

James Fegan · Malcolm H. Field
Editors

Education Across Borders

Politics, Policy and Legislative Action



Springer

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In Memoriam

Anthony Lloyd Evans Adams[†]
26th September, 1933 – 3rd September, 2008
*([http://memorialwebsites.legacy.com/
tonyadams/Homepage.aspx](http://memorialwebsites.legacy.com/tonyadams/Homepage.aspx))*

Foreword

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights endorsed in 1948 by member states of the United Nations continues to remain very much valid as it provides the solid foundation for most actions and activities that are aimed at guaranteeing the rights of everybody. The rights enunciated in the Declaration are comprehensive and two that are relevant to the content of this book are the right to education and the right to learn. The right to education and the right to learn are known to have been hotly debated by politicians, policy makers, and implementers. Sometimes, the rights in question here have found their way into political parties' manifestoes, and advocates of the right to education and the right to learn have been quick to bring into judgment politicians who have not lived up to their promises. Even at that, many member states of the United Nations have taken steps to ensure that access to learning is jealously guarded. For education and lifelong learning remain among the primary forces that can guarantee individual, community and national development, as they had always been from time immemorial.

Globally, there has been ample evidence of efforts made by governments to promote the widening of access to participation in learning activities. Even so, the literature on the subject of access and participation has not captured sufficiently what has happened across the world in terms of providing access outside national boundaries in the context of globalization and the rapid creation of the knowledge-based economies of the 21st century. This book, entitled *Education Across Borders: Politics, Policy and Legislative Action*, has come at the right time to fill some of the gaps existing in the global understanding and appreciation of the efforts being made to extend education and learning beyond national borders. This present book provides well researched information about cross-border education and should help us significantly in exploring what exists and what is still needed to perfect provision of all kinds of education and learning beyond geographic limits.

The book could be described as unique in the sense that it has explored the issues of politics, policy, and legislation as they affect different aspects of education provision. It could be said to be even more unique in the sense that its focus is topical and significant. Its scope is such that it covers issues built around higher education, politics and projects, impacts on national systems of education, scientific capacity building, support networks, and the interconnectedness between the international education industry and skills migration programs. The range of issues is specific but

broad at the same time. For example, some of the contributors have addressed issues of bilingual education, cross-cultural delivery, transnational teacher migration, pathways in international education, and the topical elearning approach to provision. In many more ways, this book draws attention to how cross-border education can best be provided and managed, from several perspectives, especially from the perspectives of the collaborative community of learners and the involvement of regional universities in enhancing the capacity and capability of nations to enter successfully and negotiate their ways in the global markets together with the emerging knowledge-based societies of the 21st century.

The term “across borders” itself has attracted much attention in recent times, and, rightly so, because the education and training of the global workforce cannot be the prerogative of just a few nations or a set of educational institutions. Furthermore, the global sharing of expertise has become the norm rather than exception, especially because the migration of skilled labor across borders should at the same time compel us to embrace the universal culture of shared expertise and resources in as efficient a way as possible.

The concept of cross-border education is benefiting us and should continue to do so from the shores of the related concepts of internationalization, globalization, and overseas education, and it has been well illustrated in this book that all of them have been attracting various semantic values, depending upon the cultural, academic or political preferences to which one might give rein. This book has drawn sufficient attention to the differing dialogues on faculty, student, knowledge exchange, fees, structure, cyber differences and the various issues that complicate the mobility of global knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values.

The good news that this book brings, in the face of the complications and challenges, is that the proper design, management, and evaluation of cross-border education could break down all the barriers that have delayed the global use of this approach. In other words, the citizens of land-locked countries, as well as those who are restricted by one form of regulation, legislation, and policies or the other need not really have any fear that they cannot profit from the global cultivation of knowledge and skills needed for the maturing of a global economy. The common destiny of human beings has been aptly catered for by the promotion of cross-border education and learning.

The beauty of cross-border education is that traditional sojourners do not really need to traverse vast oceans or waters to “cross borders” in search of quality education and learning. This also has implications for the costs of learning. It brings down very considerably the huge expense always entailed in the physical skipping of borders in pursuit of knowledge. As already demonstrated in this book, cross-border education normally induces aspects of “internationalization”. Internationalization itself infers that national and institutional vectors continue to play significant roles in the provision of education. So then, the internationalization of all systems and sectors of education involves integrating international, intercultural, and global dimensions of education and learning into teaching, research, and the service and delivery of education.

Understanding cross-border education has meant that politicians, policy makers, and practitioners must make determined efforts to expand the scope of educational provisions beyond their borders. The intention here is not to chase profits under the guise of an entrepreneurial approach to education. Rather, the intention must be that there is need to ensure that knowledge is equitably generated and cheaply shared among the comity of nations such that we can maintain and even improve on the levels and dimensions of global unity and progress. That I believe is the core message that this book brings to the fore. And this message has been fully and adequately addressed by the contributions selected from across the world. That message has been enriched by the different theoretical and practical contributions that have been made by the authors. This book does not claim to be the final word on the subject that it explores. What the book can claim as an added universal advantage are the contributions made by eminent scholars who have been carefully selected from almost all the regions in the world. The reader should enjoy the rich information contained in the pages of this book that has been written in simple and easily understood language, no matter where you come from in this wide world that has been gravitating more towards becoming one with a common future.

Paris, 2008

Michael Omolewa

Acknowledgments

The Editors would like to express their thanks, first, to Ambassador Michael Omolewa of UNESCO and Dean Paul Snowden of the School of International Liberal Studies of Waseda University, for writing, in such a short time, prefatory and concluding overviews of the completed book's coverage and aims. (Professor Snowden read several of the chapters, adding helpful editing annotations here and there; many thanks.) We also thank our knowledgeable and well-known team of authors – scholars and administrators drawn from a diversity of disciplines, and from, and with experience in, many parts of the world – for consenting to join us in putting together what we like to feel is, as a result, an objective and authoritative picture of Education Across Borders (principles, practices and perils) today – the good and the not-so-good, and of the possibilities – dangers and opportunities – for our new century.

We, and the authors, wish to thank our publisher, Springer, first, for seeing value in the proposal and for continuing assistance and encouragement. The Editors thank, especially, Ms. Maria Jonckheere and Ms. Bernadette Ohmer, for always most promptly providing helpful information, and reassurance. Our thanks go, also, to Ms. Lakshmi Praba, Project Manager, Integra Software Services, for her diligence, helpfulness – and patience – over so many months.

Fegan would like, too, as his Swansong, to pay tribute to his co-Editor, colleague and friend, Malcolm Field, a committed teacher, educator, conference presenter, and published scholar, for first proposing the publication of both *Education Across Borders* volumes, for his consistent energy – and for his peripatetic conference-going (I am a stay-at-home, albeit thousands of miles therefrom) that helps him meet so many outstanding and influential men and women that he could assemble a team of scholars and administrators like those represented in this volume. I wish him a third and further volumes, and all of you continued success.

Contents

Introduction: Crossing Borders Is Inevitable in Higher Education	1
Malcolm H. Field	
From Innocence to Experience: The Politics and Projects of Cross-Border Higher Education	19
John Daniel, Asha Kanwar and Stamenka Uvalić-Trumbić	
Cross-Border Higher Education and National Systems of Education	33
N.V. Varghese	
The Interconnection Between Australia's International Education Industry and Its Skilled Migration Programs	49
Kumiko Tsukamoto	
Scientific Capacity Building Across Borders in Latin America: A Case Study on Inclusion	61
Luis Miguel Romero	
Reflections on the Cross-Cultural Delivery of an Information Systems Degree in China	77
Chris Keen and Dean Steer	
Elearning in European Higher Education: An Analysis of Present Practice in Ireland, Portugal, and the UK, with Lessons for the Bologna Process	93
Bryn Holmes, Isabel Huet, Denise Leahy, John Gardner, Dudley Dolan and José Tavares	
Borrowing Ideas Across Borders: Lessons from the Academic Advocacy of "Chinese-English Bilingual Education" in China	115
Guangwei Hu	

A Support Network for Primary School Teachers in the Punjab: Challenges of Policy and Practice	137
R. Zia and R. McBride	
Perspectives and Perplexities Regarding Transnational Teacher Migration Between South Africa and the United Kingdom	149
Sadhana Manik	
Developing a Collaborative Community: Guidelines for Establishing a Computer-Mediated Language Learning Project Between a Developed and a Developing Country	163
Debra Hoven and Jane Crawford	
Pathways in International Education: An Analysis of Global Pathways Enabling Students to Articulate from Secondary School to Higher Education in a Transnational Context	179
Tony Adams, Peter Burgess and Robyn Phillips	
Regional Universities in the Global Market: The Case of HUE	199
Michael Crawford and Malcolm H. Field	
Postscript: Passion and Professionalism	215
Paul Snowden	
Author Index	223
Subject Index	229

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Introduction: Crossing Borders Is Inevitable in Higher Education

Malcolm H. Field

Introduction

There has been, and always will be, a tension – sometimes creative, sometimes destructive – between, on the one hand, the concept of international community that recognizes interdependence as a fact and collective governance as a necessity and, on the other, the appeal of a national community that thinks of itself as independent and sovereign.

Strobe Talbot, 2008, p. 7

Education, particularly higher education (HE), is gravitating toward an across-border international focus – indeed, foci; away from traditional “national” borders. Across many parts of the globe, changing political ideologies have brought about new policy and new legislation. “The Sorbonne Declaration”, and, subsequently, the “Bologna Declaration” (or Bologna Process, as it is known), which attempts to create European HE into a unified platform of three levels (Bachelor, Master’s, Doctorate) in order to promote intra-Europe as well as international student mobility, are the most widely known. However, Japan’s “National Universities Corporation Law” and recent “talk” by Prime Minister Fukuda about promoting an Asian ERASMUS-type program (Yomiuri, 2008), China’s diversification of its controls on HE (see Mohrman, 2008), Taiwan’s “Programme for Promoting Academic Excellence of Universities”, and Germany’s “Excellenz-Initiative”, are other less well-known examples. Moreover, the influence of non-state actors (UNESCO, the World Bank, COL) and NGOs (such as the Bill Gates Foundation) in education, and global societies and initiatives, for example, the “Association of Pacific Rim Universities” and the “International Association of Universities”, also highlights the transitions from solely state-based delivery to a global-based concern.

Much of the discussion focuses on research capacity and capability, and, generally, with the exception of HE institutions that may be attempting to supplement their resources by accepting full-fee-paying students, relatively little attention is given to education (vis-à-vis teaching as opposed to research). “Research” is an

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important component of HE and it drives the knowledge society. Some areas, like math, physics, and chemistry, to a lesser extent, adopt research methods that produce results that can be replicated time-after-time with the same outcome, either for an applied or pure purpose. Other sciences, such as astronomy and biology are unable to apply such “rigor” and seek evidence in the “real-world” to account for “the world” that is always changing. But how do we account for psychology or political science, both of which are also “science”? And, still we need to include economics, history – and education – all of which adhere to a more “general agreement” approach to knowledge and understanding. Shall we defer to the belief that *only* “rigor” is true science and sciences that deal with the changing world are something less? Surely research (and may I dare to say, scientific research) takes as axiomatic the understanding that explanations are only the best that can be understood at this point in time from all the data available, but may change in the future as more and better data become known. It is the responsibility of HE to teach the range of possibilities.

In any discussion of education there is likely to emerge a number of conflicting – or seemingly illogical – arguments in any claim put forward. Take, for example, the new emerging “mission” for many HE institutions: to be the best in the world at (at least) one thing, which is usually associated with (hard) science and technology-based research, often at the expense of the other (softer) sciences. Although the promotion of “world-class” research-based HE institutions has a crucial role to play – especially in across-border education – the simple reality is that quality teaching and learning methods must precede such research-driven goals, and these are often overlooked, or taken for granted. If students cannot read and write or analyze and critique, then they are not likely to be the entrepreneurs of knowledge development. Japan is often praised for its math and science results, but many students in junior high school cannot read a “respectable” newspaper – let alone comprehend the wider context within which the story is based – because they have not yet acquired the literacy level needed to “read” the *kanji* characters used in those texts. If new knowledge is to be created by discovery and creativity based on existing understandings, then what future awaits these youngsters in a country that is more and more pushing a “research” approach in HE.

To be clear: I fully support many of the principles and ideals upon which “world-class-aspiring” Emerging Global Model (EGM) institutions (Mohrman, Ma, & Baker, 2008, p. 7) are based.

...universities in all parts of the world have become increasingly responsive to trans-national or supra-models of what the university should be, above and beyond local competitive factors or national regulatory forces. The development of the EGM is the most recent of these trans-national models with special validity in an increasingly globalized educational environment. These new international universities pay careful attention to the environments in which they live, not only the cultural and historical specifics of the nation in which they are located, but also the larger international forces that impact on higher education.

(Mohrman et al., 2008, p. 15)

However, there is the danger for the “world-class” aspirants, and those that fund them, of overlooking the many educational processes that need to precede – and be

learned – before research can drive knowledge-creation and the knowledge society. The point is that HE is not a simple process that can be deconstructed into discrete isolatable variables and manipulated and jettisoned through vacuums to produce replicable observable phenomena. Quantum Physics is an incredibly exciting area, and may hold answers to many of our questions. HE, on the other hand, is effective because it can cross the social, political, and knowledge-creation and dissemination barriers: an interaction amongst ever-changing complex variables. Policy makers need to understand that HE is not easily measured by output performance indicators. Although evaluation criteria are necessary, managers recognize that short-term gains do not necessarily reveal the long-term health and vitality of an organization; educators recognize that focusing on ends (product) and not means (process) yields data of only limited validity and/or value about what is being learnt, and what will be learnt in the long term. What is particularly important within all the various discussions is that the new models, goals and values that are emerging generally recognize that a fundamental component for a healthy HE environment is across-border education, which brings diversity; of ideas, knowledge, methods, thinking, amongst others, to the rigor of the dynamics of the academy.

Across Borders

The terms internationalization, globalization, across-borders and overseas education all attract various semantic values, depending upon cultural, academic or political preferences, making any dialogue on faculty, student, and knowledge exchange and mobility complicated. Given the unceasing need from some in the academy in recent years to create “sexy” facades and jargon that turn loosely agreed-upon signified values into semantic nightmares, there is a very real need to outline – simply – the use of the term, across-borders education.

“Overseas” education, a term that was often used in parts of Asia, is limiting, as many states are land-locked and sojourners do not need to traverse vast oceans or waters to “cross borders”. “Internationalization” infers that national and institutional vectors are still the prominent factors (Teichler, 2008; Mohrman et al., 2008). Knight (2006a) argued that the internationalization of HE involves integrating international, intercultural, and global dimensions into teaching, research and service and delivery of HE. Internationalization, therefore, originates with, or at the directive of, HE institutions or national policy makers. Japan’s previous Prime Minister Fukuda’s statement in 2008 about increasing the international student population to 300,000 (from its current level of just over 100,000 students) is an example of the state driving and controlling what it deems to be “internationalization” and acceptable levels of diversity.

The term “globalization” is generally used to capture the cross-national exchanges of HE that lead to a “blurring of borders” (Teichler, 2008), often with an economic undertone. Mohrman et al. (2008, p. 17) argue that globalization is beyond institutional control as it involves ‘the flow of technology, economy,

knowledge, people, values, and ideas across borders'. Globalization therefore tends to 'de-territorialize...economic, social and cultural practices' (Suarez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004, p. 14) from traditional state-based boundaries. Globalization originates somewhere other than the HE institutions and national policy makers. "Crossing borders", however, is the common denominator.

Across-border education and cross-border education are used synonymously throughout this volume. Across borders is not limited to the physical movement of people. Technology has made it possible for people to "cross borders" without any physical relocation across state or cultural lines. Elearning, discussed in several chapters (e.g. Daniel, Kanwar, & Uvalić-Trumbić; Holmes et al.; Hoven & Crawford), has fundamentally changed the way we understand how education is – and can be – delivered. This does not mean that technology can replace, or is better than, traditional non-technology-based education (if no-technology education is really possible), but technology, such as elearning, has provided a vast new range of opportunities for both the delivery and the reception of education. For example, as Hoven and Crawford outline in their chapter, technology enables two cultural groups to experience learning together across vast distances: something that would have been well nigh impossible if one of the partners in the exchange was without the resources required to enable them to cross the physical borders. The across-border experience was physical (through the digital world), cultural (through the interaction) and knowledge-based (through the content). Elearning, therefore, can become "international" because of "globalization" through the provision of an across-border educational experience.

Across-border education also incorporates the concept of "diversity", such as Meek & Wood's (1998) use of Birnbaum's seven classifications: systemic (or institutional type), structural (or organizational structure), programmatic (or curricular), procedural (mode of teaching and pedagogy), constitutional (e.g. students), values (or cultural and social elements) and reputation (that is, the perceived status and prestige of specific HE institutions – also addressed briefly in the context of the regional university by Crawford and Field). A common theme that emerges is that "diversity" is a necessary ingredient for any across-border education interaction. I recognize van Vught's (2008, p. 152) assertion that "diversity" indicates a variety of elements within a system at a given point in time; whereas "differentiation" is the dynamic process in 'which new entities in a system emerge'. However, I believe that "balanced contextual diversity" in HE institutions (vertical and horizontal) will lead to differentiation in HE systems. For example, returning to the EGM, nearly all of the eight characteristics outlined by Mohrman et al. (2008, p. 7) include diversification, and six directly consider across-border education.

The eight characteristics are: (1) EGM institutions' mission transcends national boundaries, educating for global knowledge worldwide; (2) the use of more intensive research in scientific methods outside the "sciences"; (3) faculty assume new roles, moving from traditional patterns of inquiry to team-oriented, cross-disciplinary international partnerships; (4) institutions are diversifying to seek out new opportunities to fund expensive research; (5) new relationships are being created amongst institutions, governments and corporations 'to advance economic development and

to produce knowledge for the social good' (p.21); (6) EGM institutions seek worldwide recruitment – 'when faculty and administrators come from different academic traditions, their new institutions gain a wider range of ideas for development and reform' (p.13); (7) EGM institutions create interdisciplinary centers and integrate research elements in student training; and (8) EGM institutions participate with international organizations and NGOs in 'collaborative research, student and faculty mobility, and validation of international stature'.

"Across-borders" also incorporates the five most discussed factors at UNESCO's Forum on Higher Education, Research and Knowledge (reported by Teichler, 2008), at which this second publication on across-border education by the editors was also germinated. These included international cooperation and mobility, globalization, new management systems, the developing knowledge-based society, and new media (technology for communicating and transferring information). Many of these factors are discussed throughout this volume, which is focused on the political, policy and legislative dimensions that have emerged, or are emerging in across-border education.

Generally, the definition provided by UNESCO & the OECD (2005) and by UNESCO and COL (Knight, 2006b, p. 19), with a slight amendment to cover all the chapters within this volume, is adopted.

Across-border education is the movement of people, programs, providers, knowledge, ideas, projects and services across national boundaries. In HE it takes place in situations where the teacher, student, program, institution/provider or course materials cross national jurisdictional borders. It encompasses a wide range of modalities in a continuum from face-to-face to distance learning using a range of technologies. Across-border education also incorporates the interdisciplinary nature of knowledge creation and dissemination, recognizing that knowledge and learning are contextually (content and context) and culturally created.

About This Chapter

The remainder of this chapter will briefly outline some of the cautions that were alluded to in the above discussion – and that need to be accounted for in the pursuit of "world-class" status. Whether the desire to achieve "world-class" status is the result of natural processes brought about by globalization, whether it is a result of tightened fiscal policies, whether it is a result of intensified competition for resources and status brought about by the ranking of institutions, or whether it is a genuine "altruistic" result of the development of the knowledge-society, is an important question to pursue, but, one I will leave for discussion elsewhere. Much of the trend to achieve "world-class" is positive – especially as it relates to across-border education – but there are several areas of concern that HE policy makers, managers, academics and educators need to address if the goals are to be realized.

The chapter will then outline the direction of and the contributions made to this volume "Across Border Education: Politics, Policy and Legislative Action" by leading global professionals, managers, academics, administrators, and entrepreneurs of HE. This volume provides analyses of across-border HE education from a macro

level (such as global trends), meso level (how regional players – states and institutions – are adapting to the across-border opportunities), and micro accounts (examples from specific institutions). These analyses are provided through the politics, policy, and legislative (or quasi-legislative) actions that have influenced, are influencing, and will influence across-border educational processes.

HE and Constituencies: Crossing Borders Is Inevitable – But How?

Nearly every publication or discussion on HE mentions the process of changes occurring throughout the world. For example, Deem, Mok and Lucas (2008, p. 83) state that ‘in order to enhance their global competitiveness, governments in Europe and Asia have started to conduct comprehensive reviews of and implement plans to restructure their higher education systems, with attempts to transform their higher education systems in the image of “world-class” universities’. Jongbloed, Enders, and Salerno (2008, p. 306) argue that ‘The basic functions that higher education institutions perform are going through a process of change’. And Rotberg (2004, p. xi) in her Preface writes that: ‘...when a country is subject to major societal shifts – political, demographic, or economic – it focuses attention on its education system and seeks to “reform” that system so it becomes more consistent with the changing societal context’. Nearly every discussion relates to the influences of globalization and the need for HE to internationalize to provide an across-border education.

HE is located within an ever increasingly complex and multi-tier stakeholder system. HE institutions are expected to provide and conduct excellent teaching and research that is relevant to the development of a knowledge-based society. Institutions not only have to report to public funding agencies (such as government Ministries), but they are accountable to private and non-governmental bodies, who may provide substantial research and or educational endowments (such as international consortia or grants from multinational corporations). World Bank loans, for example, may be dependent upon certain reforms in both the provision of educational services, and in the management of that service (see Zia and McBride). Still, further, there are the existing and future students, parents and past scholars, local communities, faculty, future employers of graduates, amongst others. And finally, there are the ranking tables – worldwide, regional, and national – that impact public perception and policy, forcing HE institutions to amend, correct, or coerce into compliance those factors that adversely drag down their scores (Deem et al., 2008). These stakeholders and influences are graphically represented in Fig. 1 at the end of this section. Specifically for HE institutions, the macro components involve globalization, internationalization, rankings models, community/ies of HE institutions; the meso components include research, education and outreach; and the micro components, the systems and procedures of individual institutions. These components are not distinct sets but overlap to create an interrelated framework of “active”, non-single “complex” variables.

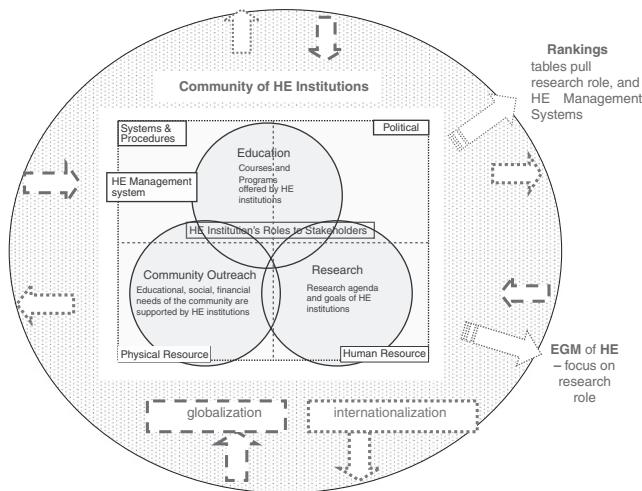


Fig. 1 Push–Pull factors affecting on HE across-border education

Within this complex framework, one emergent trend in, and for HE, is the creation of “world-class” research-driven universities. Many national governments are seeking to promote such institutions (Huisman, 2008). Mohrman et al. (2008) referred to this as the Emerging Global Model (EGM). These influences suggest a future where national forms of governance in HE may become outmoded by regional or a collective nations governance approach. It remains to be seen whether states will so willingly accept such a model – particularly those that have institutions which lie at either end of the extreme in the current “elite-mediocre” HE spectrum.

There are numerous benefits to HE institutions in aspiring to the research model: knowledge sharing, fiscal accountability, faculty freedom, student development, and research level, amongst other more hypothetical claims. The most important consideration for this volume is the across-border components.

There are, however, also several serious concerns that policy makers and other stakeholders need to reconcile before the benefits are realized. Policy makers, who have a habit of losing their way in the politics, need to enact legislation that treats HE as complex entities and organizations that exist in a global community of institutions, research, and education. In many ways, educational organizations such as UNESCO, the COL, the International Association of Universities (IAU), the Asia-Pacific Association for International Education (APAIE), the National Association of Foreign Student Advisors (NAFSA), amongst others, have been leading the way. Reforms cannot be considered in isolation: they need to be examined within a broader local, national, regional, and global complex continuum (see Ferlie, Musulin, & Andresani, 2008). Some of the concerns are discussed below – particularly as they relate to politics, policy and legislation.

Firstly, if we accept that the “world-class” ideal is being driven, at least, in part, by economic factors, such as globalization, then we have to also accept that not

everyone can be a winner. Simply, the global market cannot accept a saturation of so-called “world-class” HE institutions. Ranking institutions, much as we do when grading students, sorts performance according to a determined quantifiable and (we hope) objective scale. Do we need to consider the lot that may await the “losers”? Or, how will funding agencies and other stakeholders adjust their commitment to the “losers”? Will we be creating a “ghetto HE community” for those that cannot make the grade? Realistically, many states do not have the financial capacity to support multiple “world-class” research-driven institutions: some do not even have the capacity to support a basic education without the help of outside agencies (see Cohen, Küçü, & Khanna, 2008). And, according to some (see Hannan & Freeman, 1989) competition for resources that are already scarce leads institutions to mimic and become similar to other “competitors”, increasing homogeneity and decreasing diversity. As van Vught (2008, p. 163) explains:

...legally mandated boundaries in higher education systems (as for instance in legally regulated binary systems) are preserving the existing level of diversity, but governmental policies that offer more autonomy to higher education institutions encourage these institutions to emulate the prestigious ones.

Homogeneity, in my opinion, does not promote across-border education as diversity is the key component of the latter.

By “diversity” I refer to developing the multi-faceted components of academic programs, culture, race, gender, ability, class, nationality, in the structures, processes, resources (human, fiscal and physical) of an institution. I believe that diversity in student and faculty numbers, in academic programs, within HE systems, and in academic collaboration and mobility, will benefit the quantity, quality, relevance and efficiency of HE today: ‘the single most important dimension of diversity in higher education is research quality’ (Teichler, 2008, p. 353). My hypothesis would be that an across-border education increases diversity which leads to enhanced research quality – and, possibly, quantity.

Another concern in the drive to create research-driven HE institutions is that the roles of HE are hard to measure: ‘education, service to society – run the risk of being underplayed in the debate and competitions’ (Huisman, 2008, p. 2). It is a well established fact that educating people improves the economy and health of any society: ‘There are negative implications for sustained future economic growth in a poorly educated workforce...’ (Crossette, 2008, p. 36 on India’s education). ‘Higher levels of education attainment bring benefits to individuals and countries in a form of higher employment rates and earnings, and growth and economic development for national economies’ (Puukka & Marmolejo, 2008, p. 218). In South Korea, where the investment in education is at a higher level than in any other OECD country in terms of GDP proportion, education has had a tremendously positive impact on the nation’s wealth, taking it from below all Latin American countries in the 1960s, to a ranking of 20th amongst all OECD nations (reported in Puukka & Marmolejo).

Somewhere we get lost in the ends and forget about the means. Diversified “mass education” must be encouraged, rewarded, and funded equally with the “world-class” research-driven institutions if nation states are to compete equitably in the

knowledge-based society. If states are making policies which deem that certain research is more valuable, or a certain kind of citizen is more desirable, or the EGM is the goal for all HE institutions, then the debate about whether education is a public or private good needs to be re-considered. Can we really claim that HE is a private good if the political sector is promoting ideals that can be achieved by the many only through HE? Or, is it, that given the modern demands placed on public agencies, the public system does not have the capability to support HE to the extent that is required for the development of a knowledge-based society? Can this only be adequately provided or supplemented by private interests? These are, of course, complex philosophical questions that need to be discussed, and several opinions are provided in this volume. Given the complexity of modern HE, it is difficult to provide a definitive answer.

Policy reform at the national level is usually at the whim of political preference or persuasion. The usual result is some legislative adjustment to the structure and systems in HE. This is particularly the case in the Japanese National Universities Corporation Law. The complex intangible factors (such as human resources, leadership) were generally treated as “simple” variables: the problems for the decline of Japanese public HE lay with the faculty, who limited a president’s entrepreneurial and educational leadership capabilities (and capacity). Neave (2006) in his introduction to UNESCO’s “Knowledge, Power and Dissent” publication cautioned about some of the assumptions that were being made within the discourse on the knowledge society.

Does it in any manner advance our understanding of the nuances that political, cultural or social development force upon the arbitrary oversimplifying of economic schematics and models (p. 16). . . . Even if one does not contest the generous shape of things to come in the Knowledge Society of the future, the issue does not lie there: it lies very certainly in how to move from what is to what ought to be (p. 17).

Governance and management processes must also understand and take account of the complexity. In education, this could be likened to pedagogical approaches, classroom practices and learning outcomes. Unless the teacher adjusts her or his approach to the context (changing students, changing tools, changing knowledge, changing physical environment, etc.), the opportunities supposedly being imparted to the students will be lost. The same applies to HE leadership. I am honored to be able to contribute alongside such an esteemed list of contributors, who are all outstanding examples of leadership and are dedicated to improving diversified across-border HE – locally, nationally, regionally, and globally.

According to Kezar, Eckel, Contreras-McGavin, and Quaye (2007) there have been very few empirical studies conducted on the role of university presidents moving diversity forward – and, I suspect, even fewer on their role in diversifying HE institutions in an across-border context. They argue that the most common approach to creating diversity is a structural approach, which includes mission statements, vision charts, strategic plans, councils, committees, and policy statements. The political strategy of gaining support for a policy through fragile consensus-building arrangements is also reported as a strategy adopted. Probably the reason

for these approaches is that one of the assumed beliefs amongst HE leaders is that HE presidents have the prerogative to set goals and direct research agendas and funds because of their position in the organization. In some regions, where hierarchical cultures are the preferred (not necessarily the optimal) norm, this would seem logically consistent. As HE reform has mostly been approached from the structural perspective, governance and management have remained rather constant. The result, to date, has been that the historical linear structures have been strengthened: many of the complex intangible variables that push and pull HE are being overlooked.

HE institutions are perhaps more complex than most organizations as there is a constant tension between the structural forms and physical resources and the political and human dimensions amongst a community of highly educated people with diverse interests. Unless an institution has a single focus, such as, by way of example only, electrical engineering, the competition across paradigms and disciplines to acquire resources within the institution is fierce, to say the least – this is over and above the current pressures applied on faculty to secure external funding, as well. Bolman & Deal (2008) first outlined in 1991 that within management systems there are four competing frames that need to be balanced. These include the systems and procedures (or structural element), the political element (such as the competing interests within the institution), the physical resources, and the human resources. Effective leaders need to balance the competing demands – especially if, unfortunately, current reforms are shown to lead to homogeneity in the longer term (refer above). The concern is that in the push to become “world-class”, diversity of and in HE may be lost, and the human resources – the fundamental building blocks of HE – will be minimized. Kezar et al. (2007, p. 84) found that educational leaders who advanced diversity ‘saw themselves at the center of a network of builders rather than in a hierarchical position (hierarchy is reinforced in the structural framework)’. This “networking” managerial approach is essential for the development of across-border education, and subsequently, “world-class” HE institutions – both in research capacity-building and in the delivery of mass education.

There is no attempt here to criticize HE presidential leadership per se; my aim is to sound a warning that caution needs to be taken not to create a homogeneous culture by mimicking and cloning the so-called “successful” research-based HE institutions. HE is no longer an isolated organization: like many others, it is being pushed to internationalize and pulled to globalize. This means HE can borrow much from business theory. Whether specific HE institutions achieve “world-class” or otherwise, policy makers, presidents, educators, and administrators need to understand that institutions operate in global, regional, national, and local contexts simultaneously – directly and/or indirectly. The imperative is diversification – or to borrow from Martin (2007), to become “integrative thinkers”. HE institutions need to be “Learning Organizations” that facilitate diverse and supportive learning environments through the development of concrete learning processes. HE leadership must demonstrate a willingness to consider alternative ideas, identify opportunities, empower knowledge transfer, and encourage active interaction across borders (see Garvin, Edmondson, & Gino, 2008). Simply put, just as HE institutions are being forced to consider “world-class” as the conditions for acquiring funds have

changed drastically due to political and fiscal policies, institutions will be required to cross borders and collaborate with a variety of partnerships in order to gain access to that funding and knowledge. It is inevitable, and the process has already begun.

In order to create these opportunities, leadership strategies and practices different from those that were operational under the “old” systems need to be forthcoming. Relying solely on reform – namely, the increasing of managerial power to bring about a new efficiency in HE or changing structural elements – may be a necessary condition, but it is far from being sufficient. I would agree with Teichler (2008) that HE research needs to consider likely future scenarios from the available range of current possibilities. The important and crucial question that needs to be addressed is what theoretical frameworks, paradigms, models, and processes enable HE institutions to “successfully” meet the demands of their stakeholders? I believe that many of the answers will be found in across-border educational interactions.

What is particularly exciting about the “world-class” model, especially if the concerns above are addressed, is the across-border foci that underlie the model/s. As outlined, across-border education includes the movement of people, programs, providers, knowledge, ideas, projects, and services across national boundaries. Although there is the temptation for institutions to focus predominantly on the international market as a means of creating a “world-class” position – over and above, or at a loss to the local or national market – it is inescapable that HE needs to include an across-border route. This is a necessary condition, regardless of whether the focus is on mass education, research, or “world-class”. I do not suggest that every HE institution will achieve so-called “world-class” status – that is purely illogical – but I do believe that HE institutions need to adopt “world-class” facets: diversity, human and knowledge exchange, educational quality, and improved HE governance and management, amongst other cross-border facets, if HE is to meet the demands of, and create new opportunities in, the knowledge-based society.

For most HE institutions to be effective in the increasingly complex environment, it is essential that they achieve a balance between the globalization–internationalization push–pull factors with their regional, national, and local relevance and constituents. No matter what the future scenarios, current educational practices are heavily context-bound. Attempts to “force” practices that do not have current relevancy may not reap positive results. Zia and McBride, and Hu, in this volume provide different examples of how non-contextualized attempts to bring about reform are leading to mixed results.

Mok (2006) is, indeed, correct in pointing out that within the Asian context, one with which the editors of this book are also familiar, there has been a tendency to equate “internationalization” with “Westernization” and globalization with “Americanization”. Hu points out that the uncritical adoption of across-border ideas can lead to policies that are based on erroneous understanding. Learning needs to account for the local, national, regional, and global contexts: each adds an important and necessary component to the development of citizens in the knowledge-based society. Uncritical acceptance – the “West is best” – is at best ludicrous, and at worst, irresponsible.

Zia and McBride point out that unless the “across-border” directive is “owned” by the local stakeholders, sustained positive results may be difficult to attain. ‘Thus not only European but also Asian states should be aware of the differences between policy learning and policy copying’ (Deem et al., 2008, p. 93). An across-border education should not offer a cloned or mimicked experience: it should provide a contextualized and diversified opportunity to learn and create new knowledge for the benefit of the individual and the society. Daniel, Kanwar and Uvalić-Trumbić also highlight the reverse – a Western institution finding that it failed to contextualize the politics and policy of its host environment and soon closed its operations because it could not get accreditation.

There are always “growing pains” as the world attempts to adjust to the changes that it encounters every day. Across-border education is not new, but the opportunities are different. To capitalize on the opportunities, and achieve the vision and goals, be it “world-class” or “regional provider” *par excellence*, and to borrow a little from Brian Eno, education must put more of Africa, Europe, Asia and North and South America into the equation. The contributors to this volume provide powerful examples of the potential of across-border education – and some of the pitfalls if the undertaking is not contextualized.

Global models are in a sense like the old player pianos with prepared tunes mechanically played out—the equivalent of a model scenario and projection based on the scenario, the set of parameters and their values that are permitted to be altered within given ranges. If you want to examine a new alternative—make up a new tune if you will—you alter parameters, equivalent to playing the keyboard yourself. The implicit assumption is that the user will bring to the model the idea of the music they would like to hear, and figure out how to play it—to realize their ideas and ideals—on the parameter keyboard. The trouble is, there are few if any virtuosos, and those that exist don’t usually work for themselves.

(Chadwick, 2005, p. 6)

About This Volume

Today, the demands on education are vastly different from those when I first joined the HE community. As an administrative officer at what was then a teacher-training college, there was little need to consider anything “international” outside my personal life away from the office. I had spent all my pre-teen years growing up in, arguably, a “colonial” environment abroad. The across-border experiences in our classroom life then involved adjusting to the “whims” of new school principals transferred from Australia every 2 years, or around radio programs produced by the Australian Broadcasting Commission – either relayed through the local station, or aired over loudspeakers on pre-recorded tapes. “Sing-alongs” (*Senor Dongatto* – was a cat . . .), and “moon landings” remain as vivid memories. In 2006, whilst attending the Australian Computers in Education Conference, in Cairns, Australia, by happenstance, I met four teachers who taught at the primary school I attended. They spoke of Interactive Whiteboards (IWB), e-mail, web-based curricula, management systems, and talked of their international – and local – student

clientele. Boroko East Primary School (now affectionately referred to as Koroboro International School) had moved into the global market.

The contributors to this volume have many years' experience in the provision of across-border education in that global market. Their personal and combined experiences, knowledge, insight, and foresight, present a powerful overall account of across-border education. The book, which can comfortably be read from cover to cover, will tell a story of the opportunities, events, and pitfalls of across-border educational practices, particularly as they relate to higher education. Alternatively, any single chapter, or groupings of chapters, could be read to grasp certain facets. In compiling these accounts of across-border education, there has been an intentional focus on what, to use Romero's terms, are "the developing" educational institutions, as opposed to the all-too-common "developed" educational institutional approach. These terms are used somewhat loosely, of course, as Holmes et al. write about examples from the EU; Keen and Steer, Adams, Burgess and Phillips, and Tsukamoto, policy and practices in and beyond Australia; and Crawford and Field, a case from Japan. As Daniel, Kanwar, and Uvalić-Trumbić highlight, due to the incredible growth (and potential for further growth if APRs are achieved) opportunities exist for both the "developed" and the "developing".

The volume develops from the macro through the meso to the micro: examples and discussion cover global trends, regional and national patterns, and localized adjustments. It was the editors' goal to "cover the globe". Of course, it is impossible to cover the 192 countries listed by the United Nations without creating an encyclopedic work; but every effort was made to provide accounts from the different regions – and focus on the emerging opportunities and concerns. One might argue that the lack of an account explicitly dealing with the United States, significantly limits the scope. However, much is already written about that market and there is no value to the reader, contributor, publisher, educator, administrator, or researcher in replicating the obvious and already known – particularly as it relates to the U.S.-prestige HE market. Even though the chapters do not specifically address North America, representation by numerous Canadians has been forthcoming. Moreover, the first volume, *Education Across Borders: Philosophy, Policy and Pedagogy – New Paradigms and Challenges* provided numerous cases of "North-based" interactions and exchanges, as well as patterns from other emerging markets, such as the Middle East. The contributions to this volume analyze interactions within and from Australia, China, Ecuador (with suggestions how other Latin American countries may benefit, as well), India, Ireland, Indonesia, Japan, Pakistan, Portugal, South Africa, and the United Kingdom, amongst others.

Above, I have written about the professional and captivating approaches in the individual chapters. Should I now provide substantial abstracts that may "steal their thunder", or should I adopt a minimalist approach and hope not to insult the professionalism of the contributors? In the end, I have chosen the minimalist approach because I believe that each contribution brings its own powerful account, and any further attempt to reduce them to a "digest" format would be a disservice.

Sir John Daniel, Asha Kanwar of the Commonwealth of Learning, and Sta-menka Uvalić-Trumbić from UNESCO, follow this chapter, and they outline the

across-border challenges (degree mills, quality assurance, accreditation) and opportunities (student numbers, technology, provision, and delivery of education to a wider global audience) from a macro perspective. Through their vast experience in the delivery and the management of education, they show some emerging trends that have resulted after the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) classified education as a tradable service. They focus on the way cross-border higher education (CBHE) is delivered – for example, elearning as one mode of delivery – and they discuss the need for private (or for-profit) organizations to be involved in the delivery of educational services. Importantly, they address several concerns – degree mills and quality – that have the potential to damage the benefits associated with an across-border education.

N.V. Varghese, also of UNESCO, continues the macro discussion of across-border educational trends, but his focus is on the implications for national systems of education. He discusses the factor that one of the outcomes of the knowledge economy is the “battle for brains”. Varghese argues that ‘the use of knowledge, even when produced elsewhere, depends on the human capacity to access, assimilate and absorb it’ and the technological infrastructure help to create the conditions so that it can be absorbed. Varghese points out that the challenge is achieving and maintaining a balance between the national needs and the international developments. Both Varghese and Daniel et al. discuss the public–private education dilemma, with slightly different, though by no means opposing, opinions.

Tsukamoto then provides an account of how national labor market needs facilitated policy changes in Australia’s approach to international education. Australia provides an interesting case, and it is discussed in several chapters. Australia has purposefully targeted education as a tradable service, and as a result, across-border international education is one of Australia’s major export products – having a steady flow of students from other parts of the Asia-Pacific. However, Tsukamoto points out that the shift in the numbers of students from different countries, and to different academic disciplines, is connected to national-level policy changes with the introduction of the General Skilled Migration (GSM) programs. This policy shift has benefited students coming from India and China in particular, and, surprisingly, the UK, to a lesser extent.

Adams, Burgess and Phillips discuss international education and “study pathways” in a transnational context within Australia. They examine some of the global study pathway provisions and discuss these options based on their Australian experience. They outline the fact that Australia provides a diverse range of global study pathways and that this defines Australia’s approach to recruiting students. Students, however, appear to be influenced by both home and host country options, an institutions’ reputation, and exit performances more than academic entry-level requirements.

Though not sequentially within this volume, but, rather, as a discussion that is regionally complementary, Keen and Steer’s chapter provides an example of an across-border double-degree program between a Chinese university (Shanghai Ocean University) and The University of Tasmania in Australia. They critically

reflect on the experience and methodological approach and their findings highlight the importance of understanding the across-border “contextual” components – social and cultural contexts, including setting, program expectations and staffing – if we are to achieve our objectives.

Guangwei Hu also addresses the contextual importance, but he targets the uncritical adoption of the “Western” literature into Chinese education. Specifically, he analyzes the ‘prevalent Chinese academic discourse that advocates “Chinese-English bilingual education” for majority-language students in the pre-collegiate sector’. Hu does not argue that there should not be English language education in China – although he does point out, quite correctly, that not every Chinese person needs, or will need, English – but he persuasively highlights through a wealth of examples from the literature that there has been a somewhat spurious borrowing across-borders of “Western-contextualized” research. ‘We should make every effort to base our policy recommendations on a deep understanding of the cultural, historical and social contexts...’.

Romero, on the other hand, discusses how a paradigm shift in doctoral studies in an across-border context, and by application of ongoing group-based research, can lead to a reduction in many of the socio-economic gaps that abound in Latin America. Romero, who also outlines the importance of context, discusses a case from Ecuador that is based on the principle that HE institutions must, and can, play a key role in scientific capacity building in the developing countries. He outlines that to achieve a “Matthew Effect” in scientific progress in Latin America, it is important to train young professors and researchers. Through the example of the Centers for Research Technology Transfer, Extension and Services (CITTES), Romero provides a case of how a contextualized model of across-border educational processes (namely, doctoral studies and research) can create powerful ‘synergies’ enabling them to experience a “Matthew Effect”. The creation of simultaneous strategies for Research Incubator development and the establishment of collaborative doctoral programs may all help to stem the “brain drain” from South to North. Such an account would complement the theme at the 2009 UNESCO World Forum on Higher Education.

Holmes et al., based on their substantial experiences in the provision of technology-based education, propose that an Open Method of Communication could provide a viable (or parallel) alternative to the Bologna Process by liberating educational systems and helping them to move forward. They select examples of good practice and innovation in elearning in Europe (Ireland, Portugal, and the United Kingdom) to demonstrate some of the new ways of teaching and learning that are becoming available. They argue that the ‘tools to support effective systems change need to be built into the Bologna Process... the real goal of education... should be promoting excellence in providing learning experiences that are second to none’.

Hoven and Crawford outline how technology can be used to enhance learning between “developing” and “developed” countries/institutions. Their powerful QUIPNet Project between Indonesia and Australia was designed to enhance

language and cultural proficiency. The gap in the literature of detailed and reliable accounts of interactions between the developing and developed countries is specifically targeted by Hoven and Crawford. Importantly, they highlight the interaction between the political, policy and practical levels – and reveal how contextualized processes influence the opportunities. They outline not only the successes, but also the difficulties, from technology-based problems to global political events that could not have been foreseen. Based on the QUIPNet experience, they provide practical guidelines on developing such an across-border education.

Zia and McBride's chapter also discusses education in a “developing” market. Education in Pakistan has seen incredible positive transformation in the past 10 years, but, in many cases, the reality is that some areas do not have the capacity to consider an “across-border” education as a practical reality. Zia and McBride's chapter ‘charts the policy-making process and derives lessons from the planning and implementation challenges’ faced by the Directorate of Staff Development in the Punjab. The across-border component of the Punjab Education Sector Reform Programme, was, at least, in part, related to a World Bank initiative and World Bank funding. They state: ‘If the civil bureaucracy is to make policy and strategic plans for technical areas like health, education, then it is implicit that they take more time to listen to a range of stakeholders who are involved in education and know something about it’.

South Africa, on the other hand, is experiencing a teacher loss as professionals migrate to the “developed” countries, particularly the United Kingdom. Manik's chapter presents a selection of perspectives and accounts of the migration and “brain drain”. Given that the U.K. has difficulty retaining its teachers and is known to actively recruit from abroad, and that, at least currently, the pound is attractive and lures professionals from all fields, it is no great surprise that the migration has been occurring. The British government's policy and attitude to some of these recruitments is surprising, and the South African government's relative apathy to retaining the locally-educated professionals should also be of concern. Teachers, indeed, should gain global experience, but they need to be “encouraged” to return and invest in their local communities.

And finally, before Paul Snowden – who has vast experience in not only establishing and managing (academically, as well as administratively) across-border exchanges – provides his Postscript that ties all the contributions back to the education across-border theme, Crawford and Field outline a specific case of how a “regional” university is adapting to the policies and legislation brought about by the changing politics of a country. Crawford and Field consider two important points. Firstly, how will “regional”, or non-elite “world-class” non-science-based institutions compete? Secondly, how can non-English speaking countries' institutions compete to attract international (and national) students? Against the backdrop of the changing public higher education environment in Japan, they discuss the effort being made – and challenges encountered. Although the results are still pending as the reforms are still in their infancy, their chapter outlines an interesting case worthy of examination as it may provide clues to how Japanese higher education will fare in the international market in the near future.

Conclusion

Across-border education is inevitable. The opportunities and benefits are too numerous to ignore. But, this does not imply a free-for-all approach: quality in content and delivery and contextualized understanding are imperative. Reforming structures and systems without simultaneous reform in thinking will merely repeat what has preceded, but in new skins. If we adopt Realist approaches and fear that anything “foreign” is a threat to state sovereignty, education will suffer – and, eventually, so will economies. An across-border education does not equate to a loss of sovereignty; but it does require a commitment to constructively building knowledge and opportunities for both the domestic constituents and for the stakeholders in the international community. The knowledge-based society demands an educated population, and as the need and possibility for that knowledge expands, so will the need to provide opportunities for an education across-borders. Whether the future holds that education becomes solely a “private” concern, or otherwise, should not negate the responsibility of providing opportunities for across-border education. Research is a necessary factor but it is by no means sufficient. Mass education with across-border opportunities must precede research. “World-class” thinking, indeed, has merit, but we must not overlook the components: world (for everyone) and class (with dignity, quality, and high distinction).

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From Innocence to Experience: The Politics and Projects of Cross-Border Higher Education

John Daniel, Asha Kanwar and Stamenka Uvalić-Trumbić

Introduction

The origins of cross-border higher education (CBHE) go back many centuries. Early in the 7th century Huen Tsang was one of many Chinese scholars who studied at Nalanda University in India, which can claim to be the world's first international university. Paris was the great international university center of the second millennium and Erasmus of Rotterdam, who studied there and in other universities around Europe in the 16th century, has given his name to the student exchanges that are re-uniting academic Europe.

Despite occasional hiccups – tradition has it that English students thrown out of Paris for rowdy behavior went home and established Oxford as a center of study – such academic mobility has been seen historically as a civilizing phenomenon. Centuries later in the 1980s, when international student mobility declined as a result of rising tuition fees, Commonwealth countries responded by creating the Commonwealth of Learning in order to maintain the vital tradition of academic exchange by promoting the international movement of programs as well as students.

In imperial days the famous – and relatively few – universities in the home countries were beacons for those bright natives of the colonies who aspired to join the elites. For some this involved travel, but the celebration in 2008 of the 150th anniversary of the External Studies Programme of the University of London, reminds us that staying at home and studying with a university overseas is a venerable phenomenon. The attraction of universities overseas remains strong.

Today, however, with both students and programs crossing national borders in record numbers, some governments regard CBHE as less benign than in the past. In this chapter we shall begin by exploring the trends that have led to the explosion of CBHE and then examine key elements of the phenomenon in more detail.

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Global Trends in Higher Education (HE)

The drive towards mass HE is now the defining trend in the worldwide development of the sector. Student enrolments are burgeoning. Already there are some 132 million tertiary students globally if part-time students are included (UNESCO, 2006). China and India have doubled enrolments in the past 10 years, giving China the world's largest HE system, with some 23 million students.

Most countries claim that they want to join the knowledge society by following the example of developed countries where age participation rates (APRs) in HE of 40% to 50% are now perceived as necessary for sustained and sustainable development. However, many countries in the developing world are very far from reaching such rates. There is a growing realization that government action alone cannot satisfy the rising demand. Indeed, when calculated on a per capita basis, government allocations for HE show a steady decline. For example, due to massive enrolment increases, public expenditure per student in Africa fell from US\$6,300 in 1980 to US\$1,241 in 1995 (Martin & Sanyal, 2006). The inability of governments to respond to the growing demand for tertiary education poses a political problem in countries that have previously assumed that state provision is the only way of supplying this public good.

Despite political hesitations the effervescent demand has encouraged diversification in the ways that HE is both provided and funded. Within the state sector open universities and regional universities are already making HE more accessible, especially to working adults and those in remote rural areas. Open and distance learning (ODL) and eLearning are growing in order to provide access to the wider student population now seeking higher education. One indicator of the growth of ODL is that there were only ten open universities in the whole 53-nation Commonwealth in 1988 but by 2005 there were 13 open universities in India alone.

The most significant and politically sensitive aspect of diversification is that private HE is now the fastest growing element of the sector worldwide. In principle private HE institutions fall into two categories: private non-profit (e.g. foundations) and private for-profit (e.g. quoted companies). However, in many countries this distinction is fuzzy because the legislative frameworks for charities are inadequate. Furthermore, many non-profit institutions make a profit when providing higher education outside their own borders. In this chapter we shall, therefore, not distinguish between them.

This growing significance of private HE is somewhat masked by the situation in Western Europe, where only 10% of students enroll in private institutions, although Europe, too, is changing fast. Recent data indicate that in the transition countries of Central and Eastern Europe some 25% of HE enrolments are now in private institutions (Sadlak, Vlasceanu, & Wells, 2007). In other parts of the world private HE institutions are already well established. For example in Asia-Pacific countries such as Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines, 80% of students are enrolled in private institutions and governments have systems for regulating this sector (Altbach & Levy, 2005). In Latin America and the Caribbean there are more private than public higher education institutions and in countries such as Brazil, Chile, El Salvador,

Colombia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic student enrolments in the private sector account for 50% to 75% of the total (Didriksson & Gazzola, 2008). In Africa there are many partnerships between private and public institutions and IT academies like CISCO deliver certificates (Varghese, 2006). However, outside East Asia few countries believe they yet have appropriate policy frameworks to cope with the rapid growth of private HE.

The trend to diversification generally, and the ebullience of the private sector in particular, have imported into HE the language of markets and commerce. When the World Trade Organization developed the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), which included Education (including Higher Education) as one of 12 categories of tradable services, it lit a slow-burning fuse that started a fire of discussion in the international academic community some years later (COL/UNESCO, 2006). Although the GATS dates back to 1995, it was only after an OECD/US Forum on Trade in Educational Services, held in Washington in 2002, pitted the academic and trade communities against each other in acrimonious exchanges, that the issue was placed firmly in the political arena. The wider academic community then began a lively debate about whether HE is a business and whether HE programs are commodities (Uvalić-Trumbić, 2007).

The growing mobility of HE implied in the term cross-border higher education (CBHE) is another major global trend. CBHE means student mobility, institutional mobility, and program mobility. Some 2.4 million students went abroad in 2004 – a three-fold increase since 1980. African students are the most mobile, with one out of every sixteen studying abroad in foreign institutions. The Global Student Mobility 2025 Report (Bohm et al., 2003) predicts that demand for international education will increase to 7.2 million students in 2025. However, because of institutional and program mobility many of these students will study with foreign institutions in their own country, without actually going abroad for any substantial period. In 2004, for example, 33% of all international students enrolled in Australian institutions were taking Australian programs in their own countries, a figure which was up from 24% in 1996.

UNESCO and the OECD, in their Guidelines for Quality Provision in Cross-Border Higher Education (UNESCO/OECD, 2006), describe CBHE as: ‘higher education that takes place when students follow a course or programme of study that has been produced, and is continuing to be maintained, in a country different from the one in which they are residing. Cross-border higher education may include higher education by private and/or for-profit providers’.

China saw a nine-fold increase in foreign programs between 1995 and 2003 and in 2000 more Singaporean undergraduate students accessed a foreign program in Singapore than went abroad. With expanding connectivity and the rapid deployment of information and communications technology (ICT), the growth of ICT-enhanced CBHE is another emerging trend.

All these trends raise policy issues for governments and institutions. We are losing our innocence as experience of the diversification of provision and funding reveals that each development presents both opportunities and challenges. Is private CBHE or online CBHE the answer to expanding access to HE in the developing

world? What policies can governments and institutions adopt to ensure that CBHE makes a positive contribution? How do countries address the challenges in quality assurance and the recognition of qualifications? What about the growing threat of degree mills and bogus institutions to the integrity of national tertiary systems? How can we draw a line between institutions providing sub-standard programs that are susceptible to improvement and the out-and-out degree mills? We shall examine in turn the issues in CBHE raised by private provision, ODL and eLearning, quality assurance, and degree mills.

The Private Provision of CBHE

Higher education is a private good, with direct benefits to those who participate, but it is also a public good. By tradition, governments control public goods like emergency services and defense in order to extend their benefits to all citizens and give full accountability to the electorate. Private militias are a sure indicator of the breakdown of civic order. But how far should the principle of public control apply to education? Practice, principle, and pragmatism all argue against treating higher education as a public monopoly as some developing countries continue to do (Daniel, Kanwar, & Uvalić-Trumbić, 2006).

Past practice shows us that private bodies, notably churches and foundations, were providing higher education long before governments took an interest in it. The purpose of state involvement, when it came, was to make higher education truly a public good by widening access to it.

The challenge of principle is political and concerns the appropriate role for government. Experience suggests that apart from services like defense, government may be most effective when it monitors and regulates the provision of public services by others, rather than controlling them directly.

Demography and demand present pragmatic challenges. An increasing proportion of the burgeoning numbers of young people in the developing world will want education at all levels. At a time when lifelong learning adds further demand beyond that of younger students, governments simply cannot underwrite all the education that people will need throughout life from the public purse. They will have to focus their spending.

The emerging consensus is that governments should make primary education completely free and reduce the cost of secondary education, which is another huge challenge, as much as possible. No government has the resources to support primary and secondary education and fund all of higher education as well. A choice must be made between inadequate provision of higher education by a small public-sector monopoly or meeting the demand by a combination of public and private institutions. This is a political dilemma for many developing-country governments, which have relied solely on the first option but now realize that it is a serious drag on national development.

Comparisons are often made between pairs of countries such as South Korea/Ghana and Malaysia/Zambia that had similar levels of GNP 40 years ago but have

developed very differently since then. There are numerous reasons why South Korea and Malaysia have developed more strongly than Ghana and Zambia. However, part of the explanation is that the Asian pair promoted the rapid development of higher education sectors with strong private-sector participation, while the African countries relied only on the state sector and ruled out tuition fees.

How can developing countries best take advantage of private-sector higher education? The answer boils down to achieving a balance between accessibility for students and quality of provision, along with returns for investors. The heart of the issue is fees.

Fees are a special problem for those countries that made higher education free – that is, totally subsidized by the state – in the days when only a tiny proportion of the population was expected to go to university. At that time entry to higher education was highly competitive, but many believed that the combination of competitive entry and free tuition would produce equitable participation in higher education from all socio-economic groups. Abundant research now shows that this is simply not true. The socio-economic profile of students in countries that charge fees while providing scholarships and loans for poorer students is more broadly based than in those that do not charge fees. This is a very important finding, and one that governments are only gradually finding the courage to act on.

This change of attitude is important, because what the public sector does in relation to fees constrains the private sector. Having a free public sector alongside an expensive private sector does not create an effective higher education system. As countries gradually introduce fees in the public sector, either because of a conviction that it is more socially equitable or because there is no financial alternative, the private sector finds itself on a more level playing field. This gives private institutions much greater latitude to set fees, which makes them more attractive as investments.

This in turn makes it easier for the private sector to build arrangements for need-based scholarships and loans into their fees regimes. Only by attracting people from all social classes can the private sector claim that it is making a contribution to widening access and contributing to the public good. There is a myth that private providers avoid disadvantaged students. This is often the reverse of the truth. In the USA 62% of Hispanic students and 47% of African-American students who earn 2-year certificates earn them at private career colleges. Furthermore, those who start their tertiary education in private career colleges have higher completion rates than those who start in public institutions (Levy, 2006).

If all goes well, the net result of the expansion of this sector will be that within a decade or two private provision, already estimated at \$350 billion worldwide, will likely account for a larger proportion of higher education in the developing countries than it does now in the industrialized world.

How will the private sector contribute to CBHE in the developing nations? Much of it will likely follow traditional patterns of classroom teaching on locally owned campuses but various forms of distance learning will have a growing profile. Providers will include new private open universities, such as Malaysia's Wawasan Open University, but also media companies, multinational companies, corporate universities, networks of universities, professional organizations, and IT companies.

The notion of private provision takes on a wider meaning when it goes international because nearly all cross-border higher education effectively operates for-profit in the receiving country. Even when the originating institution is a public institution in its home country, it must make excess revenue – or profit – on its operations in other countries in order to sustain those operations. Few governments want to subsidize another nation's students when they are having trouble meeting the educational needs of their own citizens.

By giving official recognition to CBHE the GATS has actually reinforced national sovereignty over higher education, even as the growth of CBHE creates anxieties about that national sovereignty. The border is a symbol for the special political, social, and cultural identity found within the national space. Accepting borders implies recognition of the roles and responsibilities of national governments within their jurisdictions, not simply for deciding whom to let into their country but also for overseeing the national higher education system.

The GATS recognizes four modes of trade in HE: consumption abroad, where students travel to another country to study; the presence of natural persons, which in academic terms means visiting scholars or teachers; cross-border supply, meaning distance learning; and commercial presence or the establishment of branch campuses. Private CBHE is most interested in the last two of these. We shall concentrate on forms of distance learning.

Open and Distance Learning and eLearning

The Case of India

Open and distance education is a good way of reaching out to large numbers. The example of India, which accounts for a quarter of the population of the developing world and has the third-largest higher education system in the world, is illustrative. Today 23% of all higher education enrolments in India are in distance education – specifically in 13 national and state open universities and 106 institutions, mostly public, which teach both on campus and by correspondence. The government's target is that by 2010, 40% of all higher education participation will take place using distance education.

Even so, India can only provide access for 7% of the 18–23 age group and missed an earlier target date of 2007/2008 to reach a 10% APR (14 million students). For India to catch-up with neighbors like Thailand and Singapore, which have APRs of 20% and 34% respectively, it has to find even more cost-effective mechanisms for expanding access.

Private provision of distance learning, both nationally and from outside India's borders, must be part of the answer. Privately managed institutions, mostly locally owned, already account for over 75% of professional education there. In 2008 India's private providers of distance HE came together to form a consortium under the leadership of Symbiosis, an impressive group of private HE institutions that enrolls 125,000 students in its own distance learning arm.

At the same time the number of cross-border providers increased from 27 in 2000 to 114 in 2004. By 2006 the British Council reported that there were some 4,100 Indian students taking UK undergraduate and post-graduate qualifications in India and around 20 UK institutions were active. In the same year some 30 US institutions entered agreements with Indian institutions.

However, India is still a difficult market for foreign providers. For example, Sylvan International Universities (later Laureate Education Inc.), a US for-profit network of universities, opened a campus in Hyderabad in 2003 which was closed the next year due to difficulties obtaining accreditation and ‘deemed universities’ status from the University Grants Commission. Not surprisingly a number of US and Australia-based overseas providers interested in opening branch campuses in India are waiting to see changes introduced in legislation (the prospective Foreign Education Providers Bill) (Middlehurst & Woodfield, 2008).

In the context of India’s potential student numbers, however, the role of foreign providers is still negligible. Moreover, the quality of some of them is problematic: a third of the institutions are not recognized or accredited in their country of origin, and an equal proportion of their Indian collaborators are not part of the formal higher education system either. Even when the foreign providers are universities, most are not in the premier league and have mediocre reputations in their own countries. Neither branch campuses nor franchise agreements have had much success, with the exceptions of 61 twinning and articulation arrangements that allow students to go to the source country in the final year and stay on for employment purposes.

But the additional market of 5 million students that would be created by increasing the APR from 7% to 10% should be tempting for major providers. Perhaps because of this, India is proceeding very cautiously in developing policy for CBHE and does not yet allow avowedly for-profit providers to operate on its territory.

The Virtual University for Small States of the Commonwealth

In sharp contrast to the cautious approach being taken by India, 30 of the world’s smallest countries have embraced CBHE as a way of reinforcing their tertiary institutions and increasing national autonomy by acting collectively. They are doing this through the Virtual University for Small States of the Commonwealth (VUSSC) which aims to throw a wide bridge across the digital divide through a combination of eLearning materials development and training. The Commonwealth of Learning (COL) is coordinating the project on behalf of the Commonwealth Ministers of Education (COL, 2008).

The 30 small states, which are a blend of island, landlocked, and coastal countries spanning the world, have chosen to focus on creating postsecondary skills-related courses, in eLearning formats, in areas such as tourism, entrepreneurship, professional development for teachers, disaster management, and a range of technical and vocational subjects. These non-proprietary, electronically held course materials, which can readily be adapted to the specific context of each country, are used in

the offering of credit-bearing qualifications in the countries' post-secondary institutions, strengthening their educational capacity and outreach. Thus the VUSSC is not a new tertiary institution but a way of networking the existing institutions so as to expand access, deepen their curricula, improve the quality of their offerings, and enable them to operate confidently in the eWorld.

To launch the development of eLearning materials in each new subject area COL convenes a three-week workshop in one of the small states. The other states that are interested in developing that subject send experts to the workshop. At the workshop they get training in methods of distance education design and development, collaborative development strategies and tools, and a range of different technologies that are used in eLearning development. Participants acquire these skills while working on real courses.

In order to facilitate the use of jointly developed courses in all states the VUSSC has worked with the South African Qualifications Authority to develop a Transnational Qualifications Framework (TQF). Its purpose is to aid comparability between regions and help give greater credibility to the eLearning courses developed within the framework of the VUSSC and offered internationally.

During 2008 a portal or hub was created for VUSSC that will provide access to online programs offered by accredited institutions in VUSSC countries. These institutions, having already received accreditation from their national system, will be able to promote selected programs in the international market, through the VUSSC portal. Once eLearning programs have been provided by these countries and approved by the national and regional structures, they will be posted on the VUSSC Web site. Posting of programs on the VUSSC Web site will signify that the program is credible, i.e. it accords with national and regional qualifications structures and relates to the TQF.

Clients will register for these programs with the knowledge that programs offered through the portal carry the national accreditation of the country in which the providing institution is based. In addition to this, clients will be able to review the comparability of the qualification with their own country by reviewing the qualification's registration in the TQF. This question of credibility is particularly important for small states, some of which, advertently or inadvertently, have acquired reputations as havens for degree mills.

Open Educational Resources

We noted above that countries are collaborating through the VUSSC to develop open educational resources (OERs). These are but the latest example of the common dilemma that tends to accompany new modes of learning, which present both opportunities and challenges. The good news is that OERs have the potential massively to increase access to quality CBHE by creating a global intellectual commons of quality learning content. The bad news is that the quality assurance of OERs is a challenge because of the open and collaborative way in which they are usually developed.

In this respect the VUSSC is not typical, because it brings to the development of OERs most of the discipline and rigor of developing courses in teams that has placed the UK Open University so high on the quality charts ever since its foundation. Most OERs, however, are developed by solo individuals who do not usually have much training in instructional design or, at most, by fairly casual and unstructured forms of online collaboration. Furthermore, any single version of a particular OER is by its nature ephemeral, since the great virtue of OERs is that each user can adapt them to their own needs. How do institutions quality assure such academic putty?

The history of OERs is a nice example of a development that has become very political as we have progressed from innocence to experience. OERs are an expression of the freedom culture, of which Wikipedia is the most famous product. Adherents to this culture are convinced that democracy will yield truth. In other words, they believe that the examination and collaborative revision of an article on, say, solar energy, by all who might have views and knowledge about solar energy, will produce an accurate and reliable statement on that topic. Whilst this might be true in many cases, academic quality assurance can hardly be based on such an act of faith.

Another issue raised by OERs, which carries over into HE the tensions between open-source and proprietary software, is how open they should be. The political issue is between those who consider that OERs should be freely available for any use or adaptation whatsoever – preferably with acknowledgement of the source but no more than that – and others who think that circumstances sometimes justify restrictions on either the onward use of the OER for profit or its adaptation into new versions. The debates between the two camps are surprisingly acrimonious.

Eventually time and experience will resolve these issues. Meanwhile institutions must tread carefully as they take advantage of the growing pool of OERs to enrich and improve their own teaching and to foster the notion of a global intellectual commons by contributing OERs to it.

Quality Assurance

New approaches to providing products or services tend to raise questions about quality in all areas of endeavor, but especially so in education – particularly when the aim of the new approaches is to expand access. All aspects of CBHE ring alarm bells with governments: it involves foreigners; it sees a bigger role for the private sector and it often uses distance learning, which has been under suspicion ever since it was called correspondence education. One response to these concerns has been for governments to work together internationally through their intergovernmental agencies.

For example, a recent outcome of UNESCO's standard-setting activities was the development, jointly with the OECD, of the 2005 Guidelines for Quality Provision in CBHE. The Guidelines address six groups of stakeholders in HE: governments, HE institutions, student bodies, recognition bodies, quality assurance bodies, and professional bodies. They recommend actions based on collaboration, foster mutual

trust and confidence, and encourage access to reliable and transparent information. The overall aim is to promote quality as cross-border higher education grows. Recently, the Bologna Ministerial Conference in its 2007 London Communiqué has encouraged the use of the Guidelines by all signatories to the Bologna process.

To foster ongoing attention to the issue of quality in CBHE, UNESCO has created a space for policy debate through its Global Forum on International Quality Assurance, Accreditation and the Recognition of Qualifications that was launched in 2002. The Global Forum was conceived as a response to the ethical challenges and dilemmas facing HE in an era of globalization. Its mission was to provide a platform for exchange between different partners and initiate debate on the social, political, economic, and cultural dimensions underpinning globalization and HE.

Its third meeting was held in Tanzania in 2007 and brought together stakeholders around the theme “Guiding Learners in New Higher Education Spaces: Challenges for Quality Assurance and the Recognition of Qualifications”. Since the key theme of the Global Forum was empowering learners, it discussed issues ranging from mobility and migration to academic fraud. The meeting urged a strong focus on capacity building for quality assurance at all levels and the UNESCO/OECD Guidelines for Quality Provision in Cross-border Higher Education were held up as a useful tool for this work as CBHE spreads.

We also stress the importance of capacity-building because we believe that good quality assurance systems require only limited adaptation to address the new challenges of private providers, ODL and eLearning. The key goal is to establish and develop good quality assurance systems for higher education in all countries.

Given the centrality of capacity building, UNESCO and the World Bank launched a new partnership in 2008, the Global Initiative for Quality Assurance Capacity (GIQAC) (UNESCO, 2008). This aims to create a global framework to support capacity development in developing and transition countries. In the first year, GIQAC will support regional quality assurance networks in Africa, the Arab States, the Asia/Pacific region, Latin America and the Caribbean; as well as the international network for quality assurance agencies, INQAAHE. The Central and Eastern European QA network will be eligible for GIQAC funding in 2009.

Degree Mills

Among the challenges created for HE by the combination of burgeoning demand and global communications through the Internet is the phenomenon of degree mills, a general term for spurious HE enterprises that sell qualifications without the demonstration of learning competency required by genuine institutions. Degree mills pose a threat to personal and national security. There is a continuum between the degree mill that gives a customer a Ph.D. by return mail in exchange for their CV and the low quality institution that requires the customer to do much less work than a serious program.

Employers, most of whom are lazy about checking the credentials presented to them, are deceived into thinking that the holders of phony diplomas actually have

the knowledge and skills they claim. Phony medical qualifications are particularly alarming to the public but all bogus qualifications are potentially a danger to society. Terrorists and criminals try to gain illegal entry to countries by using fake degrees to obtain skilled-worker visas.

The Internet is giving degree mills new opportunities to deceive people and to change the color of their operations quickly, like chameleons, when trouble hits. Web sites can be even more ephemeral than post-office boxes. The Web also makes it easy to attempt to borrow credibility from international bodies such as UNESCO by aping aspects of their Web sites. However, the Internet is a game that anyone can play and the worldwide quality establishment could do much more to use the Internet to steer people away from the spurious operators.

Small and fragile states are a favorite prey of degree mills. Until recently some of these states had few aspirations to build a credible HE system so politicians were tempted to make deals with bogus institutions, which could thereby claim a degree of political approval without bothering to present themselves to the national accreditation agency – if one existed. When a country gains a reputation for hosting degree mills it risks being put on informal blacklists; governments and bona fide institutions in other countries may refuse to accept any educational qualification from the blacklisted country. Furthermore, because bogus degrees are usually offered over the Internet some jurisdictions have imposed an outright ban on the recognition of any online degrees.

Now that some of these small countries want to develop an indigenous capacity to offer higher education they are realizing that it was not a smart move to have allowed a foreign provider to appropriate their country's name for its local outlet, nor to have created the situation that all qualifications emanating from the country figure on the informal blacklists in the more alert jurisdictions in the rest of the world.

There is no magic bullet that will kill degree mills. Their suppression requires a concerted effort by all interested parties. Governments should take action, through legislation and enforcement, to close the out-and-out scams. Trade ministries should not give business licenses to HE institutions without reference to the national quality assurance systems. Employers, academic admissions officers, and immigration authorities should check the authenticity of all credentials presented to them and senior politicians should be more careful about giving photo opportunities to smooth-talking confidence tricksters.

Quality agencies should work from the credible end of the continuum between established universities and degree mills and extend the proportion of credible institutions. The key is to instill a professional quality assurance culture that obliges institutions to internalize their quality processes. All branches of government must back these agencies and see that their remit covers all higher education institutions, private and public.

Once countries know which institutions on their territory are credible and which are not they can list them on the portal of legitimate accredited institutions that UNESCO is creating.

At the international level intergovernmental agencies should toughen their procedures for protecting misuse of their names (bogus operations often claim a spurious

accreditation relationship with groups such as COL, UNESCO, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the World Health Organization). They should also put the issue on the agendas of international meetings of ministers to encourage action at the national level.

Conclusion

Open Educational Resources, which are just one of its new components, provide a nice metaphor for the maturation of CBHE from innocence to experience. In the case of OERs the bright prospect of a global intellectual commons of quality learning materials has been somewhat dimmed by anxieties about the quality of OER content and disputes about the degree of openness, in terms of copyright licenses, that is necessary or desirable. However, a large community of OER enthusiasts is tackling both of these issues.

Similarly, traditionalists alarmed by the idea of private for-profit HE institutions now see that private institutions, like public institutions, can be good or bad. Indeed, public institutions offering CBHE outside their home countries sometimes operate with a looser code of ethics than commercial operations. Moreover private institutions have ready access to modern business practices in product development and service delivery and so may be better equipped to ensure the quality of their offerings through newer modes of CBHE like ODL and eLearning. The debate about the GATS has also cooled, partly because the Doha Round of trade negotiations is stalled, but also because the debate itself is leading governments to try to ensure that all HE providers on their territory work within similar frameworks of quality assurance and accreditation.

Creating such frameworks is a challenge that will require time, particularly when CBHE is delivered electronically with no physical presence in the country. However, there is a new maturity within governments and CBHE providers about the need to build capacity, to focus on quality and to be alert to the cultural and social contexts in which HE is offered. Serious players who are in CBHE for the long haul have an interest in contributing to the development of effective regulatory frameworks and supporting collective action to close down degree mills and bogus operators.

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Cross-Border Higher Education and National Systems of Education

N.V. Varghese

Introduction

Knowledge, the intangible capital, is one of the major sources of economic growth in the present day world. Knowledge production and knowledge-based production (of goods and services) decide the pace of economic growth in a knowledge economy. The knowledge economy requires highly skilled personnel for its growth. Therefore, there is a need to stimulate R&D activities to generate a higher rate of growth and encourage skill acquisition to enhance productivity (Ostereten & Jennett, 2004). The public and private corporate sectors, and households and individuals are interested in investing in education to accumulate human capital since it enjoys a high premium and returns in the market.

Institutions of higher education are becoming important agents in the production of skills for the knowledge economy. Therefore, an expanded higher education sector has become a necessary condition for the growth and expansion of the knowledge economy – important in promoting faster technological catch-up and improving a country's ability to maximize its economic output (World Bank, 1999). Very often, skill requirements outstrip the capacities of the educational systems to produce these skills in many countries. Such economies depend on skill migration from other countries. The more recent trend seems to be encouraging the higher education sector to orient its production to the requirements of the global market through cross-border education. The fast growth of cross-border education indicates this trend. This paper attempts to analyze different aspects of cross-border education to draw some implications for national systems of education.

This chapter is organized as follows: the second section discusses some aspects of the knowledge economy and the “battle for brains”. The third section discusses cross-border education in the context of globalization, followed by an analysis of cross-border institutional and student mobility in the following two sections.

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The sixth section discusses factors influencing cross-border education. The seventh section analyzes some of the implications of cross-border education for national systems of education and the final section makes some concluding observations.

The Knowledge Economy and the “Battle for Brains”

Information and knowledge form the basic inputs for the growth and expansion of a knowledge economy. Some economies invest heavily in basic research to produce knowledge, while others rely on knowledge produced elsewhere. The use of knowledge, even when produced elsewhere, depends on the human capacity to access, assimilate, and absorb it. The technological infrastructure which creates the necessary conditions and human capacity to absorb and use knowledge are necessary conditions for the growth of a knowledge economy.

A transition to a knowledge economy is also associated with an increased demand for a highly skilled labor force. Where will the potential skilled workers that are needed for competitive knowledge-intensive industries come from? The alternatives are either to educate citizens at home or import highly skilled workers from other countries. The former requires increased investment in higher education and has a time lag. The latter seems to be the more attractive alternative since it not only meets immediate needs, but also does not necessitate investment in higher education by the consumers of its graduates. It is becoming evident that the national systems of education in many countries do not have the capacity to produce university graduates in adequate numbers or of the quality level required to meet the global requirements. This, again, reinforces the need to rely on skill migration as a reliable option in the immediate future.

There is a global hunt for talent and the global market is calling on us to ‘give us your best and brightest’ (Kapur & McHale, 2005). Countries with large education systems may have the capacity to produce the required numbers. However, there is no assurance that the skills they produce are of the required level and quality or that they will be available in the international market, especially when the growth of those economies is sufficiently high to absorb the additional numbers. The better option may be to train the prospective employees in the universities of the developed world or move universities from the developed to the developing world to orient and produce the skills needed for the global market.

The former implies cross-border student mobility, and the latter implies cross-border institutional mobility. It seems clear that student mobility was the major source of skill migration in the past, and institutional mobility to orient graduate production to the global market is becoming an important factor today. Cross-border student mobility helped because many of the students stayed in the host countries after their studies. Empirical evidence shows that OECD countries attract nearly 90% of all students going abroad (OECD, 2007) and they attract an equally large share of the migrants with tertiary levels of education (OECD, 2002). Furthermore, a good share of these migrants are students who completed their studies in OECD countries. In fact, some of the developed countries are changing the visa rules to

make entry easier for highly skilled workers. For example, the H1 B visa of the USA attracted skilled workers from other countries. Nearly 1 million highly skilled workers entered the USA under the H1 B visa from 2000–2003, of which 547,000 were from India.

The average qualification levels of the migrants are higher than those of the natives and this difference has been increasing over the years. In 1990, 15% of native-born Americans in the 25–64 age group possessed Bachelor's degrees, as opposed to 27% of the Indian-born working in the USA. The corresponding figures in 2000 were 19% and 40%, respectively. While 9% of the native Americans possessed a graduate degree (Master's level or higher), 38% of the Indian-born employed in the USA possessed a graduate degree. A large share (85–90%) of Indians and Chinese who completed higher studies, especially doctoral studies, in the 1990s stayed in the USA for employment purposes (Kapur & McHale, 2005). The above discussion indicates that cross-border education serves as an initial step to recruit the highly skilled professionals of the future in many developed countries.

The domestic corporate sector and the multi-national corporations (MNCs) in developing countries compete with one another within the country and with others globally. They, too, look for highly skilled workers. They are ready to welcome graduates from abroad. However, the number of graduates returning home after their studies abroad is less than the market demand. Therefore, companies go for another option, namely degree-holders of foreign universities located in the countries hosting these companies. The former option – preference for a foreign degree – preferably from the country where the parent company is located, promotes cross-border student mobility. The second option – preference for a degree granted by a foreign university operating in the country hosting the company – promotes cross-border institutional mobility.

The argument is not that the graduates from the national institutions are not recruited by those producing for the global market. However, their preference is for graduates who are certified by universities abroad and socialized to the globalized market. Since the salary levels of employees in these firms – foreign or MNCs – is more attractive than what the national firms can offer, the student demand for degrees from foreign universities also increases. This is even more so when provision for a degree from a foreign university is domestically available. This makes the market for cross-border education wider and more profitable for providers.

Modes of Trade and Cross-Border Higher Education

Cross-border education is the most visible example of globalization of higher education. Cross-border education implies the mobility of students, institutions, teachers, and programs crossing national boundaries. Cross-border education, in the context of globalization, has become a market-driven activity involving numerous providers and attracting thousands of students who are willing to buy these

services at an international price. Further, it has become a tradable commodity as part of the trade negotiations under GATS (Knight, 2002). The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), established in 1995, covers all internationally-traded services and includes a total of 12 different service sectors, including education. Trade in education under the GATS framework takes place in four modes. They are:

1. Cross-border supply of the service where consumers remain within the country. Elearning-based distance education programs are good examples of this type of cross-border education. Technological development has given scope for establishing on-line universities.
2. Consumption abroad where the consumers (students) cross the border. This includes full-time study for a degree, part of the study at home and the remaining part in a foreign country, exchange programs, and joint degree programs.
3. The commercial presence of the provider in another country in the form of branch campuses or twinning and franchising arrangements between universities from the developed and developing world, but also among universities of the developed world as a whole.
4. The presence of persons in another country to provide the service. The most visible form of this mode is the mobility of professors from one country to another as employees of a foreign university, as part of an academic partnership, or to teach at a branch campus.

The providers are more often investors than educators and the profitability of the sector attracts them to this area of business. The world spends around two trillion dollars on education. The private sector, which considers that it is the last frontier of profit, is trying to enhance its market share in the business of education (Stromquist, 2002). Some of these providers float their shares in the stock market. This is yet another fast-growing commercial venture and profitable business opportunity. Among the four modes, mode 2 (consumption abroad) and mode 3 (commercial presence) are the more visible forms of cross-border education; this paper focuses on these two modes.

Cross-Border Institutional Mobility

Cross-border education through mode 3 (commercial presence of the provider in another country) is increasing in its scale of operation. The transnational providers operate in different forms (Varghese, 2006):

- i) some operate as independent campuses of universities abroad (branch campuses);
- ii) some providers operate in collaboration with domestic private institutions (twinning and franchising);

- iii) some are foreign collaborations established through public universities and institutions;
- iv) some are religious organizations operating under any of the above arrangements.

Branch campuses are the most visible form of institutional mobility. Franchising and twinning arrangements are also becoming more common since they are easy to start and operate. Franchising denotes the delivery of the whole or parts of a course in an institution, other than at the center where it is developed and validated. Twinning denotes a situation where the program and its delivery are jointly done between institutions in the home country and host country. Although franchising and twinning are less visible than branch campuses, they are quantitatively larger segments of institutional mobility (Martin, 2007). Many institutions have developed a formula under which a part of the studies will be conducted in the country of the parent institution, thus giving a study-abroad experience, while the students spend most of their study time in their own countries.

Examples of institutional mobility are many: Monash University in Australia is a good example of foreign-owned private higher education institutions in many countries of Africa and Asia. Some institutions operate in relatively less-developed countries. For example, in Viet Nam there are many transnational providers, such as the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT); twinning arrangements between the University of Hawaii MBA program and the Hanoi School of Business; between Washington State University and the National Economics University, etc. (IIE, 2005). Malaysia has branch campuses of universities from Nottingham University in the UK, Monash University and Curtin University in Australia, etc. (Sirat, 2006).

The economic development strategy of Singapore envisages internationalization to utilize ‘global resources, global technology, and global talent’. This includes invited visitations by internationally-renowned professors from universities in Europe, Japan, and the USA. In its efforts to make Singapore an international education centre, branch campuses of Johns Hopkins University, the University of Chicago, INSEAD, and Jiajo Tong University in China are establishing branch campuses. Some estimates indicate that UK-sourced transnational education in Malaysia and Singapore will grow from 67,000 students in 2003 to 271,000 in 2020 (Lee et al., 2006). Australia’s Bond University and Monash University, the Business School Netherlands in Holland, amongst others, have branch campuses in Africa. The United States International University (USIU) in Kenya was established as a company incorporated in accordance with the legal code of the State of California, USA. Similarly, Daystar Company in the USA owns Daystar University of Kenya. In South Africa, there is rapid proliferation of providers linked to institutions and universities in Australia, the UK, and the USA (Subotsky, 2003). The Solusi University in Zimbabwe is affiliated with Andrew University, Michigan, in the USA. The National School of Applied Economics (ENEA) in Senegal is in collaboration with Suffolk University in the USA. It is important to note that such arrangements are not between developed and developing countries only but also among developed countries.

Cross-Border Student Mobility

Mobility of students for studies is the most commonly known form of cross-border education. It involves the movement of students from their own domestic market to foreign countries. During the colonial period, the imperial governments used to provide avenues for selected nationals to pursue higher education in the imperial capital for the purpose of developing supportive administrative cadres in their colonies. Overseas education during this period served dual functions: a means of social control and efficient administration (Goodwin, 1993).

During the post-colonial period, overseas education received funding support from ex-colonial powers, and bi-lateral and multi-lateral agencies. Among the multi-lateral agencies, the World Bank was one of the major sponsors (Selvaratnam, 1993). Cold War competition to attract students from the developing world facilitated support from the USA and USSR. The Point IV program initiated by President Harry Truman envisaged that foreign aid and technical assistance were useful modes to contain communism and ‘stem the influence of the Soviet Union in developing countries’ (OECD, 2004a, p. 44).

The growth in cross-border student mobility was very slow and it was not an important segment of higher education until recently. Between 1962 and 1995, the number of foreign students increased by one million – from 0.30 in 1962 to 1.3 million in 1995. However, in the next nine-year period (1995–2004) the number more than doubled, from 1.3 million to 2.7 million. While the annual increase on average was around 40,000 during the decade 1985–1995, it was more than 155,000 during the decade 1995–2004. Further, it is projected to increase to 7.2 million by 2025 (Bohm, Davies, Meares, & Pearce, 2002).

According to the OECD (2006), of the total number of students studying abroad in 2004 (2.7 million) nearly 90% were in OECD countries. Countries such as Australia, France, Germany, Japan, the UK, and the United States host more than two-thirds of the foreign students in OECD countries. The international market for students accounts for billions of dollars, and hence there is fierce competition among higher education institutions to attract foreign students to generate income and profit.

The most familiar pattern of cross-border student flow used to be from the developing to the developed countries. This continues to be so even today. For example, nearly three-quarters of the students from all regions, except Central Asia, seek higher education in the OECD countries (Varghese, 2008a). The USA attracts the largest single share of foreign students. The number of foreign students in the United States grew from 48,486 in 1960 to 572,509 in 2004–2005, accounting for a 10.6-fold increase. In fact, countries such as the United States (22%), the UK (11%), Germany (10%), France (9%), Australia (6%), and Japan (4%) account for more than three-fifths of students studying abroad. The fastest expansion in foreign students was experienced by Australia in the 1990s, when the number of foreign students tripled, followed by the UK, where it doubled during that same period.

A large majority of students studying abroad choose business, technical, and scientific fields of study. The English-speaking countries attract students in science, engineering, business studies and social sciences. In 2003, while nearly 35% of foreign students in the USA chose business studies, 16% chose engineering. In the non-Anglophone countries, a larger share of international students pursue higher education in arts and humanities. This is more often the case of students seeking education in France and Japan. Asian countries top the list of sending countries with a share (43%) of all students studying abroad, followed by Europe (35%), Africa (12%), North America (7%), and South America (3%) (OECD, 2004b). In 2001, China ranked first in terms of the number of students going abroad, followed by India and Korea. This trend is changing and India has become the top-ranking country in terms of the number of students seeking cross-border education.

There have been some changes in the destinations of cross-border students in the recent past. There is a decline in the market share of the two most important players – the UK and the USA – followed by Canada. The biggest gainer in the late 1990s was Australia, and now the biggest gainer seems to be New Zealand. More than 70% of all Asian students study in three English-speaking countries – Australia, the UK and the USA.

In 1995, the USA was the top destination of all the top-ranked sending countries. In 2004, the share of Chinese students going to the USA had been more than halved – from 59.6% in 1995 to 25.6% in 2004 (Table 1.). Japan and India, too, have only a reduced share of their students going to the USA. In the case of India, the decline is around 14% points. The decline in the share of Japanese students in the USA is not substantial – 3.2% points. The biggest gainer in cross-border education from these countries is Australia. The share of Australia's cross-border education from the top-ranking countries has increased. The increase is substantial in the case of China – a gain of 20% points, followed by India with a gain of 12% points. The UK has also increased its share from all of these top-sending countries. Germany has made a marginal increase in student numbers from these countries.

Table 1. Inter-country student flow by selected countries of origin

Sending/host	Countries of origin 1995			Countries of origin 2004			
	China	India	Japan	China	India	Japan	Korea
USA	59.6	78.5	70.8	25.6	64.5	67.6	53.5
UK	4.5	5.5	6.6	13.1	11.8	10.6	3.5
France	1.2	–	1.4	–	–	3.9	2.4
Germany	4.5	1.7	2.5	7.3	3.4	4.2	5.6
Canada	2.7	2.6	1.2	–	–	–	3.4
Australia	2.2	–	1.0	22.4	12.7	5.2	4.0
Japan	20.5	–	–	7.2	–	–	23.7

Source: UIS (2006) and OECD (2004b).

Note: Denotes negligible (less than 1%) or the same country.

Factors Influencing the Growth of Cross-Border Education

Future employment opportunities and earnings potential is one of the prime considerations in preferring cross-border education to national systems of education. A majority of students from developing countries pursuing studies in the developed countries end up taking up jobs in the host countries. In this case, cross-border education becomes an avenue for employment recruitment and international migration of the highly skilled. ‘Student mobility provides a potential flow of qualified workers either in the course of their studies or through subsequent recruitment’ (Tremblay, 2002, p. 39). In fact, many countries are competing to get students to their universities for this reason. As noted in earlier discussions above, a large number of students who came to the USA to pursue their studies in scientific and technological areas remained in the USA. Former students who came from China and India to seek education in the USA constitute a large share of the professionals in some of the IT sectors in the USA today.

Some countries have changed their visa rules in order to retain students. The relaxation of visa rules permits the conversion of student visas to working visas in many OECD countries. For example, students can apply for a working visa 6 months after the completion of studies in Australia; in Finland a foreign student can apply for a working visa while studying; Germany gives residency status, if applied for, on graduation; many other countries permit students to apply for a working visa, although the preference accorded to them with the regard to the issuing of visas is not made explicit (Tremblay, 2002). There are advantages in keeping cross-border students in the host countries. They come through competition and are enrolled in prestigious universities and they outperform the native students. During the period of education, they get used to the practices of the systems in the host countries, and this is an added advantage for the country to employ them.

The perceived superiority of cross-border institutions is an important element in the choice of institutions for studies (Li & Bray, 2007). Foreign university degree holders enjoy an advantageous position in their own country’s domestic market. Degrees from foreign universities enjoy a premium in the labor market, even when they are graduates of branch campuses. The MNCs are more willing to recruit people who have certification from universities of their parent countries. Since the liberalization policies followed by the developing countries in the 1990s have attracted high levels of direct foreign investment and also the migration of firms and jobs to developing countries, the demand for foreign degree holders in the sending countries has increased. In all instances, the salary expectations of the graduates of cross-border education are high and most of them do end up with jobs which offer them large salary differentials when compared with their domestic counterparts. In other words, the rate of return on cross-border higher education continues to be high and higher than investments in other sectors. This is one of the most important factors responsible for the continued demand for and expansion of cross-border education.

Another factor influencing the country of choice for cross-border education is the cost of study. Studying abroad is expensive and the expenses used to be borne

by bilateral governments or funding agencies. At this point in time, the selection of countries for studying abroad is decided by the governments of the host and sending countries. However, as cross-border education has become an activity increasingly funded by individuals, the cost of and return on education have become important elements in deciding the country of choice for studying abroad. During the colonial period and immediately following, a flow was seen from colonies to the imperial capital, mostly funded by governments and agencies.

Higher education in many of the host countries used to be tuition-free. In fact, many countries did not have any provision for levying fees from domestic or international students until the 1980s. However, some countries, notably the UK, introduced fees for overseas students, and countries such as Australia followed suit. Consequently, the incidence of the cost of higher education has shifted from the public to the individual domain.

There are different patterns with regard to the levying of fees in OECD countries (OECD, 2006):

- (a) In some countries, a higher level of tuition fees is levied from international students than from domestic students. Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the UK, and the USA are examples of this pattern;
- (b) Some countries do not distinguish between foreign and domestic students when fixing the fees. The fee level remains the same for domestic and foreign students in France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, and Japan;
- (c) Some countries have not yet started levying tuition fees from foreign students. Countries such as Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden belong to this category.

One of the reasons for a decline in the rate of flow of students to the UK and the USA may be that the cost of cross-border education in these countries is very high compared with Australia, Ireland, or New Zealand. As a result, one finds that the flow is faster to these latter countries where the cost of higher education – fee levels and living expenses – is comparatively lower. Consequently, Australia has become a favorite destination for students from China, India, and other Asian countries, which traditionally were not used to sending their students to Australia (Varghese, 2008a).

Language is another factor influencing the choice of country for study. This may explain why regional flows continue to be high in the Arab and Latin American regions. The same may be a factor in the continued flow of students between countries in Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and the Russian Federation. The inter-regional flow clearly indicates that proficiency in international languages – notably in English, French, German, and Russian – is important in the decision-making process. Familiarity with the language may explain the increasing flow of cross-border students to English-speaking countries such as Australia, the UK, and the USA. This again may be the reason for the emergence of the cross-border education market in countries such as Australia, Ireland, and New Zealand. Countries such as France, Germany, Japan, and the UK offer language courses for their incoming cross-border students before they arrive in the host countries. Further, to take advantage of the growing international market for cross-border education, many of

the traditionally non-English speaking countries have started offering some of their courses in English. Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, and Japan have introduced content-based programs and courses in English, notably in the areas of business studies.

If one analyzes these flows closely for the year 2004, it can be seen that nearly 90% of Algerian students and 69% of Moroccan and Tunisian students going abroad for higher education studies went to France. While this was a traditional source, the inflow of students from China and India, for example, to attend courses offered in English have contributed to an increase in the market share of France in the global cross-border education market.

Another factor which is not very well highlighted in the literature is improvement of income levels in the developing countries. This is particularly so the case of some of the countries which send a large number of students to study abroad. The faster economic growth and the improvement in income levels and standard of living have certainly enhanced the paying capacity of those who seek cross-border education. For example, countries such as China, Korea, India, and Malaysia have experienced a high rate of economic growth and an increase in incomes which enables their citizens to seek education abroad at their own expense. Further, many of these countries have followed trade liberalization policies inviting direct foreign investment. The salary levels of the jobs those students may get upon their return encourage parents to invest in cross-border education.

Implications for National Higher Education Systems

The implications of cross-border higher education for national systems of education need to be analyzed from two angles: (a) based on student mobility; and (b) based on institutional mobility. First, how does student mobility affect education systems in the host countries? It depends on the share of foreign students in the universities. Although the inflow of foreign students is highest to the USA, they account for less than 3.4% of the total tertiary education students in the USA. The share of foreign students to the total enrolment is 28% in New Zealand, 19.9% in Australia, 16.6% in the UK, 11.2% in Germany, 11% in France, and 10.6% in Canada (UIS, 2006). This shows that the smaller countries have a disproportionately large share of the cross-border students in their total student body; this is a new trend.

Now small countries with a limited number of universities attract a large number of foreign students, who constitute a good percentage of the total higher education students in the country. Many institutions have become multi-national and multi-cultural in their orientation. In some cases new courses are introduced, and the teaching-learning process has become more sensitive to foreign students. However, the influx of foreign students is also creating difficulties in some countries. For example, Central Queensland University (CQU) in Australia has international campuses in Brisbane, Melbourne, and Sydney, and it faced street demonstrations by foreign students and was accused of failing them in large numbers in order to collect fees for a second time at its in Melbourne campus. It is reported that the

failure rate among CQU's international students is twice that of the local students. The students on strike accused the university authorities of treating them like "cash cows" (Banerjee, 2007). However, these are not instances to be generalized.

Many of the cross-border students are a loss to their national systems since, as noted in this paper, a good many of them do not return to their home countries. As the battle for brains heats up, the flow of brains from the developing to the developed countries increases. The favorite destination is the USA. However, others are not far behind. Singapore, Japan, Malaysia, and some other countries are not far behind in their hunt for talent. The new scheme of 'blue card' visas introduced by the European Union is expected to attract a large number of highly skilled workers from developing countries. It is feared that this may lead to large enough migration to damage the domestic economies of many countries. It is indicated that the blue card system could exacerbate the problem of "brain drain" from the African continent, a continent which loses around US\$4 billion annually due to migration (Nuthail, 2008).

Cross-border institutional mobility has more direct implications for national systems of education. An analysis of the origins of cross-border institutional mobility in many countries indicates that the weakening of the State initially led to liberalization policies and encouragement of the private sector in economic sectors. This pattern was at a later stage expanded to social sectors, including education. In fact, the emergence and expansion of private higher education seems to be closely associated with the expansion of cross-border higher education. The flourishing of private higher education institutions was an indicator of the paying capacity and willingness to pay for higher education of the household sector. This reality was taken advantage of by the private and cross-border providers of higher education.

It can be argued that there was collusion and collaboration between domestic private higher education institutions and cross-border providers. In fact, the domestic private higher education institutions were a way to establish cross-border institutions in many countries. It seems this was a mutually-beneficial collaborative arrangement to own and operate profitably in the non-State sector of higher education. Collaboration with a foreign university gave credibility to the new private institutions and their courses. It helped them to offer market-friendly courses, improve employment prospects of graduates, and levy high fees from students. It allows some universities to levy fees in foreign currencies. Some of these initiatives have assisted in arresting the outflow of students to universities abroad.

The other form of cross-border institutional mobility is in terms of foreign institutions establishing branch campuses independent of any collaborative arrangement with domestic institutions in the host country. Such branch campuses, as discussed in an earlier section of this chapter, are flourishing very well in many countries. Employers, too, prefer graduates from these campuses. In certain instances, countries invite foreign universities in order to attract foreign students. In some of the branch campuses, the share of foreign students is increasing. This is an interesting situation of foreign institutions operating in host countries attracting students from third countries. It can be realistically speculated that such a trend will influence cross-border student flow patterns in the future. Yet another trend is seen, especially

in the Gulf countries. Institutions such as the American University of Dubai or the American University of Sharja help arresting the outflow of a large number of expatriate middle-class children from pursuing their education abroad (Vohra, 2008).

There is no doubt that cross-border education – at home and abroad – has helped to meet the social demands for education, both in terms of quantity and relevance. Economic growth has opened up new employment opportunities, especially in the private sector, and increased household income levels, contributing to increased demand for higher education. With the expansion of secondary education, the number of eligible school graduates constituting a demand for higher education has increased. In many instances, the State was not in a position to expand the provision of higher education in public institutions. Therefore, in the absence of sufficient places in the public institutions, the State encouraged the establishment of institutions of higher education in the non-State sector and paved the way for the emergence of private and domestic cross-border sectors in education. Cross-border education has increased access to higher education, absorbed excess demand for higher education, and many of them offer courses which were not offered in the public universities.

Cross-border education operates on the basis of market principles. Courses are offered on a cost-recovery basis. Student fees form the major source of income for the providers. The providers operate either in a self-financing mode or in a profit-generating mode – operating on the basis of full pricing and/or profit considerations, unless they are subsidized by one of the religious organizations which are also active in this segment of higher education (Varghese, 2008b). Whether “full cost recovery” or “full price plus recovery”, the fee rates are substantially high when compared with public universities.

Many of the cross-border institutions operate as for-profit institutions. They were opened and operated to produce a profit. Consequently, some countries, such as South Africa, insisted that these for-profit universities register under the Companies Act and not under the Universities Act. In 1999, there were five education companies in South Africa listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JS) and they owned 43 institutions. The government de-listed some of them, leaving only two companies listed in 2004. These two companies – Advtech and Nasper – listed on the JS account for more than 70% of the enrollment in non-State higher education institutions in South Africa (Mabizela, 2006). While appreciating the positive contribution to the development of higher education, everyone realizes the need for a regulated growth of this sector for various reasons. The report of the Observatory on Borderless Higher Education shows that there are countries where regulations are minimal, while they are too numerous in other countries. While countries such as France, Germany, Nigeria, and Russia belong to the former category with the least regulations, countries such as South Africa, UAE, and Cyprus remain at the other extreme, with the imposition of strict restrictions including the accreditation of programs and curricula (Verbik & Jokivirta, 2005). Some recent developments in the area indicate that there is a growing trend towards developing regulatory frameworks at the regional and international levels, in addition to such frameworks at the

national level. The regional regulations are more in the area of quality-control mechanisms. The Code of Good Practice in the Provision of Trans-national Education, which was established by the Council of Europe in co-operation with UNESCO and adopted by the Lisbon Convention, is an example of regional regulations for Europe. The code protects students from fraudulent degrees and qualifications and national authorities in devising regulations for transnational education (Verbik & Jokivirta, 2005). UNESCO and OECD have developed a set of guidelines for quality provision in cross-border higher education (UNESCO/OECD, 2005). Other guidelines produced jointly by UNESCO and the Commonwealth of Learning (Knight, 2006) provide more detailed guidelines for countries entering on GATS negotiations.

Countries are increasingly introducing regulations at all stages – from registration to the awarding of degrees and their recognition – in the operation of cross-border institutions. Given the fraudulent practices existing, the governments in many countries permit only accredited institutions (institutions accredited in their own countries) to open branch campuses or collaborate with institutions in the host country. Further, the signatories of GATS attempt to ensure that the establishment of a foreign institution systematically follows the procedures for seeking permission from the Ministry concerned (very often MOE) before the campus is opened in the host country. Another aspect related to accreditation is the need for the accreditation of foreign institutions and their programs by appropriate agencies in the host country. In some countries, even the private domestic institutions collaborating with foreign institutions should be accredited by national agencies before they enter on any collaborative agreement with foreign institutions. If the programs are not accredited, the degrees awarded by these institutions may not be recognized.

In many countries, it is noted that the admission criteria in private and cross-border institutions are not as demanding as in public universities. While the students at these cross-border institutions come from financially well-off families, they do not necessarily belong to academically superior sections of the student population. This has larger equity implications for the future. There is a need to develop appropriate criteria for admission to cross-border education institutes consistent with those of domestic institutions of higher education.

Many transnational institutions offer courses in limited subject areas. They offer market-friendly courses to cater to the needs of private business enterprises – foreign or national. Courses in business administration, computer sciences, accounting, marketing, economics, communication, etc., are very common in such institutions. These courses have also helped meet the skill requirements of the evolving production sectors. Such narrow orientation of cross-border education may lead to the lopsided development of higher education. Further, expansion of higher education through market-friendly courses may be limiting the role of higher education in national development.

There are instances of cases of fraud in the operation of transnational providers. Multiple providers, national and international, have made regulatory systems less effective, giving larger scope for fraudulent practices at various levels in higher education (Hallak & Poisson, 2007). It is found that, at times, the cross-border providers are dubious, institutions bogus and degrees fake. There are instances where these

institutions increase fees frequently and the students are forced to pay additional fees every year. There are, however, instances where national authorities attempt to stipulate regulations on fees and the cross-border providers are not permitted to raise tuition fees without the approval of the national authorities.

Does the operation of cross-border education lead to inequalities in access to higher education? The answer seems to be in the affirmative. Given the high fee structure, only those from a better-off economic background will be able to enroll in these institutions. There are two types of imbalances in the growth of higher education. First, there are increasing inequalities in access to education and later employment. Second, there are regional imbalances. Many of the cross-border education institutions are located in urban areas. They create access conditions for those who already have access. Therefore, contrary to the general belief that they absorb excess demand, they may in fact be increasing the access options of those who already have access.

Some countries, such as the UK, have planned targets to expand the cross-border segment of their higher education sector. As a result, the share of foreign students in total tertiary education enrolment is high in the UK when compared with France or Germany. The cross-border student flow is substantially higher at the research level. In countries such as New Zealand and the UK, more than two-thirds of the students engaged in research-level studies are from foreign countries.

Concluding Observations

Market forces became important in higher education with the decline in State funding. Private and cross-border sectors are the beneficiaries of the decline of the State in higher education. It has become a commodity marketed across borders under the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). National concerns and social expectations are being replaced by profit considerations, and market forces now exert a considerable amount of influence on decisions related to the purpose and priorities of higher education. Maintaining an appropriate balance between national needs and requirements, and international developments seems to be a challenge for many developing countries.

The challenge for many governments is a choice between two options: (a) to promote only public higher education; or (b) to promote private and cross-border higher education. The former is expensive, while the latter eases the financial burden and responds to the aspirations of the new generation. Given the limited resources at their disposal, many governments have adopted option (b). The basis seems to be the belief that promoting the non-State sector is better than limiting access to higher education through public institutions.

Growth of the non-State sector and cross-border education has implications for the higher education sector as a whole. Therefore, governments have introduced several regulatory measures to ensure access, admission criteria, non-fraudulent practices, and quality of the education imparted. These are important steps to protect both students and the national interest.

There is criticism directed against promoting higher education through a market framework. Higher education institutions play an important role in national development which can neither be played by the market nor be measured in terms of money. Leaving the education sector to markets may imply that these positive contributions of education to nation building might be lost. Markets are reliable for enhancing efficiency. However, their role in promoting equality has yet to be proven. Since education is one of the important determinants of earning differentials, unless well planned, it can become a source of intergenerational inequality in the economic and social domains. Furthermore, leaving the sector to international markets could lead to a decline in national influence on deciding and designing content and curriculum. This could have a long-standing adverse effect on national concerns and national development.

Trade is mutually beneficial when it is between or among more or less equal partners. This is not the case in education. Certain countries, such as the USA, have a huge educational advantage. Not only is it the largest, but it is also perceived to be the best (Altbach, 2003). These advantages of the stronger nations will be even reinforced by the market forces. The moot question is: Should we leave national systems of education to be subjected to competition from unequal partners? The answer to this question will vary among countries and will depend on the capacity of the State to assert and regulate all segments of the higher education sector.

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The Interconnection Between Australia's International Education Industry and Its Skilled Migration Programs

Kumiko Tsukamoto

Background Information

Australia has a long history of providing education for its immigrants and international students, and is one of a small number of countries that have a very progressive framework for international education. Its quality assurance framework for education covers all education sectors, ranging from English language schools to higher education. In addition, Australia has developed unique legislation to protect the rights of international students studying in Australia on a student visa. This law, Education Services for Overseas Students (ESOS) Act (2000), stipulates institutions' roles and responsibilities in providing quality education for international students in a safe learning environment equipped with state-of-the-art facilities (Australian Education International [AEI]). Under the ESOS legislation, the government provides support to students not satisfied with the education or services they receive in the form of an ESOS helpline. Further protection available to international students under the Act is financial assurance. Students are entitled to receive a refund of tuition fees paid or to take an alternative course equivalent to the one originally enrolled in when the institution fails to deliver the former. All educational institutions that recruit, enroll, or teach international students, have to be registered on the Commonwealth Register of Institutions and Courses for Overseas Students (CRICOS), a registration database which currently includes more than 1,200 Australian institutions (AEI). Each course offered to international students also requires registration, and the CRICOS number given to each institution/course must be displayed on all promotional materials provided to international students. Students are required to put the CRICOS number of the institution where they are planning to study when applying for a student visa for Australia.

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Over the past 20 years, Australia's education exports have grown enormously and the sector's significance has expanded accordingly. From 2000, the rate of the sector's expansion accelerated even further, and has grown at an annual rate of 15% (House Standing Committee on Economics, Finance and Public Administration, 2007, p. 97). Australia's education exports in 2007 were worth A\$12.5 billion (AEI, 2008c), compared with A\$1.2 billion in 1991–1992 (House Standing Committee on Economics, Finance and Public Administration, p. 97). The international education industry is now Australia's third-largest export after coal, and iron ore, which in 2007 accounted for A\$20.8 billion and A\$16.1 billion, respectively (AEI, 2008c). In 2007, Australian institutions welcomed 455,185 international students from various countries, a 19.0% increase from the previous year, and three times the number a decade earlier (AEI, 2008c). More than 65% of these students enrolled in Australia were in the higher education and vocational and training sectors, with only about 20% of the foreign students studying at its English language schools.

International Education in Australia

Australia plays an important role as an education provider, especially to its Asian neighbors, where the education systems are still less developed and/or English learning opportunities are rather limited. Australia has been welcoming a large number of students from Asia for many years. The top ten source countries for international student enrollments in 1995 were, in order: Hong Kong, Indonesia, South Korea, Malaysia, Japan, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, China, and India. Among these countries, the top five countries sent 68,101 students to Australia, which was more than 55% of the total number of international students in the country in that year (AEI). However, more recent statistics provide evidence that the ranking of source countries for international students in Australia is changing. In 2007, the top ten source countries were: China, India, South Korea, Thailand, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Japan, Indonesia, Brazil, and the United States of America, with students from the top two countries accounting for more than one-third of the total (AEI, 2008b). Emerging countries, such as China and India, are rapidly becoming key factors in Australia's international education sector. For example, students coming from China to Australia increased from 60,301 in 2003 to 107,071 in 2007. The number of Indian students almost tripled in the last few years, with the number of Indian students growing by approximately 64% in 2006–2007 alone. Although their numbers are still small compared with these two countries, students from South America have been increasing. For example, the number of students from Brazil increased by 49.5% in 2004–2005 and by over 40% in 2005–2006. Growth was less remarkable in 2006–2007 compared with the previous 2 years. However, the annual increase was still more than 20%. On the other hand, the student numbers from traditional source countries in Asia, such as Hong Kong and Japan, have been decreasing in the past few years.

Along with the recent changes in source countries for international students, changes are observable in the education sectors enjoying popularity among interna-

tional students. In the past 5 years, the higher education sector has grown by about 30%, and this sector is still the dominant sector (AEI, 2008a). For instance, international student enrollments in the higher education sector in 2007 were 177,760. This accounted for approximately 40% of the total international student population. Although the higher education sector still shows constant annual growth in international student enrollments, the number of international students studying at the vocational education and training level has shown faster increase in the past few years. In 2006, the number of international student enrollments in the sector was 83,405, an increase of more than 25% over the previous year. Growth was even greater in 2006–2007, being 45.6%. In 2007, 121,422 international students were enrolled in vocational and training colleges in Australia. As the sector only had 56,924 foreign students in 2003, this rapid growth is quite remarkable. In comparison, the international student number enrolling in English language schools on a student visa stagnated at the beginning of this century. However, this sector has also enjoyed large growth in the past 2 years, with its international student enrollment numbers on a student visa increasing from 77,885 in 2006 to 101,824 in 2007.

According to the statistics issued by the Australian Government (AEI, 2008a), popular fields of study among international students in Australia have also changed in the past several years. In 2003, the field of business administration and management was the most popular area of study among international students at the vocational and training level, followed by computer science programs. The number of foreign students enrolled in these two areas was 34,834, accounting for more than 60% of the total number in the sector. Programs related to services, hospitality and transport had the third-largest international student enrollments in the same year. However, these fields of study have increased rapidly in popularity in the last few years, and accounted for 50,139 international students in 2007. This area was the most popular discipline for international students in 2007. Although international students taking these programs at the vocational and training level accounted for approximately 40% of the total number of international students enrolled in the sector, the fields of business administration and computer science still received a great number of international students. The international students enrolling in these two fields of study exceeded 45,000 in 2007.

On the other hand, change was not very considerable in the higher education sector. In 2003, the top five most popular fields of study among international students in the higher education sector were: Business Administration and Management, Computer Science and Information Systems, Engineering and Surveying, Arts/Humanities and Social Sciences, and Economics. Although the proportion of student enrollments in each field changed slightly, these five disciplines' popularity ranking still remained the same in the 2007 statistics for international student enrollments (AEI, 2008a). One interesting change observed in the higher education sector is that international students enrolling in nursing programs tripled in the past 5 years, so that this field ranked as the seventh most popular area of study among international students in 2007.

There are a few factors contributing to this trend. First, Asian countries such as Singapore, China, and Malaysia have been quickly developing high quality

education systems within their own countries, and are now offering many courses in English (House Standing Committee on Economics, Finance, and Public Administration, 2007, p. 103). In addition, these countries are adopting new strategies to attract students from other countries, as they develop the capacity to provide high quality education. Japan is a good example of a country whose education system is undergoing changes and moving toward internationalization. In an atmosphere of severe domestic competition among Japanese universities, which is attributed to the decrease in the young population in the country, its education institutions have been almost forced to introduce more internationalized and appealing programs to students. For instance, many of the Japanese universities now employ foreign academic staff and provide courses in English not only to attract Japanese students but also international students. In addition to each institution's efforts to attract more overseas students, the Japanese Government has modified its education regulations to meet the needs of the domestic education industry, and has also been providing other types of support to the industry (Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology [MEXT], 2008b). Consequently, international students from Asian countries to Japan increased drastically in the past several years, and the number of foreign students in the country reached 118,498 in May 2007 (Japan Student Services Organization, 2007). Recently, the Government of Japan announced its aim to further increase the number of international students in Japan to 300,000 by the year 2025, and the country has emerged as a competitor in international education (MEXT, 2008a).

Second, and more importantly, the shifts in the major source countries for international students to Australia and in popular education sectors and disciplines among these students are closely connected with policy changes in its General Skilled Migration (GSM) programs. In order to meet Australian labor market demand, several policy changes have been introduced to the GSM programs, especially since 1999 (Hawthorne, 2007b, p. 5). The recent skilled migration strategy makes it easier for international students to extend their visas upon completion of their studies. This had an impact on the international education sector. For example, the top ten countries of citizenship for skilled migration applicants in 2003–2004 were: India, China, UK, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea, Sri Lanka, and the Philippines (Birrell, Hawthorne, & Richardson, 2006, p. 110). Although applicants from the United Kingdom were the largest in the following year, the number of applicants from countries such as India and China remained very high. As explained in the previous paragraphs, many of these countries were the same as those in the top ten source countries for international students in Australia. In addition, Hawthorne (2007b, p. 5) argues that more than half of the skilled migrants were former international students in the country. Moreover, another survey states that 66% of Indian and 38% of Chinese students are choosing to stay in Australia after they finish their study. These data clearly demonstrated a close relationship between Australia's skilled migration programs and the international education industry. Furthermore, in a recent interview, the Immigration Minister of Australia, Chris Evans, noted the recent trend of *onshore migration*, where international students convert their visa status and stay (Kelly, 2008).

Australia's Skilled Migration Programs

Australia is a multicultural country, and a quarter of the population was born overseas (Australian Government, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2007, p. 10). The country's overseas-born population ratio is the world's highest, even compared with other countries with a large number of migrants, including Canada and the United States of America, which were 19.2% and 11.7%, respectively (Hawthorne, 2007, p. 1). Along with the growth in the labor market demand of the country, Australia increased the number of immigrants, which reached 140,148 in 2006–2007 (Australian Government, Department of Immigration and Citizenship [DIAC], 2007a). In the past few years, Australia has been receiving over 100,000 migrants annually, and its total population now exceeds 20 million (Umeda, 2008). Nowadays, some of Australia's industries rely heavily on overseas-born residents for their workforce. Hawthorne (2007, p. 7) explains that close to 50% of those employed in Australia's information technology industry were born in countries other than Australia. Historically, a large number of migrants were granted visas under the family streams of Australia's migration program. For example, family migrants represented more than 40% of total migration in 1996–1997 (DIAC, 2007a). In comparison, 19,697 skilled migrant visas were granted in the year, slightly more than half the number of the family visas and spouse visas. Although the number of family migrants dropped drastically in the late 1990s, it has been growing constantly again since 2000, and was 37,318 in 2006–2007. On the other hand, new settlers coming to Australia on skilled migration programs have rapidly increased in the last 10 years, and there were 60,755 skilled migrants in 2006–2007, making up approximately 43% of the total migrants for the year.

Under the current General Skilled Migration category, there are more than ten different skilled migrant visas available, each with different application processes and conditions (Birrell et al., 2006, p. 14). For instance, applicants already in Australia, including international students, can apply for some of these visas. Others require offshore application. In other words, visas are granted while applicants are outside the country. Under the GSM visas, there are major categories, such as Independent, Australian Sponsored, and State Specific and Regional Sponsored; however in this chapter, the discussion will only focus on the Independent Category (not including visas available only to New Zealand citizens). In order to ease the problem of skills shortages in the country, priority is given to certain occupations, listed in the Migration Occupations in Demand List (MODL), which are identified by the Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR) as in short supply (DIAC, 2008). Some of the occupations currently listed in the MODL, as of 17 May 2008, were: Accountant, Architect, Computing Professional, Electrical Engineer, Registered Nurse, Chef, Baker, Cook, and Hairdresser. To meet the most updated need of industries, the MODL is reviewed twice a year, and is changed according to the skills shortages at the time.

The total number of visas granted under the Independent Category of the General Skilled Migration programs, except for those available only to New Zealand citizens, was 24,804 in 2004–2005 (Birrell et al., 2006, p. 29). Both offshore and

onshore application can be made under the category, and a different visa subclass is allocated to each. International students currently studying in Australia can also apply for the skilled migration visa onshore if they meet the visa requirements. Of these two, the offshore type was previously the dominant visa granted. For example, the number of onshore visas approved under the Independent Category was only half that of offshore visas in 2001–2002. However, the number of onshore independent skilled migration visas granted has grown rapidly in the past several years, and the onshore visas granted slightly exceeded the number of offshore visas in 2004–2005. In addition, according to Birrell et al. (2006), the balance between these two visa types is moving further in the direction of the onshore visa.

Although both onshore and offshore visas are available under the Independent Category, the propensity of nationals applying for Permanent Residency under the Skilled Migration Program varies depending on their visa subclass or onshore/offshore visa status. The top five countries of citizenship for skilled migrants approved under the offshore visa type of the Independent Category in 2004–2005 were: the United Kingdom, India, China, Singapore, and Malaysia (Birrell et al., 2006, p. 27). The number of independent skilled migrants from the United Kingdom granted visas outside Australia was 3,073 in 2004–2005, accounting for more than a quarter of the total offshore visas approved under the Independent Category. In comparison, the top five countries of citizenship for migrants receiving independent skilled migration visas onshore in 2004–2005 were: China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Hong Kong. Although the largest number of skilled migration visas granted to applicants applying from outside Australia was for applicants from the United Kingdom, those approved in Australia to migrants from the United Kingdom were only 143 in 2004–2005. In contrast, independent skilled migrants from the top two countries (China and India) who were approved visas onshore accounted for approximately 40% of the total independent skilled migrants granted visas in Australia. A clear correlation can be seen between the major countries of citizenship for independent skilled migrants approved visas onshore and key source countries for international students in Australia. For instance, the top five source countries for international students in 2005 were: China, India, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Malaysia (AEI, 2008b). As indicated clearly in these data, many international students are choosing to work in Australia after the completion of their studies. Although Indonesia was not ranked within the top five source countries in 2005, the number of students from Indonesia was also very high in that year.

Interconnection Between Skilled Migration and International Education

In 2004–2005, the largest number of applicants approved under the onshore independent skilled migration visa were those giving computing as their occupation (Birrell et al., 2006, p. 25). The second-largest profession was accountant, and skilled migrants in these two industries represented approximately 70% of the total independent skilled migrants granted visas onshore. Cooks and engineers were other

occupations for which an increasing number of onshore independent skilled migration visas were approved. Although the number was still small compared to these professions, industries such as architecture and nursing have also accounted for an increasing number of skilled migrants. As explained above, these occupations are in short supply and are listed in the Migration Occupations in Demand List (DIAC, 2008).

The areas of study necessary to complete in order to work in the industries cited above may be said to be computer science, business, architecture, hospitality, engineering, nursing, and so on. When comparing these disciplines with the fields of study most popular among international students, it is apparent that the GSM programs, especially the MODL, have an impact on decisions made by international students in relation to their choice of field. For example, the top five most popular areas of study among foreign students in the higher education sector in 2005 were: Business Administration and Management, Computer Science and Information Systems, Engineering and Surveying, Arts/Humanities and Social Sciences, and Economics (AEI, 2008a). The fields ranked within the top three are disciplines closely relevant to Australian industries with skills and labor shortages, and the number of international students taking these courses, including business, computing, and engineering, was 104,225 in 2005, accounting for about 64% of all international students in higher education in that year. On the other hand, the top five popular disciplines among foreign students at the vocational and training level in 2005 were: Business Administration and Management, Computer Science and Information Systems, Services/Hospitality and Transport, Arts/Humanities and Social Sciences, and Health and Community Services. Similarly to the higher education sector, these would most likely provide greater opportunities for graduates from the top three fields to work in industries listed in MODL. The number of international students enrolled in the three fields of business, computer science, and hospitality were 50,139 in 2005, and accounted for roughly 76% of all international students enrolled at that level.

The interconnection between the skilled migration programs and popular fields of study was more significant among students from some of the major source countries, such as China and India. The number of students from China enrolled in the fields of business, computer science, and engineering at the higher education level was 29,227 in 2005, accounting for about 73% of all Chinese students in the sector (AEI, 2008a). At the vocational and training level, in 2005 approximately 85% of Chinese students were taking courses related to business, services/hospitality and transport, and computer science. Very similar to the trend for Chinese students, approximately 88.6% of students from India were enrolled in programs related to business, computer science, and engineering in the higher education sector in 2005. In addition, the number of students from India studying in the fields of business, computer science, and hospitality at vocational and training colleges was 3,265 in 2005, accounting for about 84.6% of all students from India at the level.

The figures were quite different for students from non-migration-driven countries such as Japan. The top five popular disciplines among Japanese students in the higher education sector in 2005 were: Business Administration and Management, Arts/Humanities and Social Sciences, Education, Language Studies, and Science

(AEI, 2008a). Only about 30.5% of students from Japan at the higher education level were enrolled in courses related to business, computer science, and engineering in 2005. Although at the vocational and training level, courses such as business, computer science, services/hospitality, and transport were also popular among Japanese students, the numbers of students from Japan enrolled in these fields were much lower than for students from China and India, accounting for about 65% of all Japanese students in the sector.

New Migration Strategy of the Australian Government

This interconnection between Australia's international education industry and its skilled migration programs is expected to continue owing to the change recently introduced in migration policies by the Australian Government. The newly elected Labor Government led by Kevin Rudd announced its first budget for the coming fiscal year of 2008–2009, and its migration strategy in early 2008 (Kelly, 2008). The Rudd Government has decided to increase the total intake of migrants in 2008–2009 to 190,300 and about 70% of immigration visas will be granted under the skilled migration category, which will be the biggest annual growth in immigration since the launching of the scheme. Moreover, other temporary work visas also will rise above 100,000 annually. Addressing the great increase in immigration visas, the Immigration Minister explained that the new migration strategy was introduced in order to ease the country's skill and labor shortages (Australian Labor Party, 2008).

Given the current circumstances, the strategy of welcoming skilled migrants to Australia will most likely be maintained for the years to come for the following reasons. First, a number of developed countries are now facing the problems of a rapidly aging population, and Australia is no exception. Research conducted by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship projected that the ageing of Australia's population will continue (DIAC). In addition, similar to the experience of many other countries, the total fertility rate of the country has also dropped significantly. The average number of children a woman would have over her lifetime was 3.6 per woman in 1961. However, the number had fallen to 1.77 in 2004. Although the national birth rate increased to 1.81 babies per woman in 2006, it is still much lower than in the past (The Australian, 2006). Moreover, it is predicted that the approaching retirement of the baby boomers will result in a further drop in labor force growth in Australia (Birrell & Rapson, 2006, p. 6). Therefore, it may be presumed that more skilled workers from other countries will be needed to ease the problems of skills and labor shortages in Australia in the future also if the country's economy is to continue to expand.

Challenges

The existing international education system in Australia has been working well in providing skilled labor needed by the industries in which such workers are in demand and also in easing labor shortage problems in general. However, the

country is facing some challenges in international education in relation to the skilled migration programs.

The programs providing education and training essential for the occupations in demand in Australia have been very popular among international students; however, certain issues are arising owing to their great popularity. For instance, because of the limited capacity of each education institution, the number of students an institution can accept for each course is also fixed. International students are encouraged to apply for popular programs as early as possible. However, if programs are already full, it may become necessary for some students to wait one semester, or so, in order to begin the courses in which they want to enroll. Recently there was a problem with one vocational and training college, and the institution's registration and approval to teach international students were cancelled (AEI, 2008d). It was reported that the institution, Global College, had admitted more international students to courses than it could accommodate. It was stated in the report that some students were assigned to programs for which they did not wish to enroll (National Network of Education, 2008). As there were many students from China enrolled in the College, the Ministry of Education in China posted announcements about the College on official websites to warn Chinese students and their parents (China CSR, 2008). As explained at the beginning, the international students studying in Australia on a student visa are provided with protection under the ESOS Act. When the College was not able to fully refund fees to all the students, the Australian Government, specifically the DEEWR, intervened and, on the basis of the ESOS Act, offered two layers of protection to international students enrolled in the College's vocational and training courses. This made it possible for the students to enroll in an equivalent course at another education institution at no extra cost or to receive a full refund (AEI, 2008d). Since there is a huge international student demand for popular courses, there is the possibility that similar incidents may occur in the future. Hence, it is important for DEEWR to maintain the effectiveness of the quality assurance framework. Furthermore, it is essential for the country to continue providing protection to students as required. Students from various countries are involved, and, in certain cases, such problems can be particularly sensitive.

Another issue which arose recently with regard to the interconnection between Australia's international education and the skilled migration programs was the level of English and job-readiness of skilled migrants, including former international students from non-English speaking countries (Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2006). The report prepared by Birrell et al. (2006) argued that the English ability of skilled migrants from non-English-speaking countries was lower than the level required by industries. As many of the skilled migrants were former international students in Australia, the Australian Government, not only DIAC but also DEEWR, has promptly taken some measures to address these issues. Changes to the GSM programs were introduced in September 2007, and the level of English language proficiency was raised (DIAC, 2007b). In addition, extra points are given to applicants with very good English language ability. Moreover, points awarded for a MODL occupation are only recognized if applicants have work experience in a MODL occupation for a minimum of one year. Moreover, a National Symposium,

termed English Language Competence of International Students, was organized in August 2007, and the problems related to the English language ability of international students were discussed in order to analyze the situation and to take necessary action if required (Hawthorne, 2007b). Reports were developed by the Australian Government and relevant associations, such as English Australia, after the Symposium, to deliver the needed outcomes. As is apparent from this instance, the needs and circumstances of industries are changing continually. To address new issues arising, the government needs to review the system constantly, and modify it accordingly.

Conclusion

Australia enjoys a reputation as a provider of high-quality education, and a great number of students from various countries are choosing Australia as a study destination. A survey of international students across all the sectors which was recently completed by Australian Education International, DEEWR, demonstrated that more than 80% of international students were satisfied with their study and living experience in Australia (AEI, 2007). In addition, a large number of the international students currently studying in the country would like to live in Australia after the completion of their studies. As skilled migrants, including former international students, are required in order for the country to meet the skills shortage, it would appear that the current system can meet the needs of both parties. Although it has been argued in this paper that the MODL has some impact on an international student's decisions related to their field of study, such behavior is not particularly unusual for a student anywhere. In other words, students tend to choose occupations currently in demand or that are popular and to select a field of study required to work in the related industries. It seems clear that the destination for students to study or work is not limited to their own country but has also expanded to include other countries.

As many developed countries are facing the problems of a rapidly shrinking labor force resulting from an aging population, a lower fertility rate, and the retirement of the baby boomers, competition for skilled workers among these countries is expected to increase. For instance, one committee of the Japanese Government has proposed the idea of welcoming 10 million migrants to ease the skills shortage problem (The Sankei Shimbun & Sankei Digital, 2008). In addition, the Government recently announced its aim of increasing the number of international students studying in the country even further in the coming 20 years. Granting permanent or skilled migration visas to applicants who have received an education in the country and can speak the language spoken in the country seems the best option available for an immigrant-receiving country. Because of this immigration-related purpose, competition for international students among developed countries may well also become increasingly fierce. In the era of globalization, skilled workers are moving between countries in search of better opportunities. Therefore, it is becoming increasingly important for a country to offer such people a more congenial and higher-quality living, study and working environment.

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Scientific Capacity Building Across Borders in Latin America: A Case Study on Inclusion

Luis Miguel Romero

Toward the UNESCO World Conference on Higher Education

A decade ago, UNESCO held the hugely successful World Conference on Higher Education. The next conference is scheduled to take place in Paris, in July 2009. The main goals of the 2009 conference are to analyze the changes in Higher Education during the intervening 10-year period, and to address the new dynamics that are likely to shape the strategic agenda for the development of higher education policies and institutions in the foreseeable future. The conference topic is highly relevant: “The New Dynamics of Higher Education for Societal Change”. The topics on the agenda are issues arising from the following questions:

- To what extent is Higher Education today a driver for sustainable development in the national and international context?
- Does the sector live up to the expectations placed in it to induce change and progress in society, and to act as one of the key factors for building knowledge-based societies?
- How does Higher Education contribute to the development of the education system as a whole?
- What are the most significant trends that will shape the new Higher Education and research spaces?
- How are learners and learning changing?
- What are the new challenges for ‘quality’ and ‘equity’?

UNESCO, 2008

As I see it, the global topic that UNESCO has proposed for the conference is “inclusion” in the context of the growing political, economic, cultural, educational, and technological gap that has existed over the last decade.

Next year’s World Conference is going to be different in that there will be a greater emphasis placed on Higher Education in Africa, a continent that suffers

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immensely from the burden of “exclusion”. Inclusion, however, is first and foremost a responsibility issue; it not only affects marginalized groups, individual continents, and countries, but also organizations and institutions. In reality, these have a greater capacity for growth and development. And, as a result of these efforts, the potential for creating a world that is more just and peaceful is not far over the horizon. Another key aspect of the conference is its methodological focus, which is aimed at the practical and functional dimensions that allow us to reach our original goals – as opposed to simply being given a series of reports and statements.

With these factors in mind, I am going to present a case study of the Universidad Técnica Particular de Loja (UTPL) that is directly related to Cross-Border Education in Latin America. At the UTPL, we believe that universities have a key role to play in scientific capacity building in developing countries.

Scientific Capacity Building in Latin America: Obstacles and “Brain Drain”

At the 1998 UNESCO World Conference on Higher Education, in the “World Declaration on Higher Education for the 21st century: Vision and Action” (UNESCO, 1998), great emphasis was placed on “quality assurance” and “relevance” for universities – terms that differ greatly in meaning depending on whether we are referring to developed or developing countries. In Latin America, for example, both terms (i.e., relevance and quality assurance) are directly related to scientific capacity building and Technology Transfer to society, where scientific development indicators and those applied to socio-economic growth are generally low (IESALC, 2008; Inter-American Development Bank, 2006).

According to Brunner (Brunner, 2002), we can distinguish three types of universities in Latin America: (a) Complex Universities (Type I). These can be compared to universities in developed countries and are rated highly according to several university rankings. They are also characterized by a good balance of teaching, research, and service to society. They are mainly located in four major clusters, namely: the Federal District of Mexico, Santiago (Chile), Buenos Aires, and various cities in Brazil, such as São Paolo, Rio do Janeiro, Campinas, Rio Grande do Sul, Brasilia, and Belo Horizonte. Together they comprise less than 3% of the total number. (b) Top universities in the major cities in Latin America (Type II). These universities are well-organized, have a regular faculty, and have had a certain impact in their respective countries. Although they are mainly focused on teaching and possess few isolated research units, many of them have achieved a certain level of development and established international contacts. It is estimated that these universities account for no more than 7% of the current number of Latin American universities. (c) The remaining 90% are universities that are primarily focused on teaching, but have either accomplished little in the field of research, or have failed to make a significant contribution to the society to which they belong (Type III). The scientific development of the first group can be compared to other development

contexts, but their overall percentage is relatively low. Conversely, the gap tends to widen even more when scientific development occurs in situations where there is a lack of potential, or where the influencing factors are challenging or slow-moving.

Robert K. Merton, (Merton, 1973), the father of the Sociology of Science, stressed several decades ago, in his basic thesis on the “Matthew Effect”, the need for a critical mass of scientists and operational elements that need to be put in place before an exponential increase in results can be expected. To illustrate this point, we can use the following example: a specific quantity of radioactive material (“critical mass”) is required to trigger the chain reaction of an atomic bomb. It has been argued whether this factor is the main cause of the lack of scientific progress in Latin America over the last few decades (Gibbs, 1995). Typically, this is where a vast number of small groups and isolated scientists are totally disconnected from one another, and receive little state support. As a result, their work is often abandoned at a very early stage. The “creative” and “support” logic of many of these groups follows an identical development scheme, like other social projects: there is an initial flow of capital to increase installed capacity (people, equipment, operating funds, etc.), which causes a powerful psychological effect both in terms of progress and success, but then general capacity declines the moment financing ends, a phenomenon that frequently occurs during the first 2 or 3 years. New financing for these projects (in an identical or different environment) creates “growth cycles” that, in their turn, decline rapidly. The end result, however, is that more and more financing is required for the installed capacity to remain stable. The only individuals who really benefit from the process are the so-called “experts” who have the “know-how”. Unfortunately, these experts seldom end up being part of an actual research team.

This situation starkly contrasts with the global university reality. Ever since their creation, universities have been social accumulators of knowledge or “know-how” and general capacity. Scientific development is more an issue of this type of accumulation, as opposed to having individual experts who simply drift through labs and departments.

It is claimed that scientific progress in Latin America also depends on the training of its professors. That is why various national and international support policies have been developed for postgraduate training. It usually takes 2 to 5 years of full-time academic study abroad to complete an M.A. or Ph.D. degree at universities in developed countries. The lack of permanent operational structures that have some capacity within their home universities is partially responsible for the burgeoning phenomenon of “brain drain”. As a result, time spent abroad in foreign countries and in other academic activities is not directly related to the accumulation of scientific capacity. This is because those who return are either involved in more lucrative activities, or have suffered the disillusionment experienced when returning to an environment that strongly contrasts with their study period overseas. Most of those who return to their universities of origin are, thus, rarely able to establish permanent research teams in which their training can be translated into a significant increase in capacity. The reasons for this are twofold: (a) a lack of institutional support, and (b) the stalling effects of a bureaucratic system. Consequently, they often end up becoming mere administrative personnel, who only use their academic degrees to occupy

higher-paid positions. It is estimated that the accumulated effect of all these factors would produce an effective return of a figure not higher than 1% for Type III universities. What is more, the figure for Type II universities would likewise be very low.

It is believed that “brain drain” will affect approximately 75% of Ph.D. graduates, and strongly affect Type I universities. These are the universities that have a greater possibility of receiving scholarships for their students. However, this does not take into account the rate of “effective” return that refers to scientific capacity building and operational teams at home universities. It is interesting to note that there are neither reliable nor complete figures to quantify this information. We can only make an estimate. For example, the intermediate evaluation of the ALBAN scholarship program of the European Commission for Latin America asserts that:

The criteria that the scholarship program utilizes to prevent the brain drain are either non-existent or flawed. Candidates are only obliged to sign a formal and rather vague re-enrollment agreement. In addition, the average rate of return to a non-specified academic activity is only about 38%.

(European Commission, 2005)

One should also take into consideration that even though the deadline for the current ALBAN Scholarships is 2010, only 28% of Ph.D. students have yet completed their studies. Other reports refer to incomplete figures for certain countries. For example, there is a very low rate of return of Ph.D. graduates from the United States (IESALC, 2008).

Case Study

Let us now turn to what may be considered to be a familiar and “universal” topic, namely the UTPL’s experience in terms of its policies and strategies for scientific development. This has been the result of several years’ collaborative work. Although this is related to the problem-solving issues mentioned earlier, the operational strategies are adapted to a real-life context, i.e., our contextual circumstances. Professors at universities in developed countries not only teach, but are also part of research units called departments, institutes, laboratories, etc. These units, which are organized according to specific academic topics, collaborate with their partners, carry out assignments, use adequate equipment, write for publication, participate in congresses, and contribute to society by discussing their experience with others. The departments themselves are centers for general capacity accumulation, namely, centers that are related to teaching postgraduate-level courses. The problem that we faced at the outset was how to start these research units from scratch despite certain difficulties, i.e., personnel, equipment, scientific culture, as well as budgeting issues; the reason being that our university relies on approximately the same budget per head as the rest of the universities in the country. This is exactly how our Centers for Research Technology Transfer, Extension and Services (CITTES) were founded. Indeed, it is our own adapted version of the university departments of developed countries, and focused on local development. This is not a novel idea at all; it is,

rather, an attempt to adapt universities to our reality, and, therefore, it enables us to stabilize and mutually benefit from the various dimensions of teaching, research, and extension, which are an essential part of universities today.

The first strategy, which was about specific topics related to our strategic development lines, involved the creation of various “seed groups” of “young professors/researchers” who were not necessarily that well-trained, but who upheld values that were considered an essential part of our organizational ethos: vision, team-spirit, management and leadership skills, humility, and flexibility. An additional “empowerment” policy for the seed groups was then used, where the “halo effect” could be seen in motion. In pedagogy, this theory can be seen in the following example: “If we firmly believe in human potential, this can lead to accomplishing certain objectives, which means that students can be empowered to achieve great things themselves”.

The primary stage for the CITTES consisted of using applied research for basic problems in our environment so that the seed groups, the general capacity, and individual contributions would increase – thus making them truly useful to society. It is astonishing how much was achieved at this early stage with a “young entrepreneurial spirit”. In a similar vein, there is immense potential for “young professors/researchers” with visiting professors from other universities in Ecuador, and those who come from top universities abroad. To use a metaphor, it is like rain that moistens and nourishes the earth. During Phase III (a non-sequential stage with some overlapping), many of the young professors and research assistants were sent to other cities within Ecuador and also abroad on special courses, study trips, to congresses, seminars, and so on. These “young professors/researchers” were able to develop a more critical and creative outlook on the world and discuss their experiences at length with one another. As a consequence, the group’s knowledge increased considerably. The increase was exponential; each project that was completed, allowed the next project to begin with a certain base level, which subsequently provided new growth in general capacity. A spiral effect was thus created, so that the levels reached were significantly higher each time.

By the same token, the growth of the first CITTES affected other fields of knowledge; new subjects were gradually added, until about twenty CITTES were created in total – permeating every area of our academic work. As CITTES had produced such positive results, bright young professors and research assistants can join the team, even though some of them had already been with the university for some time. The critical mass of each of the CITTES also increased thereafter. In our view, the individual “entities” should all work collaboratively, and none should be isolated. This is why CITTES created powerful synergies in their respective “overlapping” areas, i.e., where the global critical mass had already begun to acquire an important volume – thus enabling us to experience first-hand the phenomenon we referred to earlier, the “Matthew Effect”. The Social and Human Sciences were also part of this process, although some operational elements and the method of transfer to society were different, for example, in Art and Literature.

At the UTPL, CITTES are considered complementary entities of Schools or Faculties. Since the primary mission or objective of the latter is Curriculum Management,

there is a strong element of teaching, but there is also an emphasis on student training, which includes many other additional and “transversal” dimensions, such as expanding the vision of each area and learning about world trends and the social needs of qualified professionals. On the other hand, CITTES’ main mission is science and its application; the focus is on the university fields of research and extension, or service to society.

Although the university professors work in education, they also do research, which means that they have two distinct roles that do not interfere with one another. All our “young professors/researchers” participate in CITTES’ projects. What is more, they work on development research in specific fields, which are gradually incorporated into projects that are becoming increasingly more advanced and interdisciplinary. University professors dedicate at least two-thirds of their time to this kind of work. At the same time, they are professors, so they spend the other third of their time in a School or Faculty, where they teach, either in the classroom or online. Their work is geared towards the specific skills they are acquiring in CITTES, and it is influenced by the following factors: the actual work they do and its impact on society; their resources; having a practical outlook and awareness of relevance, and finally, having contact with fields that are relevant to the application of these disciplines. Their reading levels, moreover, have increased tenfold compared with the “professors who only give lectures”. In addition, they are familiarizing themselves with academic articles on a regular basis in their chosen field, and developing their English language skills, which is an indispensable tool for science nowadays. At this stage, all our bright “young professors/researchers” were developing their basic postgraduate skills, many of whom continued their studies to the M.A. level. This was made possible thanks to the flexibility of distance learning and “sandwich” programs at foreign universities. It is, therefore, imperative for university professors to be full-time so that they have enough time to conduct research, except for a small percentage of adjunct professors, who are part-time, but nevertheless make a valid contribution. Although the training is given at the postgraduate level, it is still not sufficient. The reasons are as follows: If there is no direct contact with science, and part-time professors have little contact with organizations, the state or the social sectors will run the risk of being left in the lurch because of the rate at which science progresses.

The maturity phase for CITTES is measured according to the number of permanent/on-going connections that are made with similar departments at universities in developed countries. These are the same universities that work with us on collaborative projects. Our “young professors/researchers” can subsequently develop skills that we are still lacking, contribute to joint publications, and potentially become part of global science. In our case, however, the repercussions will be felt locally. In some departments at universities in Europe or the United States, specifically, those universities with which we have established agreements, our “young professors/researchers” have taken “sandwich” degrees or Ph.D.s, which include time spent abroad and time doing research in Loja, Ecuador. Sometimes there were visiting professors from abroad, and on other occasions there were professors who used new technology (Internet, Video-conferencing, etc.). At present,

we have 200 doctoral students – a number that is higher than the total number of Ph.D. students in the rest of Ecuador. In a few years, we could have a team of professors with doctorates who have been trained abroad and are internationally connected with their peers in different countries. However, “young professors/researchers” did not have to leave their respective work groups in CITTES, and, therefore, the general capacity increased and was highly collaborative. The result of this was an almost total absence of “brain drain”. The quality of such programs is guaranteed by the fact that the Ph.D.s receive their degrees from top universities that we collaborate with, such as Tübingen, Pavia, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (Spain), Universidad de Granada, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, North Carolina State University, and so forth.

Some of the typical pitfalls found in teaching need to be addressed within CITTES. Our on-site classes are currently taught in the form of seminars, which consist of independent study of course materials and lectures that allow professors to focus on more important teaching roles, such as synthesis, methodology, different foci, contextualization, problem-solving, nuances of meaning, amplification, and not just the mere presentation of subject matter. In this case, the student is not limited to simply taking notes in class and studying them later. The CITTES class approach requires total dedication by both professors and students. However, it also makes it possible for a professor to dedicate time to research. Halfway through the major, students spend mornings or afternoons in the CITTES, and are supervised by a “young professor/researcher” working on a real project (ranging in difficulty from less complex to highly complex tasks). In this way, future professionals who receive such training will acquire practical skills, such as interpersonal skills, responsibility, teamwork, and so on, which are essential for their professional development. At the same time, they are being equipped with practical experience for a research or professional position in the future. These heterogeneous teams of students and “young professors/researchers” increase the “Matthew Effect” of our groups, and provide a basis for future development. This strategy, centered on competencies, practical skills and study based on research, also enabled us to incorporate the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS), which is the main component of the European Space for Higher Education.

On the other hand, the applied research that is carried out by CITTES may have repercussions in the self-financing of the university and therefore maximize its economic capacity for scientific growth via the transfer of technology and sale of services, the latter of which is becoming more and more specialized and useful to society. Furthermore, stronger ties are established with companies, and likewise the state and social sectors. The university is therefore able to meet the needs and demands in these sectors with a truly scientific and academic dimension. This allows us to move forward from a non-sustainable project logic to one which is standardized, and to replace the old type of project with highly “cooperative” strategies that are productive on a medium- to long-term basis. The role of science at our universities has a key function here. Furthermore, project work is less common at CITTES since “work matrices” are preferred. These develop sufficient general capacity, so

that the various projects can continue to flourish in their current environment, and be made sure of success in difficult circumstances.

We are aware of only a small number of research units similar to CITTES in some universities in Ecuador and the rest of Latin America. However, these include some that have tremendous scientific potential.

However, CITTES-type units are the exception rather than the rule. It is possible that scientific progress in Latin America may make a turn-around, but only if our universities are provided with research units in every field and there is participation of the vast majority of professors, which is certainly more valuable than having isolated research units, such as at the Type II universities. There are a few countries where this has occurred successfully; in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Mexico. The repercussions in the area of scientific competency have been enormous. Assuredly, the merging of research unit networks with our own universities and those abroad would have an enormous and productive synergetic effect. The different government agencies involved in the promotion of science and technology could provide great support in many ways, i.e., the creation of powerful general capacities that benefit the “living” national network of research centers – the results of which would benefit new centers and our universities.

We believe that the function of these state organizations is secondary, and that there can be no reason why they should duplicate what the research units of universities can do. If there is something that we cannot do, it is probably because it is beyond our own means or powers, because of such factors as, national policies, technological and legal issues, the relationship with government agencies, connections with international bodies (at state level), and state finance.

The most important issue for “developed” universities that provide Ph.D. collaborative programs (“course providers”) is the final maturity stage that establishes authentic networks for international science; these are grouped according to specific subjects and jointly publish material with our “developing” universities (“course seekers”). In other words, scientific networks that have undergone a process of this type of upward growth are considered more than a “de novo”, “from scratch”, process, which is common in current science networking. The collaboration between universities in developed countries and those in developing countries is both unbalanced and a two-way process.

Networking the Experience

At the UTPL campus in Loja, the First Meeting on Collaborative Doctoral Programs and Research Incubators was held from 10th to 12th of June, 2008 (Inter-American Organization for Higher Education, 2008a). Its primary objective was to record the experiences of these sandwich Ph.D.s, Ph.D.s who had been produced through the CITTES system, and to learn about similar projects that are currently being carried out in Latin America. The event itself was organized by IOHE (the Inter-American Organization for Higher Education) and its CAMPUS Program, with the collaboration of the UTPL.

The Inter-American Organization for Higher Education was founded in 1979 under the auspices of the universities and government of Canada. It has a membership of approximately 400 universities, and is the largest university network on the American continent. Its main aims are

To promote and develop close links between universities and its members in the Americas, to group universities in the Americas via programs of common interest, to create networks in the field of teaching and research; to offer permanent training at advanced level, to contribute to sustainable development in the Americas using Higher Education Institutions and to stimulate learning about the various cultures of the Americas.

(Inter-American Organization for Higher Education, 2008b)

The general objective of the Meeting was to offer a meeting space for university “course providers”, “course seekers”, and “support agencies” with the goal of increasing the number and effectiveness of different collaborative (“sandwich”) doctoral programs related to research incubators. The meeting was organized in the form of panels, presentation of successful experiences (case studies), university offers, and proposals for shared doctoral programs. The participants came from 60 universities in 18 countries (both the Americas and Europe), with some representatives from Africa also. Among the support agencies were the Network Consortium for Distance Education for the Americas (CREAD), the Global Developing Network (GDLN-World Bank), the National Consortium for Science and Technology (CONACYT) in Mexico, and the Iberian-American Association for Postgraduate Studies (AUIP).

Below are the conclusions reached:

1. The Collaborative Doctoral Model (CDM) is a valid alternative for universities in the region.
2. There are various CDM models; the most important factor is that they be flexible, and appropriate for the context in question.
3. It is important that the offers of Ph.D. programs and development of the CDMs be managed by a network consortium that guarantees the quality of the doctoral programs available.
4. CDMs require an institutional commitment that facilitates their development.
5. CDMs should be developed in conjunction with the implementation of research incubators at the “seeker” university.
6. The ICTs are additional strategic tools for the CDM Initiative and Research Incubators.
7. For the development of the CDM and Research Incubators, a national agreement between the higher education Institutions of each country, and the financing and support of the official Higher Education organs of the states involved are required.

Follow-up of the event will be organized in the form of an online Inter-American Forum on Collaborative Doctoral Programs and Research Incubators of the IOHE ‘CAMPUS’ Program. It has also been agreed to extend the initiative by holding future events, to disseminate information among the members of IOHE and other

interested parties, to seek out “support agencies” on behalf of multilateral agencies, and to use different knowledge management tools, especially the organization’s portal, in order to create an exponential effect.

The Latin American Space of Higher Education

Another initiative of the Inter-American Organization for Higher Education that has special relevance to this topic is the construction of the Latin American Space for Higher Education (ELES) that can be an instrument of academic integration and research among universities on the continent in terms of research and some academic issues, such as faculty interchange, common criteria for degrees, etc. Its main aim is to capitalize on the experience of creating a European Space for Higher Education (ESHE), and its Euro-Latin American version (Tuning, ALCUE, etc.), and the vast North American experience, which is achieved by using a credit transfer system and common criteria for curricular harmonization that assure fixed standards, inter-institutional trust and convergence, and promotes mobility among institutions of higher education on the continent, such as teachers, students, and administrative personnel – and also through its CAMPUS program (Inter-American Organization for Higher Education, 2008b).

To construct a Latin American and Caribbean Space for Higher Education (ELES), we need to start with the ESHE model, which is based on the same criteria:

- (a) A political and academic initiative, which is part of the agreement between the two biggest university networks on the continent: the Inter-American Organization for Higher Education (IOHE) and the Latin American University Union (UDUAL);
- (b) An operational strategy that includes many aspects of the European experience: a shift towards academic models that promote mobility, the transfer of credits, a pedagogy centered on learning and skills, an assimilation of best practices, and quality assurance strategies.

However, it is also necessary to include a wide-scale strategy for research development that is internationally recognized at institutions of higher education in Latin America, so that the adequate quality levels which form the basis of ELES are reached. The following requirements are, therefore, necessary:

- (c) Design, preparation, and application of basic university policies for the development of research incubators, since certain economic, political, and cultural conditions are necessary for scientific progress;
- (d) Extensive training of researchers (Ph.D.s) in collaborative (“sandwich”) doctoral programs by top universities that serve as a catalyst for new research units at host universities, thus facilitating the training of international research teams.

The lack of broad development strategies has been the main reason why there has not been much progress in the construction of a Latin American Space for

Higher Education, despite the fact that there has been debate about this at different congresses and agencies for more than a decade. As already mentioned, the main reason for the difference in the quality of Latin American higher education is the absence of research. Social relevance is impossible in such a case.

In order for ELES to be developed, a recent joint agreement was established between the Inter-American Organization for Higher Education and the Latin American University Union (UDUAL) – major university networks in Latin America that plan to include additional networks of the sub-continent, and have the support of the UNESCO International Institute for Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (IESALC), as stated in the Final Declaration of the Cartagena Regional Conference (IESALC, 2008). The effort involved in developing ELES will only be successful if it is centered on wide-scale research development, as previously stated.

Discussion

Article 16 (“From Brain Drain to Brain Gain”) of the Final Declaration of the UNESCO World Conference on Higher Education for the 21st century: Vision and Action (UNESCO, 1998), states that:

The ‘brain drain’ has yet to be stemmed, since it continues to deprive the developing countries and those in transition, of the high-level expertise necessary to accelerate their socio-economic progress. International co-operation schemes should be based on long-term partnerships between institutions in the South and the North, and also promote South-South co-operation. Priority should be given to training programs in the developing countries, in centers of excellence forming regional and international networks, with short periods of specialized and intensive study abroad. Consideration should be given to creating an environment conducive to attracting and retaining skilled human capital, either through national policies or international arrangements to facilitate the return – permanent or temporary – of highly trained scholars and researchers to their countries of origin. At the same time, efforts must be directed towards a process of ‘brain gain’ through collaboration programs that, by virtue of their international dimension, enhance the building and strengthening of institutions and facilitate full use of endogenous capacities.

The UTPL experience that we have analyzed thus far, and its subsequent growth by means of networking with IOHE and the ELES Initiative (based on research development), requires a concrete initiative for the agreements in the UNESCO Declaration to be validated, and could therefore have powerful repercussions. Many other issues in the Declaration can also be seen from this viewpoint, such as methods of achievement, especially those that are related to research, long-term strategies based on relevance, quality assurance, sharing of knowledge and know-how across borders and continents, and also partnerships and alliances.

The ICTs can also offer a unique opportunity to close the gap with developed countries, as the 2003 World Bank Report states in Reducing the Gap in Education and Technology (World Bank, 2003). The new technologies give us greater access to information and establish links with other countries. In addition, they provide innovative and creative forms of training, and flexible teamwork. With the right

balance of support and collaborative foci, there would not be any obstacles in obtaining proper access to new technologies, thus producing powerful results in scientific development.

It has been generally argued that funding earmarked for scientific capacity building in developing countries is still necessary, even though others claim that it fails to produce lasting results. The following statement supports this theory:

The productivity and return for Scientific and Technological investment in developing countries is most likely lower than the same funds spent in developed countries. Increases in Research and Technology Funding, for example, will not increase capacity if few educated scientists are available to put those resources to work.

(Wagner, 2001)

The strategy that we have envisioned can significantly increase the effectiveness, as well as reduce the costs of scientific capacity building. In the same study, some recommendations are offered to increase effectiveness:

Successful collaborations work from the bottom-up, are peer-reviewed, and result from shared interests; collaboration is most successful when there is a basic level of capacity in place; ICT can be enormously helpful, but it does not in itself motivate or enable collaboration; policies addressing brain drain must take a more complex reality into account; the presence of a few passionate leaders and/or champions can positively affect the success of international Science and Technology collaboration.

(Wagner, 2001)

All these factors are included in our proposal.

Eva Harris (Harris, 2005) rightly states that ‘a scientific partnership between developed and developing countries is an extremely rich and fascinating process that is very complex and often oversimplified’. In her article, which focuses on the importance of scientific capacity building for the advancement and development of health in developing countries, she stressed that long-term international partnerships are a fruitful collaboration and that building scientific capacity is in every way a two-way process, and she criticizes the “parachute science” in which ‘researchers from developed countries merely collect samples, return home, and publish papers, as no real use to scientists and citizens in developing countries’. In a globalized world, people are, in many ways, becoming more and more interdependent. The consequences of developments in science are rarely equal; the “Matthew Effect”, again, can result in extremely negative consequences. Inequity is thus a major challenge for the globalized world and for the education systems of the Third World, but a new social contract for science is required that includes the participation of the disadvantaged and the benefits of a closer interaction between science and local systems of knowledge. ‘The scientific outcomes of this interaction would increase the contributions of developing countries to the international scientific enterprise; they would help to redefine the current paradigm of “good science”, away from that which is defined, approved and predominantly carried out by scientists in Europe and North America’ (Cetto, 2006). But, the “Third World” is not only a victim; it is also largely responsible for its own misfortunes (Hountondji, 2006). In another paper, we analyzed some of the responsibilities of Latin-American universities in relationship to their impact on the aforementioned misfortunes of the sub-continent

(Romero, 2008). What we should stress here is the lack of institutional support in the development of research incubators in a bottom-up transversal process for university teaching activities, and the training of its professors in collaborative (“sandwich”) doctoral programs, given that the current research paradigm only focuses on large-scale investments and proper training abroad – neither of which is feasible, as we have already stated. It should be noted that the greatest obstacles encountered in implementing collaborative doctoral programs offered by universities in the developing world, is that they are closely linked to the same fixed paradigm of studying abroad for long periods of time, which is a system used by developed universities and multilateral support agencies.

Despite the fact that the case study we have looked at refers to a form of Cross-Border Higher Education related to the training of Ph.D.s abroad through collaborative doctoral programs (“sandwich” programs) and its repercussions in scientific capacity-building in developing countries, and is primarily based on the strategies explained in this report, in the majority of the Guidelines for Higher Education Across Borders found in the UNESCO documents (UNESCO, 2005) and checklists for best practice (International Association of Universities, 2005), namely, those referring to Quality Assurance, the doctoral students are nevertheless assumed to be regular students at top university “providers”, i.e., in Europe and America, and, therefore, graduate with the same standards and benefit from the collaborative efforts of networking and capacity building.

Conclusion

Scientific capacity building in Latin America can only have a real impact in an “inclusion” sense if there is a wide-scale capacity building in developing countries with the same standards as those that are common in developed countries and is a wide-scale process. Hence, it is essential to adopt simultaneous strategies for Research Incubator development and the implementation of Collaborative Doctoral Programs (“sandwich” programs), which prevent “brain drain” and, therefore, establish permanent collaborative links between well-established departments of universities in developed countries and those of research incubators in developing countries in a bottom-up technology transfer process. M.A. and Ph.D. programs that are not related to research incubator training may result in a higher level of education. However, they do not produce lasting or sustainable results in scientific progress.

The multiple effects produced by the successful experiences of university network strategies may, however, work, to some extent, at odds with the results of scientific capacity building. Scientific capacity development in Latin American universities is a necessary requirement, although it is insufficient for the construction of a Latin-American Space for Higher Education that is on a par with European, North American, or other continent versions, and is based primarily on non-dependent conditions. Simply, if we want to build a Latin American Space for Higher Education that can relate with European, North American, and other continent versions

based on non-dependent conditions, a necessary condition is scientific development in Latin America. But it is not the only condition; there are others, like political commitment, agreements about credit transfer, amongst others.

The Latin American universities will only be really relevant socially if their essential functioning is based on scientific capacity building in the sub-continent. The repercussions in socio-economic development could, then, be highly significant.

The difficulties in adopting the strategies mentioned here have more to do with innovation and the demolition of the current paradigms, rather than other conditions, such as funding, legal issues, institutional support, personnel, and so forth.

The strategies mentioned here can be easily transferred to other contexts in developing countries, such as Africa, Asia, etc., and with the resultant consequences in socio-economic development and inclusion in the Third World. Furthermore, this represents a strategy that ties in with the theme of the next UNESCO World Conference on Higher Education, both in terms of the topic of Inclusion, and also in the new dynamics in higher education that have already been referred to – which will enable UNESCO to take the right steps to create a more desirable future.

In the context of strategic training for Ph.D. students, Cross-Border Higher Education has the potential to create changes in scientific capacity building that cannot be achieved in any other way, by contributing to globalization in a positive, collaborative, and interrelated manner. It goes without saying that these strategies could be a very significant tool for creating a different world.

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Reflections on the Cross-Cultural Delivery of an Information Systems Degree in China

Chris Keen and Dean Steer

Introduction

In 2002 the School of Information Systems at the University of Tasmania entered into an educational venture in two Chinese cities, Shanghai and Fuzhou, to deliver degree programs in Information Systems in those cities. The introduction and delivery of this offshore international program has encountered many challenges similar to those reported elsewhere (Curro, 2003; McNaught, 2003). This chapter critically reflects on the issues raised by this program, based on material gathered through interviews with staff and graduates of the programs.

Biggs and Watkins (2001) have discussed the significance of the maintenance of a pedagogical flow that is both sensitive to the cultural and educational contexts of the target country, and is also effective in the transfer of knowledge between the educational service provider, the hosting educational system, and the students. The quality of pedagogical flow is enhanced by this multi-dimensional transfer of knowledge, so that all parties gain a better understanding of the others' environments, backgrounds, expectations, and measures of learning outcomes. A number of authors (Lim 2007; Lau, Hui, & Ng, 2004; Wong and Wen, 2001) have discussed the importance of the cultural context and the roles of teachers as dominant factors in the Chinese educational system, in contrast to the Western education system, including Australia, which tends to be more focused on process and outcomes.

History

In 2002 the University of Tasmania joined a consortium of Australian universities for the purpose of delivering degree programs to Chinese tertiary institutions. The consortium, the International Education Network (IEN), initially consisted of five Australian universities, and operated through a private company in Shanghai. The company acted as a broker, contract administrator, and student recruiting agency.

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The consortium planned to progressively develop undergraduate programs for delivery in partnership with Chinese universities. Careful consideration was given to the choice of Chinese universities, the choice of programs, and close cooperation with the Chinese provincial Ministries of Education.

Shanghai Ocean University is located in central Shanghai, has been operating for over 90 years, and has an applied science focus on aquaculture. In 2001 Shanghai Ocean University did not have an Information Systems program and did not have collaborative teaching arrangements with any foreign educational providers. Shanghai Ocean University approached IEN for inclusion in the consortium program late in 2001. In early 2002 a senior delegation from Shanghai Ocean University visited Australia, including the University of Tasmania, and indicated their desire to have the Bachelor of Information Systems program delivered in Shanghai. At about that time Shanghai Ocean University acquired a new campus outside of the Shanghai environs and proposed that the BIS degree be delivered on that campus. During mid and late 2002 several visits were made by Tasmanian staff to Shanghai Ocean University to negotiate arrangements for the delivery of the program, and the program was officially launched to the first class of 304 students in September 2002. A separate faculty was created within Shanghai Ocean University to manage this program, and has since expanded to include the Bachelors of Information Systems and Commerce from the University of Tasmania.

The University of Tasmania also introduced two other programs through the IEN consortium in 2002 – a joint Computing-Information Systems program at Minjiang University in Fuzhou, and a Bachelor of Computing at ZheZiang University of Technology in Hangzhou. Prior to the introduction of these programs the University of Tasmania had relatively little experience with off-shore international delivery. Most of the international focus of the University had been on recruiting students to study in Tasmania.

The Bachelor of Information Systems Program

The delivery of the Bachelor of Information Systems at Shanghai Ocean University consists of a 4-year program. In the first year students study English language and a number of Chinese subjects, including political and cultural studies. In addition, they undertake timetabled sporting activities as part of their university experience, and this continues throughout their degree. Students are required to live in dormitories on campus. For the majority of students this is their first experience of living away from home.

In the latter 3 years of the program, students study a modified version of the Bachelor of Information Systems. In addition, to the fifteen core subjects taught by the University of Tasmania's School of Information Systems, students are required to study two subjects taught by the School of Geography and Environmental Studies from the University of Tasmania, and other subjects taught by Shanghai Ocean University. Their overall load is considerably higher than for students who are studying

the same degree at the University of Tasmania. At the request of Shanghai Ocean University, Geography and Environment Studies were included to provide the students with an awareness of environmental issues relevant to the focus of Shanghai Ocean University on aquaculture and the natural environment. All University of Tasmania subjects are taught in English.

On successful completion of the 4-year program, students graduate with a double degree: a Bachelor of Applied Science from Shanghai Ocean University and a Bachelor of Information Systems from the University of Tasmania. A Tasmanian academic staff member was responsible for the subject coordination, teaching, and assessment of each University of Tasmania subject taught at Shanghai Ocean University. Additional administrative support is offered through Shanghai Ocean University and the Assistant Dean of International Education in the Faculty of Commerce at the University of Tasmania.

An intensive, block mode of teaching has been adopted for the delivery of each course subject by Tasmanian staff at Shanghai Ocean University:

- All course material for the subject is prepared by Tasmanian staff and sent to Shanghai Ocean University prior to the commencement of the semester in which the subject will be delivered.
- For a single subject, Tasmanian staff typically visit Shanghai for two sessions of block teaching of five working days each to coordinate the course and deliver the lectures. These block teaching periods normally span a single week, during which the lectures and some of the tutorials for the subject are delivered by the visiting staff. A typical teaching pattern is the delivery of four lectures on each of 3 days, and a further three lectures on the fourth day of a block teaching period. Staff employed by Shanghai Ocean University deliver most of the tutorials in the subject over a longer period of time.
- Marking of the assignments and examination scripts for these subjects is shared between Tasmanian and Chinese staff, with moderation of the results being performed by the Tasmanian subject coordinator.
- The Tasmanian staff involved in the program maintain regular contact with the staff and students at Shanghai Ocean University through e-mail, mainly for the purposes of administration and academic counseling of students.

This program is considered to be distinct in the following aspects:

- It is a partnership program between an Australian and a Chinese university, in which the Bachelor of Information Systems is jointly taught and administered by staff from the University of Tasmania and Shanghai Ocean University, and is accredited through the University of Tasmania. This aspect of the program was considered innovative by the Shanghai Ministry of Education, which has shown a strong interest in its introduction and development. Students in the program are studying a double degree program that covers the requirements of the Bachelor of Information Systems from the University of Tasmania and Bachelor of Science from Shanghai Ocean University.

A Framework for Internationalization

Curro and McTaggart (2003) have developed a theoretical framework within which to characterize the internationalization of the university curriculum from the development of a technical perspective, through practical deliberation to critical reflection. They characterize technical observance as having a focus on operational issues, such as levels of recruiting of international students, hiring staff with international teaching experience, modifying the curriculum for international delivery, and remedying the problems associated with a poor knowledge of English. Practical deliberation is characterized by Curro and McTaggart as a re-creation of the organizational, educational, and social practices that leads to new forms of intercultural relationships, including redefining curriculum, building organizational structures that support international and intercultural partnerships, staff development, and ‘research into, and evaluation of, curriculum, teaching and learning, and learning support’ (p. 2).

Hatton and Smith (1995, p. 35) have defined critical reflection as:

Involving moral and ethical criteria, making judgements about whether professional activity is equitable, just and respectful of persons or not. In addition, critical reflection locates any analysis of personal action within wider socio-historical and politico-cultural contexts.

Critical reflection requires theoretical and practical approaches to cultural awareness, and both organizational and personal perspectives. In terms of international education, critical reflection requires a sensitivity to intercultural issues that transcends racism and the sense of the “other-ness” implied by the use of titles, such as “international” or “overseas” students, and encourages an acceptance of the partnership and inclusiveness of teaching and learning processes on a scale that spans international and cultural boundaries (Curro & McTaggart, 2003).

The traditional development of Australian tertiary education has focused on national goals and the adoption of international students within those goals of growth and pursuit of excellence. A change of emphasis in this approach is demonstrated by such phrases as the following paragraph, published in induction material for University of Tasmania staff who are involved in off-shore teaching:

Offshore education provides, among other things, an opportunity for improved cross-cultural understandings and enhanced commitment to global issues. It provides an avenue for discourses other than the dominant Western literacy to be honoured. Offshore education clearly serves a function above and beyond the financial imperative.

(Flexible Education Unit, 2004)

Curro and McTaggart (2003) summarize the entry to international education as involving changes in three areas:

- The acquisition of new skills, beyond those required to teach international students in Australia
- The development of new understandings, leading to new curricula and teaching practices

- The adoption of new values that will influence curriculum design, and approaches to social, organizational, and personal practices

An example of the manner in which international educators need to adjust their understandings and values has been provided by Wong and Wen (2001) in their comparative study of the understanding of conceptions of learning held by students at Hong Kong University and Nanjing University. They used an analysis of the conceptualization of learning based on the following five factors:

1. Memorizing, reproducing, and understanding
2. Applying
3. Learning processes
4. Seeing things differently and improving oneself
5. Memorization and understanding.

Students from both universities consistently saw factors (2–4) as being more significant than (1) or (5). This appreciation was more pronounced in the students from Nanjing University than for students at Hong Kong University. These findings contradict the stereotypical view that students from a Confucian-heritage culture have the characteristic that ‘They rote learn and lack critical thinking skills’ (Biggs, 2003, p. 125). As Wong and Wen (2001) summarize: ‘Confucian-heritage culture students out-perform western students, at least in science and mathematics, and have deeper and more meaning-oriented, approaches to learning’.

Curro and McTaggart (2003) argue that pedagogical innovation requires changes in various aspects of practice:

- Communication – language, symbols and other representations of teaching
- Organization – relationships between teachers, learners, and administrators
- Production – curriculum development, course delivery, management, teacher education, and evaluation of teaching and learning.

They propose that educational practices can be characterized at four levels: Curriculum, Administration, Teacher Development, and Educational Research & Evaluation, as shown in Table 1. (page 82).

Table 1. also shows how the four levels of Curriculum, Administration, Teacher Development, and Educational Research & Evaluation can be broken down into responses characterized by Technical Observance, Practical Deliberation, and Critical Reflection. The breakdown of Educational Practices associated with Teacher Development, and Educational Research & Evaluation have been omitted from this table for brevity. Clearly, the examples cited in this table are more relevant to the context of international students studying in a foreign country than to a university delivering its degrees in a foreign country. However, this framework provides a useful model against which to reflect on the planning, policies, and practices of an off-shore delivery program.

Table 1. Examples of internationalization: University curriculum and context, from Curro and McTaggart (2003)

Educational practices	Communication	Production	Social organization
Curriculum	Curriculum content	Pedagogy	Classroom authority & control
Technical observance	Acknowledgement of international authors in the field	Correct pronunciation of student names	Polite Western manners
Practical Deliberation	Teaching examples from other cultures	Deliberate questioning of students from different cultures in sample perspectives	Consultation with students about preferred classroom relationships
Critical Reflection	Competing cultural explanations and perspectives presented for students to compare	Curriculum changes in dialogue with students to reflect cultural preferences and to nurture collaborative learning practices for deep learning and cross-cultural critique	Use of foreign language forms of address, idioms, and patterns of respect and deference
Administration	Educational policy	Administrative practices	Relations of authority & evaluation
Technical Observance	Policy emphasizes equality of opportunity	Service staff trained to deal with students from different cultures, especially students from non-English speaking backgrounds	Staff invited to undertake cultural sensitivity training
Practical Deliberation	Policy emphasizes staff development for cultural sensitivity and inclusiveness	Staff of different cultures are appointed	Cultural sensitivity training required of all staff as part of a performance management program
Critical Reflection	Policy emphasizes representation of cultural perspectives in all university practices	Active recruitment and support of academic and general staff to move the ethnicity profile of staff toward that of students	Policies and practices systematically and regularly evaluated by stakeholders including community groups

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Teacher development	Curriculum content	Pedagogy	Classroom authority & control
Technical Observance	Basic rules for involvement of all students in classroom interaction included	Provided as a key component of staff development for participating staff	'Oh that's interesting', 'This is how I do it' classroom dialogue
Practical Deliberation	Hierarchy of inclusiveness technical to critical emancipatory included	Teachers explore and document internationalization practices extant in curricula they teach	Teacher educators critique of teachers' ideas
Critical Reflection	Active critique and reform of curriculum required as part of course assessment	Teacher educators actively teach, critique and assist teachers to change teaching and curriculum practices	Data about teaching is presented and improvements to teaching and curriculum planned, implemented, and evaluated critically
Educational research & evaluation	Educational theory	Research & evaluation practices	Politics of research & evaluation
Technical Observance	Policy regarded as (1) binding, aside from occasional review, or (2) irrelevant or too vague to guide practice	Evaluation of teaching dominated by use of standardized student rating scales	Research and evaluation practices are quantitative, about people rather than for them
Practical Deliberation	Theories of teaching and learning well-documented but regarded as eclectic mix & largely a matter of personal preference	Research on teaching is phenomenographic, qualitative; discovering general principles of effective teaching	Research & evaluation tend to focus on the curious, the interesting, & representation of the other
Critical Reflection	All university teaching & learning policies are treated as theories to be tested in practice and subjected to collective critique to improve practice by making it more rational, just, coherent, and satisfying	Research and evaluation practices focus on teaching, curriculum, and the educational milieu together are disciplined by relevant literatures, collective critique, disciplined and informed self-reflection, and commitment to improved educational practice	Research and evaluation seen as socially and historically constituted practices and therefore correctable by stakeholder participation and a commitment to open and reasonable dialogue among those involved and affected

The University of Tasmania Experience

Interviews were conducted with University of Tasmania staff who had been involved in the subject coordination and delivery of course subjects at universities in Fuzhou and Shanghai along the intensive, block mode of teaching, described above. In addition, graduates of the program who had subsequently found employment in Australia were also interviewed. The interviews were semi-structured, and dealt with the teaching program through the framework shown in Table 1. The interviews were recorded, transcribed, and coded using a qualitative analysis methodology, based on Grounded Theory (Glaser, 1992).

Initially the University of Tasmania staff regarded the delivery of the BIS degree at Shanghai Ocean University as similar to the practice of teaching these programs at other campuses. They were very familiar with this model, as the Information Systems program had already been taught across three campuses in Tasmania, with some program delivery in Singapore. There was a strong emphasis by all parties involved in the early negotiations on the need for effective quality control of the content and delivery of the degree in Shanghai. Since its introduction, an increasing awareness has arisen of the inter-cultural challenges of the program, but many of the practices associated with the delivery of the program have not changed.

Table 2. (following) summarizes the major findings from these interviews, structured according to the framework of Curro and McTaggart (2003). It illustrates a range of issues that staff from the School of Information Systems who have been involved in teaching in China have experienced.

At the level of the individual University of Tasmania staff member there has been a lack of provision of appropriate induction programs prior to these staff going to China. The intensive, block mode of teaching limits the time that staff have in China to adapt their teaching practices and material. Uncertainty about social practices in Chinese classrooms and lack of knowledge of the Chinese education system has also inhibited these staff in their ability to interact with Chinese students and effectively establish a dialogue of inquiry in the classroom.

At the level of the School of Information Systems the original plan was to develop a small group of specialized staff who were trained in teaching and learning in China. However, in practice the China teaching load has been spread across many staff members of the School. One staff member was appointed who was born in Shanghai, but the extent to which that staff member has been able to influence the curriculum redesign and delivery of the education program in China has been limited.

Initially it was planned to have one postgraduate or staff member resident in Shanghai for a semester period to provide ongoing tutorial and academic counseling support for Chinese students. However, this practice was discontinued after one semester, much to the disappointment of the Chinese students.

Disputes have arisen with University of Tasmania staff over the status of teaching in China, whether it is to be regarded as on- or off-load, and how staff are to be compensated financially for the inconvenience and real additional costs associated with being in China.

Table 2. A summary of the issues raised through the experience of University of Tasmania staff teaching in China

Educational practices	Communication	Curriculum content	Production	Social organization
Curriculum		Pedagogy		Classroom authority & control
Technical Observance	Understanding by Chinese students of the Tasmanian approach to content delivery and assessment;	Acquiring an appreciation of the style of lecture & tutorial-based learning in Australian universities;	Provision of training in Chinese language & pronunciation to Tasmanian staff.	Provision of training in Chinese protocol & etiquette to visiting Tasmanian staff; Understanding of the rules of progression through degrees at the University of Tasmania;
Practical Deliberation	Development of course material that contains business & ICT examples that are meaningful to Chinese students;	Development of an awareness of the Shanghai Ocean University teaching & learning practice by visiting Tasmanian staff;	Development of an awareness of the Shanghai Ocean University timetabling system & semester calendar by Tasmanian staff.	Development of appropriate modes of interaction with Chinese students in lectures & tutorials;
Critical Reflection	Understanding of plagiarism by Chinese students;	Development of an appreciation of the practical interpretation of rules on plagiarism amongst Chinese students.	Acquiring an understanding of the learning culture associated with the Chinese education system & integration of the proposed curriculum with that education system;	Planning for the adaptation of the curriculum in dialogue with Chinese students & Shanghai Ocean University staff to reflect cultural preferences & to nurture collaborative practices for deep learning & cross-cultural critique;
	Development of an appreciation of the inherent differences of the two education systems, & challenges these differences present, plus the opportunities for staff development, & gaining a greater understanding of the other culture.		Establishment of communication pathways between staff from different institutions which facilitate discussion of educational issues, & seek to improve pedagogical flow.	Development of an understanding of the roles that language, social interactions, & relationships between student & lecturer play in the educational process in China; Engagement in experimental modes of delivery & assessment, & critical evaluation of the outcomes of such programs.

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Table 2. (continued)

Administration	Educational policy	Administrative practices	Relations of authority & evaluation
Technical Observance	Ensuring that both Chinese & Australian students receive comparable curriculum & forms of assessment; Recognition that the course delivery & assessment cannot be identical in the different institutions.	Employment of an intensive, block mode of teaching that limits the ability of the Tasmanian staff to observe & adapt their teaching methods during their visits, & to communicate with Chinese teaching staff. Provision of adequate access to the elearning management system for Chinese students.	Provision of induction programs to Tasmanian staff prior to visiting China; Briefing Tasmanian staff on appropriate conduct during visits to China.
Practical Deliberation	Provision of professional development for Chinese staff who have visited Tasmania for semester-long periods to enhance their understanding of the University of Tasmania educational system; Provision of opportunities for Tasmanian staff to study & conduct research in China.	Appointment of Chinese staff to academic positions at the University of Tasmania; Recruitment of University of Tasmania academic staff who are culturally aware & sensitive to teaching in China.	Dealing with disputes with participating University of Tasmania staff over status of service in China service & financial compensation of visiting staff; Dealing with issues of differential salary levels & job descriptions between Australian & Chinese staff;
Critical Reflection	Development by the University of Tasmania of induction material that emphasizes the development of culturally aware and sensitive teaching programs.	Provision of appropriate debriefing sessions for staff on return from visits to China.	Formation of an equitable partnership between the two Universities. Formation of an education management committee to monitor & review the program delivery on a regular basis.

At the University level, the program to deliver the BIS in China has not exploited the knowledge and expertise that exists in the University, such as consulting with staff from the School of Asian Studies. The University did not produce comprehensive induction material (Flexible Education Unit, 2004) that covered the pedagogical and cultural issues associated with teaching international students until 2004, 2 years after the introduction of the off-shore program. Access to the WebCT elearning management system employed by the University of Tasmania has been less than satisfactory in China, due to slow network access rates over the Internet.

The teaching of Information Systems at Shanghai Ocean University and in Fuzhou has presented a number of specific problems:

- The Chinese students have a limited awareness of relevant business systems and processes, such as banking systems and banking procedures beyond their experience with the use of automatic teller machines.
- Many of the students enrolled in the program appear to be unsure as to whether the degree has an emphasis on technical ICT or upon business systems, and do not appreciate the joint approach of the course.
- The English language program has prepared the Chinese students with knowledge of general English, but the program has only provided limited introduction to ICT and business jargon and phrases. In addition, the students have had limited exposure to ICT and Western business language jargon and phrases through the Chinese media.
- The development of skills in the analysis of case studies and in abstract problem analysis, especially when working in small groups, and of systems thinking, have not been explicitly covered and practiced with the Chinese students. While these students tend to focus on convergent styles of problem solving (Lopez-Real & Mok, 2001) they have the intellectual ability, but not the cultural awareness for dealing with divergent problem resolution. The same claim may also be made regarding many Australian students, of course.
- Plagiarism has been a problem, although not a major issue. It has been apparent in computer programming subjects and in more advanced subjects, where students often lack the skills in English to express themselves, and so resort to various forms of paraphrasing copied material. While students are generally aware of the concepts associated with plagiarism, they have lacked exposure to actual illustrative examples, and often do not appear to be aware of the seriousness of plagiarism.
- Chinese students are not accustomed to buying relatively expensive textbooks, and so provision of adequate numbers of both required and reference textbook material to these classes has been a problem.

Findings

Use of Table 1. for the purpose of classification has enabled the categorization of relevant issues from this program into:

- Issues relevant to the individual staff member and particular course subjects delivered to international students
- Issues relevant to the organizational aspects, such as the school/department or teaching team who are responsible for the management of delivery of courses to international students
- Issues relevant to the institution that has contracted to deliver courses to international bodies.

Obviously these three levels are not independent as decisions made at a higher level can constrain and otherwise impact policies and practice at lower levels.

As highlighted by Biggs (2003), the following stereotypical views associated with the teaching and learning of international students do not apply:

- “They rote learn and lack critical thinking skills”
- “They are passive; they won’t talk in class”
- “They don’t know what plagiarism means”.

Rather, the key issues that inhibit the effectiveness of their teaching and learning identified by Tasmanian staff relate to the contextual issues of culture, Chinese society, and the Chinese education system. The staff were unaware of the nature of the teaching and learning experience of the Chinese students through their schooling and early university years. As a consequence, Tasmanian staff felt uncomfortable in not knowing the accepted manner of interaction with Chinese students in the classroom. This led to inhibitions on the part of the Tasmanian lecturers in the classroom, rather than the stereotypical view that the lack of communication could be ascribed to passive students.

A further example of the lack of awareness of contextual issues by a Tasmanian staff member occurred with the reaction by Chinese students to the amount of emphasis placed upon the completion of assignments. One Tasmanian staff member suspected that this was due to such assignments not being part of the assessment regime in Chinese courses. The staff member could not adequately understand or explain the differential motivation of Chinese students towards assignments and examinations. Similar results have been reported by Woodrow and Chapman (2002) with regard to the teaching and learning of English by Chinese students, and been partly ascribed to the collectivist culture in China.

Most of the dialogue between the Tasmanian and Chinese institutions has concerned administrative and contractual matters. There has been very little dialogue at the level of curriculum redesign and implementation, and pedagogical issues, except between individual lecturers. This situation has applied both during visits by Tasmanian staff to China and when Chinese staff have undertaken extended visits to Tasmania. In fact, in one instance a Tasmanian staff member was instructed not to discuss pedagogical issues with Chinese staff while visiting and teaching in China. An overriding concern with the restricted use of appropriate protocol channels has limited communication between all parties involved in the program.

The Flexible Education Unit of the University of Tasmania produced a draft document entitled *Teaching and Learning: Induction Materials for UTas Staff Working with Offshore Students* in 2004. While this document is very comprehensive in its

coverage of issues and proposals for the planning and delivery of courses at offshore institutions, it was published 2 years after the delivery of the BIS program had commenced at Shanghai Ocean University.

Lessons Learned

From the experience gained in the delivery of this program at Shanghai Ocean University the lessons that have been learnt (and consequent advice offered to other institutions involved in similar ventures) are summarized in Table 3. (following).

Table 3. A summary of some of the lessons learned and relevant advice offered from the experience of University of Tasmania staff teaching in China

Illustrative observations	Lessons
The selection of teaching staff to be involved in the program on the basis of subject knowledge and the provision of relatively little preparation for cross-cultural teaching does not lead to outcomes approaching best practice.	Teaching staff need to be selected on the basis of their aptitude to the challenges of cross-cultural teaching in a foreign country. They need to be trained for this purpose, and need to have developed skills in conflict resolution and negotiation. In particular, senior staff often have the teaching experience, are highly respected and have the entrepreneurial skills to generate the diverse returns from international programs (Debowski, 2003).
Two years into the program, at a Tasmanian dinner for visiting senior Chinese staff from Shanghai Ocean University, it became apparent that neither party had a good knowledge of the basic roles, responsibilities, and organizational structure of the others' University.	Preparation for involvement in the program needs to cover issues associated with social, educational, & business cultures, and also the institutional cultures of the partner universities, at all levels of staff involved in the program.
The existing instrument used for subject-based surveys for the student evaluation of teaching and learning at the University of Tasmania is considered not to be suitable for use in international delivery at offshore institutions, & has been withheld in semester 2 of 2005.	The survey instrument for student evaluation of teaching and learning needs to be reworded and better explained, so that its purpose and content is comprehensible to international students. The expectations of international students, their perception of the outcomes of subject completion, and their norms in evaluating teaching and learning need to be better understood and communicated when using such survey instruments.
Staff involved in the program have not been encouraged to understand the other institution's cultural landscapes.	The true partnership aspects of the relationship between the two institutions need to emphasized, and staff equipped and encouraged to explore the other's culture and the inter-cultural interactions.

(continued)

Table 3. (continued)

Much of the policy associated with the program has been continuously developed on an ad hoc basis, with mainly verbal communication to the staff involved.	Expectations associated with the program need to be documented, disseminated, & adopted using the uniform format of a contract and evolving service level agreement, so that it is clear to all staff involved in the program. Adequate provision needs to be made for dispute resolution, both between institutions and within institutions, with respect to the operation of the program.
Individual teaching staff involved in the delivery of international program are often loaded with 'unseen' duties of remote course coordination, marking, moderation of assessment, individual student counseling, and meeting administrative deadlines.	A team approach to the delivery of international program should be adopted with distinct roles of project managers, cross-cultural advisors, course coordinators, local and remote student counselors, quality assurers, and elearning content managers (Debowski, 2003).
Despite many superficial differences between the partner institutions, there are also many similarities in pedagogical objectives, and in the bureaucratic processes of each institution.	Greater emphasis needs to be placed on the successful implementation of joint partnerships between cross-cultural programs, with encouragement to understand the roles, responsibilities, organizational structures, and social and political contexts of each institution.
The style of teaching and assessment adopted within the program has led to many plagiarism cases, and students are not able to understand the delivered material and goals of the assessment, without significant assistance from Chinese teaching staff.	Pedagogical flow is only effective when the transmitter, hosting body and the receiver of knowledge can operate without excessive impedance. This knowledge flow is multi-directional, and needs to be facilitated through the active cooperation of all parties, and the engagement with each others' learning systems and cultural contexts.

Critical Reflections

When the program to deliver the BIS degree in Shanghai was first discussed, the senior Shanghai Ocean University staff emphasized that they wanted the same curriculum content, same assessment, and also same mode of teaching in China as in Tasmania. In particular, they wanted learning through problem-oriented discussions in small groups, as was practiced in final-year classes in Tasmania. They re-equipped several classrooms on the Shanghai Ocean University campus to permit this style of teaching. Unfortunately, little real debate of the feasibility and even desirability of these requirements has taken place, and the practical extent to which they have been achieved is questionable. A lack of understanding and real engagement with the Chinese education system has limited the extent to which the same modes of teaching and learning have been achieved.

The delivery of the BIS in China has been viewed by some at the University of Tasmania as a service delivery function. The wider implications of the program for increased cultural awareness, enrichment, and diversification of research have been

largely ignored in the implementation of the program. The limited funds available in return for delivery of the program has also restricted the extent to which the staff involved have wanted, or been able, to expand the scope of the program.

Teaching staff can focus on their perceived limitations of the Confucian mode of teaching and learning in which the students appear to consider “there is only one right answer”, and may defer to others with higher status in the classes to provide the more correct answer. Alternatively such teaching staff can adopt a constructive approach to engagement with such an educational culture, “and to plan for the teaching of reflective and synergistic learning” (Debowski, 2003, p. 4). It was very apparent in early discussions with senior Shanghai Ocean University staff that they wanted Tasmanian teaching staff to foster independent inquiry, to develop discursive skills, and to encourage critical thinking by Chinese students.

Ryan and Hellmundt (2003) have also reported that lack of time, budget restrictions, and heavy workloads have impeded the extent to which staff are capable of understanding, assimilating, and enriching their teaching practices in a foreign environment. They also regarded such pressure as counter to what many staff regard as the purpose of university education – ‘developing independent, critical thinking and intercultural skills in students’ (p. 5).

While this chapter has dealt with the perceptions of the other-ness inherent in the relationship between the Australian and Chinese institutions, it is important to emphasize the need to transcend the perceptions of other-ness and to seek greater understanding of the nature of the pedagogical processes involved in this cross-cultural teaching program. Such an approach was evident in some Australian staff, especially in the Chinese-born staff involved in the program. It was also evident in the graduate students interviewed, who sought to use their time in Tasmania to gain a better understanding of the Australian tertiary educational systems and business practices.

Undoubtedly the successes of the program have been due to the work that staff, from all parties, have dedicated to the effective delivery of the program in China. The rapport that has developed directly between Tasmanian staff and Chinese staff and students has clearly been a major factor in the ongoing effective delivery of the program.

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Elearning in European Higher Education: An Analysis of Present Practice in Ireland, Portugal, and the UK, with Lessons for the Bologna Process

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Introduction and Background

The Lisbon partnership requires a long-term communication strategy that not only keeps our citizens informed, but engages them in the process. The main thrust of our communication efforts must be at national, regional, and local levels. This is why there must be close and continual coordination with national governments, parliaments, regions, cities, and civil society. This will provide the democratic legitimization of the strategy itself and the basis for it to succeed.

(European Commission, 2005a)

The Bologna declaration was signed in 1999 by Ministers of Education from 29 European countries in the Italian city of Bologna. The Bologna process (also called the Bologna Accord) was begun in order to bring about a *European higher education area* where university degrees would be more comparable and compatible throughout Europe. The University of Bologna had recently celebrated its 900th birthday, in 1988, marking it as the oldest continually operating degree-granting university in the world. The declaration was open to other countries of the European Cultural Convention and further meetings have been held in: Prague, 2001; Berlin, 2003; Bergen, 2005; and London, 2007. The Council of Europe and UNESCO have jointly issued the Lisbon Recognition Convention on cross-border recognition of academic qualifications.

It seems natural to believe than any large-scale pan-European project must be based on a European Union initiative, so it is all the more interesting that the Bologna process was not. It actually constitutes a series of intergovernmental agreements, between both EU and non-EU countries. It does not have the status of EU legislation nor, as the Bologna Declaration is not a treaty or convention, are there legal obligations for the signatories.

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Although the Bologna Declaration was created outside its jurisdiction, the European Commission has played an increasingly important role in the implementation of the process. Previous to the Bologna Accord, the European Commission had supported a number of initiatives that promoted pan-European accord and, specifically, a wide range of projects in the areas of open and distance education across Europe, through Socrates and Minerva. Encouragement of student mobility between European institutes of higher education is supported by grants through European programs such as Erasmus, Tempus, and Erasmus Mundus. Erasmus Mundus has focused both on promoting European institutions on a global level and encouraging joint Master's courses in the European Higher Education Area. The Socrates-Grundtvig initiatives enabled adult learners to access higher education through a variety of pathways. The new EU Action Programme in the Field of Lifelong Learning (2007–2013) continues the Erasmus Action and other such programs. The Commission now participates as a full member in the Bologna Follow-up Group and the Bologna Board.

There are three general areas of concern to the EU:

- Curricular reform: The three-cycle system of the bachelor's, master's, and doctorate degrees, as well as competence-based learning, flexible learning paths, recognition of degrees and qualifications, and mobility of students
- Governance reform: Examining university autonomy, undertaking strategic partnerships with universities and business, and quality assurance
- Funding reform: aiding universities to perform when income is aimed at being linked to performance and efficiency, including the possible role of tuition fees, grants and loans (European Commission, 2007a).

In May 2006, the Commission published a Communiqué outlining an agenda for modernization in education, research, and innovation as part of the Community Lisbon Programme. The first measure listed calls for a breaking down of the barriers around the universities of Europe. A major effort is being made to achieve the core Bologna reforms by 2010: comparable qualifications (short cycle, bachelor's, master's, doctorate); flexible, modernized curricula at all levels corresponding to the needs of the labor market; and a reliable quality assurance system (European Commission, 2007a).

When trying to agree on aspects of education, entrenched values and practices have been problematic. Of the three areas of concern listed above the change in the timing and titles of the degrees has been difficult to garner support for, as has the call for students to pay tuition fees. In Greece, for example, reforms have been met with resistance on the part of students, who rioted. On the one hand, having the same timeframes across borders promotes student mobility and is an admirable goal but, on the other hand, these are in many ways surface changes and become flashpoints for ill-feeling. The process of converting all systems 'to the short cycle, bachelor, master's, doctor' is now moving towards a competency-based system and away from a focus on the strict convergence in terms of time spent on qualifications. So, for example, the new pan-European system will have an undergraduate

and postgraduate division, with the Bachelor's degree in the former and the Master and Doctoral degrees in the latter. This is more of a compromise between the common UK, Irish, and North American models and the Central European model. Such changes miss a chance of making real reform happen and building a model where European education can perform at its highest potential. There is a process, however, that may suit.

The Commission works with member states and the higher education sector through what is called the Open Method of Coordination (OMC). OMC is promoted as a technique involving dialogue with key policy makers and experts, as well as peer-learning activities. It also involves promoting indicators, benchmarks, publishing reports, and undertaking analyses. The EU has undertaken initiatives that support its key goals, such as quality assurance, through the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS), etc. A final pillar of the OMC is to aid the initiatives of member states and institutions through pilot projects, associations, networks, etc. It is hoped that such reforms will enable universities to play their role in the Europe of Knowledge.

Cammack (2006) states that the Lisbon process was not the first to propose the use of the Open Method of Co-ordination. He argues, instead, that the OMC adopted at the Lisbon Summit of March 2000 constitutes the most *formal and comprehensive* promotion of such an initiative. Cammack, an economist, links the OMC methods and global competitiveness, which he believes is the underlying reason for the adoption of the method in the EU. This chapter will explore its alternative potential for underpinning change within a communally constructed environment.

We present here the voices of educators who e-teach or have taken part in projects promoting online education, so as to reflect on our experiences in promoting new ways of teaching and learning. We have selected the information as examples of international good practice and innovation in elearning in Europe. We seek to use benchmarking tools to identify a number of models where successful and innovative learning has taken place. Based on these examples, we put forward recommendations regarding the Bologna process.

We would argue that though it may seem obvious that countries across Europe should have similar educational systems in the way they have similar calendars, being too prescriptive may lead to a loss of an excellent opportunity to create an environment for real progress. Consider the example of the Japanese monks who traveled to China in the 6th and 7th centuries. They brought back many cultural artifacts without always understanding the full significance of their origin. The Chinese calendar is a case in point; it was based on the mathematical calculation of *Pi*, which the Japanese rounded to 3.14. Within several generations, the calendar was seriously out of tune with the seasons – proposing good days for planting, for example, in the first days of winter. The imposition of common structures for the sake of “modernization” has similar potential problematic implications. The structures, in many cases, are simply old shells that originally evolved from real needs but no longer need apply – or are just not applicable. Consider for a moment that fellows at the University of Cambridge in the UK must sign a document testifying that they live within 10 miles of Great St. Mary's Church (located at one corner of the market square of the town, now city). The distance is not an arbitrary one.

Instead it is carefully chosen as it was considered the distance one can travel in 1 hour on horseback. Although it may be easy to dismiss this as an example of eccentric behavior associated with the Oxbridge tradition – where students can, for example, also wear swords to their exams and call for ale during the trial, should they be thirsty – there is no aspect of the present education system that is not in some way akin to this example in being unnecessarily restrictive. Reflect on the archaic example of schools meeting each day at the same time, of educating together students who simply share a birthday that falls within arbitrary dates of a calendar year, of moving students through materials at the same pace – materials that some find much too easy and others much too hard. Indeed, we could argue that almost any aspect of present-day schooling is built on traditions that not only no longer need to apply, but are often implemented with an eye to ease of administration rather than on any basis for high-quality education.

If the real goals of the Open Method of Coordination are communication and building of knowledge, then the method should not simply be used as a carrot for the EU's persuasive financial incentives for member states to coordinate and deliver their Master's degrees in 2-year periods. Instead, the OMC might be the key to a future where education evolves, and the joint process of evolution that is as important as the products of individual systems. Now is not the time to create a Europe that essentially follows the American system; instead, a pivotal moment exists to seek a truly innovative (and perhaps truly European) model.

For almost a decade or more, elearning has been credited with the potential to transform education. For the most part, this potential is still considered untapped. Yet, the Bologna process could be the driving force that creates the right synergy for change. Elearning should have an important role in supporting many of the key goals of the EU at this time. Elearning can and should allow for alternatives to what we currently experience in higher education (HE), for the gradual erosion of the institution-based system of mass education (that the Bologna process is solidifying) to one of a more individualized, student-centered, and community-oriented experience. Changes in pedagogy are key to changing the role of instructors so that they act as guides on the side, aiding students to discover solutions. Luarillard (2002) in her book *Rethinking University Teaching* supports mediating learning, not only de-contextualized knowledge, but also situated knowledge in real-world activity. Her work builds on that of Collins, Brown, and Newman (1989) and others who proposed that learning takes place best in an environment that 'situates cognition'; or provides cognitive apprenticeships. Put simply, new roles in the teaching-learning relationship are one aspect of the impact of information communication technology in higher education (Frederickson, Reed, and Clifford, 2005; Luarillard 2002) and these are developing across borders in alternative environments. Two of the authors of this paper, Holmes and Gardner (2005), state that elearning can also promote a type of constructivism, called communal constructivism, where students learn not only *with* each other but also *for* each other, leaving behind something of their learning experience for others who follow [see also the work of Holmes, FitzGibbon, Savage, Mehan, and Tangney (2001), Leask and Younie (2001), as well as the work of Preston on Braided Learning (2007)]. The modern education process may be seen

as a sanitized pipe system through which students are poured to emerge “educated”, but without leaving anything behind in the system they have passed through. In contrast, the “communal constructivist” philosophy is like a river that changes its environment as it flows.

We look to the Open Method of Coordination as a potential vehicle for a communally constructed Europe of Knowledge.

Case Studies of Elearning in a European Context

We have entered a crucial stage, both in a political and in an economic sense. We expect Member States to come up with credible and ambitious action plans to make Lisbon work. Europe has to show the way. Europe has to show that it can choose. It has to substantiate its choices. The choices need to be ambitious but realistic. By showing leadership the Commission can stimulate and encourage Member States to do the same. It is only by the combined forces of the Commission, the European Parliament and the Member States that Europe can reach the ambitious goals set in the renewed Lisbon agenda. Now is the time to deliver.

European Commission, 2005a

Education is in a period of transition across Europe; at the same time that the Bologna process is bringing together Ministries of Education across Europe, new directions are being spurred by the eEurope 2005 Action plan (which was built on the work of the Lisbon European Council of 2000). The European Commission has been concerned with issues of social inclusion, re-skilling for the knowledge society, bringing public administration online, providing interactive public services, online health services, development of broadband networks, and legislation for e-business (European Commission, 2005b). Europe’s i2010 initiative – *A European Information Society for growth and employment* (European Commission, 2007b, p. 9) – builds on previous work by seeking to extend the benefits to all EU citizens and also improving their potential to make the most of their lives:

As the use of ICT grows, so does its impact on society. i2010 recognizes this in three ways: making sure that ICT benefit all citizens; making public services better, more cost effective and more accessible; and improving quality of life.

Elearning has the power to provide more flexible learning and the university, with its more flexible mandate than primary and secondary education, may be the best place for instigating changes that make a difference. We would argue that elearning can and should allow for a student-centered and community-oriented experience. In an online learning environment not only can teachers and learners connect across space and time, they can also access information from still further afield. Experts from across the globe take part in courses and, as in the case of medical students studying laparoscopic surgery, who watch from their classrooms operations which are being carried out by remote surgeons in a hospital on a patient in a third location. There is an opportunity now to put forth a new paradigm for cross-border education in a European context. There is much excellent work being carried out in Europe and funded by the European Union that could form the basis of a knowledge-rich Europe and provide a communally constructed knowledge space that would serve to underpin the Open Method of Coordination.

Ireland

Former Irish Taoiseach (Prime Minister) Bertie Ahern (Irish Government, 2002, p. i), in outlining: “A Strategy to realise the potential of the Information Society” stated:

We must also ensure that our approach is responsive to the influence of rapidly evolving technologies. The key to competitive advantage will be to retain the capacity to respond quickly to new developments in an environment of ongoing change. A supportive public policy environment is clearly critical to shaping our development as an Information Society. . . . I am confident that it gives a solid basis to underpin future economic and social prosperity.

Ireland, perhaps more than any other country in Europe, owes its recent prosperity to transformations in business brought about by the increased use of information and communication technology. Ireland is seen as one of the emerging key software producers, one of the “3 Is”, together with India, and Israel (Arora, 2005). With a population of approximately 4 million people, Ireland is, for example, the second-largest software producer in the world. All the big names in software, such as Microsoft, Sun, IBM, and many in hardware, such as Intel, have headquarters in Dublin. Ireland, too, has developed local computer-area industries, such as Iona Technologies, an early successful initiative out of Trinity College’s Computer Science Department. When people in the Republic of Ireland are asked to predict the further integration of technology into their lives, the highest scores are for the use of computers in education. In a recent survey, 93% of respondents agreed that: ‘All school children will be using computers at school on a daily basis as part of their education’ and 87% of the people polled believed this to be a good thing (Williams, Blackwell, & Whelan, 2004).

The Republic of Ireland’s education system is quite similar to that of most European countries. In Ireland most Honors Bachelor’s degrees are 3 to 4 years, with Master’s and Doctorates being broadly similar to the UK. Ordinary bachelor’s degrees are also first-cycle qualifications. The Master’s degree is always a post-graduate degree, either for coursework or earned through research. The generic outcomes for Irish degrees are spelled out in the National Framework of Qualifications published in 2003 (National Qualification Authority of Ireland, 2003). Students attend primary and secondary school and can choose to go on to higher (or *third-level*) education or further education if they have sufficient “points”. Entry into the top universities is highly competitive. The pattern of Bachelor’s degree followed by Master’s degree and Doctorate is similar to most of Europe. The Minister of Education controls the direction of education in Ireland through the *Department of Education and Science*, which has jurisdiction over policy and funding. There are other Irish actors at the governmental level, including the National Qualifications Authority of Ireland and the Higher Education Authority, as well as local Vocational Education Committees. There are many other statutory and non-statutory bodies which have a function in the education system.

There has been a move in Ireland to standardize the offerings of the various colleges and universities. Consolidation of Irish college and university awards is being driven in part by the Bologna process. Some institutions have completed a

process of modularizing their courses (others are still in a transition phase), mostly using the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) (European Commission, 2008). The National Certificate (NCert) and National Diploma (NDip), which had been the most common awards at the 1-year diploma level, were replaced by the Higher Certificate and Ordinary Bachelor's Degree, respectively, in 2005. Further education has seen real growth in recent years, reflecting the booming economy in Ireland.

Although Ireland's economic growth is considered a boon, there is a well-founded concern that it has created a digital divide and, thus, resulted in inequalities in Ireland's society. Perhaps because of Ireland's history of foreign rule, there is a strong movement in Ireland to combat the emergence of entrenched divisions in society. The Irish Government established a task force on Lifelong Learning under the Programme for Prosperity and Fairness to explore issues of increasing adult access to basic ICT-skills training, using technology and flexible learning options to enhance the skills of those in the workplace, with specific efforts to target the over 55s.

Ireland's Information Society Commission (ISC) has an ongoing role in creating a public policy framework by monitoring progress and highlighting key issues. Its members are drawn from the business community, the 'social partners', and government, and they act as an independent advisory body reporting directly to the Taoiseach. There are six working groups of the ISC: Values and Ethics, Workplace of the Future, e-Health, Privacy and Cyber Security, and School of the Future. By being an independent body, with members drawn from a variety of backgrounds, the ISC can quickly respond to and, indeed, lead in new trends. The high levels of growth are a welcome trend in Ireland but as Dr. Daniel O'Hare, Chairman of the ISC, states: 'Change and learning can be seen as two sides of the same coin, and a faster pace of change requires us to learn more quickly' (Information Society Commission, 2005). And a key challenge for Ireland is that there is a growing diversity of learners, including an increase in students of different ages, races, and cultural backgrounds, and of those with disabilities. In a 2008 strategy statement, the Department of the Taoiseach (2008) stated that:

We will work to build on our achievements under previous action plans. Our strategies will focus on promoting effective and innovative deployment of technology in the public and private sectors, and in society generally, in line with agreed wider European objectives. The aim is to promote inclusivity of access to, and use of, digital media technologies with consequent benefits for all.

Irish ACE and SAVI Projects

The key significance of the Information Society is that it makes possible new connections – connections that challenge traditional assumptions about what is possible, and when it is possible.

(Irish Government, 2002)

New technology offers increased opportunities for employment for people with impaired vision and can considerably open up opportunities for learning. The

Internet is a powerful tool enabling users to link with others and to engage in advocacy. In spite of the positive breakthroughs in the development of screen-reader software over the past years, little progress has been made in providing training with fully accessible e-content material. Poor web design (Imrie, 2004) can also reduce the overall effectiveness of access to course content and, as a result, can hamper the success of the learning experience for the individual (Tahkokallio, 2004).

Two projects in Ireland, the Accessible Community for E-Business (ACE) Project and The Social Assistance for and with People with Vision Impairment (SAVI), were designed to make an impact by investigating how online learning environments could aid those with vision impairments and reduce the digital divide.

ACE was designed to be a multi-stage study so that the design, development, and testing of a new electronic online community were conducted with learners with vision impairment. The ACE team then built an e-community to serve those identified with learning needs. The ACE project focused on supporting the participation of people with Impaired Vision in the workforce, both as employers and employees. Part of the project investigated whether the virtual community embodied the changing needs and aspirations of the physical community. Participants learned both *with* and *for* each other, the concept that we call ‘communal constructivism’ (Holmes et al., 2001).

From the beginning of the research, vision-impaired participants were invited to take part in a dialogue at each phase of the project, especially with regard to researching and recording their experiences whilst testing the ECDL courses. One of the outcomes from this research process was to agree on a ‘research coalition’ (Baker, Lynch, Cantillon, & Walsh, 2004) that would monitor how representative the vision-impaired community was in the design and delivery of a virtual learning environment (VLE). In many ways, this process echoes the Open Method of Coordination (OMC). The bringing to the front of those who are marginalized is part of a movement within qualitative research (Pugach, 2001) that we believe should be reflected in the OMC and an underlying part of the key goals of the Bologna process. We wished to capture the experiences of the participants. We were interested in both the formal and non-formal modes of learning knowledge and skills development and how much of the strength of a visually impaired community could be replicated electronically (Lave & Wegner, 1991).

One of the main areas of ACE focused on how a group of adult vision-impaired participants use, share, and reconstruct knowledge-based learning materials based on the European Computer Driving License (ECDL) program. The research team explored how the resulting e-community promoted new learning activities by its participants in order to help continue building and to sustain the life of both the e- and visually impaired community. We also investigated how the newly created virtual community supports itself by modifying, extending, and perpetuating new knowledge based on that community’s needs. To us, these were important goals both for ACE and for the Bologna process as a whole.

We expanded the goals of ACE when designing the SAVI project. We sought to involve more people in the process, specifically targeting teachers. Educators who have had little training or experience in working with visually impaired students

were, we believed, looking for specific courses that can help them deliver a more accessible national curriculum and meet these students' needs more effectively. As EU countries look into the greater integration and inclusion of students with visual impairments into mainstream schools, pressure is placed on mainstream teachers to meet the individual needs of the visually impaired and modify their teaching practices and break down the barriers so commonly experienced by poor training and awareness programs.

The greater need for improved training for those wishing to work with students with visual impairments could be met by designing specifically related courses that can teach educators how to work with students with visual impairments. This creation of an EU partnership is to develop a series of activities based on building and sharing networked knowledge, rehabilitation, and creating employment within the educational and industrial sectors. Visually impaired learners can also increase their technology skills and avail themselves of the support of their peers, which will make an immense difference to their success in the future. We strongly believe that any elearning tool designed by the partners should be "user-led", thus ensuring that all who will be using the tool will influence its construction and delivery. It is also intended that participants with visual impairments will provide important input affecting how elearning tools will be more accessible.

As outlined in the revised Irish National Anti-Poverty Strategy, building an inclusive society is the key priority of the government of the Republic of Ireland. It is clear that the technologies of the Information Society present new opportunities to address traditional problems of disadvantage and exclusion in society. ICTs deliver new channels of access and participation, and have the potential to offset the disadvantages associated with remoteness and restricted mobility. However, it is also clear that public policy interventions are needed to avoid the danger of exacerbating existing inequalities, and to prevent the emergence of a digital divide (Irish Government, 2002).

In designing and delivering to teachers an online course that is both informative and accessible, the SAVI project model offers a way forward for those educators who find they are teaching students who can learn effectively but differently. Here, again, we believe is a lesson for the Bologna process. The process itself can, like the SAVI project, model effective behavior in its method of communication and information delivery. The Open Model of Coordination can be designed to be held up as an excellent example of inclusiveness within European society.

Portugal

Portugal has yet to specifically address the national development of elearning within the nation. In the area of training and education, governmental efforts related to the development of the Information Society are mostly focused on the aspects of providing access and on basic qualifications, such as the uptake of the International Computer Driving Licence (ICDL). We examine here the first experiences of a university in using online learning environments across its campus.

The European Union, through the *elearningeuropa* program has been promoting Information and Communication Technology (ICT) literacy and the creation of a virtual campus inside higher education (HE) institutions. As usual in innovation processes, the curiosity of some faculty members and a few institutional leaders paved the way for the earliest experiments, mainly focused on the discovery of the power of some new technologies, such as virtual learning environments (VLEs). Initially, the use of technology mediation in higher education was seen as a feature limited to distance education reserved for the Universidade Aberta, the Portuguese public Open University. Since then, however, the exponential dissemination of the Internet, web-based technologies, and, more recently, the advent of Web 2.0 social tools, has contributed dramatically to the adoption of new work strategies in HE. This flow of new web-based didactic approaches, introduced new learning and teaching paradigms into HE and the resulting re-examination of learning that such an experience affords we believe to be useful for the Bologna process.

The IMS-Learning Design (IMS-LD) is a framework for the design of activity-oriented learning experiences, that includes a set of concepts and features conceived to provide flexible support to any didactic and any technology environment. Many institutions are adopting open-source solutions, such as the VLE MOODLE, and a special task force of the Portuguese Ministry of Education, responsible for the non-HE education sector, is promoting its use in primary and secondary schools. This means that the use of technology mediation is becoming more common among the secondary students who are the HE students of the future, thus paving the way for future generations of technology-educated students in HE institutions.

Currently, in Portugal, therefore, most HE public and private institutions have adopted a VLE platform and have undertaken e-dissemination. However, adopting elearning is often understood as merely just installing a VLE, and very little attention is given to the critical factors of elearning, such as: (i) What is the added value of elearning for the institution? (ii) What are the strategic targets to be achieved? (iii) What are the desired changes to be pursued? (iv) What faculty and technical staff training is required? (v) What is the expected impact on students? (vi) How are results going to be evaluated (vii) What performance indicators are going to be adopted in order to enable future reasoning concerning the results achieved?

Much of the hype surrounding virtual learning environments was embedded in the idea that learning could be effectively broken into small units that could then be shared. The units of learning are called learning objects (LOs) and it was believed that teachers could easily produce and share such resources. Much work has been done on making sure that such contributions can be standardized and so more easily accessible in a wide variety of elearning environments. The “brave new world of learning”, resulting from the generalized adoption of learning object (LO) technologies seems to be very far away in the Portuguese context. The idea that educators around the world could and would voluntarily organize information in small chunks, each one an autonomous LO, that would be shared and re-used, decisively contributing to an ever-expanding knowledge society, seems to have stalled. However, the fact is that the process is just slower than originally envisioned, and that some technologies, such as ADL’s SCORM and IEEE’s LOM, are currently contributing

to facilitating content migration among VLE platforms, providing users with a relevant degree of freedom as far as platform choice is concerned. Some other important contributions have, meanwhile, been made to technology-supported learning.

HE institutions generally, however, remain very reluctant to adopt such new work paradigms, although they may provide new levels of flexibility for faculty and students, and new business opportunities. This is due to the lack of a strong strategic management in most of the institutions, and to the traditional conservatism of faculty and staff, who are not encouraged to take risks and exploit new opportunities to improve the work conditions offered to their students. One way forward is that several Portuguese HE institutions look to web-based learning as an interesting way to reach new students, including the provision of life-long learning programs. Also, some institutions, such as the University of Aveiro, are using technology mediation to reach some new international markets, such as the African Portuguese-speaking countries.

Case-Study 1: Faculty-Training Program at the University of Aveiro

The University of Aveiro, founded in 1973, is one of Portugal's newest Universities, with a faculty, in 2006, of more than 900 academics. The traditional model of teaching is centered on the teacher delivering information through lectures. However, new technological innovations, the globalization of our society and culture, and new lifestyles are bringing a demand for a different type of education. The university is engaged in exploring the advantages of all the opportunities to improve the quality of more than 40 undergraduate and 130 postgraduate programs currently being offered and to broaden the catalogue of student choices through the promotion of ICT/Internet-based programs.

Since 2002, the University of Aveiro has offered post-graduate courses at a distance, based on a blended-learning model that mixes face-to-face with technology-mediated distributed-learning activities. Currently, this program comprises courses covering a wide variety of topics, such as multimedia in education, language-teaching pedagogy, electronics and telecommunications, and mathematics for engineers. A long-term program is now being developed in collaboration with HE institutions in Cape Verde, and other programs are under development with the Angola and Mozambique educational authorities.

At the University of Aveiro almost all faculty members and their students use the VLE platform on a daily basis. Very different pedagogical and didactic approaches can be identified, however, ranging from using the platform just for delivery of content to the exploitation of the power of dynamic learning communities. This open range of approaches is encouraged and welcomed, because it provides a rich environment for the discussion of the effectiveness of different methodologies and technologies in different topics and learning styles. The roles of both the teacher and the student have been changing in the past years owing to the new demands of the information society. Faculty can focus not only on the delivery of knowledge but also understand how that knowledge is acquired by students, and, thus, adapt the resources they use to make the information more accessible. Burge argues that to

'teach constructively is to provide opportunities for complex information processing related to a learner's needs and knowledge of the world, relevant design and real world (authentic) tasks...' (Burge, 1995) and it is this process that we believe online learning environments can support. Here again the Bologna process could benefit from a flexible system of identifying and meeting the needs of the variety of actors, which may be easier said than done, of course. The focus on knowledge acquisition, as well as delivery, is part of the EU's current processes, in that feedback is collected from those who take part in EU funding exercises. However, feedback could be more formally built into the EU system and into the Bologna process, as well. Education Ministers would benefit from learning from others who are involved in the process in ways where feedback is entrenched in the Open Management Coordination process.

Currently, special attention is being given, at the University of Aveiro and other Portuguese HE institutions, to researching the power of 3D virtual environments, such as Second Life, to improve formal and informal learning experience in HE. Preliminary results are encouraging, as far as the interaction and social networking issues are concerned, but further research is required to provide in-depth evidence.

Special attention has been given to the identification and dissemination of good (and not-so-good) practices, and a staff-training program has been organized and is run regularly. This training program, the first comprehensive training program for HE staff to be held at a Portuguese HE institution, is based on a blended-learning approach, thus providing trainees with direct experience of the use of technology mediation. It includes topics such as pedagogy, curriculum development, VLE and Web 2.0 technologies, and management of distributed-learning communities.

The staff development program offered at the University of Aveiro between 2005 and 2006 was composed of three modules. The first module covers the basic concepts and strategies relating to pedagogy and curriculum design in higher education. The second module provides an in-depth view of the power of online opportunities, and addresses the most relevant issues concerning the current status of standardization and products available for the creation and management of learning solutions using Internet-based ICT. Finally, the third module addresses the practical issues related to building and managing distributed learning communities.

Each module of the staff development program runs for 2 months, with a 50-hour workload, and is organized on a blended-learning approach, i.e., comprising face-to-face and Internet-supported distance activities. In each module, there are three 1-day face-to-face sessions. During the first such session (in the program's first week), some distance activities are proposed, namely, ice-breaking social activities and some initial readings. This first face-to-face activity is very important because it builds a common understanding of the learning outcomes to be achieved and of the work strategies to be used during the following weeks. It is also a chance for each person to get acquainted with the other participants and to understand the possible scientific, professional, and personal bridges that will aid participants in their experience of the module. The second face-to-face session is held at the end of the fourth week, and is used to share the work that each group has developed since the first face-to-face meeting and to (re)organize the work for the last part of the module. Each module ends with the third face-to-face session comprising final

presentations and discussions. The addition of an online portfolio of the participants' reports highlights the work carried out throughout the module. This final activity is strongly recommended, since it will stimulate the reuse and dissemination of the knowledge acquired by the participants.

The project's main aims targeted the development of specific intervention strategies for academics to improve their knowledge of topics such as curriculum design or collaborative learning by using an elearning tool (Blackboard). Faculty response to this staff development program has been very positive, with all the available places (more than 150 for the three modules) being filled. The courses are currently being run, and preliminary evaluation based on informal questionnaires and case studies developed by trainees show that the program helped academics develop their methodological and technological skills and, also, their perception of the adequate role of elearning as an enhancement factor to improve higher education teaching and learning practices.

The discussion forums were revealed to be a powerful instrument in the promotion of interaction among the academics. Topics were added weekly by the monitors. The digital portfolios were a challenge to most of the academics. In order to help them maximize the use of this tool, the trainers asked for technical support. A member of the CEMED (Multimedia and Distance Learning Centre) team also describes the digital portfolio functionalities of Blackboard.

One of the objectives of the three modules is to promote collaborative learning among the participants of the group, using the online platform "Blackboard". The collaborative work was not always easy to attain. There is still a strong traditional preference for face-to-face meetings. One of the main constraints to overcome is the mind-set change required of faculty staff, most of whom are not sufficiently familiar with the functionalities of ICT/Internet-based technologies in order to create – and use – flexible and student-centered learning settings.

The Portuguese experience is one that many universities across Europe are undergoing, a move to a fully integrated system of online course information and lecture delivery. The difficulties faced by involving all members of an institution are parallel to those facing all the signatory countries of the Bologna process. Originally, therefore, much of the activity will simply be a replication of the face-to-face teaching system to an online platform but, increasingly, real change is taking place. It is noteworthy that the University of Aveiro is aiming to attain yet higher-level change and we would recommend the same aim for those undertaking the Bologna Accord.

United Kingdom

In 1997, Lord Dearing set out a vision for higher education in the UK, a vision that saw students learning so as to contribute to a democratic, civilized, inclusive society, as well as acquiring knowledge for its own sake. Almost 10 years later, the Leitch Review of Skills published in 2006 was designed to address the fact that high-level skills and knowledge have become central to the UK's international competitiveness and domestic prosperity. The British were at the forefront of the

use of computers in schools. In 1963, for example, the British Computer Society established its Schools' Committee and in 1965, the first computer was installed in a UK school. The National Council for Educational Technology (NCET) was established in 1967. In 1976, in a speech that would become famous, the then UK Prime Minister, James Callaghan, told schools that they should do more to give young people the skills necessary for the workplace. The first microcomputers arrived the next year from Tandy, Commodore, and Apple. In 1978, the BBC Horizon television program, *Now the Chips Are Down*, questioned Britain's readiness to embrace the problems and opportunities of the microcomputer and in response the government initiated microelectronics awareness programs for industry, commerce, universities, and schools.

The UK has three devolved governments: Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, though many of the initiatives are initiated by the Westminster Parliament for England only. In England, the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF at www.dfes.gov.uk) has responsibility for schools, while local authorities (LAs) ensure local educational provision. The Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills (DIUS at www.dius.gov.uk) is responsible for higher education. English universities offer a 3-year ordinary or Honors degree. Work placement also occurs in "sandwich courses", where students combine short periods of work throughout their courses. Students specialize from the beginning of their degree. Ordinary degrees are either awarded for vocational courses, which include medicine, or awarded when a student has not reached the standards or course requirements of the honors degree. Universities award bachelor's degrees to those who complete undergraduate courses. Academic degrees are usually split into classes: First Class (I), Upper Second Class (II:1), Lower Second Class (II:2) and Third Class (III), and Unclassified (below Third Class). A Master's degree generally takes a year to complete, which is unusual in the European context, as is the fact that students can enter Ph.D. studies directly from their undergraduate studies.

As with a number of countries, the UK has established specific umbrella organizations that provide strategic guidance, advice, and opportunities in the use of electronic technology to support teaching, learning, research, and administration. The British Educational Communications and Technology Agency (Becta), is the government agency responsible for leading the national drive to ensure the effective and innovative use of technology throughout learning (www.becta.org.uk). The Joint Information Systems Committee (JISC at www.jisc.ac.uk) is also a key organization. Its focus is on research and education policy and practice. It is jointly funded by the higher education funding councils of the four constituent national entities. JISC has commissioned research on the underlying design and resource needs in creating and managing digital repositories. Researchers, especially those working in developmental areas, have begun to explore strategies for building a global knowledge commons (Chan, 2005). These national and international trends signify the growing importance of building interconnected research repositories.

Malcolm Read (2005), the Executive Secretary for the JISC, argues that at present UK education and research has benefited enormously from its investment in ICT over many years and remains at the forefront of the innovative use of technology.

The Higher Educational Funding Council for England (HEFCE) outlined in its strategic plan for 2006–2011 a number of challenges and opportunities facing the UK over the next 5 years (HEFCE, 2007). Not only is the UK experiencing increasing numbers of students attending university at a national level but as provider of higher education for many international students, there is increased competition in the global market. HEFCE's chief executive Professor Eastwood argues that: 'At the same time the Internet and other new technologies, many arising out of HE, give us new opportunities to compete and connect across the world' (p. 3).

Digital Repository for Northern Ireland – A Case Study

Here we will report on an initiative design to test the potential of an electronic repository for education-related research. In a study carried out by the authors, key educationalists from central and local government departments and agencies, charities, and teacher organizations in Northern Ireland were asked to comment on the feasibility and desirability of an electronic repository for educational research. A secondary focus of this case study was a survey and analysis of the common features of existing repositories in the UK. In August 2004, we began the process of surveying key groups on the need for such an Internet-based research repository for use by education-related professionals in Northern Ireland. As part of the research, a postal questionnaire was sent to 45 organizations considered likely to have an interest in education-related research, either as users or as bodies that commission or undertake research. Thirty-six organizations completed the questionnaire, 27 of whom expressed a willingness to take part in follow-up interviews. During the study, 15 interviews were conducted from among this group.

1. The main findings from the questionnaire survey included:
 - i. Thirty of the organizations either commission or carry out research, while six are users of research.
 - ii. Reports are freely disseminated by 23 (of 25 cases) of the organizations through the organization's Web site or through libraries, while eight bodies also sell some or all of their reports
 - iii. The large majority of respondents consider it is a good thing to have a central online resource of research items for teachers and other education-related professionals (34 of the 35 valid responses); and that they would expect their organization to provide resources for uploading (28 of 35 valid responses, with six "don't knows").

Many of the interview responses also highlighted the changing role of those involved in the education system. One institutional representative described the research process and evolution of their sphere of activity in the following way:

For research really to make an impact it needs to be based on concrete evidence. Thus we need to take routes to the creation of knowledge. . . We are changing our ways of working – we need to take time and effort in making recommendations and we are now more focused on outcomes. We generate strategies for action, based on the literature and (need to) be more

proactive and need to make sure that it is done ‘with’ us not just to us (a local education authority response).

The need of local organizations to produce directions for their own futures is key to the findings of the research on a repository for Northern Ireland. We would argue that this level of involvement is an important aim of any organization involved in education and is important for those who are teaching classes in European Universities as well as the Ministers of Education who signed on to the Bologna process. Although essentially the principle that underlies democracy and the addition of the voices of stakeholders to policy is unwieldy at the best of times, new tools for social networking may aid those wishing to have a say and allow for the Open Method of Coordination to collect and disseminate a variety of opinions.

Another interviewee echoed similar thoughts stating that: “... evidence should as far as possible inform policy and as far as is feasible should be practitioner-related. Our organization is attempting to pull together a database right now. We wish to explore issues, and to act as a catalyst”. Several bodies are creating new research officer or information officer posts as a result of calls from senior managers for new research and analysis, and an increased research role for institutions with regard to the views of the public and client uptake of resources. A more systematic approach to knowledge building is being sought.

Across Europe, therefore, systematic knowledge building is being explored at local, national, and pan-European levels. The database for research in education in Northern Ireland is a good example of an environment that would benefit from being communally constructed. It is this energy that the Open Method of Coordination could tap so as to succeed in creating new ways forward and allow for natural growth and progression. Linking the different perspectives will be a challenge but, as the case study above illustrates, a local perspective is very important. As much research in the UK is commissioned, carried out, and published in London, the Northern Irish repository allows local groups to access information that otherwise might be lost among so many other studies. Northern Ireland also has a range of local issues that may not be as relevant in other areas of the British Isles. Local educational research in one area may be of particular relevance (because of the context, amongst other local factors) to other local researchers, even if their area of research is somewhat different. A top-down approach would not have the same “buy-in” at the local level – and it is this local approach that we recommend to the signatories of the Bologna Accord.

Discussion and Conclusion

Much more stress must also be put on policies promoting knowledge, education and skills in order to strengthen EU competitiveness and sustainable growth while ensuring social and territorial cohesion.

European Commission, 2005c

The Bologna process seeks to bring European educational institutions in-line with one another. We argue that part of this process should be an advancement of

education rather than a ‘lock down’ of present practice. Excellence in education should be a moving target and supported by a process that allows for flexibility, movement, and progression. A variety of studies that have been undertaken in Europe (of which the above are just three) suggest possible successful models for advancements in education. The Open Method of Coordination may allow these two streams to better cross-pollinate each other.

We have looked at examples from Ireland, Portugal, and the UK to see how an example of an initiative from each country might allow us to learn lessons that could be applied to the Bologna process. We specifically chose examples that complement each other and provide a variety of instances of the use of elearning in higher education, further education, and lifelong learning. We examined a number of different theories that might be used to compare and contrast the data we collected in our case studies. We set out two examples to illustrate the type of models we were finding and the type of selection processes we undertook.

We explored a number of models that might help to shed light on the case studies from Ireland, Portugal, and the UK, including the elearning Maturity Model (eMM), a methodology trialed in the Higher Education Academy Benchmarking Pilot by the University of Manchester (2008). eMM measures an organization’s maturity levels in-line with the following 5-step model:

1. Learning – focus on pedagogy
2. Development – creation and maintenance of resources
3. Co-ordination – management
4. Evaluation – quality control
5. Organization – institutional planning.

While Open Management Coordination covers coordination, evaluation, and organization, the primary focus on learning is missing in its stated aims, and also the development of learning resources – though resources for evaluation and benchmarking are available. As the organizational aspects come after learning in the eMM measure above, we believe the model implies that once a good learning environment has been established, the institution should undertake to plan accordingly, but we would suggest that this be stated explicitly. Examine the list in relation to the 3 areas of concern of the EU. The ACE and SAVI projects of Ireland focused first on learning and next on the development, creation, and maintenance of learning resources. The projects were presented at conferences, to ministers and others in local and national government, in an effort to create an environment where the principles of developing online resources that capture and share learning experiences would go forward.

After examining a variety of models, we selected McDonnell and Elmore’s (1987) four generic classes of policy instruments as we believe that the model provides ways to measure online activity, as well as at the macro-level, the design and creation of programs to promote elearning. McDonnell and Elmore argue that there are four generic classes of policy instruments.

1. Mandates, which are the rules that govern the actions of individuals and agencies, intended to produce compliance
2. Inducements, the transfer of funds to individuals or agencies in return for certain agreed-upon action
3. Capacity building, the transfer of funds for investment in material, intellectual, or human resources
4. System-changing, the transfer of official authority among individuals and agencies to change the system through which public goals and services are delivered.

In the case of Portugal, the University mandated the change. A decision to implement elearning was made at the highest levels, with the support of the University as a whole. Creating the conditions for system change was, without doubt, the ultimate aim of the University. Both faculty and students understand that the use of the new electronic learning tools should benefit them all but there are no short-term inducements, such as cash incentives for the faculty involved or actions taken to change the University system itself. Instead, elearning to date remains an adjunct to the present system. Change will take place but its pace will be slow, with perhaps both online and face-to-face courses running in parallel for many years. Present faculty members may never really change the way in which they teach, while new faculty members will lead the way over the next few decades. They will have experienced online and blended learning as part of their own education and understand its potential.

In Ireland the ACE and SAVI projects have been designed through a system of inducements. Here the European Commission and also Ireland's Southern and Eastern Regional Assembly offered innovative projects a chance to be funded and selected the ACE project partially owing to its focus on capacity building in the visually impaired community. The ACE project partnership comprised Trinity College Dublin, Inishnet Ltd., the National Council for the Blind of Ireland (NCBI), and the Visually Impaired Computer Society of Ireland (VICS). Thanks to the involvement of VICS, the partnership was able to offer more than an inducement to take part in the online learning environment. Instead, because of the buy-in of the visually impaired community, the ACE project's online site offered a chance for capacity building and aimed at system change. As over ten members of the visually impaired community participated in designing, testing, and delivering the courses, the ACE project met the capacity building objectives, but both projects stopped short of achieving a systems change in Ireland or across Europe at this time. Perhaps in the future the visually impaired community will take over the tools which were specifically developed to be accessible to them. In the UK case study, the design and development of a research repository, the aim of the project was to reflect users' needs, but the need for a system change as a key component emerged from the interview data. Those who took part in the questionnaire outlined their goals for moving their own organizations towards becoming "research institutions", however small, as part of a long-term dissemination plan for their organizations.

The involvement of those directly affected by change is a lesson we think that the Bologna process could benefit from and that should underpin Open Method Coordination. The ministers responsible for education across Europe initiated the Bologna

process but did not build in tools that would allow for those directly involved in the educational process to shape their future. The tools to support effective systems change need to be built into the Bologna process.

The present goals of the Bologna process are not as oriented towards learning as they could be. The European Commission is focusing its present efforts on modernizing higher education in Europe, specifically making it more responsive, flexible, and coherent in response to the challenges of globalization and the increasing need for innovation in the workforce. Mobility still remains a high priority. These are all admirable goals but not the only action needed to create a dynamic pan-European educational system.

Ministers recognised that mobility of students and staff among all participating countries remains one of the key objectives of the Bologna Process. Aware of the many remaining challenges to be overcome, they reconfirmed their commitment to facilitate the portability of grants and loans where appropriate through joint action, with a view to making mobility within the EHEA a reality.

(European Commission, 2007a)

Cammack (2006) argues that the Open Method of Coordination is a means to co-ordinate individual governments to put their policies in line with what Cammack calls the *hard core*, or inner workings, of the politics of global competitiveness. He calls the EU a meta-government seeking to re-orient individual states. Such an end stops short of the real goal of education, which should be promoting excellence in providing learning experiences that are second to none. This is what the EU should be aiming for and what must underlie making European education more compatible and comparable, more competitive and more attractive.

What is needed is mining the range and depth of the projects and initiatives currently taking place in the EU so as to build knowledge, not just with others but deliberately *for* others – the hallmark of communal constructivism. Designing online repositories of networked knowledge to support a communal constructivist approach will aid in addressing issues of European excellence in education and lay the foundations of a Europe of knowledge.

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Borrowing Ideas Across Borders: Lessons from the Academic Advocacy of “Chinese-English Bilingual Education” in China

Guangwei Hu

Introduction

Thirty-six years ago, the eminent American educational psychologist Benjamin S. Bloom lamented innocence in education:

In education, we continue to be seduced by the equivalent of snake-oil remedies, fake cancer cures, perpetual-motion contraptions, and old wives' tales. Myth and reality are not clearly differentiated, and we frequently prefer the former to the latter. . . . We have been innocents in education because we have not put our house in order. We need to be much clearer about what we do and do not know so that we don't continually confuse the two. If I could have one wish for education. . . it would be the systematic ordering of our basic knowledge in such a way that what is known and true can be acted on, while what is superstition, fad, and myth can be recognized as such. . . .

(1972, pp. 333–334)

Bloom's wish for “putting our house in order” and criticism of superstition, fads, and nostrums in education are no less relevant today, when the ever-accelerating and broadening global flow of ideas, knowledge, institutions, practices, and discourses (Appadurai, 1996; Castells, 2000) spawns unprecedented opportunities to introduce new educational panaceas from abroad, especially from the “Center,” the developed Western industrial countries, to the “Periphery,” the developing or under-developed countries (Galtung, 1980; Spring, 2008). As elegantly argued by Bloom, ‘It is we educators who must look to our own field to ask why we have so much difficulty in distinguishing between myth and reality, or between sound remedies and worthless panaceas’ (p. 334). In keeping with Bloom's exhortation, this chapter critically analyzes the academic advocacy of a recently introduced language education initiative that has been gathering momentum across mainland China (hereinafter China). Content-based English language instruction (Brinton, Snow, & Wesche, 1989), widely known in China as “Chinese-English bilingual education/instruction,”

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involves using English to teach non-language school subjects. This form of “bilingual education” is no longer a bandwagon found in a few metropolises but, in the words of Giddens (1990), a “runaway juggernaut” that is rushing across the country with fierce velocity.

To anticipate possible confusion over the use of the term *bilingual education* in this chapter and to pre-empt potential political misuse, there is a need for terminological clarification at the outset. Following the terminological practice of Chinese academics, (*Chinese-English*) *bilingual education* is used in the context of schooling for majority-language students in China to refer to the teaching of a non-language school subject partly or entirely through English as a medium of instruction. However, quotation marks are put around the term to signal its distinct usage from the commonly understood reference of the term in international contexts to various forms of bilingual provision for minority-language students.

Although a small number of schools located in large urban centers experimented with English-medium instruction in the 1990s (Li, Long, Cai, & Hou, 2003; Wu, 1995; M. Zhu, 2000), public promotion of “Chinese-English bilingual education” on a greatly expanded scale started only at the turn of the 21st century, as part of Shanghai’s drive to become a world-class metropolis (Hu, 2002). Within a few years, “bilingual education” has gathered great momentum, and “bilingual” programs have mushroomed and are continuing to spring up in numerous schools (Song & Yan, 2004). As A. W. Feng (2005) observes, ‘from kindergartens to tertiary institutions, bilingual education has become part of the everyday vocabulary not only of educationists but also of ordinary people’ (pp. 529–530). While a small number of opponents have raised concerns over potential negative consequences of “Chinese-English bilingual education” and pointed to the myriad constraints compromising and frustrating its envisioned goals, their voices have been drowned in the dominant Chinese academic discourse on English language education. This academic discourse advocates English-medium instruction in Chinese classrooms in the name of modernization and by invoking ideas, policy initiatives, instructional practices, and research findings from international contexts in problematic ways. It has become a major driving force behind the scramble for “bilingual education” in China.

This chapter presents a critical analysis of the prevalent Chinese academic discourse that advocates “Chinese-English bilingual education” for majority-language students in the pre-collegiate sector of the Chinese education system. It is divided into five parts. The first part critiques the relationship between national development and national proficiency in English assumed by the academic discourse as a given in an increasingly globalized world. This is followed by a critical examination of how bilingual education in other parts of the world is misrepresented in many articles introducing overseas educational ideas and practices to the Chinese readership. Next, the chapter examines misunderstandings of bilingual education and misinterpretations of the research literature on bilingual and second language acquisition that are rampant in the academic discourse. The fourth part demonstrates how the few evaluation studies conducted in China, most of which are methodologically flawed, have been misinterpreted, or over-interpreted, to promote “Chinese-English bilingual education.” Based on this critical analysis, it is argued that the academic

discourse, with its misrepresentations, misconceptions, and misinterpretations has misinformed and misled stakeholders in “bilingual education.” The chapter concludes with a discussion of the issues that academics and policymakers need to address in a sound effort to borrow ideas and knowledge about language education across borders.

The Modernization Discourse on the Roles of English

A survey of the Chinese academic discourse advocating “bilingual education” reveals an entrenched belief in the multiple roles of the English language in China’s national development. It is widely assumed that a high level of national proficiency in English is a prerequisite for China’s modernization (Hu, 2005a). This assumption has been the linchpin of the Chinese government’s persistent endeavors in the last few decades to expand provision of English instruction in the school system (Adamson & Morris, 1997) and underlies the advocacy of “Chinese-English bilingual education” in the prevalent academic discourse. The linkage of English proficiency with national development was first made by the post-Mao leadership in the late 1970s (Hu, 2005b). It should be noted, however, that the initial perception of the linkage revolved around China’s need to access worldwide scientific and technological advances in its modernization drive (Hu, 2005a). The perceived relationship has since been greatly extended to become an all-encompassing one, and knowledge of English is expected to play a multitude of economic, commercial, technological, political, social, cultural, and educational roles.

Claims regarding the assumed importance of English proficiency for China’s development and modernization are platitudes of the academic discourse that advocates “bilingual education.” To illustrate, it is claimed that “Chinese-English bilingual education” and, hence, mastery of English would:

- Ensure that China has high-quality, multi-talented human resources needed for its national development (H. D. Jiang, 2002; Shen & Feng, 2005; Song & Yan, 2004);
- Help China interface with the world and stay connected with global changes and trends, including international developments in education (Song & Yan, 2004; Y. S. Wang, 2005; Yu & Han, 2003; Zhou, 2004);
- Provide China with access to the “Information Highway” and the benefits it offers (H. D. Jiang, 2002; Qiang & Zhao, 2000);
- Enable China to ride the tide of the growing globalization of economic and educational undertakings (A. Y. Huang, 2005; Wen, 2001; Y. P. Zhang, 2003);
- Facilitate China’s integration into the global knowledge-based economy, foster its capacity for sustainable development, and enhance its competitiveness in the international arena (Z. J. Feng, 2002; B. H. Wang, 2003);
- Prepare China for various challenges and opportunities arising from its accession to the World Trade Organization and the hosting of the 2008 Olympics in Beijing (Z. J. Feng, 2002; Li et al., 2003; Sun, 2002; Wang & Wang, 2003);

- Support China's large urban centers, such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou, in their efforts to become international metropolises (Qian, 2003a; P. Zhu, 2003a)

In addition to these vital roles claimed for English in China's drive for national development and modernization, the prevalent academic discourse advocating English-medium instruction also harps on the importance for quality education and personal development of this form of language provision, together with the assumed corollary of communicative competence in the international language. It is claimed that "Chinese–English bilingual education":

- Is a paramount and integral component of quality education (Shen & Feng, 2005; Song & Yan, 2004);
- Constitutes a far-reaching educational reform initiative (A. Y. Huang, 2005; Qian, 2003b);
- Embodies the 'brand-new notion of child-centeredness'¹ (Qiang & Zhao, 2000, p. 22);
- Pushes the boundaries of personal development (Y. P. Zhang, 2003);
- 'Plays a critical role in the inculcation of a perfect character' (Qian, 2003b, p. 23);
- Enables children to fully develop their intellectual and creative abilities (Shen & Feng, 2005; Wen, 2001; Zheng, Tian, & Li, 2006);
- Equips individuals with new ways of observing and understanding the world (Y. S. Wang, 2005; S. P. Zhu, 2004);
- Raises political consciousness (S. P. Zhu, 2004);
- Shatters the shackles of parochialism (H. D. Jiang, 2003; Xie & Wang, 2002);
- Holds the golden key to civilization and enlightenment (H. D. Jiang, 2003; Qian, 2003a);
- Increases Chinese people's capacity to absorb advanced cultures (Qian, 2003a; Y. P. Zhang, 2003).

To be fair to such Chinese academics, it must be pointed out that they are not alone in constructing a discursive linkage between quality education, mastery of English as a most valuable literacy skill, and national/personal development in the context of globalization. As Spring's (2008) comprehensive review of research on globalization and education shows, there has been a flow of global discourses that call for educational systems to be responsive to new changes, complexities, and uncertainties brought about by globalization and that stress the importance of English as a global literacy skill. The Chinese academic discourse, however, has overemphasized the importance of nationwide English proficiency to China's development. A scrutiny of the discursive linkage of national development and competence in English reveals several problems. To begin with, although an adequately large pool of English-proficient personnel can, admittedly, facilitate increasing China's economic, technological, cultural, and educational exchange with other

¹ All quotations from the Chinese academic discourse in this chapter are translated into English by the author.

parts of the world, it is nonetheless questionable that every Chinese child must learn English well in order for China to catch up in development with countries where English is widely spoken, as many Chinese academic advocates of “Chinese-English bilingual education” have claimed (A. Y. Huang, 2005; Qiang & Zhao, 2000; Wen, 2001). As pointed out by several commentators (e.g., Jiao, 2004; Niu & Wolff, 2003; Xie, 2005), English hardly serves any genuine occupational or social purposes for the great majority of the Chinese people. Even most of the elites (i.e., the millions of university graduates who have spent 10 or more years learning English in the educational system) have not landed a job that requires even a minimum use of English (Xie, 2005; J. Yang, 2006). In this regard, it is particularly important to point out that much of the perceived demand for English has been created artificially (see Hu, 2005b, for a revealing incident). One clear indication of the artificially created demand for English is the multitude of English proficiency tests that millions of Chinese take every year to secure employment or professional promotion in lines of work that do not require substantial, or even any, use of English (Y. J. Jiang, 2003).

Second, the overemphasis on the importance of mastery of English is based on an uninformed anticipation of the continued and unquestionable dominance of English. Huntington (1996) reports that the percentage of the English-speaking population in the world declined from 9.8% in 1958 to 7.6% in 1992. One recent study (Dor, 2004) shows that this trend of decline has continued to date. Dor presents considerable evidence that English is beginning to wane in its dominance as the international language of business, science, and information. In this regard, recent trends with respect to English on the Internet are revealing. Dor reports that although in 1997 English-speaking Internet users outnumbered non-English-speaking users (i.e., 45 million vs. 16 million), the non-English-speaking Internet community surpassed the English-speaking community far and away in 2003 (403 million vs. 230 million). The difference grew in 2004: There were an estimated 657 million non-English users (representing around 67% of the world’s economy) as compared to 280 million English users (representing about 33% of the global economy). Against the assumptions held by many Chinese advocates of “bilingual education,” Dor points out that, ‘the forces of economic globalization do not have a vested interest in the global spread of English’ (2004, p. 98). This is because these forces ‘have a short-term interest in penetrating local markets through local languages and a long-term interest in turning these languages into commodified tools of communication’ (p. 98).

Importantly, the prevalent Chinese academic discourse on English language education fails to make a distinction between language and development and is guilty of elevating English from an international language for development to the language of development (Hu, 2005b). This is reflected in an example used repeatedly by Chinese academics (e.g., H. D. Jiang, 2003; Li et al., 2003; Lü, 2001; Song & Yan, 2004; Y. P. Zhang, 2003) to illustrate the importance of national English proficiency. According to the statistics cited by Lü (2001), whereas India exported US\$4.6 billion worth of computer software products in 1999, China was only able to attain US\$ 50 million worth of software exports. Lü and other like-minded academics claim that China did not lose out to India because of its software technology but because of Indians’ good national proficiency in English. This example, however, does not

stand up to scrutiny. Following the logic of those Chinese academics, one would expect India to be way ahead of China, not just in its computer technology industry but also in its national development. This is far from the reality. Despite “bilingual education” advocates’ harsh criticism of the quality of English provision in its school system, China has enjoyed an average annual growth rate of more than 9% in the last quarter century, and its GDP increased more than 40-fold from RMB51.7 billion in 1980 to RMB13.650 billion in 2004 and RMB18,308.5 billion in 2005 (Cai, 2001; World Bank, 2006a, 2006b; Y. L. Zhang, 2006), making the country the fourth-largest economy in the world. Since the early 1980s, China has attracted thousands of billions in foreign investment. By 2002, nearly 400 of the world’s top 500 transnational corporations had streamed into the country (Lin, 2002). According to the Economist Intelligence Unit and the Columbia Program on International Investment (2006), China was the top recipient of direct foreign investment among developing countries from 1995 to 2005. It received a record-high US\$72.4 billion of direct foreign investment in 2005, ranking first among developing economies and third among all countries (United Nations, 2006). China has also emerged as a major investor for other countries (Chen, 2006; Sauvant, 2005). It is one of the largest investors among the top 15 emerging markets. All this would not have happened if China, as the modernization discourse claims, had depended vitally on national English proficiency for its development. It is instructive to note that India, whose national English proficiency is greatly admired by Chinese academic proponents of “bilingual education,” lags far behind China in terms of all these major economic indicators.

The relationship of “bilingual education” and English learning to quality education and personal development, as characterized by the prevalent Chinese academic discourse, does not bear close scrutiny, either. It is strongly reminiscent of linguistic and cultural imperialism. The claimed benefits for Chinese children of acquiring English and the pedagogical principles advanced to support the learning of English (e.g., learning through immersion, early instruction, and maximum exposure) blatantly resemble the academic and ideological discourse constructed by ‘core English-speaking countries’ to spread the language to ‘periphery-English countries’ (Phillipson, 1992, p. 17, also see Pennycook, 1994, 2001). In his study of the spread and dominance of English around the world, Phillipson summarizes the “English-intrinsic arguments” (i.e., arguments about the capacities of English) from core English-speaking countries as follows:

If one conflates the English-intrinsic arguments, one can conclude that English is God-given, noble, a vehicle of the entire developing human tradition, well adapted for change and development, not ethnic or ideological, and the world’s first truly global language, of universal interest. The conclusion would seem to be that you are in a very real sense deprived if you do not know it.

(1992, p. 276)

Clearly, there are remarkable similarities between these English-intrinsic arguments and those advanced by Chinese academics for the “innate power” of English and the “vital” roles that mastery of English is assumed to play in personal development. If one is to draw a conclusion on the basis of those Chinese academics’

arguments, it will be precisely the one suggested by Phillipson. Thus, the Chinese academics have taken what Pennycook (2001) terms ‘a colonial celebratory position.’ Such a position ‘trumps the benefits of English over other languages, suggesting that English is superior to other languages in terms of both its intrinsic (the nature of the language) and extrinsic (the functions of the language) qualities’ (p. 56).

If mastery of English could produce all the claimed benefits and effects, English would indeed have magical power. However, many critical scholars of language education have penetratingly exposed the fallacies of the English-intrinsic arguments. Pennycook, for example, points out that English itself is not of any more inherent worth, value, or power than any other language:

...there is nothing inherently powerful about English itself. This may seem an obvious point, but it is worth making. It is the history of the accumulated capital associated with English that gives it power. It is the potential it offers – to open social networks, to provide access to economic privilege, to help accrue the cultural capital of education systems, the potential perhaps above all to show one's possession of the symbolic capital of English – that gives it its power.

(1997, English and Capital section, para. 1)

Thus, it is the various forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1991) associated with English that have given the language power. Similarly, Phillipson (1992) argues that arguments for the inherent power of English are nothing but part of the discourse of linguistic and cultural imperialism. He demonstrates clearly how the English-intrinsic arguments have served the ideological, political, economic, and cultural interests of the core English-speaking countries. The history of the spread and dominance of English is a history of oppression, domination, inequalities, exploitation, and devaluation of local cultures and languages, rather than a history of enlightenment, empowerment, and personal development, as publicly promised (Phillipson, 1992). Against this historical background, it is ironic and disconcerting that Chinese academic advocates of “bilingual education” have eagerly embraced the English-intrinsic arguments.

Misinformation about Bilingual Education in International Contexts

In addition to blowing up out of proportion the importance of English proficiency for national and individual development, the Chinese academic discourse presents misinformation about bilingual education in international contexts. One consequence of this misinformation is that bilingual education undertakings have been depicted as universally successful and free of problems and controversies. In other words, the academic discourse paints a rosy picture of bilingual education elsewhere, especially in the developed countries.

The above characterization can be readily illustrated by the collection of descriptions and generalizations reproduced below from a number of representative articles:

- An international survey conducted by the British Council between 1999 and 2000 in 42 countries and regions ‘has yielded conclusions that strongly support those who see advantages for bilingual education and has effectively put an end to the debate on the advantages and disadvantages of bilingual education’ (P. Zhu, 2003a, p. 52).
- English language teaching in China falls far behind language education practices in ‘countries with a long history of bilingual education, including Canada, the USA, India, and Japan as well as countries such as Switzerland and Singapore which implement trilingual or quadrilingual education’ (Zheng et al., 2006, p. 62).
- ‘Bilingual education, which integrates subject learning and foreign language use, has been extensively implemented in various countries,’ including Australia, Austria, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, and the USA (P. Zhu, 2003a, p. 53).
- ‘Bilingual education has been successfully implemented not only in bilingual or multilingual countries such as Canada, USA, New Zealand, and Luxemburg but also in monolingual countries like Australia, Japan, Russia, Hungary, and Bulgaria’ (B. H. Wang, 2004, p. 13).
- Singapore’s bilingual education policy ‘has received full support from all walks of life and all ethnic groups’ (Yang & Sheng, 2003, p. 171).
- ‘[In India] English instruction at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels is shaped like a pyramid with a strong and broad base; the number of Indians who have received quality English instruction at primary and secondary levels is legion; and the millions of university students have all acquired the competence to use English in international interaction’ (Yang & Sheng, 2003, p. 171).
- ‘After its establishment as a port, Hong Kong gradually became a center of bilingual education, and bilingual education brought prosperity to Hong Kong. As a stronghold of bilingual education, Singapore has been able to leave behind ethnic conflicts, established extensive international connections, and enjoyed unprecedented prosperity’ (Z. J. Feng, 2002, p. 54).
- ‘French immersion originated in Canada and has achieved astoundingly effective results and global influences’ (Qiang & Siegel, 2004, p. 1).
- ‘Worldwide, the most effective and most significant reform of second language instruction in the last 30 years has been French Immersion, a Canadian feat’ (Qiang & Zhao, 2000, p. 19).
- ‘Research has shown that sixth graders who have received French immersion outperform those who have not in academic achievement by one school year’ (Lü, 2001, p. 70).
- ‘Research and evaluations have consistently shown that through French immersion students have achieved significantly better second language proficiency, mother tongue proficiency, and academic performance than students studying in other types of foreign language instruction programs’ (Qiang & Zhao, 2000, p. 20).
- ‘In the last 10 years or so, the French Immersion model has been emulated or adapted by many countries,’ including Australia, Finland, Hungary, the Netherlands, Singapore, South Africa, and the USA (Qiang & Zhao, 2000, p. 20).

Apart from errors in factual information (e.g., the classification of Australia and Hungary as monolingual countries and the reference to Singapore as a country of trilingual education), the discourse is plagued by more serious problems, those of conspicuous omissions and misrepresentations. First, reference is made predominantly to Canada, the USA, Australia, Japan, Singapore, Hong Kong, and other developed countries or regions as examples of successful bilingual education in order to play on the worship among many Chinese of “advanced practices” in “advanced countries.” In this regard, it is especially ironic that Japan is cited as an example of successful bilingual education (presumably Japanese-English bilingual education) when Japanese scholars themselves are lamenting Japanese nationals’ lack of motivation to learn English (Honma, 2006). With a few exceptions (e.g., India and South Africa), there is no mention of the large number of developing countries in Africa or Latin America that are struggling with bilingual or multilingual education (see, for example, Hovens, 2002; Hornberger, 1997).

Second, bilingual education in the “model countries” is often presented as unproblematic and receiving universal support. The truth, however, is that it is rarely the case, even in Canada, India, Singapore, and the USA, whose bilingual education programs are described as highly successful and presented as models for China to emulate (see Grinberg & Saavedra, 2000; Lyons, 1990; Secada, 1990; Safty, 1992). In Canada, French Immersion has met considerable opposition from some francophones who see immersion education ‘as a Trojan horse of further English assimilation’ (Baker, 2006, p. 278) and a threat ‘to deprive them of their historical advantage in occupying bilingual jobs’ (Lapkin, Swain, & Shapson, 1990, p. 649). In India, the post-colonial government’s “Three-Language Formula” has generated great controversy over which three languages to teach, leading to 33 languages, including English, being used as instructional mediums (Annamalai, 2004). Singapore’s bilingual policy has also been criticized by its own scholars (James, 1998; Tan, 1998) for foisting upon its people the cultural ideology of English dominance. In the USA, the use of a language other than English as an instructional medium has given rise to heated debate and political theater (see Crawford, 2000; Donahue, 1995; Lyons, 1990; Rossell & Baker, 1996; Secada, 1990).

Third, the Chinese academic discourse gives a clear, positive slant on bilingual education, and this slant has at least three manifestations. In its first manifestation, no attention has been given to poor educational outcomes in countries around the world in which a foreign language spoken by an elite minority is used to educate a majority who have little or no proficiency in it (Hovens, 2002) – a situation to which English-medium instruction in China is highly comparable. In its second manifestation, the academic discourse focuses only on the successful stories of bilingual education in the “model” countries or regions without even mentioning the drawbacks in passing. For example, none of the many articles discussing French Immersion in Canada, ‘the most effective and most significant reform of second language instruction in the last 30 years’ (Qiang & Zhao, 2000, p. 19), has mentioned the high dropout rates found in Canadian immersion programs. According to Cummins (1998), whose works are frequently cited by Chinese advocates of “bilingual education,” dropout rates in the early 1990s for some Early Immersion

programs ranged from 43% to 68% by Grade 6, 58% to 83% by grade 9, and 88% to 97% by Grade 12. Similarly, those academics harping on Singapore's successful bilingual education policy have said nothing about inequality arising from bilingual education (James, 1998) or other outcomes, such as the trend of more and more Chinese Singaporeans shifting to English in all domains of language use, which the annual government-sponsored "Speak Mandarin" campaign has tried to stem in recent years (Gopinathan, 1998). The third manifestation of the slant on bilingual education is that it is common for Chinese academics to cite studies that suggest effectiveness of bilingual education programs but totally ignore those that indicate otherwise (see Gu & Dong, 2005; Rossell & Baker, 1996).

Last but not least, although a few advocates of "Chinese-English bilingual education" in China (e.g., Y. P. Zhang, 2003; P. Zhu, 2003a) acknowledge that bilingual education in countries such as Canada and the USA serves fundamentally different purposes from those envisaged for "Chinese-English bilingual education" in China, they ignore the implications of such fundamental differences. For example, while many USA bilingual programs have been developed to help students with limited English proficiency to succeed academically by overcoming language barriers, the kind of "bilingual education" called for in China creates language barriers for students by making them study in a language in which they have only limited proficiency. Other Chinese academics adduce research findings favorable to bilingual education to dismiss concerns about potential negative effects on academic achievement of instruction through a second or foreign language, without making it clear that much of the research cited did not make comparisons between minority-language students in bilingual programs and mainstream students instructed in their first language. Typically, the research cited compared minority-language students with and without instruction through their mother tongue (see Greene, 1998; Willig, 1985). These discursive practices, together with those discussed earlier, have given rise to misinformation and misconceptions about bilingual education in other parts of the world.

Misrepresentation of the International Research Literature

The prevalent Chinese academic discourse is also replete with misunderstandings and misinterpretations of the international research literature on bilingual education and language acquisition. Space constraints do not permit a comprehensive analysis of the myriad of misunderstandings and misinterpretations. Instead, several examples are presented below to illustrate the rampancy of misinterpretations, unintentional or otherwise, in the Chinese academic discourse.

To begin with, many academics who advocate "bilingual education" in China claim that psycholinguistic and language acquisition research supports a "time on task" principle – that is, the more and the earlier children are exposed to a second or foreign language as a medium of instruction, the more successful their language learning experience will be (H. D. Jiang, 2002; Qiang & Zhao, 2000; B. H. Wang, 2003). A careful reading of the research literature, however, suggests

that it is not the quantity of time allocated to English exposure but the quality of exposure (e.g., rich, comprehensible, and correct language input) and engagement with the language (e.g., substantive use of the target language in engaging with challenging academic tasks) that matters (see Cummins, 1999a). Furthermore, there is a considerably large body of empirical evidence showing that older L2 learners have advantages over younger learners in such areas of L2 acquisition as literacy, vocabulary, and pragmatics. The only area in which younger learners seem to have an advantage is pronunciation: Younger learners are able to acquire native-like pronunciation (Scovel, 2000). Even this advantage is largely irrelevant in the Chinese context, where a great majority of “bilingual instruction” students are not exposed to native-like input in the first place.

Another area of research frequently misinterpreted by Chinese academics concerns the cognitive benefits of bilingual education. Citing early research done in Canada and the USA (e.g., Peal & Lambert, 1962) that suggested a *potential* positive effect of balanced bilingualism on children’s cognitive development, many “bilingual education” advocates (e.g., Qiang & Zhao, 2000; Song & Yan, 2004; B. H. Wang, 2003; Wen, 2001; P. Zhu, 2003a) claim that extensive research has shown that bilingual or multilingual children *have* a clear edge over their monolingual counterparts in cognitive flexibility, judgment making, capacity for divergent thinking, learning skills, linguistic sensitivity, comprehension, cross-cultural understanding, and so on. Thus, potential benefits that may be reaped, under optimal conditions and perhaps only when a threshold level of bilingualism is attained (Cummins, 1979, 2000), are presented as advantages that are guaranteed. In contrast to the Chinese academics, it is worth noting that Cummins, one of the most ardent supporters of bilingual education, is cautious in his interpretation of the research literature: ‘The development of literacy in two languages entails linguistic and *perhaps* cognitive advantages for bilingual students’ (1999b, emphasis added).

Many misunderstandings in the Chinese academic discourse on “bilingual education” have arisen from a failure to distinguish theoretical hypotheses from empirical findings or a misplaced appeal to controversial or discredited theoretical speculations to justify “bilingual education” in China. Thus, the Critical Age Hypothesis, the Acquisition-Learning Hypothesis, the distinction between integrative and instrumental motivation, etc., are presented as strong support for “Chinese–English bilingual education” (see Deng & Jiang, 2001; Qiang & Zhao, 2000; Wen, 2001; W. J. Zhang, 2002; Zhao, 2004; P. Zhu, 2003a). Wen (2001, p. 10), for example, claims that ‘scientific research and experiments have shown that the critical age for human language learning is before 12 years of age’; that ‘a language acquired before this age can benefit the speaker life-long, whereas a language learned after the age can be forgotten quickly’; and that ‘learning two languages simultaneously after the critical age can lead to confusion.’

A notion that has attracted much attention but has frequently been misunderstood in the Chinese academic discourse is language transfer. Chi and Zhao (2004) claim that all-English instruction can avoid interference from the Chinese language by weaning Chinese children from dependence on their mother tongue. H. D. Jiang

(2002), Yu (2004), Z. F. Zhang (2003) all insist that “bilingual education” can facilitate positive transfer from Chinese. This notion of transfer is a misunderstanding of the research literature on language transfer. In his comprehensive review of this literature, Ellis (1994, pp. 334–335) identifies six sources of influence on language transfer: (a) language level (i.e. phonology, lexis, discourse, etc.); (b) sociolinguistic factors (e.g., classroom settings and speech styles); (c) markedness of the linguistic feature in question; (d) prototypicality of the linguistic structure; (e) language distance and psychotypology; and (f) developmental factors (e.g., stages of second language development). It is difficult to see how “bilingual education,” as opposed to other forms of language instruction, can facilitate positive transfer and minimize interference via its interaction with these factors. Remarkably, one Chinese academic even claims that ‘one important feature that distinguishes bilingual education from monolingual education is that the former can raise the effectiveness of learning two languages by facilitating positive transfer and preventing negative transfer’ (H. D. Jiang, 2003, p. 53). An example offered to support the claim is that both Chinese and English essays are structured in more or less the same way, namely, in the 4-part sequence of *qi cheng zhuan he* (commonly glossed in English as *introduction, development, turn, conclusion*). The comparison between monolingual and bilingual education in terms of language transfer beats understanding. Furthermore, the author seems to be unaware that it is precisely the *qi cheng zhuan he* structure that has been identified by scholars of contrastive rhetoric as distinct from the Western discourse structure (see Scollon & Scollon, 1997; X. Wang, 1994).

Another example of misunderstanding is the frequently made claim that “bilingual education” will not affect Chinese children’s first language development on the grounds that they live in a Chinese-dominant environment and attend Chinese language arts classes at school (Shen, 2004; P. Zhu, 2003a). This misunderstanding arises from a failure to recognize that what is at stake is advanced first-language literacy, especially academic language competence, which takes systematic instruction and situated use in academic contexts to develop (Cummins, 1999a, 2000). Other recurring examples of misunderstandings include the wholesale borrowing of labels such as “maintenance” and “transitional” to designate “bilingual instruction” programs in China (Y. H. Huang, 2005; Qian, 2003a; Yang, 2004; W. J. Zhang, 2002) and the misconstruing of Chomsky’s generative grammar as suggesting that child second language acquisition can be accomplished independently of the first language (Chi & Zhao, 2004, see Ellis, 1994, for a review of relevant research). Finally, there is an error of omission rather than commission. While many academics enthuse about the benefits of bilingual education for children, virtually no one has referred to the considerable body of research (e.g., Romaine, 1995; Tan, 1998; Valdés, 1997; Walsh, 1995; Yau, 1988) indicating that it is generally students of higher socioeconomic levels that benefit most from bilingual education programs in Canada, the USA, Singapore, and Hong Kong. This pattern of varying returns for children from different socioeconomic backgrounds has important implications for “bilingual education” in China.

Misleading Research on “Bilingual Education” in China

The academic advocacy of “Chinese-English bilingual education” is long on claims and short on empirical research. In spite of many uncertainties about this reform initiative, only a very small number of evaluation studies have been undertaken. Worse still, a close look at the studies raises doubts about the validity of their findings, due to the many problems in research design, analysis, and interpretation (Gu & Dong, 2005). These problems include: (a) use of largely discrete-point tests as criterion measures, which were unlikely to reflect students’ ability to use English for communicative purposes, a major objective set for “Chinese-English bilingual education”; (b) failure to establish the reliability and validity of criterion measures; (c) lack of control for various confounding variables; (d) use of intact groups/schools which did not yield equivalent experimental and comparison groups/schools, with the experimental groups/schools often comprising students who were academically stronger and had greater English proficiency in the first place; (e) inappropriate statistical analyses; and (f) over-interpretation of results (for discussions of similar problems in other contexts, see Greene, 1998; Swain, 1978; Willig, 1985).

An evaluation study was conducted by Shanghai’s Commission on Bilingual Instruction and reported by its Deputy Director (P. Zhu, 2003b) at the 2003 National Seminar on “Bilingual Education” held in Shanghai, the locomotive of the “bilingual education” drive in China. This study was said to involve hundreds of schools and data collected from a quarter million person-times. According to the Deputy Director, around 40% of primary school graduates from “bilingual instruction” programs attained an English proficiency level equal to, or higher than, that reached by Junior Secondary 2 students in 1997; around 30% of Junior Secondary 2 students studying in “bilingual instruction” programs were found to be equally or more proficient in English than Senior Secondary 1 students in 1997. The same study was reported in the daily newspaper *Xinwen Chenbao* to have found that *all* students receiving “bilingual instruction” outperformed *all* students receiving no such instruction in *all* school subjects and on *both* written and oral tests of English and Chinese (“Nide haizi,” 2003). Given the number of students involved, such uniform results lack credibility. Furthermore, it is questionable to interpret the percentages cited above as evidence of the great success of “bilingual instruction” programs in Shanghai, as the Deputy Director did (Shen, 2004). The comparison between student achievement in 2003 and in 1997 was highly problematic. For one thing, the general level of English proficiency has been on the rise in the last decade, so higher English proficiency in 2003 could not be attributed unambiguously and exclusively to “bilingual education.” For another, the “bilingual instruction” cohorts (i.e. primary school leavers and students at Junior Secondary 2 in 2003) had received English instruction for 5 and 6 years, respectively, whereas the “non-bilingual instruction” cohorts (i.e. students at Junior Secondary 2 and Senior Secondary 1 in 1997) had studied English as a subject for 4 and 6 years, respectively. This is because the latter cohorts started English instruction at Primary 5, whereas the former cohorts did so at Primary 1 and Primary 3, respectively (Hu, 2002). When the years of instruction are

taken into account, the statistics reported in the study seem to suggest that the majority of “bilingual instruction” students did worse than the junior and senior secondary students in 1997, despite the fact that the former had had “bilingual instruction,” *in addition to* instruction in English as a subject.

Similar and other problems plagued a quantitative study of a much publicized “bilingual instruction” project in Qingdao (H. D. Jiang, 2002). Two intact classes from two schools each were chosen to be the experimental and control groups. The two experimental groups started formal instruction in English at Primary 1 for at least 4 hours a week and subsequently received English-medium instruction in arts for 1–2 hours a week at the lower grade levels, in Mathematics and a subject called “Integrated Practice” for 3–4 hours a week at the middle grade levels, and in science and social studies for 5–6 hours a week at the upper grade levels. After 6 years of instruction in English as a subject and English-medium instruction in the subjects, the experimental groups were compared with junior secondary students on English tests of speaking, listening, and writing. No reliability or validity evidence was presented for the tests. Nor was information provided about the junior secondary students (e.g., years of English instruction). The experimental groups were found to outperform the junior secondary students on all three tests. For reasons explained earlier, such comparisons were inadequate. Strangely enough, no comparison was made between the experimental and parallel comparison groups in English proficiency, though they were compared on a number of subject tests and creative thinking measures, with the former outperforming the latter in all cases. Though impressive, these results cannot be attributed with any confidence, as the author did, to the “bilingual instruction” received by the experimental groups. This is because intact classes were used as experimental and control groups, making the evaluation vulnerable to various extraneous variables. To compound the problem, no pre-test was administered to establish the equivalence of the groups, let alone statistically controlling for possible differences between the groups.

Three other evaluation studies have been located, and all of them were conducted on another widely publicized “bilingual education” project in Xi’an, the China-Canada-United States Collaborative English Immersion Program. Zhao (2004) reported the ‘initial results’ (p. 21) of the early “immersion” program implemented at the pre-school level. The children attending the program were “immersed” in English for 1 hour every day at K-1, 2 hours at K-2, and 3 hours at K-3. Zhao reported that the research team asked a kindergarten “immersion” group, a junior secondary group, and a senior secondary group to respond to two statements: (a) ‘I like learning English’; (b) ‘I think that my English is pretty good.’ A preponderance of affirmative responses by the kindergarten group (95% for both statements) was presented as the main evidence of the effectiveness of the “immersion” program. This begs the question of how reliable the self-reports given by the 3-, 4-, and 5-year olds were. How much did they know to reliably report that their English was pretty good? Other types of evidence presented in support of the program were dubious, too. For example, parents ‘frequently reported’ that their kindergarteners ‘spoke English even in their dreams’ (p. 22); a little girl in dispute with a little boy was observed to challenge her opponent to debate in English, and not to be outdone, the boy accepted

the challenge. The latter incident was interpreted as showing how competent the little girl and the little boy were in English. It would be more plausible to suggest that the children chose to debate in English for any reason but their proficiency in English, because there is no evidence that they could debate more effectively in English – a language they had been exposed to for only 1–3 hours a day for less than 3 years – than in their mother tongue.

In another evaluation study of the same “immersion” program at the primary level (Chi & Zhao, 2004), 12 intact classes were “randomly” selected from five schools as experimental groups. Efforts were made to ensure ‘the experimental and control groups were comparable in terms of family background and assignment of teachers for Chinese-medium school subjects’ (p. 14). The experimental classes started “English immersion” at the age of 6, and some of the children had attended the kindergarten “immersion” program described in Zhao (2004). In the first phase (1998–2001) of the “immersion” program, the experimental classes received a total of 15 hours of English-medium instruction for 6 school subjects, and in the second phase starting from September, 2001, the hours were reduced to 8 because the teachers were unable to cope with 15 hours. Tests were administered to the experimental and control groups to measure “phonological awareness,” “cognitive capacity,” “English-language development,” and “academic achievement.” The experimental classes were found to outperform the control classes on all these tests. Chi and Zhao concluded that these results showed ‘the outstanding effectiveness, remarkable achievements, and great potential of immersion-type instruction’ (2004, p. 17). However, the conclusion must be treated with great caution because the study suffered from several problems mentioned earlier: use of intact groups, lack of information about the reliability and validity of the tests administered, no description of the statistical procedures used to analyze the test results, and difficulty in unambiguously attributing the experimental groups’ better performance in all areas assessed to the “immersion” program per se because of a failure to control for various threats to internal validity (e.g., selection bias and the Hawthorne Effect).

The last study (Qiang & Zhao, 2000) to be examined here evaluated the results of the first 2 years of the same kindergarten and primary “immersion” programs referred to above. The researchers did not provide any information about how the experimental and control groups were set up except that the programs had been implemented at eight kindergartens and five primary schools that were ‘representative’ (2000, p. 21). Nor did they describe the specific criterion measures used, let alone reliability and validity evidence for these measures. Furthermore, the statistical procedures employed to analyze the data were not provided, though statistical significance was reported for some of the test results. According to the study, after a weekly 15 hours of “immersion” in English for a year, the primary students acquired an active vocabulary of 400 words and a passive vocabulary of 600 words. ‘The children acquired 5–6 times more English than what was taught intentionally’ (p. 21), and they were able to ‘think in English’ (p. 22). Furthermore, most experimental groups ranked top in Chinese and mathematics at their grade levels. The researchers claimed that at the primary level, “immersion” children left

their counterparts in the control groups far behind in personality, individuality, creativity, judgment making, practical abilities, and thinking skills. With respect to the kindergarten “immersion” program, they reported that ‘the research team generally *felt* children in the experimental groups were quicker in response, stronger in understanding, more intelligent, and more confident than children in the control groups’ (p. 22; emphasis added). Furthermore, one experimental kindergarten group was even found to be significantly taller and heavier than its comparison group. One may wonder: To what degree were the research team’s impressions accurate and free from biases towards the “immersion program”? It is also mind-boggling to see the connection between “bilingual education” and physical development.

Conclusion

A critical analysis of the academic advocacy of “Chinese-English bilingual education” has been presented in this chapter. The analysis has demonstrated that the prevalent Chinese academic discourse on “bilingual education” has taken the importance of English to extremes in its discursive construction of the relationship between mastery of the language and national/personal development. In their zeal to promote “Chinese-English bilingual education,” contributors to this academic discourse have attempted to legitimatize this form of language provision by invoking ideas, practices, and research findings from international contexts. They have, however, collectively presented a biased picture of bilingual education in other countries. Furthermore, the academic discourse is filled with misunderstandings and misinterpretations of the international research literature. Coupled with Chinese researchers’ own evaluation research on “bilingual” programs, which is small in quantity and seriously flawed, the prevalent academic discourse has misinformed and misled stakeholders in “bilingual education.”

This analysis of the Chinese academic discourse raises concerns about practices in across-border borrowing of ideas, knowledge, policies, and practices. By way of conclusion, I discuss several issues that deserve the attention of academics and policymakers in China and elsewhere when they borrow ideas, policies, and practices in language education across borders to recommend new reform initiatives or to support existing ones. First, we academics need to pay serious attention to the ethical issues related to our role in informing policymakers and the public with respect to educational decision-making of importance. While we should have freedom to express our opinions and come up with different, and dissenting, interpretations, we should also guard against an abuse of this freedom and public trust. Academic freedom needs to be tempered by ethical academic standards. We have an ethical responsibility to exercise the very best spirit in advocating for the public good and to discuss matters of importance in a fair and honest manner. In the words of Pressley and Harris (1994), to the extent we abdicate this ethical responsibility, ‘we put at risk our professional credibility, our claim that we deserve to play a role in future development and evaluation of educational innovations’ (p. 207). As Bloom (1972)

cautioned us a long time ago, we need to ‘put our house in order’ (p. 334), and ‘the burden of responsibility for appropriate actions and practices rests with the professionals in the field’ (p. 349).

Second, in keeping with the ethical responsibility expected of academics, we must always strive to introduce and present ideas, practices, and policies from other countries in a comprehensive and contextualized manner. A comprehensive picture of this nature is required for policymakers and stakeholders to take informed actions. To this end, we must refrain from presenting lopsided accounts of what has worked or failed to work in another part of the world, but must give a balanced treatment of successes, concerns, problems, and failures surrounding the educational ideas, practices, or innovations in question. We should make every effort to base our policy recommendations on a deep understanding of ‘the cultural, historical and social contexts surrounding the issues under investigation’ (Zhao et al., 2008, p. 1). We need to resist various bandwagons and guard against biases arising from our own vested interests.

Third, in across-border borrowing of ideas and practices, it is imperative that we take an ideological and ecological perspective, as opposed to an autonomous, technological one (Coleman, 1996). The latter perspective on border-crossing transfer of knowledge, innovations, and policy initiatives assumes that an innovation or initiative that is effective and appropriate in one social and cultural context also works well in a different one. In other words, a strategy successful in one educational context is expected to ‘lead in a neat, deterministic manner to a predictable set of learning outcomes’ (Tudor, 2001, p. 9) in another. Such a perspective disregards contextual diversity and overlooks its impact on educational practices. In contrast, an ideological and ecological perspective recognizes the multifaceted relationship between what happens in the classroom and the particular political, economic, social, cultural, historical, and institutional context in which it is situated. Unlike the technological perspective based on an autonomous assumption about the universal effectiveness of a well-developed idea, practice, or innovation, the ecological perspective operates from an ideological position that rejects the notion of universally effective or appropriate ways of teaching and learning. It recognizes that the effectiveness of a borrowed idea, practice, or innovation depends crucially on its appropriateness for the specific, local, and dynamic reality of teaching and learning in a particular educational context.

Finally, in keeping with the ecological orientation, any recommended policy initiative that draws on ideas, practices, and innovations of external origin must be carefully piloted and extensively researched before it is promoted on a substantial scale. Every effort should be made to conduct the needed research with rigor. Such research endeavors should focus on how the educational ideas, practices, or innovations borrowed interact with the full array of contextual factors; whether they are inimical to local social, cultural, and educational beliefs and practices; and to what extent and how effectively they address local visions, values, needs, and concerns. Only when armed with a sound understanding of external and internal, macro and micro contexts, can we recommend policy options that will enable our educational

enterprise to benefit from global flows of innovations, knowledge, policies, and practices.

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A Support Network for Primary School Teachers in the Punjab: Challenges of Policy and Practice

R. Zia and R. McBride

A Support Network for Primary School Teachers in the Punjab: Challenges of Policy and Practice

This chapter opens with a critical analysis of the Punjab Education Sector Reform Programme (PESRP) currently underway in the Punjab, which has had partial support of the World Bank (WB). The focus is on the public policy-making process and this includes an analysis of the establishment of a support network for Primary School Teachers (PSTs) to identify challenges in the process of policy formulation, including institutional reform, and the implementation of policy initiatives in the field. There is a brief contextual background of the PESRP. The chapter goes on to discuss the role of the organization responsible for teacher development in the Punjab, the Directorate of Staff Development (DSD); in this context, describing its restructuring as a result of major changes brought about to ensure the successful implementation of a number of reform initiatives.

Background

The largest of the four provinces of Pakistan, Punjab, has an area roughly equal to the UK, with a population of 85¹ million. Issues of low enrollment, retention, and completion rates persist, especially at primary levels of public schooling. In 2003 the PESRP was launched to eradicate these problems. The ambitious targets focused mainly upon missing infrastructure (boundary walls, provision of drinking water, toilets, etc.), provision of free textbooks to students up to high school, stipends for girl students at Grade VI, and filling of vacant teacher posts. These did lead, initially,

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¹ We have constant problems finding completely accurate figures for much system-wide activity. All figures used in this chapter are the best we can get.

to an increase in enrollment of some 12.5% (according to government sources – Government of Pakistan Economic Affairs Division) but figures for retention and completion rates for primary levels remained a concern. This prompted a further set of initiatives aimed at improving quality in the classroom and these focused largely on improving teaching, better textbooks, and the introduction of a standardized examination system. Some issues of policy and implementation/governance were also included in the PESRP package.

Creating the PESRP

The political leadership in Punjab (1999–2007) had a multi-pronged development agenda but it was “educated Punjab” that was floated as a political slogan. The education budget for the Punjab increased at around 15% per year (as well as its percentage utilization) and not surprisingly, as happens when quick results are to be shown, a large chunk was spent on infrastructure and artifacts, such as the upgrading of civil works in existing schools, provision of free textbooks for primary school children, and the like. Clearly it was seen as the most obvious way to justify spending and get instant political mileage. This government initiative gave the WB an opportunity to come in with a large sum of money for the Punjab government with an attractive repayment plan. PESRP was developed as a comprehensive package with the following main objectives:

- To facilitate transfer of resources to District Governments
- To strengthen district financial management capacity, increase transparency of financial management, and procurement
- To improve education sector management and teacher management
- To revitalize School Management Councils
- To strengthen monitoring and evaluation of education performance and to use the outcomes
- To improve equitable access to education and to expand access through public-private-partnerships.

With respect to teacher education, and with most relevance to this paper, there was also an objective which stated:

- ‘To ensure the provision of quality education through improved teaching and materials’ (World Bank Aide Memoire, Matrix of Policy Actions June, 2005).

Over the next 3 years (2003–2005), the allocation of the Government of Punjab for education increased steadily by around 15% per year and since then has increased more rapidly – by 21% in 06/07 and 33% in 07/08. WB funding over the 3 years has been constant at around US\$100 million per annum – this constant figure is plainly a decreasing percentage of the increasing whole. With other variables, such as the exchange rate, the WB percentage contribution was around 7% in 2007–2008. (This represents increasing and substantial value for money considering the major influence they have!)

PESRP was the overall package that drove the aims and objectives of the education sector for the years 2003 to 2005 and thereafter. A consolidated overview for the program was presented by a WB team leader for the education department representatives, and was drafted as a Logical Framework Analysis (LFA) document, complete with objectives, inputs, deliverables, and verifiable indicators for all the sub-sectors and sub-tasks. This LFA, with its “triggers”, was the driving force for the direction of the reform in education in Punjab, and is regularly updated.

Developing DSD in the Early Stages

Teacher training was one of the components of the program to achieve the objective of quality education, along with others, such as textbooks, the student assessment system, and so on. The Directorate of Staff Development (DSD) Punjab, as a technical arm of the education department/ministry has been mandated for the training of public teachers since 1959, when it was called the Punjab Education Extension Centre. Over the years, though its functions have remained largely the same, it has undergone changes in name and area of administration, and was eventually incorporated into a newly established University of Education (UoE) in 2001.

It was in the first year of PESRP, 2003, that the training of 150,000 PSTs was carried out by DSD, then under the ambit of UoE. The evaluation of the training stated:

The outcomes of the project were, on the whole, disappointing. There was little evidence of impact on the Trainee Teachers' subsequent classroom behaviours and the teachers' perceptions of the programme were also not flattering. Flaws were identified in the development, design, planning and implementation of the three programme areas.

(Pardhan et al., 2004, p. 3)

As a result, the government decided to de-link DSD from UoE. In July 2004, DSD was placed again under the Department of Education (DoE). One of the triggers for PESRP in the quality area was the reorganization of DSD (WB Aide Memoire, 2006). The new leadership at DSD introduced major changes in the organizational role, organizational structure and posts, implementation structure, governance patterns, and more importantly, in the concept of *training* which moved much closer to a form of *continuous professional development* (CPD). The latter is not just about giving teachers some ideas but more about supporting their thinking processes; helping them to take part in their own development; to change personally and professionally; and placing the welfare of their clients, primarily children and parents, first (see McBride, 1993).

Establishing a Support Network for Primary School Teachers (PSTs)

For the first 3 years, DSD focused on developing the structure for a support network for PSTs, which reached approximately 60% of the total number of public school teachers, 177,219, out of approximately 300,000 (PMIU, 2007). The primary

objective was to provide continuous training with follow-up, and other forms of support, to the teacher in the classroom, such as, additional resources and materials, on-site mobile mentoring (as opposed to supervision, and which is an important part of the program). Here mentoring refers to a supportive service in which the teacher plays a role in his/her own development), and so on.

A decentralized model was developed by DSD. In view of the large numbers of PSTs spread over a vast geographic area, and the access issues for female teachers (who currently account for some 56% of all PSTs) (PMIU, 2007), a number of high schools were designated as Cluster Training and Support Centres (CTSCs) for primary schools within a 16-kilometer radius of the high school. One or more full-time posts were created for the CTSCs, under the administrative control of the high school head, to train teachers (recommended, 1 day every month) and provide on-site mentoring for selected PSTs (97,000) who did not have a Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) degree (the stipulated requirement to be a teacher in Punjab). Clustering also provided the added benefit of a decentralized governance structure and, by being local, meant that teachers from one- or two-teacher schools (approximately 63% of primary schools in Punjab) do not have to miss school very often.

This cascade approach was piloted on a large scale and training modules and materials were gradually refined. Apart from facilitating access and increased participation it was also designed to be the most cost-effective way of training. Over 6 months and with a number of adjustments, the establishment plan for the support network of PSTs was moved and granted government approval in 2006, complete with budgetary and resource requirements (approximately US\$17 million per annum). It is clear that the cascade approach has its limitations (McDevitt, 1998; McBride, 2004; Wedell, 2005, see also MacIntyre, 1981, for a more fundamental discussion) but the plan for regular follow-up training, mentoring in the classroom for the poorly qualified; and provision of self-instructional materials to teachers, among others, was hoped to counter the expected dilution of quality as the training passed from first to subsequent trainers.

Some Challenges

The PESRP log frame analysis (LFA), issued periodically as a WB Aide Memoire, defines the education agenda for Punjab, including the outputs/deliverables for quality, which include teacher training. All outputs have been developed jointly by the WB and government functionaries through a consultative process. Understandably, the resultant log frame is as relevant as the expertise of the parties. It should be noted here that government functionaries heading the education department and the related organizations are largely from the civil service and do not have technical expertise in education. We will return to this point below. The Aide Memoire, more significantly, ends up as discrete activities listed as inputs and outputs without actually considering how the larger picture, which includes a range of educational activities, comes together. As a result, one basic problem, which now exists, is that teacher training, text book formulation and the examination system for students, among

others, are all working towards *quality* without arriving at a common consensus on what *quality* is, and what its possible indicators might be.

Though the PESRP accepted CPD as the best way forward, as opposed to mere *training*, both the WB and the education department, Punjab, did not seem to appreciate the need for the accompanying institutional reform to put the reform agenda into practice (see Castro, 2002, for comments on how the WB often works). Consequently, issues such as organizational structure, staffing requirements, governance style, and various aspects of capacity building, in both the structures and processes of DSD, were not stated as inputs in the LFA for the expected outputs for quality. And where it does register inputs, the PESRP does not pay sufficient attention to systemic reform, consolidation, or to institutional development. A classic example is, the government notification to de-link DSD from UoE (see above) was the only trigger required by the WB to verify the achievement of DSD restructuring as successful. The LFA was oblivious to the capacity issues faced by DSD to establish itself as an effective and functioning organization to deal with its new role as a strategic policy maker and planner for teacher development activities. The subsequent Aides Memoire, issued publicly, dwell largely on the LFA triggers and outputs of DSD, such as numbers of trainings completed, rather than capacity development.

The decision to de-link DSD from UoE, shows a “reaction” to the third-party validation (Pardhan et al., *op. cit.*), as opposed to a proactive, well-researched plan within a comprehensive framework through the participatory consensus of key stakeholders in the public and non-public sectors. This point is further consolidated by the decision of the DoE in late 2006, to place another provincial organization, the Provincial Institute of Teacher Education (PITE), with functions similar to DSD, as well as 33 Government Colleges of Elementary Training (GCETs, responsible for pre-service training), and spread all over Punjab, under DSD administrative control. The decision was intended to consolidate DSD’s role and facilitate implementation of the activities at the field level. Nevertheless, no feasibility study was carried out and no consideration given to rationalizing and integrating the roles of the various organizations, specifically those of DSD and PITE, which had, at that stage, similar and overlapping roles.

Despite this limitation, DSD leadership used this opportunity to link pre-service and in-service teacher education so as to develop a more holistic framework for teacher education in the Punjab. Despite repeated requests by DSD, the much-needed restructuring plans for both PITE and GCETs have yet to be formalized. In fact, the repeated changes in the alignments of DSD with other organizations have brought about a need to rethink the organizational structure and governance pattern of DSD itself. The present organogram and staffing position needs to be revised. It is clear that there is also a serious need to build the various capacities of DSD, PITE, and GCETs, such as up-grading infrastructure, equipment, and staff expertise, to ensure effective implementation of the PESRP quality agenda.

The WB Aide Memoire does not comprehensively address the quality agenda, nor are the activities stated in the PESRP policy document scheduled in a reasonably logical order nor synchronized to fit together. For example, all activities implemented at the field level have to be undertaken by the 35 different District

Governments. The delegation of governance from the Punjab provincial unit to the 35 districts is also a recent development (2001), and hence related capacity building and orientation of district staff is crucial for any development initiative to succeed. The PESRP demands outputs at the district level, but the capacity building plan for district education staff is a much later addition to the program. And so, in 2006, while DSD moved to provide initial training for all PSTs in all 35 districts, the district staff seemed unable to comprehend, and were unprepared to facilitate the activity. DSD had consulted stakeholders at the district level but more concerted efforts are needed to bring them on board. That the expertise level of district education staff in teacher education is minimal, is another matter and requires a separate discussion.

Frequent changes in the leadership of the Punjab Department of Education have further exacerbated the situation. In Pakistan (and some other countries in South Asia) new governments replace senior civil servants with new appointees, whom they feel they can trust. The problem is that competent people who have built their expertise and developed relationships with staff in institutions like DSD are summarily removed. There is, as far as we know, no rationale or choice based on merit that dictates who is to be removed and who stays. Replacements can be brought in from other ministries, such as health or agriculture, and begin their new posts simply unable to understand the complex nature of education or able to relate comfortably to other professionals in the field. Decisions that have already been approved, and even implemented, can be instantly reversed. For example, the professional development day for all primary teachers in the Punjab, approved by one Education Secretary, was abruptly halted by a new one without a well-informed enquiry. This countered many of the benefits that could have been built through the clustering approach, and is likely to result in loss of impact, and of some expected benefits, from earlier training of PSTs carried out in 2006 and 2007.

Policy Development

Public policy in the area of teacher education, in particular, has long been neglected in Pakistan, and in this case, Punjab. The poor quality of teachers is commonly quoted by most as the main reason for progressively falling standards in the quality of education across the country. Not enough research exists to establish this assumption, but whatever the reasons, a thriving private sector provides strong evidence that many parents do not hold the public system in high regard. Whenever there are attempts to improve the quality of education, the quality of teachers comes into question. It is clear that there is a perception that relatively high levels of teacher absenteeism, along with an obvious lack of skills, are widely given as major reasons for falling standards in education. There are a myriad of possible reasons for teachers not delivering in the classroom. Teachers themselves quote contextual issues of policy, bureaucratic lethargy, and resource constraints as impediments to their work. That very few school achievers want to be teachers in the first place is partly

due to the low salary compared to other government service cadres (the 33 GCETs under DSD administration have approximately 4,500 enrollments for B.Ed. for the year 2008–2009, when their capacity is to support double that number). Whatever the reality, it seems clear that the pay and grade structure, which provides benefits merely on the basis of years of service, as opposed to merit, plays a major role. In such an environment, any effort to “train” or professionally develop teachers tends to remain a mere supply-driven, rather than a demand-driven, exercise. It is worthwhile at this point to pay attention to the words of Goodson, who writes:

Educational change works most successfully when reform sees the personal commitments of teachers as both an inspiration for reform (which works best when carried out by teachers as part of their personal–professional projects), and a necessary object of reform (the need to provide support for teachers to the point where they wish to take ‘ownership’ of the reform).

(Goodson, 2001, p. 60)

The DSD view is that development of teachers’ professionalism requires a holistic approach, in which quality pre-service is linked to in-service development through professional development, with an effective induction period in between; provision of incentives and accountability beyond the support network; an improved governance structure; and a system-wide monitoring and evaluation network. At the time of writing, none of these is completely in place. Given that the cascade is in place and the GCETs are ripe for improvement, the more urgent questions to be addressed by DSD are:

- How can teachers be encouraged further to take an interest in their own professional development?
- Once they have acquired the requisite learning, how can we ensure that they will deliver in the classroom?

These questions should be tackled at the provincial level. Understanding the above basic issues, the political leadership of the previous and current governments has given repeated direction to the civil bureaucracy to formulate a comprehensive plan with respect to the above concerns. To date, these have not even been placed on the agenda for serious discussion.

At the provincial level, a comprehensive policy needs to be developed for PESRP that ensures the role of organizations like DSD, textbook board, examination commission, and others that are attempting to develop related agendas with respect to quality. Due care to pacing and sequencing of the activities should be carefully considered so that initiatives of each consolidate for a “snowball effect”, rather than a dissipation of effort. Policy-making, to be effective, needs to be at least, coordinated at several levels, be it at the national education policy level, at the provincial level, or the organizational level, like DSD, and the various elements have to reinforce one another. The need for integrated policies has been amply demonstrated (Leithwood et al., 2002, p. 14; Guskey & Oldham, 1997, p. 438). One basic spillover effect of such a policy process is that it counters overlapping and duplication of resources and effort, and maximizes impact.

Policy regarding quality education needs to be worked upwards from the impact on student outcomes. Unfortunately, the authorities in the Punjab remain mired in wrangles about the quality of student achievement, assessment, and the like. We would prefer to be engaged in a more comprehensive discussion about student learning, skills, ambitions, confidence, competencies, values, and their more general well-being. The latter two, especially, have to be woven all the way into teacher training, textbooks, student assessments, through to the PESRP objectives. A clear example is that the need for preparing a global citizen is an area not yet registered nor debated. This raises further questions about the awareness level of policy makers, or in this case, the civil servants in charge in the Punjab. As Leithwood et al. comment:

... large scale reform efforts should be guided consistently by a vision of the outcomes aspired to for students, one that goes beyond subject-specific content. A vision that includes, as well, an image of the organization capable of accomplishing those outcomes will add considerable clarity to the reform effort.

(Leithwood et al., 2002, p. 12)

If the civil service bureaucracy is to make policy and strategic plans for technical areas like health and education, then it is implicit that they take more time to listen to a range of stakeholders who are involved in education and who know something about it. In the present circumstances, it is unlikely that there will be a debate about the students we would like to see graduate from our schools and universities.

Another important point to consider is *who* is involved in, and *how* they go about policy formation. At present all planning for the provincial education department is done by a core group made up of a government civil service cadre of managers. It would be preferable if the group had closer links with technical specialists, academics, and a mix of stakeholders from outside the public sector. Frequent interaction with stakeholders, especially those at the field level (such as teachers, District Government education staff, and similar) is crucial to create ownership at all levels. This could be facilitated through research activity and the development of a reliable and open monitoring and evaluation service. A similar point has also been elaborated by Stephens (1991):

Quite often, worthy projects heavily funded by the large aid organizations have failed to make any impact because at each stage of development of the project scant regard has been paid to the involvement of local people in the decision-making process. Equally, mistakes are often made because those responsible for speaking the 'language of critique' have little contact with those charged with implementing the decisions. This demarcation of roles may have something to do with our preconceived ideas about who traditionally decides what: the politician, who analyses; the academic who implements; the local administrator who manages. By keeping each role and activity separate we are in danger both of wasteful duplication of effort and of misuse of existing scarce resources.

(Stephens, 1991, p. 231)

Stephens refers to local people. In our case, the "local people" include all the stakeholders in schools and colleges but also the Director of DSD. We feel justified, in the light of these and more recent events, to argue that there is a civil service *establishment* in the Punjab, which has a tendency to steamroller all before it. It is this establishment that makes decisions and has contact with international agencies.

Politicians take much more of a back seat in these affairs, though they do ensure that their own contacts or *plants* are in place (as we see after each election).

The bureaucracy that proposes policy, which is part of the civil service referred to above, at the provincial level and directly interacts with the political leadership undergoes frequent changes. In the past 4 years, DSD had to deal with two changes of political leadership but five Education Secretaries. The priorities change with the change of face, even if the direction of policy remains the same. DSD-planned activities have changed repeatedly, in terms of time scheduling, geographical area of coverage, and scope. Already, the recent period of political change, since the beginning of 2008, has brought many government activities to a halt. Continual upheaval in the polity has increased insecurity for decision making and action throughout the system. Administrative and financial matters are taking longer than usual to resolve. All of these matters have added to the stress of DSD-initiated change processes and added an approximate 1-year lag in the implementation of a number of activities.

Friction between federal, provincial, and district policy and plans is another major challenge for the development and implementation of education reform in general, and teacher training, specifically. Reasons are varied and need more research to be soundly established, but it is clear that a range of institutions at all three levels of governance from central to district, to the field level will not function well, or cooperate constructively, without some dedicated capacity building of each.

Conclusion

Despite the range of challenges referred to here, DSD has made impressive gains in the past 4 years. The CPD framework has been approved, and is being implemented and a long-term vision has been formulated, at least in outline. A support network model, complete with 35 offices in districts, nearly 2,000 at the grass-root level and approximately 4,000 new full-time posts of trainers and managers has been established. Its budget allocation, of approximately US\$17 million per year, is in place. A teacher development management information system has been established. To date (July 2008), approximately 4,300 master trainers and 237,000 school teachers have been trained as per DSD-specified quality assurance guidelines. It is clear that the development of policy; strategic plans; systemic and institutional reform and development; and, the implementation of the DSD agenda has moved at a swift pace despite the many difficulties. If these changes can be maintained, and a new and brighter teacher force begins to emerge, a new force for change, within the system, may have a significant effect on development of the educational system in the Punjab. As most educators know, educational systems cannot rise above their teachers.

That the head of DSD (a co-author of this chapter) was politically aligned to the previous ruling political party of Punjab is common knowledge and was a major reason for the speedy pace of changes that have occurred. The new political leadership, in place after the elections of early 2008, could be a major loss to the *authorization* benefit enjoyed by the organization. It must be added that this chapter is not

politically inspired and most of the shortcomings of policy formation, referred to here, are common to a series of governments of the Punjab and Pakistan. Somehow, the Punjab and the whole country has to move beyond personal contacts as a basis for educational development to sounder, consultative policy development.

Once a comprehensive policy is in place, the immediate challenge is the fitness of the institutions to deliver. Necessary institutional reform and capacity building should be an integral part of the plan. Refining new structures and processes and consolidating the existing ones, and ensuring that they work effectively will be a major challenge in the coming years. It is crucial that the political and bureaucratic will is cognizant of this and aligned to this end. The focus has been on benefits rather than capacity development.

Among others, this experience raises concerns about the role of donors and lending agencies. There is no intention here to question the commitment of the WB, or its involvement, but its role in the episode referred to here could be considered either negatively or positively, and, in another paper we will say more about a wider range of donors (see Zia & McBride, 2008). Castro, writing as a former employee of the WB, states:

Observation of past experience yields a clear lesson and we have to be very candid about it: banks cannot impose reform. They can identify the ‘good guys’. They can have good antennae to find where some reform is brewing. But the best they can do is to find the good guys at the right moment and support them in their efforts to make reform happen.

(Castro, 2002, p. 396)

In this case, and we accept that it this not easy, the WB identified and in some instances supported the establishment of civil servants who know, perhaps, little about education or its developmental or change processes. Surely, this should have been evident. The notion of *elite capture* in development, which draws attention to how elites have a tendency to get more than their fair share of development aid, or influence over it, or benefit from it, is really not new (for example, see Rahman, 1993).

In systems like those in the Punjab, the credibility of bureaucrats as the leaders of the policy and planning development of technical sectors like education and health must be open to question and reconsideration. Mechanisms should be built within the process of educational planning and practice that account for such influences.

Reliance on “red-tapism” and procedural lacunae for the social sector in developing countries, especially with respect to reform agendas, must be the subject of much more reflection, critique, consultation, and discussion during both the planning and implementation stages.

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Perspectives and Perplexities Regarding Transnational Teacher Migration Between South Africa and the United Kingdom

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Introduction

This chapter presents a selection of the perspectives and debates that abound in the effort to understand teacher migration between South Africa and the United Kingdom. As teacher migration is generally couched in terms of discourse on brain drain, gain, or circulation, the chapter locates its discussion within this framework. It commences by drawing a link between globalization and the exit of professionals from developing countries to developed countries. Thereafter, the discussion examines the demographic and professional profiles of teachers who are purposefully selected for employment in UK schools. As recruitment agencies and government legislation play pivotal roles in the mobility of teachers between SA and the UK, the nature of recruitment and strategic government interventions are investigated. The next section examines a key area of teachers' disenchantment about teaching in the UK, namely, that the South African teaching qualification is not recognized there. This resonates with the decision of some migrant teachers to return to SA. The following section explores the heterogeneity of migrant teachers and delves into the mobility status of return migrants. (The term "return migrants" is SA usage for "returning migrants" or "returned migrants", which may be felt to have wider currency among English speakers worldwide.) The chapter thereafter embarks on an examination of and commentary on the Commonwealth's initiative to manage transnational teacher recruitment. The discussion concludes with recommended strategies for SA to implement when considering teacher migration in the context of weighing the costs and benefits to migrant teachers and source countries.

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Going Global

No country is untouched by the forces of globalization (Fancourt Commonwealth Declaration, 1999), which has created a myriad of opportunities for highly skilled professionals by facilitating their swift and dynamic movement across national borders. South Africa (SA) has recently emerged from isolation due to apartheid (1948–1994) and begun participating in the global labor market, but is already losing workers in the following critical fields: health (nurses, doctors, etc.), teaching, engineering, accounting, and information technology (Sunday Times December 8, 2002b). Vincent Williams, South African Migration Project (SAMP) manager, states that the ‘Big Five’ destination countries are the United States (US), United Kingdom (UK), Australia, New Zealand, and Canada (Sunday Times December 8, 2002b). As a developing country, SA is not in a unique position; many developing countries are faced with the challenge of addressing the migration of homebred professionals to developed countries (Morgan, Appleton, & Sives, 2006).

The teaching profession in many developed countries is aging owing to an inability to attract young people into the fraternity. Teacher shortages are evident in the UK, the US, Canada, Australia, and the Netherlands (Van Leeuwan, 2001). In contrast, more than two-thirds of the world’s teachers are in developing countries. Ochs (2003) has revealed that there could possibly be a national shortage of forty thousand teachers in the UK. Miller (2007, p. 30) has referred to ‘the organized recruitment of teachers from the south to the north as being a recent phenomenon due to teacher shortages in England in the 1990s and an inability to recruit sufficient teachers for secondary school’. One can, therefore, easily understand that this demand and the need for a corresponding supply has led to an exceptionally large proportion of advertisements in SA newspapers focusing on the recruitment of teachers to the UK (Sunday Times, September 8, 2002a, September 1, 2002a). It seems clear that teacher recruitment is taking place on a significant scale from South Africa, as South Africans are in the majority when compared with all foreign teachers in British classrooms (Special Assignment, SABC 3, April 23, 2004b, 21h30). The UK media have further revealed that shortages in England have led to an increase in the migration of SA teachers. British education authorities have been bold enough to acknowledge that they are aggressively recruiting teachers from SA (Special Assignment, SABC3, April 23, 2004b, 21h30). Confirmation of this comes from statistics obtained from the Office of National Statistics in the UK (2007), which reveal that for the period July 1997 to July 2006, the largest cohort of overseas-trained teachers were from South Africa. In addition, work permits issued between 2001 and 2003 in the UK to South African teachers numbered 6,090 (McNamara, Lewis, & Howson, 2005). The Home Office and Work Permits UK divulge that work permits granted to overseas-trained teachers have been increasing rapidly, from 20,610 in 2004 to 44,319 in 2006. In 2007, UK authorities admitted to allowing an average of 4,000 SA teachers into the country annually. These statistics are merely a guide in respect of migration numbers, as Mand (2006, p. 3, cited in Miller, 2007) states that overseas-trained teachers arrive via various methods, including holidays, family visits, travel, spouse’s work permit, etc. Manik (2005)

has also referred to unconventional methods that are used to enter and teach in the UK. Hence, these statistics can at best be seen as conservative estimates.

The UK is also faced with the challenge of retaining teachers. Of the teachers currently in the UK 60% are over the age of forty (Ochs, 2003). The question that begs for a response is: Can SA afford to lose teachers in terms of the quantity and quality of teachers being recruited? The Ministerial Committee on Education (2005) in SA has disclosed that there has been a steady decrease in enrollment figures in teacher education over the past 10 years and whilst SA needs to produce 20,000 teachers per year to offset teacher attrition, only 6,000 are graduating from higher education institutions. Statistics for the number of teachers being produced in each specialization are also lacking (Bertram, Wedekind & Muthukrishna, 2007). Furthermore, there are insufficient data recording the plans of newly qualified graduates and seasoned teachers, save for limited studies by Manik (2005) on both novice and seasoned teachers and Bertram, Appleton, Muthukrishna, and Wedekind (2006) on novice teachers. The hype created around teacher migration between SA and the UK has led to academic and political debates, some of which have been chronicled in a special June 2007 issue of the journal "Perspectives in Education" entitled "The Political Dichotomy of Teacher Migration". In terms of the quality of teachers being recruited from SA, it is imperative to know the demographic and professional profiles of migrant teachers, as there still exist disparities along the lines of race.

Which Teachers Are Leaving and Why?

Manik's (2005) study with data collection undertaken in 2001–2004 examined the nature of teacher migration between South Africa and the United Kingdom. This largely ethnographic study explored the reasons for teachers leaving South Africa, migrant teachers' classroom, and social experiences in the UK and the reasons for returning to South Africa. Data was gathered from both newly qualified graduates and experienced teachers. The main study of 120 participants was preceded by a pilot study of 50 participants. The study revealed that both novice and experienced teachers from SA public schools were being recruited to teach in the UK. The general characteristics of novice teachers were White¹, female, unmarried, equal to or younger than 28 years of age (Manik, 2005). Similarly, a key finding of Bertram et al.'s (2006) study of final-year student teachers from eleven higher education institutions in 2004 and fourteen in 2005 revealed that 27.4% and 23.4% of the sample in 2004 and 2005, respectively, were intent on migrating to teach abroad. Manik's (2005) study, further, found that the general characteristics of experienced migrant teachers were that they were teachers from public schools, Indian, female, currently married, and between the ages of 29–42 years. African and Coloured teachers were

¹ Under the new democratic dispensation in SA, for the sake of empowerment of previously disadvantaged race groups, Black refers to anyone who is not White, that is, Indian, Coloured, African, and – a recent inclusion in a landmark court-case – Chinese...

not recruited in great numbers. In respect of the latter, no studies have been undertaken, whilst in terms of the former, the greatest number (58,000) of under-qualified teachers in South Africa are African (Sunday Times 8th February, 2004, p. 1). This possibly impedes their recruitment, as eligibility for recruitment depends on the acquisition of a Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) or an equivalent teaching degree. Also, English is regarded by recruitment agents as a second language for Africans and a first language for Whites and Indians (Manik, 2005). Gate-keeping strategies were also evident at the level of race. It was unlikely that African teachers were aware of this type of discrimination. It can, therefore, be inferred that the cream of South Africa's teaching body is being targeted for recruitment to the UK. This has serious consequences in terms of eroding the South African teaching fraternity. In order to address teacher shortages, countries have embarked on a variety of strategies.

Creative Methods to Overcome Teacher Shortages

The dire need to replenish the teaching profession in developed countries results in government initiatives, as is evident in countries such as the UK. These include unconventional measures, such as paying fees to private agencies for recruiting teachers (Naidu, 2001) and changing the visa requirements necessary for entry into the country. In respect of the former, the aggressive recruitment drives undertaken by teacher agencies, especially those acting on behalf of UK schools, offer lucrative packages to teachers, specifically those from developing countries where English is an official language. Agencies recruiting in SA are responsible for the frenzy created about the benefits of teaching in the UK (Manik, 2005). The earning potential, in addition to other perks, such as free flights, accommodation, and an opportunity to travel, is the trump card that is dealt by recruitment agencies in their weekly advertisements in newspapers.

Manik (2005) asserts that a false picture of economic gain is furthered by recruitment agencies in their zealous drive to entice local teachers. Agency adverts promise a minimum of 100 pounds a day, but whether this is before or after deductions is not disclosed in migrant interviews and seminars, creating a misleading picture of the migrant's earnings. Thus, the disposable income of a teacher is rarely presented during recruitment. Interestingly, migrants in the UK confirmed that the set salary rate per day was 180 pounds and not 100 pounds, as migrant teachers in SA were led to believe (Manik, 2005). Also, the services that were offered as supposedly free by recruitment agencies were built into the costs of migration. Notwithstanding the supplementary services, the teacher is a commodity to sell to UK schools as agencies are paid an additional amount by the school (separate from their finding fee) for each day that the migrant teaches in the UK.

Recruitment agencies acting on behalf of UK schools are practicing a degree of gate-keeping with regard to the recruitment of teachers in specific learning areas. In 2000 in an attempt to attract math teachers to UK schools, teachers were offered 4,000 pounds as an incentive to teach the subject. However, the need for Math

teachers in secondary schools is still great at present (Eteach.com August 6, 2003). Teachers in the math and science fields were declared to be in demand, as recruitment seminars in SA highlighted jobs for teachers in those specific fields. The irony for SA is that teachers from Zimbabwe, India, Malaysia, Singapore, and Uganda will soon be recruited to meet SA's current needs, as there also exists a shortage of math and science teachers locally (de Villiers, 2007). Math and science education has been under scrutiny in South Africa with 'few learners graduating with high-quality passes to enter universities' (Reddy, Van der Berg, Lebani, & Berkowitz, 2006, p. 139). A natural consequence of this trend is the deficit of teachers in math and science in SA, a country which has stated its commitment to development through science and technology.

Strangely, there are conflicting reports in the SA media, with foreign teachers claiming that they are unable to secure teaching posts in South Africa. Two teachers interviewed after a spate of xenophobic attacks in South Africa (which left more than 50 foreigners dead in violent clashes in May 2008) stated that despite having their qualifications recognized by the South African Qualifications Authority, they were repeatedly refused jobs with the South African Department of Education (DoE) and forced to eek out a living in informal jobs (Makhaye, 2008). Even more surprising is that they are seasoned teachers (more than 10 years of teaching experience) in math and science, with one teacher claiming that he holds a Master's degree in the former subject. The economic magnetism of South Africa for citizens of other African countries has been documented by Mattes, Crush, and Richmond (2002), who in their study of 400 skilled foreigners found that 41% of foreigners were from countries in Africa. No one is sure how many skilled non-citizens live in South Africa or where they reside or work (Mattes et al., 2002, p. 115). However, the SA government estimates that there are 10,000 qualified Zimbabwean teachers in South Africa and 4,000 of them are specialized in math and science (Forde, 2007). Manik (Human Sciences Research Council-HSRC Seminar July 15, 2008) asserted that as a first step, there should be an undertaking to ascertain the competencies of foreign teachers in outcomes-based education, which is a key feature of the new education curriculum in South Africa. Closely related to this is a perception that immigrants already in South Africa should be approached and their skills utilized prior to seeking help across national boundaries. But this can only be addressed if there is a government initiative to develop a register of skilled non-citizens and competency-based tests with a view to assessing and recruiting available foreign skills. In respect of assessment, the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) representative (Samuel Isaacs HSRC Seminar July 15, 2008) has stated that there is a process in place to evaluate foreign qualifications but it comes with a cost. In addition, a foreign teacher will have to register with the South African Council of Educators and apply for DoE validation. He commented that the process is time-consuming. Mr. Firoz Patel, Deputy Director General of System Planning and Monitoring in the DoE revealed, at the same forum, that there are 15,097 foreign teachers at present teaching in SA. However, he did not allude to any concerted effort by the DoE to enter into talks with foreign teachers in critical fields and tap them to reduce teacher shortages. With regard to the recruitment of SA teachers to UK

schools, has there been an alignment (equivalency assessment) of their qualifications to the UK Qualified Teacher Status (QTS)?

Rude Awakening Abroad

This is a particularly pertinent issue due to the UK implementing changes in employment restrictions to facilitate the recruitment and retention of greater numbers of skilled foreign workers. On June 20, 2003, the UK government confirmed changes for the working holiday visa, which came into effect in August 2003. In this way, UK employment restrictions were reduced, as working-travelers up to the age of 30 could now apply for a visa, and not under 28 years, as was the case previously. In addition, although the visa duration remains the same, after a year, the working-traveler may apply for a full work permit. In addition, the UK has also created a new website to help foreign nationals gain employment in the UK (Eteach.com December 3, 2003). These changes appear to have been strategically implemented to sustain and protect the British education system. In respect of the UK, more than half of British-trained teachers leave the system within 5 years of starting (Special Assignment SABC 3, 23rd March, 2004a). Mulvaney (2006) has calculated that within the next 10 years, 50% of the present UK teacher workforce will retire. He estimates that 16,450 overseas-trained teachers will be required to fill these labor gaps by January 2010, which translates to a 39% increase in the current figures. A logical deduction from this is that given the status of South African teachers in the UK, recruitment will increase, leading to the South African education system becoming more vulnerable. Miller (2007, p. 29) has asserted that 'teacher recruitment and migration have in part been responsible for a correlated fall in the quality of teaching and learning in some developing countries'. He (Miller, 2007, pp. 35–36) highlights the perspective that 'overseas trained teachers have resuscitated, strengthened and enriched English education... by constituting a large proportion of teachers in England' and in their contribution to the English economy, society, and education.

So, what is the present status of the SA teaching qualification? Although agencies are recruiting qualified teachers from South Africa, their teaching qualification is not recognized in the UK, and this constitutes one of the reasons for teachers returning to South Africa. During the recruitment process, teachers are not informed of teaching requirements for the UK with regard to the use of the South African qualification (B.Ed.) abroad. It is only when they are in the UK that they are made aware that the B.Ed. degree does not automatically translate into Qualified Teacher Status. This leads to migrant teachers becoming resentful, as they feel it is unnecessary to study further. A migrant's response to a question on the least favorable aspect of the UK was 'the fact that you've got a teaching degree and you're still seen as an unqualified teacher' (Manik, 2005, p. 125).

A study undertaken in 15 local authorities in England with a high concentration of overseas-trained teachers found that 53% ($n = 213$) were qualified in their own country, yet neither possessed the UK QTS, nor were they studying towards it (McNamara, Lewis, & Howson, 2007). Interestingly, overseas-trained teachers

may receive a salary as much as 5,000 pounds lower than that of a teacher with QTS (STRB, 2005). Migrant teachers who wish to remain in the UK will have to enroll for the QTS, which has been described as ‘complex and demanding and can leave migrant teachers feeling undervalued, offended and surprised at the tasks involved’ (de Villiers, 2007, p. 72). A newspaper article on returning migrant Tracy Henderson’s experiences in the UK states ‘she was taken aback when the British education authorities refused to recognize her teaching qualification and told her to find work in another profession’ (Sunday Times-Business, September 24, 2003). The latest development in regulations governing overseas teachers is that they will have to acquire QTS if they are teaching in the UK for more than 2 years (Statutory Instrument, 2003). McNamara et al. (2007) have suggested the need to align training standards in major source countries, such as South Africa, against the UK QTS in order to expedite assessment processes. This suggestion is valid in the light of research undertaken, which revealed that 74% of 340 head teachers felt that overseas-trained teachers were just as competent in subject knowledge as UK-trained teachers (McNamara et al., 2007). A recent study undertaken by Morrow and Keevy (2006) of the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) explored the recognition of teacher qualifications across nine commonwealth member entities (Australia, Canada England, India, Jamaica, Mauritius, Northern Ireland, South Africa, and Sri Lanka) and also found that there was a need to co-ordinate teacher qualifications. They assert that the recognition of teacher qualifications of a country influences teacher migration. Hence, the SAQA study has emphasized ‘the importance of balancing the rights of teachers to migrate internationally against the need to protect national education systems’ (Morrow & Keevy, 2006, p. 3). SA’s education system can be at risk if outward-migration exceeds returning migration, and thus far studies (Manik, 2005; Bertram et al. , 2007) have, respectively, indicated that not all migrant teachers from SA have permanently relocated to the UK or have the intention to do so.

There's No Place Like Home, or Is There?

The discussion in this section is drawn from Manik's (2005) study, which reveals that a proportion of migrant teachers from South Africa are returning after a period of less than 3 years abroad. The findings indicate the existence of three distinct categories of transnational teachers, based on their goals and migration strategies: goal achievers, lifestyle emigrants, and transients. Migrant teachers exiting SA fell into one of three groups:

- “goal achievers” – who exited SA on a temporary basis to achieve particular socio-economic goals;
- “lifestyle emigrants” – who were exiting permanently for a better quality of life with a view to starting life afresh in a new country; or
- “transients” – who had no intention of permanently settling in either the UK or SA and were comfortable crossing national boundaries. Such teachers indicated a willingness to migrate to other countries in the future.

None of the above categories was a discrete entity and teachers who may initially have exited as goal achievers could become lifestyle emigrants or transients, depending on their circumstances and particular experiences.

Interestingly, none of the married teachers had left SA accompanied by their families on their first migration abroad. Later there was a staggered family or partner migration on either the primary migration (first contract abroad), or the subsequent migration (second contract abroad). Sometimes this was based on migrants' decision to change from being goal achievers to becoming either lifestyle emigrants or transients. Thus, teachers were initially "feeling out" a new environment and had not taken the plunge to migrate as a family unit. Various circumstances served as catalysts in facilitating the migration of teachers' families. For example, upon the migrants' entry into the UK, they experienced a deep longing for their families/partners (loneliness), and some made the necessary arrangements for their families to join them. It was apparent that married migrant teachers who remained in the UK in the pursuit of financial gain without immediate family were there physically, but their thoughts were with their loved ones in SA. Teachers revealed that they missed their families and regularly telephoned to keep in contact.

A few return migrants also referred to clinging to an expectation whilst they were in the UK that the teaching scene in SA had changed positively. However, they met with the same frustrations in SA that they had experienced prior to their initial exit. The specific education scene in KwaZulu-Natal², SA was the reason why single teachers felt that they had no other choice but to return to London. Many had been unable to find permanent jobs suited to their improved qualifications and global work experience. These teachers were considering embarking on either a second migration to the UK or planning migration to another destination. Countries viewed as favorable were Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, where English is a first language and which also have a large South African expatriate population.

Social networks played an important role in helping SA migrants to adjust in the UK. Migrants also maintained links with teachers in SA while they were teaching in the UK. This transnational social bond led to migrants' recruiting their colleagues to UK schools. Such migrants also indicated that they had assisted their colleagues by sharing accommodation and transport. This is in keeping with the theory of cumulative causation, where migrants reduce the costs of migration for future migrants. Thus, greater numbers of migrants will follow the initial migrant.

Managing Teacher Recruitment

Given the scenario that is unfolding in the context of SA-UK migration: What is SA's response to the obvious poaching of teachers? SA has not responded, and whilst this is shocking, given the present and impending danger, it is understandable, as no comprehensive data on migrant teachers have been collated. SA did not

² One of the nine provinces that constitute SA, situated on the east coast.

respond to the request to provide information for a Commonwealth study in pursuit of a protocol for teacher recruitment (Ochs, 2003). At present, there are still no statistics available regarding the exact number of teachers migrating to the UK.

In respect of novice teachers, the SA government subsidizes the initial teacher qualification; yet upon graduation some teachers are recruited to the UK without entering the local SA teaching fraternity. The newly elected President of the African National Congress, Jacob Zuma, has criticized the decision taken by the Cabinet which resulted in the closure of teacher training colleges in the late 1990s (News SABC 1, April 23, 2008). He has called for renewed dialogue on the re-opening of these institutions. However, Manik (2008a, 2008b) has warned that producing graduates does not automatically translate to retaining them locally. Tertiary institutions in the business of producing teachers may have realized that they are producing teachers for export. Garrun (2007) has noted that SA teachers are renowned for their hard work, loyalty, and dedication. In 2007, the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Edgewood Campus) held a successful recruitment day for final-year Bachelor of Education students, which has now become an annual event. Here, the DoE and four UK recruitment agencies vie with one another in an attempt to attract and employ novice teachers. Hence, it is imperative to regulate and control recruitment drives by agencies and ensure that all recruitment agencies are adhering to the conditions expressed in UK's Quality Mark. Quality Mark was launched in 2002 as a joint initiative by employment and recruitment stakeholders in the UK to set minimum standards in recruitment practice. However, studies (McNamara et al., 2007) have revealed that many migrant teachers do not enjoy adequate empowerment with regard to their rights.

A global initiative based on the concern about teacher recruitment from developing countries within the Commonwealth followed. This resulted in the Minister of Education for SA and 22 Commonwealth States' signing a protocol on teacher recruitment as far back as the September 1, 2004. The aim is to protect the rights and interests of all stakeholders in the teacher recruitment process, especially those of source countries and recruited teachers. Ochs (2007) has noted that many of the items in the protocol are based on assumptions such as the source country's having migrant data and knowledge of migration patterns and, as Manik (2005) has noted earlier in her research, these are still lacking.

Nevertheless, the protocol serves as an ethical guideline for the recruitment of teachers at an international level. More importantly, it is necessary the protocol recognizes that source countries implement measures to retain qualified teachers. Hence, it does provide a framework for countries such as SA to develop appropriate legislation on teacher recruitment in order to protect her teachers and development trajectory. More than three years have passed and no definite steps have been taken by the SA government to either formulate policy or engage in workshops with relevant stakeholders where the implications of the protocol can be examined and principles for appropriate policy decisions can be developed. Rademeyer (2005) has confirmed that the Department of Education has no formalized policy on teacher migration. It is strange that the SA government is virtually inactive on teacher recruitment legislation, considering it has the intention of recruiting teachers from abroad (News, SABC 3, August 17, 2007). The Minister of Education

has commented that 17,000 teachers exit the profession per year (Mkhize, 2004) but teacher training institutions in South Africa only produce 6,000 graduates per annum, and not all elect to enter the teaching fraternity upon graduation (Bertram et al., 2007). A further concern, mentioned earlier, is that teachers who are being recruited from SA are the cream of the crop. Therefore, there is an urgent need to create a database of migrants entering and exiting SA. Moreover, the repercussions of a reduction in the number and quality of teachers are serious for South Africa, especially when added to outward-migration in other core fields and concerns about the spread of HIV/AIDS. Managing teacher recruitment, especially in developing countries located in sub-Saharan Africa, must be a factor in HIV/AIDS projections.

In developing countries such as South Africa, the teacher supply and demand problem is exacerbated by the impact of HIV/AIDS (Ochs, 2003). A study (ELRC, 2005) on teacher supply and demand in relation to HIV/AIDS in SA revealed that attrition due to mortality increased with frightening rapidity, from 7% in 1997/1998 to 17.7% in 2003. The study estimates AIDS deaths to be 10.3 per 1,000 teachers. A study by Shisana, Peltzer, Zungu-Dirway, & Louw (2005) shows that 12.7% of 17,088 teachers who were tested for the virus were HIV positive. Particular cohorts of age and race show exacerbated figures. For example, Black women between the ages of 25–29 had a prevalence rate of 29.2% (cited in Bertram et al., 2007:80). Ramrathan's (2002, p. 135) study on teacher attrition in the context of HIV/AIDS pandemic refers to the impact on teachers' roles in schools, given the HIV/AIDS pandemic:

- Reduced support to schools due to illness;
- Reduced support to teaching and learning because of concerns for their own health;
- Reduced care for the learners because of society's non-acceptance of people with HIV/AIDS.

Crouch and Perry's (2003) study has projected that between 11,000 and 18,000 teachers will be needed if HIV/AIDS, teacher mortality, attrition, and learner enrollment are considered.

The United Kingdom's Border Agency and Home Office (Sunday Tribune, July 6, 2008) has released a statement indicating that they intend changing the immigration system, affecting the eligibility of South Africans to obtain a 2-year working holiday visa. Whilst talks are still underway between the South African Department of Home Affairs and the UK's Home Office, a consequence could mark the end of teacher migration to the UK for the age group 30 years and younger. The holiday maker's visa will be replaced by a youth mobility scheme but as South Africa does not have a reciprocal scheme for UK youth, South Africans will be unable to exit via the youth scheme. Nevertheless, travel agencies highlight the point that other destinations, such as the US, will still be open to young people seeking to work abroad.

Internationally, teaching has been faced with a reduced social status. Whether you are teaching in a developed or developing country, teachers' work is generally looked down upon by citizens of the same country. The teaching profession is faced

with the same encumbrances, regardless of whether one is a teacher in SA or the UK. However, if the net migration (that is, outward migration offset by immigrant incomers + returning migrants) of teachers from SA is negative, then a “brain drain” could result in the education sector. Given the fact that teachers are the building blocks of a country, the development trajectory of SA will be affected. Van Rooyen (2003) has commented that the brain drain costs SA R2.5 billion a year and the departure of each skilled emigrant translates into the loss of ten unskilled jobs in SA.

It is within these parameters that it becomes necessary to advocate measures to retain qualified teachers. With regard to newly qualified teachers, the re-introduction of a compulsory tenure period upon completion of their teaching degree has just been implemented by the DoE. This was previously used by the DoE when it sponsored study towards a teaching degree by allocating bursaries to students in specific fields and this system has been revived through the “Fundza Lu Shaka Bursary Scheme”. Return migrants remain an untapped resource in SA education. The initiation of a youth mobility scheme and teacher exchange programs, not only to the UK but also to other destinations, such as the US, Australia, Taiwan, and New Zealand and Middle East, will lead to teachers’ professional development, especially in terms of a cross-pollination of ideas and experience. This would assist in reducing the number of teachers that resign and exit South African public schools permanently. A maximum period for exchange can be negotiated. There is also the need to encourage the return of teachers to SA to share the knowledge gained in host schools abroad. SA teachers have suggested that the advanced Outcomes Based Education (OBE) syllabus and the provision of resource packages in the UK can be adapted for application in SA. The knowledge, skills, and expertise gained from experience abroad could be harnessed in fine-tuning the OBE curriculum for use in SA.

Concluding Comments

It is clear that a global “teacherhood” has been created through the very substantial numbers of teachers crossing borders and continents to meet the demand for teachers abroad. It must be stressed that South Africa is now part of an international labor market, and teachers, like all professionals in critical fields, are responding to global supply and demand. Economically, the pound has been the strongest currency in the world and it is performing well against the South African rand. The SA government must take cognizance of the following aspects in order to protect local professionals and ensure the country’s development trajectory meets SA’s goals. The global teacher recruitment protocol devised on the basis of the needs of developed and developing countries should be translated into feasible and viable legislation. Teachers’ opportunities for self-fulfillment and personal gain (by migrating to developed countries) should not be suppressed. Rather, stakeholders in SA education (e.g. the DoE) need to concentrate on the following. First, ways of making the teaching profession attractive and nurturing local human resources need to be worked out. In this manner, “homebred” teachers can be retained, and it will also pave the way for

further attracting foreign skills. Second, SAQA and the DoE need to work in tandem to assess and validate foreign teaching qualifications in a quick and affordable manner as an avenue to address teacher shortages. Finally, there is a need to appreciate the value of local teachers' gaining global experience, and thus encourage their return.

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Developing a Collaborative Community: Guidelines for Establishing a Computer-Mediated Language Learning Project Between a Developed and a Developing Country

Debra Hoven and Jane Crawford

Background to the Project

Intercultural communicative competence (Byram, 1997) – the ability to communicate and interact across cultural boundaries – is increasingly recognized as an appropriate goal for expanded language programs in schools and a vital requirement for internationalization which involves ‘developing the knowledge, competence and ways of thinking and seeing necessary to live in an international, intercultural and interdependent world’ (Parmenter, 2000, p. 309). However, ‘preparing students to communicate in multiple cultural contexts, both at home and abroad, means sensitizing them to discourse practices in other societies and to the ways those discourse practices both reflect and create cultural norms’ (Kern, 2000, p. 2).

Recently, computer-mediated communication (CMC) with peers who do not share the same cultural assumptions has been used in language classrooms to add new discourse practices to the language learning experience (Gläsmann & Calvert, 2001). Others (Mueller-Hartmann, 2000a, 2000b; Felix, 2001; Reichelt, 2001) have hypothesized that this practice also contributes to language development by allowing learners to try out their developing second language with native speaker interlocutors. Indeed, purposeful, contextualized negotiation of meaning, particularly with more proficient interlocutors, is increasingly seen as a key factor in second language acquisition, the process through which learners potentially gain access to improved comprehensible input and negative feedback and are encouraged to focus on form (Long & Robinson, 1998). Interaction can also result in modified output which stretches learners’ linguistic resources and may force them ‘into a more syntactic processing mode than might occur in comprehension’ (Swain, 2000, p. 373).

There is, to date, only limited research which has analyzed the discourse used in the CMC environment for human–human interaction or investigated its potential to foster second language learning. In fact, using technology to achieve communication ‘both amongst learners in a classroom context and between them and

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native speakers at a distance, forms a new learning environment which is yet to be exploited to its full potential' (Conacher & Royall, 2000, p. 311). New communications technologies are radically changing access to knowledge and the manner in which learning and many other aspects of daily life are carried out (Ortega, 1997). Interactive writing via computer, for example, differs in purpose and audience from traditional foreign language teacher-assigned compositions (Reichelt, 2001). Furthermore, because the medium is new, rules of use are still evolving. Thus, to date, 'there is no way of predicting whether this new language-using situation will make use of old conversational norms or invent fresh stylistic techniques to facilitate interaction, or what particular combination of new and old will prove to be most effective' (Crystal, 2001, p. 14). This project was designed, therefore, to develop a new framework to assist teachers and researchers with the conceptualization, implementation, and evaluation of pedagogical practices which (i) take advantage of CMC to achieve interactive language use through engagement in virtual tasks with native speakers and (ii) use meaning negotiation in these intercultural experiences to encourage learners to focus on form and content in order to enhance their own language development and cultural awareness.

Secondary schools in Australia now have considerable technological infrastructure and state and federal governments are encouraging computer literacy as a key learning area (Hoven & Crawford, 2001). However, if teachers are to help learners develop improved computer literacy and use tools such as the Internet and e-mail effectively, they need to develop appropriate pedagogical practices to ensure, for example, that the tasks fit within the general learning environment (Conacher & Royall, 2000) and also help develop rich contact with and understanding of the target culture (e.g. Lee, 1997; Furstenberg, Levet, English, & Maillet, 2001). Students, too, will need to develop appropriate strategies for learning via this new medium. For teachers and students used to more teacher-centered approaches this may require a modification of roles and the development of greater learner autonomy (Hoven, 1999, 2005/2006; Schwienhorst, 1998). Given this potential need for change, therefore, it is also important to investigate teacher and learner responses to the new learning opportunities provided through electronic communication and their perceptions of how these experiences lead to effective language and culture learning.

In the Indonesian context, the introduction of innovative teaching approaches, particularly those involving changes to the traditional roles of teachers and learners or to the source of content, is particularly problematic. Teachers are constrained in their selection of material to be taught, by a national curriculum and national examinations. Because of this top-down model of educational delivery and assessment, negotiation was necessary at various levels, from the Ministry of Education, to the regional education directors, to the local school principals, language coordinators, and actual teachers involved in the project. Curriculum documents were exchanged and ideas generated among teachers for possible topics and themes to be explored collaboratively. Issues of time coordination and standardized assessment remained problematic. In addition, timely access for students and teachers to computers in classrooms was often difficult or impossible in Indonesian schools, with the exception of a handful of International Schools. Except in cases where particular

schools had been the recipients of targeted IT funding, the costs of installing multiple telephone lines to schools and regular payment of the Internet-associated phone bills were prohibitive. It was, therefore, necessary to liaise closely with regional education directors to identify those schools which had the necessary facilities and ongoing budgetary capacity.

In the late 1990s, the term “digital divide” was used as a label for the inequitable distribution of computing resources and access to Information and Communications Technologies (ICTs) in education systems in different parts of the world. Investigations of distribution of computer ownership and Internet access by ethnic background in the United States (Novak & Hoffman, 1998), content and access in South Asia (Rao, 2000) and Internet connectivity in South and East Asia (Bailey, 2000) found that social and pedagogic factors may be more explanatory of the inequities than the provision and availability of actual physical resources. As Warschauer (2002) and others (Bailey, 2000; Rao 2000; Warschauer, Knobel, & Stone, 2004) also found, it is not so much the availability of physical facilities which determines the equity of access and use of technology in education. Bailey, for example, found that in Chinese-speaking countries, users’ level of education and literacy in one or more of the major languages of the Internet (English or Chinese) were significant factors. In their study of low and high SES (Socio Economic Status) high schools in California, Warschauer and colleagues (2004) found that often it is the social support and understanding of the uses of ICTs on the parts of both teachers and parents which have the greatest influence on equitable and effective usage of these technologies. In the context of our project, we found similar conditions affecting equitable access and usage in both Queensland and Indonesian schools. These will be discussed in detail below.

An essential activity for both the Queensland and Indonesian teachers involved was professional development in the possible and appropriate uses of the available technologies for language learning and teaching. This necessitated a number of workshops in both countries, as well as periodic updates, reminders, and, when possible, re-visits. Both teachers and students also needed some re-education in the use of technologies, particularly chat and discussion forums, for educational purposes. Many students and some of the teachers in both countries were familiar at the commencement of the project with using e-mail and chat for communication with friends, for purely social and utilitarian purposes. It was a difficult and delicate task to acculturate participants to the educational purposes of CMC interactions in the project and the netiquette appropriate to these purposes. In some cases, this was not fully achieved.

Motivation/Rationale for the Project

The Indonesian language has always played a significant role in Australian education systems because of Indonesia’s close geographic proximity to Australia. From 1994 till 2002, as part of the National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools (NALSAS) strategy, Indonesian officially became one of the four priority

Asian languages in Queensland and teacher and student numbers at all levels of the education system increased rapidly. However, with changing governments in both countries and corresponding changes in economic focus and political ties, the numbers of students studying Indonesian in Australia fell by approximately 70% in recent years, with some university programs closing completely (Lo Bianco, 2002; Hill, 2004). In spite of this fall, the bomb attacks in Bali in 2002 and at the Australian Embassy in Jakarta in 2004 have meant that there is a heightened need for people in both countries with fluency in both Indonesian and English and a thorough understanding of the values and perceptions of the other culture.

To help stimulate and maintain interest in and understanding of the language and culture of Australia's nearest neighbor, this large-scale tandem elearning project was conceived. Such a large-scale project had never been carried out in Australia, and very few studies had been attempted in secondary or high schools, and certainly not with schools in a developing country, of which Indonesia is one. Globally, many studies have been carried out at an individual level, with teachers of a second language studying their own classes. While this kind of action research and single case study proved valuable for us to begin to investigate the processes involved and outcomes that we could expect from such interactions, because of their very nature, these studies are not generalizable. In addition, to date, most of these studies have been at the tertiary level of education: in universities and colleges of advanced or post-school education. This project was an attempt to provide both a broader series of case studies and some insights into the possibilities and value of conducting electronic international exchanges with secondary or high schools.

In view of the tension between the two countries in the wake of acts of terror, it seemed appropriate to pursue the cultivation among the upcoming generation, of insights and understanding of each other as people and human beings as well as members of societies, cultures, and nations. As numerous educational researchers have advocated (Ramsden, 1992; Laurillard, 1993; Kafai & Resnick, 1996; Sengupta, 2001), we aimed to develop dialogic interaction among our participants, within the paradigm of social, or rather socio-cultural constructivism (Scott, Cole, & Engel, 1992; Hoven, 1997). In this way, we hoped to develop among participants not only intercultural cognitive and social negotiation skills, but also a sense of being part of a global virtual community that transcends political trends and national policies.

In fact, one of the focus teachers in our project has long been a member of an online discussion forum, AsiaEdNet, founded with funding from the NALSAS strategy. After the terrorist acts in Indonesia, this teacher and others expressed the wish that these horrific acts of a few not be allowed to damage the general sense of community that had been building among the project participants.

Methodology

As originally conceived, the project was to utilize, as its primary data source, e-tandem exchanges (Gläsmann & Calvert, 2001) between ten Indonesian schools and ten schools in Queensland identified in a pilot study carried out in 2000/2001.

Because of various complications as outlined above, these numbers had to be reached in a rolling addition process, with schools being added if and when their teachers provided the appropriate documentation and student details. Tandem projects function on the principles of reciprocity, bilingualism, and learner autonomy or responsibility (Schwienhorst, 1998). ‘Both partners, being experts in their language and culture and depending on each other for mutual support, contribute and benefit equally in terms of their time, energy and interest’ (Mueller-Hartmann, 2000a, p. 596).

In keeping with these principles, participants were encouraged to make equal use of their two languages, thus ensuring they all encountered authentic texts prepared by native speakers of their target language, as well as having an audience and purpose for their own L2 texts. A Web-based classroom with its poly-communication (many-to-many) (Sengupta, 2001) considerably expands access to interactants. This, in turn, increases the potential for meaning-focused input (positive evidence) as well as implicit or explicit feedback (negative evidence) and opportunities for modified learner output. This broadening of horizons is particularly important for school-aged language learners in regional and rural schools, for whom the teacher may otherwise be their only expert interlocutor. In developing countries, such as Indonesia, where the educational level of teachers is lower in regional areas, the possibility for learners and teachers to have access to the authentic language of speakers of the target language is both exciting and intimidating. To mitigate some of the intimidation, the time for reflection that is afforded by the lapse between typing (including editing what is written) and hitting the “Enter” key to post, seems to allow L2 learners to improve the accuracy and structure of their output. This in-built reflection time, in fact, seems to allow superior output to that producible in face-to-face situations (Sullivan & Pratt, 1996; Lamy & Goodfellow, 1999; Payne & Whitney, 2002). Furthermore, although Sengupta’s participants seemed to feel that the web-based activity was more passive (2001), others have found that the use of online chat discussion prior to a writing activity actually helped learners more than face-to-face discussion in organizing their ideas and producing more and more complex language (Lan, 2004).

Since e-mail is generally the most readily available (and cheapest) form of CMC, this was the application we initially planned to use in this project. However, as e-mail was not available for several of the Indonesian schools, which were otherwise ideal participants, the decision was made to move the interaction to web-based forum discussion boards. In Indonesia there are numerous *warnet* or Internet cafes which young people usually use for their Internet communication and exploration. We therefore installed a server-based discussion-forum application to enable students in Indonesia and Australia to access the same CMC environment and complete their tasks from wherever they could log in, whether this was at home, in class, in the school library, or at an Internet café. From the point of view of students, this decision provided the possibility of logging in from anywhere, using a consistent interface. From our perspective (as teachers and researchers) this meant that there was no need to rely on students copying all messages to us for archiving, as all interactions were automatically displayed and archived. This was achieved by setting the preferences to disallow learners from removing posts after posting: only

administrators could perform this function. In the course of the study we hoped that additional Internet technologies (e.g. collaboratively created student web pages and synchronous videochat or delayed synchronous chat) would be used, where teachers and students could access them and where they felt they could contribute effectively to the task at hand.

The QUIPNet Project (Queensland Indonesia Provek Internet) aimed to investigate learners' language performance as they engaged in CMC tasks. The predominantly text-based nature of CMC, which was all that was available on the low Internet bandwidth in Indonesia, provided a written record of the language used, which was then available for detailed revision and, hence, further learning by learners (González-Bueno, 1998; Sotillo, 2000; Sengupta, 2001) as well as analysis of discourse patterns by researchers. The project also attempted to investigate teacher/learner perceptions of the effectiveness of different tasks in achieving the goals of the language program and in "value-adding" (Bax, 2000) to what was achievable in regular classroom interaction. Each task, therefore, was evaluated in terms of:

- (i) The actual quantity and quality of language used (fluency, accuracy, complexity (Skehan, 1998, 2003) and the L1/L2 balance);
- (ii) The negotiation of meaning and form undertaken by students as they interacted electronically in both their L1 and L2 (collaborative discourse, use of clarification requests, confirmation checks, recasts, self- and other-correction, etc.);
- (iii) How teachers and students perceived and analyzed the cultural and linguistic content in the messages received and sent;
- (iv) The learners' perception of the real-world usefulness of these tasks;
- (v) Teachers' perception of the "value-addedness" of using CMC to complete the task.

Constraints, Complications, and Experiences: Administrative, Technical, Socio-personal

Dealing with such a large project across a country as diverse as Indonesia and with the political and economic waves that have rolled through in the last several years, we naturally experienced several setbacks in implementation. Some of these were surmountable, for others we managed to find compromises, while yet others we had to set aside. As mentioned above, the major setback encountered was the flow-on effects of various terror attacks in Indonesia in recent years. These incidents led to a sharp drop in confidence and understanding between the two countries at both political and community levels. Travel bans and warnings have now been in place for Australians wishing to travel to Indonesia for several years, with only a few months' repeal during this time. While the concept of using electronic communications to bridge this gap and overcome the strictures of these bans is appealing and technically possible, the problem of finding appropriate partners and keeping in touch with them through the rather protracted establishment process meant long delays before

forums could actually start up. In this time, teachers often moved schools, Internet providers changed, or contact just lapsed for unknown and indeterminate reasons. Other complications, classifiable into administrative, technical, and socio-personal will be discussed below.

Administrative

Administratively, several layers of permissions and ethical clearance had to be negotiated. On the Indonesian side, this meant contacting and liaising with the Directors General responsible for the appropriate areas of education (Extracurricular and Out-of-school hours as well as Vocational and Language) to gain their confidence and enthusiasm and, with their assistance, make the appropriate contacts at the various descending levels in the hierarchy from regional directors to principals and teachers, with some school governing boards also involved in the case of private schools. Because of the nature of Indonesian society, it was critically important to make contact with the right people in each of these areas in order that other aspects flowed more smoothly. In spite of strenuous efforts on the part of the national government in recent years, corruption remains an obstacle, without the assistance of the right people. In the case of this project, we were fortunate to gain the support of the Director of Community, Youth and Extracurricular Education as well as the Director of Vocational Education – both of whom had strong interest in the promotion of ICT education as well as English language and international understanding.

On the Queensland side, ethical clearance had to be sought from the University initially, followed by the government and then Education Queensland. After this protracted process, permission to participate in the project had to be sought from the principals of each school that had indicated interest in participating, then the teachers and finally the students and their parents. Many of the teachers who were very interested in participating were not notified by their principals of our approach to them, and therefore lost interest in the project when extended periods of time had passed without contact from the project coordinators. Unfortunately, because of the requirements of Education Queensland, we could not approach the teachers directly until permission had been granted by their principals. Ultimately, it was only through personal and professional contacts at other venues that some of the original schools and some new ones were ready to participate and subsequently finalized the process of gaining student and parental consent.

Once all the permissions were granted, the final major administrative headache was the difference in the academic teaching year between Queensland and Indonesia, as well as minor variations between private and state schools in each location. In Queensland, as with the rest of Australia, the teaching year begins at the end of January with a new intake of students and ends in early to mid-December of the same year, with a 6–8 week holiday over the Christmas-New Year period, which is also the Summer. In Indonesia, on the other hand, the new teaching year begins in September, and then depending on whether the school is state, Muslim, or Christian, may have their long holidays over Christmas, over July–August, or over the Muslim

fasting month of Ramadhan, the timing of which varies each year. For the years 2003–2005 (the period of the project), therefore, the only time when we could be assured of all schools being able to actively participate in the forums simultaneously and with consistent groups of students was between February and June.

Technical (and Pedagogic)

The second area of constraint we experienced involved the technology and associated pedagogy. Since its inception, the web has been used predominantly as a so-called “pull technology”: that is, users search or explore for what they want to use or find out. This mode of use creates an environment suitable for the development of constructivist and exploratory learning models (Hoven, 2005/2006). However, numerous commercial and educational providers are now using the web for “push technology” – creating profiles of users and their needs and sending them pre-packaged information postings – either by e-mail, through automated pop-ups at certain websites or at certain times, or through timed webcasts. Each of these approaches has its merits and advantages. Some users, for example, prefer push technology because it makes the job of finding what they want on the web much more manageable. Others prefer to be able to take advantage of the openness of the web for exploration, as it was originally conceived. On the one hand, with the former push technology approach, users run the risk of getting a biased view of the topic being researched, for example. Users of pull technology, on the other hand risk gaining access to exploitative or other inappropriate material. This latter is particularly a problem when schools and children are the users.

These two approaches to technology, therefore, can be associated with different pedagogical models. In Indonesia, the long tradition of a central, national curriculum with standardized national examinations, has led the major telecommunications provider to advocate and invest in the development of pre-packaged education modules which are pushed into the geographically diverse regions. These modules also have the advantage of possibly becoming commodities that are marketable to neighboring countries. This approach to educational provision – essentially using modern technology to perpetuate traditional pedagogy – has hampered the efforts of the education directorates who are looking toward broader community building and communication. It has also led to philosophical conflict between the recognition on the part of some forward-looking teachers that language is meant to be used to communicate and that communicative and constructivist approaches to language teaching can foster this, balanced against an education system which imposes national exams based on traditional teaching and learning approaches.

A problem that arose in some Queensland schools was the use of school-enforced “Nanny software” or firewalls, which blocked the receipt of photos between schools. This highlighted the need for teachers to liaise with technical support people within schools to allow entry of such material from designated “trusted” sites. For the project coordinators, it also raised the possibility of needing to teach teachers and students how to allow access to the new sites created by the interacting classes.

Wherever possible, we invited the school technical support people or IT teachers to teacher and student workshops in the schools. At the very least, we made sure that we met these people and exchanged e-mail addresses so that when problems of this nature arose, we had a ready means of coming to a solution or work-around.

For Indonesian schools, reliable and affordable access to the Internet is often an issue. With assistance from the Director of Vocational Education, an increasing number of Vocational High Schools have now been provided with, not just computers and Internet access, but also technical staff to support them and a budget to allow continuing and developing use. Teachers at these schools are also designing creative means for supplementing the school budget by, for example, combining the talents of the business students with those of the IT students. In this way, they have managed to establish school-based Internet cafes which are open to both the public and students at the school. Since this access is fee-for-service, they are gradually becoming self-sufficient, with some able to use their new funds to expand their facilities and opening hours – even to the extent of providing part-time salaries for students staffing the cafes outside school hours.

In schools in both countries, access for language teachers and classes to the computing facilities in schools can sometimes be a problem. There are, understandably, many calls made on these scarce resources and often language classes are very low on the list of curriculum areas which have priority claims. The very names given to the spaces where computing and Internet facilities are housed (library, computing room, business skills rooms) usually predispose the use of the facilities to certain (non-L2) purposes. We worked extensively with teachers to gradually reorient the minds of some school administrators to see the necessity of incorporating skills in the use of these facilities for language learning.

Socio-personal

Two major socio-personal constraints to the project were also experienced during the project. The first of these involved mismatches of technical expertise, while the second derived from the change from personal to educational uses of electronic communications.

During both the feasibility study and the early stages of the project proper, the coordinators were sometimes left wondering which was the developing country – Indonesia or Australia. Many students in certain schools were much more knowledgeable than their teachers and much of their IT/CMC-related learning seemed to have been acquired, and continued to be undertaken, outside of school. The teacher-technology nexus often emerged as an issue in our workshops, for example, with teachers suffering embarrassment when they realized that not only did they not understand the uses and possibilities of the technology as well as they thought they did, but also their students were much more knowledgeable and expert than they were. Although in principle all participating teachers agreed to and were enthusiastic about participating, at certain points their lack of technological expertise became an impediment. Some teachers, for example, agreed to participate in

order to appear forward-looking or not to lose face with their students or other teachers. It was only when they were actually called upon to begin posting and responding, or to liaise with their partner teacher, that the gaps in their technical understanding emerged. This phenomenon seemed to have its roots in the traditional top-down power relationship between teachers and students and some resistance to change from a teacher-controlled environment to a more equal or collaborative environment in which, at certain points, teachers were learning from students. In addition, it was often these same teachers who were embarrassed about their lack of proficiency in the target language, resisting the expectation to post 50% in their second language, but rather restricting their use of the L2 to greetings and closings, and a few other formulaic expressions. This was one area in which we hoped to acquire clearer and more concrete data through interviews with individual teachers as the project progressed. However, as the travel bans on academics, teachers, and school students from Australia to Indonesia still persist, this was not possible.

The second type of socio-personal issues relate to the use of electronic communications for educational purposes. In the feasibility study, most of the participants in the project had indicated that they were familiar with the use of e-mail for communication purposes and with the web for seeking information. However, it proved difficult to shift the emphasis of communication in the project from the Pen Pal concept to more educational purposes. After their initial sign-on to the forums, for example, many students bypassed the bulletin board and went immediately to personal e-mail. As we had deliberately not yet activated this feature, there was a flurry of messages returned by the server, which then appeared in the mailboxes of the coordinators. At the time of the pilot study, the coordinators had a similar experience, when the teacher and students at an Indonesian school initiated their side of contact in the project, not by sending messages student-to-student with the participating school as instructed in the workshop, but rather by sending 278 personal messages to the coordinators. Since one of our research questions in the project related to the discourse used, these messages will be useful for future analysis. However, as several other researchers have indicated, the establishment of good personal and social relationships is important to the ongoing success of communication and negotiation in subsequent pedagogic tasks (Appel & Gilabert, 2002).

Current State

Of the 14 Indonesian schools originally identified in the feasibility study, only 3 remained in the final project, with another 5 new ones added through the assistance of local focus teachers. Of the 12 Queensland schools originally identified, only 2 remained somewhat active, though 3 others submitted lists of students who had parental permission to participate in the following year, depending on class numbers and enrollments in Indonesian classes. Teachers in another 4 schools also agreed to negotiate permission with their principals and parent bodies, but these did not eventuate. Several Queensland schools had to drop out of the project as they could

no longer offer Indonesian language classes at the senior high school level, due to adverse community perception and lack of federal government support. Several Indonesian schools also disappeared from the project. These schools were specialist Muslim schools or Muslim boarding schools. Since their websites became inaccessible and e-mail sent to them returned electronically, it was unclear whether their Internet access was terminated, their sites were being blocked coming into Australia, or other factors were intervening.

At one of the Indonesian schools, it proved too difficult to engage the English teachers, and therefore the group that participated moved to an outside-of-school-hours “Cyberschool” – a small class of highly motivated students with their computing teacher whose written English was at an Elementary to Intermediate level (he could communicate fairly effectively, though his level of accuracy was rather lower). As their teacher was not a language teacher, this Cyberschool class was “steered” by the activities of the Queensland partner school, while the Indonesian students themselves worked relatively independently of teacher supervision or support – except in the technical area.

Guidelines: Administrative, Pedagogic, Technical, Starting Up, Personal

As a result of our experiences during this project, we have arrived at the following collection of guidelines for the inclusion of developing countries in e-Tandem language learning projects. These include some of the compromises which have had to be made to the design of the interactions taking place. While not all of these guidelines apply more generally to other developing countries, some of the following aspects will be identifiable for most.

1. Locate focus teachers or principals who will support the project with enthusiasm and enthuse others. Such people typically run or are major players in local teacher networks, which may or may not be technologically based. Ask these people the best process to follow for the steps below.
2. Find out what ethical guidelines (if any) apply at all levels in both countries; how to apply for approval; and how long the approval process can take. Are there specific people or institutional bodies who can guide and advise you in facilitating this process?
3. Find out the system of authority, notification, and permissions applicable in each country, region, and school. It is of little use, for example, to talk directly to principals and teachers first if decisions involving the school or school curriculum are controlled or influenced by a national or local education authority, or a school board. Conversely, because of local power relationships, sometimes the necessary information does not flow downwards either.
4. Having followed guidelines 1–3 above, it is necessary to gain the cooperation of both principals and teachers. Visit schools you have identified as possible participants and talk to: 1. the principal; 2. the language teachers (including L1

- teachers and teachers of other foreign languages); 3. students in language classes; 4. students in informal situations around the school; 5. any technical support people or IT teachers. When speaking to computing support staff or IT teachers, find out whether they speak the L2, and with what level of confidence. Finally, take photographs of people and facilities around the school grounds. This is important to gauge how students, teachers, and principals react. Much can be learnt from whether they prefer posed photographs determined by the principal or teachers, or whether they are happy for you to look around and take some candid shots. To what extent they wish the inclusion of students using the facilities in these photographic records also says much about how well the facilities are actually integrated into daily teaching and learning.
5. Many-to-many electronic communications technologies, such as bulletin boards, or discussion lists or forums, are more effective than one-to-one modes of communication. In developing countries, class sizes are often larger than elsewhere. In Indonesia, for example, 40 students in a single language class is common, with either this number of computers or half the class number in a single computer laboratory. Rarely are computers found in regular classrooms. In Queensland, class sizes are rarely larger than 25, and therefore it would be impossible for students to each have an individual e-mail partner. The many-to-many mode of communication also alleviates problems experienced when some students are absent from class due to sickness, excursions, or other school activities. It is also helpful during different school breaks and holidays between the two countries as some students will usually be able to log in from home or an Internet café. In our experience it is better for the progress of the project to only allow personal one-to-one (e.g. e-mail) communication after the project is running smoothly and students are posting regularly.
 6. Tie participation in the forums to assessment. This could be calculated either on a specified number of posts per week or term or on specific criteria for postings, including content (initiating a new thread, following up on a previous posting by themselves or others with additional information) and discourse aspects (topic changes, ellipsis) as well as syntactic accuracy and complexity, and length of postings.
 7. Make sure that sound personal relationships are established between the teachers and students in each tandem pair before pedagogically oriented tasks are introduced. This can include tasks which will develop into language learning tasks, such as taking and sending photos of each other, the school environment, teachers, family, and pets. These can later form the basis of a more in-depth collaborative study of similarities and differences between the two schools and education systems, resulting in a collaboratively constructed information-based website.
 8. Ensure that online tasks correspond to the themes and/or teaching points currently being taught in face-to-face classes – or that there is at least some correspondence.
 9. Where at all possible, seek some source of external funding to provide additional incentives or rewards for participating teachers/students from the developing country to visit the partner school – even if only for a short time.

Conclusion and Future Developments

To date, several studies have been successfully implemented in Europe and North America of the qualities, characteristics and effectiveness for language learning of tandem e-mail exchanges, and delayed synchronous and asynchronous CMC interactions between groups of learners in developed countries. However, because of the technical and organizational difficulties outlined in this chapter, there is a paucity of studies involving developing countries in such projects. This chapter seeks to fill this gap by detailing the processes undertaken in the establishment of such a project and providing guidelines for achieving this. It also investigates the pedagogical practices which develop as teachers and students work with these new tools and seek to integrate their use into language programs.

In the near future, an additional set of guidelines for the creation of such tasks that are appropriate for this level of students will also be compiled. It is hoped that these guidelines and descriptions of practice will help others to undertake similar projects between secondary or high schools – including some in developing countries.

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Pathways in International Education: An Analysis of Global Pathways Enabling Students to Articulate from Secondary School to Higher Education in a Transnational Context

Tony Adams, Peter Burgess and Robyn Phillips

Study Pathways in Australia

Pathways can be broadly distinguished as those for academic preparation for tertiary study (Study Pathways) and English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students (ELICOS) for language preparation (English Language Pathways). Study pathways are, in the main, part of the Australian Qualifications Framework (AQF, 2004), although English language pathways are not part of the AQF. Study pathways can, therefore, be defined as formal inter-sectoral linkages within this structural framework. Examples indicative of formal study pathways can be found in the MIBT (Melbourne Institute of Business and Technology) and the RMIT (Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology) Foundation Studies pathway programs into undergraduate courses. Credit transfer or articulation from non-formal study pathways are also a means of entry into tertiary studies. (The reference to non-formal study pathways relate to those that have not been established formally through such arrangements as a partnership agreement between institutions that create credit transfer or articulation directly into a partner's program or course). This refers to recognition of previous studies and assessment of equivalence with the respective university course at unit level.

There are different processes which apply to those seeking credit recognition and advanced standing. These cover:

- Study previously undertaken at the same Australian higher education institution.
- Study previously undertaken at an Australian university with reciprocal credit arrangements;
- Study previously undertaken at an institution (Australian or overseas) with which an Australian higher education institution has a partnership agreement that includes recognition of formal study for credit in certain programs of study;
- Study previously undertaken in courses for which there are some structured credit arrangements.

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In the case of some Asian and European systems, English language study can also be recognized as an essential component of a student's tertiary studies and awarded appropriate credit. Although some consideration has been given to this approach in Australia, particularly to assist in the continual improvement in English language for both migrants and international students, it is not yet considered normal practice in the higher education sector.

In exploring pathway options, it is important to understand the formal classification system in Australia. The Australian Education International (AEI) classification of formal courses is based on the AQF 'levels of study', the AEI classifying courses into three main education sectors:

- Higher Education (HE);
- Vocational Training and Education (VTE);
- Schools, and two additional sectors not part of the AQF: ELICOS and Other.

Cross-sectoral linkages are also an important aspect of pathway options and rely on establishing a formal bridge between two or more independent qualifications. In the case of articulation pathways, the linkage is subject to a collaborative approach between sectors and institutions that involves the design and development of qualifications, credit levels, and perhaps dual awards (for definitions of "award" and "non-award", see pp.181).

AEI acknowledges in its research paper "Study Pathways of International Students in Australia, 2002 to 2005" (AEI, 2006a), the lack of knowledge of the nature of pathways, and the number of students participating as one of the issues for further development in Australia. Fiocco adds support to the importance of a formal quality framework, and states:

The successful development of pathway programs has been made possible through the national accrediting system of the Australian Qualifications Framework (AQF). Private providers develop courses mainly designed for international fee-paying students within this framework, and upon successful completion, the pathway courses provide both international and local students direct articulation to higher education. In most cases the provider offers a Certificate IV (an alternative to the end of high school exams, such as Tertiary Entrance Exams, 'A' levels and the International Baccalaureate) in a number of popular streams, for example, Commerce, Media and Communication, Information Technology and Design. The Certificate leads to a Diploma which is the equivalent of the first year of a university course. In many cases the private provider has an agreement to use a university's intellectual property, for which the university is paid a royalty. In turn the university agrees to moderate assignments and exams, and grants advanced standing of one year for the Diploma.

(Fiocco, 2006, p. 1)

Comparable difficulties are also found overseas. Unlike Australia, which has a benchmark for accreditation of pathway qualifications in the AQF system, such an approach is not widely adopted or practiced in all countries. This presents difficulties when, for example, attempting to benchmark Australian Diploma qualifications with other countries' Diplomas.

AEI, through the National Office of Overseas Skills Recognition (AEI-NOOSR), provides official information and advice on the comparability of overseas qualifications with Australian qualifications. This important agency is also a member of

the National Academic Recognition Information Centres (NARIC) network and the European Network of Information Centres (ENIC). Leask, Ciccarelli, and Benzie (2003) point out that students entering tertiary study via study pathways may have what they refer to as non-test entry, and cite the Victorian Auditor General's Report, 2002–2003, which revealed that study pathway students may bypass the testing requirements. They further point out that 'Such students are entering the unknown with unspecified and unmeasured language and learning skills, entry usually being gained on the basis of a very broad range of prior educational experiences' (Leask et al., 2003, p. 18). Leask's example is indicative of the importance of a framework for benchmarking international qualifications and highlights the importance of the provision of up-to-date knowledge to assist providers in their assessments of overseas qualifications.

The AEI research paper (AEI, 2006a) examines the progress of students through AQF, English Language Training (ELT), Foundation, and non-award courses for students who studied during the period, and detailed tables drawn from the report are included as Appendix 3. This study showed that in the period 2002–2005, 28.5% of international students studied in more than one sector (including ELICOS) and that 25.9% of higher education students over the period had been in a study pathway. ("Non-award", in the context of this chapter; refers to programs or courses that do not offer a qualification and/or are typically 1-year preparatory programs.)

A second source of pathway data comes from the Australian Universities International Directors, Forum (AUIDF). The AUIDF undertakes a benchmarking of international office operations annually, using a different definition of pathway from that of the AEI study. The AUIDF study does not include English language programs in the definition, and includes only those pathways that are regarded as the university's own, for example, the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology University (RMIT) Foundation program and its Vocational Training and Education (VTE) Diplomas, operated within the Technical and Further Education (TAFE) sector of the University; or the Queensland Institute of Business and Technology (QIBT) program at Griffith University. It does, however, open up the notion of transnational pathways, but, again, the pathway is seen as being in some way part of the target award program. ("Award", in the context of this chapter, refers to programs or courses that offer a qualification on successful completion.)

A total of 23 of the 36 universities participating in the benchmark provided data on recruitment channels representing 49,615 of the 76,200 commencing students in the study. The study showed 12.4% of commencements were recruited from the university's own pathways, on or offshore.

It seems reasonable that universities will have a greater level of trust in their own pathway programs than for students coming in via other sources. This is clearly shown in the benchmark study. Table 1. demonstrates the point.

Further, in a study of 495 students in pathways in Australia and the UK, Fiocco (2006) examines the reasons why students choose pathway programs and their perceptions regarding them. The report reveals that 55% of international students chose a particular pathway because of the reputation of the university, while 32% chose the pathway because of the reputation of the pathway college and the university.

Table 1. (from Olsen, 2007, pp. 36–37)

Recruitment channel	Percentage of applicants receiving offers	Percentage commencements to applications	Number of applications processed for one commencement
Recruited in Australia			
University Pathway	93.8%	60%	1.7
Directly	71.7%	37.9%	2.6
Agent other than IDP	74.3%	33.4%	3.0
IDP as Agent	71.9%	33.4%	3.3
Recruited Overseas			
University Pathway	79.4%	60.2%	1.7
Directly	68.1%	27.2%	3.7
Agent other than IDP	76.1%	25.4%	3.9
IDP as Agent	70.2%	17.0%	5.9

In terms of the factors influencing choice of pathway college, the Fiocco research identified numerous factors (refer Table 2. from Fiocco, 2006, p. 5) of which course pathway, destination, reputation, agent's recommendation, and academic calendar were dominant. In examining the expectations of the Australian cohort of 149 students who had completed a pathway and entered the mainstream university program, Fiocco showed that, to a high degree, student expectations were met (refer Table 3. from Fiocco, 2006, p. 7).

Progression through "pathways" to formal education has clearly proved to be a popular mode of Australian tertiary education entry for both domestic and international students (see Appendix 2). For international students, whether an intensive English for Academic Purposes (EAP) program provides direct entry to university or entry to a study pathway, such as a Foundation program, the pathway objectives are similar in that they facilitate the means to enter mainstream education

Table 2. Influences Affecting Choice of College (from Fiocco, 2006, p. 5)

Influences	Australian pathway students %	UK pathway students %	Australian mainstream students %
Offered Best Pathway Course	66	80	84
Destination	62	71	62
Reputation of Partner University	59	74	69
Agent Recommendation	44	70	52
Trimester System	42	71	70
Reputation of the College	39	52	31
Couldn't Get Anything Else I Liked	30	43	31
Friend's Recommendation	25	45	27

Table 3. Have Expectations Been Met? (from Fiocco, 2006, p. 7)

Expectations of students	Importance of expectation %	Was expectation met %
Obtain a Place at University	93	97
Preparation for University Studies	86	71
Improve Study Skills	76	73
Access to University Facilities	73	80
Meet and Socialize with New People	55	87
Improve their English	53	60
Meet Australian Students	32	53

programs. AEI's research using the Prisms database (AEI, 2006a) shows that more than a quarter of international student enrollments and commencements in the period 2002–2005 in Australia occurred through a combination of English language pathways, such as English for Academic Purposes (EAP) or International English Language Testing System (IELTS) preparation programs, and study pathways such as Foundation and Diploma courses offered by private providers and the VTE and university sectors.

According to Fiocco (2006), such associations have evolved from the unique cross-sector accrediting system established within the AQF. This system recognizes 15 qualifications that link the school, VTE, and higher education sectors under a single system to facilitate ease of transfer from one sector to another.

Credit transfers and articulation through study pathways are defined in the Australian National Training Authority (ANTA)/Australian Vice-Chancellors, Committee (AVCC), Pathways to Partnerships Project Report and Guidelines (Carnegie, 2000, p. 9) as:

Key processes for linking qualifications that identify a credit value relationship. Credit transfer can be carried out as an individual process involving a student and the destination institution on a case by case basis. Alternatively, credit transfer operates as a structured process between two or more organisations, in which the qualifications are linked together, usually on the basis of content overlap and equivalence between individual modules/competencies and individual subjects/units. The resulting credit awarded is standardised or consistent and is a preferred process over individual arrangements.

Leask et al. (2003) provide a framework for discussing pathways to tertiary education and examine some implications for considering the English competency of students. Their framework includes the following: Foundation Programs, Diplomas with Intensive Language Preparation, Articulation through TAFE, Articulation through Transnational Partners and Programs.

This is a more complete typology than those shown in the AEI or AUIDF reports. In the Leask paper, the authors develop the idea of non-test entry criteria, in which the success of the student in the pathway, plus the use of English as the medium of teaching is used for admission to the university. However, in the case of non-test

entry criteria, it is important to recognize that a student will only be accepted into a study pathway after being assessed on the basis of a formal English test. In addition, the student must also demonstrate successful completion of secondary education to an acceptable standard. The standard, or level, required is also likely to vary from university to university.

There are also programs run essentially by pathway providers where the complete degree is provided by the pathway provider, essentially using a franchising or licensing approach. These programs are likely to have non-test entry requirements similar to those of study pathway programs.

Table 4. of non-test study pathways (over the following pages) is summarized and extended from the work undertaken by Leask et al. A more detailed statement of each type of non-test study pathway is included in Appendix 1.

As early as the mid-1990s, Rosenman examined the Australian School-University link programs, citing the importance of recruitment and transition strategies that provide opportunities for school students to experience university life and stressing the added value to high school study that university-level course-work provides (Rosenman, 1996). The practice identified by Rosenman has since strengthened the linkages between the School and University systems, and arguably provides a program which reduces concerns of students moving between sectors. The School to University program is largely targeted at academically able senior secondary school students and facilitates concurrent enrollment in university subjects with senior secondary schooling, thereby enabling an accelerated pathway for academically gifted students to complement their current secondary studies with first-year university studies. Further, whilst not an accelerated program, another option is the Year 13 School program, which also acts as a pathway to support the transition between high school and university.

Articulation arrangements between vocational and university education are also particularly common in Australia, and involve credit transfers between courses and institutions and credit transfer for subjects taken.

Whilst vocational education pathways are recognized as part of the Australian Quality Training Framework (AQTF), the level of credit awarded to students, by the university sector can also vary from institution to institution. This can be as a result of differing academic structures or requirements by professional bodies in such degrees as Accounting, Pharmacy, Medicine, and Law. To alleviate problems in comparability, some universities will work with a vocational education (VTE) partner to create pathways that maximize the articulation and credit benefits.

International Student Performance

There are relatively few benchmarks in place that provide a direct understanding of the impact of the adequacy of pathway programs and how performance of international students in Australia is affected.

One such approach was undertaken in 2004 by the Australian Universities International Directors Forum (AUIDF). The benchmark study of 2003 student data was

Table 4. Non-test study pathways based on Leask et al.

Type of pathway	English language testing	Comments
Foundation Programs	Successful completion usually eliminates the need for a student to sit an English test (non-test entry). Some programs provided by universities; others by agreements with other providers.	Many programs include specific English language development units. A range of programs, on- and offshore, and Y12 in some countries, are recognized for academic and language entry to university. The academic level for entry may be below what would be required for university.
Diplomas with Intensive Language Preparation	As for Foundation programs. Language preparation may be more critical because of advanced-standing entry of 12–18 months into a degree.	As for Foundation programs. The definition of intensive language preparation does not seem to be appropriate, as most programs are unlikely to have 20 hours per week of ELT. This also applies to Foundation programs.
Articulation through TAFE	A non-test English language pathway, often into Year 2 of university.	The competency basis of TAFE programs, often with short answer responses, may not prepare students adequately for university study, with the likelihood of higher/more stringent language requirements on the part of the university/tertiary institution.
Articulation through Transnational Partners and Programs	In general, a non-test entry pathway, even if IELTS is required for visa purposes.	The destination university may have little or no control of English standards.
Articulation through Associate Degrees/Diplomas	Emerging non-test pathway, including programs offered by universities in HK through continuing education schools. May have English requirements within them but language of instruction may be uncertain.	This framework has not included tertiary-level diplomas offered in countries such as Singapore, where the medium of instruction is English and this is acceptable for entry for by institutions in most instances.

(continued)

Table 4. (continued)

Secondary School academic pathways	Conventional final year of secondary school or foundation programs.	NESB students entering the school system may have entered on the basis of school reports or other non-test entry mechanisms.
The International Baccalaureate (IB)	Consists of a 2-year program recognized for higher education entry globally.	To enter a Baccalaureate Diploma offered in Australia, international students who do not have English as their first language, seem to be required to sit the English Language Assessment Test provided by the Australian Assessment Services (ASEAS).
Bridging Programs	Often 1–2 semester programs into Master's degrees. Likely that students have met English requirements by other tests (normally other than IELTS or TOEFL) or non-test mechanisms.	
Formal secondary English Subjects in an overseas system	Students with acceptable results in the highest secondary school level of English are accepted as non-test entry students.	Used typically for Northern European countries where English is a strong second or third language and is compulsory at some level in the secondary school curriculum.

carried out by Alan Olsen, Dr. Raj Sharma and Dr. Zena Burgess (Olsen, Sharma, & Burgess, 2004), and used data from 22 universities covering all 338,445 internal full-time award students (including 74,944 international students).

The study showed that in Science, Information Technology, Engineering, Agriculture/Environment, Education, and Arts, international students outperformed Australian students. In Architecture/Building, Health, and Business, Australian students outperformed international students. International students in disciplines in which Australian students were outperformed accounted for 42% of the total international students in the cohort.

Overall, the study concluded that there was no significant difference in the performance of international pathway and domestic students in Australian universities.

Pathways Outside Australia

Whilst some of the same pathway options for students choosing to study in Australia are not commonly found elsewhere, “Partnerships” between institutions that give

students access to formal articulation processes are quite common in the United States.

There are four principal purposes of such links (Wilbur & Lambert, 1995, p. 11):

- a) Student directed programs, which include early intervention programs, enrichment programs, and the pledge of college scholarships;
- b) Faculty programs which seek to fulfill professional development needs of staff;
- c) Resource sharing programs such as “adopt-a-school” program;
- d) Curriculum and instruction programs or which co-jointly develop curriculum and materials.

According to Roger and Kimpton, in the United States, there is a tradition of school/university linkages in the form of cooperative accelerated programs for school students. “Advanced Placement” describes a number of similar programs in which ‘a student takes courses with advanced or accelerated content . . . in order to test out or receive credit for completion of college-level coursework’ (Roger & Kimpston, 1992, p. 60). A similar option is “Credit by Examination” which ‘through the successful completion of tests, a student is allowed to receive a specified number of college credits upon entrance to college’ (Roger & Kimpston, 1992, p. 60). These approaches have been used widely across the United States since the 1980s. Such programs are also used explicitly as a recruitment strategy by individual institutions (Rosenman, 1996). The community college system in the USA (2-year colleges) is a unique system found in the United States and provides articulation into programs at 4-year universities and colleges.

Conclusion

Study pathways are an essential and dynamic part of Australian international education. In many ways, the reliance on a large and diverse range of study pathways is what defines the Australian approach to student recruiting.

Fiocco (2006) concluded that the student experience in the pathway colleges is a positive one, both in Australia and the United Kingdom. Pathways programs provide students with clear objectives supporting choice in the type of course, realistic access to a place in a preferred tertiary institution, and the skills necessary to do well in their mainstream courses. Fiocco’s findings also indicate that the majority of pathway students surveyed believed their expectations had been met. What also seems evident is that the majority of students chose their pathway college on the basis of the partner university’s reputation, and, as such, the need for a co-operative relationship and a shared vision between the partner and the university is axiomatic.

It can be concluded that whilst more research needs to be undertaken to determine the scale and nature of pathway programs and the relative risks and benefits associated with them globally, the available data demonstrate that numerous pathway options are on offer; student choice can be influenced by home as well as host country education provisions, academic entry to tertiary education can be based on exit performance from the award course, rather than entry levels, and universities

seem to place greater reliance on their own pathway programs rather than other recruitment channels.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AEI:	Australian Education International
ANTA:	Australian National Training Authority
AQF:	Australian Quality Framework
AQTF:	Australian Quality Training Framework
AUIDF:	Australian Universities International Directors' Forum
ASEAS:	Australian Assessment Services
AVCC:	Australian Vice Chancellors' Committee
EAP:	English for Academic Purposes
ELICOS:	English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students
ENIC:	European Network of Information Centres
ELT:	English Language Training
IDP:	International Development Program
IELTS:	International English Language Testing System
IEAA:	International Education Australia Association
ISEP:	International Student Exchange Program
MIBT:	Melbourne Institute of Business and Technology
NARIC:	National Academic Recognition Information Centres
NOOSR:	National Office of Overseas Skills Recognition
PRISMS:	Provider Registration and International Students Management System
QIBT:	Queensland Institute of Business and Technology
RMIT:	Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, University
TAFE:	Technical and Further Education
TOEFL:	Test of English as a Foreign Language
VTE:	Vocational Training and Education

Appendix 1 Non-test Study Pathways to Tertiary Study

Foundation Studies

Foundation courses enable students who may not initially qualify to enter tertiary studies to commence a pathway program that can lead to entry to an undergraduate university degree without advanced standing. These multi-sectoral programs, many of which are categorized as non-award, are typically 1-year intensive preparatory programs, although there are examples of 9-month accelerated offerings. Some guarantee a tertiary place on successful completion of the program. Schools, VTE institutions, and the university sector generally offer foundation studies and the program offered usually combines English language training as a compulsory addition to the particular discipline stream to be studied. These courses often also have a flexible structure to enable students to enter at different times of the year and at different levels of English language competency. Successful completion of a Foundation course is often deemed to satisfy the need for further assessment of English language competency (non-test entry) by those institutions that accept the foundation course as precursor to undergraduate entry.

Diplomas

Pathway Diploma programs, where the diploma is awarded by an Australian tertiary institution, are AQF qualifications that usually combine an English language component within the structure of the course applied for. International students often enroll in diploma programs as a pathway to undergraduate studies. Advanced diplomas are likely to be the equivalent of one and a half to two years of full-time study. Unlike foundation studies, diploma programs afford the student the benefit of advanced standing towards a bachelor degree and this equates to at least completion of the first year. Perhaps the most significant difference between the diploma and foundation pathways is that foundation courses include a broader subject base that is generally accepted by the particular partner university for entry into most of its undergraduate programs. Diploma programs are generally tailored to address more specific entry requirements. Some programs may even include parts of the curriculum of the host university. In such circumstances, the host university moderates and quality assures the academic program and staff teaching in the Diploma program may sometimes be university academics teaching the same units at the host university.

Articulation Through TAFE

Universities provide 1 year or more of advanced standing for TAFE diplomas or associate degrees. There is lack of uniformity across Australia as to what this means in practice. For example, Macquarie University recognizes 24 credit points of advanced standing based on TAFE diplomas, but these may only be useable by a student taking a combination of “matched” units that the academic department

regards as equivalent, with the remainder able to be used as electives. In courses constrained in the use of electives by their structure, the student may never be able to make use of the advanced standing granted.

Articulation Through Transnational Partners and Programs

Australian universities accept students with advanced standing for a range of diplomas provided in source countries by partner institutions or, in some cases, provided by the university itself.

Articulation Through Associate Degrees/Diplomas

These programs are normally within the formal education framework of the sending country. For example, Associate Degrees in Hong Kong offered by universities through their continuing education arms, and in the US by 2-year community college institutions. The polytechnic system in Singapore offers Diploma qualifications.

Bridging Courses

Bridging courses are tailored specifically to prepare students for a particular course, usually in postgraduate areas and in specialist areas such as mathematics or science.

Secondary School Academic Pathways

These may be foundation programs, other pre-university preparation courses or conventional secondary school years that are either an end in themselves or pathways to tertiary education.

Baccalaureate Pathway

The International Baccalaureate (IB) Diploma Program consists of a 2-year intensive course which leads to a qualification accepted widely by universities across the globe. Made up of six core subject areas, in the case of international students undertaking the program in Australia, they study English as a second language together with social sciences, experimental sciences and math. To enter a Baccalaureate Diploma program offered in Australia, international students who do not have English as their first language, are required to sit the English Language Assessment Test provided by the Australian Assessment Services (ASEAS). Having satisfactorily completed the Diploma with English as the language of instruction, Australian universities and VTE accept Diploma English as satisfying the institution's English language competence requirements. In circumstances where

English was not the medium of instruction, Diploma graduates will be required to demonstrate proficiency by achieving an acceptable level in an approved English program prior to receiving an offer of acceptance (<http://www.ibo.org/diploma/>).

Formal Secondary English Subjects in Overseas Countries

Where students have met academic requirements in their home country's secondary system in countries where English is widespread in the community, they may be deemed to satisfy English requirements if they have completed an English language subject at the highest secondary school level. This is significantly different from requirements in the US, where such students are likely to have to take a TOEFL or IELTS test and obtain a satisfactory score.

Appendix 2 English Language Levels – Guidelines for Entry

These pathways are framed on the basis of the following eight-tier structure that combines the Australian Qualifications Framework (AQF) qualifications as they apply to the vocational education and training sector (TAFE and registered private providers) and the higher education sector (mainly universities) with the various English language programs that are on offer to secure entry to the registered AQF award courses.

(The reference to TOEFL scores in this appendix are paper-based, and the bracketed scores are CB-assessed.)

Master's and Doctorate

Advanced Diploma in English for Academic Purposes (EAP) has an entry point equivalent of IELTS 7.0 or TOEFL score of 600 (250). This EAP diploma is a non-award program that prepares students for academic studies that involve learning and communicating in English at an advanced level. It is designed to improve study skills and academic writing, reading, listening, and speaking. Generally, an overall pass of 75% is required for entry to this AQF research degree level.

Undergraduate and Master Degree Entry

Advanced Diploma in English for Academic Purposes (EAP) has an entry point equivalent of IELTS 6.5 or TOEFL score of 577 (233). There is no difference in the course content or duration between this advanced diploma and that required for entry to a research degree program other than the level of attainment required for entry. An overall minimum pass of 65% is required for entry to this AQF level.

Undergraduate Degree Entry

Diploma in English for Academic Purposes (EAP) or *Advanced Certificate II in General English (GE)* each have an entry point equivalent of IELTS 6.0 TOEFL score of 570 (230). Generally, an overall minimum pass of 55% is required for entry to this AQF level. While EAP is specifically designed to prepare students for tertiary study, the GE also helps students to communicate in everyday situations, with a focus on speaking, listening, reading, writing and grammar.

Diploma/Associate Degree Entry

English for Academic Purposes Certificate IV (EAP); English Language Bridging Program (ELBP) Diploma; Advanced Certificate I in General English; and Foundation Studies. All of these programs have an entry point equivalent of IELTS

5.5/TOEFL 527 - 550 (197). The ELBP is an example of an in-house program that bridges the gap between a previous English language qualification and those levels accepted by the university or college. Successful completion allows direct entry for students with a conditional offer. Foundation Studies provide a pathway that combines academic course work with English language studies that generally provide a bridge between high school and undergraduate studies.

Certificate and Pre-Tertiary Study Entry Level 3

Certificate III – English for Academic Purposes (EAP); Upper Intermediate Certificate III – General English; English Language Bridging Programs all have an entry point equivalent of IELTS 5.0/TOEFL 500 (173).

Pre-Tertiary Study Entry Level 3

Intermediate level, with entry point of IELTS 4.5/TOEFL 450 (133). This level provides an introduction to academic skills and prepares students for entry to Certificate III in EAP.

Pre-Tertiary Study Entry Level 2

Pre- or Lower Intermediate Level, with an entry point of IELTS 4.0/TOEFL 400 (97)

Pre-Tertiary Study Entry Level 1

Elementary Level, with an entry point of IELTS 3.0/TOEFL 350 (63). Students may enter at any ELT level and satisfactory progression provides a number of alternative stepping-off points as English language proficiency matches the entry requirements for tertiary studies. Upon satisfactorily completing an ELICOS course (or equivalent) at or above Certificate 1V, students have the opportunity to enter a tertiary-level program at VTE or university level.

Appendix 3 The AEI Pathway Study (AEI, 2006b)

The following tables are taken from the AEI Research Paper 2006/1 Study Pathways of International Students in Australia 2002–2005 (AEI 2006b) which depict the total international student cohort.

AEI, 2006b (Table 1., p.2)

Sector studied in	Number of students	Prop. of all students (%)
Higher Education	187, 926	31.6
ELICOS	84, 641	14.2
VTE	55, 827	9.4
Schools	25, 010	4.2
Other	71, 407	12.0
<i>Total sole-sector</i>	<i>424,811</i>	<i>71.5</i>
Total multiple- sector	169, 302	28.5
Total international students	594, 113	100.0

The above table (AEI, 2006b, p. 2) shows that 28.5% of students in the four-year period 2002–2005 were enrolled in multiple sectors. When the 169,302 students are broken down by sector pathway, the following distribution occurs:

AEI, 2006b, (Table 2., p.3)

Sector pathways	Numbers	Prop. of all multiple sector (%)
ELICOS-Higher Education	37, 024	21.9
ELICOS-VTE	30, 622	18.1
VTE-Higher Education	22, 484	13.3
ELICOS-Schools	11, 691	6.9
Other-Higher Education	11, 121	6.6
ELICOS-VTE-Higher Education	10, 241	6.0
Schools-Higher Education	6, 414	3.8
ELICOS-Schools-Higher Education	3, 321	2.0
ELICOS-Other-Higher Education	3, 198	1.9
Higher Education-VTE	3, 143	1.9
ELICOS-Schools-VTE	2, 649	1.6
ELICOS-Other	2, 554	1.5
Schools-VTE	2, 490	1.5
Schools-VTE-Higher Education	1, 443	0.9
ELICOS-Higher Education-VTE	1, 138	0.7
Total Multiple Sector International Students	169, 302	100.0

When split by the top 8 nationalities and most common pathways, the following results:

AEI, 2006b, p.8

Nationality and Sector pathway	Number of students	Prop. of total for each nationality (%)
<i>China</i>		
ELICOS-Higher Education	3, 168	28.5
ELICOS-Schools-Higher Education	1, 144	10.3
Schools-Higher Education	1, 137	10.2
<i>Hong Kong</i>		
VTE-Higher Education	834	21.7
Other-Higher Education	606	15.8
ELICOS-VTE-Higher Education	476	12.4
<i>Thailand</i>		
ELICOS-Higher Education	1, 163	40.3
ELICOS-VTE	796	27.6
ELICOS-VTE-Higher Education	191	6.6
<i>Indonesia</i>		
VTE-Higher Education	674	25.7
ELICOS-Higher Education	443	16.9
Other-Higher Education	338	12.9
<i>Japan</i>		
ELICOS-VTE	938	41.9
ELICOS-Higher Education	318	14.2
ELICOS-VTE-Higher Education	181	8.1
<i>Republic of Korea</i>		
ELICOS-Higher Education	363	20.2
ELICOS-VTE	360	20.0
ELICOS-Schools	336	18.7
<i>Taiwan</i>		
ELICOS-Higher Education	485	34.3
ELICOS-VTE-Higher Education	212	15.0
ELICOS-VTE	194	13.7
<i>Malaysia</i>		
Other-Higher Education	488	34.5
VTE-Higher Education	363	25.7
Schools-Higher Education	148	10.5

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Regional Universities in the Global Market: The Case of HUE

Michael Crawford and Malcolm H. Field

Introduction

Educational systems are being reconstructed throughout the world and higher education (HE) is at the forefront due to the increasing need to adapt to the rapidly changing global market. Globalization is the driving force behind these pressures, and a consensus has emerged that HE has now entered a period of substantial change (Stromquist, 2007). Although HE traditionally falls within the realm of a state's sovereignty, the way HE functions is evolving and it is challenging traditional ideas and ideologies. However, the challenges institutions face are not necessarily uniform. For example, it could be argued that some elite American and British research universities (Stanford, Harvard, MIT, Princeton, Cambridge, Oxford) find themselves in a privileged position, but other institutions are left to exist in a national, and increasingly global, competitive market for fiscal, human, and intellectual resources. Globalization has, furthermore, initiated a "process of deep institutional change" (Vaira, 2004, p. 485). For example, as Brody (2007) points out, faculty loyalty has adapted from the once tight affiliation to the local institution to a loosely bound association: "Professors are loyal not only to their disciplines but also to their research, and they need to work with others with the same focus... The loosening of the affiliation between faculty and universities is an inevitable consequence of the globalization of knowledge" (p. 128). Put simply, state boundaries no longer determine the domain of institutional competition. The sovereignty of HE, like that of the state, is being challenged by the global market.

The unequal and increasingly competitive environment of HE among states is characterized by unidirectional flows of resources, knowledge, and people that are usually in a south to north direction, and within states by the cultural prestige and perceptions of status that become associated with the different institutions. Marginson (2006) utilizes Hirsch's (1976) concept of *positional good* (perceived social status and lifetime opportunities that may accompany an association with a good or

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service) to explain the dynamics of competition at work in the global HE market. HE exists as a positional good because certain institutions confer status on students who study there by virtue of the institutions' level of prestige in society. This hierarchy of institutions is led by the prestigious universities, most of which are concentrated in English-speaking nations, while countries such as Spain, Italy, China, Korea, and Japan 'conspicuously under-perform' (Marginson, 2006, p. 26). The University of Tokyo is currently the highest placed institution in a non-English speaking country, although this position is not as stable as it once used to be, as Beijing University is closing the gap. Marginson (2006) notes that while Japan has quality HE institutions, positional demand for foreign education is strong. A recent article in Japan's leading English-language daily reported that one of the nation's largest private educational service providers has started a special course for high school students who aim to study at Harvard. It quotes an official from the company: "In an effort to deal with global competition, an increasing number of high school students want to study at universities with elite students from around the world. We'd like to offer detailed information and tips for these admissions" ("Special School", 2008, p. 3). Although the number of students enrolled in this innovative program is still small, if successful, its potential for growth may be large.

Although in the short to medium term, it is unlikely that the elite English-speaking institutions will be dethroned, the changes occurring in HE research and human capacity, particularly from the developing countries, may alter the balance and the way education is provided. Brody (2007) highlighted the fact that even though HE is ripe for globalization, and although it may seem that the U.S.-based universities are predestined to "take on the world", U.S. dominance will not be as easy to attain as some believe. The Commonwealth of Learning (COL), whose focus is on the way technologies can alter, and are altering, the way HE can be delivered, has also argued that across-border tertiary education is ready to expand at a rapid rate. According to Daniel, Kanwar, and Uvalic-Trumbic (2006), global HE may be entering a different phase as open-source technology allows institutions in developing countries to provide low-cost access to HE, putting them in direct competition with their counterparts in the North. Although the COL recognizes that HE providers have targeted the richer developing countries, much of HE will change if formulae for reducing the costs can be calculated. The potential for the poorer developing countries in Asia and Africa is huge (Daniel, 2007a), especially for those countries in which English is the primary language of HE.

In the global market, any attraction to a HE institution is influenced by the linguistic medium: predominantly, that is English. 'Globalisation is dominated by Anglo-American culture and economy and the English-language universities exercise a special power' (Marginson, 2006, p. 25). Even Professor Georges Haddad, Director of the Division of Higher Education, UNESCO, recognized this trend at UNESCO's Higher Education Forum in 2006 by acknowledging that English was the lingua-franca of academia, but UNESCO, as part of the United Nations, recognizes six official international languages. In Japan, this fundamental global linguistic prerequisite has handicapped HE and its ability to compete equally on the global stage. As Yonezawa (2007) commences in his adeptly presented article:

Driven by the global structural changes in the academic world, Japanese flagship universities... find themselves at a crossroads. In part because of language barriers... Japanese universities have never occupied a central position in the global academic world.

(p. 483)

In recognition of this problem, Japanese HE is making an effort to internationalize its curricula, as well as its student body, and much of this is being driven top-down from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT).

Against the backdrop of increasing external pressures, HE in Japan also confronts domestic pressures, the most significant of which is a declining population of college-age students (Aoki, 2005). This problem is particularly acute for regional universities because it is in the regional and rural areas that the population decline is most marked. The situation is further complicated by the changes in the way in which the central government controls and subsidizes HE, changes that will likely lead to large universities in major urban areas receiving the majority of government grants, and smaller universities in regional areas facing potentially severe budget cuts. For regional universities, in particular, this creates a situation in which the external pressures of globalization and growth in information technology demand adaptation, but the internal pressures of declining student numbers and budget cuts mean that the resources required to make these adaptations may be insufficient. In such a climate, it is not surprising that educators, politicians, and commentators throughout the country have questioned whether regional universities will be able to survive.

Hokkaido University of Education (HUE) is a five-campus regional university in Japan's largest and northernmost, but most sparsely populated prefecture, Hokkaido. Like other regional universities in Japan, in the near future HUE may face problems with declining student numbers and budget cuts. Also like many other regional universities, one of its responses to these potential challenges has been to forge stronger ties with local communities. At the same time, however, it has recognized the need to strengthen its international presence in order to remain relevant on the world stage. This chapter will discuss some of the issues that regional universities are encountering in Japan with a focus on HUE, and, in particular, international student mobility.

Trends in Japanese Higher Education

Like many industrialized nations, Japan faces the prospect of significant population decline over the next several decades. According to the United Nations, over the next 50 years Japan's population is projected to fall from its current level of 127 million to 102 million, a 20% decline (United Nations, 2006). Decline in the college-age population has caused significant angst in the HE sector, with a great deal of discussion about *zennyuu jidai*, literally “all entry era”, or the time when the number of aspiring college students is equal to the number of slots available in the country’s HE system. This was expected to happen in 2007, but now it is said that it will

probably not occur until 2009. Competition among universities for a decreasing number of students is heating up, with predictions that some universities may face closure if they cannot compete. The problem is particularly acute for many of the nation's private universities, some 40% of which currently cannot attract enough students to meet their designated intake quotas (*Hatan Fusege*, 2008).

Although they still hold a privileged position in Japanese HE, national universities are not immune to the pressures of an increasingly competitive environment. This has been made even more the case with the passage of the National University Corporations Law (*Kokuritsu Daigaku Houjin-ho*) in 2003, which led to the incorporation of all national universities in 2004. An initial plan to reform Japan's ailing HE was first introduced under the Hashimoto administration in 1997, and it described the reform as involving a shift from the old postwar system, which suffered from institutional fatigue, to a new system suitable to the 21st century (Administrative Reform Council, 1997). Reform was further "encouraged" by Prime Minister Koizumi, even though MEXT strongly opposed the concept (Tabata, 2005). Incorporation was one element of the so-called Toyama Plan, which also called for the reorganization and merging of national universities. As was noted above, the first element of the plan was implemented in 2004. The extent to which the reorganization and merging will be implemented depends to a great extent on evaluations that universities are scheduled to undergo every 6 years, the first of which will be in 2010. Budget allocations will be tied to the evaluations universities receive (Huang, 2006), leading to the prospect of some universities facing severe budget cuts, or even closure (*Kokuritsu Daigaku*, 2007).

There are several factors that need to be watched if the reform of the national university system is to meet with success. First, it must be recognized that the reform was also about reducing the (paper-based) public service expenditure and reducing the power of the faculty, especially in public institutions. The former claim is denied by the Ministry as they iterate that the reforms were solely based on increasing university autonomy. The second claim is not denied. However, the evidence against MEXT makes it hard to accept their altruistic motives. As Goldfinch (2006) claimed, the means of control have changed from direct to indirect methods, and rhetoric and policy reforms helped the Ministry to legitimize its policies by referring to developments abroad. How the Ministry chooses to deal with the critics, and how much autonomy it allows will determine, in part, how well individual institutions can adapt to meet the challenges and opportunities of the 21st century, and create, in the words of former Minister of Education Toyama herself, 'richly distinctive, highly appealing national universities' (Toyama, 2004, p. 4).

Another important part of Japanese HE reform is internationalization, both of the student body and the curriculum. The Japanese government recently announced its intention to increase the number of foreign students studying in Japanese universities to 300,000, a nearly three-fold increase, and a government panel is now considering how to go about realizing this goal ("Panel Seeks", 2008). This plan resembles a similar plan proposed under Prime Minister Nakasone in 1983, in which the stated goal was to increase the number of foreign students to 100,000 by the year 2000 (Monbusho, 1983). At the time, critics of the plan were quick to point out that

what was meant by “internationalization” was the “Japanizing” of the international population and not the internationalizing of the local population. The political right, on the other hand, fell back on predictable nationalistic slogans, whilst the academics were left to wonder how it was going to be achieved. Although the goal of 100,000 international students was finally achieved in 2003, similar concerns are now being directed at Prime Minister Fukuda’s international student plan, and few expect that the goal of 300,000 students will be achieved anytime soon. Nevertheless, any increase in the number of foreign students will help offset the pressures universities face due to the decreasing population of domestic students.

According to the latest data from MEXT (2007), there are currently 118,000 foreign students in Japan, nearly 93% of whom are from Asia. Of the total number, 63% are from China alone. After Asia, the area with the next highest percentage is Europe, with a mere 2.8%, followed by North America with 1.8%. The percentages for Oceania, South America, Africa, and the Middle East are all under 1% each. These figures reveal a strong concentration of Asian students among foreign students in Japan. This fact is not lost on Japanese institutions, many of which are now actively recruiting foreign students outside Japan. Some universities, including the University of Tokyo and Tohoku University, have set up liaison offices in China. Despite these efforts, of Japan’s total enrollment in HE the current percentage of foreign students is only 3.3%, well short of the U.K.’s 24.9%, and Australia’s 24.2%. Japan’s percentage is not too far behind the 5.5% of the U.S.A., but it is important to keep in mind that the U.S.A. still has nearly five times the number of foreign students as Japan. Behind these figures is a trend noted by Yonezawa (2007); for many foreign students, English-speaking countries remain more attractive than Japan.

Over the past few decades, Japan has also been making efforts to internationalize its HE curricula. In the 1980s, graduate programs for international students that are taught in English were established, and since then the number of these programs has increased substantially. In 2003, MEXT (2003) published ‘An Action plan to Cultivate “Japanese with English Abilities”’, in which one of the proposals was to encourage Japanese students to take classes in English on offer in Japan together with international students. This proposal contradicts critics of the Nakasone plan noted above, in that it can be seen as more of an attempt to internationalize the domestic student population rather than “Japanize” the foreign student population. In this respect, the plan is to be lauded, but, unfortunately, it is doubtful that large numbers of Japanese students have the English skills required to take part in these classes. The difficulty that is faced here is that in most institutions language education is not supported across the curriculum, and many academics do not feel the need to instill the real-world necessity of acquiring a second language in their students. The result is that in many HE institutions in Japan language professors remain, but as a “necessary evil” rather than as assets for the institutions and the students they ‘educate’. This way of thinking is not universal, however. Some institutions, such as Waseda, Keio, and Ritsumeikan’s Asia Pacific University (APU) have attempted to counter this trend by introducing all-English-based curricula for some of their students. The results, to date, have been mixed.

The Japanese institutions that are setting up liaison offices overseas to attract foreign students or setting up graduate courses that are conducted in English are primarily universities that are at the top, or near the top, of the country's HE hierarchy. As the COL has pointed out, within two decades the global HE market may more than double in size, creating an inexorable need (and trend) toward expanding cross-border education supply (Daniel, 2007b). The culturally perceived elite HE institutions have begun to set a course that they hope will enable them not only to compete in this expanding global market, but also enable them to increase their share and/or standing in both the global and domestic markets. In a rapidly globalizing world, Japanese students will be increasingly attracted to domestic institutions that are active internationally, and to those that provide opportunities to interact with students and faculty from around the world. Coupled with the declining population of college-age students, the aforementioned efforts of the elite institutions present a challenge to second-tier and/or regional institutions throughout the country. Will they be able to compete and capitalize on the future?

Regional Universities in Japan

As is the case with most English-speaking countries, in Japan there is not a clear definition for the term “regional university” (*chihou daigaku* in Japanese). Using a geographical definition, regional universities could be considered to be those that are located outside the country’s three main metropolitan areas (*san daitoshi ken*), namely Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya. Areas outside these three metropolitan areas are referred to as “regional areas” (*chihou ken*). Although this metropolitan/regional distinction is useful, regional areas are by no means uniform in their characteristics. For example, using the geographical definition above, both Fukuoka Prefecture and Tottori Prefecture are considered regional areas. However, Fukuoka’s population is over 5 million, whereas Tottori’s is just over half a million. Despite this, because they are both considered regional areas, universities that are found in them, even if they are in relatively large cities, can be called “regional universities”. The case for designating a university as “regional” can be strengthened further by considering the percentage of the student population that hails from the region where the university is located. Specifically, the larger the percentage of home-grown students in the student body, the more likely it is that the university will fit into the category of “regional university”.

A key characteristic of regional universities in Japan is that the majority of them are national. Approximately 13% of the total number of universities in Japan are national, and of these, 70% are located in regional areas. For private universities, which make up the majority of universities in Japan, the situation is exactly the opposite, with 70% being located in one of the country’s three main metropolitan areas. Toyama (2004, p. 4) states that this polarization is due to the fact that private universities operate under market principles, whereas national universities have been created through government directives that sought to ‘create a regional balance in

the higher education system'. The former minister goes on to comment as follows: 'If the national university system were abolished, many universities would vacate the outlying communities and concentrate themselves in the large metropolitan areas because of a rapid decline in the number of college-age people' (p. 4). Whether or not universities would actually abandon outlying regions is open to debate, but the rapid decrease in the population of college-age students is not debatable, and as was noted above, it is in the regions that the decline is most striking. Data from Japan's latest census reveal increasing urbanization; large cities continue to grow in size, while in most rural areas population decline continues unabated. According to the 2000 census, the percentage of Japan's population living in the nation's three main metropolitan areas was 44.2% (Statistical Handbook of Japan, 2007), a relatively large percentage, and one that continues to grow gradually. In contrast, some regional areas are experiencing significant population declines.

Increasing concentration of the population in urban areas, in particular the three main metropolitan areas, presents a challenge for regional universities in Japan. This is particularly true of those universities that fit the second definition of a regional university; namely, ones at which the majority of the student body comes from the area in which the university is located. This problem could be alleviated by having more domestic students from urban areas enroll, as well as by attracting larger numbers of foreign students. However, the fact of the matter is that universities in urban areas are more popular among Japanese students (Yonezawa, 2007), and the same appears to be the case for foreign students. Data from MEXT (2007) show that currently 70% of foreign students studying in Japan are in the three largest metropolitan areas. Of Japan's 47 prefectures 17 have fewer than 500 foreign students enrolled, which, when contrasted with Tokyo's 39,000, reveals a clear concentration in urban as opposed to regional areas.

Regional universities are responding to the challenges brought on by declining student numbers in various ways, the most salient of which is strengthening ties with local communities. MEXT has actively encouraged universities to step up their community outreach programs, as well as to forge ties with local organizations and industry. For regional universities, these initiatives have few drawbacks and many potential benefits. Through them, institutions can become more visible to local residents, including, of course, college-bound residents. This may help contribute to staunching the flow of students to urban areas. Additionally, forging ties with local industry can help alleviate the problem of budget cuts by opening up opportunities for funding of joint research projects. A recent survey of the extent to which universities in Japan are actively engaged in their local communities revealed a clear trend: regional universities are pursuing community outreach much more than urban universities (*Zenkoku Daigaku Chousa*, 2007). Four hundred and fifty-five universities responded to a survey asking about their activities in local communities. Of the top 25 universities responding, 18 were regional institutions, and the top 5 were all regional. Another notable result was that nearly half of the universities in the top 100 were national universities. From this, it can be seen that there is a strong trend in Japan for national universities in regional areas to actively develop and strengthen ties with their local communities.

Strengthening ties with local communities entails few if any drawbacks for regional institutions. Nevertheless, it does come with a certain danger, and that is that if they concentrate too much on the local community, they run the risk of losing sight of the fact that HE in the 21st century is increasingly globalized. The reality is that in many regional areas, universities are seen as links to a broader world, in the academic sense as well as the geographic sense. For this reason, no matter how much an institution develops ties with the local community, if it cannot be a bridge to the wider world, then it will cease to be seen as a valuable contributor to the community. In this sense, regional universities in Japan find themselves pulled in two opposite directions. On the one hand, they see contributing to the local community as a means of boosting their presence and emphasizing their relevance, but on the other hand they must not lose sight of the wider outside world. If they do, their local relevance will gradually be overshadowed by their global irrelevance. This is their unique challenge.

Hokkaido University of Education (HUE)

The Hokkaido University of Education (HUE) was founded in 1949 as a center for teacher training in Japan's northernmost island. It is one of 11 "Universities of Education" (*kyouiku daigaku*) in the country, and is the largest of them, being unique in its multi-campus structure. This structure is necessitated by the size of the Prefecture (over 40 times the size of the Tokyo Metropolis [*Tokyo-to*]), as well as by underdeveloped transportation systems compared to other parts of the country. The majority of the University's 5,500 students come from Hokkaido and the northern prefectures of Honshu (Japan's main island), which are predominantly rural. Like all other national universities in Japan, HUE became a National University Corporation in 2004. The University still receives the majority of its funding from the central government in Tokyo, and, as such, student fees are substantially lower than at private institutions. Because government funding is being reduced gradually year by year, however, in the future fee increases may be necessary.

In its transition to a National University Corporation, HUE undertook a major restructuring of its curriculum. Two of the University's five campuses shifted away from a focus on teacher training, with the Hakodate Campus forming a Department of Humanities and Regional Science, and the Iwamizawa Campus creating a Department of Fine Arts and Music and a Department of Sports Education. Students at these campuses may still obtain teachers' licenses if they choose to do so, but it is not a prerequisite for graduation. The three remaining campuses (Sapporo, Asahikawa, and Kushiro) remain primarily involved in teacher training, but each campus has its own unique focus. The restructuring of the University followed the MEXT's idea of each university developing its own unique programs. In the case of HUE, this was realized at both the University and the campus level. Prior to restructuring, each campus at HUE had similar departments, but this was avoided as much as possible after incorporation.

Like other regional universities in Japan, HUE faces challenges due to population decline and budget cuts, and has responded to these challenges by forging ties with local communities. The University has signed a number of cooperation agreements with cities and towns in Hokkaido, and also collaborates with local boards of education, museums, organizations, and industries (Hokkaido University of Education, 2007). Some of these agreements are University-wide, while others are signed by individual campuses or combinations of campuses. The University has shown its commitment to this type of collaboration by including clauses related to "social goals" in its charter, and continues to expand the scope and range of these projects. In the 2007 survey of the contributions universities in Japan make to their local communities referred to above, HUE was ranked fourth out of 29 universities in Hokkaido (*Zenkoku Daigaku Chousa*, 2007). Regionally, therefore, HUE is competitive.

Although HUE has worked hard to build relationships with local communities, it has at the same time recognized the need to strengthen its international presence in order to remain relevant on the world stage. The ability of the University to address this need has been given a boost by the formation of a University-wide International Center at the Sapporo Campus in 2005. The creation of this Center was part of the restructuring process that the University initiated in 2004. Prior to the formation of this center, each campus had its own international exchange committee composed of faculty and staff from that campus. These committees were responsible for most internationally related matters at their respective campuses, which mostly involved the establishment and day-to-day management of exchange partnerships with foreign institutions, but also included liaising with local or national organizations involved in international activities. A notable feature of the exchange partnerships is that the majority of them were with institutions that, like HUE, can be called regional. Moreover, a number of them were with institutions that, like HUE, are located in northern regions, such as the University of Alaska Fairbanks in the United States, the University of Calgary in Canada, and Harbin Normal University in China. The main emphasis of these partnerships was on student mobility, with exchange students coming to Japan to study at HUE and HUE students studying in various countries around the world. In addition to student exchange, the partnerships included provision for joint research and cooperation on various issues related to education, and some partnerships also included provisions for annual exchange of faculty.

In order to ensure a smooth transition from an organizational structure composed of five separate campus committees to a University-wide centralized structure, the newly formed International Center established sub-centers at each of the University's five campuses. Although these campus centers to some degree resemble the former international exchange committees, they differ in that some of their members belong to University-wide departments within the main center. One of these departments deals with international student exchange, and the other with international cooperation and development. These departments hold regular meetings throughout the year, allowing a smooth flow of information vertically from the main center down to the campus centers, as well as horizontally among the five campus centers.

In addition to these departments, when necessary, project teams are formed to handle specific internationally related issues of interest to the University.

One of the first actions the newly formed International Center took was to contact the University's exchange partners who had signed agreements with individual campuses of HUE to inquire if they would be willing to make their agreements University-wide. Administratively speaking, this would simply mean that they would need to re-sign the agreements, but in practical terms it would involve a significant change. Shifting to a University-wide agreement would mean that the partners would accept students from all of HUE's five campuses, and that the partners' students would be able to choose the HUE campus at which they wished to study. The majority of partners agreed to this new arrangement, but a few requested additional time to consider how the change would affect their exchange programs. Consolidating the University's various exchange programs soon after the formation of the International Center demonstrates that for HUE, these partnerships are an important way for the University to establish and develop links to the world. The partnerships provide the University with a number of valuable opportunities to keep up to date with trends and changes in global HE, opportunities that ultimately may help HUE remain globally competitive.

For students at HUE, the benefits of establishing University-wide partnerships are clear, as doing so greatly expands their opportunities for study abroad. Prior to centralization, students at all campuses with the exception of Sapporo could only apply to study at five partner institutions or fewer, but after the restructuring this jumped to over twenty. Not only are students now able to choose from a larger number of countries in which to study, but they are also able to select programs that best match their specific academic goals. For example, prior to centralization only students from Sapporo Campus who were interested in learning about Russian language and culture, or in particular, the Russian education system, could apply to study at the Novosibirsk State Pedagogical University, but since centralization students from any campus with such interests can apply. An additional advantage was that students are now able to select programs that match their level of language ability. For example, with respect to partners in English-speaking countries, some universities require relatively high TOEFL scores (e.g. 550 PBT), while others do not (e.g. 450 PBT). Accordingly, prior to centralization, if students at one campus wanted to study in an English-speaking country but their campus partner required a higher TOEFL score than they were able to achieve, then they may have had to abandon the idea of studying abroad. With centralization, this problem was reduced to a certain extent. The only real disadvantage of the new system for HUE students is more competition from their peers at other campuses. Since students at all five campuses are able to apply for study abroad programs, there is a chance that some students who apply to popular programs will be unable to go. From the perspective of HUE's partner institutions, the fact that under the new system HUE students come from all five campuses does not entail much of a change. Because the agreements all include clauses about the maximum number of students who can participate, there is no need to be concerned about a sudden increase in students. For partners that have not traditionally had many HUE students applying for their

programs, centralization provides a chance to increase the number of participants and strengthen ties with HUE.

Currently, HUE students can apply to study at 27 different partner institutions, in 12 countries. Despite the variety of study abroad opportunities, the number of students who actually participate is quite small. In 2007, only 27 students studied abroad. In 2006, 26 students participated, and in 2005 there were 32. There are a number of reasons for the small number of students taking advantage of study abroad opportunities. For many students, financial concerns are the primary obstacle. Average incomes in Hokkaido and northern Honshu are substantially below the national average (Japan Personnel Management & Safety Information Center, 2008), and for many families paying the various expenses that a study abroad experience entails, in addition to tuition, is too heavy a burden. For this reason, it is not unusual to find students who choose to study abroad incurring the burden of payment by themselves by working after school or during vacations in order to acquire the requisite financial resources. There are some scholarships available, and students take advantage of these as much as possible, but the competition is keen and only a limited number of students are awarded funding. Another problem, arguably more acute in the regional areas, is language skills. For programs in English-speaking countries, some of the partner schools require TOEFL scores of 550, even for undergraduate students. There are relatively few undergraduates at HUE who can achieve a score that high. For programs in non-English speaking countries, the language requirements are generally less stringent, and if students have a working knowledge of the language in question, they can participate in the program. Another problem students face is simply lack of time. Students who are training to be teachers (the majority of students at HUE) must do practice-teaching, and this is primarily done during the 2-month summer vacation in August and September. This conflicts with a number of the programs on offer, making participation difficult.

For incoming students from HUE's partner institutions, centralization has also resulted in an increase in the number of available programs for which to apply. When students apply they must provide information about their level of Japanese proficiency and choose three academic programs (out of a total of ten) of interest, ranking them in order from first to third preference. If students' language skills are deemed sufficient to take courses in one of the academic programs, they are enrolled directly into those programs. If their level is still too low for the academic programs, then they can either enroll in an intensive Japanese course conducted at the Sapporo Campus, or enroll in an academic course at the Hakodate Campus that takes students' proficiency into account and provides support through special Japanese classes and after-class tutoring. Upon successful completion of one of these programs, students matriculate to the academic program in which they have been placed. The academic programs offered for exchange students have been designed to reflect the unique curricular characteristics of each campus that were stressed in the restructuring process that accompanied incorporation. Students choose from a selection of regular academic courses on offer at the campus, and take them together with Japanese students.

As is the case with HUE students going to partner institutions, an increase in the number of choices is clearly an advantage, but it also has resulted in greater competition among students at different partner institutions. This means that not all students are able to enroll in their “first choice” academic program. From HUE’s perspective, centralization has several advantages. First, by concentrating intensive language courses in Sapporo, the University is able to make more efficient use of resources. This helps other campuses as well, as it means that in most cases the students coming to take part in their programs have sufficient language skills. Another advantage is that Japanese students at the five campuses have more opportunities to interact with exchange students from a variety of countries and backgrounds.

Although the number of students from partner institutions who come to study at HUE is slightly greater than the number of HUE students who go overseas, it is still not significant. In 2007, there were a total of 38 students, down slightly from 44 in 2006, and 40 in 2005. As is the case with most universities in Japan, the majority of these students come from China. Some students come from the U.K., the U.S.A., Australia, and Norway, but their numbers are significantly less than those from China.

There are several challenges faced by teachers who work with the international students. The first and most obvious is a divergence in needs due to first language background. For example, Chinese students have few problems with the Japanese writing system, but Western students clearly do. Due to the hurdles posed by the language, students from Western countries are more likely to be placed in the intensive Japanese program. Second, upon completion of the language program some students may have to move to another campus to enroll in an academic program. Although this provides students with an opportunity to see a different part of the Prefecture, for some it can be disconcerting because it involves relocating to a new student residence or apartment, and making new friends. Third, the academic content and understanding students bring to the classroom can be vastly different from the host culture’s perspectives and this can pose pedagogical difficulties for teaching staff who are used to teaching in courses with a distinctly mono-cultural composition. Finally, a broader issue with the program is that the majority of students who come to HUE are interested in learning Japanese and increasing their understanding of Japanese culture, but only three of the University’s academic programs for exchange students have this focus. The other programs, in particular those that focus on teacher training and/or the Japanese education system, have attracted fewer students, resulting in an imbalance among the programs offered at the University’s five campuses.

HUE receives a small but steady stream of students through its 27 exchange partnerships; however, HUE also seeks to attract degree-seeking students from overseas to its undergraduate and graduate programs. Since the University’s mission has been primarily related to training primary and secondary school teachers to work in the nation’s schools, and since, unlike HE, general education primary and secondary schooling throughout the world to a great extent still remain within the domain of national boundaries, it has been difficult to attract as many students as some of the larger urban-based universities. Over the past several years, the total number

of foreign undergraduate and graduate students enrolling has ranged between 20 and 30 students per year. These students are exempted from taking the Center Test (a standardized entrance exam that Japanese students are required to take), but must have advanced Japanese skills, which are evaluated by means of essay and interview tests. The restructuring of HUE's curriculum in 2004 may help it to attract more foreign students, because of the shift in focus of two of its five campuses, which no longer specifically have teacher-training curricula. In order to significantly boost the foreign student enrollment, however, the University will need to actively promote these programs.

A significant part of the new International Center's activities focus on student mobility. Notwithstanding, HUE is also involved in international development projects, and actively seeks to promote collaborative research. In the area of international development, the University has been involved in a project that sends science and math teachers to Egypt to provide support and training for Egyptian teachers. With respect to research, in 2006 it sponsored an international conference on education in Sapporo with two of its partner institutions (Illinois State University in the U.S.A., and Simon Fraser University in Canada), and the second will be held in 2008, in Illinois. Projects and conferences such as these provide the University with valuable opportunities to raise its international profile, and in turn, its status in the domestic positional HE market.

HUE's efforts to internationalize its student body and to promote international development and joint research projects are evidence that it understands the new dynamics of competition in the global HE market and is beginning to work toward adapting to this new environment. Despite this, the fact remains that the University faces a number of challenges. Its exchange agreements in 12 countries are in direct competition for incoming exchange students with universities (both public and private) in major urban areas. Linguistic, financial, and academic opportunities influence the choices of both outgoing and incoming students. Furthermore, the infrastructure of many of the University's systems are still being renewed, moving from the antiquated public system to a projected flexible and proactive approach to education along regional, national and international vectors. The local and national push factors and the international pull necessity remain in a state-of-flux. Nevertheless, the University has put into place mechanisms that it hopes will help to ensure that it remains competitive not only locally, but also internationally. Although the rewards for these actions have yet to be realized, as adjustment in Japan is sometimes slow, if HUE can continue to build upon its reputable foundation at a pace in keeping with the new push-pull needs, its future as a regional university may well be secure.

Conclusion

Historically, the regional universities have primarily sought to serve their local constituencies. When HE remained solely the concern of the state, governments were able to influence the delivery of HE and the institutions that serviced the sector.

Due to the increasing pressures (and opportunities) brought about by today's globalization, it has become increasingly difficult for the traditional structures to remain static. In Japan, these pressures are further compounded by a steady decline in the population of college-age students. In an unequal positional market in which prestigious institutions have numerous advantages, second-tier institutions, and in particular second-tier regional institutions, are finding themselves in a difficult position. On the one hand, in order to underscore their relevance, they are being required to contribute more to the communities in which they are located; on the other hand, they must not lose sight of the rapid changes taking place in global HE.

The reality remains, however, that regional universities, particularly in Japan and other non-English speaking countries, will continue to face stiff competition from the more prestigious and/or urban HE institutions. These regional institutions, therefore, need to work with local industry and government to re-create and market their region in new ways that may not necessarily be in patterns that resemble "the traditional local way". It is easy to forget amongst all the critical rhetoric toward globalization, that globalization has made possible a greater and wider access to information, which can be analyzed, adapted, and applied in other contexts. HE also needs to adopt "sustainable development" approaches, and no more so than in the many flailing regional universities in Japan. Although this is a hurdle, it is by no means insurmountable, as is shown by the many examples of regional universities adapting to the context and pressures of the day to become successful – the University of Cambridge, amongst others, springs to mind.

Hokkaido University of Education, a regional institution in Japan's largest but most sparsely populated prefecture, has attempted to respond to these pressures by supporting community outreach activities and fostering linkages with local organizations and businesses. It has also implemented major institutional changes to the way in which it handles its international activities. As many of these changes are only recent, it remains to be seen how well the University will capitalize and adapt. However, as many of HUE's regional competitors have yet to comprehend the changes occurring in HE, the head start may bode well for the future. For the regional HE players who remain stuck in out-of-date discussions about internationalization, who are fixated on protecting a particular discipline, who may be lost in classic xenophobic concerns of the "other", or who are bogged down in bureaucracy, the future will be bleak. For those, like HUE, that are addressing the push–pull vectors, the future may be promising.

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Postscript: Passion and Professionalism

Paul Snowden

Chapter by Chapter

The Scene

Twenty or thirty years ago, this writer recalls, as a relatively junior participant in schemes to bring English-language education in Japan kicking and screaming into the 20th century, the enthusiasm and passion with which many new methods and principles were embraced and proselytized. New concepts or angles on language such as “functions” and “notions” abounded; new methods of encouraging spontaneous utterances from reluctant, reticent students – including even one method whose name paradoxically appeared to encourage silence – attracted followers in their droves. Iconoclasm was in the air, as old “prescriptive” approaches collapsed before the onslaught of the “descriptive” and the “communicative”. But there was also a clear determination to establish English-language teaching as a professional discipline rather than a well-paid job opportunity for any poverty-stricken blue-eyed foreigner found lingering on a street corner. In other words, there was passion for reform (in the words of recent Japanese Prime Ministers) and change (in the words of even more recent US Presidential candidates), and a growing if belated professionalism. Japanese language educators, too, were the first generation to have had the opportunity to study language pedagogy overseas for themselves, with the result that finally language education in Japan discarded its blinkered insularity to enter the international mainstream. Even the arch-conservative Ministry of Education revised its Guidelines for state schools with a rapidity and progressiveness that often left ordinary teachers and textbook publishers far behind.

Now, as a somewhat more senior participant in moves to deflect the momentum of all that kicking and screaming away from just language teaching and towards more all-embracing internationalization of Japan’s hitherto insular circumstances, I am

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delighted to see in the chapters of the present book that passion and professionalism have not been lost. Educators may regret that the energies of student movements of the 1960s and 1970s have simply dissipated into a kind of vacant lack of direction; but at least the educators themselves continue in their dedication to blazing new trails – and doing it with a dedication to proper academic process that does credit to them.

Definitions

My colleagues Fegan and Field set themselves the slippery task of defining “crossing borders”. A definition presupposes a semantic boundary or border, but this very theme is one of ignoring and going beyond such things. Nevertheless, their job is well done and we see more clearly how it is national and cultural boundaries that are being overstepped here, and how education in the contemporary world, to put it simply, is following the leads of the Customs Unions, Common Markets, Special Economic Zones, and others that have sprung up in the last half century or more to facilitate the movement of goods, money, and people. In recent years at Waseda we have even had difficulty with one definition that affects curriculum choices: separating those students who need help with their English language skills to survive in our English-medium curriculum, from those who have sufficient English, but need help with the Japanese skills they must have for daily life in this monoglot part of the world. Overseas citizens do not always need to be allocated to the latter, while Japanese citizens cannot always be excluded from it.

Good and Bad, Old and New

Daniel, Kanwar, and Uvalić-Trumbić are, of course, right to point out that cross-border education does predate those 20th-century institutions. Indeed, their own examples might be supplemented by others such as the presence of Indian and Chinese teachers of Buddhism in Japan's Nara Period 12 centuries ago, the spread of Islamic scholarship in the Middle Ages, and even the Grand Tour undertaken by wealthy young Britons as part of their preparation for life in high society. Their comprehensive analysis of such a wide range of modern cross-border projects is immensely informative; their passion shows through in their treatment of the problematic degree mills. Japan's universities are founded on cross-border bases: with tenuous links to the temple schools of feudal Japan, they arose in the mid- to late-19th century through eclectic adoption and adaptation of American, British, French, German, and Russian (in alphabetical order) models. Waseda, for example, followed British-style studies of political economy and law, but had Prussian-style student uniforms, and instituted its first division for overseas students from Qing-dynasty China. This chapter nevertheless says little about Japan for the simple reason that it is eclipsed by the numbers of participants in or from other nations. Historical and geographical factors can explain some of that; demographic and geopolitical factors explain why things may be about to change.

Institutional and Economic Implications

Varghese examines in detail the institutional and economic implications of growing globalization in HE. A notable point is the apparently unprincipled concupiscence of those nations – even some of the old colonialist nations, who might be considered to owe something to their previous colonies – in imposing higher fees on students from overseas. This has the potentially simultaneously beneficial and damaging side effect of encouraging cash-strapped HE institutions to recruit more intensively overseas; it makes a cynic wonder whether the large numbers of Asian students at UK universities, for example, reflect competitive academic excellence, or a determination to balance the books. Japan, on the other hand, does not impose high fees on foreigners, but even so has not yet come anywhere near to its potential capacity for overseas HE students. This undoubtedly has much to do with language constraints, certain matters of historical controversy with its close neighbors, and (nowadays increasingly false) perceptions of the high cost of living there. But growing numbers of “helicopter parents” in nearby Asian countries (in China, forced by law to have only one child, in Korea influenced by new lifestyles) who want their children to study overseas, but not too far away, are just one example of how Japan may well have a new role to play.

Latin America

Romero's chapter on Latin America adds an important geographical perspective. When the President of the University of Chile, in a passionate address at the celebration of Waseda University's 125th Anniversary in October 2007, referred eloquently to how much Chile and Japan share in common – a Pacific coastline, earthquakes and tsunami, and a love of poetry – he was right in principle. Only in practice, Japanese relationships with those South American nations with which it shares a Pacific coastline are not nearly so strong as those with other parts of the Asia-Pacific. Now that geographical distance is not the obstacle it used to be, what is to be done? To be sure, the rapid rise in popularity of Spanish (together with Chinese, and at the expense of French, German, and Russian) as a “second foreign language” among Japanese undergraduates does suggest some awareness of geopolitical potential; but even Waseda, with its well over 500 agreements signed with overseas universities, can boast less than two dozen with Latin America; only the region that it terms “Middle East and Africa” presents a smaller total. Romero shows how cross-border education within Latin America is seen as essential, and works; a further message from this book is that regional borders, even of vast regions like South America or Africa, must also be crossed. Ironically, the awareness among Japanese travellers that Spanish is spoken widely in many parts of the US may provide an initial impetus to study Spanish (without the dental fricatives that make the European variety such a challenge) that later leads to wider interest in the southern part of the continent.

Training Teachers

Zia and McBride present a sample of how cross-border funding for intra-regional reforms must have its initiating principles tempered by patience with internal politics and administrative instability. In this instance, the broadly defined “HE” is restricted to the highly significant area of teacher training, and it is heartening to read that successes in training of teachers has led to successes in provision of elementary education in previously deprived areas. The very numbers of trainers and trainees bespeak the grand scale of the project, impossible to achieve without funds from the inspired decision-makers of the World Bank (although the authors are right to cast some doubt on the actual motivation and participation of the fund-providers). In any case, teaching as a real profession is being encouraged in the Punjab, so that fundamental knowledge and skills can be made universally available. No one actually mentions in this book the inconsistency that teachers in HE in many nations and cultures, in other words those at the top end of their profession, need no professional training themselves. It is good to see that there is such professional dedication in an area of the world that cannot yet offer financial or career incentives that other areas can. Even in prosperous Japan, professional training for professors is only now attracting the attention of university authorities.

Immigration

Tsukamoto takes up the matter of skills and how the possession of certain skills has become central to Australian immigration policy. With education now “Australia’s third-largest export after coal”, we see how crossing borders can involve crossing vast oceans and the Equator, too, if the attraction is sufficient. After all, isn’t education as much of a raw material as coal, uranium, or wool? (Young people from Japan have contributed to Australia’s new status in globalized education: Waseda alone sends dozens of its students there annually, and had to make some hasty additions to its contracted partners after the creation of SILS and the surprise that fewer SILS students than expected would “naturally” choose the USA as their Anglophone study-abroad destination.) Waseda students do not stay to immigrate, as those in Tsukamoto’s chapter do; but what they do have in common is the recognition of Australia as an established cross-border education provider. Tsukamoto correctly notes the risks, too: rogue schools, insufficient language ability of immigrants, constantly changing circumstances that affect what skills are actually required. As she notes, these are things that government must deal with flexibly and appropriately.

Bilingual Slips

In his chapter on Chinese government policy, Hu argues with passion and professionalism that the Chinese government and educational establishment have not dealt appropriately with the issue of bilingual education. Although giving instruction, within the borders of one’s own country, in another language that has greater

international currency seems rationally to be not only a way to prepare one's own citizens for education overseas but also a way to attract students from overseas, he sees correctly that each nation that attempts such a policy must not adopt lock, stock, and barrel (hook, line and sinker, even?) the systems of other nations – especially of nations where that international language really is the national language. Hu's criticisms of the current situation, in the words of a well-known Japanese saying, will "make the ears hurt" of some educators in Japan, too. For the present trend in Japan to open courses, and even whole departments or universities, where the curriculum is all conducted in English may suffer from the same lack of care and consideration. Public comments on SILS are often on the lines of "that's the place where they teach everything in English" indicate the superficial image that is bound to be attached to such a feature, even though, for example, SILS's official view is that it is the internationalization of the student body that is central, and the choice of English as the medium of instruction is based on no more than a practical recognition that that is the language that most students recruited from overseas would be likely to speak best. At least Hu does not draw historical parallels with the foreign settlements in coastal China of the early 20th century – insensitive encroachments that did give us the stories of Somerset Maugham, the Shanghai Bund, and Qingdao Beer, but at great expense.

Collaboration

Something else that Hu doesn't mention is the collaborative institutions set up in China by British, Singaporean, and other HE colleges. Nottingham University, for example, has branches both in China (in Ningbo) and in Malaysia, while Liverpool University has a collaborative venture in the city of Suzhou, which has also attracted industrial, commercial and educational investment from Singapore. Keen and Steer look at the experiences of an Australian institution in a cooperative venture in Shanghai and elsewhere in China. They touch on the introduction of a double-degree program, with its undoubtedly attractions for any ambitious undergraduate. (Current popularity of double-degree programs seems to have been fuelled by Chinese institutions: first in postgraduate agreements with elite US universities, but now increasingly in undergraduate degrees, too. Waseda already has four undergraduate double-degree agreements – Peking University, Fudan University (Shanghai), the National University of Taiwan (Taipei) and Singapore National University – all Chinese or the Chinese diaspora.) Keen and Steer's tabulated findings cast light on the cultural and professional surprises that such ventures can reveal.

Emigration

Manik stays in the Southern Hemisphere, but writes of the opposite trend to immigration into Australia: migration from South Africa to the United Kingdom. The skill involved is teaching – the one so urgently required in Zia and McBride's Punjab, and equally so in the still-developing nation of South Africa, but threatened this

time by the cynical realities of economic migration and the prospect of adventure for young, ambitious people who happen to speak the world's foremost international language. Opportunities for teachers to cross borders in the practice of their profession are, to be sure, part and parcel of any concept of globalization; but when the exercise of such opportunities threatens the nation or culture of origin, globalization becomes less globalized, and more localized in already prosperous, comfortable locations. This is not to argue for the many restrictions that until recently prevented foreign nationals from full participation in the educational process in Japan. (Very few of Japan's state universities, even since recent liberalization, have taken full advantage of the legal revision of 1982, over a quarter of a century ago, that allowed tenure to be offered to non-Japanese, even though state-institution employees were supposed to be citizens who could define the "national will". At SILS, we see a diversified faculty as essential: indeed, with a student body of one in three overseas students, it would seem only natural that our faculty should reflect that proportion.)

Pathways

Adams, Burgess, and Phillips return us to Australia, this time to focus on the educated rather than the educators. The term "pathways" may be new to some, but it amply sums up the relationship between education and planning a career. There is a guide to the myriad new acronyms and abbreviations spawned by Australia's expanding educational system, and conflicts and close relationships are neatly and persuasively tabulated. One conflict is the one between decisions on a university course directed by a clearly defined career plan, and those for which there is not yet, at what is nowadays the immature age of eighteen, any such plan. American Liberal Arts programs receive a mention, and they are now being seen in Japan, contrary in some ways to the recent Australian experience, as the answer to indecisive 18-year-olds and, more significantly, the answer to the demands of large corporations for fresh recruits who are generalists, with some knowledge of a broad range of fields, and who are thus adaptable to work in multiple sections of a large firm. The demand for highly specialized IT engineers, metallurgists, medics, and so on will not disappear, but the need for versatile educated people can only increase as companies globalize and require more and more "have knowledge, will travel" recruits.

Elearning

Holmes, Hunt, Leahy, Gardner, Dolan, and Tavares take us beyond any single, specific nation, and show us the present state, and the potentials, of elearning. They contrast these with the old parochial, localized attitudes that imposed unnecessary common structures. The ancient University of Cambridge is singled out as one such hidebound institution, but perhaps we should remember that Cambridge does attract students, particularly at graduate level, from all over the world, and has one of the

most diverse teaching bodies. Its Calendars from the late 19th century already bear the names of not only colonial students from India, for instance, but also students from the newly “opened” Japan. Daniel and Uvalić-Trumbić have already referred to Erasmus. Several Cambridge colleges now enthusiastically recruit summer school participants from all of the thriving economies of the Far East. In terms of tourism, the city is more than pulling its weight for globalization, although one does sympathize with critics of those ancient traditions that display it in a most restrictive, exclusive light. Waseda, too, claims tradition after (for Japan, but nothing compared with Cambridge’s eight centuries) a relatively long life of 125 years; but it is also strongly committed to many types of electronic distance learning, ranging from intercontinental face-to-face interviews and occasional lectures to a full first-degree course at the School of Human Sciences. Europe, as this chapter says, has pioneered much, and under the auspices of the EU is in a favorable position to do so. There is the slight irony that the mutual geographical proximity of the EU nations makes such programs easier to implement and simultaneously potentially redundant. The important point is made that staff development is essential to overcome the resistance of age-related and other conservative inertia.

Language Exchange

Hoven and Crawford concentrate on the use of distance learning for language study – in this case a link-up between Australia and Indonesia, a developed and a developing nation that share regional interests and, important for synchronous language exchange, not too disparate time zones. Language study seems one of the most obvious applications of instant chat technology, but it is somewhat hampered in Japan by time zoning. Perhaps this is because of a lingering perception of the English-speaking world as the more or less equidistant US and UK, with Australia, despite its time-zone similarity, ignored. One of this writer’s most successful projects has involved discussions in English between two non-anglophone nations, Japan and Korea; an impressive side effect was the apparent ability to speak more freely and profoundly about sensitive historical and territorial issues than when face to face. But as Hoven and Crawford indicate, dropping out at the individual and the institutional level is all too easy; their nine Guidelines are most useful.

Waking up to Survive

Crawford and Field look at one Japanese regional university and its tentative first steps into the global market. It is in many ways a typical story. There are circumstances in Japan whereby the search for students from overseas is spurred by the national demographic trend: fewer and fewer 18-year-olds annually since the 1990s, a birthrate now below replacement level, and the baby-boomers of the postwar years who provided the ample supplies of children in the 1970s and 1980s now retiring

and putting a new pressure on society: not more and more schoolrooms, but more and more geriatric care. Only by offering the added value of overseas study, free computers, innovative curricula, can some universities hope to retain the ability to recruit students. It is for them a matter of survival, not of principled dedication to international harmony. Another major motivation for some of Japan's major universities is the competition for places at the top of the global rankings. Waseda keeps a watchful and jealous eye on rankings produced by institutions as diverse as *The Times* in London and Shanghai Jiaotong University. Whatever their criteria, all of these rankings give some weight to international citations, proportions of overseas citizens on the faculty, and numbers of students successfully recruited abroad.

Conclusion

As one who experienced the failures of Japanese state universities in the early 1980s to embrace the freedom they were given to offer tenured posts to non-Japanese citizens, this writer can understand the image of Japan as slow to grant freedom of academic exchange across its borders; but as the first "foreign" Dean of a Waseda faculty – a faculty whose aim is to "enforce" international exchange inside Japan by recruiting a quota of one-third of its undergraduates from beyond the borders of Japan – he retains hope for the future. One discovery has been that those recruited from beyond Japan's borders have turned out to include considerable numbers of Japanese young people who have lived abroad for much, even most or virtually all of their lives, and who welcome this opportunity to study through English in the land of their nominal nationality. Korean applicants to SILS, too, demonstrate a remarkable diversity in their educational backgrounds, coming often from two sources: from the so-called Foreign Language High Schools in Korea that symbolize the nation's determination to internationalize its education system, and from secondary educational institutions in the English-speaking nations of the extended Pacific Rim – Canada, the US, New Zealand, and Australia. This seems to mean that those young people are beginning not even to think about national borders as major obstacles: they have returned to the days before the First World War, when passports were not yet necessary, or to the days of five centuries ago when Francisco Xavier could teach in Japan and a group of young Japanese boys could visit the Pope in Rome.

This book will show readers how the rest of the world is tackling cross-border education, and how political, economic, cultural, and pedagogical interests and circumstances are inseparably related. It is to be hoped the ideas they gain will provide signposts (to continue the earlier concept of "pathways") to what can and should be done next.

Author Index

A

- Adams, T., 13, 14, 179, 220
Adamson, B., 117
Altbach, P.G., 20, 47
Andresani, G., 7
Annamalai, E., 123
Aoki, K., 201
Appadurai, A., 115
Appel, C., 172
Appleton, S., 150, 151
Arora, A., 98

B

- Bailey, B., 165
Baker, C., 123
Baker, D., 2
Baker, J., 100
Baker, K., 124
Banerjee, A., 43
Bax, S., 168
Benzie, H., 181
Berkowitz, R., 153
Bertram, C., 151, 155, 158
Biggs, J. B., 77, 81, 88
Birrell, B., 52, 53, 54, 56, 57
Blackwell, S., 98
Bloom, B. S., 115, 131
Bohm, A., 21, 38
Bolman, L.G., 10
Bourdieu, P., 121
Bray, M., 40
Brinton, D. M., 115
Brody, W. R., 199, 200
Brown, J. S., 96
Brunner, J. J., 62
Burge, L., 103–104
Burgess, P., 179
Burgess, Z., 13, 14, 186
Byram, M., 163

C

- Cai, B., 116
Cai, X. M., 120
Calvert, M., 163, 166
Cammack, P., 95, 111
Cantillon, S., 100
Carnegie, J., 183
Castells, M., 115
Castro, C. D., 141, 146
Cetto, A. M., 72
Chadwick, R.W., 12
Chan, L., 106
Chapman, E., 88
Chen, D., 120
Chi, Y. P., 126, 129
Ciccarelli, A., 181
Cohen, M.A., 8
Cole, M., 166
Coleman, H., 131
Collins, A., 96
Conacher, J. E., 164
Contreras-McGavin, M., 9
Crawford, J., 4, 13, 15, 16, 123,
 163, 164
Crawford, M., 199, 221
Crossette, B., 8
Crouch, L., 158
Crush, J., 153
Crystal, D., 164
Cummins, J., 124, 125, 126
Curro, G., 77, 80, 81, 82, 84

D

- Daniel, J., 4, 12, 13, 14, 19, 22, 200, 204,
 216, 221
Davies, A., 38
de Villiers, R., 153, 155
Deal, T.E., 10
Debowski, S., 89, 90, 91

Deem, R., 6, 12
 Deng, L., 125
 Didriksson, A., 21
 Dolan, D., 93, 220
 Donahue, T. S., 123
 Dong, L. Z., 124, 127
 Dor, D., 119

E

Eckel, P., 9
 Edmondson, A.C., 10
 Ellis, R., 126
 Elmore, R. F., 109
 Enders, J., 6
 Engel, M., 166

F

Fegan, J., 216
 Felix, U., 163
 Feng, A. W., 116, 117
 Feng, Y. P., 118
 Feng, Z. J., 117, 122
 Ferlie, E., 7
 Field, M. H., 1, 4, 13, 16, 94, 199
 Fiocco, M., 180, 181, 182,
 183, 187
 FitzGibbon, A., 96
 Forde, F., 153
 Freeman, J., 8
 Furstenberg, G., 164

G

Galtung, J., 115
 Gardner, J., 93, 96, 220
 Garrun, T., 157
 Garvin, D.A., 10
 Gazzola, A., 21
 Gibbs, W. W., 63
 Giddens, A., 116
 Gilabert, R., 172
 Gino, F., 10
 Glaser, B., 84
 Gläsmann, S., 163, 166
 Goldfinch, S., 202
 González-Bueno, M., 168
 Goodfellow, R., 167
 Goodson, I., 143
 Goodwin, C.D., 38
 Gopinathan, S., 124
 Greene, J. P., 124, 127
 Grinberg, J., 123
 Gu, Y. Q., 124, 127
 Guskey, T. R., 143

H

Hallak, J., 45
 Han, J. X., 117
 Hannan, M.T., 8
 Harris, E., 72
 Harris, K. R., 130
 Hatton, N., 80
 Hawthorne, L., 52, 53, 58
 Hellmundt, S., 91
 Hill, D. T., 166
 Hoffman, D., 165
 Holmes, B., 4, 13, 15, 93, 96, 100, 220
 Honna, N., 123
 Hornberger, N. H., 123
 Hou, L. S., 116
 Hountondji, P. J., 72
 Hoven, D.L., 4, 15, 16, 163, 164, 166, 170, 221
 Hovens, M., 123
 Howson, J., 150, 154
 Hu, G. W., 11, 15, 115, 116, 117, 119, 128,
 218, 219
 Huang, A. Y., 117, 118, 119
 Huang, F., 202
 Huang, Y. H., 126
 Huet, I., 93
 Hui, A. N. N., 77
 Huisman, J., 7, 8
 Huntington, S., 119

I

Imrie, R., 100

J

James, J., 106, 123, 124
 Jennett, N., 33
 Jiang, H. D., 117, 118, 119, 125, 126, 128
 Jiang, H. Y., 125
 Jiang, Y. J., 119
 Jiao, X. J., 119
 Jokivirta, L., 44, 45
 Jongbloed, B., 6

K

Kafai, Y., 166
 Kanwar, A., 4, 12, 13, 19, 22, 200, 216
 Kapur, D., 34, 35
 Keen, C., 13, 14, 77, 219
 Keevy, J., 155
 Kelly, P., 52, 56
 Kern, R., 163
 Kezar, A., 9, 10
 Khanna, P., 8
 Kimpston, R., 187
 Knight, J., 3, 5, 36, 45

- Knobel, M., 165
Küpçü, M.F., 8
- L**
Lambert, L., 187
Lambert, W., 125
Lamy, M.-N., 167
Lan, H.-Y., 167
Lapkin, S., 123
Lau, S., 77
Laurillard, D., 166
Lave, J., 100
Leahy, D., 93, 220
Leask, B., 181, 183, 184, 185
Leask, M., 96
Lebani, L., 153
Lee, L., 164
Lee, M., 37
Levy, D.C., 20
Levy, H.O., 23
Lewis, S., 150, 154
Li, M., 40
Li, X. H., 116
Li, Y. J., 118
Lim, C. S., 77
Lin, D., 120
Lo Bianco, J., 166
Long, M. H., 163
Long, Q., 116
Lopez-Real, F. J., 87
Louw, J., 158
Lü, L. H., 119, 122
Luarillard, D., 96
Lucas, L., 6
Lynch, K., 100
Lyons, J. J., 123
- M**
Ma, W., 2
Mabizela, M., 44
McBride, R., 6, 11, 12, 137, 139, 140, 146, 218
McDevitt, D., 140
McDonnell, L. M., 109
McHale, J., 34, 35
MacIntyre, A., 140
McNamara, O., 150, 154, 155, 157
McNaught, C., 77
McTaggart, R., 80, 81, 82, 84
Makhaye, C., 153
Mand, K., 150
Manik, S., 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 157, 219
- Marginson, S., 199, 200
Marmolejo, F., 8
Martin, M., 20, 37
Martin, R., 10
Mattes, R., 153
Meares, D., 30, 38
Meek, V.L., 4
Mehan, S., 96
Merton, R. K., 63
Middlehurst, R., 25
Miller, P., 150, 154
Mkhize, T., 158
Mohrman, K., 1, 2, 3, 4, 7
Mok, Ho, K., 6
Mok, I. A. C., 87
Mok, K.H., 11
Morgan, W., 150
Morris, P., 117
Morrow, W., 155
Mueller-Hartmann, A., 163, 167
Mulvaney, G., 154
Musselin, C., 7
Muthukrishna, N., 151
- N**
Naidu, E., 152
Neave, G., 9
Newman, S., 96
Ng, G. Y. C., 77
Niu, Q., 119
Novak, T., 165
Nuthail, K., 43
- O**
Ochs, K., 150, 151, 157, 158
Oldham, B. R., 143
Olsen, A., 186
Ortega, L., 164
Ostereten, E.K., 33
- P**
Parmenter, L., 163
Payne, J. S., 167
Peal, E., 125
Pearce, D., 38
Peltzer, K., 158
Pennycook, A., 120, 121
Phillips, R., 13, 14, 179, 220
Phillipson, R., 120, 121
Poisson, M., 45
Pratt, E., 167
Pressley, M., 130
Preston, C., 96

Pugach, M. C., 100
 Puukka, J., 8

Q

Qian, Y. W., 118, 126
 Qiang, H. Y., 117, 118, 119, 122, 123, 124,
 125, 129
 Qin-Hilliard, D.B., 4
 Quaye, S.J., 9

R

Rademeyer, A., 157
 Rahman, M. A., 146
 Ramsden, P., 166
 Rao, M., 165
 Rapson, V., 56
 Read, M., 106
 Reddy, V., 153
 Reichelt, M., 163, 164
 Resnick, M., 166
 Richardson, S., 52
 Richmond, W., 153
 Robinson, P., 163
 Roger, K., 187
 Romaine, S., 126
 Romero, L. M., 15, 61, 73, 217
 Rosenman, L., 184, 187
 Rossell, C., 123, 124
 Rotberg, I.C., 6
 Royall, F., 164
 Ryan, J., 91

S

Saavedra, E. R., 123
 Sadhana, M., 149
 Sadlak, J., 20
 Safty, A., 123
 Salerno, C., 6
 Sanyal, B., 20
 Sauvant, K. P., 120
 Savage, T., 96
 Schwienhorst, K., 164, 167
 Scollon, R., 126
 Scollon, S., 126
 Scott, T., 166
 Scovel, T., 125
 Secada, W. G., 123
 Selvaratnam, V., 38
 Sengupta, S., 166, 167, 168
 Shapson, S., 123
 Sharma, R., 186
 Shen, P., 117, 118
 Shen, Z. Y., 126, 127
 Sheng, G. D., 122

Shimbun, Y., 1, 58
 Shisana, O., 158
 Siegel, L., 122
 Sirat, M., 37
 Sives, A., 150
 Skehan, P., 168
 Smith, D., 80
 Snow, M. A., 115
 Snowden, P., 16, 215
 Song, Y. Q., 116, 117, 118,
 119, 125

Sotillo, S. M., 168
 Spring, J., 115
 Steer, D., 13, 14, 77, 219
 Stephens, D., 144
 Stone, L., 165
 Stromquist, N.P., 36, 199
 Suarez-Orozco, M.M., 4
 Subotsky, G., 37
 Sullivan, N., 167
 Sun, E. Y., 117
 Swain, M., 123, 127, 163

T

Tabata, H., 202
 Tahkokallio, P., 100
 Talbot, S., 1
 Tan, S. H., 123, 126
 Tangney, B., 96
 Tavares, J., 93, 220
 Teichler, U., 3, 5, 8
 Tian, Z. H., 118
 Toyama, A., 202, 204
 Tremblay, K., 40
 Tsukamoto, K., 13, 14,
 49, 218
 Tudor, I., 131

U

Uvalić-Trumbić, S., 4, 12, 13, 19, 21, 22, 200,
 216, 221

V

Vaira, M., 199
 Valdés, G., 126
 Van der Berg, S., 153
 Van Leeuwan, F., 150
 Van Rooyen, J., 159
 van Vught, F., 4, 8
 Varghese, N.V., 14, 21, 33, 36, 38, 41,
 44, 46, 217
 Verbik, L., 44, 45
 Vlasceanu, L., 20
 Vohra, N., 44

W

- Wagner, C. S., 72
Walsh, C. E., 126
Walsh, J., 100
Wang, B. H., 117, 122, 125
Wang, H. H., 117
Wang, S. T., 117
Wang, X., 126
Wang, X. T., 118
Wang, Y. S., 117, 118
Warschauer, M., 165
Watkins, D. A., 77
Wedekind, V., 151
Wedell, M., 140
Wegner, E., 100
Wells, P., 20
Wen, J. F., 117, 118, 119, 125
Wen, Q., 81
Wesche, M. B., 115
Whelan, B., 98
Whitney, P., 167
Wilbur, F., 187
Williams, J., 98
Willig, A. C., 124, 127
Wolff, M., 119
Wong, K-C., 77, 81
Woodfield, S., 25
Wu, Q., 116

X

- Xie, F., 118
Xie, N., 119

Y

- Yan, H. C., 116, 117, 118,
119, 125
Yang, J., 119
Yang, Q. X., 122
Yang, S. G., 126
Yau, M. S., 126
Yonezawa, A., 200, 203, 205
Younie, S., 96
Yu, L. P., 126
Yu, M. L., 117
- Z**
- Zhang, W. J., 125, 126
Zhang, Y. L., 120
Zhang, Y. P., 117, 118,
119, 124
Zhang, Z. F., 126
Zhao, L., 117, 118, 119, 122,
123, 124, 125, 129
Zhao, W., 125, 126, 128, 129
Zhao, Y., 131
Zheng, S. L., 118, 122
Zhou, R. F., 117
Zhu, M., 116
Zhu, S. P., 118, 122, 124, 125,
126, 127
Zia, R., 6, 11, 12, 16, 137, 146,
218, 219
Zungu-Dirway, N., 158

Subject Index

A

- Academic process, 216
- Accessible Community for E-Business (ACE) Project, 99–101, 109, 110
- Across borders
 - characteristics, 4–5
 - definition, 5
 - diversity, 3
 - globalization, 3
 - global market, 46
- ‘Administrative constraints’
 - curriculum, 169–170
 - education systems, 169–170
 - Indonesia, 169–170
- ‘Administrative guidelines’
 - intercultural issues, 80
 - tandem language project, 173
- Africa, 149–160
- Age Participation Rate (APR), 13, 20, 24, 25
- ALBAN fellowships, 64
- Anglophone, 39, 218, 221
- Articulation agreement, 179
- Australia, 49–58, 186–187, 188, 189, 190, 192, 194
 - overseas programmes, 53, 179
- Australian Government Departments
 - Australian Education International (AEI), 49, 50, 51, 54, 55, 56, 57, 180, 181, 183, 194, 195
 - Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR), 53, 57
 - Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), 53
 - Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC), 53, 55, 56, 57

B

- Bilingual education
 - immersion
 - education, 123
 - French, 122, 123
 - program, 124, 128, 129, 130
 - policy, 122, 124
 - provision, 116
 - Bilingualism, 125, 167
- Birthrate, 221–222
- ‘Blue card’ visas, 43
- Bologna Process
 - European Commission involvement, 93, 94, 97, 99, 108, 110, 111
 - supporting EU projects, 93–111
- Brain drain, 15, 16, 43, 62–64, 67, 71, 72, 149, 159
 - problem of, 43
- Branch campuses, 24, 25, 36, 37, 40, 43, 45
- British Council, 25, 122
- British Educational Communications and Technology Agency (Becta), 106
- Buddhism, 216

C

- Capital
 - cultural, 121
 - symbolic, 121
- Caribbean, private provision, 20, 28
- Cascade, continuing professional development, 139, 143
- Case study, 61–74, 103–105, 107–108, 110, 166
- Central Queensland University (CQU), Australia, 42
- Charities, legislation, 20
- China, 77–91, 115–132
- CISCO, certificates, 21

- Cluster training and support centres
(CTSCs), 140
- 'CMC'**
Indonesia/Indonesian, 164–175
intercultural project, 163–165
national curriculum, 164, 170
political, 166, 168
task design, 164, 165, 167, 168
- Code of Good Practice in the Provision of
Trans-national Education, 45
- Collaboration, 8, 27, 36, 37, 43, 68, 72, 103,
207, 219
with foreign university, 43
- Collaborative Ph.D. Programs, 69, 73
- Commodities, Higher Education programmes
as, 21, 36–37
- Common Markets, 216
- Commonwealth of Learning (COL), 1, 5, 7,
13, 19, 21, 25, 26, 30, 45, 200, 204
- Commonwealth, open universities in, 20
- Communal constructivism, 96, 100, 111
- Communicative, 118, 127, 163, 170, 215
- Completion rates, 23, 137, 138
- Consultative policy development, 146
- Cost-effective training, 140
- Countries
developed, 15, 16, 20, 34–35, 37, 38, 40,
43, 56, 58, 62, 63, 64, 66, 68, 71,
72, 115, 121, 123, 149, 150, 152,
159, 163–175
developing, 15, 16, 22, 23, 28, 35, 37, 38,
40, 42, 43, 62, 68, 71, 72, 73, 115,
120, 123, 149, 150, 152, 154, 157,
158, 163–175, 200
- Course providers, 68, 69
- Cross-border education
based on market principles, 44
factors influencing the growth of, 40–42
cost of study, 40–41
improvement of income levels in the
developing countries, 42
language, 41
relaxation of visa rules, 40
superiority of cross-border
institutions, 40
for-profit institutions, 44
- Cross-Border Higher Education (CBHE), 14,
19–30, 33–47, 73
- Cross-border mobility
decline in market share in US/UK, effect
of, 39
flow from developing to developed
countries, 38
- institutional, 36–37
post-colonial period, 38
student, 38–40
- Cross-cultural curriculum design
analysis and sense-making of educational
practices, 81
consideration of educational practices
within social contexts, 81, 83, 85
- critical assessment of alternative modes of
educational delivery, 80, 81, 82, 83,
90–91
- impact of differences in learning practices
critical reflection, 90–91
- observation of teaching and learning
practices, 80–81, 83, 84, 88, 89,
90, 91
- technical infrastructure, 77–91
- Cross-cultural learning
Australia, 39, 40–42, 49–58
China, 77–91
cultural stereotyping, 88
social organisation, 82, 85
tertiary education administration, 77, 80
understanding of plagiarism, 85, 87
- Crossing borders/Cross-border education,
1–17, 33–34, 35, 36, 38, 39,
40–42, 44, 45, 62, 97, 204, 216,
217, 218, 222
- Curriculum/Curricula, 12, 26, 44, 47, 65, 80,
81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 90, 94,
101, 104, 105, 153, 159, 164, 170,
171, 173, 186, 187, 189, 201, 202,
203, 206, 211, 216, 219, 222
- Customs Unions, 216
- D**
- Dedication, 67, 157, 216, 218, 222
- Degree mills
internet use, 28–30
suppression of, 29
- Developing countries, 15, 16, 22, 23, 28, 35,
37, 38, 40, 42, 43, 62, 68, 71, 72,
73, 115, 120, 123, 149, 150, 152,
154, 157, 163–175, 200
- 'Digital divide'**
ICT, 101, 165
professional development, 25
- Directorate of Staff Development, Lahore,
Punjab, Pakistan, 16, 137, 139–140
- Discipline, 10, 14, 27, 51, 52, 55, 66, 83, 186,
189, 199, 212, 215
- Diversification of higher education provision,
20–24

- Diversified faculty, 220
- Diversity**
- diversification, 1, 4, 10, 20, 21, 90
 - homogeneity, 8
 - mass education, 8
 - policy, 9
 - quality, 8, 11
 - research-driven, 2, 7, 8
- Double degree, 14, 79, 219
- E**
- Economy**
- economic indicators, 120
 - emerging market, 13, 120
 - knowledge-based, 117
- Educated Punjab, political slogan, 138
- Education**
- Australian, 165
 - award, 181
 - educational reform, 118, 145
 - educational system, 15, 33, 77, 86, 91, 95, 111, 118, 119, 199
 - frameworks, 190
 - higher education, 1–17, 19–30, 33–47, 49, 50, 51, 55, 56, 61, 62, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 93–111, 151, 179–195, 199, 200, 201–204, 205
 - language, 15, 115, 116, 117, 119, 121, 122, 130, 203, 215
 - non-award, 180, 181, 189
 - non-test entry criteria, 183–184
 - outcomes based education, 153, 159
 - pathways, 184
 - public and private sector providers, 99
 - quality, 49, 52, 96, 118, 120, 138, 139, 144
 - secondary, 22, 44, 97, 184, 222
 - TAFE (Technical & Further Education), 181, 183, 185, 188, 189–190, 192
 - tertiary studies, 179, 180, 189, 193
 - vocational training and education, 180, 181, 188
- Educational planning
- lack of, 84, 90
 - need for vision, 105
- Educational service delivery
- contract administration, 77, 88
 - IT experience and general knowledge, 171
- Education framework
- Commonwealth Register of Institutions and Courses for Overseas Students (CRICOS), 49
 - Education Services for Overseas Students (ESOS) Act 2000, 49
- Education provider, 25, 50, 218
- Education reforms of the Bologna Process
- aligning educational provision, 106
 - curricular reform, 94
 - flexible course transition, 111
 - funding reform, 94
 - governance reform, 94
 - standardization of course delivery, 104
 - working groups, 99
- Education sectors
- English language school, 49, 50
 - higher education, 23, 33, 46, 47, 51, 55, 95, 180, 183, 192
 - vocational education and training, 50, 51, 55, 56, 183, 192
- Education system, 6, 23, 24, 25, 52, 56, 61, 77, 84, 85, 88, 90, 96, 98, 107, 116, 154, 155, 166, 170, 205, 208, 210
- E-learning**
- asynchronous, 175
 - cross-border teaching, 4, 14, 19–30, 33–47, 62, 73, 97, 204, 217, 218, 222
 - distance learning, 5, 20, 23, 24–25, 27, 66, 105, 221
 - flexible learning, 94, 97, 99
 - synchronous, 168, 175
- Elearningeuropa* program, 102
- E-Learning Maturity Model (eMM), 109
- Elite capture, 146
- Employment opportunities, future, 40
- English**
- dominance of, 119, 120, 121
 - EAP (English for Academic Purposes), 182, 183, 188, 192, 193
 - ELICOS (English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students), 179, 180, 181, 188, 193, 194, 195
 - entry level, 193
 - formal studies, 179
 - global spread of, 119
 - IELTS (International English Language Testing System), 183, 185, 186, 188, 191, 192, 193
 - intrinsic argument, 120, 121
 - language test, 183, 185
 - proficiency, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 124, 127, 128
- English language teaching
- content-based English language instruction, 115
 - English-medium instruction, 116, 118, 123, 128, 129
- Erasmus of Rotterdam, 19

- Establishment, civil service bureaucracy, 144
 Ethical responsibility, 130–131
 European Credit Transfer System (ECTS), 67, 95, 99
E
 Europe of Knowledge
 adoption by the Bologna Process, 93–111
 Europe's i2010 initiative, 97
 Open Method of Coordination, 95, 96, 97, 100, 108, 109, 111
 Expenditure per student, Africa, 20
F
 Fees, 19, 23, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 49, 57, 94, 152, 206, 217
 Franchise agreements, 25
 Franchising, 37
 'Full cost recovery', 44
 'Full price plus recovery', 44
 Funding/Funds, 6, 8, 10, 11, 16, 21, 28, 38, 41, 63, 72, 91, 94, 98, 104, 106, 107, 110, 138, 165, 166, 171, 174, 205, 206, 209, 218
G
 General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), 14, 21, 24, 36, 45, 46
 Ghana, 22, 23
 Global citizen, preparation of, 144
 Global Forum on Quality Assurance, 28
 Global hunt for talent, 34
 Globalization, 3–4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 28, 33, 35, 58, 103, 111, 117, 118, 119, 149, 150, 199, 200, 201, 212, 217, 220, 221
 Globalized education, 2, 218
 Global pathways, 179–195
 'Global resources, global technology, and global talent', 37
 Grand tour, 216
 Guidelines, 16, 21, 27, 28, 45, 73, 163–175, 183, 192, 215, 221
H
 H1 B visa of USA, 35
 HE – Higher Education,*see* Higher Education (HE)
 Helicopter parents, 217
 Higher Education (HE), 1–17, 19–30, 33–47, 49, 50, 51, 55, 56, 61, 62, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 93–111, 151, 179–195, 199, 200, 201–204, 205
 Bologna Process, 1, 15, 28, 93–111
 as business, 10, 21
 as commodity, 21, 36–37
 community of, 7, 10
 complexity, 9
 constituencies, 6
 contextualized, 15, 96
 cultural prestige, 199
 diversification of, 1, 4, 10, 20, 21
 diversity, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11
 elite institutions, 204
 emerging global model (EGM), 2, 4, 5, 7, 9
 English, 179–195
 fees, 19, 23, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 49, 57, 94, 152, 206, 217
 globalization, 3–4, 6–12, 28, 35, 199, 200, 201, 212, 217
 governance, 7, 11
 imbalances in growth of, 46
 institutional change, 199, 212
 internationalization, 3, 6, 7, 11, 202–203, 212
 leadership, 9, 10, 24
 learning organization, 10
 management systems, 5, 7, 10, 12
 modes of trade in, 24, 35–36
 National University Corporations Law, 202
 positional good, 199–200
 as private good, 9, 22
 as public good, 9, 20, 22
 as public monopoly, 22
 push-pull variables, 7, 10, 11, 211, 212
 reform, 6, 7, 9, 10, 202
 research
 capacity, 1, 10
 -driven, 2, 7, 8
 stakeholders, 27, 28
 world-class, 2, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11
I
 ICTs, 21, 69, 71, 72, 85, 87, 97, 99, 101, 102, 103, 105, 106, 165, 169
 IESALC (UNESCO), 62, 64, 71
 Immigrants/Immigration, 29, 49, 52, 53, 56, 58, 153, 158, 159, 218, 219
 Imperialism
 cultural, 120, 121
 linguistic, 120, 121
 Improving quality, in the classroom, 138
 IMS-Learning Design (IMS-LD)
 framework for the design of activity-oriented learning experiences, 102
 Inclusion, 61–74, 78, 97, 101, 151, 173, 174
 India
 University Grants Commission, 25
 'Indonesian', political constraints, 168

- INQAAHE, 28
 Institutional capacity building, 10, 15, 146
 Insular/Insularity, 215
 Inter-American Organization for Higher Education (IOHE), 68, 69, 70, 71
 Inter-country student flow by selected countries of origin, 39
 'Intercultural competence'
 CMC, 163–164
 International Computer Drivers License (ICDL), 101
 International development, competition, 14, 211
 International education
 drivers of educational outcomes, 123
 language and social influences, 41, 47, 51, 80, 117, 119, 120, 124, 158
 Internationalize/Internationalization, 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 37, 52, 80, 82, 83, 163, 201, 202, 203, 211, 212, 215, 219, 222
 International Students, performance, 184–186
 Internet, and degree mills, 28–30
 Investment, foreign, 40, 42, 120
 Islamic scholarship, 216
- J**
 Japan
 budget cuts, 201, 202, 205, 207
 foreign/international students, 1, 3, 38, 39, 41, 43, 50, 52, 58, 202, 203, 204
 internationalization, 52, 202–203, 215, 219
 national universities, 1, 9, 202, 204, 206
 National University Corporations Law, 202
 private provision, 20–22
 reform, 16, 202
 Toyama Plan, 202
 trends, 201–204
 urbanization, 205
- K**
 Knowledge economy and 'battle for brains', 34–35
 potential skilled workers, 34
 Korea, private provision, 22–23
- L**
 Language
 exchange, 221
 international, 41, 118, 119, 200, 219
 minority, 116, 124
 policy, 123
 teaching, 122, 170, 215
 Latin American Space for Higher Education, 70, 73
- Latin America, private provision, 22
 Laureate Education Inc, 25
 Learning objects (LOs)
 ADL's SCORM and IEEE's LOM technology, 102
 Liberalization, 40, 42, 43, 220
 Literacy, 80, 118, 125, 164
 Logical framework analysis, for the PESRP, 139
 London, University of, 19
- M**
 Main competitors
 China, 52
 Japan, 52
 Malaysia, 52
 Singapore, 52
 Main source countries, 52, 55, 155
 Malaysia, 22, 23, 37, 43, 50, 51, 54, 219
 Mass higher education, 20, 63
 Matthew Effect, 15, 63, 65, 67, 72
 Medium of instruction, 125, 191, 219
 English as, 116
 Middle Ages, 216
 Migrant teachers
 goal achievers, 155, 156
 lifestyle emigrants, 155, 156
 transients, 155, 156
 Migration
 brain drain, 15, 16, 43, 62–64, 71, 149
 brain gain, 71, 149
 circulation, 149
 net, 159
 outward, 155, 158, 159
 returned, 149
 teacher, 149–160
 Ministry of Education, 52, 57, 79, 102, 164, 201, 215
 Mobility
 programmes, 21
 students, 19, 21, 33, 34, 38, 40, 42, 94, 201, 211
 Modernization, 95, 116, 117–121
 Modes of trade and cross-border higher education, 35
 Monash University in Australia, 37
 Motivation, 88, 123, 165–166
 Multi-national corporations (MNCs), 35, 40
- N**
 Nalanda University, 19
 National Council for the Blind of Ireland (NCBI), 110

- National higher education systems,
 implications for, 42–46
collaboration with foreign university, 43
economic growth, 44
- National School of Applied Economics
(ENEA), 37
- National systems of education and cross-border
 higher education
 cross-border student mobility, 38–40
 factors influencing the growth of
 cross-border education, 40–42
 implications for national higher education
 systems, 42–46
 knowledge economy and ‘battle for brains’,
 34–35
 modes of trade and, 35–36
- O**
- On-site mentoring, 140
- Open and distance learning, 20, 22, 24–27, 28
- Open Educational Resources (OERs), 26–27
 how open, 27
- Open universities
 in Commonwealth, 20
 UK Open University, 27
 Wawasan Open University, 23
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and
 Development (OECD), 5, 8, 21, 27,
 28, 34, 38, 39, 40, 41, 45
- Ownership, at the field level, 141, 144
- Oxford, University of, 19, 199
- P**
- Pacific Rim, 1, 222
- Paris, University of, 19
- Passion, 215–222
- Passports, 222
- Pathways
 accelerated, 184
 advanced standing, 179, 180, 185, 189–190
 articulation, 179, 180, 183
 associate degree, 185, 189, 190, 192–193
 bridging programs, 186, 192, 193
 credit recognition, 179
 credit transfer, 179, 183, 184
 cross-sectoral linkages, 180
 diploma, 189
 English language, 179, 183, 189
 equivalence, 179, 183
 foundation studies, 179, 189, 192–193
 inter-sectoral linkages, 179
 linkages, 179, 180, 184, 187
 multiple, 220
 non-test study, 184, 185, 189
- partnerships, 183, 186–187
progression through, 182
study, 14, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184,
 185, 189, 194
transnational, 181
- Pedagogical applications of cross-border
 education
 autonomous, 164
 community-oriented, 96, 97
 educational policy, 82
 learner-centred, 70
 policy, change, 14, 52
‘pedagogical constraints’, technical, 170–171
- Pedagogical frameworks
 modes of learning, 9, 109, 164
 professional development of teachers, 25,
 86, 159, 165
 social influences, 165
 teaching practices, 81, 164
- Pedagogical interests, 222
- Perspectives on across-border borrowing
 autonomous, 131
 ecological, 131
 ideological, 131
 technological, 131
- Philippines, private provision, 20
- Point IV program (President Harry Truman),
 38
- Policy framework, 21, 99
- Policy making, process of, 16, 137
- Political ‘plants’, 145
- Popular areas of study, 55
- Popular fields of study, 51, 55
- Prescriptive, 95, 215
- Private higher education sector
 not for profit, 20
 for profit, 14, 20, 21, 24, 25
- Private provision
 Caribbean, 20, 28
 Japan, 21–22
 Korea, 22–23
 Latin America, 22
 Philippines, 20
- Professional development and teachers, 25, 67,
 86, 139, 142, 143, 159, 165
- Professionalism, 13, 143, 215–222
- Professional training, 218
- For-profit institutions, 44
- Progressiveness, 215
- Prussia, 216
- Punjab, 6, 16, 137–146, 218, 219

- Punjab Education Sector Reform Program (PESRP), 137, 138–139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144
- Q**
- Qing, 216
- Quality assurance, 14, 22, 26, 27–28, 29, 49, 57, 62, 70, 71, 73, 94, 95
- capacity, 28
- Global Forum, 28
- R**
- Rankings, 6, 7, 62, 222
- Recruitment, agencies, 149, 152, 157
- Red tapism and procedural lacunas, 146
- Regional universities
- community outreach, 7, 205, 212
 - Hokkaido University of Education (HUE), 199–212
 - Japanese regional universities, 201, 204–206, 207, 212
 - joint research, 205, 207, 211
 - population decline, 201, 205, 207
- Regulatory frameworks, 44
- Research Incubators, 68, 69, 70, 73
- Retention rates, 137, 138
- Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT), 37
- S**
- Sandwich programs, 66, 73
- SAVI project, 99–101, 109, 110
- School of International Liberal Studies (SILS), Waseda University, 218, 219, 220
- Scientific Capacity Building, 15, 61–74
- Second language acquisition
- Critical Age Hypothesis, 125
 - language transfer, 126
- Semantic boundary, 216
- Signposts, 222
- Singapore, 21, 24, 37, 43, 50, 51, 52, 54, 84, 122, 123, 126, 153, 185, 190, 219
- economic development strategy of, 37
- Skills shortage, 53
- Socio-Economic Growth, 62
- ‘Socio-personal issues’, 172
- educational constraints, 172
- South Africa, 13, 16, 26, 37, 44, 123, 149–160, 219
- South African Qualifications Authority, 26, 153, 155
- South Korea, 8, 20, 22–23, 50, 52, 54
- Spanish, 217
- Special Economic Zones, 216
- Standards
- AQF (Australian Qualifications Framework), 179, 180, 181, 183, 189, 192
 - benchmarking, 95, 109, 181
 - competency, 28, 68, 94, 153, 183, 185, 189
 - equivalences, 183
 - NOOSR (National Office of Overseas Skills Recognition), 180, 188
- Student(s)
- enrolments, 20, 21
 - exchanges, 19
 - flow to UK/USA, reason for rate of decline, 41
 - loans and scholarships for, 23
 - mobility of, 35, 38, 94, 111
 - socio-economic profile of, 23
- Study abroad
- academic programs, 8, 189, 209, 210
 - language background, 210
 - language programs, 87, 163, 168, 181, 192, 210
 - opportunities, 209
 - partnerships, 208
 - TOEFL, 186, 188, 191, 192, 193, 208, 209
- Support agencies, 69, 70, 73
- Support framework, for teachers, 141, 164
- Sustainable development, 20, 61, 69, 117, 212
- Systemic reform, 141
- T**
- ‘Tandem language project’
- CMC, 175
 - developing world solutions, 173
 - technical constraints, 168–169
- Teacher development, as a supply driven exercise, 143
- ‘Technical constraints’, intercultural issues, 80
- ‘Technology guidelines’
- pedagogical, 173–174
- Technology Transfer, 15, 62
- Tenure, 159, 220
- Thailand, 24, 50, 195
- Third World, 72
- Time zone/time zoning, 221
- Transnational institutions
- courses in limited subject areas, 45
- Transnational Qualifications Framework (TQF), 26
- Triggers, as used by the World Bank, 139, 141
- Twinning arrangements, 37

- U**
- UDUAL, 70, 71
 - UNESCO, guidelines for cross-border provision, 21, 27, 28, 45, 73
 - UNESCO world conference, 61, 62, 71
 - United Kingdom (UK), 13, 14, 15, 16, 25, 27, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 46, 52, 54, 93–111, 137, 149–160, 181, 182, 217, 219, 221
 - Open University, 27
 - United States International University (USIU), Kenya, 37
 - Universidad Técnica Particular de Loja, 62
 - Universities
 - London, External Studies Programme, 19
 - Nalanda, 19
 - UK, Open, 27
 - Oxford, 19, 199
 - Paris, 19
 - Wawasan Open, 23
 - University Grants Commission, India, 25
 - USA, 23, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 187, 218
- V**
- Virtual learning environment (VLE), 100, 102, 103, 104
 - Virtual University for Small States of the Commonwealth, 25–26
 - Visa programs
 - family stream, 53
- W**
- Waseda University, 217
 - Wawasan Open University, 23
 - Wikipedia, 27
 - World Bank, 1, 6, 16, 28, 33, 38, 69, 71, 120, 137, 138, 218
 - World Trade Organisation (WTO)
 - General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), 21
- X**
- Zambia, 22–23