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Report

Higher Education as a Global Commodity: The Perils and Promises for Developing Countries

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Higher Education as a Global Commodity: The Perils and Promises for Developing Countries

Abstract:

In the context of globalisation and the knowledge economy, there has been a dramatic change in the attitudes of powerful international organisations and governments on the importance of higher education in developing countries, which is now perceived to be central to socio-political and economic development. At the same time, the formidable obstacles to the development of robust and high quality systems of higher education in many developing countries are acknowledged. In this context, foreign and corporate higher education provision may be seen as an attractive solution in countries where little higher education infrastructure exists and where governments are unable to readily acquire resources to commit to higher education. This paper warns, however, that the rush by foreign universities and corporate entities to offer academic programmes in developing countries needs to be treated with caution. The motivation for entering developing countries as well as the form and content of programmes offered need to be understood in the context of contemporary developments which have applied pressure on universities to treat higher education as a global commodity. Whilst this development offers opportunities for collaboration and development, there are also many dangers. This report raises issues for debate and discussion and outlines a research agenda which may be helpful in protecting developing countries from the most corrosive forms of commodification whilst encouraging international collaboration that may lead to genuine capacity building.

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1 Introduction

After decades of under-investment, there has been renewed interest in strengthening higher education in developing countries. This is related to the ascendance of what has been termed the knowledge economy. The performance of universities in developing countries is now perceived to be central to economic success since it is expected that global competition will be enhanced by value-added goods and services that are in turn dependent on technological knowledge and skills of innovation and enterprise. However, analyses of the state of higher education in developing countries have identified numerous barriers to achieving this vision, including a lack of resources and expertise.

Rather surprisingly, less attention has been paid to a more subtle and yet powerful barrier to building high quality systems of higher education in developing countries. This is the growing commercialisation of higher education and the conception that higher education is a commodity to be traded internationally. In this context, the burgeoning demand combined with fragile systems of higher education in many developing countries pose attractive market prospects for potential exporters. This paper argues that whilst important opportunities are offered, there are also grave dangers.

To date, substantive empirical research on the rationales, impact and the consequences of trans-national education on countries at different stages of economic development has yet to take place. Research on higher education has traditionally veered between two approaches: on the one hand, studies which focus on the external global and national socio-political context within which universities are located and on the other hand, studies which isolate universities from the external context in order to study their inner workings. Less attention has been paid to the interaction between external forces such as those associated with globalisation and the inner activities that occur within higher education institutions, particularly in teaching and research.

This paper presents a framework for analysing the role of the global commodification of higher education in developing countries. It outlines the pressures leading to the transformation of higher education into a global commodity before discussing the impact on core university functions and possible implications for development. In this way, the paper raises issues for debate and begins to articulate a research agenda which may contribute to protecting developing countries from the most corrosive effects of commodification whilst encouraging international collaboration that may lead to genuine capacity building.

2 Knowledge for Development

In the context of globalisation and the knowledge economy, there has been a considerable transformation in the attitudes of international organisations towards the importance of higher education in developing countries. In the past, powerful global regulators such as the World Bank held the view that higher education offered lower individual and social returns than primary education, but this position, which led to the systematic under-development of higher education, has changed. The new orthodoxy is that the knowledge economy, which signals a trend away from material production and manual work and towards knowledge-related products and services, could reduce the disparity between rich and poor nations¹. Behind this new approach is the rationale that the ability to transmit and access information rapidly across the globe has the potential to transform countries that are materially poor into countries that are 'information-rich' with the ability to utilise knowledge for economic development. In this context, higher education has been positioned as a crucial site for the production, dissemination, and transfer of economically productive knowledge, innovation and technology². Universities are also expected to impart to students the skills,

¹ Task Force On Higher Education in Developing Countries (convened by UNESCO and the World Bank) (2000), 'Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise'. URL: <http://www.tfhe.net/report/overview.htm>. Last accessed 20 August 2006.

² Carnoy, M. (1994) 'Universities, Technological Change and Training in the Information Age', in Salmi, J. and Verspoor, A.M. (Eds.) *Revitalising Higher Education*, New York, Pergamon/IAU Press.

knowledge and dispositions related to innovation and the ability to 'learn how to learn' in tune with the demands of a changing global economy³. There is thus now widespread acknowledgement that quality higher education is essential for developing economies to escape a peripheral status in the world economy⁴.

At the same time, there is recognition that there are formidable obstacles preventing the development of robust and high quality systems of education in many developing countries. In a landmark paper, Sawyerr⁵ has emphasised the importance of understanding the origins and specific features of the difficulties facing African universities such as the colonial and post-colonial origins of the university system, the effects of structural adjustment policies and international pressures to downsize the State. Such analyses have indicated that increasing demand, a lack of basic physical resources such as classrooms, a small number of skilled and committed academic and administrative staff and the absence of academic resources such as journals and basic scientific equipment characterise university systems in many developing countries. Many of these universities have reached crisis point⁶. In this context, the provision of higher education by foreign and corporate providers may be seen as an attractive solution in countries where little higher education infrastructure exists and where governments are unable to readily acquire resources to commit to higher education.

Whilst foreign providers may offer many benefits, the rush by foreign universities and corporate entities to offer academic programmes in developing countries also needs to be treated with caution. The motivation for entering developing countries as well as the form and content of programmes offered and research partnerships developed need to be understood in the context of contemporary developments which have applied pressures on universities to undergo significant transformations and to function much more like corporate entities. In the next section we turn to the pressures leading to the transformation of higher education into a global commodity.

3 Transforming Higher Education into a Global Commodity

In the last few decades, higher education worldwide has undergone major transformations. Whilst there are variations across countries including differences between the United Kingdom and many continental European university systems, the general trend is towards the erosion of the 'social compact' that evolved between higher education, the state and society over the last century⁷. The belief that universities require a relative independence from political, economic and corporate influence to function optimally, which was in turn linked to the need for substantial state funding and professional autonomy, has been weakened. These developments, together with more general retractions in public policy and a move away from welfare state models, have generally resulted in the reduction of state funding and the implementation of funding and regulatory frameworks based on neo-liberal market mechanisms. The underlying assumption is that market mechanisms in higher education which introduce competition within and between institutions will lead to greater efficiency, effectiveness and relevance. For this reason, attempts are being made worldwide to foster closer relationships between higher education and industry and to direct publicly funded higher education systems towards the needs of industry. In addition, the call for higher education to contribute in a more direct way to enhancing the country's competitive edge in the global economy has begun to eclipse other social and cultural roles.

³Carnoy, M. (1994) 'Universities, Technological Change and Training in the Information Age', in Salmi, J. and Verspoor, A.M. (Eds.) *Revitalising Higher Education*, New York, Pergamon/IAU Press.

⁴Naidoo, R. (2003a) 'Repositioning Higher Education as a Global Commodity: Opportunities and Challenges for Future Sociology of Education Work', *British Journal of Sociology of Education* Volume 24, Number 2, pp. 249-259.

⁵Sawyerr, A. 2004 'Challenges Facing African Universities: Selected Issues', Association of African Universities. URL: www.africanstudies.org/ChallengesFacingAfricanUniversities.pdf. Last accessed 20 August 2006.

⁶Task Force On Higher Education in Developing Countries (convened by UNESCO and the World Bank) (2000), 'Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise'. URL: <http://www.tfhe.net/report/overview.htm>. Last accessed 20 August 2006.

⁷Marginson, S. and Considine, M. (2000) *The Enterprise University: Power, Governance and Reinvention in Australia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

At the global level, the operation of transnational organisations, such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO), which act as an 'instrument of global governance'⁸ is likely to apply even greater pressure on governments to treat higher education as a commodity. The WTO's trade liberalisation agreement, the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), comprises a set of multi-lateral rules under which higher education is included as a potential service sector. A major aim of the GATS is to identify and break down barriers to trade in higher education by reducing state regulation over higher education. Whilst some commentators argue that publicly funded higher education may be exempted from GATS, Knight⁹ has noted that both legal opinion and the general consensus in the higher education sector find that government funded and mandated institutions may not automatically be exempted from the GATS, particularly in the context of the principle of progressive liberalisation. The GATS is therefore likely to accelerate the trend transforming higher education into a commodity that can be invested in by private and foreign providers operating on a global scale.

Higher education has additionally seen an influx of new providers, including private for-profit institutions, which has coincided with the relaxation of state regulation in a number of countries over the recognition of degree-granting institutions¹⁰. Developing countries have become important destinations for these new providers. The Philippines, for example, has the most established for-profit sector in Asia, accounting for over 47% of the total enrolment and 66% of the total number of institutions¹¹. Whilst enrolments are growing in Malaysia, Vietnam, China, Thailand and Indonesia, there are also growing sectors elsewhere in the world, including Africa and the Middle East. In Brazil, approximately 44% of all institutions are for-profit operations and the sector is growing throughout Latin America.¹² Technological advances associated with globalisation have given rise to virtual higher education and this is a further important factor to consider (these themes will be returned to in later sections). The argument here is that the forces unleashed on higher education have propelled universities to function less as institutions with social, cultural and indeed intellectual objectives and more as producers of commodities that can be sold in the international marketplace.

4 Changing Rationales

These developments are likely to lead to pressures for 'commodification', a term which refers to the development of university activities such as teaching and research within the framework of market relations. Rather than being valued for their intrinsic 'use' value, educational processes and products become valued for their 'exchange' value. A primary rationale for the development of educational activities has thus become the generation of income. In the past, higher education has clearly had an exchange-value but this has arguably been more of a by-product of the values, processes and ethos of universities than a central aim in itself. Whilst there has been greater attention on private and for-profit universities, the understanding in this paper is that pressures for commodification affect all higher education institutions, including publicly funded ones, despite obvious differences in response between different types of institutions.

In order to understand this shift and its implications, it is useful to turn to the insights of Pierre Bourdieu, a French social scientist, who has analysed the 'inner life' of universities¹³. Bourdieu has argued that in order to understand how universities functioned in the majority of societies in the 19th century, it is useful to think of universities as having existed in a 'field' or insulated space

⁸ Robertson, S., Bonal, X. and Dale, R. (2002) 'GATS and the Education Service Industry: The Politics of Scale and Global Re-Territorialization', *Comparative Education Review*, Volume 46, Number 4, pp. 472-496.

⁹ Knight, J. (2003) 'GATS, Trade and Higher Education: Perspective 2003 - Where are we?', London, The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education, May.

¹⁰ Naidoo, R. (2003a) 'Repositioning Higher Education as a Global Commodity: Opportunities and Challenges for Future Sociology of Education Work', *British Journal of Sociology of Education* Volume 24, Number 2, pp. 249-259.

¹¹ Commission on Higher Education (2002), Philippines, Higher Education Statistical Bulletin, URL: <http://www.ched.gov.ph/statistics/index.html>. Last accessed 26 February 2007.

¹² McCowan, T. (2004) 'The growth of private higher education in Brazil: implications for equity and quality', *Journal of Education Policy*, Volume 19, Number 4, pp. 453-472.

¹³ Bourdieu, P. (1996) *The State Nobility*, Cambridge, Polity Press.

which enabled them to function in relative independence from direct political and economic pressures. Therefore, activities in higher education have traditionally revolved more around the acquisition of assets which have academic significance and are valued in the field of higher education than around those with direct political, economic or even social impact. Forces which apply pressure on higher education to operate according to market criteria attempt to alter what is valued within higher education. As a result, there is a shift in the measurement of success, from academic to financial criteria. Rather than evaluating an institution by its contribution to knowledge, in the form of journal publications, peer recognition and commitment to the intellectual development of students, universities are believed to be successful on the basis of the number of student 'customers' captured and the degree of research income generated. The field of higher education is thus susceptible to external demands and academics are under pressure to respond more closely to the market. In this way, changes to the environment of higher education are likely to impact on the social and academic missions of universities, and change the values and activities of those who work in the sector.

These changes are likely to influence the rationales of foreign universities entering developing countries as well as encourage the entry of for-profit providers. Altbach¹⁴ has indicated that in previous historical periods such as the neo-colonial and Cold War periods, higher education was offered to developing countries in an attempt to attain political goals and to develop greater cross-national and cross-cultural links between countries. Whilst various rationales for the provision of transnational education remain, the driver that is now in ascendance in the light of fiscal pressures appears to be that of revenue generating at the institutional level and the generation of trade surpluses at the national level¹⁵.

5 Unequal Relations

Proponents of international trade in higher education have argued that global competition in higher education will automatically lead to lower prices and better quality in developing countries¹⁶. The assumption is that the governments and citizens of developing countries will be able to exercise choice in a global higher education market by choosing the most appropriate providers and programmes under conditions most favourable to them as consumers. Analytical and empirical work focusing on the changing relations between countries suggests, however, that this is not always likely to be the case¹⁷. Such work indicates that because countries exist within a complex web of global power relations, there are other factors responsible for their level of integration into the global economy. There exists, therefore, a greater or lesser sense of national self-determination and an unequal exchange of goods and services. It is also clear that whilst some countries have considerable potential to become important exporters of higher education, China and India for example, many developing countries may not be in a position to export higher education. The degree of actual choice and room for manoeuvre is thus likely to be highly constrained.

In addition, economic and social policies in many low income countries are heavily influenced by international institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Researchers have noted that as a result of debt obligations and conditions attached to loans and structural adjustment programmes, international bureaucracies, and the institutions associated with

¹⁴ Altbach, G.P. (2002) 'Knowledge and Education as International Commodities, International Higher Education', Boston, Centre for International Higher Education, Number 28, pp. 2-5.

¹⁵ Larsen, K., Martin, J.P., and Morris, R. (2002) *Trade in Educational Services: Trends and Emerging Issues*, Paris, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development; and Larsen, K and Vincent-Lancrin, S. (2003) 'The Learning Business: Can Trade in International Education Work?', *The OECD Observer*, March.

¹⁶ Tooley, J. (2001) *The Global Education Industry: Lessons from Private Education in Developing Countries* (2nd Edition), London, Institute of Economic Affairs; and Vincent-Lancrin, S. (2005) 'Building Capacity through Cross-border Tertiary Education', London, The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education, April.

¹⁷ Cox, R.W. and Sinclair, T.J. (1996) *Approaches to World Order*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; and Payne, A. (2005) *The Global Politics of Unequal Development*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan.

the Bretton Woods system¹⁸ in particular, act as 'parallel governments'¹⁹ in the sense that they play a highly influential role in determining and implementing policy in areas that are generally the reserve of national governments. For this reason, a diagnosis of the problems faced by developing countries and the prescriptions to solve them are sometimes imposed. Whilst more recent World Bank literature has noted that markets include adverse effects and that there may be a more important role for government than originally envisaged, strategies that have been developed have generally assumed that market solutions are central to effective development and that the role of the state is to develop the conditions to enable the market to function optimally²⁰. In relation to higher education, public spending has in general been discouraged, and whilst competition, privatisation, user fees and the attraction of private and foreign providers are encouraged, regulation is in many cases perceived to be a market barrier.

It is clear that the weighted voting in the IMF and World Bank favours rich countries, but concern has been expressed about unequal relations of power in relation to the World Trade Organisation (WTO), where negotiations rather than voting takes place. Many developing countries argue that the negotiation process is controlled by developed economies, in particular by the United States, Japan, the European Union and Canada²¹. In addition, reports of exclusion from key negotiations, bullying and 'rough treatment' have also been made, largely because developing countries face serious problems in monitoring and attending meetings in Geneva, as many have no permanent representation²². This uneven state of affairs clearly influences and constrains government strategies, leading researchers such as Chossudovsky²³ to coin the term 'market colonialism'. This refers to new forms of economic and political domination unleashed by international agencies on governments and citizens of developing countries through the 'neutral' interplay of market forces in the global arena.

Having outlined some of the pressures for the transformation of higher education into a marketable commodity and the unequal degree of power to negotiate beneficial terms in the global marketplace of higher education, the next section considers some of the potential benefits and pitfalls of this phenomenon.

6 Potential Impacts

In the context of rising demand for higher education in developing countries and the limited resources of government, trends which encourage the provision of higher education through external means have the potential to provide a number of benefits for developing countries. Most importantly, foreign providers may help alleviate pressures for access in countries where there is limited domestic capacity to meet growing demand. Moreover, they may be able to respond more quickly to the short term needs of government and industry relative to the domestic sector²⁴. In some cases, foreign providers may provide access to groups not provided for by government as a result of ethnic or religious affiliation. There are strong indications that the fastest growing private

¹⁸ This refers to the system of international monetary management for the world's major industrialised states in place between the end of World War II and 1971, when it collapsed. The Bretton Woods agreement from 1944 amongst others established the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) now a part of the World Bank Group.

¹⁹ Torres, C. A. and Schugurenky, D. (2002) 'The Political Economy of Higher Education in the Era of Neoliberal Globalisation: Latin America in Comparative Perspective', *Higher Education*, Volume 43, Number 4, pp. 429-455.

²⁰ Kempner, K. and Jurema, A.L. (2002) 'The Global Politics of Education: Brazil and the World Bank', *Higher Education*, Volume 43, Number 3, pp. 331-354.

²¹ Robertson, S. and Dale, R. (2003) 'This is What the Fuss is About! The Implications of GATS for Education Systems in the North and the South', paper published by the EU-funded Globalisation and Europeanisation Network in Education. URL: (<http://www.genie-tn.net>). Last accessed 20 August 2006.

²² Jawara, F. & Kwa, A. (2003) *Behind the Scenes: Power Politics in the WTO*, New York, Zed Books.

²³ Chossudovsky, M. (1998) *The Globalisation of Poverty: Impacts of IMF and World Bank Reforms* New York, Zed Books Ltd. P.37 cited in Arocena, R. and Sutz, J (2005) 'Latin American Universities: From an Original Revolution to an Uncertain Transition', *Higher Education*, Volume 50, Number 4, pp. 573-592.

²⁴ Uvalic-Trumbic, S. and Varoglu, Z. (2003) 'Survey of the 2002 Breaking News and the UNESCO Global Forum on Quality Assurance, Accreditation and the Recognition of Qualifications,' London, The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education, April.

providers are what has been termed 'demand-absorbers', that is, institutions which cater for students where the demand has not been met by conventional providers²⁵. These providers may also respond more readily to the needs of prospective students by linking programmes more directly to the labour market or providing convenient class times and locations for working adults.

In terms of the wider sector, commentators have indicated that transnational higher education may help build capacity in higher education by helping to stem brain drain²⁶. Governments in some developing countries may be able to develop partnerships with reputable foreign providers in order to evolve into regional hubs of learning for the sector. For example, the Malaysian government aims to become an Asian hub for higher education, whilst partnerships with foreign institutions have been developed in Qatar, UAE and Kuwait, all of which are likewise competing to transform themselves into regional hubs for the Middle East²⁷.

Governments may also feel that the presence of foreign providers may have a beneficial impact on the domestic sector. By introducing competition into the sector, foreign providers may improve cost effectiveness, and the entry of reputable foreign providers may improve overall quality. In some countries, India and China, for example, research-focused public institutions may be best able to succeed if the goal to provide certain levels of higher education on a mass scale can be met by other providers including private and transnational ones²⁸.

7 Access and Quality

Importantly, the provision of higher education as a global commodity has at least as many advantages as pitfalls. Whilst there is as yet insufficient research undertaken in higher education, there is some evidence from the school sector that the introduction of privatisation and market mechanisms has not alleviated inequalities in accessibility, but either exacerbated or contributed to the development of new ones. Research on the marketisation of public schools in Britain, for example, has shown that the main beneficiaries are members of already privileged communities and that the schools that attract these families become more academic and selective. In contrast, other schools in the system tend to become residual institutions for socially disadvantaged students²⁹. In the case of higher education, inequalities have always existed in publicly funded systems, since prestigious and well-resourced institutions generally admit middle class students from better prepared educational and social backgrounds while poorer students have less choice. In the absence of substantial financial aid, moreover, the trend towards commodified systems of higher education requiring students to pay a substantial amount or the full cost of their education may well exacerbate and reinforce current inequalities.

Levis has noted that the fastest growing sector in higher education is the for-profit one³⁰. There is some evidence that the proliferation of for-profit higher education may lead to an increasing number of institutions providing sub-standard provision³¹. Although advocates of a free market in higher education have argued that the market itself will control quality³², it is also the case that skilful branding and advertising which project an image of high quality can enhance demand even

²⁵ Levy, D. (2003) 'Expanding Higher Education Capacity through Private Growth', London, The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education Report, January.

²⁶ Vincent-Lancrin, S. (2005) 'Building Capacity through Cross-border Tertiary Education', London, The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education, April

²⁷ Hatakenaka, S. (2004) 'Internationalism in Higher Education: A Review', Oxford, Higher Education Policy Institute. URL: [http://www.hepi.ac.uk/downloads/Internationalism in%20Higher %20 Education %20A%20Review.pdf](http://www.hepi.ac.uk/downloads/Internationalism%20in%20Higher%20Education%20A%20Review.pdf). Last accessed 20 August 2006.

²⁸ King, R. (2003) 'The Rise and Regulation of For-Profit Education', London, The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education, November.

²⁹ Gewirtz, S., Ball, S.J. & Bowe, R. (1995) *Markets, Choice and Equity in Education*, Buckingham, UK, Open University Press

³⁰ Levis, K. (2003) 'Universities Online: The New Business Model?', paper presented at Universities Challenged: New Strategies and Business Models Conference, London, December 4.

³¹ Knight, J. (2003) 'GATS, Trade and Higher Education: Perspective 2003 - Where are we?', London, The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education, May.

³² Tooley, J. (2000) *Reclaiming Education*, London, Cassell.

when quality is low. In addition, demand is not merely related to quality but to affordability. McCowan has argued, for example, that in Brazil, a number of institutions widely regarded to be of low quality, such as *Estácio de Sá* and *UniverCidade*, have achieved growth simply because there is no geographical or financial alternative for large numbers of the population³³.

Institutions that have small resource bases and are dependent on tuition fees are vulnerable, moreover, to changes in market demand³⁴. Larger institutions may also be subject to fluctuations in the stock market. However, as I have shown together with Ian Jamieson in previous work³⁵, the danger does not lie merely with disreputable private providers, but also with publicly funded universities that are being financially squeezed by their governments. Such institutions may seize on opportunities to produce low cost teaching. One of the consequences of commodification is that the pressure to standardise and develop 'products' that are more easily transferable across borders may cause higher education provision to bifurcate into two separate models: a high quality, high cost model available to the elite, and a standardised, low cost model for the majority. The relative saturation of the higher education market, as well as strong regulatory frameworks governing the provision of higher education in industrialised countries, may lead to universities protecting core on-campus provision in their home countries whilst viewing developing countries with weak regulation as mass markets for lower cost learning³⁶. The reduction of costs may be achieved primarily by focusing on scale rather than quality or relevance. There may therefore be a temptation to produce 'off-the-shelf' standardised products or generic content produced in the providing country, both of which may be irrelevant or inappropriate to the context of developing countries.

In this type of scenario, there are also likely to be a number of negative arrangements around pedagogy and assessment, which are crucial in developing high level intellectual skills. For example, there is likely to be a large reliance on learning resources which simply provide information. There may be an attempt to 'teacher proof' delivery which becomes important if institutions are attempting to use less qualified, less experienced, and thus cheaper, staff. This presumably means that activities through which teachers might adjust what they do in order to better meet the individual needs of students, and group work which might develop social and interpersonal skills and foster group learning, will not be employed to their full potential. The process of feedback to students may also be altered. Rather than the use of a variety of feedback mechanisms to help students learn in a developmental way, formal assessment systems, and in the worst cases, computerised multiple choice tests, may be used. Since commodified systems tend to be lean systems which strip away all those elements which are not strictly necessary, there is likely to be little or no investment in facilities such as libraries or social facilities which promote peer-based interaction³⁷. Moreover, virtual learning providers that have made the required investment in e-Learning, including heavy investment in the technological infrastructure, may become keen to expand their virtual student numbers and borrow mass production techniques to deliver teaching and assessment in order to spread their costs. According to Levis, one of the reasons for the collapse of many virtual higher education initiatives is that they are premised on a mechanistic model of learning predicated on the need to deliver more information, more quickly and more cheaply to the students³⁸. The end result tends to be an atomised model which focuses on the individual student as a passive consumer of knowledge.

³³ McCowan, T. (2004) 'The growth of private higher education in Brazil: implications for equity and quality', *Journal of Education Policy*, Volume 19, Number 4, pp. 453-472.

³⁴ King, R. (2003) 'The Rise and Regulation of For-Profit Education', London, The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education, November.

³⁵ Naidoo, R. and Jamieson, I.M. (2004) 'Knowledge in the Marketplace: The Global Commodification of Teaching and Learning' in Innes, P and Hellsten, M. (Eds.) *Internationalizing Higher Education: Critical Perspectives for Critical Times*, Routledge.

³⁶ Noble, D. F. (2002) 'Rehearsal for the Revolution' in Robins K. and Webster F. (Eds.) *The Virtual University*, Oxford, Oxford University Press

³⁷ See Naidoo, R. and Jamieson, I.M. (2004) 'Knowledge in the Marketplace: The Global Commodification of Teaching and Learning' in Innes, P and Hellsten, M. (Eds.) *Internationalizing Higher Education: Critical Perspectives for Critical Times*, Routledge.

³⁸ Levis, K. (2003) 'Universities Online: The New Business Model?', paper presented at Universities Challenged: New Strategies and Business Models Conference, London, December 4.

Such an approach is likely to encourage students to learn in a specific sort of way designated as 'surface processing'. In surface processing, students tend to concentrate on memorising facts and routines at the expense of a deeper understanding and an ability to apply and use knowledge in a variety of situations. It is this latter capacity, or 'deep processing', which is required to produce high quality, flexible graduates required by the knowledge economy. Rather than gaining access to powerful forms of knowledge, many students in developing countries may therefore receive an education that has been reduced to narrowly defined core competencies. The result may be a higher education system that in a general sense produces two types of graduates. On the one hand, the system produces what Castells³⁹ has termed a small elite of 'self programmeable' workers who, having learnt how to learn, are occupationally and geographically mobile. On the other hand, the system produces a mass of 'generic workers' who are exchangeable and disposable because they are unable to adapt to a changing and volatile labour market.

Whilst commodification may be beneficial to individual fee-paying students, support for higher education capacity building in general may not be forthcoming. This is because foreign providers who may be primarily motivated by profit are likely to offer programmes in disciplines which are profitable at the expense of disciplines that are expensive or difficult to teach. The problem here is that multi-faculty universities often function on the basis of cross-subsidisation, a scenario in which expensive courses like medicine are taught alongside cheaper ones like business studies. Indigenous universities may thus lose students to the new providers, especially in the very disciplines that generate important revenue for cross-subsidisation⁴⁰. In South Africa, for example, the growth of private and foreign institutions was seen as a threat to the viability of public institutions. Nasima Badsha, South Africa's Deputy Director-General of higher education, has stated that foreign institutions are free to 'cherry-pick' financially lucrative courses such as IT, business and commerce without being obligated to offer a full range of disciplines. Public universities may therefore lose income from courses they use to cross-subsidise expensive disciplines such as medicine, engineering and music, all of which are crucial to cultural, social and economic development. Such practice may in turn lead to a shortage of programmes and graduates in key strategic areas and may be detrimental to development strategies.

The above developments have resulted in warnings from the developing world that weak regulation and the perception of higher education as a lucrative global export may lead to developing countries becoming mass markets for the 'dumping' of low quality knowledge⁴¹. Hall has raised concerns that virtual education in combination with forces pushing higher education towards further commodification appears to be strengthening the divide between high quality, high cost learning available to the elite, and standardised, low quality packages of information delivered at low cost with little interactivity or national relevance to many parts of the developing world⁴². He notes that such initiatives are likely to stunt indigenous capacity in higher education capacity building and the development of graduates with high quality skills relevant for the knowledge economy.

8 Research

Given the importance attached to the production and distribution of value-added knowledge and innovation, the development of a strong research base is crucial for capacity building in developing countries. Discussions related to research are largely absent from discussions on transnational provision however, with few providers having shown a great deal of interest in engaging in

³⁹ Castells, M. (2001) 'Information Technology and Global Development' in Muller, J., Cloete, N. and Badat, S. (Eds.) *Challenges of Globalisation: South African Debates with Manuel Castells*, Cape Town, Maskew Miller Longman.

⁴⁰ Teixeira, P. and Amaral, A. (2001). 'Private Higher Education and Diversity: An Exploratory Survey', *Higher Education Quarterly*, Volume 55, Number 4, pp. 359-395.

⁴¹ Moja, T. and Cloete, N. (2001) 'Vanishing Borders and New Boundaries' in Muller, J. Cloete, N. and Badat, S. (Eds.) *Challenges of Globalisation: South African Debates with Manuel Castells* Cape Town, Maskew Miller Longman.

⁴² Hall, M. (2001) 'Education and the Margins of the Network Society' in Muller, J. Cloete, N. and Badat, S. (Eds.) *Challenges of Globalisation: South African Debates with Manuel Castells* Cape Town, Maskew Miller Longman.

research as it relates to socio-economic development, especially given the infrastructure needed and the amount of time required to see the returns on financial investments. This is the case for for-profit institutions in particular, as they appear to be virtually removed from the realm of research worldwide⁴³. It is important to remember that research partnerships between high and lower income countries based on international aid rather than trade have historically faced considerable challenges. Research on partnerships between African and Western institutions has noted that academic partnerships are often one-sided, with researchers from high income countries largely responsible for framing, organising and validating the academic enterprise⁴⁴. Any support received by external means commonly carries conditions, and because there is substantial collusion between economic and epistemic relations of power, pressures for commodification are unlikely to improve transnational research collaboration. They may, however, reshape and reinforce trends which have traditionally positioned developing countries as 'research dependent'.

In addition, pressures for the commodification of research, including the greater prioritisation of research for commercial development, a more direct transfer of knowledge from the academic to the commercial sector and the intertwining of universities with corporations⁴⁵ can also be applied to developing countries. Latin American researchers have indicated that 'economist' perspectives adopted in many developing countries have had a significant effect on the development of research capacity in their countries. They argue that activities leading to the generation of knowledge were displaced by an 'exaggerated adaptation to market demands'⁴⁶ which has led to research for short term financial gain. Arocena and Sutz⁴⁷ also argue that due to the weak market demand for advanced knowledge, an 'entrepreneurial university' in Latin America will probably be required to perform less creative activities than in highly industrialised countries. Their argument is that this has led, in the context of Uruguay at least, to a 'consulting university', or a university that performs routine low level activities with the aim of generating income as opposed to high quality research relevant to economic and other dimensions of development.

Moreover, little interest has been shown in offering programmes to build research capacity such as research degrees at the postgraduate- or doctoral-level. In a marketised higher education system, fee-based Masters and Graduate Diploma programmes based primarily on coursework hold the promise of economies of scale. There are indications that institutions have begun to compete on the grounds of convenience rather than on the grounds of educational quality by shortening the length of programs, for example. Marginson has argued that such courses are often hard to distinguish from undergraduate courses and may in fact be augmenting credentialism rather than developing national capacity through the training of new generations of indigenous researchers⁴⁸.

9 Public Good Functions

Whilst the meaning of the term 'public good' requires more careful articulation, and the assumption that public universities automatically produce public goods needs to be challenged, the public or private outcomes of higher education are highly dependent on policy choices, funding systems and regulatory frameworks⁴⁹. The danger, therefore, is that the impact of forces for commodification,

⁴³ Teixeira, P. and Amaral, A. (2001). 'Private Higher Education and Diversity: An Exploratory Survey', *Higher Education Quarterly*, Volume 55, Number 4, pp. 359-395.

⁴⁴ Samof, J. and Bidemi, C. (2004) 'Promise of Partnership and Continuities of Dependence: External Support to Higher Education in Africa', *African Studies Review*, Volume 47, Number 1, pp. 67-199.

⁴⁵ McSherry, C. (2001) *Who Owns Academic Work: Battling for Control of Intellectual Property*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press; and Newotny, H., Gibbons, M. & Scott, P. (2001) *Re-thinking Science: Knowledge and the Public*, Cambridge, Polity Press.

⁴⁶ Orozco, L.E. (1998) 'La Reforma de la Educación en Colombia: Balance Crítico', in Mendes C. (Ed). *Autores Asociados*, pp. 269-291 cited in Arocena, R. and Sutz, J (2005) 'Latin American Universities: From an Original Revolution to an Uncertain Transition', *Higher Education*, Volume 50, Number 4, pp. 573-592.

⁴⁷ Arocena, R. and Sutz, J. (2005) 'Latin American Universities: From an Original Revolution to an Uncertain Transition', *Higher Education*, Volume 50, Number 4, pp. 573-592.

⁴⁸ Marginson, S. (2001) 'Knowledge Economy and Knowledge Culture', paper for National Scholarly Communications Forum, Canberra, Australia, 9 August.

⁴⁹ Marginson, S. (2004) 'Global Education Markets and Global Public Goods', Keynote address, Australian New Zealand Comparative and International Education Society (ANZCIES) Conference, Melbourne, Australia, 3 December.

which could result in a curtailment of government ability to strategically direct national systems of higher education, may impact on developmental goals and public good functions⁵⁰. Governments may lose leverage in the face of a heavy reliance on foreign providers who are likely to exert a direct influence on the terms of provision and an indirect effect on the development of policy. In addition, as shown above, international organisations such as the WTO, the IMF and the World Bank have the potential to reduce the capacity of governments to steer higher education by exerting pressure on governments to reduce state regulation and allow a more free interplay of market forces. This raises complex questions for all countries, but it has been argued that the protection of the social, political and cultural functions of higher education is particularly important in countries which have undergone social transformation and where democratic dispensations may be fragile⁵¹.

Concerns have furthermore been raised about the erosion of the role of higher education as a reservoir of national culture. Transnational education has an important role to play in exposing students to local and international knowledge in order to prepare them for an increasingly interconnected world, yet there is a growing concern that the importation of curricula may channel forms of cultural imperialism into developing countries. In their paper on China's reponse to internationalisation, Xiaoming and Haitao express the concern that in the context of the dominance of Western culture and differences in national resources, transnational education may begin to eliminate cultural difference and lead to the erosion of indigenous values and culture⁵².

10 Aid vs. Trade

One of the consequences of the rise of market-oriented transnational provision is the probability that private investment in education will rise whilst public funding, particularly in relation to developmental aid, will fall⁵³. A shift in perspective regarding the capacity of trade in higher education to meet developmental needs may lead to inclusions and exclusions of different types of developing countries. Newly industrialising or middle income countries, for example, are likely to be more attractive to foreign providers than low income countries. Nations such as India and China with low per capita incomes may act as magnets for higher education providers through the sheer size of their population and the potential of a growing middle class who could pay for international higher education⁵⁴. In this scenario, there is a very real danger that low income countries with small populations are likely to be bypassed. Research conducted by the OBHE has indicated that the bulk of transnational provision follows this trend and that for example most parts of sub-Saharan Africa have been largely untouched by this type of higher education activity.

The priority given to trade in higher education may also lead to a shift in thinking on international development strategies and may erode the political will to offer aid to developing countries. Given the fact that providers with a predominantly commercial interest are likely to invest in areas from which they hope to get a relatively quick return, initiatives which are likely to lead to sustainable development in higher education but which require larger and longer term investment may be in danger of being excluded. Professor Sir David King, the Government's Chief Scientific Adviser and Head of the Office of Science and Technology in the United Kingdom, has indicated that in his

⁵⁰ Kelk, S. and Worth, J. (2002) *Trading it Away: How GATS Threatens UK Higher Education*, Oxford, People and Planet.

⁵¹ See for example Singh, M. (2001) 'Reinserting the Public Good into Higher Education', *Council on Higher Education Discussion Series*, Pretoria, South Africa, Council on Higher Education, Number 1, pp. 7-22 and Badat, S. (2001) 'Transforming South African Higher Education: Paradoxes, Policy and Choices, Interests and Constraints', paper presented at the Salzburg seminar symposium on Higher Education in Emerging Economies, Salzburg, Austria, 7-11 July.

⁵² Xiamoming, Z. and Haitao, X. (2000) 'Internationalisation: A Challenge for China's Higher Education' in *IMHE/ OECD Current Issues in Chinese Higher Education*, Paris, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), pp. 101-113 cited in Marginson, S. and Sawir, E. (2005) 'Interrogating Global Flows in Higher Education,' *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, Volume 3, Number 3, pp. 281-309.

⁵³ Levy, D. (2003) 'Expanding Higher Education Capacity through Private Growth', London, The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education Report, January.

⁵⁴ Hatakenaka, S. (2004) 'Internationalism in Higher Education: A Review', Oxford, Higher Education Policy Institute. URL: [http://www.hepi.ac.uk/downloads/Internationalism in%20Higher %20 Education %20A%20Review.pdf](http://www.hepi.ac.uk/downloads/Internationalism%20Higher%20Education%20A%20Review.pdf). Last accessed 20 August 2006.

view, the strong science and technology base developed in India is due to the substantial developmental assistance provided by the UK, the US, Russia and Germany in the post war period. This intensive investment helped India build indigenous Institutes of Technology (the IITs) which are now contributing to economic growth through the production of high quality graduates and innovation as illustrated by the software industry in Bangalore⁵⁵. It is difficult to imagine that international investment of such magnitude is likely to be contemplated in the current climate where transnational relationships are beginning to be dominated by relationships revolving around trade.

11 Areas for Discussion and Further Research

In this section, areas for discussion and the outlines of a research agenda are presented to inform policy making which may be helpful in protecting developing countries from the most corrosive forms of commodification and in doing so, may contribute to building capacity.

As we have seen in the above sections, transnational provision in the context of an increasingly marketised environment has the potential to offer benefits as well as disadvantages. However, it is difficult to fully comprehend the implications of such provision since neither research on the consequential effects of transnational education largely funded by international aid, nor on the present era of market provision, has been conducted. What is clear, however, is that higher education was not prioritised for financial aid in previous decades and the implementation of international initiatives does not in general appear to have led to the development of robust systems of higher education. At the same time, it would appear that intensive large scale public investment may have the potential to lead to sustainable benefits, as indicated by the success of India's Institutes of Technology. It is important, therefore, to acknowledge what was achieved in a pre-commodified higher education environment whilst avoiding the construction of a mythical and idealised past of international collaboration in higher education. Developments in a more market-oriented higher education arena thus need to be judged by the extent to which they extend, improve or challenge some of the roles played by non-market-oriented transnational higher education.

A further area for discussion is the role played by powerful external agents in the development of higher education in developing countries. There are indications that governments are hindered from devising policies that are appropriate to the local socio-political and economic contexts and relevant to developmental goals because of pressures imposed by dominant countries and powerful international organisations. In particular, the concept of 'developmental association', which assumes that all developing countries are cultural variations of the same problem and require the same general solutions, is generally applied to developing and newly industrialising countries⁵⁶. Kempner and Jurema point out that this is a potentially erroneous strategy because development is not necessarily linear, and each nation does not necessarily follow the same path. In this sense, the assumption that developing countries need to develop similar responses to transnational higher education is clearly unjustified. An updated and critical analysis of the extent to which higher education policy is influenced by dominant countries and organisations and the impact of such policies on capacity building in higher education needs to be undertaken. It may also be necessary to develop better defence mechanisms to resist such pressures. This needs to be undertaken not merely by developing countries but also by more powerful nations. A step was taken in this direction by the House of Lords' Select Committee on Economic Affairs in the United Kingdom. Whilst recognising that countries vary in size and power, and therefore in the extent to which they influence decisions in international organisations, evidence supported by the Select Committee has indicated that the dominance of poorer countries by a small group of rich countries is excessive. It has consequently recommended that the British Government and its European

⁵⁵ King, D.A. (2004) 'The Scientific Impact of Nations: What Different Countries Get for their Research Spending', *Nature*, Volume 430, 15 July, pp. 311-316.

⁵⁶ Kempner, K. and Jurema, A.L. (2002) 'The Global Politics of Education: Brazil and the World Bank', *Higher Education*, Volume 43, Number 3, pp. 331-354.

partners consider ways in which the balance of power can be improved and the ways in which decisions can be made more transparent⁵⁷.

An additional area that requires interrogation is the belief that the social, political and economic assumptions underlying neo-liberal policies implemented in many industrialised countries are appropriate to the contexts of developing countries and that all countries are likely to benefit equally from the implementation of free trade and market policies. This debate has often created two polarised camps: market proponents who assert that government attempts to regulate markets will distort the benefits⁵⁸; and market opponents who reject market forces and encourage the insulation of higher education from forces for commodification. There is a lack of evidence to support the assumption that an unregulated market will lead to the development of high quality higher education. At the same time, it is important to recognise the difficulty of meeting the demand for higher education purely through public provision. It may therefore be necessary to pay much closer attention to developing policy that might shape the operation of markets in higher education. Many developing countries are exploring various regulatory mechanisms generally aimed at protecting national higher education systems and students from the potentially adverse effects of transnational higher education⁵⁹. There are also initiatives by the World Bank and UNESCO, for example, to develop international forms of regulation⁶⁰. These may be particularly beneficial to low income, vulnerable countries with insufficient capacity to develop appropriate regulatory systems. However, the question that is likely to emerge is whether the sort of model advocated by the World Bank, which is based on simple licensing procedures with minimum thresholds, presumably with the intention of minimising transaction costs across markets, will be sufficient to ensure education quality.

A further question likely to arise is not merely how to regulate the market to protect higher education from the most corrosive effects of commodification through rules and sanctions, but also how to steer market forces through incentives so that institutions contribute to developmental goals. One argument that has been presented is that just as publicly funded universities are urged to become more entrepreneurial, foreign and private providers could also be required to contribute to the public good⁶¹. For this reason, the Futures Project at US-based Brown University has recommended a number of policy innovations, including the development of policy levers to redefine market competition so that rather than competing on price or prestige, universities compete to meet the public good functions of higher education such as the quality of education delivered to students⁶².

Research attention on the impact of foreign providers in developing countries has tended to shift the microscope away from publicly funded domestic institutions. As has been outlined above, the assumption that public universities will automatically contribute to capacity building and the public good by their very nature is a misplaced one. Research on the role of universities in industrialised, developing and transitional countries has indicated that universities have played multiple roles, sometimes contributing to the transformation of societies and at other times reproducing unequal

⁵⁷ Select Committee on Economic Affairs, 'Globalisation', House of Lords Session 2002-2003, London, The Stationery Office, 2002:47 cited in Robertson, S. and Dale, R. (2003) 'This is What the Fuss is About! The Implications of GATS for Education Systems in the North and the South', paper published by the EU-funded Globalisation and Europeanisation Network in Education. URL: (<http://www.genie-tn.net>). Last accessed 20 August 2006.

⁵⁸ See, for example, Tooley, J. (2000) *Reclaiming Education*, London, Cassell.

⁵⁹ See King, R. (2003) 'The Rise and Regulation of For-Profit Education', London, The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education, November and Verbik, L. and Jokivirta, L. (2005) 'National Regulatory Frameworks for Transnational Higher Education: Models and Trends, Part 1 and Part 2', London, The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education, February and March.

⁶⁰ See King, R. (2003) 'The Rise and Regulation of For-Profit Education', London, The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education, November.

⁶¹ Kruss, G. and Kraak, A. (Eds.) (2003) *A Contested Good?: Understanding Private Higher Education in South Africa*, Boston, Centre for International Higher Education.

⁶² Newman, F. and Couturier, L.K (2002) 'Trading Public Good in the Higher Education Market', London, The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education Report, January.

relations in society⁶³. The work of Pierre Bourdieu has also indicated that those working in higher education are socialised to value practices and products that are relatively autonomous from external social, political and economic influences. Such academic interests may or may not coincide with the public good. In most countries, governments have responded to the perceived insularity of higher education by implementing mechanisms to open up higher education to economic forces, to encourage higher education to contribute more directly to economic development and to foster closer relations with industry. However, whilst there has been a great deal of policy rhetoric, in general, there has been little correspondence between financial or performance incentives and the provision of non-economic public goods.

Further research needs to be conducted on how policy can shape the relationship between the domestic and foreign sectors in order to build capacity. An important area is the extent to which policy and regulatory frameworks aim to foster collaboration, competition or functional differentiation between domestic, foreign, public and private providers. This is a particularly important question given current understandings that public and private goods are not necessarily 'zero sum' but may be 'positive sum'. In other words, public and private goods may be interdependent in that the production of one kind of good provides the conditions necessary to the production of the other⁶⁴. In addition, rather than governments deciding to offer unconditional and wide ranging protection to all aspects of the publicly funded sector, it may be possible to discuss which functions of higher education require public investment or international aid. In the context of globalisation and the knowledge economy, where knowledge asymmetries between countries become more important than ever, the development of sustainable research bases in developing countries is clearly a crucial area for public investment.

Finally, an important question to explore is the optimum relationship between the developmental role of the university and the wider internationalisation role generally ascribed to higher education. There are indications that pressures for demonstrating universalism and the conception of knowledge as international may be in conflict with pressures for knowledge that may be relevant or immediately useful to the context of developing countries⁶⁵. Whilst there is the danger that internationalisation may merely lead to the emulation of high income countries, it is also important to ensure that attempts to preserve or create a national agenda do not exclude knowledge generated in the international context or prevent international collaboration. Sen⁶⁶ has argued that because 'grand universalism' and 'national particularism' are inappropriate in a global world, we should strive for a 'global equity' which gives equal recognition to diverse cultures. In order to attain this idealised state of global equity, however, it is important to develop forms of global academic mobility and transnational relationships that have the potential to challenge current inequalities and hierarchies.

The frameworks for assessing and rewarding teaching and research within developing countries need careful consideration. Given the tensions between what is required locally and what is valued in the international context of higher education dominated by industrialised countries, it is important to recognise that research or teaching that is oriented to local needs may not be able to achieve international impact. Assessment systems for research and teaching in developing countries which generally emulate the international criteria in systems in high income countries may thus need to be supplemented by new assessment criteria and incentives. The aim of such frameworks would be to encourage a better balance between the local and international context and to strike a balance between immediate needs and longer term capacity building. Researchers from developing countries have also argued that it is important to extend the range of actors in the

⁶³ Brennan, J., King, R. and Lebeau, Y. (2004) 'The Role of Universities in the Transformation of Societies: Synthesis Report', London, Association of Commonwealth Universities and the Open University.

⁶⁴ Marginson, S. (2004) 'Global Education Markets and Global Public Goods', Keynote address, Australian New Zealand Comparative and International Education Society (ANZCIES) Conference, Melbourne, Australia, 3 December.

⁶⁵ Brennan, J., King, R. and Lebeau, Y. (2004) 'The Role of Universities in the Transformation of Societies: Synthesis Report', London, Association of Commonwealth Universities and the Open University.

⁶⁶ Sen, A. (1999) 'Global justice: Beyond International Equity' in Kaul, I., Grunberg, I. and Stern, M. (Eds.) *Global Public Goods: International Co-operation in the 21st-Century*, New York, Oxford University Press.

'triple helix' model (universities, industry and government) developed in the context of high income countries. In the context of developing countries, particularly in national contexts where industries are unwilling to fund research and development and may not have sufficient capacity to utilise research findings, it is crucially important for higher education institutions to develop strong relationships with other stakeholders including public sector and community organisations⁶⁷.

12 Conclusion

The change in perspective on the importance of higher education in developing countries is to be welcomed. This paper has illustrated that the transformation of higher education into a global commodity has resulted in an influx of foreign providers which brings many advantages to developing countries but also holds certain dangers. It has analysed how external forces associated with commodification impact on core functions of higher education and result in important implications for development. Relations of power between high and low income countries and the influence of international organisations have been highlighted. The ability of such relationships to impede the capacity of national governments to steer higher education towards developmental goals is an important area for consideration. Key areas for research and discussion have been outlined including the development of market and non-market criteria for steering higher education, the relationship between foreign and domestic providers and the importance of developing assessment systems to encourage forms of teaching and research which respond to both local needs and an international context. There is currently little evidence that can be drawn upon to provide a basis for informed policy making in such areas, and many other areas that have not been identified in this report. There is thus an urgent need for further research, particularly on topics which are framed by the concerns of developing countries, and more vigorous debate on the trends and impacts associated with the transformation of higher education into a global commodity.

⁶⁷ See, for example, Arocena, R. and Sutz, J. (2000) 'Interactive Learning Spaces and Development Policies in Latin America', Danish Research Unit for Industrial Dynamics (DRUID) Working Papers, No.00-13, DRUID. URL: www.druid.dk/wp/pdf_files/00-13.pdf. Last accessed 20 August 2006; and Subotsky, G. (1999) 'Alternatives to the Entrepreneurial University: New Modes of Knowledge Production in Community Service Programmes', *Higher Education*, Volume 38, Number 4, pp. 401-440.

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