CONTENTS

List of Illustrations and Tables \cdot ix
$Preface \ and \ Acknowledgments \ \cdot \ xi$
Abbreviations \cdot xv
A Note on Terminology \cdot xvii

INTRODUCTION	Questions and Arguments	1
PART I	GLOBAL KNOWLEDGE GOVERNANCE	
CHAPTER 1	A Crisis of Purpose	15
CHAPTER 2	Contending Purposes of Modern Universities	39
CHAPTER 3	Drivers of Reform	60
PART II	CASE STUDIES	
CHAPTER 4	The Neoliberal Model: The United States	93
CHAPTER 5	A Social Democratic Path: Finland	137
CHAPTER 6	Postcolonial Experience: Uganda	167
PART III	OUTCOMES	
CHAPTER 7	Polymorphism	205
CHAPTER 8	Plausible Alternatives	221

Index \cdot 245

INTRODUCTION

Questions and Arguments

WITH THE RISE OF CROSS-BORDER COMPETITION and market-friendly globalization, universities are in remarkable flux. They are transitioning to a contested future. This book is about what is transposing the old and what constitutes the new. It delimits a global shift in higher education, why this transformation is happening, and what can be done to meet adaptation challenges.

Engaging those questions, my unifying argument is threefold. First, over the last half century, the scale, reach, and impact of higher education institutions have expanded exponentially. Universities have become major actors on the global stage, generating market power. A vexing issue is how to exercise this power in a wise and responsible way, a concern addressed in succeeding chapters.

Second, my message is that the central academic purposes of the university are imperiled. While not universally adopted, they began to take root in the nineteenth century, developed gradually in the nineteenth and twentieth, and encounter novel tensions in the twenty-first. In this century, the triad of core educational missions in nonauthoritarian societies—cultivating democratic citizenship, fostering critical thinking, and protecting academic freedom—is losing footing. A new form of utilitarianism is gaining ground. It prioritizes useful knowledge and problem-solving skills at the expense of basic inquiry. It elevates market values over educational values. It stresses rationalist thinking rather than other modes of reasoning, as in the arts, classical languages, history, and philosophy. And it features a form of globalization that favors an educational-services-export model in lieu of an emphasis on forging organic curricular links across borders. In short, universities are *repurposing*.

Third, given simultaneous pressures for improved performance and public disinvestment in most countries, the dominant paradigm of higher education is unsustainable for all but a small group of marquee universities. The luxury brand offered by a clutch of research-intensive, elite institutions caters to fewer than one-half percent of the world's students, mainly in the

prosperous countries. Rising university tuition and fees discourages many less affluent students from incurring heavy debt before entering a dubious job market; enrolling in large classes, many of them taught by a temporary workforce replacing full-time, tenure-track faculty; and compensating a growing number of administrators at an exorbitant level that diminishes trust in them.

When purposiveness is crucially needed, universities are under the illusion that they should strive to compete in the premier league. Institutions in far different contexts increasingly harbor the same dream of becoming world class. Lofty aspirations are commendable, but today's vogue aims have become impossible to fulfill. They are dreamlike because in a multitiered system, not all players can qualify for the top echelon. Some are advantaged, and others marginalized without requisite financial means and at a competitive disadvantage. Yet, in their dream world, legions of educators view Harvard and its cohort, primarily a handful of affluent private institutions in the upper stratum of research universities, as the gold standard. But Harvard has the largest university endowment in the world-\$35.7 billion, tax-exempt, according to mid-2016 figures-and charges an annual tuition fee of \$63,025. Its knowledge and economic environment in Cambridge, Massachusetts, serves as a hub for a cluster of research-intensive universities, including the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), cutting-edge biotech and pharmaceutical companies such as Pfizer and Novartis, and offices of Amazon and Google, businesses that offer well-paying jobs to mainly wealthy students, many of whom graduate from Harvard and a smattering of other very selective institutions with robust endowments and reputations.

As this book's title, *Implausible Dream*, suggests, the world-class university is a figurative expression for what proves counterfactual and deceptive. It conjures up ideas and practices constituting a win-win scenario when in fact globalization is marked by hierarchies and inequalities among winners and losers.¹ The winning institutions in global excellence initiatives command an average annual budget estimated at \$2 billion as a result of national priorities for rewarding performance, effectively channeling resources away from less resourced universities, attended by the majority of students in the United States and several other countries.²

1. For evidence, see Dani Rodrik, *The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy* (New York: Norton, 2011); Saskia Sassen, *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014); Jan Aart Scholte, *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*, 2nd ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents* (New York: Norton, 2002).

2. Ellen Hazelkorn, "Could Higher Education Rankings Be Socially Transformative?" *University World News* 432 (October 14, 2016).

Furthermore, "world class" is a trope that obscures specific policies in higher education, practices, and statements. It also serves as an omnibus category encompassing subnarratives. These discourses of the predominant form of globalization include strategic planning, best practices, branding, benchmarking, performance-based productivity measures, and the like, a grammar to be discussed more fully. They fuel one another, forming an amalgam—the world-class university. And more than a manner of speech, it is way of thinking and seeing higher education from above. Its pervasiveness reaches the subconscious, usually escaping critical scrutiny.

Today, the consequences of the global imaginary of attaining world-class status are both normative and material.³ As I will detail, this narrative is curated by a network of global governance agencies such as the World Bank to legitimize certain courses of action and used by educational policymakers. Universities use this beguiling, shared narrative as a justification for hiring more and more administrators to prepare numeric scores for exercises like global rankings. Students and their families use it to help decide where to apply for admission. Accreditors use it as a destination for evaluating where universities are and should be headed. Governments use it as a gauge for allocating funds and determining where their scholarships for study abroad are tenable. And other governments use it in immigration laws that privilege applicants for citizenship with degrees from the world's top-ranked universities.

Although the world-class rubric is widely adopted, several questions about its deployment linger.⁴ How is "world class" defined, what level of resources must be mobilized to meet its criteria, and which strategies are appropriate for climbing to the rarified rank of flagship institutions? Should universities mimic the elite, and what is their relationship to other institutions in the national system in which they are infixed? Globally, is this path leading the academic community to stray from its foundational purposes?

I'm not saying that universities should refrain from pursuing their dreams. Like great symphonies or murals, dreams can inspire. Used as motivational tools, dreams often spur improvement. But if the bar is set too high and if the aspirations are altogether out of reach, dreaming creates false expectations, resulting in disappointment, frustration, and sometimes resistance to new initiatives. When the disparities between the dream and the barriers to living it are too great, participants are apt to be cynical or demoralized. If expected to

3. The concept of social, national, and global imaginary is explored in Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991); Manfred B. Steger, *The Rise of the Global Imaginary: Political Ideologies from the French Revolution to the Global War on Terror* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

4. Philip G. Altbach, "The Costs and Benefits of World-Class Universities," *International Higher Education* 33 (Fall 2003): 5–8, touches on these concerns.

run a four-minute mile, bench-press 500 pounds, or reach for Michael Phelps's world records in swimming, many competitors would find the whole exercise pointless. It would seem implausible and cause generalized confusion about the purpose of this endeavor. This gap is key to explaining why public confidence in institutions charged with developing the minds of the next generations has plummeted.⁵

In the chapters ahead, I will examine whether the objectives and practices of world-class universities are implausible because of structural obstacles confronted when they strive for similar goals and whether this kind of quality and excellence is even appropriate for contexts apart from where the model is derived: namely, affluent, mainly private, big-league institutions, primarily in the global North. This is not to suggest that other higher education institutions should embrace a lower level of ideals and procedures. Rather, the point is that they ought to be different ones, informed by comparative experiences, befitting their own educational landscapes and reflecting multiple approaches to changing conditions. The challenge then is how to overcome deep-rooted barriers to an enhanced environment for education and research.

The world-class designation is therefore important for analysis of restructuring higher education because it provides a window on the thinking that lies behind the prevailing sense of the mission of universities and how it influences educational policies. In a climate wherein higher education is increasingly deemed a private investment and financial interests take on major importance, questions about how to meet public needs are rife. Given these patterns, the soul of the university is at risk. With metrics pervading the agenda of the academy, the question of what is the university really for is displaced. The everyday fare of performance measures deflects attention from the clarity of mission. The problem is not merely which measures and how to improve them but rather a matter of what is measured.

While supposed to subscribe to high purposes, educational institutions have to cope with the jaggedness of the global marketplace and the ideas integral to it: namely, productivity, competition, and efficiency. These practices and norms alter the collegial and democratic basis of shared governance at universities, leading to unintended consequences.

Part 2 of this book presents stark evidence of unanticipated results. Specific examples, discussed there, include the observations of the heads of universities in the United States who approved sources of external funding but came to rue certain consultancies, royalty and patent arrangements, and contracts with large corporations like pharmaceuticals because these university-industry partnerships generated explosive clashes between proprietary knowledge and

5. For documentation of this point about changing perceptions of universities' performance, see part 2.

profit-making, on the one hand, and the allegiance of faculty and the principle of academic freedom, on the other. In another case, Finland, universities adopted policy frameworks that apply regional and global standards so as to reap benefits from globalization yet proved to undermine homegrown educational values of mutual trust, cooperation, and egalitarianism. And in Uganda, agreements with overseas universities afforded access to the domestic market but unexpectedly threatened to transgress national laws and were deemed an affront to local culture, exemplified by the dicey experience of a British university that operated a campus in Uganda. When the Ugandans flatly refused its counterpart's demands, this overseas university promptly terminated the affiliation.

Taken together, these stories show the interplay of differing clusters of university missions, the historic and newer ones, in unexpected and contradictory ways. They also demonstrate that the financial and educational objectives of higher education institutions may conflict but need not be at odds if, going forward, they are properly aligned. There is not a sharp dichotomy between them.

The problem then is not that universities are changing but the ways in which they are changing. A major task in this work is to etch options for improving higher learning in more purposeful ways and indicate what alternative transformations would entail. I will contend that there is no pat formula or single kit of policy "solutions" for fixing the problems besetting higher education. Rather, five modest suggestions are elaborated in the final chapter of this book. They beacon structural reforms for transformations in higher education.

To leverage my multisited account of university restructuring, I advance concrete proposals on how to deflate the implausible dream shared by most universities around the globe. In its stead, I offer a more sustainable vision of pluralism in the service of nurturing local-global, critical thinking. Unlike a lot of gloomy prognostication about higher education circulating in our times, my forward-oriented analysis favors a sober, upbeat view.

Implementing the structural reforms that I advocate is not a utopian exercise. The practicalities of institutional adaptation require resolute leadership from above and below. While university administrators can provide vision and experience, so too leadership is a combination of trustees' acumen, central administrators' perspicacity, faculty initiatives, the staff's ideas, student vitality, and social movements' impetus. Multiple actors can serve as catalysts, leading universities beyond ad hockery and palliative reforms. A coalition of these thought agents has the potential to shine new light on old purposes and create scenarios that have eluded policymakers.

Scenarios

Despite the inherent difficulty of calculating what comes next, it is possible to project scenarios that are not fanciful but anchored in historical evidence.

The main tendencies are integration *and* fragmentation.⁶ These countervailing trends are embodied in higher education reforms. A preview of these scenarios for remaking the purposes and structures of the university frames what follows.

The first trajectory is greater convergence in university programming. Regardless of whether their effects are intended, standard-setting agencies and processes—among others, academic accreditation, an internationally traded service, and global university rankings, a lucrative industry—are promoting isomorphism in learning objectives and outcomes.⁷ University programs veer toward resemblance in degree requirements, credit-transfer systems, literature assigned, the definition of faculty positions, and even course titles. Universities within the European Union (EU) countries, for instance, are harmonizing their educational systems, as in the formation of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) (chapter 3).⁸ Yet sameness is not the only tendency.

The second direction is toward vast divergence in university programming. Global scripts blend with local and national histories, cultures, legal frameworks, and economies of scale, thereby augmenting differences. In addition, ample research shows that educational globalization heightens stratification between rich and poor institutions, accentuates inequalities in access to higher learning, and can feed into decreasing social mobility.⁹ In much of the world,

6. James N. Rosenau is among the researchers who approached globalization as a hybrid of integration and fragmentation. See his *Along the Domestic-Foreign Frontier: Exploring Governance in a Turbulent World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); James N. Rosenau, *Distant Proximities: Dynamics beyond Globalization* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 11–16ff.

7. On the longstanding trend toward convergence of norms, especially in primary and secondary education, see John Meyer and other "world polity" sociologists: G. Kruecken and G. Drori, eds., *World Society: The Writings of John W. Meyer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). Ronald J. Daniels and Phillip Spector, "Converging Paths: Public and Private Universities in the 21st Century" (New York: TIAA Institute, 2016), trace the convergence of public and private universities in the United States.

8. More and more, students on distant continents are assigned the same books and articles to read. As a visiting professor in China and Japan, I found that participants in my seminars were more familiar with the work of leading American scholars than were many of their counterparts in the United States. In substantial ways, universities increasingly look alike.

9. While universities are supposed to be a gateway for social mobility, they may in fact contribute to or ease different forms of inequality. Consult "Has Higher Education Become an Engine of Inequality?" (a forum), *Chronicle of Higher Education Review*, July 2, 2012, http://chronicle.com/article/Has-Higher-Education-Become-an/132619/ (accessed January 25, 2016). Suzanne Mettler, *Degrees of Inequality: How the Politics of Higher Education Sabotaged the American Dream* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), claims that universities in the United States have generated inequality. See reactions to her book in the review symposium "Higher Education and the American Dream," *Perspectives on Politics* 14, no. 2 (June 2016): 486–97.

universities are situated in environments that are becoming more unequal. These socioeconomic landscapes impinge on higher education institutions, making them more varied, less standardized. A proliferation of public and private, for-profit and nonprofit, secular and faith-based, virtual and physical, rich and poor, urban and rural, large and small, and conventional and "popular" institutions differentiates the universe of higher learning.¹⁰ Notably, the range between the publics and privates is narrowing. The former are taking on major features of the latter. In fact, nominally public, supposedly nonprofit institutions are mounting for-profit programs.¹¹

Paradoxically, globalizing processes are forging both greater *convergence* and *divergence* in higher education. In this incongruous dynamic, a third trajectory is emerging. It is nascent and does not yet have a name. For wont of an established narrative, this trend may be called *polymorphism*. As used in the natural sciences, the term means passing through many different stages. I will deploy it as a descriptor that allows for a multifaceted constellation of higher education institutions.¹² It consolidates contradictory and variegated phenomena. The polymorph combines homogeneity and heterogeneity, takes on multiple shapes and appearances, and grants contingency. In short, polymorphism is a liminal force between the present and future of educational globalization.

Reclaiming the cardinal educational purposes of promoting democratic citizenship, critical reasoning, and academic freedom, polymorphism can

10. The term "popular university" is used to depict the working-class universities that emerged in Europe and Latin America during the early twentieth century and initiatives for educating activists and leaders in social movements in our times. See Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *The Rise of the Global Left: The World Social Forum and Beyond* (London: Zed Books, 2006), 148; Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *Epistemologies of the South* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2014). In his *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1994), Mandela discusses the "prison university" with reference to the curriculum and specific courses designed by inmates on Robben Island.

11. Among these activities are the business of big-time athletic teams, privatized consulting services, the commercialization of intellectual property rights, and the work of research faculty and physicians paid large sums by pharmaceutical and medical-device firms. Moreover, some universities seek to compensate for budget shortfalls by market-pricing courses of study: charging elevated fees for high-demand offerings, including requirements for graduation.

12. In biology and chemistry, the term "polymorphism" signifies the multiform character of a phenomenon. Less known in the social sciences, it has been used to study political regimes in Eastern Europe, the Algerian War, and urban politics in France: Thomas Lowit, "Le parti polymorhe en Europe de l'Est," *Revue française de science politique* 29, no. 4–5 (August–October 1979): 812–46; Jean-Pierre Rioux, "En Algérie, une guerre polymorphe (1954–1962)," *Vingtième Siècle: Revue d'histoire* 68, no. 1 (October–December 2000): 122– 24; Crispian Fuller, "Urban Politics and the Social Practices of Critique and Justification: Conceptual Insights from French Pragmatism," *Progress in Human Geography* 37, no. 3 (October 2013): 639–57.

embrace the spirit of modern universities' time-tested, humanistic values. The agenda would encompass reembedding higher institutions in their distinctive settings. The mission reflects contextual nuances, for there is not a universal form of democracy, critical inquiry, and free expression within and across the Western and non-Western worlds. And given limitations on our ability to know the future of higher learning, this move is still more a potential than an actuality. The outcome remains open-ended, not predetermined.

In this study, I will stress the stakes in university repurposing, the value of analyzing them comparatively, and the need to recognize globalization drivers without treating them as totalizing phenomena. To foreshadow my own position, I believe that polymorphism is the avenue to the most promising opportunities for refocusing universities' missions and resuscitating higher education. Whether this road will be taken is a matter of not only powerful structures but also agency, strategy, and fortuity.

Plan

This project fleshes out my arguments by grounding them in three case studies: pronounced forms of private-sector-led globalization, characteristic of the United States; the strong public sphere, evident in Finland; and a developing country with a historically public but now increasingly private university structure, found in Uganda.¹³ I have selected these cases as a heuristic for examining diverse encounters with educational repurposing. They illustrate neoliberal, social democratic, and postcolonial variations, explicated in chapters to come. Each prototype is marked by a range that distinguishes regional and national experiences. To be exact, both inter- and intraregional similarities and differences, for example, among U.S. and Canadian, Finnish and Swedish, and Ugandan and Kenyan universities, matter.

The adaptation to globalization scrutinized here offers a wide-angle view and demonstrates multiple ways to address knowledge governance. The United States and its variant of the English language have of course had contagious influence on universities around the world. Finland's approach, while encountering growing stress on the country's academic programs, maintains

13. I employ the term "public sphere" advisedly in that it suggests open debates and active deliberation. In the public realm, discursive limitations on the state of universities, demarcated later in this book, spell out how my case studies correspond in varying degrees to the model developed by Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989). While there are different public sphere theories, Habermas's work is widely regarded as the foundation. For elaboration of this point and discussion of the need to extend Habermas's conceptualization to encompass not just one but many publics, see chapter 8.

high ratings as a spearhead education system yet is subject to extensive alterations under its new Universities Act, the reforms introduced in 2009. And Uganda's flagship university, Makerere, exemplifies a mix of state and burgeoning market reforms as well as the hopes and difficulties of seeking to set an agenda for decolonizing knowledge. Makerere is not just an instance but in many respects also a harbinger of contested shifts in higher education institutions in the postcolonial world.

This choice of case studies admittedly leaves out other important instances. Readers of preliminary drafts of this text suggested incorporating additional cases. One said China, another Malaysia, and still others a country in Latin America. Frankly, I do not have the resources and energy to undertake more fieldwork. Nor do I want to delay completion of this book, already several years in the making. True, each country and university system has its own story, with vast differences among them. Yet all are undergoing widespread reform in higher education. Some things are noticeably similar about the directions in which universities are moving—in respect to the role of knowledge institutions in a globalizing world, the rise of a competitive ethic, and the use of technology in the knowledge market.

While diverse university systems have bought into the implausible dream of world-class standing as the model for educational policy, I aim to enrich and modulate analysis of this construct without shoehorning it into a singular master interpretation. My preference is to adopt an evidence-based methodology that picks up on vernacular knowledge and historically specific conditions. Better to listen to the local accent and indigenous voices by offering a small number of in-depth cases rather than a large number lacking historical and cultural texture. Charles Tilly justified this strategy by emphasizing that big data sets are valuable for looking across several systems, but attentiveness to a small number of case-study countries allows for contextual comparisons and has more staying power.¹⁴

My approach to three historical cases then centers on sets of knowledge institutions and the distinctive social structures undergirding them. In each case, I render the variability of history not as a detailed chronology that primarily identifies milestones but rather in periods churning irregularly with connections to underlying social forces and powerful global structures. A point of departure then is that an analysis of universities that focuses on institutional shifts without linking them to social stratification is incomplete. This is palpable in our volatile times, with rising economic inequality and social divisions. To pinpoint the many ways that university systems are bolted to class, race, ethnicity, and gender, I highlight their intersections. The emphasis in this work

^{14.} Charles Tilly, *Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1984), 76–78.

is in sharp contrast to much of the literature on higher education institutions, which gives insufficient scope to, or stonily silences, these interactions.

The empirical investigation consists of close analysis of primary documents ranging from government papers, international organizations' reports, and published statistics to histories and other literature. I also draw on targeted discussions with educational leaders at universities, international institutions, state offices, and philanthropies and other nonprofits, as well as with scores of professors, students, and support staff. I canvassed people intimately familiar with shifts in higher education, including university presidents, provosts, deans, governmental ministers, accreditors, and rankers, about their roles, plans, and hopes. I wanted to know how these educational change agents narrate universities. In active dialogue with them, I probed their stories. The semi-structured discussions for this project took place in Helsinki, Kampala, Nairobi, New York, Pretoria, Shanghai, and Washington, D.C. They may not constitute a scientific sample of any larger population. But the on-site visits and the information elicited instead offer firsthand accounts of knowledge governance.

In addition, I have had a front-row seat at bellwether moments in bold, sweeping reforms repurposing higher education. This book shares observations from my own experience as a student in the United States and Uganda, a faculty member on four continents (Africa, Asia, Europe, and North America), a department chair, a dean at public and private universities, a director of a foundation, and a consultant for global governance agencies. I feel as though I have been in the thick of the repurposing of higher education for much of my career.

My involvement with universities and encounters with pressures on them is a source of down-to-earth illustrations of the interplay of institutions of higher learning, the state, and the market. I draw, too, on other observers' memories and oral history projects as a mode of recovery. As a method, this storytelling is not just a matter of recalling anecdotes. Narratives are a way of knowing that can illuminate larger issues. The vignettes refract large structural forces through personal experience. Memories are an important source of information especially because they can serve as an inspiration for both excavating history and exploring prospects. Memories from different countries and regions are potentially generative of theoretical and critical thinking. They are a form of voicing, reclaiming tales of social cohesion and discord and stimulating interest in listening. They also afford an opportunity to home in on particular moments in history and elucidate the complexity of what appears as chaos in our lives. In this research, they provide a tool for examining dynamic forces, a means of making sense of the raisons d'être of universities, and a vehicle for connecting the past to the present and the future.

Distinct from linear accounts of history, memories can be used as a way to reckon with not a dead but rather a living past. To this point, William Faulkner

commented, "The past is never dead. It is not even past."¹⁵ This relationship may be construed as dialogue about how the past presses into the present.¹⁶ Speaking to this point at a 2017 conference on the ties between universities and slavery, Drew Gilpin Faust, Harvard's president, indicated how an institution's genealogy is baked into present-minded expressions of purpose: "Only by coming to terms with history . . . can we free ourselves to create a more just world."¹⁷

Other concrete examples of recent efforts, many of them in response to campus activism, to address the soiled legacies of racial, ethnic, and international conflict abound in the text ahead.¹⁸ The objectives of these initiatives are to retrieve a past for informing reconciliation in our times and to open an equitable future. Although we cannot return directly to bygone days, whether halcyon or shameful, recalling them may serve as a reminder about the need for transcendence and recompense.

Memory research as an approach to thinking about the past therefore suggests possibilities for meliorating the present and steering universities to a better future. For higher education, the future is now in that it is being shaped by contemporary forces.

But beware that archives of old can be fallible and countermemories must be assessed. Memorists are obliged to do their due diligence to avoid misremembering and embellishing phenomena. To establish veracity, I felt obliged to cross-check information by consulting colleagues who shared the same historical instances and by working with multiple sources: diaries, correspondence, and other documents. With the aid of digital and other forms of information technology, many of these items are stored and accessible. In some jurisdictions, laws such as the Freedom of Information Act in the United States compel disclosure of records and data when requested, though with exceptions, for example, under safeguards for intellectual property and national security.

Before proceeding, I want to make known my orientation.¹⁹ My stance is conservative in that it reaffirms the orthodox purposes of modern universities, provided that they are adapted to meet the formidable challenges of our day. It is critical in my effort to betray a stock representation of their mission as entering a global competition and moving toward the upper tier of performance among institutions of higher education. The costs and benefits of educational globalization are borne unevenly, adding to rising socioeconomic inequalities.

15. William Faulkner, Requiem for a Nun (New York: Random House, 1951), 92.

16. Jacques Lacan, *Past and Present: A Dialogue*, trans. Jason E. Smith (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

17. Quoted in Jennifer Schuessler, "Confronting Academia's Slavery Ties," *New York Times*, March 6, 2017.

18. Especially chapters 4 and 8.

19. An issue developed in chapter 8. The roles of an author's standpoint and of subjectivity in analysis are explored more fully throughout what follows.

Were it otherwise—if another dream for higher education could come true—is the theme in the concluding chapter.

The rest of this book is organized in three interrelated parts. Next, in part 1, chapters 1, 2, and 3 provide a framework for exploring the changing purposes of universities and the resultant reforms in higher education. Part 2 contains the historical case studies. And the capstone chapters comprising part 3 look at responses to educational restructuring and venture plausible alternatives.

INDEX

Note: Page numbers followed by *t* indicate a table; those followed by *f* indicate a figure.

Aalto University (Finland), 149, 157 Åbo Academy (Finland), 140 Academic Analytics, 84 academic freedom, 1, 5, 7, 20, 32, 37, 40-52; accreditation and, 71-72; creativity and, 231; in cross-border partnerships, 52-57; institutional self-governance and, 151; Kampala Declaration on, 184-85; McCarthyite threats to, 55, 122, 216; in neoliberal contexts, 122-24; in postcolonial contexts, 184-86, 198-99 academic globalization. See educational globalization academic materialism, 44-50, 85 academic mission of the university. See mission of the university Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU), 72-73 accountability, 44-47, 54, 64, 214; of accreditors and rankers, 70-77, 124, 226; data-driven measures of, 51, 73; democratic accountability, 227; on quality of scholarly research, 124; social accountability, 152, 164-66, 227 accreditation, 70-72, 125-29; academic freedom and, 71-72; global reach of, 86-87; by Uganda's NCHE, 192-94. See also Council for Higher Education Accreditation adjunct faculty, 85, 119-22; compensation of, 120-21; labor organizing among, 121-22; rates of, 120f Advocates for Development and Environment, 188 aesthetics, 212-13 African Development Bank, 65n11, 196n91 African Research Universities Alliance, 228-29 African Union Commission, 78, 193 Africa Quality Assurance Network, 193 Africa Quality Rating Mechanism, 193

Africa Uprising (Branch and Mampilly), 207n Agence Française de Développement, 65n11 Aina, Tade, 51 All-Africa summit, 87 American Academy of Arts & Sciences report, 35, 43 American Association of University Professors (AAUP), 46 American Disability Act of 1970, 104 American Institutes for Research, 116 Amherst College, 110 Amin, Idi, 183, 184, 189 Andean Development Corporation, 65n11 Anderson, Benedict, 3n3 Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, 103, 195n85 Appiah, Kwame Anthony, 42 Argentina, 237 Arizona State University, 132-33 Aron, Raymond, 232 Asian Development Bank, 65n11 Asia-Pacific Quality Assurance Network, 69-70,86 Association of American Universities (AAU), 63, 228-29 Association of Pacific Rim Universities, 228n14 Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business, 70 austerity programs, 142, 144-45, 161-63, 234 - 39Australian Agency for International Development, 65n11 Australian National University, 54 autonomy, 151-54, 161-62, 214; academic freedom and, 151; financial considerations in, 153-54; participatory governance in, 151; quality assurance and, 151-52, 164-65 Axtell, James, 95 Azhar University (Egypt), 170n3

[245]

Barnard, Christiaan, 231 Beauvoir, Simone de, 232 Beck, Ulrich, 205n Berman, Elizabeth, 49-50 Berrigan, Daniel, 217 big data, 9, 214, 226-27 bilateral agencies, 65 Black Lives Matter, 217-18, 241 Black Panther Party, 217n Bloom, Allan, 42-43, 171-72 boards of directors, 35-36 Bok, Derek, 20-21, 94, 214-16 Bologna Process, 68-70, 78, 148 Bologna University (Italy), 170n3 bounty hunters, 57 Bourguiba, Habib, xviii Bowen, William G., 119-20, 224n, 238-39 brain circulation, 64 brain drain, 160, 187-89 Branch, Adam, 207n branch campuses, 52-57, 129-31, 154, 157, 189, 197 Brazil, 237 Brenner, Sydney, 231 bricolage, 88-89, 132, 224 Brink, André, 231 Brisbane Communiqué, 69 British Department of International Development, 196n91 Brookings Institution, 81, 188 Brown, Nicholas, 98 Brown University, 98 Brown v. Board of Education, 104 Buckingham University (Britain), 198 Buckley, William F., 232 Buffett, Warren, 77 Bush, Vannevar, 104 business-speak, 209

Calhoun, John, 241 California Master Plan for Higher Education, 131–32 California State University, 106–7 Canada, 8, 130, 146, 147*f Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (Piketty), 109 capitalism: academic, 48n20; educational-services-export model in, 1; extension of markets into universities in, 23, 28–30, 47–50, 84–85,

126-29, 135-36, 165-66; financialization of education and, 93; for-profit education in, 26, 47, 55, 82-83, 118; knowledge economy of, 50, 158-60; in Nordic welfare states, 141, 164-66; in Ugandan higher education, 173-76; utilitarian role of higher education and, 1, 16-19, 85-89, 218, 223-24, 226; Weber's treatise on, 58. See also educational globalization; neoliberalism Caribbean Development Bank, 65n11 Carnegie, Andrew, 99, 103 Carnegie Corporation, 192, 195n85 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 81 Carnegie Mellon University, 54 case studies, 4-5, 8-11; commonalities among, 206-8; methodology of, 10; of a neoliberal model (U.S.), 93-136; of a postcolonial model (Uganda), 167-201; of a social democratic model (Finland), 137-66 Centre for International Mobility, 159 Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 54 changes in higher education's mission. See educational globalization; reforms of higher education's mission; structural reforms Chatham House, 81 Chicago school of economics, 93 Chile, 146n24, 237-38 China, 74, 129-30 Ciagora, Francisco G., 115-16 Civil Rights Act of 1964, 104 civil society, 56, 66, 185 Civitas Learning, 118 class, 9-10, 85, 100, 207, 220-39; landgrant schools and, 100-101, 109; Nordic model of social cohesion and, 139-42; in Uganda, 170-76, 181, 198, 207n. See also structural reforms; world-class institutions Clinton, Bill, 143n Coalition for the Defence of British Universities, 219 Coates, Ta-Nehesi, 221-22 Coetzee, J. M., 231 Cold War, 50, 104-5, 169 Cole, Jonathan R., 94, 111-12, 209-10

colleges (as term), xvii College: What It Was, Is, and Should Be (Delbanco), 94 colonial colleges in the U.S., 97-99 colonialism, 167-72, 207n Columbia University, 98, 108, 113t commercialization, commodification, and corporatization, 21, 47, 99, 126, 212n6; of cross-border programs, 130; of intellectual property, 7n11; of knowledge, 159. See also educational globalization community building, 227n community colleges, 114 competition, 1-12, 23-33, 209-10, 218; accreditation and ranking systems in, 70-77, 124-29, 209-10; corporate analytic tools and, 84-85; between disciplines and departments, 101, 116; Finland's competitive advantage, 138, 148-51, 157-59, 163-66; global context of, 47-52, 68, 94-95, 117-18, 129-31, 142-46, 158-62, 199-200, 206-8, 223; massification and, 26; in neoclassical school of economics, 36n69; regulatory contexts of, 124–29; Uganda's focus on, 168, 175-76, 187, 192, 197; for world-class status, 2-4, 74, 210, 218, 224, 227. See also structural reforms consultancies, 53n33, 62-63, 212 contending priorities in university missions, 39-59, 206, 208-10; in crossborder programs, 52-57; Dewey's moral citizenship in, 45-46; educator communication in, 43-44; evolution of, 40-42, 49-50; financial factors in, 44-50, 85; historical perspective in, 43; reforms resulting from, 50-57; Straussian ultratraditionalism in, 42-43. See also reforms of higher education's mission Corinthian Colleges, 118

Cormack, Alan, 231

Cornell, Ezra, 101-2

Cornell University, 54, 101–2, 113t, 227n

corporate philanthropy, 77–79, 219

corporations: analytic tools of, 84–85; competitive environments of, 47; cross-border mergers of, 37; decisionmaking techniques of, 47; Finnish universities as, 149–50; intellectual cooptation by, 232–33; strategic planning narratives of, 225, 230; in university-industry partnerships, 4, 23, 27, 30, 55, 62, 82, 95, 106, 212

corruption, 32-33, 183, 189, 211, 238-39

cosmopolitanism, 210

The Cosmopolitan Vision (Beck), 205n

Council for Higher Education Accreditation (CHEA), 126

Coursera, 82-83

Court, David, 174, 196

creative destruction, 25, 145, 211

creativity, 59, 158, 161, 173, 201; cultures of creativity, 229–32, 240–41; measures of, 224n; technology and, 106. *See also* polymorphism; structural reforms

- critical theory: critical intellectuals, 232–34; critical perspectives, xii, 45, 173, 199, 222; critical reasoning, 7, 45–46, 85, 171, 240; critical reflection and self-reflection, 45, 59, 108, 227, 233. *See also* gender (on feminism); Gramsci, Antonio; postcolonialism; postmodernism; poststructuralism; Said, Edward
- cross-border programs, 52–57, 129–31; academic freedom debates in, 54–57, 71–72, 131; consultant-based design of, 53n33; for Finnish students, 159–60; as franchise education, 53; language use in, 56; in postcolonial settings, 167, 171, 175, 191–92, 198; recruitment of international students for, 56–57, 129– 31; Singapore's "Global Schoolhouse" initiative as, 53–56; top host-countries for, 129; U.S. study-abroad programs, 130; WTO policies on, 175 Crow, Michael, 132–33 cultures of creativity, 229–32, 240–41

Curie, Marie and Pierre, 230

cybereducation, 33-34, 82

Danish Development Policy, 65n11 Dartmouth College, 98 Davies, Rob, 37 deans, 24–25 debt, 2, 18, 26, 93, 96, 235–39. See also Student Debt Campaign; student financial burdens

- Decolonising the Mind (Ngũgĩ), 171-72 de Klerk, F. W., 231 Delbanco, Andrew, 94 Delta Cost Project, 116 Department of Homeland Security, 34 deregulation, 66, 93, 173. See also neoliberalism Deresiewicz, William, 133-35 Derrida, Jacques, 89 developmental universities, 172-73 Development Cooperation Germany, 196n91 Development Cooperation Ireland, 196n91 Development Cooperation Japan, 196n91 Development Cooperation Netherlands, 196n91 Dewey, John, 44-46, 206 digital technology. See technology Dijkgraaf, Robbert, 16n6
- Dirks, Nicholas, 232
- disability rights, 56
- disciplines, 132; collaboration between, 30; competition between, 101, 116; disciplinary specialization, 39–40, 101, 126–27; interdisciplinarity, multidisciplinarity, and transdisciplinarity, 37, 101, 158, 198, 211, 215
- discourses, 89; of American nationalism, 94; autonomous forms of, 32, 66, 194; communications brokers of, 208; competitive ranking systems and, 124; of educational reform, 225; of globalized knowledge economies, 3, 160, 166; of new public management (NPM), 144; of public intellectuals, 232, 234; in regulatory frameworks, 197; on reliability of academic research, 213, 222; on student-consumers, 45; on university goals, 49, 60, 86, 117; in U.S. politics, 135
- diversity, 103, 110, 122, 193, 214, 241
- donors, 62–63, 228; affluent applicants and, 109; corporations as, 21; market practices and, 25; power of, 79–80, 88–89, 115, 123, 131, 209; to Ugandan higher education, 179*t*, 180*f*, 188, 192–200. *See also* philanthropic organizations
- dreams, 2–5, 9, 12; aspirations to worldclass status in, 2–4, 74, 210, 218, 224,

227; of equal educational opportunity, 114

drivers of reform, 60–89; accreditation agencies as, 70–72, 125–29; consultancies as, 62–63; global governance organizations as, 63–68; governments as, 61–63; international nongovernmental associations as, 86–87; knowledge community convocations as, 87; numerical ranking systems as, 72–77, 87; philanthropic organizations as, 77–79, 219; regional governance organizations as, 65n11, 67–68; small backstage meetings as, 87–88; technology communities as, 82–84; think tanks as, 79–82; university communities as, 84–85

Duke University, 113t

educational globalization, 4-5, 10-12, 21-38, 42; accreditation systems and, 86-87; brain circulation of, 64; consensus on excellence in, 60; corruption of knowledge structures in, 32-33; cosmopolitanism narratives of, 210; demographic change and, 25–27; educational-services-export model of, 1; extension of markets into universities in, 23, 28-30, 47-50, 84-85, 165-66; faculty resistance to, 28; for-profit institutions and, 118; foundational course cutbacks and, 33-35, 57-59; funding challenges in, 23-25, 36; global meta-university models of, 29-31; international nongovernmental associations and, 86-87; international students and, 24-25, 56-57, 129-31; knowledge economy of, 50, 158-60; managerialism in, 35-37, 213-14; state's relationship with the university in, 23-24, 28-31, 37-38, 85; technological advances and, 27-28, 47, 205-6; uniformity in, 31-32, 86; utilitarian focus in, 1, 18, 34-35, 39-40, 45-50, 84-90. See also case studies; neoliberalism; reforms of higher education's mission; structural reforms educational-services-export model, 1 Education Strategy 2011-2015 (USAID), 61-62

edX, 82

- egalitarianism, 5, 213; of massification, 103; in Nordic model of social democracy, 74, 141, 152, 165–66, 208. *See also* gender equality
- Einstein, Albert, 39, 58, 127, 205, 211

Eisenhower, Dwight D., 105

Elangovan, A. R., 70

elite institutions. *See* world-class institutions

emerging global models (EGMs), 30

Emory University, 113t

endowments, 2, 111-14

England, 236

- epistemology: epistemic communities and networks, 26n36, 50, 153, 231; elites of, 129; epistemological standards of, 212, 227; exclusions of, 271n6
- equity, 62, 138, 141, 154–58, 198, 229. See also egalitarianism
- Erkkilä, Tero, 75

ethnicity. See race and ethnicity

ethnography, 212

Europe 2020 — Strategy, 154

Europe-Africa Quality Connect project, 193

European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA), 152

European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 65n11

- European Commission, 65111; Bologna Process of and EHEA of, 6, 68–70, 78, 148, 160; Lisbon Strategy of, 148
- European Economic Area (EEA), 137, 165, 236

European Higher Education Area (EHEA), 6, 68–70, 160

European Quality Improvement System, 70 European Union (EU), 236; austerity pro-

grams of, 144; *Europe 2020—Strategy* of, 145; neoliberal policies of, 137, 143, 153, 160, 165–66; PHEA and, 196

European Universities Association, 87 exchange agreements, 53-54n34, 191-92

expansion of higher education, 1, 21; diversification in, 7; for-profit activities in, 7n11, 118; global engagement in, 52–57; interconnected convergence and divergence in, 6, 7, 193, 206; massification of enrollments and, 26– 27, 101, 103–5, 173–76; polymorphism of, 7–8, 205–20. *See also* educational globalization

- exports, 1, 50, 138, 144–45; educational services as, 37, 64–65, 130, 158–60, 192, 192n71, 200, 218, 223. *See also* cross-border programs; educational globalization
- Faisal, King of Saudi Arabia, 189
- Fanon, Frantz, 232

Faulkner, William, 10-11

Faust, Drew Gilpin, 11

Federation of Finnish Learned Societies, 157-58

Fenves, Gregory, 119

- finance, 4-5, 208-9; challenging austerity approaches to, 234-39; extension of markets into universities and, 23, 28-30, 47-50, 84-85, 126-29, 135-36, 165-66; financialization of education and, 93; financial transaction tax and, 235n30; for-profit education and, 26, 47, 55, 82-83, 118; mission of the university and, 44-45, 56; in neoliberal models of education, 93, 109-14, 124, 133; Nordic social democratic model of, 141-51, 153, 163, 164-66; in postcolonial universities, 167, 174-84, 186-90; return on investment in, 19; in university-industry partnerships, 4, 23, 27, 30, 55, 62, 82, 95, 106, 212; university reforms and, 61, 65-68, 77-78, 80, 87. See also funding; neoliberalism; philanthropic organizations
- Finland, 4–5, 8–9, 137–66, 206–8; brain drain in, 160; competitive advantage of, 138, 148–51, 157–59, 163–66; dual higher education system of, 140n7, 142; economic crises and austerity in, 142, 144–45, 161–63; foundationbased institutions in, 149–50; Higher Education Development Acts of, 142–43; history of higher education in, 138–43, 207–8; Innovation Fund of, 230; knowledge exports of, 158–60; languages and ethnicities in, 139–40, 153–55, 157; Nordic privatizing welfare state model in, 163–66; Nordic welfare

Finland (continued)

state model in, 141, 142, 163; private funding of higher education in, 153; profiling and classifications of universities in, 156-58, 164; public funding of higher education in, 146-47, 148f, 153-54, 163-66; social accountability and trust of public institutions in, 152, 164-66; student exchange programs in, 159-60, 162-63; student financial aid and subsidies in, 137, 160-63, 181, 208; telecommunications industry of, 143, 145, 159; tension with Russia in, 144; Universities Act reforms in, 9, 148-51, 157-58, 160-63; University Boards in, 150. See also social democracy Finnish Education Evaluation Centre, 152 Finnish Higher Education Evaluation Council (FINHEEC), 142, 152 Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FIIA), 79, 153n Finnish Union of Finnish Researchers and Teachers, 161 Finnish Union of University Professors, 161 FinNode, 159 Flexner, Abraham, 16-17, 20, 80, 209 Forbes rankings, 73 Ford Foundation, 103, 188, 192 for-profit education, 26, 47; CEO compensation in, 118; international programs in, 118; massification in, 26; MOOCs of, 82-83; online programs of, 118; openness and academic freedom in, 55 Foucault, Michel, 124 foundation philanthropy, 77-79, 196-97, 219; by megafoundations, 77 franchise education, 53 Franklin, Benjamin, 241 freedom. See academic freedom Friedman, Milton, 93 Frydl, Kathleen, 104-5 Fugard, Athol, 231 Fulbright, J. William, 105 funding, 4-5, 23-25, 36, 208-9; challenging austerity approaches to, 234-39;

in Finland, 146-47, 148f, 153-54,

163-66; government roles in, 23-24,

28-31, 61; in Uganda, 177-81, 195-97, 199-200; in the United States, 96-97, 146, 147f; university-industry partnerships and, 4, 23, 27, 30, 55, 62, 82, 95, 106, 212; of world-class institutions, 2, 111-14, 228. See also finance; neoliberalism; philanthropic organizations future transformations. See structural reforms Galtung, Johan, 169 Gates (Bill & Melinda) Foundation, 77, 83, 188 Gee, E. Gordon, 118 gender equality, 9-10, 56; admission and enrollment data on, 102, 110-11; in faculty representation, 111, 156; in faculty salaries, 119; in Finland, 155-56; in Uganda, 182, 198 General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), 64 Georgetown Memory Project, 108 Georgetown University, 108 Germany, 74, 236-37 GI Bills, 103-5, 125 Global Educational Reform Movement, 51 global governance organizations, 63-68; austerity programs of, 142, 144-45, 161-63, 234-39; Finnish knowledge commerce and, 158-60; neoliberal policies of, 165-66, 173-76, 186; in postcolonial settings, 168, 197; quality assurance policies of, 129, 152, 193. See also names of specific organizations, e.g., World Bank globalization, 1-12; compression of time and space in, 22; converging diversity in, 6, 7, 193, 206; predominant discourses of, 3, 4, 45, 49, 142-43;

private-sector leadership in, 8; trans-

158-60; winners and losers in, 2, 6-7,

11-12. See also educational globaliza-

tion; expansion of higher education;

national knowledge business in,

neoliberalism

Goffman, Alice, 212n7

Golola, Moses A., 194

Goodman, Allan, 86

global meta-universities, 29-30

Global Philanthropy Forum, 78

Gordimer, Nadine, 231 Gore, Al, 143n Gorz, André, 51-52 governments: as drivers of reform, 61-63, 85, 133; education of officials of, 38; funding of higher education by, 23-24, 28-31, 61. See also Finland; Uganda; United States Gramsci, Antonio, 232 The Great Transformation (Polanyi), 22-23 Group of Eight (Australia), 228n14 Habermas, Jürgen, 8n, 233n25 Habib, Adam, 131, 219n19 Hall, Wallace L., Jr., 116 Hammarskjöld, Dag, 230 Harbaugh, Jim, 118 Hardy, G. H., 17 Hargreaves, Andy, 51n26 Harvard, John, 97-98 Harvard University, 43, 67; coeducation at, 182n42; endowment of, 2, 111-14; founding of, 97-98; Monsanto's collaboration with, 55; multiple missions of, 214-15; open online course project of, 82; student wealth at, 109-10 Hatch Act of 1867, 100 Hayek, Friedrich von, 93 Hazelkorn, Ellen, 96, 229 Hegel, G.W.F., 58 hegemony, 64 Hennessy, John, 83-84 higher education (as term), xvii Higher Education Act of 1965, 105, 125 history of Finnish higher education, 138-43, 207-8; cultural nationalism in, 139; globalizing processes in, 142-43; independence and political nationalism in, 139-40; Russian rule in, 138-39; standardization of higher education in, 140-42 history of Ugandan higher education, 167-76, 207-8; colonial period in, 167, 170-72; market forces and massification in, 173-76; nationalist developmental university in, 167-68, 172-73 history of U.S. higher education, 97-108, 207-8; colonial and early postcolonial period in, 97-99; fragmentation of,

102-3, 109; land-grant movement in, 100-101, 109; massification trends in, 103-5; military and corporate sponsorship in, 27, 95, 104-5; missions of university in, 40-42; secularization of, 100; technological innovation and, 105-8, 205-6 homosexuality, 56, 198 Hopkins, Johns, 99, 102 Howard University, 104, 222 humanities, 33-35, 57-59, 161, 212-13, 215, 219; digital technology and, 127-28; in neoliberal models, 95, 111 human rights, 56. See also gender equality; race and ethnicity human subjects research, 213 Humboldt, Wilhelm von, 41-42, 139, 151, 207, 211 identity, 139, 163, 172, 207-8, 224, 227-28, 241 ideology: of competition, 76; of the market, 48, 66n15, 93, 209; regulatory reforms and, 124; of the world-class university, 221 Ikoja-Odongo, Robert, 191 imports and exports, 50, 159. See also cross-border programs India, 130 indigenous knowledge, 32, 64, 155, 167, 170, 200, 210, 226 Indonesia, 74 inequality, 2; in access to higher education, 6-7, 176, 181, 198, 207n, 238; in cosmopolitanism from above, 210; in faculty bonus practices, 213; genderbased forms of, 182; global philanthropy and, 78; racialized forms of, 221-22; socioeconomic forms of, 9-12, 24, 85, 109, 163, 201, 239; in university endowments, 111-12 information capitalism, 50 injustice, 217 Institute of International Education (IIE), 86, 130 instrumentalism. See utilitarian role of higher educationalism intellectual freedom. See academic freedom intellectual property rights, 64

intellectuals, 23, 56-59, 85, 211, 225; consultancies of, 62-63; defense of academic freedom by, 219; in policy development, 50; in public discourse, 169, 194, 232-34 Intellectual Ventures, 126 Inter-American Development Bank, 65n11 interdisciplinarity, 37, 101, 158, 198, 215 International Association of Student Affairs and Services, 87-88 International Association of Universities, 86 International Finance Corporation (IFC), 67 - 68International Institute for Environment and Development, 188 internationalization, 53, 85-86, 138, 158-60, 163 International Labour Organization (ILO), 165 International Monetary Fund (IMF): austerity programs of, 144; structural adjustment programs (SAPs) of, 66 International Network for Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education (INQAAHE), 86-87, 129 international nongovernmental associations, 86-87 International Ranking Expert Group Observatory on Academic Ranking and Excellence, 87 International Research and Exchanges Board, 130 Internet: public intellectuals of, 232 intersubjectivity, 86 Inter-University Council for East Africa, 193 The Invention of Women (Oyewumi), 32 Islamic University (Uganda), 189 Jacoby, Russell, 232 James, C.L.R., 232 Japan, 74 Jefferson, Thomas, 98 Johns Hopkins University, 101-2, 227n; NIH funding at, 33; School of Advanced International Studies in Nanjing of, 55 Jones, Ken, 70

justice, 40, 84, 117, 123, 151, 217-18; university forums on social injustice, 217 "The Just-in-Time Professor," 120-21 Kaller, Eric, 36 Kampala Declaration on Intellectual Freedom and Social Responsibility, 184-85 Kampala International University (Uganda), 192 Kansas State University, 100 Kant, Immanuel, 151 Kantola, Johanna, 156 Kellogg School of Management, 53 Kentridge, William, 231 Kenya, 8, 178 Kerr, Clark, 131-32, 216, 241 Khan Academy, 23 King, Martin Luther, Jr., 230 King, Roger, 30 Kiplinger rankings, 73 Kirumira, Edward, 187 Klug, Alan, 231 knowledge: indigenous forms of, 32, 64, 155, 167, 170, 200, 210, 226; knowledge economy, 50, 158-60; knowledge structures, 32-33, 60; useful vs. useless forms of, 1, 16-19, 209 Koller, Daphane, 82-83 Kresge Foundation, 195n85 Kristol, Irving, 43 Krugman, Paul, 81

labor: of adjunct faculty, 85, 119-22; casualization under neoliberalism of, 116, 119; legacy of slavery and, 11, 99-100, 107-8, 218, 222, 241-42; markets for, 57, 75-76, 155-56, 164; organizing of, 121-22; training needs of, 132-33, 139, 170-71, 174 land-grant schools, 100-101, 109 language, 8, 73, 137; in cross-border programs, 56; foreign language instruction, 1, 33, 57, 105; in multilingual societies, 139-40, 153-55, 157, 171, 183-84 The Last Intellectuals (Jacoby), 232 Latin America, 237-38 Laureate Education, 26

leadership, 5, 25, 78; of flagship institutions, 228; gender inequality in, 98; institutional autonomy and, 126; of the private-sector, 8; training in, 85-88, 139, 215; of university reforms, 139, 184, 241 League of European Research Universities, 228n14 Le Doc Tho, 234n Lemon Project: A Journey of Reconciliation, 107-8 Lesson Plan (Bowen and McPherson), 224n, 238-39 Levin, Carl, 56 Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 88-89 liberal arts, 56, 94, 100, 215, 226 liberalism, 16, 22, 123, 151, 197, 215 London School of Economics and Political Science, 219 Lumina Foundation, 77-78, 135 Lutuli, Albert, 231

MacArthur Foundation, 188, 195n85 Makeba, Miriam, 231

Makerere University (Uganda), 9, 168-70; admission of women at, 182; brain drain at, 187-89; decentralized college system of, 187-89; as developmental university, 172-73; expansion of science and technology at, 176; funding of, 178-81, 190; globalization and, 190-97; interdisciplinary social sciences degrees at, 198; logo of, 197; MBA programs at, 176, 177; neoliberal reforms at, 174-76; origins of, 170-72; PHEA grants at, 195-97; privatization of, 190; student exchange programs at, 191-92; student population of, 177; student strikes and shutdown at, 185. See also Uganda

Malaysia, 74

- Mamdani, Mahmood, 174-75
- Mampilly, Zachariah, 207n
- managerialism, 35–38, 143–51, 213–14; executive authority in, 150–51; new public management (NPM) framework for, 143–44, 150; new technologies of, 147– 48; results-oriented approach of, 150 Mandela, Nelson, 7n10, 231

Mansfield, Harvey, 43 Marconi, Guglielmo, 17 marginalization, 2, 56, 207, 231-32; of academic freedom, 153, 185; access to higher education and, 6-7, 176, 181, 198, 207n, 238; World Bank policies and, 66 Marrie, Tom, 24-25 Marshall, Maria Teresa, 238 Marx, Karl, 58 Masakela, Hugh, 231 Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), 2, 54, 75; endowment of, 113t; open online course projects of, 82-83 massification, 26-27, 101; in Finland, 154-58; in Uganda, 173-76; in the United States, 94, 103-5. See also expansion of higher education massive open online courses (MOOCs), 27-28, 82-84, 210 Mazrui, Ali, 169 McCarthyism, 55, 122, 216 McDonalds, 21 McGann, James, 81 McPherson, Michael S., 224n, 238-39 megafoundations, 77 Mellon, Andrew, 103 memory research, 10-11, 108, 170, 222 mergers, 37, 145, 149-50, 161, 165, 187, 229. See also cross-border programs methodology, 9, 72, 75, 78, 89, 108, 128, 225 Mettler, Suzanne, 6n9 Michigan State University, 100, 109 migration, 3, 52, 64, 74, 95, 102, 222. See also brain circulation; brain drain Millennium Development Goals, 63 Mills, C. Wright, 19 Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 65n11 mission of the university, 1, 4-12, 57-59, 200-201; changes in language of, 15, 209; conflicting priorities in, 5, 42-59, 206, 208-10; consensus on excellence in, 60; evolution of, 16-21, 40-42; impact of globalization on, 1, 15-38, 42; institutional narratives of, 49-50; metrics of, 15, 20; Mission of the University (Ortega y Gasset), 39; national

mission of the university (*continued*) archetypes of, 41–42; polymorphism of, 7–8, 205–20; as steering mechanisms, 15–16; transcendent triad in, 216–18, 220. *See also* educational globalization; reforms of higher education's mission; structural reforms

- mobility: social forms of, 6, 24, 26, 109, 170, 207, 238; of students and scholars, 30–31, 64, 68, 75, 78, 101, 129–32, 159; in university ranking, 76, 78
- Morrill, Justin Smith, 100
- Morrill Act of 1862, 100-101, 109
- Most Favoured Nation rule, 64
- multidisciplinarity, 101, 211, 215
- Murray, Pauli, 241
- Museveni, Yoweri, 183–86, 189
- Naipaul, V. S., 169

narratives, 10-11, 242; bricolage in, 88-89, 132, 224; of exceptionalism of U.S. institutions, 94-96, 209; of marketization, 20, 30, 45, 49-50, 89, 124-25, 136; of polymorphism, 7-8, 205-20; polymorphous forms of, 208-10, 233; of Ugandan higher education, 168, 171, 193, 200; of world-class institutions, 1-4, 74, 93-94, 210, 218, 224-28, 227 National Academy of Sciences, 100 National Aeronautics and Space Administration, 105 National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education, 135 National Defense Education Act of 1965, 105 National Institutes of Health, 105 nationalism, 207; in Finland, 139-40; in Uganda, 167-68, 172-73 National Labor Relations Board, 122 National Partnership for Reinventing Government, 143n National Research Council, 133 National Science Foundation, 105 National University of Singapore (NUS), 54-56 Nawangwe, Barnabas, 187 Neal, Anne, 125n91 neoclassical economics, 36n69 neoliberalism, 8, 36, 85-89, 93-94, 206-8; academic freedom and, 122–24, 131;

austerity programs of, 142, 144-45, 161-63, 234-39; case study of, 93-136; casualization of academic labor of, 116, 119-22; in the EU policy framework, 137, 143, 153, 160, 165-66; extension of markets into universities in, 126-29, 135-36, 165-66; financialization of education in, 93; of global governance organizations, 63-68, 173-76, 186; growth of executive power in, 94, 114-24; higher education as a service in, 64-66, 175, 178, 209; polarization and mistrust of government in, 135-36; regulatory adjustments and accreditation in, 94, 124-29, 192-94; resistance to, 28, 219; socioeconomic hierarchy of, 94, 109-14; strategic planning efforts in, 131-36; United Nations' role in, 63-64. See also educational globalization; United States Netherlands Directorate-General for International Development, 188 New Faculty Majority, 121-22

Newman, John Henry: emphasis on teaching of, 41–42; on knowledge for its own sake, 19–20, 45, 58, 211; on the role of the university, 16–17, 207

- new public management (NPM) framework, 143-44, 150
- New York University (NYU), 55–56, 130–31
- New Zealand Aid, 65n11
- Next Generation Academics, 195
- Ng, Andrew, 82-83
- Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, 169, 171-72
- Nian Cai Liu, 73
- Nicaragua, 237
- Nietzsche, Friedrich, 31
- Nigeria, 74
- Nixon, Richard, 104
- Nobel, Alfred, 230
- Nobel Prize, 230-31, 233-34
- Nokia Corporation, 143, 145
- Nordic welfare model, 141–51, 153, 163, 164–66. *See also* Finland; social democracy

North American Development Bank, 65n11

- Norway, 235
- Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD), 187, 196

nostalgia, 219 Nussbaum, Martha, 34–35, 171–72 Nye, Joseph, 20115 Nyerere, Julius, 169

Obama, Barack, 75, 126 Oberlin College, 110 Obote, Milton, 183, 184 Occupy movement, 85, 239 On the Run (Goffman), 212n7 Open Access Movement, 226 OpenCourseWare Consortium, 82 Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 142, 146, 148; gender equity policies of, 155-56; public funding of higher education in, 147f; quality assurance policies of, 152 Ortega y Gasset, José, 39 Oulu University (Finland), 155 overseas programs. See cross-border programs Oyewumi, Oyeronke, 32

Pan-African University, 200 Partnership for Higher Education in Africa (PHEA), 195-97 Pasternak, Boris, 230, 234n patent aggregators, 126 Patterson, George, 103 Pauling, Linus, 230 "Pay It Forward, Pay It Back" financing, 133 peace: Nobel Prize for, 230-31; in postconflict Uganda, 183-86; studies in, 169 Pearson, 118 Pell grants, 110, 118 Pennsylvania State University, 100 Perry, Rick, 115-16 philanthropic organizations, 103; as drivers of reform, 77-79, 219; in Uganda, 195-97. See also foundation philanthropy philosophy, 1, 36, 103, 187, 232; of institutional autonomy, 151-52; on the mission of the university, 40-50, 57-58, 217; Nietzsche on education for sameness, 31; Philosophy of Right (Hegel), 58; of pragmatism, 242-43; on student development, 88. See also neoliberalism

Piironen, Ossi, 75 Piketty, Thomas, 109, 112 Plato, 52 Plessy v. Ferguson decision, 103 Podhoretz, Norman, 43 Polanyi, Karl, 22-23 policy intellectuals, 50 polymorphism, 7-8, 205-20; complementarity in, 215; definition of, 7; finding balance in, 215-16; fluctuating moral standards in, 210-14; historical context in, 206-7; interconnected convergence and divergence in, 6, 7, 193, 206-8; new utilitarianism in, 218, 223-24, 226; relevance in, 217-18; shifting narratives of university missions in, 208-10; transcendent purposes of higher education in, 216-18, 220 popular universities, 7n10 Porter, George, 16n6 positivism, 212 postcolonialism, 8-9, 206-8; academic freedom in, 184-86, 198-99; accreditation, quality assurance, and ranking systems in, 192-94; administrative decentralization in, 186-89; case study of, 167-201; cross-border programs and, 167, 171, 175, 198; funding of higher education in, 178, 195-97, 199-200; global governance organization policies in, 173-76, 197; globalization of higher education and, 190-97; governance of higher education in, 183-86; mission of higher education in, 174-75; privatization of higher education and, 189-90; support for research and, 194-95. See also Uganda postmodernism, 58 postpositivism, 212 poststructuralism, 58 poverty: of adjunct faculty, 121; debt and, 2, 18, 26, 93, 96, 235-39; in Latin America, 237; socioeconomic inequality and, 9-12, 24, 85, 109, 163, 201, 239; in Uganda, 181-82, 206; World

student financial burdens power, 1–12, 221–43; Coates's account of, 221–22; in colonial settings, 167, 170–71; of consultants, 211–12;

Bank focus on, 66. See also funding;

power (continued)

discursive forms of, 30–33, 124–29; of donors, 79–80, 88–89, 115, 123, 131, 209; of executives and managers, 94, 114–24, 135–36, 140–48; of knowledge and ideas, 19–20, 138; markets and material forms of, 1, 41, 58, 66, 206–9; public funding and, 164; of ranking agencies, 76; soft forms of, 20, 66–67; structural forms of, 173–76, 176–97, 186; tensions between wisdom and, 52–57; of think tanks, 80–82; within universities, 111; of university boards, 150. *See also* educational globalization

Powers, William C., 115-16

pragmatism, 7–8, 19, 35, 89, 158, 242–43 Prebisch, Raúl, 165n82

- Princeton University, 98; coeducation at, 182n42; endowment of, 111–14; legacy of slavery and segregation at, 108, 242
- private foundations, 77–79. *See also* foundation philanthropy
- privatization, 7n11, 25, 28, 66, 78, 189–90, 207–8; MOOCs and, 83; in the Nordic welfare state, 137, 145, 163–66; in postcolonial contexts, 173, 189–90. *See also* for-profit education; neoliberalism
- professionalization of higher education, 18–19, 35–36, 39; disciplinary specialization and, 101, 126–27; extension of markets into universities and, 126–29, 135–36; history of, 99–103
- publication pressure, 213

Public Health Security and Bioterrorism Preparedness and Response Act, 95

public intellectuals, 169, 194, 232–34

public sphere, 8, 23-24, 28, 233

- public universities: endowments of, 114; land-grant movement for, 100–101, 109; ranking of, 115n; student aid for, 133
- purpose of the university. *See* mission of the university

Qarawyin University (Morocco), 17013 Qatar, 55

Quacquarelli Symonds (QS) World University Rankings, 72

quality assurance: global governance organization policies on, 129, 152; regional networks of, 69–70, 86, 192–94; in social democracy frameworks, 151–52, 164–65

race and ethnicity, 9-11, 99-108, 207; affirmative action admissions and, 106-7, 110; BA graduation rates and, 107; Black Lives Matter movement and, 217-18, 241; Brown v. Board of Education decision on, 104-5; Coates's account of power and, 221-22; in Finland, 154–55; GI Bill barriers to, 103-4; legacy of slavery and, 11, 99-100, 107-8, 218, 222, 241-42; Plessy v. Ferguson decision on, 103, 104; segregation and, 101–6; self-reflection and reconciliation projects on, 107-8; in Uganda, 171, 183-84 Ramadan, Tariq, 131 ranking systems, 225-27; of African universities, 193-94; of Finnish institutions, 143, 153-54, 157-58, 164; global and regional organizations in, 72-73; institutional competition and, 124-25, 209-10; of U.S. institutions, 72-77, 87, 95-96, 113t Rauhvarger, Andrejs, 75 Rawlings, Hunter, 23-24, 43-44 Rawls, John, 151 Reagan, Ronald, 93, 105, 132, 143 reforms of higher education's mission, 7-8, 50-59; academic freedom and, 54-57, 131, 216; consensus on excellence and, 60; efficiency in, 224n; finding balance in, 57-59, 215-16; Global Educational Reform Movement, 51; key drivers of, 60-89; local inflection in, 51, 53n33; polymorphism and, 7-8, 205-20; recommendations for, 5, 7-8, 12, 51-52; reformist and structural types of, 51-52; tensions between wisdom and power in, 52-57. See also neoliberalism; structural reforms

regional systems, 65n11, 67-68, 72

regulation, 27, 85, 213; accountability and, 46–47; explicit forms of, 124, 128; of faculty rank and tenure, 85; global governance organizations, 183; horizontal governance and, 151, 153; neoliberal reforms and, 71, 88, 103,

117, 124-29, 173, 175; public regulation, 149; self-regulation, 61, 88, 124, 128-29, 218; soft forms of, 30-31; tacit forms of, 124. See also neoliberalism Rehabilitation Act of 1973, 104 religion, 19, 99, 100, 207, 217; in Uganda's postcolonial institutions, 170, 172; Weber's treatise on, 58 repurposing of higher education. See educational globalization research: applied forms of, 17, 48, 80, 95, 121; basic forms of, 17, 62, 80, 104, 176, 185, 194, 215, 223 restructuring of higher education. See structural reforms Rhodes, Frank, 98, 127 #RhodesMustFall, 241 Ribeau, Sidney, 74 Rice University, 113t Rockefeller, John D., 99, 103 Rockefeller Foundation, 103, 192, 195n85, 196 Rockefeller University, 113 Rodney, Walter, 169 Rosenau, James N., 6n6 Rovio, 145 Russell, Bertrand, 232 Russell Group (United Kingdom), 228n14 Russia, 74 Rutgers University, 98, 100

Saban, Nick, 118 Sahlberg, Pasi, 51n26 Said, Edward, 232-33 Sartre, Jean-Paul, 232–33 Saudi Arabia, 130 Say Yes to Education, 133 Schumpeter, Joseph, 25 scientism, 212 Scotland, 236 Scott, Tom, 71 self-regulation, 61, 88, 124, 128-29, 218 Sen, Amartya, 127 Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944, 103-5 Sexton, John, 56 sexual orientation, 56 Shanghai Jiao Tong University (China), 54,72-73Shirley, Dennis, 51n26

Silberman, Robert S., 118 Simon, Lou Anna, 49 Singapore, 53-56, 129 slavery, 11, 99-100, 107-8, 218, 222 Smith, Nicholas T., 178-80 Snellman, Johan Vilhelm, 139 social democracy, 137, 143-66, 206-8; case study of, 137-66; debates on higher education reforms in, 160-63; decentralization in, 150-51; economic crises and austerity in, 142, 144-45, 161-63; equity policies of, 154-58; globalization and knowledge exports of, 158-60; institutional autonomy in, 151-54, 161-62, 164-65; integration of new technologies in, 147-48; managerialism in, 143-48; Nordic privatizing welfare state model in, 163-66, 164-66; Nordic welfare state model of, 141, 142, 163; public funding of higher education in, 146-47, 163-66; regulation of competition in, 148-51, 157; social accountability and trust of public institutions in, 152, 164-66; student financial burden in, 137, 160-63, 208; trade unionism in, 161. See also Finland social justice, 40, 84, 117, 151, 217-18 social mobility, 6-7, 24, 26, 109, 170, 207, 238 social movements: Global Educational Reform Movement, 51; land-grant university movement, 100-101, 109; massive open online courses, 27-28, 82-84, 210; Occupy movement, 85, 239; Open Access Movement, 226;

structural reforms of higher education, 241-42

Socrates, 205

- soft power, 20, 66-67
- Soros, George, 77
- South Africa, 239

South African Institute of International Affairs, 79

Southern Association of Colleges and Schools Commission, 115 South Korea, 74, 130, 146n24

- Soyinka, Wole, 230-31
- Spero, Joan, 78
- sports coaches, 118

Stanford, A. Leland, 99

- Stanford University, 54, 99; economic diversity at, 110; endowment of, 112–14; Hoover Institution at, 81; military and corporate sponsorship at, 27, 95
- the state. See governments
- Steinberg, Darrell, 28
- Strange, Susan, 32n49
- strategic planning, 20116, 49, 132-33
- Strategy 2020, 67-68
- Strauss, Leo, 42-43
- structural adjustment programs (SAPs), 66
- structural reforms, 5, 12, 51-52, 220-43; basis for, 222-25; of the California Master Plan for Higher Education, 131-32; challenging austerity programs in, 234-39; commitment to cultures of creativity in, 229-32, 240-41; horizontal systems of institutions in, 229; incentives for public intellectuals in, 232-34; as investments in the greater good, 242; mission differentiation in, 227; multilevel leadership of, 241; polymorphism and, 7-8; as practical adaptations, 239-43; relinking to local and regional communities in, 227-29; student movements and, 241-42; taming the narrative of scores and ranking in, 225-27
- Student Debt Campaign, 219 student financial burdens, 2, 18, 26, 93, 96, 235–39; in Finland, 137, 160–63, 181, 208; government grants and, 110, 118;
- "Pay It Forward, Pay It Back" financing of, 133; in Uganda, 174, 178–82, 185, 187, 190, 208; in the United States, 110–11, 125–26, 133, 136, 181, 208, 219
- students: activism of, 185, 241–42; as consumers, 45; cross-border programs for, 56–57, 129–31, 159–60; educational globalization and, 24–25, 56–57, 129–31; mobility of, 30–31, 64, 68, 75, 78, 101, 129–32, 159; in Uganda, 177, 179*t*, 182; at world-class institutions, 133–35. *See also* mission of the university; student financial burdens
- Studley, Jamienne S., 75
- study-abroad programs, 3, 53–56, 63, 69, 74, 130; of African educators, 172, 231; in Finland, 137, 160; international

students and, 24-25, 56-57, 129-31; reverse brain drain and, 95 subregional development banks, 65n11 Sullivan, Teresa, 114-15 Supercell, 145 Sustainable Development Goals, 63 Sweden, 8, 235-36 Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, 187 Sylvan Learning Systems, Inc., 118 tacit regulation, 124, 128-29 Taiwan, 74 Tampere University of Technology (Finland), 140, 149, 157 Tanzania, 178 technology: applied training in, 127-28; innovation in, 27-28, 47, 105-8, 205-6, 226-27; as sources of revenue, 126-27; technology communities, 82-84 TED, 23 tertiary education (as term), xvii Texas A&M University, 101, 113t Thatcher, Margaret, 93, 143 Theile, Max, 231 Theses on Feuerbach (Marx), 58 think tanks, 79-82. See also consultancies Thomas, Keith, 219 Tilly, Charles, 9 Times Higher Education Supplement's World University Rankings (THES), 72 Tobin, Eugene M., 119-20 Tobin, James, 235n30 trade: education as commodity in, 130-31, 144, 175; global governance organizations and, 63-70; Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights agreement, 64; UN Conference on Trade and Development, 165n82; World Trade Organization (WTO), 63-65, 165, 175, 197. See also crossborder programs; educational globalization; neoliberalism transdisciplinarity, 101, 215 transnational programs. See cross-border programs Truman, Harry, 125 trust, 2, 55, 105, 135, 207; manageralism

and, 37; Nordic social accountability and, 5, 152, 163–66; in postconflict

Uganda, 186, 200; reforms of higher education and, 207, 211, 216, 220, 223–27, 234, 241 tuition costs. *See* student financial burdens Tuning Africa project, 77–78 Tuning USA project, 77–78 Tutu, Desmond, 231

Udacity, 82

Uganda, 5, 8-9, 167-201, 206-8; academic freedom in, 184-86, 198-99; accreditation and quality assurance networks in, 192-94; administrative decentralization in, 186-89; consultancy industry in, 187-89; cost of tuition in, 180-82; cross-border programs and, 175, 198; funding of higher education in, 177-81, 195-97, 199-200; gay rights in, 198; global governance organization policies in, 173-76, 197; governance of higher education in, 183-86; history of higher education in, 167-76, 207-8; Makerere Act of 1970 of, 173; multiple languages of, 171, 183-84; National Council for Higher Education (NCHE) of, 183-84, 192-94, 197, 198; poverty rates in, 181-82, 206; private universities in, 8, 189-90; Public Order Bill of 2013 of, 185; rankings of universities in, 193-94; regional inequality in access to higher education in, 176, 181, 198, 207n; student financial burden in, 174, 178-82, 185, 187, 190, 208; student population of, 177, 179*t*, 182; support for research in, 194-95; Universities and Other Tertiary Institutions Act of 1971, 173, 183-84; women's access to higher education in, 182, 198. See also Makerere University; postcolonialism Uganda Development Policy Management Forum, 188

Uganda's Education Funding Agencies Group, 196

- U.K. Department for International Development, 65n11
- U-Map classification, 72
- U-Multirank, 72, 225
- UN Centre on Transnational Corporations, 165n82

UN Conference on Trade and Development, 165n82

- UN Development Programme (UNDP), 63, 165; Gender Inequality Index of, 182; Human Development Index of, 181-82
- UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, 165n82
- UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), 63, 69, 86, 129, 193
- unions, 28, 114, 121–22, 149, 213–14, 236, 239
- United Arab Emirates, 55, 129

United Kingdom, 236

- United Negro College Fund, 103
- United States, 8-9, 93-136, 206-8; educational exceptionalism narratives of, 94-96, 209; education service exports of, 65; fragmentation of higher education in, 102-3, 109; history of higher education in, 97-108, 207-8; homeland security concerns in, 131; international students in, 24-25, 56-57, 130-31; new public management (NPM) framework in, 143n; polarization and mistrust of government in, 135-36; public funding of higher education in, 96-97, 146, 147f; racial history of, 99-108; size and scale of higher education in, 97; socioeconomic segmentation of, 109-14; Student Debt Campaign in, 219; student financial burden in, 181, 208, 219; study-abroad students from, 130; support for basic and applied research in, 95. See also neoliberalism; world-class institutions

Universitas 21 Ranking of National Higher Education Systems, 96, 146, 225n8 university (as term), xvii–xviii

- university communities, 84-85
- University Governance Screening Card Project, 72

university-industry partnerships, 4-5

- University of Alabama, 118
- University of Amsterdam (Netherlands), 219

University of California, 106–7, 113*t*, 131–32 University of California at Berkeley, 112

University of Chicago, 113t, 227n University of East Africa (Uganda), 171 University of Helsinki (Finland), 140-41, 149, 155-57, 161 University of Maryland, 34 University of Michigan, 112-14, 118 University of North Carolina, 98 University of Notre Dame, 113t University of Pennsylvania, 54, 98, 113t, 227n University of Phoenix, 26, 118 University of Texas at Austin, 115-16, 119 University of the Arctic (Finland), 155 University of the Lapland (Finland), 154 University of Timbuktu (Mali), 170n3 University of Turku (Finland), 138-40 University of Virginia, 98, 113-15 university presidents, 84-85, 117-19 Uruguay, 237 U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), 61-62, 65n11, 196n91 USA Patriot Act, 95 useful and useless forms of knowledge, 1, 16-19, 209 "The Usefulness of Useless Knowledge" (Flexner), 16-17 uselessness, 16-18, 209 U.S. News & World Report rankings, 73, 115n utilitarian role of higher education, 1, 16-19, 85-89; academic materialism and, 44-50, 85-89; corporate analytic tools in, 84-85; credentialing and professional degrees in, 18-19, 35-36, 39, 99-103, 128-29; economic outcomes in, 18; new forms of, 1, 218, 223-24, 226, 242; short-term measures in, 39-40

values, 1, 4–12, 57–59, 200–201; academic, 21, 40, 42, 44, 62, 116, 141, 154, 168, 184, 209, 219; of market over education, 1, 23, 28–30, 47–50, 84–85, 165–66; money values, 209; in Nordic social democracies, 5; of useful *vs.* useless knowledge, 1, 16–19, 209. *See also* mission of the university Veblen, Thorstein, 44, 240

Vest, Charles, 29-30, 83

Victoria University (Uganda), 198 Vietnam War, 105, 217 vocationalism, 127 vocational programs, 35, 189, 197, 242

war, 11, 62, 67n20, 84, 123, 131; Civil in Finland, 139: Civil in the United States, 99-102; Cold War, 50, 104-5, 123, 144, 169; in postcolonial Uganda, 169, 183-86, 206. See also under history Warner, Marina, 209 Waseda University (Japan), 54 Washington University in St. Louis, 113t Weber, Max, 232 Webometrics Ranking of World Universities, 72 White, Andrew Dickson, 102 Wildavsky, Ben, 29 William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 188, 195n85 William & Mary College, 98, 107-8 Wilson, William Julius, 109-10 Wolfensohn, James, 50 Wolfowitz, Paul, 43 women. See gender equality World Affairs Council, 78 World Bank, 3, 62-69, 87, 159; Asia-Pacific Quality Network of, 69-70, 86; on gender equity, 155-56; higher education policies of, 65-69, 165, 173-76, 186; Independent Evaluation Group of, 66n15; International Finance Corporation (IFC) of, 67-68; as knowledge repository, 50; PHEA and, 196-97; publications on education of, 67; quality assurance templates of, 129, 193; Strategy 2020 agenda of, 67-68; structural adjustment programs (SAPs) of, 66

World Bank Global Initiative on Quality Assurance Capacity, 193

world-class institutions, 1–4, 93–94; broad-based aspiration to, 2–4, 74, 210, 218, 224, 227; funding and endowments of, 2, 111–14, 228; globalization and, 29, 94; military and corporate sponsorship of, 27, 95; as model for educational policy, 9; rankings of, 74–76, 95–96, 113*t*; socioeconomic

hierarchies at, 109–10; student purpose and outcomes at, 133–35; vertical systems of, 229 World Food Programme, 196n91 World Innovation Summit for Education (WISE), 87 World Property International Organization, 64n9

World Risk Society (Beck), 205n

World Trade Organization (WTO), 63-65, 165, 175, 197

Yale, Elihu, 98 Yale University, 56, 98; coeducation at, 182n42; endowment of, 112–14; legacy of slavery at, 108, 241–42

Zajfman, Daniel, 17