the other traditionally identified 20 republics of Latin America to have broken public monopoly was Uruguay—in 1985. Like Uruguay in its region, Greece long stood out in Europe for an atypically strong norm of statism in social welfare fields. Turkmenistan has been generally on the left among the “stans” (a similar generalization apt for Tajikistan, which only recently broke public monopoly). Myanmar is politically best characterized in its half-century of independence as repressive, but also with a socialist orientation. Algeria’s public monopoly can be related not only to its French colonial tradition (generally less receptive than British colonial tradition to privateness), but also to its leftist leanings. The fact that so many other leftist regimes have broken public monopoly does not bode well for persisting public monopoly; nor do the incipient activities related to potential private creation in several of the countries. Broadly speaking, the contemporary era has a notable inclination toward privatization on various social fronts.

An independent perspective, less about political ideology than about organizational or world-system tendencies, might simply highlight how forms, once established, tend to spread. Public higher education once existed in only some countries before spreading to almost all; private sectors are now doing the same, not unlike the way public and then pri-

vate sectors of higher education spread from one to several to almost all parts of individual countries. But whether or not the days of public monopoly are numbered, or whether they are ever to return, the main point here is not prediction. For one thing, prediction in private–public matters is fraught; when public monopoly was a strong norm, how many sage prognosticators identified the dimensions of the coming PHE surge? The main point here is to highlight a potent reality. Dual sectors are the dominant new norm, already spread to almost the entire world. The PHE surge is notable not just for its aggregate size but also very much for its near ubiquity. Public monopoly has become rare. ■

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Reconsidering Private Higher Education in Brazil

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Two recent articles on Brazilian higher education in *International Higher Education* focused on private higher education: one presenting concerns about the growth of the for-profit segment of the private sector, and the other classifying this sector as the fuel of Brazilian economic growth. Although the private sector accounts for 76 percent of more than 8 million undergraduate enrollments—placing Brazil among the countries with the highest proportion of private enrollments worldwide—that consideration deserves a better analysis.

In fact, the expansion of higher education in Brazil has always occurred with the participation of the private sector, mostly composed of community, religious, and philanthropic higher education institutions (HEIs), and playing a role complementary to that of the public sector. Over time, the situation progressed and in 1997, the private sector was responsible for 61 percent of enrollments. With the legalization of for-profit institutions, the system gained a new dynamic, resulting in 2,364 HEIs in 2015, among which 2,069 were private, with for-profit HEIs accounting for about 50 percent of enrollments.

THE ADOPTION OF A COMMERCIAL LOGIC

With the support of—mostly foreign—investment funds, a subsection of the for-profit HEIs has begun to acquire smaller institutions, merging with others, launching their shares on the stock exchange, and turning into large commercial groups. Eleven of these groups hold about 40 percent of enrollments, with one among them holding almost half of that percentage. Only four of these main HEI groups have not launched their shares, while three others are North American enterprises. The remaining four of the main HEI groups, including the two largest ones, are Brazilian open capital enterprises that, having international investment funds as main shareholders, constitute one of the most profitable segments of the Brazilian stock exchange (BM&FBovespa). Indeed, these two groups tried to merge in 2016, but this was prevented by the Administrative Council for Economic Defense (CADE). Unquestionably, what is observed is an oligopolization of the private education sector with all the risky implications that are associated with it.

While the private sector accounts for 76 percent of all enrollments, the percentage of academics in private institutions is only 57 percent of the total instructional pool, which points to a probable precariousness of labor conditions.

Looking at market niches within the HEI sector, the biggest investment is in low-cost programs that do not require laboratories or highly paid professors, such as in the social sciences, business, and law. These programs absorb 38 percent of the country's total enrollments, with the private sector responsible for 86.8 percent of that share. Most of these programs are offered in the evening and have as target group a considerable proportion of the population above the expected school age (non-traditional students). Moreover, in relation to undergraduate online learning programs, the hegemony of the private sector is remarkable, at about 91 percent of enrollments. Here again, the highest concentration of admissions is in the area of social sciences, business, and law (44 percent), followed by education (38 percent).

When looking at graduate programs, the situation is completely reversed because of the costs involved with laboratories, libraries, and academic salaries. At that level, the share of the private sector reaches only 19 percent of enrollments. In fact, the Brazilian graduate system, essentially public, places the country in the spotlight in both the Latin

American and global contexts, with the country holding the 14th position in terms of scientific production.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE QUALITY OF ADMISSIONS

While the private sector accounts for 76 percent of all enrollments, the percentage of academics in private institutions is only 57 percent of the total instructional pool, which points to a probable precariousness of labor conditions. In addition, while in the public sector 56.5 percent of the academic staff hold a PhD and 29.6 percent a master's degree, in the private sector these percentages are 20.7 percent and 48.1 percent, respectively. In terms of hiring policy, it is estimated that in the public sector 84 percent of the academics are hired full-time, while in private sector the percentage is 37 percent. As a result, a quality evaluation of HEIs presents great contrasts. Grades vary from 1 to 5, 3 being the minimum acceptable, and while among public institutions 32.8 percent have a minimum grade of 4, this percentage among private institutions is 15.5 percent. Considering only universities, the percentages are 59 percent and 20 percent, respectively.

In addition to the elements already presented—especially the high concentration of enrollments in certain programs—these indicators reveal that obtaining a diploma often becomes an end in itself. That is to say, it seems likely that students seek any diploma, regardless of the quality of the training, as their choice of program is often determined by ease of access or lack of alternative options. Further, they also reveal that the expansion of enrollments in the private sector does not imply democratization of access, since available options are quite restricted.

IMPLICATIONS

Although the process of massification of higher education in Brazil has just begun, since the net enrollment rate is only 18 percent, a new National Education Plan was approved in 2014. This plan establishes goals such as the percentage of GDP to be applied towards education—which should reach 10 percent in 10 years—and the net enrollment rate, which should reach 33 percent in the same time period, with 40 percent of new admissions in the public sector. This is a great challenge indeed, but not an unfeasible one considering the important processes of expansion and capillarization that occurred in the federal public sector in 2013–2014. These processes doubled the number of enrollments in the sector at both the undergraduate and the graduate levels, and created 173 new campuses and 15 new universities. This had a significant social dimension as well, since, through the “quotas law,” federal universities reached in 2016 the expected target of reserving 50 percent of their enrollments for public school graduates. Although in Brazil a public school background indicates that pupils

are from low-income families, the law additionally stipulates that half of the reserved places must be for students from families with a per-capita income of less than 1.5 minimum wage. In addition, the law also stipulates that black, brown, and indigenous people, as well as people with disabilities, should be included in the quota in a proportion at least equal to that existing in the state where the university is located.

Unfortunately, the economic and political conditions of Brazil may prevent this process of expansion of the public higher education sector from continuing further. Indeed, the opposite may occur, as indicated by recent economic measures, such as the freezing of expenses incurred by the federal government for a period of 20 years. Furthermore, official discourses and the media are claiming again that public universities spend a lot, are expensive, and, therefore, that a country like Brazil cannot afford them. Public resources are not seen as investments to build a sovereign country, able to produce solutions for the problems faced by the different regions. This is an extremely delicate moment, because prospects are pointing to stagnation or the continuation of low-quality massification, which will bring little benefit to the socioeconomic development of the country.■

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Student Mobility and Employability: The Ethiopian Experience

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Conversations are currently abuzz with concerns about employability, as institutional, national, regional, and international organizations frantically gear up to respond to the ominous realities of youth bulge, “mass” enrollment, and graduate unemployment. Everywhere, the explosive growth of the number of graduates is resulting in massive challenges, with implications for their academic preparation.

For those who can afford or get the opportunity to do so, studying in another country is perceived as a mechanism to improve one’s employability. This has become one of the major pull factors in student mobility. In addition to its positive impact on academic development, international study offers enhanced opportunities for employability, providing a variety of advantages, including linguistic improvement, personal development, cultural experience, global awareness, and marketable skills.

While student mobility has received much attention as a dimension of internationalization, studies related to the link between internationalization and employability, particularly on the perceptions and expectations of international students, remain inconclusive. This is specifically true in the context of Africa. This article reports the findings of a larger study conducted on international students from Ethiopia to gauge their views on the impact of their training on employability.

CONTEXT AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Despite the lack of reliable statistical data on the subject, thousands of Ethiopian students are believed to be studying outside the country. Mobility through government scholarships, or arranged with the help of family or individually appears to be on the rise. Yet, there is little information on mobility patterns, purpose, and possible plans.

In addition to featuring their educational profiles, the study aimed at exploring the perspectives of Ethiopian students on the link between study abroad and employability by examining such factors as motivations for studying abroad, employability attributes and their mastery, and students’ plans after graduation.

PARTICIPANTS’ PROFILES AND MAIN OBSERVATIONS

Out of 124 international students contacted for the study, just over 50 percent responded to the questionnaire administered online; six participants volunteered for a Skype interview. The majority of the students, 80 percent, were between 18 and 29 years old. Only 11 percent were older than 30, and 59 percent were women. In terms of educational background, 88 percent had completed their secondary education in Ethiopia, while the remaining 8 percent had attended high school elsewhere in Africa; 4 percent studied outside the continent. Fifty seven percent of the students had attended private high schools; 21.5 percent, international community schools; and 16.9 percent had graduated from public and religious schools.

At the time of this study, the students were attending 39 postsecondary institutions on four continents: North America (50.8 percent), Asia (21.5 percent), Europe (18.5 percent), and other parts of Africa (9.2 percent). The main strategies the students used to select their respective host universities

included their own reading, sources on institutional rankings, followed by university websites and prospectuses. The influence of family, education agents, and friends appeared to be limited, indicating the direct and active engagement of the students in choosing their institutional destination.

Notwithstanding the impressive list of institutions that students were attending—including Ivy League universities—only a fraction of them paid for their studies: 72.3 percent were on full scholarships while 10.8 percent were on partial scholarships; 6.2 percent were supported by family. Less than 2 percent paid for their studies themselves.

Employment stands out as an overriding motivation for studying abroad, strongly suggesting a possible link between training and perceived future outcome. Students believed that their studies abroad would give them a competitive advantage by exposing them to a rich variety of skills and opportunities, as demonstrated by their choice of universities and study programs. In identifying attributes and

The types of attributes and skills acquired, as well as the quality of the learning experience, were identified as key features for selecting foreign institutions.

skills considered critical for employability, students highlighted willingness to question one's own and others' ideas, ability to clearly express one's opinion, ability to write and speak in a foreign language, ability to rapidly acquire new knowledge, and ability to perform under pressure. Students appeared to be overwhelmingly confident in their degree of preparation for the labor market—particularly in their ability to use time efficiently, work productively with others, and master their field of study. The only areas where respondents showed limited confidence were knowledge/understanding of cultural and societal differences and ability to write and speak in a foreign language. Students also highlighted peculiar features of studying at foreign universities that provide them with special advantages. These included low student–faculty ratio, committed faculty, system of accountability, attention to skills-based training, and continuous assessment, which are ostensibly lacking in Ethiopia.

In terms of plans after graduation, this study shows the students' overwhelming interest in returning home. Given the strong evidence of poor return rate and widespread brain drain of Ethiopian students, this observation deserves further study and analysis. In a similar vein, the students also exhibited strong interest in contributing to the coun-

try's development after graduation, though this was tempered by a general lack of awareness regarding skills demand back home. This is due to the absence of information sharing mechanisms between students, the government, and potential employers in the Ethiopian context.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates the connection between internationalization and employability through an exploration of factors such as motivations for studying abroad and the identification of key skills and attributes considered critical for employability—based on the opinions of international students from Ethiopia. The awareness of Ethiopian international students regarding the advantages of studying abroad—as critical in enhancing their employability opportunities—is evident and demonstrated by their selection of host universities and study programs, expected to provide competitive advantages upon graduation. The types of attributes and skills acquired, as well as the quality of the learning experience, were identified as key features for selecting foreign institutions. This may hold some implications for local institutions in terms of how curricula and their delivery can be structured.

Further, the lack of knowledge and information on Ethiopian students abroad justifies the need for systematic documentation and analysis supporting human capital planning and deployment—for government, businesses, NGOs, and think tanks. Such efforts would provide an opportunity to tap into the huge potential of the Ethiopian intelligentsia outside the borders of the country. This would also enable an in-depth insight into aspects of internationalization and study abroad. ■

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Quality Assurance in Ghana: Accomplishments and Challenges

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Quality higher education is Africa's best chance of speeding its development and helping it become competitive in the knowledge-driven economy. This consideration has heightened concerns about the need for effective quality assurance (QA) mechanisms in African higher education systems, even though the direct link between quality education and QA is still open to debate.

Recent developments in Africa point to an increasing focus on using QA as an important mechanism to make higher education more relevant to developmental needs. For example, the African Union has rolled out several initiatives such as the Association of African Universities (AAU), the African HE Harmonization Strategy, the Tuning Africa Pilot Project, and the African Quality Rating Mechanism, to promote quality and excellence in Africa's higher education systems. In a more recent initiative, the Joint Africa–European Union Strategic Roadmap 2014–2017, QA is the primary action line to strengthen higher education in Africa. Additionally, a yearly International Conference on Quality Assurance in Higher Education in Africa has been established as a platform to develop ideas and suggest strategies for the provision of quality education.

By 2015, about 25 African countries had established national QA agencies to oversee their higher education systems, and a dozen other countries were at relatively advanced stages of doing so. As in other countries, QA has been at the center of Ghana's efforts to revitalize its higher education. Since the early days of higher education in the country, Ghana has adopted various strategies to address the question of quality in higher education.

HISTORIC CONNECTION

In Ghana, QA in the higher education system dates back to the colonial era, when it took the form of mentorship. When the University of Gold Coast, now the University of Ghana, was established in 1948, it was affiliated with the University of London for mentorship and was therefore compelled to adhere to the University of London's academic standards. This relationship was severed in 1957, when Ghana gained independence. The University of Ghana attained sovereign status and its internal mechanisms ensured the maintenance of the academic standards bequeathed to it by its colonial mentor institution.

Affiliation as a QA measure was continued under Ghana's postindependence higher education system. Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology and the University of Cape Coast, established in 1961 and 1962 respectively, were affiliated to University of Ghana for mentorship until they gained chartered status. These institutions joined the University of Ghana as mentors of other higher education institutions (HEIs) to which they passed on established academic standards. Until 1993, when na-

tional quality assurance agencies were established, HEIs in Ghana had no external dimension to their QA.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND CHALLENGES

The early 1990s witnessed increasing enrollments in HEIs, raising concerns for quality. Legislation was promulgated to safeguard the quality of higher education, which resulted in ACT 454 of 1993 establishing the National Council for Tertiary Education (NCTE) as the lead regulatory body to advise the government on the direction of the overall provision of higher education. In addition, the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) Law 317 in 1993 established a QA agency, the National Accreditation Board (NAB), with the national responsibility for safeguarding the quality of higher education provision. This law has since been replaced by the National Accreditation Board Act 2007, Act 744.

To strengthen external QA for the differentiated HEIs, further acts have since been promulgated. Act 492 of 1993 established the National Board for Professional and Technician Examination (NABPTEX) with the mandate to oversee the academic operations of polytechnics and regulate

Affiliation as a QA measure was continued under Ghana's postindependence higher education system.

the conduct of professional and technician examinations. Act 778 established the National Teaching Council (NTC) with the mandate to regulate and improve the quality of teacher education in the country. These external QA interventions appear to have provided appreciable guarantee for stakeholders' expectations of quality in higher education, because a study on QA in Anglophone West Africa in 2012 concluded that Ghana had one of the most robust external QA systems in Africa.

Ghana has made significant efforts in instituting external QA mechanisms to enhance quality education provision, but not without notable challenges. First, QA regulators are not adequately resourced in terms of technical staff and QA professionals to conduct monitoring regularly. Presently, institutional audits are carried out only every five years—and not in all institutions. Second, HEIs increase in numbers without a corresponding strengthening of the technical and professional staff capacity of the regulators, which affects the quality of services rendered to HEIs. Last, in the midst of limited resources, there is role duplication amongst the QA agencies. For instance, a tertiary curriculum accredited by NABPTEX still needs to be submitted to

NAB for another accreditation.

CONCLUSION

In Ghana, the quality assurance of higher education has evolved from its colonial structure of being managed by HEIs to the establishment of external QA agencies, in order for the country to meet the contemporary demands on higher education. So far, remarkable progress in the external dimension of QA, with differentiated agencies, seems to have been made. This differentiated external QA strategy could perhaps serve as a useful reference point for other African countries working on strengthening their QA systems. Nonetheless, with the rapid growth of the sector, QA agencies are faced with notable challenges due to their limited capacity. What is yet to be ascertained is whether achievements in external QA have had a positive impact on the delivery of quality higher education in Ghana. ■

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Academic Drift in China's Universities of Applied Technology

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The priority to make China an innovation nation is not new and results from a longer-term strategy to make China strong through science and technology (*kejiao xingguo*), including its scientific personnel (*keji rencai*). Through these policies, China's higher education institutions (HEIs) are charged with a new mission and significance. This applies in particular to a new type of HEIs, the Universities of Applied Technology (*yingyong jishu daxue*), or UATs, which were designed to play a significant role in China's higher education system, specifically by boosting cooperation with industry. While other countries struggle to mitigate academic drift in universities of technology, China's proposed transformation of more than 600 HEIs into UATs, designed to fulfil a distinct mission, is a major reform. Distinct from research universities, UATs are expected to devote themselves to regional economic development by cooperating with local small and medium enterprises in applied innova-

tion projects. Through this practical orientation, UATs were supposed to cultivate high-level personnel skilled in applied innovation, as well as diversify China's higher education system as a whole. Yet, achieving these goals turned out to be far more difficult than planned. Detailed case studies of policies and practices at four UATs and aspiring UATs of different sizes and in different regions of China revealed that achieving the goal of collaborating with local industry to boost innovation was undercut by significant academic drift, which distorted the original intention.

THE IMPORTANCE OF INNOVATION IN CHINESE HIGHER EDUCATION

China's HEIs have long been important engines for research and innovation. Premier Li Keqiang has forcefully emphasized the high degree of interdependency between the national innovation system and the scientific research activities of HEIs, as a force in turning China into an innovation nation. Preferential policies were given to innovative enterprises, HEIs, and research institutions in every field. But China's highly stratified higher education system ensures that universities and colleges with a stronger record of innovation attract far more funds as well as other resources. Research productivity also forms a major component of university rankings; within the intensively competitive Chinese academic system, this gives an advantage to China's top universities, which attract the best researchers, and whose graduates are more highly sought after by employers. While innovation is a national and regional priority, in practice Chinese HEIs are all running the same race, despite UATs' distinct mission to boost regional innovation through industry collaboration.

RATIONALE FOR ESTABLISHING UATs IN CHINA

Over 600 undergraduate colleges and universities (mostly local second-tier universities and independent colleges) established since 1999 are proposed as the main body of the planned UAT transformation. They now form a significant proportion of the 2,600 or so universities granting bachelor degrees. As mentioned above, UATs are an important measure to diversify China's higher education system. In particular, they are charged with providing advanced applied and technical talent to meet the needs of ever-changing industries. They are also expected to help lessen serious structural unemployment in some key industrial sectors, as well as strengthen the binary divide within the university sector—which over time has become increasingly blurred. Compared to major research universities undertaking basic and cutting-edge research, UATs should contribute to innovation not by directly discovering new knowledge, but by applying existing knowledge to practice, and refining existing processes by working with industry, an innovative process

that is also designed to strengthen the competence of UATs' high-level technical personnel. However, detailed studies of UATs reveal serious academic drift, which divert them from their original industry-oriented and market-based mission.

ACADEMIC DRIFT IN UATs

Academic drift refers to the tendency of newer and specialized colleges to boost their research activities in ways that emulate large research universities. A form of institutional isomorphism, the process often means that applied knowledge, intended to be directly useful, gradually loses its close ties to practice. Detailed studies of several UATs reveal such academic drift. While the original plan for UATs was to demonstrate innovation through cooperation with local enterprises and industries, in practice, this is not taking place. Instead, UAT faculty devote most of their energy to publishing and applying for major scientific projects at the national level—as these achievements pave the path to promotion. Academic drift results from institutional processes linked to performance-related measures, such as stimulating publishing and participating in major national research projects through partnerships with regional re-

Over 600 undergraduate colleges and universities (mostly local second-tier universities and independent colleges) established since 1999 are proposed as the main body of the planned UAT transformation.

search universities in China's middle and western regions; offering extremely high financial rewards to academics for each paper published in high-ranked journals; or garnering projects at the national level—while offering much lower incentives for university–industry projects. Coupled with the fact that UATs are less competitive collaborating with industries (which prefer to reach out to established research universities when in need of advice or technical assistance), such counterproductive processes lead UAT faculty to shift their efforts away from their primary tasks. Still, when interviewed, more than 90 percent of interviewees thought the papers they published were of little use and admitted that most of the papers they had written resulted from copying and combining ideas from papers published by others.

CONCLUSION

The process of academic drift in UATs highlights a basic contradiction between policy and practice. Instead of ac-

tively collaborating with the industry using applied technical expertise, they display a strong organizational inertia, largely because of long-standing macropolitical orientations prioritizing academic research. College and university rankings, developed by government or nongovernmental entities, weight scientific and technological innovation heavily. The persistence of the traditional evaluation system also rewards publishing and acquiring projects. Unless policymakers acknowledge, and succeed in controlling, these tendencies, academic drift will keep UATs from fulfilling their original mission. ■

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University Autonomy and Accountability in Russian Higher Education

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We are currently experiencing the heyday of university transformation, as many higher education systems, including in Russia, are looking to upgrade their universities from the national to the global level of operation. During this process, independent strategic thinking by university leadership is critical, and this is only possible with sufficient autonomy.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Throughout the 300-year history of Russian higher education, the level of university autonomy has oscillated. Originally, institutional design was borrowed from Germany, and the first university charters contained a bold level of autonomy—in contrast with other public institutions in the Russian empire. By the middle of the eighteenth century, universities had become hotbeds of liberal thinking, and in an effort to curtail this trend, Emperor Nicholas I significantly reduced their rights. Then, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Alexander II restored their initial, relatively high level of independence, as part of the process of Europeanization of the country.

In the 1920s, the Soviet government redrew all social structures, including higher education. Universities were

stripped of all powers to administer their own affairs, and control over curricula, funding, the awarding of degrees, admissions, governance, and faculty appointments became centralized. At that time, university autonomy would have been an impossible ideal to strive for; independent strategic thinking was unthinkable. The Cold War and the arms race forced the Soviet government to look for a new approach to training scientists and engineers. A group of higher educational institutions with special rights in governance and curriculum design was established. Two good examples of such institutions are the well-known Moscow Institute of Physics and Technology (“Phystech”) and National Research Nuclear University.

The period that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union can be termed “the abandoned 90s”: sudden autonomy was granted to institutions that were completely unprepared for it. The share of young adults receiving university education surged from 17 percent to 60 percent, and the number of “quasi universities” grew exponentially, as every institution offering postsecondary education of any kind claimed the title of “university.” Simultaneously, the brain drain on institutions reached an unprecedented scale. Russian higher education institutions were in a state of disarray, with unprecedented autonomy and little accountability.

In the early 2000s, the university landscape started to change. In exchange for their commitment to develop, universities were given significant resources and new statuses. One by one, elite university groups (including the well-known 5–100 Academic Excellence Initiative) were formed.

Throughout the 300-year history of Russian higher education, the level of university autonomy has oscillated.

These institutions were forcefully pulled out of organizational apathy, and some of them used the momentum to reimagine themselves. (Meanwhile, federal standards became increasingly lax.) What these initiatives essentially did was provide conditions for development. However, development *per se* requires genuine autonomy—and enough strategic initiative to make use of it.

THE COST OF AUTONOMY TODAY

Autonomy does not mean that higher educational institutions can do what they please. The price to pay is taking responsibility for their decisions and being accountable before their primary stakeholders: students, alumni, faculty, and the general public. If a university is responsible for its

aims and actions, its scholars decide themselves what to research and teach and how, and students design their study tracks. Blaming “the system” becomes difficult.

A historical lack of autonomy in Russia has resulted in chronic deficiencies in terms of strategic thinking, and in meaningless, formalistic institutional missions. This has lowered the status of universities in public opinion—if a university does not take itself seriously, why should it be taken seriously by the public? On the other hand, a completely unregulated higher education system is doomed to entropy, while well thought-out regulatory policies can be immensely beneficial for growth. For instance, the 5–100 Academic Excellence Initiative, engineered to propel top Russian universities toward global competitiveness, has proved to be a strong catalyzer for innovation in higher education.

The 90s, with their tidal wave of “quasi universities,” taught Russia to fear that if universities’ autonomy suddenly increased, institutions would become completely unaccountable and quality would plummet. The standard view is that autonomy and accountability are at the opposite ends of a spectrum, that they are antithetical to one another, and that either extremist perspective leads to a lose-lose situation: high autonomy and zero accountability result in the abuse of public trust; low autonomy and high accountability inevitably lead to replicating and impoverishing education and research activities.

AUTONOMY and ACCOUNTABILITY

The standard view, however, is not the only possible way to think about the autonomy–accountability dialectic. Universities can simultaneously boast a high level of autonomy and demonstrate a high level of accountability. What should be done to make this possible in Russian higher education?

- First, top universities should be encouraged to exercise the right to design and modify their curricula, choose the language of instruction, and determine tuition fees and admissions procedures.
- Second, it is necessary to switch to long-term, competitive, performance-based, block-grant funding. At present, the Russian government funding is allocated through line-item budgets, which means that funds allocated to universities are granted with strict guidelines on how to use them. This system inhibits strategic investments and planning for ambitious projects.
- Third, universities must direct their efforts toward diversifying their income. Currently, top Russian universities are enjoying increased government funding. While this is critical to propel Russian higher education to world-class level, being dependent on a single funding source is limiting the universities’ autonomy and ability to manage their own development.

- Fourth, intellectual initiative in strategic planning, as well as the final say regarding university strategy, should not belong to the central agency, but should be decentralized. Error is human, and the probability that the central agency will make a strategic mistake that will affect every university in the system negatively is very high. Local experiments, on the other hand, foster innovation, and mistakes made locally do not affect the whole sector. For Russia, the way to do this might be strengthening local boards of trustees, comprised of lay members and representatives of key stakeholders. This would again establish links between university governance and the public, students, alumni, and faculty. Currently, boards of trustees in Russian universities merely act as audit committees that spend most of their “board time” approving financial and legal transactions. Instead, their main function should be ensuring their universities’ accountability to stakeholders. In order for this to become possible, boards of trustees must be given, in particular, the power to select, appoint, and dismiss the executive head of the institution. ■

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Competitive Strategies of Vietnamese Higher Educational Institutions

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In an unrelenting effort to renovate the educational system, the Vietnamese government has embarked on a Higher Education Reform Agenda (or HERA) for the period 2006–2020, which grants institutional autonomy to universities and colleges, allowing them to decide their own size and finances. While the Agenda is nearing its end and tertiary institutions have completed a pilot project from 2014 to 2017 as part of HERA, it is time for Vietnamese higher education institutions to start reflecting on strategies to prepare for necessary changes moving forward, ensuring their sustainable development and existence.

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGENDA

Since the *Doi Moi* (Renovation) policy of 1986, the Viet-

namese higher education system has gone through groundbreaking changes, including eliminating the monopolistic control on education by the state, and the permission to open private universities and colleges. However, academic institutions are still subjected to centralized planning and financially reliant on government funding. Understanding that a transformation was inevitable in order to improve the quality and relevance of its higher education institutions in a market-driven economy, the Vietnamese government approved HERA (known as Resolution 14/2005/NQ-CP) in 2005. One of the key elements of HERA is allowing universities to decide on student quotas and program content and to manage their own budgeting activities. In general, HERA has been well accepted by the public and by the universities themselves, and is expected to completely renovate the tertiary education system. So far, as a result of HERA, all institutions in the country have been granted independence and the quality of research and teaching staff has improved.

Although the government still partially finances their operations, the autonomy of tertiary institutions continues to be the ultimate goal, as confirmed by the deputy prime minister at a recent conference reviewing the pilot project for the period 2014–2017. Ultimately, universities and colleges will not be any different from independent enterprises, and thus, this article adopts a strategic management perspective to analyze their common strategies. Generally, universities serve mainly domestic students and their strategies at both corporate and business levels aim to facilitate growth and expansion.

CORPORATE LEVEL STRATEGY

Many institutions have been implementing a strategy of cooperation at the corporate level by developing joint academic programs with foreign counterparts. This is a result of the 1987 government policy to leverage international collaboration in order to diversify the financial resources of the education system. The first such alliance was made in 1998 and the number of international joint programs has increased ever since. Joint program options range from diplomas to undergraduate and graduate degrees, and to PhD degrees. Students enrolled in these programs pay very high fees, get access to foreign curricula, receive degrees from foreign institutions, and can choose to spend half of the program in Vietnam and the other half abroad. International joint programs generate significant income for the institutions, help improve academic quality, enhance reputation, and attract more students through an improved offer of programs.

BUSINESS-LEVEL STRATEGIES

The *market penetration* approach intends to increase sales of current services on the current market, which means recruiting more students to existing courses. Vietnamese

universities and colleges have increased their student quotas throughout the years. From 1999 to 2013, the total enrollment in tertiary education has increased, stimulated by government policy with the aim to provide adequate human resources for the labor market. Despite that, the alignment between skills and market needs has not been addressed systematically.

Market development involves introducing a current service to a new market, which here means expanding the offer of existing courses to new groups of students. Vietnamese academic institutions have developed courses in English for domestic students and are admitting foreign students to these courses to study side by side with their domestic peers. Attracting international students has been an explicit government policy, with initiatives such as adopting an expensive scheme in 2008 to offer undergraduate courses in English and bring high-profile professors to Vietnam, or, more recently, allowing universities to decide on their own admission requirements for foreign students. Nevertheless, the lack of diversity of the course offer in English and relative low quality are major obstacles to recruiting international students and scholars.

Product development entails offering new services to the current market, which here means developing new courses for domestic students. This is the most prominent strategic move made by Vietnamese universities and colleges. Higher educational institutions in Vietnam are either mono- or multidisciplinary, and the number of multidisciplinary universities has reportedly increased. New courses are offered in increasing numbers and options in order to reach more students. This most clearly reflects the nature of Vietnamese universities and colleges as teaching institutions relying on tuition fees as their main source of income.

Product diversification means moving into new market segments with new services. Here, the approach involves attending to new groups of learners. Many universities offer training for adults (on languages, computer skills, practical skills, etc.) At the same time, some institutions diversify to reach earlier stages, or different segments, of education. Hanoi National University of Education is comprised of the High School for Gifted Students, Nguyen Tat Thanh School (middle and high school), and Bup Sen Xanh Kindergarten. Hoa Sen University recently launched the Foreign Language & Overseas Studies Center, which serves both adults and younger learners (primary, elementary, and high school students), providing English courses and consultancy on overseas studies.

STRUGGLING TO BECOME FULL-FLEDGED

So far, the strategies of Vietnamese academic enterprises have been largely oriented by government plans, and their moves have been mostly responsive rather than proactive.

Being part of a centralized system for so long, universities and colleges are not equipped with adequate management capabilities to meet the demands of the labor market and align themselves with international standards. Should total autonomy be granted, Vietnamese higher educational institutions would fare no better than baby birds falling from the nest—the safe haven where the state used to provide all the solutions; some may fall hard, others will learn and soar. Until then, the government should continue addressing the system's shortcomings to better facilitate the course to independence of Vietnamese tertiary education. ■

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NEW PUBLICATIONS

(Editor's note: We welcome suggestions from readers for books on higher education published especially outside of the United States and United Kingdom. This list was compiled by Edward Choi, graduate assistant at CIHE.)

Barnett, Ronald. *The Ecological University: A Feasible Utopia*. UK: Routledge, 2017. 214 pp. £29.99 (pb). Website: www.routledge.com

Deardorff, D. and H. Charles, eds. *Leading Internationalization, A Handbook for International Education Leaders*. Herndon, VA: Stylus Publishing, 2018. 256 pp. \$29.95 (paper). Website <https://sty.presswarehouse.com/>

Fardoun, Habib M., Kevin J. Downing, and Mandy Mok, eds. *The Future of Higher Education in the Middle East and Africa – QS Middle East and North Africa Professional Leaders in Education Conference*. Singapore: Springer 2018. 249 pp. € 93,59 (hb). Website: www.springer.com

Farrugia, Christine, et al. *Open Doors: Report on International Student Exchange*. NY: Institute of International Education, 2017. 145 pp. \$79.95 (pb). Website: <http://www.iiebooks.org/opdoreonined.html>

Huisman, Jeroen, Anna Smolentseva, and Isak Froumin, eds. *25 Years of Transformations of Higher Education Systems in Post-Soviet Countries. Reform and Continuity*. UK: Palgrave Macmil-

lan, 2018. 482 pp. \$31.00 (hb). Website: www.palgrave.com

Hüther, Otto, and Georg Krücken. *Higher Education in Germany. Recent Developments in an International Perspective*. Vol. 49. Singapore: Springer, 2018. 263 pp. \$99.99 (hb). Website: www.springer.com

Jackson, Sue, ed. *Developing Transformative Spaces in Higher Education: Learning to Transgress*. UK: Routledge, 2018. 254 pp. £ 115.00 (hb). Website: www.routledge.com

Jansen, Jonathan D. *As by Fire: The End of the South African University*. Cape Town: NB Publishers, 2017. 352 pp. \$75.00 (pb) Website: www.tafelberg.com

Karaganis, Joe, ed. *Shadow Libraries: Access to Knowledge in Global Higher Education*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2018. 320 pp. \$25 (PB)

Labaree, David F. *A Perfect Mess: The Unlikely Ascendancy of American Higher Education*. IL: University of Chicago Press, 2018. 240 pp. \$25 (hb). Website: <http://www.press.uchicago.edu/index.html>

Oleksiyenko, Anatoly V. *Global Mobility and Higher Learning*. UK: Routledge, 2018. 232 pp. £ 115.00 (hb). Website: www.routledge.com

Palfreyman, David, and Paul Temple. *Universities and Colleges: A Very Short Introduction*. UK: Oxford University Press, 2017. 144 pp. \$11.95 (pb). Website: global.oup.com

Pasquarelli, S., R.A. Cole, and M.J. Tyson, eds. *Passport Passport to Change, Designing Academically Sound, Culturally Relevant, Short-Term, Faculty-Led Study Abroad Programs*. Herndon, VA: Stylus Publishing, 2018. 266 pp. \$29.95 (paper). Website <https://sty.presswarehouse.com/>

Peters, Michael A., and Ronald Barnett, eds. *The Idea of the University: A Reader, Volume 1*. NY: Peter Lang Inc, 2018. 694 pp. £ 60.93 (pb). Website: peterlang.com

Phillips, Susan D., and Kevin Kinser, eds. *Accreditation on the Edge: Challenging Quality Assurance in Higher Education*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018. 304 pp. \$44.95 (hc).

Rose, Shirley K., and Irwin Weiser, eds. *The Internationalization of US Writing Programs*. UT: Utah State University Press, 2018. 284 pp. \$33.95 (pb). Website: upcolorado.com/utah-state-university-press

Scott, W. Richard, and Michael W. Kirst. *Higher Education and Silicon Valley: Connected but Conflicted*. MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017. 296 pp. \$54.95 (pb). Website: www.press.jhu.edu

Sheng, Xiaoming. *Higher Education Choice in China – Social stratification, gender and educational inequality*. UK: Routledge, 2018. 176 pp. £ 36.99 (pb). Website: www.routledge.com

Shuiyun, Liu. *External Higher Education Quality Assurance in China*. UK: Routledge, 2018. 120 pp. £ 105.00 (hb). Website: www.routledge.com

Teixeira, Pedro, Sungwoong Kim, Pablo Landoni, and Zulfiqar Gilan. *Rethinking the Public-Private Mix in Higher Education: Global Trends and National Policy Challenges*. NL: Sense Publishers, 2017. 14 pp. € 41,65 (ebook). Website: www.sensepublishers.com

Tilak, Jandhyala BG. *Higher Education, Public Good and Markets*. UK: Taylor & Francis, 2017. 308 pp. \$43.41 (ebook). Website: www.taylorfrancis.com

Weingarten, H.P., H. Hicks, and A. Kaufman, eds. *Assessing Quality in Postsecondary Education, International Perspectives*. Queen's Policy Studies Series. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2018. 197 pp. CAD 39.95. Website <http://www.mqup.ca/>

Willetts, D. *A University Education*. UK: Oxford University Press, 2018. 432 pp. \$32.50 (hb). Website: global.oup.com



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NEW PUBLICATIONS FROM CIHE

- Douglas Proctor and Laura E. Rumbley, eds. *The Future Agenda for Internationalization in Higher Education: Next Generation Insights into Research, Policy, and Practice*, published in 2018. This book, published in the Routledge series on “Internationalization in Higher Education,” examines new contexts (contexts or environments for internationalization which have not previously been researched in detail); new modes (new or alternative methodologies or frames of reference for exploring, understanding, and/or researching internationalization); and new topics (aspects of internationalization and/or international activities that have limited exposure in the current discourse). The book’s 21 chapters largely feature “next generation perspectives” from an emerging group of researchers and analysts who bring new questions, concerns, and insights to bear on the examination of the phenomenon of internationalization in higher education.
- *Educación Superior en América Latina (ESAL)*, published in 2018. The third issue of ESAL—*Revista de Educación Superior en América Latina*—has been published. This publication is a joint initiative of Universidad del Norte (Barranquilla, Colombia), the Center for International Higher Education (CIHE) at Boston College, the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, and the Sindicato das Mantenedoras de Ensino Superior (SEMESP) in Brazil.
- Ayenachew A. Woldegiyorgis, Douglas Proctor, and Hans de Wit. *Internationalization of Research: Key Considerations and Concerns*, published in 2018. This article, published in the *Journal of Studies in International Higher Education*, outlines a range of key considerations and concerns for the continued internationalization of research, first by documenting the various rationales for, and factors affecting international research collaboration, and then by examining how internationalization in research might be measured.
- Hans de Wit, Andrés Bernasconi, Visnja Car, Fiona Hunter, Michael James, and Daniela Véliz eds. *Identity and Internationalization in Catholic Universities, Exploring institutional Pathways in Context*. Global Perspectives on Higher Education. Dordrecht, Brill/Sense, in publication 2018. This book explores the relationship between Catholic identity and mission and internationalization in Catholic universities of different types and located in different contexts. Internationalization is a key concern for universities working to achieve their goals in different regions of the world but without neglecting their identity. There are many universities that consider themselves related to the Roman Catholic faith—and many other universities with Christian affiliations—all of these institutions will find this book relevant and useful. It is well known that Catholic universities have unique missions, such as the formation of individuals inspired by a religious conviction to serve society and the Church. That is why it is imperative to have empirical knowledge to help develop practical and effective policies on central themes such as internationalization—a fundamental part of many universities’ developmental strategies—while paying special attention to each university’s specific context. The book involves sixteen case studies from Latin America, the United States, the Asia–Pacific, and Europe. The book includes also chapters on regional perspectives on Catholic higher education as well as more specifically Jesuit higher education, the global network of La Salle universities, and internationalization in the United States, Latin America, the Asia–Pacific region, and Europe. The study is financially supported through a grant from the Luksic Fund, a fund of the Chilean Luksic family providing grants to stimulate cooperation between the PUC de Chile, Boston College, and University of Notre Dame.