Mobilizing Higher Education for Development in Africa: A Case Study of the Association of African Universities

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(ABSTRACT)

Higher education scholars note an abundance of obstacles that render higher education institutions in developing countries ineffectual and unable to participate in the intentional development of their societies (Ajayi, Goma & Johnson, 1996; Altbach, 2004; Bloom, Canning & Chan, 2006; Dill, 1997; Lulat, 2003; Puplampu, 2006; Sawyerr, 2003; Selvaratnam, 1988; Teferra & Altbach, 2004). African higher education has been particularly sensitive to these obstacles, due to the consequences of colonialism, globalization and neocolonialism, and efforts to combat these impediments to development have often been undermined by scarcity at the state level (Altbach, 2001; Bloom, et. al., 2006; Bollag, 2001; Ngome, 2003; Puplampu, 2006; TFHE, 2000; Tikly, 2001). Yet recent initiatives, such as the United Nations Development Programme's Millennium Development Goals (2000), reveal that higher education institutions have an important role to play in development, particularly in developing nations. Therefore new forms of higher education associations should be considered to bolster an institution's ability to support development in its national context and cultivate agency in development. Regional efforts through networks may have the capability to overcome paucities at the national level and direct development in Africa. The present study was designed to explore notions of development and the role of the AAU, a higher education network, in promoting development. It also examined how faculty and administrators at two African universities perceive development.

My findings indicated that through the lens of policy entrepreneurship, the AAU, as a higher education network, acted as an agent in development by undertaking activities aimed at addressing development priorities when using higher education as a point of intervention. By sustaining creative, strategic, and mobilization activities across organizational initiatives, the AAU generated sponsorship for their policy solutions among stakeholders. In fact the participatory nature of policy entrepreneurship may allow higher education networks to put the "African" in African development as they respond to community needs and attempt to adapt policy innovations to fit African development challenges.

Data from Kenyatta University and the University of Nairobi in Kenya illuminated how university reforms at both institutions reflect academic capitalism, a phenomenon researched predominately in developed countries. Faculty and administrators' personally held beliefs about development and the university's role in development in Kenya have impacted the way that academic capitalism is both perceived and manifested. In the West, the infusion of academic capitalism in higher education has come at the expense of the public good. In Kenya, a new model has emerged in which both development and marketization are served and are complementary. This study also demonstrates that academic capitalism can also produce social and cultural "revenue," particularly when the individuals that make up the academic workforce of an institution prioritize development needs.

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GRANT INFORMATION

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To loud, boozy, opinionated women everywhere – look at me, I'm making good!

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

"In education and industrialization, we have used borrowed ideas, utilized borrowed experiences and funds and engaged borrowed hands. In our development programmes and strategies, not much, if anything is ours" (General Olensegun Obasanjo, President of Nigeria as qtd in Lancaster, 1999, p. 3).

Higher education in the developing world has been profoundly affected by the processes of colonialism, globalization and neocolonialism (Ajayi, Goma & Johnson, 1996; Altbach, 1998, 2001, 2004a, 2004b; Bloom, Canning & Chan, 2006; Dill, 1997; Eicher & Chevaillier, 2002; Hauptman, 2006; Johnstone, 2003; Levy, 2006; Lulat, 2003; McBurnie, 2001; Puplampu, 2006; Sawyerr, 2003; Selvaratnam, 1988; Teferra & Altbach, 2004; Tilky, 2001; van den Bor & Shute, 1991; van der Wende, 2001). These processes, or stages of influence, are not mutually exclusive and have acted, often in tandem, to direct the development of higher education in developing countries ¹.

The legacy of colonialism has created systems of higher education in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East that are often replicas of the models of institutions in colonizing countries (Lulat, 2003). Frequently, indigenous forms of knowledge transmission were destroyed under colonization (Altbach, 1998; Lulat, 2003; Selvaratnam, 1988). Colonizers, such as Britian, France, Portugal, and Belgium, established universities based upon their own notions of curricula, models of management, and often they imported scholars from the home country (Lulat, 2003) to lead these institutions. Initially, these universities were established to educate colonial officials, as the indigenous populations were perceived as intellectually inferior and uneducable (Lulat, 2003; Puplampu, 2006). Thus, in the period preceding World War I, the colonies of Africa, in particular, had no formal higher education policies.

Higher education scholars, when discussing global higher education systems, tend to dichotomize these systems into two groups: those in developed countries or those in developing countries. Developed countries, such as the United States, England, France, Germany and Australia, according to the literature, are said to have highly developed higher education systems. Developing countries, such as those of Africa and the Middle East, are portrayed as developing. Thus the systems themselves take on the economic, social, and political attributes of the nation to which they belong. Instead of developed/developing, some scholars may use the terms North and South, more developed and lesser developed, center and periphery, as well as, the West and the Third World. The United Nations (UN), an international organization with 192 member countries, has declared that there is no formal convention for the usage of these terms (developed/developing) ("Definitions", 2006). The UN's charter, however, states that the terms developed/developing are based upon the economic attributes of a country ("United Nations", 1975, p.1).

As a result of this implantation of the colonizers' models of education, local institutions were deemed inferior by the Africans who continued to be dependent upon the French, the British, or other colonizers to provide elite education, curricula, and staffing (Lulat, 2003, p. 21). To this day, for example, the universities of Madagascar are still based upon the colonial models of the French (p. 21).

Colonialism has affected the origination and development of national systems of higher education in developing countries. Ajayi, Goma and Johnson (1996) note that West and South Africans, under colonization, came to realize that attainment of western education was the necessary condition for acquiring certain administrative posts and positions in developing sectors of the economy; as a result many were anxious to maintain or expand western education in Africa (p. 29). Post-independence, many formerly colonized nations continued to rely on higher education models imported by the colonizers, though often these models were not applicable to the needs of the newly independent country. "Therefore, the main function of universities in the colonies was considered to be a transmission of Western knowledge" (Selvaratnam, 1988, p. 44). This, in turn, created a dependency on Western modes of knowledge transfer at the postsecondary level (Altbach, 1998, 2001, 2004a, 2004b; Selvaratnam, 1988; Teferra & Albatch, 2004).

Globalization has also played a role in shaping the higher education institutions of developing countries, often in tandem with the consequences of colonialism. Yet globalization, unlike the realities of colonialism, is an often contested, multi-faceted and nebulous concept (Levy, 2006, p. 290). Around the word "globalization" are clustered key matters in higher education, such as internationalization strategies, transnational education (TNE), commodification, financing, quality assurance, new providers, and issues of equity and access (Altbach, 2004a; Levy, 2006; McBurnie, 2001; van der Wende, 2001). Higher education scholars note that globalization entails an increasing convergence and interdependency among the economies of the world (van der Wende, 2001). Defining globalization has tended to focus on the business-oriented neoliberal understanding that is common in Western nations (McBurnie, 2001, p. 12). A cultural dimension is apparent as well, in that globalization seemingly encourages the establishment of a Western global-brand culture (van der Wende, 2001).

One result of globalization is the new knowledge economy (McBurnie, 2001, p. 13). "In terms of education, the knowledge economy is characterized by a global market with demand for

a skilled work force holding internationally portable qualifications. Education can therefore be commodified, both as a tradable service and as valuable intellectual property" (p. 13). In response to this need, the General Agreement on Trade in Services, also known as GATS, a World Trade Organization (WTO) initiative, calls for free and cross border trade in education services and further deregulation of educational markets. (Altbach, 2001, 2004a, 2004b; McBurnie, 2001; Puplampu, 2006; van der Wende, 2001). GATS is driven by multinational corporations and government agencies in the developed countries calling for the integration of higher education into the legal structures of world trade through the WTO (Altbach, 2004a, p. 5). The WTO estimated that the world wide market for education in 1995 represented \$27 billion in U.S. dollars (McBurnie, 2001, p. 13).

Higher education, in its myriad forms, is not merely an asset of developed countries, but prevails in developing nations as well. Yet higher education in developing countries, particularly government funded institutions and systems, suffers from chronic underfunding due to other compelling public needs for scare resources (Johnstone, 2003). Economists and higher education finance scholars argue that governments in these countries should deregulate higher education and allow private entities to compete with publicly-funded institutions. This deregulation would allegedly enable developing countries to allocate scarce public resources more efficiently (Dill, 1997). These reforms are touted by many scholars as solutions to the economic crises that plague the development of higher education in developing countries. The introduction of government reforms that encourage competition for resources, such as research grants, a greater dependency on user fees, and the search for private financing are examples of the use of market apparatuses in higher education reform (Dill, 1997; Geiger, 1988). In addition these policies would ensure quality control, accountability and opportunities for further growth (Dill, 1997; Eicher & Chevaillier, 2002; Hauptman, 2006; Johnstone, 2003).

Deregulation also produces institutional entrepreneurialism and cross-border marketing (van der Wende, 2001, p. 254). One example of such entrepreneurialism is transnational education (TNE). TNE refers to traditional universities (typically Western) operating internationally "in a marketized manner" and exhibiting the characteristics of private corporate entities (McBurnie, 2001, p. 18). Academic institutions and private companies in these countries "link up" with academic institutions and private companies in another country, often a developing nation such as Kenya or South Africa, and offer degrees from the foreign institution

(Altbach, 2004b, p. 23). The United States, the United Kingdom and Australia, respectively, are the strongest providers of TNE (van der Wende, 2001, p. 254).

Recipients of transnational education tend to be developing countries (McBurnie, 2001; van der Wende, 2001; Altbach, 2004a, 2004b). Often the activities of these transnational education services are predatory in nature and increase dependency. Altbach (2004b) states, "[t]ransnational initiatives share in the south-to-north dynamic" (p. 22). As with his arguments on colonialism, Altbach (1998, 2004a, 2004b) focuses primarily on the issues of equity, positing that transnational education increases developing countries' dependency on Western modes of knowledge transfer. In addition, these new institutions are implanted with little regard for local needs (Altbach, 2004b, p. 23). "Frequently the language of instruction is the language of the dominant partner, very often English, even if the language of instruction in the country is not English" (Altbach, 2004b, p. 22). Thus the trends that have emerged as a consequence of globalization in higher education have become new forms of colonization, or neocolonialism.

Neocolonialism refers to policies of industrialized nations that attempt to maintain their domination over developing nations (Altbach, 1998, p. 21). According to Altbach (1998), among others, Western postsecondary institutions in developed nations have created a dependency that places higher education institutions in developing countries at the periphery, or margin, of knowledge production, transfer, and economy (Altbach, 1998, 2004a, 2004b; McBurnie, 2001; Selvaratnam, 1988; Terrafa & Altbach, 2004). Examples of neocolonialistic activity include brain drain, the rise in the imperialism of English, the proliferation of Western research journals and publications, and foreign aid to developing nations (Altbach, 2004b).

Brain drain refers to the exodus of scholars and students from developing nations to Western ones. In 2006, it was estimated that up to 50,000 African trained PhDs are working outside of Africa (Bloom, Canning & Chan, 2006, p. 7). Students and scholars are exiting developing nations at an alarming rate. "The large majority of foreign students in the United States come from developing and newly industrialized countries" (Altbach, 2004b, p. 20). This drains resources away from the economies of developing nations, as international students are often paying their own way to study abroad, thus contributing to economies located in the West (Altbach, 2004a, p. 12). In addition, both students and scholars serve as international carriers of academic culture back to their home institutions and countries – "a culture that reflects the norms and values of the major metropolitan universities" (Altbach, 2004a, p. 12).

The new imperialism of English and the proliferation of Western knowledge production through research journals and publications are other indicators of the influence of Western institutions of higher education on the developing world. English has emerged as the preferred language of communication, through academic journals, in the classroom, and outside the classroom (Altbach, 1998, 2004a; van der Wende, 2001). All information regarding science and scholarship is disseminated in English, placing further pressure on scholars in developing countries to conduct research and produce scholarship in English (Altbach, 2004a p. 10). These journals are also located in Western nations. Often, publishers in the West are uninterested in the scholarship of Third World intellectuals, so the scholarship of Western academics is all that is disseminated (Altbach, 1998, p. 26). In 1995, the African region was responsible for only 5,839 published scholarly papers out of 772,036 worldwide (Task Force for Higher Education, 2000, p. 127). Thus, developing nations are relegated to consumers of knowledge and are dependent upon developed nations for research and the interpretation of scientific developments.

Foreign aid emerges as the most influential indicator of neocolonialism in education. Foreign aid and technical assistance programs and the donor nations that implement these initiatives may have obfuscated goals, one of which may be "the perpetuation of education and political structures that will ensure stability and a pro-Western orientation" (Altbach, 1998, p. 23). Most often this aid flows from North to South (Willis, 2005, p. 45). International financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank have been instrumental in affecting change in the developing world through austerity policies called structural adjustment programs (SAPs) and poverty reduction strategies (PRSs). These programs require trade liberalization, currency devaluation, cuts in government expenditures, increased privatization and user fees for public services, such as education (Tikly, 2001, p. 157). In the education sector, SAPs have sought to implement cost-sharing schemes that are Western in nature (Hauptman, 2006, p. 93).

Higher Education in Africa

These stages of influence (colonialism, globalization, neocolonialism), and their seemingly inexorable outcomes, have had a profound impact on the development of higher education in the African context (Ajayi, Goma & Johnson, 1996; Altbach, 1998; Lulat, 2003; Puplampu, 2006; Sawyerr, 2004; Selvaratnam, 1988; Teferra & Altbach, 2004; Tikly, 2001). Many nations have been disproportionately affected, particularly those of the sub-Saharan region

of Africa. Researchers argue that the impact of these forces on sub-Sahara Africa has led to ethnic divisiveness, the inability to build state capacity, and a lack of educational policies that address the needs of Africans (Sawyerr, 2004).

In the early 20th century, the British established an advisory committee on education in their colonies in Africa, which included Nigeria, Kenya, and Sierra Leone, among others (Ajayi, Goma & Johnson, 1996; Lulat, 2003). The purpose of this committee was to adapt Western education models to the colonial circumstances of Africans by emphasizing industrial and vocational training at the expense of literary and academic education. When independence became inevitable in the British colonies, another committee was convened, the Asquith Commission, to establish university colleges to train leadership in the colonies of Africa (Lulat, 2003, p. 19). The resulting institutions were British in nature. They were residential, emphasized liberal arts and the sciences, and replicated the curricula and examination standards of British postsecondary institutions (Lulat, p. 20).

Formerly colonized nations, post-independence, tended to replicate their colonizers' programs (Altbach, 1998; Johnstone, 2004; Lulat, 2003; Selvaratnam, 1988; van den Bor & Shute, 1991). "The curriculum introduced and taught in universities of the Third World countries related to the faculties of arts, law medicine and civil engineering and the course content was largely from the respective metropolitan university centres adopted for the purpose of transmitting European training and knowledge in the colonial territories of the metropolitan power" (Selvaratnam, 1988, p. 44). At the end of colonial rule, Africans believed that the British model of higher education was superior to any indigenous efforts to create colleges that may have been more responsive to local needs (Lulat, 2003; Teferra & Altbach, 2004).

In Belgian Africa, education was left in the hands of Catholic missionaries (Lulat, 2003, p. 20), who more often than not, forbade the development of postsecondary schools in their colonial areas (Altbach, 1998, p. 23). Yet unexpected independence left the Belgian colonies mired in conflict and chaos that left the development of higher education incomplete (Lulat, 2003, p. 20). Ethnic rivalries, particularly in Rwanda and Burundi, halted education in all forms post-independence (p. 20).

In Francophone and Lusophone Africa, the elite Africans were exported to French and Portuguese universities to study (Lulat, 2003, pp. 21-22). In Lusophone Africa, like Angola and Mozambique, these elite few were referred to as the *assimilado* (p. 22). In the Portuguese

colonies, there tended to be a neglectful attitude toward the education of those under their rule. In the 1950s there was an almost 100% illiteracy rate in Angola and Mozambique (p. 22). On the other hand, the French eventually developed satellite campuses of French institutions in the colonies, yet these were not autonomous institutions (p. 20). The French government was still heavily involved in administration and the management of these institutions was highly centralized (p. 21). Local institutions were deemed inferior by Africans who continued to be dependent upon the French to provide elite education, curricula, and staffing (p. 21).

As many African nations gained political independence, leaders began to uncover the limitations of the colonial model of higher education and sought to cease ties with the universities of their colonizers (Ajayi, et. al., 1996, p. 74). Universities began to Africanize the faculty and administrative staff, reform management practices and the curricula, establish branches, and broaden access to higher education (p. 74). Yet during this period, increasing contact with American higher education by African scholars and leaders led to the transmission of the U.S. model to the region, particularly that of the land-grant institution. For example, with the support of Michigan State University and USAID, Nigerian leaders were able to establish the University of Nigeria, modeling it after the land-grant institutions of the United States (Nsukka, p. 77)

In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, there has been a growing disaffection for the universities of Africa, due to their inability to have a significant impact on the continent (Ajayi, et. al., 2006, p. 192). Currently, higher education institutions on much of the continent suffer from political instability, stringent accountability standards, a decline in quality, an ever-expanding student population, and decreased funding (Puplampu, 2006; Sawyerr, 2004). Between 1986 and 1992, for example, faculty at Nigerian universities did not receive wage increases, despite a 95% devaluation of the national currency and more than 100% inflation rate (Puplampu, 2006, p. 41). In the Central African Republic faculty and staff undergo periods of no compensation for their work, leading to an increase in brain drain and corruption on campus (N'Guerekata, 2004).

The relationship between the state and the university has also had deleterious effects on society as a whole. The focus on the knowledge economy has led to an explosion of technology programs at institutions where linkages to the private sector are viewed a panacea for building knowledge production capacities (Puplampu, 2006). This has led to an overall decrease in social

and natural science programs. African governments' lack of willingness to acknowledge the HIV/AIDS epidemic has led to an increasing loss of academic talent (Bollag, 2001). In 2001, the University of Nairobi estimated that close to 30% of its student population was HIV positive (Bollag, 2001). National governments have also undermined the academic integrity of institutions through intolerance towards critical views and research, creating a vacuum of political analysis inside and outside of higher education (Altbach, 2001; Ngome, 2003; Puplampu, 2006). Conversely, institutions have impugned their own legitimacy by providing intellectual and ideological support to governments interested in furthering ethnic divisiveness, as seen in Rwanda (Puplampu, 2006, p. 36).

The ongoing development of Africa has many obstacles to overcome, often without adequate political direction; dependency on foreign aid and western knowledge production; conflicting economic policies; and ongoing social problems. All these obstacles are enduring legacies of colonialism, global market pressures, and the hegemonic practices particularistic to neocolonialism. Due to these obstacles, the role of higher education institutions in influencing the development of their own countries and regions is often disregarded, resulting in a tendency by international agencies to view developing nations as *recipients of* versus *actors in* development. "The state of higher education in Africa, in particular, has to assume a critical role in the development possibilities in our globalized and knowledge-driven twenty-first society" (Zeleza, 2003, as quoted in Puplampu, 2006, p. 31). Therefore higher education may be an essential driver of the cultural, social, political and economic development of countries in Africa, yet rarely is that acknowledged by academicians.

The Connection between Development and Higher Education

Higher education scholars continually view higher education in developing countries from a deficiency perspective, due to the obstacles presented by colonialism, globalization and neocolonialism. In 1988, Viswanathan Selvaratnam, a faculty member at the National University of Singapore, predicted that higher education in the Third World would be dominated by Western knowledge creation and flows. Selvaratnam describes this knowledge flow as the historical educational interchange between North and South (p. 42). He predicted that this application of the "metropolitan", or Western, educational model and its Eurocentric system of knowledge would have negative consequences for Third World universities, communities of scholars and knowledge output (Selvaratnam, 1988, p. 41). Selvaratnam was one of the first

scholars to apply dependency theory, an international development framework, to higher education in which the institutions of the world are divided into center and periphery.

James Caporaso (1978), a political scientist, defined dependency theory as "the process of incorporation of less developed countries into the global capitalist system and the structural distortions resulting therefrom" (p. 1). These structural distortions place developing countries on the periphery and developed Western nations at the center. Selvaratnam (1988) then applied this theory to the relationships between the higher education institutions of the West and the institutions of the Third World. "This theory articulates a descending chain of hegemony and exploitation by the metropolitan countries over the countries of the periphery...therefore, poor Third World universities suffering from a lack of resources do not have the capacity to generate within their own boundaries an indigenous intellectual and publishing capacity" (Selvaratnam, 1988, p. 43). This unequal arrangement of resource allocation and academic relationships cause the core of knowledge to continue to be generated and grow at the center, in developed institutions, and then to be disseminated outward to the periphery, developing institutions (Altbach, 1998; Selvaratnam, 1988).

Beyond the reliance on dependency theory by higher education scholars, at present neoliberalism governs the protocols of agencies interested in higher education and its role in development. The neoliberal approach to development – which assumes that the growth and development of a nation requires participation in the global economy – has ruled the agendas of the United States, multilateral agencies, and international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and further underscores the dependency theory (Willis, 2005, p. 48). Keily explains that neo-liberalism can be observed as both an ideology and a form of capital accrual through floating exchange rates, trade liberalization and the elimination of capital controls, promoted by U.S. interests (2007, p. 9). "This has become the hegemonic form of social rule in the world today because...dominant classes in other countries have largely accepted the need for such policies" (ibid.). This manipulation of economic conditions has had a profound impact on the structuring and restructuring of higher education in the developing world.

Development experts have often defined the role of education in development solely in terms of economic growth. Rate of return analysis has heavily influenced many development agencies' input into higher education (Lulat, 2003, p. 26; Puplampu, 2006, p. 39; Task Force on

Higher Education and Society, 2002, p. 39). "Most studies found higher returns to individuals from primary and secondary schooling than the returns from higher education" (Bloom, et. al., 2006, p. 1). Thus, development agencies have concluded that lending should target primary education, consigning higher education to a negligible place on the development agenda (Bloom, et. al., 2006, p. 1; Puplampu, 2006, p. 39; TFHES, 2002, p. 39). In contrast, researchers state that if the whole of Africa raised its individual postsecondary achievement levels (currently at 0.147 years per person) to that of South Africa (0.532 years per person) then per capita income would rise 4.7% (Bloom, et. al., 2006, p. 29).

Development agencies, however, overlooked higher education for many years. Up until the 1960s, the World Bank did not provide loans for any purpose other than infrastructural development (i.e. roads, bridges, etc.). The Bank slowly forayed into education lending thereafter and has become the most prominent international provider of educational development funds in developing countries (Banya & Elu, 2001; Lulat, 2003; Puplampu, 2006). Since 1982, the World Bank has lent almost a half a billion U.S. dollars a year for the development of higher education institutions in developing countries, which represents almost 30% of the World Bank's total lending in education (Banya & Elu, 2001, p. 23). Despite this commitment to funding higher education, problems in policy development and implementation have inhibited the overall success of the World Bank in the education sector. Hence, the failure of most development strategies is *because of* the narrow focus on economics (Stiglitz, 2001, p. 60, emphasis added).

At the onset of the 21st century, African higher education systems were in severe economic crises (Eicher & Chevaillier, 2002, p. 71; Teferra & Altbach, 2004, p. 26). Many of these nations were heavily indebted to international financial institutions, such as the World Bank. In an effort to manage the debt of these countries, international financial institutions inaugurated austerity policies. These policies, encompassed in structural adjustment programs (SAPs) included trade liberalization, currency devaluation, cuts in government expenditures, increased privatization, and user fees for public services, such as education (Tikly, 2001, p. 157). World Bank structural adjustment lending is predicated entirely on the premise that development occurs through economic growth (Ilon, 2003, p. 63). These new policies are intended to make a country more economically competitive and more attractive to foreign investment. In the education sector, SAPs have sought to implement cost-sharing schemes that are Western in nature (Hauptman, 2006, p. 93). "Many World Bank projects...propose the establishment or

expansion of tuition fees as a way to achieve greater cost recovery" (Hauptman, 2006, p. 93). Thus the ensuing crisis in Africa resulted in a loss of economic sovereignty through the "growing ability of the West's international financial institutions to insist on structural adjustment and economic reform programs" (Duffield, 2001, p. 29).

Yet not all economic aspects should be disregarded or disparaged. Higher education institutions, as agents of development, may provide formal linkages to the economic activity of a developing nation. The informal sector, the highly heterogeneous half of a nation's formal economy, encompasses all income-producing activities outside the formal sector's wages, regulations and social security (Trager, 1987, p. 239). In Uganda, for instance, the informal sector is made up of food processing, clothes/shoes production, handicrafts, taxi services, and construction (World Bank, 2005, p. 3). These informal activities employ 1.5 million people and contribute more than 20% to the GDP – it is by far the most important sector of the Ugandan economy (2005, p. 1). Higher education institutions are perfect incubators for the types of microenterprises within the informal sector (Miller & Kirschstein, 1988).

A developing country's higher education institutions can be used by internal and external assistance agencies in the micro-enterprise start-up process (Miller & Kirschstein, 1988, p. 497). These institutions can often provide laboratories and maintenance shops, as well as equipment (for the making of pushcarts, measuring scales, etc.). In developing countries, the formal sector capability is limited, as are the skills of the informal sector laborer, so higher education institutions can provide training, research, outreach, and consultancy services that could benefit the development of informal sector activities and "provide unique and essential support mechanisms for economic growth in developing countries" (p. 498).

Furthermore, higher education can play a role in influencing the social, political and cultural development of a nation. Schumacher (1973) states that "development starts with people and their education, organization and discipline" (p. 159). The university plays a very important role in society because it trains future elites. "[I]n most societies, virtually everyone who achieves political, cultural, or economic power is a graduate of a university" (Altbach, 1998, p. 193). Universities encourage inquiry, they disseminate new ideas, and often interpret trends from abroad – they are vital to constructing and propagating the values that foster development (Altbach, 1998, p. 193). Universities are expected to contribute to the development of society (Selvaratnam, 1988, p. 42). The Humboldtian ideal of education, which has infiltrated every

society in the world either through colonialism or reformation, maintains that the higher education institution is an arm of the state, aimed at national development and industrialization (Altbach, 2005, p. 17). Higher education is perceived as an instrument that provides knowledge and skills necessary to contribute to not only economic, but political, social, and cultural development.

In 2000, the United Nations outlined the development goals for its member states for the oncoming millennium (UNDP, 2008). Of the eight goals, several have direct implications for higher education. The eradication of poverty and hunger, the improvement of maternal health, the promotion of gender equality, and environmental sustainability can and will be addressed at the university level. "Universities are the core institutions for training scientific personnel and, in most countries, for conducting research" (Altbach, 1998, p. 205). The UN targeted universal primary education as yet another goal. This will in turn create more demand for secondary education, a subsequent demand for more highly skilled teachers, and the eventual demand for increased capacity at the university level, yet without the necessary corresponding increase in funding (Johnstone, 2003, p. 407). The continued disregard by funding agencies and national governments of higher education's purpose and role as a development player will have long term consequences for the ongoing development of a nation and its people.

Statement of the Problem

In summary, the development and ongoing operations of higher education in developing countries have suffered from the consequences of colonialism, globalization and neocolonialism (Ajayi, et. al., 1996; Altbach, 1998, 2001, 2004a, 2004b; Bloom, et. al., 2006; Dill, 1997; Eicher & Chevaillier, 2002; Hauptman, 2006; Johnstone, 2003; Levy, 2006; Lulat, 2003; McBurnie, 2001; Puplampu, 2006; Sawyerr, 2003; Selvaratnam, 1988; Teferra & Altbach, 2004; Tilky, 2001; van den Bor & Shute, 1991; van der Wende, 2001). Often these forces have been directed from Western, developed nations to developing nations. This, in turn, has created a developed/developing dichotomy among higher education institutions of the world. Institutions in the developed world are portrayed by scholars as producers of knowledge and educated manpower, as well as models of management, while institutions in the developing world are often depicted as the consumers of these outputs (Altbach, 1998, 2001, 2004a, 2004b; McBurnie, 2001; Selvaratnam, 1998; Teferra & Altbach, 2004; van der Wende, 2001).

African higher education has been particularly sensitive to these consequences (Ajayi, et. al., 1996; Altbach, 1998; Bloom, et. al, 2006; Lulat, 2003; Puplampu, 2006; Sawyerr, 2004; Selvaratnam, 1988; Teferra & Altbach, 2004; Tikly, 2001) and efforts to combat them have been undermined by state level scarcity (of varying kinds). The state is often unable, unwilling or prevented by austerity policies to adequately support higher education. The individual nations of Africa, while not all the same, often suffer from similar problems, such as war, political instability, poor educational planning, epidemics, and lack of funding. These obstacles have often inhibited the higher education institutions of Africa from fully participating in national development (Altbach, 2001; Bloom, et. al., 2006; Bollag, 2001; Ngome, 2003; Puplampu, 2006; TFHE, 2000; Tikly, 2001).

Nevertheless, higher education is important to development efforts. Unfortunately, scholars tend to view higher education in developing nations from a development deficiency model, such as dependency theory (Altbach, 1998; Selvaratnam, 1988). Rarely are these institutions considered authentic actors in the development process. When higher education is considered in the development process, a neoliberal economic perspective prevails; one in which higher education is disregarded due to rates of return analyses that suggest funding primary and secondary education is more cost effective (Bloom, et. al., 2006; Lulat, 2003; Puplampu, 2006; TFHE, 2000), resulting in a neglect of higher education by governments and funding agencies alike. Additionally, this continual imposition of neoliberal development ideals may contribute further to dependency and impede the possibility of an African defined development, which may offer sustainable alternatives to current neoliberal practices.

Recent initiatives, such as the UNDP's millennium development goals (2000), reveal that higher education institutions may play an important role in development. Yet due to limited state-level support, individual institutions are frequently unable to participate in development. Therefore new forms of higher education relationships for development should be considered. For example, a theory of new regionalism provides an alternative to traditional development foci, laying the groundwork for higher education institutions and networks to become development actors. In regionalism, alliances are formed transnationally to enhance the economic, social or political power of nations, organizations, identity groups and/or markets (Boas, Marchand, & Shaw, 2006; Falk, 2006; Mistry, 2006; Schulz, Soderbaum, & Ojendal, 2001). Hence regional efforts in higher education, such as associations, networks and civil society organizations, may

have the capability to overcome paucities bred by colonialism, globalization and neocolonialism at the national level and direct development at the regional level in Africa.

Yet research on connections between institutions through regional networks and their contributions to national and regional development has not been conducted. The Association of African Universities (AAU) is one such regional network that may promote development at the regional level and strengthen institutions so that they can better contribute to development at the state level. The present study was designed to explore notions of development and the role of the AAU in promoting development.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study was to investigate the role of higher education networks in regional development and how these networks may aid individual universities to participate in national development. In particular, I examined how the Association of African Universities (AAU), a higher education network of 212 members from 45 African countries, influences regional development. Additionally, I explored the role of two African universities in national development in order to understand how members of the university define development and how they perceive the institution's participation in development. Data from this exploration will enable networks such as the AAU to better connect individual university development challenges and contributions with regional development priorities.

The setting for this case study was the Association of African Universities in Accra, Ghana. Furthermore, AAU administrators were asked to identify two member institutions in one African country. I examined two university members of the AAU. The choice of these particular institutions was based upon their perceived success with respect to promoting development. Data were collected through interviews with strategic administrators and faculty of the Association and the selected institutions.

This research allowed me to understand, in depth, a single phenomenon, through close examination and the use of multiple sources of information. Data were collected through several different, but complimentary methods. Semi-structured interviews were used, as well as analyzing material culture.

Research Questions

I explored six research questions concerning the Association of African Universities' role and contribution to regional development in Africa, and how two African universities participate in national development:

- 1. How do AAU administrators and staff define development in the African milieu?
- 2. How do AAU administrators and staff perceive the education network's contribution to regional development?
- 3. How does regional cooperation relate to development?
- 4. How do faculty and staff at African universities define development in the African milieu?
- 5. How do faculty and staff at universities in Africa perceive their institution's contribution to development?
- 6. What resources and relationships enable these universities to play a role in development?

 Significance of the Study

This study had significance for future research, practice and policy. These merit attention as they contextualize the important contributions the study made to a number of spheres.

Research

The practice of educational research in developing countries has room for improvement. Exclusive reliance on quantitative methods in developing countries is at least partly responsible for the discrepancies that exist "in education between research and policy-making and educational practice" (as qtd. in Vulliamy, Lewin, & Stephens, 1990, p. 18). These quantitative methods often require large samples and statistical analysis that may further imperialist and hegemonic conceptions of education and ignore important outliers (Vulliamy, et. al., p. 18). Accordingly, using qualitative methods may uncover local understandings of education that are closer to reality. This approach to the current research may motivate the use of other qualitative methods in education research in developing countries, such as grounded theory, ethnography, or phenomenology.

This study may inspire future research on higher education and development, particularly how development theory may inform postsecondary curricula development, research and funding. While neoliberal perspectives currently dominate higher education in developing

countries, other theories may provide further insight into the relationships between the institution, the economy, the political system, and society as a whole.

In regards to the social and political implications of development, the present study demonstrated a need for further research. The continuing reliance on economic strategies to improve the social and political conditions of developing countries and their civic institutions, like higher education, is short sighted. All development efforts must be long-term in nature to be successful, addressing not only the economic sectors, but the social and political as well. Longitudinal research should be conducted to understand the long term political and social ramifications of deregulation, privatization and the instituting of Western devices of financing, such as user fees, in higher education. Concomitantly, research should be performed on the use of these development protocols by development agencies such as the World Bank, if change is to occur in the way the development of higher education is viewed and managed by these agencies and by scholars alike.

Practice

This study's findings will be shared with the Association of African Universities in the hopes of helping the organization to identify the economic, cultural, social and political assistance that it is currently generating in the region in collaboration with its institutional members. The AAU may then use this information to develop and implement programs and services that seek to enhance this assistance. Conversely, the study may uncover needs that are not being met by the AAU, and subsequently the Association may use these findings to promote development in certain areas.

The results of this study may be used by the AAU to ascertain future funding for development and educational initiatives. By including results in grant proposals, the AAU may be able to demonstrate the success of their programs to potential donors.

Finally, the present research hopes to demonstrate the possible benefits of education networks to enable the creation and support of education networks in other developing countries, or in areas with diminished higher education capacity.

Policy

To increase the likelihood of implementation of policy outcomes from this work, it is important that "educational policies or innovations, whether initiated by national policy-makers or by international organizations…be tuned to everyday realities" (Vuillamy, et. al., 1990, p. 17).

This means that study must be conducted at a sub-level, beyond the supra-national organization in question; in this case the realities of individual institutions were explored to uncover policy impact and the role the individual institution played in the creation of these policies. Governments may use the findings of this research to further examine their education policies governing colleges and universities.

The use of new regionalism as an approach to development has significance for a range of developmental concerns, not merely those attached to 'national' or 'regime' concerns. As demonstrated, issues of security are not just influential at the national level, but may spill over to the entire region. Therefore, policy concerns regarding development require regional cooperation, from policy innovation to implementation and evaluation. The present research could potentially influence other higher education institutions in developing countries to adopt policies that promote cross-border cooperation, sharing financial, scientific, and human resources, infrastructure support and disseminating research and policy innovation among partners.

State governments, aid organizations, international financial institutions, multilateral agencies, and intergovernmental organizations are not likely to abandon the business of development funding and project implementation. Therefore, allowing African educators to define development and provide markers of this process will facilitate policy development that is more closely aligned with regional, state, and institutional interests.

Delimitations

As with all research projects, this study had some initial delimitations. One was the inability to transfer the findings to other organizations or institutions. While qualitative research allows for a rich, deep understanding of an issue or event, the methodology requires that the issue or event being studied be bounded in time and activity (Creswell, 2003; Yin 2002). Thus, the study is context-dependent and may not be applied directly to another case. However, reasoning by analogy allows for the application of "lessons learned" in other circumstances believed to be sufficiently similar (Rossman & Rallis, 2003, p. 105).

The particular methodologies used to collect data also presented some limitations. Interviewing informants allows for individual expression of beliefs and attitudes, but analysis and conversion of the participants' words by the researcher can also lead to incomplete findings and implications. Member checking may help to alleviate discrepancies. This process requires

that participants be asked to confirm categories and themes that have emerged from the data and the researcher's interpretations (Creswell, 2003; Rossman & Rallis, 2003; Toma, 2005). Negative case analysis, or the description of instances of disagreement with the researcher's interpretation, lent to the overall confirmability and credibility of the study (Stake, 1995; Toma, 2005; Yin, 2002). Nevertheless, the potential for incomplete findings existed.

Outsider-insider issues also emerged as an obstacle to the research. As an expatriate working in developing countries, I was a conspicuous outsider. Lack of familiarity of the local culture and social concerns may have acted to constrain my access to participants and participant candor (Vulliamy, et. al., 1990). The length of stay, transparency of research purpose, sensitivity to local power hierarchies and politics, a clear ethical belief guiding my research (to not exacerbate neocolonial relationships), and a focus on regional dissemination of findings may have ameliorated these challenges to some degree and served to engender an environment of support and reciprocity.

Organization of the Study

This study is organized into six chapters. The first chapter introduces the topic of investigation and presents the purpose of the research, research questions, significance of the study, and the overall delimitations. The second chapter of this study establishes the context of the study and provides a brief review of the literature on topics associated with this research. The third chapter addresses the methodology for the study which includes participant selection, instrumentation, a description of the methods of data collection, data analysis, data trustworthiness, and finally, a discussion of the researcher's role in the study and the ethics of the study. The fourth chapter connects Chapters One-Three to Five-Six by providing an overview of the findings and explaining the overall structure of the dissertation, as well as introduces Chapters Five and Six. The fifth and sixth chapters are designed as traditional journal articles that describe the study, the context, methodologies of data collection, present findings that emerged after the completion of data collection and analysis, and delineate implications for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review and Setting of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the role of higher education networks in regional development and how these networks may aid individual institutions to participate in national development. In particular, this case study examined how the Association of African Universities (AAU), a higher education network of 212 members from 45 African countries, influences regional development. Additionally, I explored the role of two African universities in national development in order to understand how members of the university define development and how they perceive the institution's participation in development. Data from this exploration will enable networks like the AAU to better connect individual university development challenges and contributions with regional development priorities.

Due to the nature of the qualitative techniques used to conduct this study, this literature review will be necessarily abridged. Qualitative research often requires the collection of data prior to the identification of supporting literature. In addition, due to the use of the manuscript option (a type of dissertation format), two articles will be produced in place of the traditional Chapters Five and Six; which, in turn, will entail two individual literature reviews. Subsequently, this chapter requires the identification of topics that may be included in these individual literature reviews and a brief overview of these topics and the literature that falls under each category. Categories of literature, based upon the research questions outlined above, are defined as higher education in developing countries (including issues in higher education in Africa), development in developing countries (including paradigms of development) and higher education and development (including individual institutions' contributions to development, and networks, education and development).

Finally, this chapter will also provide a thorough description of the context of the study, or the setting in which the study took place. As this is an embedded case study (Yin, 2005), the focus of my research is on one particular case, the Association of African Universities in Accra, Ghana. Furthermore, this case study examined two university members of the AAU. The choice of these particular institutions was based upon their perceived success with respect to promoting development. Because the settings of the individual embedded institutions are unknown until after data collection is completed at the AAU, a description of those particular locations is not included here.

Higher Education in Developing Countries

There exists a veritable mountain of literature on higher education in developing countries, much of which was covered in Chapter One. The literature regarding issues of colonialism, globalization and neocolonialism and the impact of these international forces on developing countries and their higher education systems (Ajayi, Goma & Johnson, 1996; Altbach, 1998, 2001, 2004a, 2004b; Bloom, Canning & Chan, 2006; Dill, 1997; Eicher & Chevaillier, 2002; Hauptman, 2006; Johnstone, 2003; Levy, 2006; Lulat, 2003; McBurnie, 2001; Puplampu, 2006; Sawyerr, 2003; Selvaratnam, 1988; Teferra & Altbach, 2004; Tilky, 2001; van den Bor & Shute, 1991; van der Wende, 2001; Watson, 1994; Yang, 2004) were explicated in the introduction to this study. Yet, beyond the impacts of or in tandem with these forces, there are other considerations regarding higher education in developing countries, such as institutional capacities, need, finance, expansion, among others.

Higher education in developing countries is suffering a crisis of public disenchantment due to uncontrolled growth of enrollments and expenditures against a backdrop of diminishing financial resources; a decline in the quality of teaching and research; and a rising problem of mismatch between graduates and employment sector needs (Salmi, 1992). The expansionary policies of the last 50 years, also known as "massification" (Trow, 2006), fueled by social demand, open admission, free education and guaranteed employment, have led to higher education enrollments that, since the 1960s, have multiplied nine times in Africa and Latin America and four times in Asia. The results of these policies in the developing world are overcrowding, inadequate staffing, deteriorating facilities, insufficient equipment and poor libraries (Salmi, 1992). Salmi (1992) argues that higher education receives a disproportionately low share of education budgets, which he believes has had adverse social equity effects, increasing the divide between rich and poor. Further constraints and uncertainties include: decreasing budgetary resources, universities' inability to anticipate and respond to labor market needs, radicalized student populations, contrasting higher education actor agendas (administrators vs. professors), complicated organizational structures, and higher education systems' sluggish response to rapid environmental change.

There are common complaints regarding higher education in developing countries, such as high enrollment and low public investment (Psacharopoulos, 1991). Universities have responded to these constraints in different ways, such as sacrificing quality, reducing required

number of years for graduation, increasing less expensive social science programming (although increasingly, these programs are being cut for science and technology programs), and shifting toward reliance on private funding for university financing (Psacharopoulos, 1991). The current state of affairs is breeding inefficiencies and inequities. Inefficiencies include abuse of free education as students stay enrolled for long periods without graduating and misallocation of public resources to higher education rather to primary education (Psacharopoulos, 1991). Inequities include the continued divide between higher income and lower income populations, as poor college age citizens are more likely to forgo college for employment (Birdsall, 1996). Additionally, wealthier students may be better prepared to compete at the postsecondary level and universities may be making admissions decisions based upon social class rather than ability. Like other scholars focused on economic returns, Psacharopoulos recommends tapping into private finance sources through the establishment of private institutions, or paying user fees. More money, according to Psacharopoulos, translates into better quality.

Higher education in developing countries includes several activities that contribute to the overall well being of the nation, and should be classified as public or quasi-public goods (Birdsall, 1996). These activities include preparing students to function in professional, entrepreneurial, managerial, and technical positions; basic research and its contribution to knowledge and the acquisition and adaptation of existing knowledge to local conditions; service to the public and private sectors through applied research, advisory services and university sponsored programs for the local community; and nation-building (Birdsall, 1996). These services should be included in estimates of social rates of return in developing countries, but are rarely taken into account when allocating funding for public higher education. Birdsall (1996) suggests that the introduction of user fees will ensure that a higher proportion of public funds in higher education goes to public goods like basic research and graduate training (which tend to be the first to suffer austerity policies because public and political demands lead to higher spending on undergraduate training).

Clark (1997), in his remarks to the International Association of Universities, notes that the demands on higher education around the world outrun resources and the institutional capacity to respond. "From the demand side, the problem is one of an overload of demands. From the supply side, the problem is one of institutional insufficiency" (p. 294). Universities must develop better steering capacities as organizational tools – and this development entails the establishment

of a managerial component at the university to be more responsive and flexible. A key issue that will evolve among all universities will be the reconciliation of new managerial values with traditional academic values. In conclusion, Clark (1997) asserts that there is an important role to be played by educational associations in the transformation of universities and facilitating knowledge transfer between them.

Scholars often highlight particular types of institutions in the developing world. Altbach (2007) expounds upon the importance of research universities world-wide. In developing and middle-income countries research universities are few and far between, but are needed to adequately participate in the expanding knowledge and service-oriented economy of this century. Watson (1994) focuses on technical and vocational education and the problems associated with the cross-cultural transfer of educational paradigms enforced through multilateral assistance. These paradigms have ignored indigenous and socio-economic cultural contexts, to the detriment of the success of technical education and economic development in developing countries (Watson, 1994). Levy (2008; Kinser & Levy, 2005) outlines patterns and trends in international private higher education, such as the establishment of branch campuses of foreign institutions and partnerships with foreign universities. There has been unprecedented growth in this sector; currently, one of every three students, globally, attends a private higher education institution (Levy, 2008). This sector has been instrumental in absorbing the demand for higher education, a demand that public universities lack the capacity to meet (Levy, 2008).

Issues in Higher Education in Africa

Much of what has been outlined above is relevant to higher education in Africa. Issues of diminished institutional capacity, growing enrollments, decreasing public funding, lack of sustainable educational policies, shortage of trained professionals (including teachers and faculty), student unrest, brain drain, ill-equipped facilities and labs, ineffective political leadership, foreign debt, structural adjustment and the decline in foreign aid, gender imbalance, unfavorable terms of trade, colonial legacies, and public health concerns have all been cited as contributing to the education crisis in Africa and have been covered extensively in the literature (Ajayi, et. al., 1996; Altbach, 2003; Atteh, 1996; Banya & Elu, 2001; Bloom, et. al., 2006; Commission for Africa, 2005; Coombe, 1991; Hassan, 2007; Hoffman, 1996; Ilon, 2003; Lulat, 2004; Puplampu, 2006; Rathgeber, 2003; Samoff & Carrol, 2004; Sawyerr, 2004; Teferra & Altbach, 2004). In fact, much of what is written on higher education in Africa focuses on the

"destruction" or the "crisis" of postsecondary institutions and educational systems. Collection of data will help to discern which issues are relevant to the research being conducted and how they are expressed and ameliorated by individual institutions in Africa.

Finally, in 2003 the *African Higher Education: An International Reference Handbook* was published. This book is comprehensive on the issue of Africa and its higher education systems. All of Africa's 54 countries are covered in this tome, in addition to a full list of Ph.D. dissertations that cover African education, and a lengthy bibliography on individual countries, and Africa as a whole. The book also contains detailed analyses of issues pertinent to the region, such as university governance (Mwiria, 2003); financing and the economics of higher education (Woodhall, 2003); private higher education (Thaver, 2003); massification (Fehnel, 2003); and distance education (Saint, 2003). The *International Handbook of Higher Education* (Forest & Altbach, 2006) also contains much on higher education in sub-Saharan Africa, as a region, and national perspectives, such as South Africa (Sehoole, 2006), Nigeria (Jibril, 2006) and Egypt (Farag, 2006). The contents of these edited volumes succinctly cover higher education in Africa and were invaluable to this study.

Development in Developing Countries

Development is a highly contested term (Kiely, 2007; Willis, 2005). It has cultural, social, political and economic implications (Escobar, 1995; Stiglitz, 2001; Stoesz, Guzzetta, & Lusk, 1999; Duffield, 2001; Matthews, 2004; Willis, 2005; Kiely, 2007). Due to the complex nature of development, it is important to first investigate the concept from the perspective of development researchers to gain a better understanding of development and its implications.

In a critique of current development approaches, Matthews (2004) seeks to condense the definition of development to operationalize it in Africa.

If development is defined most simply, it could be said to be a process involving the unfolding of changes in the direction of reaching a higher or more mature state of being... the concept of development is close in meaning to improvement, to amelioration, to desirable change (p. 376).

Beyond improvement, researchers note the transformative element of development:

Development represents a transformation of society, a movement from traditional relations, traditional ways of thinking, traditional ways of dealing with health and education, traditional methods of production, to more 'modern' ways...it recognizes that

we, as individuals and societies, can take actions that, for instance, reduce infant mortality, increase lifespans and increase productivity (Stiglitz, 2001, p. 58).

Kiely (2007) defines development as something beyond process, as events that are also spatially oriented:

'Development' thus usually refers to something that occurs in the developing world, describing the processes by which poorer countries catch up with richer, developed, countries (p. 9).

Each definition demonstrates a particular perspective on development. From modernization to spatial orientation, development encompasses an assortment of theories and practices that range from economic in nature to social, cultural and political concerns.

The concept of development has also been separated into two categories: immanent and intentional (Kiely, 2007). While immanent development has been distinguished as a spontaneous development of capitalism and competition, intentional is defined as a deliberate action designed to manage the consequences of immanent development and is located in the activities of various agencies (i.e. states, NGOs, international financial institutions) (Kiely, 2007). Classical development has thusly led to the creation of a special category of countries in need of development, those that inhabit the South, the Third World, and the developing world (Payne, 2004).

Paradigms of Development

These conceptions of development have been most influenced by post-WWII factors, such as the Cold War, anti-colonial movements, the international economic order, and the prevalence of import-substitution strategies, among others (Kiely, 2007; Matthews, 2004). Most development approaches/theories, post-1945, evolved in opposition to one another, "oscillating between mainstream and counterpoint paradigms" (Payne, 2004, p. 3). The current state of development has come to be referred to as the post-WWII development project and encompasses all theories and practices associated with this period (Matthews, 2004).

Borne from neoclassical economic theory, neoliberalism governs development schemes in the developing world. Rejecting autarky, or rather indigenous development efforts, developing countries and western nations alike have assumed that the growth and development of a nation requires participation in the global economy (Kiely, 2007; Rapley, 2002; Stiglitz, 2001). This paradigm is dependent upon economic reform and intervention at the state-level and consists of

economic mechanisms such as trade liberalization, fiscal austerity and currency devaluation (Kiely, 2007; Stiglitz, 2001; Toye, 2000). Commonly used by international financial institutions to manage balance of payment problems that emerged in developing countries that had heavily borrowed from the World Bank and the IMF, these mechanisms of neoliberalism are now known as structural adjustment (Kiely, 2007; Rapley, 2002; Toye, 2000).

Other development scholars have conflated development with security.

Underdevelopment is seen as perilous, specifically that "the modalities [poverty, resource competition, unemployment, crime, environmental degradation, and so on] of underdevelopment themselves represent a security issue" (Duffield, 2001, p. 36; Stewart, 2004). As a result of armed conflict that is born from this underdevelopment, further attempts at development of a country may be impeded, or even worse, reversed. Conflict not only inhibits the development of a country, but it also corrodes a country's developmental infrastructure, diverting resources from social and economic institutions (Ball, 1998). For example, since 1990, more than 40 national educational systems have been destroyed by civil conflict, undermining each nation's ability to educate its citizenry for employment and destroying the livelihoods of academicians, administrators and university staff (UNESCO, 2006).

International political economists also weigh in on the study and practice of development in developing countries, particularly the spatial nature of it. The international political economy framework of new regionalism rejects that only a special category of countries require development (Payne, 2004; Hettne & Soderbaum, 2000). Payne (2004) redefines development as

the collective building by the constituent social and political actors of a country of a viable, functioning political economy, grounded in at least a measure of congruence between its core domestic characteristics and attributes and its location within a globalizing world order and capable on that basis of advancing the well-being of those living within its confines (p. 249).

New regionalism as a strategy for development involves national and supranational connections between governments and civil society organizations, among others, and recasts development from an universalitist basis (Payne, 2004; Soderbaum & Shaw, 2003).

Alternatively, the recent discourse around development often focuses on its uneven nature (Escobar, 1991, 1995; Matthews, 2004; Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997). Many scholars believe that the practice of development is bankrupt, or at best obsolete, and that "the negative

consequences which have been observed to result from development are intrinsic to development, rather than being unintentional side-effects of it" (Matthews, 2004, p. 374). From this perspective is borne post-development theory (Matthews, 2004). Post-development theory calls for 'alternatives to development' and the "abandonment of the whole epistemological and political field of post-war development" (Escobar, 1991, p. 675). Escobar describes some of these 'alternatives to development' as an interest in local culture and knowledge and "the defense and promotion of localized, pluralistic grassroots movements" (1995, p. 215). Recent alternatives to post-WWII development approaches have been the support of local indigenous education responses: "educating youth in their own cultures, as well as using indigenous languages to educate them...is a key to self-determination" (UNESCO, 2003).

These are but a few of the topics covered in development literature, other paradigms include sustainable development, dependency (discussed in Chapter One), and modernization. The theories outlined above may be relevant to my study due to the nature of development issues in Africa, such as conflict (Duffield, 2001; Ball, 1998; Stewart, 2004), structural adjustment associated with neoliberalism (Keily, 2007; Rapley, 2002; Stiglitz, 1998; Toye, 2000), regional and transnational issues (Payne, 2004, Hettne & Soderbaum, 2000; Soderbaum & Shaw, 2006) and the inequity created by development efforts in developing countries (Escobar, 1991, 1995; Matthews, 2004; Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997). The following section considers the literature on higher education and its contribution to development through individual institutions and networks.

Higher Education and Development

The literature on higher education and its role in development is not voluminous, and tends to be produced by international financial institutions, such as the World Bank (Bloom, et. al, 2006; Saint, 1992; TFHE, 2002; World Bank, 2008), or intergovernmental agencies, such the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (Samoff & Carrol, 2003) and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2007). Issues typically elucidated from scholarly literature on higher education and development are those of economic and academic dependency (Ajayi, et. al., 1996; Altbach, 1998; 2001; 2004a; 2004b; 2005; Hassan, 2007; Selvaratnam, 1988; Teferra & Altbach, 2004) or focus on higher education's inability to participate fully in development (Ajayi, et. al., 1996; Court, 1980; Ross, 1973; Gorostiaga, 1997; van der Bor & Shute, 1991).

In 1971, the International Bureau of Education held its 33rd International Conference on Education. The purpose of the meeting was to determine the role of higher education institutions in development through the reform of teacher training and the management of education systems (Ross, 1973). The findings of the conference noted, on one hand, that higher education in developing countries is flawed in that it produced graduates whose training did not equip them to perform tasks that their nation required of them; yet on the other hand students were graduated in such numbers that they could not be absorbed by national economies (1973). Thus participation in national development through the preparation of manpower was rendered essentially ineffective.

In fact, it has been argued that higher education has been an instrument of maldevelopment in developing countries, due to the persistence of knowledge centralization and concentration at the university-level (Gorostiaga, 2000). Knowledge distribution, according to one author, is even more distorted than income and power distributions in developing nations and that this imbalance in distribution may have unintended antidemocratic consequences. This hijacking of knowledge is inextricably linked to issues of poverty in that it has created further social stratification (between those that can afford education and those who are talented but lack economic resources) (Gorostiaga, 2000). Yet universities also play the role of social critic and conscience and it is essential that issues that dominate society, but are not satisfactorily integrated, such as ethics, gender, the environment and culture, be incorporated into the university curriculum if national development is to occur, globally (Gorostiaga, 2000).

van den Bor and Shute (1991) ask, "Are Third World universities then to be considered instruments of development?" and answer with a resounding no. Often this is due to the fact that the institutions themselves are in dire need of developing. Yet what is often overlooked is the contribution the university makes though its basic function as an institution of higher learning.

Apart from the relatively limited contribution universities can make one has to keep in mind that education is but one of the factors promoting socio-economic development. The impact of education will lead to individual and social change only if combined with relevant non-educational inputs. On the other hand, socio-economic development absolutely requires education, including higher education. Thus the contribution of higher education to development is relative, conditional and inevitable (van den Bor & Shute, 1991, p. 11).

The authors note that since universities are indispensable in the global pursuit of survival, it is needlessly rhetorical to question their importance as instruments of development (van den bor & Shute, 1991).

Other authors emphasize the significant relationship between education and social, political and economic development, albeit one in which it is difficult to differentiate between cause and effect (Fägerlind & Saha, 1989). Education correlates highly with many indicators of development. It fundamentally broadens perspectives, instills new values and beliefs that support modernization, as well as promotes national unity and identity (Fägerlind & Saha, 1989). Furthermore education is viewed as a political change agent, serving three main functions: (a) as the means of socialization into that national political culture; (b) as the primary agent for selection and training of political elites; and, (c) as the main contributor to political integration and the building of national political consciousness (p. 125). Yet, the simple conveyance of western models of education to developing nations "may not only be inappropriate, but even dysfunctional for economic growth and development" in that these systems are not built upon human resources and societal needs that are unique to each country (p. 77).

Individual Institutions' Contributions to Development

Historical reviews and case studies abound on individual institutions and their participation in development at the national level, yet there is little demonstration that the institution can participate effectively (Ajay, et. al., 1996). Ajayi, et. al. (1996) write extensively on the national university systems of east, southern and central Africa, as well as the national institutions of Zaire, Ghana, and Madagascar. The ideal university model in Africa, also known as the "developmental university," is one in which the university is the key provider of knowledge within a nation. Thus far scholars note an insignificant number of institutions in Africa that have demonstrated an ability or willingness to make development central to their mission and activities (Ajayi, et. al, 1996, p. 199).

The challenge for the last part of the 20th century was to convince national governments and their people that their contribution to development lies not in the extent to which they can conform to western prescriptions, "but in their ability to demonstrate...that the process of development requires the kind of trained minds and thinking society that universities are uniquely equipped to promote (Court, 1980, p. 657). As demonstrated by the example of universities in Kenya and Tanzania that have incorporated self-conscious development initiatives

to obtain the "developmental university" ideal (which have made little contribution to development), Court notes that the real achievements of these universities' reforms have come from institution building (1980). Developing local staff, divesting colonial holdovers and establishing public legitimacy were vital to the assertion by these universities in development. "Contribution does not reside in the precise impact upon material goals, but in successful accomplishment of the things that universities alone are capable of offering including the creation of knowledge, understanding and intellectual integrity. In this sense the university is as much a measure of development as a vehicle for it" (Court, 1980, p. 668).

Essentially, the literature on individual institutions' contributions to development at the national level tends, like the literature on higher education and development in general, to focus on what institutions and governments are unable or unwilling to do. Often the reader is encouraged to believe that just by its very nature and existence the institution is contributing to development, yet is incapable of intentional development.

Networks, Education and Development

The variety of cooperative efforts between education institutions, civil society organizations, associations, governmental agencies and advocacy networks in developing nations is vast, exasperating and predominately directional. The exasperating aspect of the literature on this topic is the enduring pessimism with which development discussions are tainted. The directional facet prescribes that most of these cooperative efforts are presided over from North to South, from developed to developing, and underscores the asymmetry, and the pessimism, of relationships between the metropolis and the periphery.

Development cooperation, programs and relationships, and North-South educational linkages between two partner institutions are fraught with management issues (Audenhove, 1998). These issues stem from a failure of the expert model, due to partner asymmetry, and the crisis of higher education in Africa (Audenhove, 1998; van der Bor & Shute, 1991). If these linkages are to be successful, Audenhove (1998) recommends that efforts should first be focused on the institutional development of the educational partner in the developing country. A set of basic principals for these projects are evolving in the donor community, specifically: (a) that institutional cooperation be long-term, whereas they are currently on four to five year cycles; (b) a focus on the institutional needs of the partner university in the South; (c) ownership of the project and strong involvement on the part of the beneficiary institution; (d) sustainability, and;

(e) proper donor coordination and closing the gap between intentions and practice (Audenhove, 1998, p. 535-536).

International social, political, economic, and cultural inequality exists, McNeely (1995) asserts, because of the irrelevance and inappropriateness of development programs instituted by international organizations in cooperation with educational systems in the developing world. Therefore civil society organizations at the national level are being emphasized in Africa as the locus of cultural, political and social engagement, due in large part to the failure of the state and the interference of international organizations through structural adjustment (Lucas, 1994). Yet domestic civil society organizations, such as those in the northwest of Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire, are largely underdeveloped and lack the capacity to create linkages with institutions due to authoritarian regimes (Walker, 1999; Woods, 1994).

In an extensive study on transnational advocacy networks, a promising form of NGO, and education, Mundy and Murphy (2001) note an important qualitative change in the involvement of non-governmental actors in the field of education cooperation. These actors participate globally in virtual and on-the-ground initiatives to link education to development, or to the wider issues that inhibit development, such as debt, human rights, equity and the erosion of free educational services. There were emerging trends for NGOs in the 1990s, such as the involvement of development and relief agencies in education; the inauguration by coalitions and advocacy networks of education on their agendas; international teachers associations that renewed their commitments to global influence on education policy; new linkages that emerged between NGOs, IGOs and IFIs; and cross-organizational collaboration (Mundy & Murphy, 2001, p. 126). Yet, it is important to note, that much of this cooperation is taking place from North to South, from developed to developing country.

In a discussion on the creation of learning societies (those in which individuals pursue lifelong learning) in post-Soviet countries in transition, Juceviciene (2007) notes that learning organizations, like the university, can be a key agent in stimulating regional development, specifically through regional higher education consortia (p. 65). "Consortia and other associations based on networking easily achieve synergy." Using examples from the United Kingdom, the author provides activities that regional networks can participate in to influence development.

- Through networks the university can invite professionals to teach, conduct research and work as experts in the region.
- The university can use its networks with social partners in the region to involve its
 students in intellectual and practical activities important for their education (i.e. service
 learning). This would facilitate the settling of students in the region and inhibit brain
 drain.
- Engage university expertise through consultations to the region (to public agencies, etc.)
- Higher education consortia, in partnership with regional development agencies can work
 to implement innovations, provide targeted higher level skills training, contribute to
 social inclusion, help attract inward investment, and contribute to the strategic thinking
 and expertise in the region (2007, pp. 65-66).

These types of associations between higher education institutions, particularly focused at the regional level can positively impact development efforts. "This competence is likely to be developed sooner at the regional level, because the regions deal with more local problems, involving in their solution a smaller circle of social actors. These processes can be *fundamentally* influenced by the regional university/universities (Juceviciene, 2007, p.66). The author observes, though, that a lack of democratic thinking can be especially problematic to the creation of learning societies. Thus the influences of these types of associations appear to be more pronounced in developed countries, such as the United Kingdom and Australia.

Returning to the discussion on North-South and South-South educational cooperation, some organizations demonstrate that these efforts can occur concurrently, such as the Association of African Universities (AAU) (Ajayi, et. al., 1996), an example of networks described above. Created in a collaborative effort between African universities, UNESCO and the International Association of Universities, AAU has created linkages between African universities and the international community. Yet the lack of continuous and sustainable funding and adequate communications networks (an infrastructure problem) has impeded the organization's ability to impact development and its prestige among member institutions, according to outside evaluators (Ajayi, et. al., 1996). In response to this evaluation, the AAU charged that the evaluators had not sufficiently interacted with administrators from African universities, and that Northern donor agencies had reneged continuously on promised funding for AAU programs (Ajayi, et. al., 1996).

There are several ideas presented above in regards to education networks and development. First, international organizations are spreading ill-conceived and inappropriate development plans throughout developing nations, through hegemony (McNeely, 1995). Next, there is a persisting imbalance or asymmetry among North-South cooperative educational efforts (Audenhove, 1998; van den Bor & Shute, 1991). Attempts at action by national civil society organizations are thwarted by authoritarian regimes and underdeveloped capacity, despite hope that these organizations may be able to make an impact because of their influence in social, political and cultural matters on the ground (Lucas, 1994; Walker, 1999; Wood, 2004). Transnational advocacy networks are emerging as important development actors due to their ability to cross-collaborate and the inclusion of education on the development agenda (Mundy & Murphy, 2001), but again, much of this is being directed from developed nations to developing. Higher education consortia and associations and their networking experiences can be brought to bear on regional development, but may be more appropriate in countries with established democratic ideals (Juceviciene, 2007). An example of these networks, the AAU, an amalgamation of North-South, South-South educational cooperation, underscores the paradigmatic shift that Mundy & Murphy (2001) and Jucevicience (2007) note, yet suffers from the asymmetrical relationships and capacity issues (Ajayi, et. al., 1996) that plague many other education network initiatives for development.

Conclusion

In summary, higher education in developing nations, and in Africa specifically, is enduring a crisis of capacity, and this is further exacerbated by conflict, growing student enrollments, lack of continued public financing, lack of sustainable education policies, colonial legacies, among others (Ajayi, et. al., 1996; Altbach, 2003, 2007; Atteh, 1996; Banya & Elu, 2001; Birdsall, 1996; Bloom, et. al., 2006; Commission for Africa, 2005; Clark, 1997; Coombe, 1991; Hassan, 2007; Hoffman, 1996; Ilon, 2003; Kinser & Levy, 2006; Levy, 2008; Lulat, 2004; Okeke, 2006; Psacharopoulos, 1991; Puplampu, 2006; Rathgeber, 2003; Salmi, 1992; Samoff & Carrol, 2004; Sawyerr, 2004; Teferra & Altbach, 2004; Watson, 2004). In essence, practically all of the literature on higher education in Africa focuses on the "destruction" or the "crisis" of postsecondary institutions and educational systems.

Development in developing countries is perceived by many as an exacerbating element in this crisis, and yet, by others, it is viewed as a panacea. Post-World War II development has led

to the formation of a special category of countries in need of development, those that inhabit the South, the Third World, and the developing world (Kiely, 2007; Payne, 2004; Willis, 2002). Current development practices, such as neoliberalism, underscore this directional nature, from North to South, and require the interference in national economic systems (Kiely, 2007; Rapley, 2002; Stiglitz, 1998; Toye, 2000). Other development paradigms, such as development and security (Ball, 1996; Duffield, 2001; Stewart, 2004), new regionalism (Payne, 2004, Hettne & Soderbaum, 2000; Soderbaum & Shaw, 2006) and post-development (Escobar, 1991, 1995; Matthews, 2004; Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997), may provide new perspectives on practices in development in the developing world and could potentially alleviate some of the obstacles to the participation of higher education in development.

Yet higher education scholars tend to agree that higher education as an instrument or vehicle of development in developing countries makes a limited contribution to development, beyond its traditional purposes (Ajayi, et. al., 1996; Court, 1980; Ross, 1973; Gorostiaga, 1997; van der Bor & Shute, 1991). Other scholars focus on the economic and academic dependency that plagues institutions in developing countries (Ajayi, et. al., 1996; Altbach, 1998; 2001; 2004a; 2004b; 2005; Hassan, 2007; Selvaratnam, 1988; Teferra & Altbach, 2004). Higher education institutions as participants in development, it would seem, are simply ineffectual.

Beyond the individual institution, networks of institutions, civil society organizations, and NGOs may play a role in assisting education in the struggle for development in developing countries. However, the literature focuses again how these types of efforts are beleaguered by problems associated with asymmetrical power relations and commitment, lack of capacity, authoritarian regimes and the crisis of higher education in developing countries (Ajayi, et. al., 1996; Audenhove, 1998; Lucas, 1994; McNeely, 1995; Mundy & Murphy, 2001; van den Bor & Shute, 1991; Walker, 1999; Wood, 2004).

What is missing from this discussion on education networks and development are South-South cooperative efforts and regional development initiatives with educational institutions. Murphy and Mundy (2001) touch on the existence and impact of education networks, such as associations, but they focus on the international influence of these organizations. Ajayi, et. al. (1996) highlight the AAU as a contributor to African development, but the study is dated and external literature on the current impact of the organization is not available. Nor does the literature elucidate how affiliation with a network impacts the institution's ability to participate

in development at the national level. Furthermore this brief examination of the literature is filled with pessimism. That institutions can actively contribute to development, beyond the very matter of their existence, seems to be undermined not only by problems on the ground, but also by scholarly fatalism.

Setting for the Study

The Association of African Universities (AAU) was the primary setting for the present case study research and is the principal organization and forum for consultation, exchange of information and cooperation among institutions of higher education in Africa. The AAU is an authoritative voice on higher education in all of Africa. Additionally, it works with regional and international bodies, such as UNESCO and the International Association of Universities, and supports networking by institutions of higher education in teaching, research, information exchange, and dissemination. According to AAU website, the mission of the organization is:

to raise the quality of higher education in Africa and strengthen its contribution to African development by fostering collaboration among its member institutions; by providing support to their core functions of teaching, learning, research and community engagement; and by facilitating critical reflection on, and consensus-building around, issues affecting higher education and the development of Africa (AAU, 2008).

Headquartered in Accra, Ghana, and founded in Rabat, Morocco on November 12, 1967, the AAU was first conceived by UNESCO, in collaboration with African scholars and higher education executives, in Antananarivo, Madagascar, in September 1962. The Antananarivo recommendations were taken up by a committee of the heads of African institutions of higher education, which met in Khartoum in September 1963 and drafted the founding constitution of the AAU (Ajayi, et. al., 1996).

With an initial membership of 34, the Association has grown to encompass 212 institutions from 45 African countries within its membership ranks. It has established and increased its role in the five sub-regions (North, East, West, Central and South) of Africa. The Association convenes higher education institutional leaders and policy-makers from all parts of the continent on key issues related to African higher education and development. In addition, the Association provides leadership in the identification of emerging issues and support for debating them and facilitating appropriate follow-up action by its members, partners and other stakeholders.

The AAU manages the following programs and services, referred to as the Core Program of the Association: Study Program on Higher Education Management in Africa; International Fellowships Program (West Africa Region); Staff Exchange; African-American Institute/AAU First Data Western Union Fellowship; Association for the Development of Education in Africa's Working Group on Higher Education (ADEA/WGHE); the Roster of African Professionals (ROAP); African Universities Responding to HIV/AIDS; Coordination of Information and Communications Technology Initiatives; and Developing Quality Assurance Systems in African Universities. Due to current funding restraints, certain programming is on hold. Once funding is ascertained the following programs and services will be revived: Higher Education Leadership Development Workshops; Networks for Regional Cooperation in Graduate Training and Research; and Database of African Theses and Dissertations (DATAD).

Funding for Core Program activities is generated through member university dues, grants from African countries, the African Union, the African Capacity Building Foundation and through donor assistance.

Additionally the organization publishes a monthly newsletter, the *AAU e-courier*, and produces publications on a variety of African issues, reports, and occasional papers. The AAU also maintains a strong web presence at www.AAU.org.

The AAU is organized and governed by:

- The General Conference, the Conference of Rectors, Vice Chancellors and Presidents (COREVIP), the Executive Board and the Secretariat. The General Conference, encompassing representatives of members, associate members and observers, is the supreme authority of the AAU and is responsible for determining the general policies of the AAU. The Conference of Rectors, Vice Chancellors and Presidents (COREVIP) is the permanent appendage of the AAU responsible for mediating interuniversity cooperation. It consists of the executive heads of member and associate member institutions.
- The Executive Board is made up of the president of the AAU, three vice-presidents, and 11 other executive heads of member institutions elected at the General Conference to represent the five sub-regions of Africa and the Secretary-General.
- The Secretariat is the permanent executive adjunct of the AAU and operates under the general supervision of the Executive Board and the direction of the Secretary-General in Accra, Ghana. The Secretariat staff consists of 20 staff members (AAU, 2008).

Secretariat

The AAU is located at the African Universities House, 11 Aviation Road Extension, Airport Residential Area in North Accra, Ghana. The 20 staff members of the Association are housed at this location. The Secretariat is broken up into five arms: Senior Management, Project Management/Coordination, Operational Management, Office Management, and Technical/Accounting Support. According to AAU bylaws (2007, p. 11), "the Secretariat of the Association shall operate under the supervision of the Executive Board and under the direction of the Secretary-General, and shall:

- 1. Organize a centre for documentary materials on matters of higher education which are of interest to universities in Africa;
- 2. Provide appropriate means for the resources of the documentation centre to be made accessible to member institutions and to other bodies concerned with higher education in Africa:
- 3. Establish machinery to facilitate the interchange of students and teachers, notably within Africa;
- 4. Facilitate co-operation between the member institutions of the Association to make full use of their human and material resources;
- 5. Subject to prior approval by the Executive Board, render to member institutions such individual services as they may request; and
- 6. Undertake other tasks that are compatible with the object of the Association." Furthermore the Secretariat sees to the implementation and monitoring of Core Program activities. This includes acting as a coordinator, facilitator and monitoring body as member institutions carry out Core Program activities. The Secretariat also undertakes monitoring activities and reports to the governing bodies of the AAU on the implementation of the Core Program.

There is an abundance of literature that I used in developing the manuscripts in Chapters Five and Six. The setting for the first part of the study, the AAU, provides context for the methods described in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

In this chapter I describe the overall design of the study. Details are provided about the rationale and assumptions regarding qualitative strategies of inquiry, participant selection, data collection, data analysis, and data quality and rigor. Finally there is a discussion on the role of the researcher in the study and ethical considerations.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study was to investigate the role of higher education networks in regional development and how these networks may aid individual universities to participate in national development. In particular, I examined how the Association of African Universities (AAU), a higher education network of 212 members from 45 African countries, influences regional development. Additionally, I explored the role of two African universities in national development to understand how members of the university define development and how they perceive the institution's participation in development. Data from this exploration will enable networks like the AAU to better connect individual university development challenges and contributions with regional development priorities.

The setting for this case study was the Association of African Universities in Accra, Ghana. Furthermore, AAU administrators were asked to identify two member institutions in one African country. I examined two university members of the AAU. The choice of these particular institutions was based upon their perceived success with respect to promoting development. Data were collected through interviews with strategic administrators and faculty of the Association and the selected institutions.

This research allowed me to understand, in depth, a single phenomenon, through close examination and the use of multiple sources of information. Data were collected through two different, but complimentary methods. Semi-structured interviews were used, as well as analyzing material culture.

Research Questions

I explored six research questions concerning the Association of African Universities' role and contribution to regional development in Africa, and how two African universities participate in national development:

1. How do AAU administrators and staff define development in the African milieu?

- 2. How do AAU administrators and staff perceive the education network's contribution to regional development?
- 3. How does regional cooperation relate to development?
- 4. How do faculty and staff at African universities define development in the African milieu?
- 5. How do faculty and staff at universities in Africa perceive their institution's contribution to development?
- 6. What resources and relationships enable these universities to play a role in development?

 Rationale and Assumptions of a Qualitative Strategy of Inquiry

Qualitative research is inductive, holistic and empathetic and it generally takes place in a natural setting and contends with issues that are of social and human concern (Creswell, 2003; Rossman & Rallis, 2003; Stake, 1995). Qualitative researchers, in general, embrace several basic assumptions. First the researcher is seeking an insider perspective on the research at hand (Creswell, 2003; Whitt, 1991). The researcher is also considered the primary instrument of data collection (Creswell, 2003). Qualitative research requires close investigator proximity to human participants (Creswell, 2003; Whitt, 1991). Qualitative researchers also appreciate the value-laden nature of inquiry, meaning that the researcher is aware of and influenced by his or her values and cultural context but takes steps to mitigate the effect of these values on the research (Whitt, 1991).

The principal rationale for the use of qualitative strategies of inquiry in this study is that they are well suited to cross-discipline research in international development (Harris, 2002). In this case, I attempted to reveal information about two communities of discourse: higher education and development. In conducting cross-disciplinary qualitative research on development, "the possibility of making statistically exact statements...is sacrificed in favor of understanding of social action, partly achieved through the possibility of making connections between...economic and political roles, and people's beliefs and ritual practices" (Harris, 2002, p. 489). Harris names a number of cases in which qualitative research strategies used in other social science fields made notable contributions to the study of international development and stresses that qualitative approaches may assist in the improved and more participatory development of theories and practice in international development.

The primary qualitative strategy of inquiry employed by this study is case study. The case study design is one of the most popular and well established approaches to research and is a comprehensive research strategy (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003). Case study research is commonly used across the social sciences (Yin, 2003). Case studies are commonly described as empirical inquiries that explore contemporary phenomena, within their real-life context (Stake, 1995). Stake (1995) notes that this investigation typically occurs when the boundaries between the phenomenon being studied and the relevant milieu are not clearly demarcated. This means that that the researcher studies and endeavors to describe a case, such as a program, event, activity, or process, in depth and within its associated context. The present research required an examination of the AAU and the individual institutions in their real-life context, Africa, and for immersion into that context to discover and retain the meaningful characteristics of real-life events.

The purpose of a case study is to first produce high quality analysis. Second, the case study should attend to all the evidence. Next, it should display and present all of the evidence and show adequate concern for exploring alternative interpretations (Yin, 2003). This particular study was guided by Yin's (2003) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Case study design is being used because it is flexible enough to allow for changes to be made to the overall design when revelatory information is uncovered during data collection (Yin, 2003).

This case study was bounded by very few limitations to allow me to collect data that was both relevant and illuminating to the research. Data were limited to the particular sites of data collection – the AAU offices and the two universities. The case study was bounded by particular areas of interest, that of higher education and development. The study was also bounded by time as data were collected between April 2008 and December 2008. The exploratory nature of this case study also acts to bound it.

The type of case study design engaged by this research is the embedded case study. This design is a single-case design, with subunits, or embedded units of analysis (Yin, 2003). In this instance, the AAU is the single case being studied and the two individual institutions are the embedded units. Therefore, the rationale for the use of this strategy of inquiry is that the AAU as an education network is the case being studied; the two individual institutions are embedded because of their *membership* to the network. Figure 1 depicts the relationship:

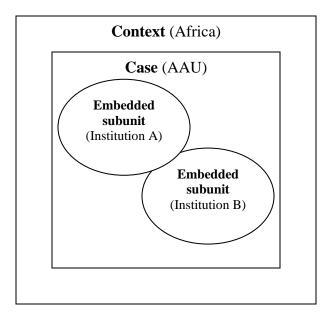


Figure 1. Case study design: Embedded single-case.

The embedded case study was adopted, for the purposes of my study, in partnership with the grounded theory strategy of inquiry. The chief purpose of grounded theory is to generate or discover theory (Creswell, 2003; Dey, 1999). To accomplish this, the researcher must set aside theoretical assumptions and permit theory to emerge from the data. Data are generated through fieldwork, such as interviews and document collection (Creswell, 2003; Dey, 1999). Data analysis is systematic and occurs simultaneously with data collection (Creswell, 2003; Dey, 1999).

I chose this particular qualitative strategy of inquiry because I have not established my study in any particular theoretical supposition about how development is defined, primarily because the literature is overwhelmed with Western devised theory. Scholars tend to view higher education in developing nations from a dependency model. Rarely are these institutions considered authentic actors in the development process. When higher education is considered in the development process, a neoliberal economic perspective prevails. Additionally, this continual imposition of neoliberal development ideals may contribute further to dependency and impede the possibility of an African defined model of development. Development delineated from the African perspective may offer sustainable alternatives to current development practices. Therefore, using the grounded theory approach allowed me, in collaboration with participants, to explore notions of development and the role of regional education networks in promoting development and to generate theory from this exploration.

Participant Selection

I conducted this research as an embedded case study, where there were multiple units of analysis (Yin, 2003). In this case, the AAU was the case study, and the two individual institutions identified through interview and document analysis at the AAU site, were the embedded units. Data were collected through interviews and document analysis, therefore three sample selection procedures were needed: participants at the AAU, participants at the two institutions, and document selection.

Phase One – Association of African Universities Participant Selection

One of the most important sources of evidence is the information collected from interviews (Yin, 2003). Instrumental to the interview process are participants, or rather people who voluntarily provide the researcher information about the phenomena being studied (Creswell, 2003). Participants were chosen at both the case study site and at the two individual institutions through purposeful sampling techniques during two phases of participant selection.

Prior to the collection of data, I contacted the Association of African Universities in Accra, Ghana for permission to conduct my study on site. Because my research was a case study, and thus constrained and defined by the location of the AAU, it was necessary for me to travel to the organization and conduct my research. I promptly received a reply from Dr. Pascal Hoba, Director of Communications & Services. Beginning in January of 2008, Dr. Hoba and I corresponded for two months on the nature of my study and what I would require from the organization once on site. My advisor, Dr. Joan Hirt, also contacted Dr. Hoba and requested that he assist me in my research. In March, I received a written invitation from the AAU to travel to Ghana and begin my study in June of 2008 (Appendix A).

Within the first few days on site, I met with the Secretary General of the AAU, Dr. Akilagpa Sawyerr and Dr. Hoba. This initial meeting revolved around logistical issues regarding space needs, staff schedules, organization activities in which I could participate, and access to organization documents. The staff members of the AAU were my primary population of interest and I requested access to a criterion sample of AAU staff members (Patton, 2002). Dr. Hoba helped me to identify which staff members would be most appropriate and available to be interviewed. For the purpose of this study, participants were deemed appropriate if they met the following criteria: (a.) interacted with individual institution members, and; (b.) participated in AAU programming and services.

The first criterion for sampling was necessary to identify only those participants familiar with the individual institutions and capable of assessing the perceived success or lack thereof of individual AAU members. Participant assessment would then allow me to determine which two member institutions to include as embedded subunits in the case study, as well as address the research questions delineated by the study.

The second criterion allowed me, in collaboration with Dr. Hoba, to identify participants at AAU who were best able to answer questions pertaining to the organization's contributions to development. AAU programs and services, according to organization documents, "will enhance the impact of the African higher education community and its institutions on national, regional and global affairs and policy" (www.AAU.org, 2008). Therefore it was important to interview individuals who were capable of speaking to this ostensible enhancement and answer the research questions outlined by the study.

In addition to gathering my sample, I also spent the first week familiarizing myself with AAU procedures. I began reviewing documents, meeting staff and administrators informally, and establishing a rapport with my participants. This time was also spent examining the organization's meeting schedule and receiving permission to observe a variety of AAU activities throughout the duration of my stay in Ghana.

During the second week, I began interviewing AAU staff members. As I met people, I talked with them about my study and gave them copies of the informed consent form (Appendix B) and a list of the questions that I would be asking in the interview (Appendix C). Potential participants were able to review both documents and then decide whether to participate. The final number of respondents interviewed at AAU was based upon availability of participants and data saturation. Data saturation refers to the moment during the interview process when the researcher begins to hear repeated information on a particular topic or experience, thus further interviews will not likely add to the findings, as suggested by Miles and Huberman in their discussion on the early stages of data analysis (1994).

Phase Two – Individual Institutions' Participant Selection

The individual institutions embedded in the case study were purposefully selected in order to help me to best answer my research questions. The embedded institutions were selected based upon recommendations from those interviewed at the AAU and document analysis. The

analysis of these data assisted me in identifying two institutions, based upon the following criteria:

- 1. Two institutions in the same country (to control for certain variables, such as economic, cultural, social, and political factors).
- 2. Two institutions with sufficiently broad academic offerings as to have many types of students and faculty.
- 3. Two institutions considered to be leaders in higher education (and thus likely to be members of continental organizations).
- 4. Two institutions that represent a region of Africa (in order to speak to both national and regional contexts)

Identified institutions could be publicly funded or private, as there is literature that supports each type of institution's (in)ability to participate in development (Ajayi, et. al., 1996; Court, 1980; Ross, 1973; Gorostiaga, 1997; van der Bor & Shute, 1991

Participants at individual institutions were identified through my initial interaction with participants at the AAU. Contact names at each institution were procured from AAU staff and were contacted by both myself and an AAU administrator to invite them to participate in the case study.

During a second trip to Africa, I traveled to each institution and met with high-level administrators, such as the university chancellor and/or chief academic officer and asked them who else at their institution they thought I should talk with given my focus on the AAU and development. I then met with these potential participants. At these meetings, I gave potential participants copies of the informed consent form (Appendix B) and a list of the questions that I would be asking in the interview (Appendix D). I then employed snowball sampling, a technique in which participants are asked to identify other faculty or staff to interview (Patton, 2002). The final number of participants interviewed at each institution was based upon availability of participants and data saturation.

Phase Three - Document Selection

In addition to interviews, I also collected data from documents. Prior to arrival, I visited the AAU website and downloaded documents that I believed would aid in data collection and my understanding of the case. These documents included the "AAU Constitution and Bylaws", the "AAU 2005-2009 Core Programmes", and the most recent annual report. At each interview, I

asked participants to identify and provide documents that would help to illuminate the relationship between the AAU and development and the individual member institutions and development. These documents included both internal and external documents and personal communications.

At the individual institutions, I requested documents from participants that would help to clarify the relationships between the AAU, individual institutions and development (both regional and national). Participants were also asked to provide documents that would give details on cooperative relationships with organizations outside the university, developed under the aegis of AAU membership. These documents included both internal and external documents and personal communications.

Instrumentation

Data collection through interviews for this study required the construction of two separate instruments or protocols. One interview protocol was developed for AAU staff members. The other protocol was developed for individual institution participants. The first section of the interview protocol gathered data about the participant (e.g., background and nationality) and the central research questions. The second section of each protocol sought demographic information about the participants, such as age, sex and education. This section also collected information on the participant's employment, such as job title, years in position, and a description of duties. The final section, on a separate sheet, asked participants to consider the concept of development, provide a written definition of the concept, and to explain what they considered to be indicators of development. Participants were asked to return the sheet to me when they had completed it. Participants were asked each question in the protocols, but probes for more information on their responses differed from participant to participant.

Association of African Universities Interview Protocol

The interview protocol for AAU participants attempted to elicit information on several categories that emerged from the first three research questions posed in the study: *defining development*, *contributing to development*, and *relating cooperation to development*. These questions sought both factual information from participants and their opinions on the phenomena being researched and the categories outlined above. For example, participants were asked to identify the most important project they had worked on at the AAU, and why it was the most important. This question relates to the category *contributing to development*, as it is requesting

information from the participant on successful programming at the AAU, programming that is aimed at improving higher education. Below is a matrix that demonstrates the direct relationship between parts of the protocol (PI & PIII) interview questions (IQs) and research questions (RQs). The complete protocol can be found in Appendix C.

Table 1

AAU Interview Protocol Matrix

Research	Part of Protocol: Interview Question			
Question				
RQ1.	PIII. Defining	PI: IQ.3 –		
Defining	development	Purpose of		
development in		/challenges to		
the African		higher ed in		
milieu		Africa		
RQ2.	PI: IQ.4 – How	PI: IQ 5 –	PI: IQ.6 -	PI: IQ.7 –
AAU	has AAU	Individual	Most	Least
contributing to	helped achieve	institutional	important	successful
development	this purpose	membership	project	project
RQ3.	PI: IQ.4 – How	PI: IQ.8 –		
Relating	has AAU	Cooperation		
regional	helped achieve	with other		
cooperation to	this purpose	organizations		
development				

Individual Member Institutions Interview Protocol

Individual institution participants were asked to enumerate how participation in the AAU influenced their ability to participate in development. Specifically, interview protocol questions attempted to elicit information on the third research question (since that question was relevant to both AAU and individual institutions), as well as the remaining three research questions posed in the study: relating cooperation to development, defining development, contributing to development, and ability to participate in development. These questions sought both factual information from participants and their opinions on the phenomena being researched. For

example, participants were asked "How has participation in the AAU influenced your institution's ability to participate in change in your country? Why or why not?" This question is related to *ability to contribute to development* as it asks the participant to discuss how membership in the AAU has affected their institution's capacity in this arena and context. The protocol is necessarily broad to be adjusted according to what is learned from the AAU data collection. Below is a matrix that demonstrates the direct relationship between parts of the protocol (PI & PIII) interview questions (IQs) and research questions (RQs). The complete protocol can be found in Appendix D.

Table 2

Individual Institutions Interview Protocol Matrix

Research Question	Research Question Part of Protocol: Interview Question	
RQ4 –	PI:IQ.1- Conceptions of	
Defining development	development	
RQ5 –	PI:IQ.2-	PI: IQ.3 -Challenges to the
How do faculty and staff at	University contributions to	university's ability to
universities in Africa	personal conceptions of	contribute to that
perceive their institution's	development	development process
contribution to		
development?		
RQ6 –	PI:IQ.4 - What resources	
What resources and	and relationships enable	
relationships enable these	the university to overcome	
universities to play a role in	challenges	
development?		

Data Collection Process

Prior to the commencement of data collection, I sought the approval of the Institutional Review Board on Human Subjects (IRB) at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, my home campus (Appendix E, IRB approval letter). Once approval was granted, I travelled to Ghana and began collecting data.

Interviews

This research employed two primary data collection techniques: open-ended interviews and documents. Interviews are integral to case study research, and open ended interviews entail the researcher asking participants about the facts of a matter and their opinion on that matter (Yin, 2003). Open-ended, in-depth interviews involve fixed questions that are asked of all participants in a particular order (Rossman & Rallis, 2003), but allow for investigator probes and participant clarifications. Thus "[a]t the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience"(Siedman, 2006, p. 9). If the researcher is to understand the meaning that people involved in education make of their experience, then interviewing provides a necessary avenue of inquiry (Siedman, 2006).

Association of African Universities interview process. On site interviews lasted approximately one hour each. They were held at the AAU offices or a location convenient to the participant. All interviews were audiotaped with the permission of the participant. I employed the use of a digital voice recorder to ensure the quality and clarity of recorded conversations. Informed consent was secured from participants prior to the commencement of the interview. Additionally, participants were given Part III of the interview protocol and asked to provide responses and return it to me upon completion. I transcribed the recorded interviews and I provided participants with a bulleted summary of their interview, to ensure that I captured all of the major points of the interview. Participants were allowed to make changes and/or add supplementary comments to the summary and return it to me.

Individual member institutions interview process. On-site interviews lasted approximately one hour each. They were held at either the university or at a location convenient to the participant. All interviews were audiotaped with the permission of the participant. I employed the use of a digital voice recorder to ensure the quality and clarity of recorded conversations. Informed consent was secured from participants prior to the commencement of the interview. Additionally, participants were given Part III of the interview protocol and asked to provide responses and return it to me upon completion. I then transcribed the recorded interviews and I provided participants with a bulleted summary of their interview to ensure that I captured all of the major points of the interview. Participants were allowed to make changes and/or add supplementary comments to the summary and return it to me.

Public and Private Documents

Data collection in this study also included the identification and procurement of documents from both the AAU and the individual institutions that facilitated the current research. Rossman and Rallis (2003) and Hodder (2002) refer to such documents as material culture. "Gathering documents and other aspects of material culture is relatively unobtrusive and potentially rich in portraying the values and beliefs in a setting or social domain" (Rossman & Rallis, 2003, p. 198). One advantage to collecting material culture is that it enables the researcher to acquire the vocabulary of an organization and its participants (Creswell, 2003). Moreover, documents represent thoughtful data, in that participants have given attention to their compilation (Creswell, 2003). Yet when searching for documents, to remain critical of their content, I kept in mind that these documents were written for specific purposes and specific audiences other than those of the case study being conducted and that they did not contain the unmitigated truth (Yin, 2003).

Association of African Universities' documents. Collected documents included public and private documents. Public documents, for the purposes of this research, were meeting minutes, memoranda, announcements, evaluations, newsletters, reports, archival records (e.g. survey data, maps, charts, service records and lists) and other organizational documents. Private documents included emails and letters, or any type of personal communication. Access to organizational documents was arranged prior to data collection and requested from individual participants at the time of the interview. I copied documents on site and subsequently scanned them into a qualitative research database, NVivo 8.0, for further analysis.

Individual member institutions' documents. Collected documents included public and private documents. Public documents were meeting minutes, memoranda, announcements, evaluations, newsletters, reports, archival records and other organizational documents that related directly to the university's participation in AAU activities or discussed AAU activities. Private documents included emails and letters, or any type of personal communication. Access to organizational documents was requested at the time of the interview. I copied documents on site and subsequently scanned them into a qualitative research database, NVivo 8.0, for further analysis.

Supplementary Evidence

Supplementary data collection procedures included: a research journal kept by the investigator and newspaper accounts. This evidence was collected to augment the primary data collection procedures.

Data Analysis

I employed the grounded theory method for data analysis. Grounded theory is a qualitative research technique that is well established and allows for data collection and analysis to occur simultaneously. This approach is also dynamic enough to allow for continuous change in data collection and analysis.

Prior to analyzing data collected at AAU, the individual members institutions, and the documents I collected, I organized and prepared the data for analysis. This involved transcribing interviews, scanning documents, and populating my case study database. I then sorted and arranged the data into different types according to the source of the information. These types included interviews, material culture, and supplementary data. I also arranged data according to where it was obtained (AAU participant, AAU document, AAU event, etc). I then read through all of the data to obtain a general sense of the information and to reflect on its overall meaning. I kept analytic memos that brought together data from across the sources of evidence on emergent insights (Rossman & Rallis, 2003). All of this information was then entered into NVivo 8.0, qualitative data management software. NVivo assisted me in storing all of my evidence, coding data, finding commonalities, and analyzing relationships.

Detailed analysis was conducted with the aid of coding, a process of organizing data that involves "taking text data..., segmenting sentences into categories and labeling those categories with a term [code], often a term based in the actual language of the participant" (Creswell, 2003, p. 192). This analysis technique, based in grounded theory, allowed me to identify categories and themes, to further refine the data to establish and corroborate themes, to ascertain significance, and to develop theory regarding the central phenomenon (Dey, 1999).

Specifically, after I obtained a general sense of the qualitative data generated by the study, the data (including primary and supplementary sources of evidence) underwent a three-step analysis process adapted from Dey (1999) and Strauss & Corbin (1990):

1. *Open coding* - This is a "process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing and categorizing data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p.61). During this

process, I formed initial categories of information (a category embodies a unit of information composed of events, happenings and instances, and are typically action oriented; these are also referred to as codes) about the phenomenon being studied. I was aware that my research questions would guide this process. The categories that were most relevant to my research questions emerged as:

- (a) Defining Development
- (b) Contributions to Development
- (c) Relating Cooperation to Development
- (d) Ability to Participate in Development
- (e) Miscellaneous

Within each *category*, I sought after and discovered *properties*, or rather *subcategories*. Included in this process was the construction of a codebook that contained an inventory of codes and their descriptions. At this time I also created attribute spreadsheets that contained the characteristics of my participants.

- 2. Axial coding This step is composed of relating codes (categories and properties). I assembled the data using a code map, grouping related codes. This revealed central phenomena, or themes. The themes, in conjunction with the communities of discourse on higher education and development, helped me to identify analytical frameworks for data application.
- 3. *Selective coding* Next I discovered a "story line." I composed an account that integrated the themes I established in the axial code map. In this phase, conditional *propositions*, or hypotheses, were offered.

This three step analysis of the data led to the development of code maps, adapted from Anfara, Brown, and Mangione (2002). It is important to note that this same process of data analysis was used on the documents collected at each participant's site, concurrently with the analysis of interview data and supplementary evidence.

Data Quality and Rigor

Trustworthiness in qualitative research, similar to the conventions well established in quantitative research, is based on the systematic collection of data, conducting rigorous analysis procedures, conforming to acceptable standards of practice, performing research ethically, and allowing those procedures and subsequent findings to be open to the critical scrutiny of others

(Creswell, 2003; Rossman & Rallis, 2003; Toma, 2006). Trustworthiness is demonstrated by taking steps during research design, data collection, and analysis to ensure that the findings are credible, dependable, confirmable and transferable (Toma, 2006).

Trustworthiness in research design is referred to as credibility (Toma, 2006). Through the inclusion of a literature review I was able to illuminate the need for and purpose of my study, which supported credibility (see Chapter Two). I also outlined the design of the study, such as the strategy of inquiry, participant selection and characteristics, the data collection methods, and data analysis (see Chapters Three – Five). Credibility was demonstrated by a clear, logical outline of the study. In other words, the study was structurally coherent.

Credibility was also attained though a research journal that assisted me in locating myself in the data and enabling reflexivity; permitting me to track my own ideas, responses, and biases in order to separate my responses from the responses of the participants. Credibility was supported by prolonged and varied field experience. The initial trip to Ghana took place during the course of a month, allowing for ample opportunity to meet with and gain the trust of participants at AAU. I also traveled to the location of the individual institutions to meet with participants.

Trustworthiness in method, often meaning dependability in the qualitative strategy of inquiry, is maintained by transparency and demonstration of a clear chain of evidence (Toma, 2006). Transparency refers to the intent of the researcher and making sure this intent it clearly explicated to participants, which was accomplished through written and verbal communications with participants. The demonstration of a clear chain of evidence was facilitated by a research journal that I kept and a case study database that contained an audit trail, that is all information on and decisions made about the case study. Dependability was also enhanced by expert review of the protocol. A panel of experienced researchers reviewed the interview protocols to ensure that each elicited data on the research questions.

Dependability was augmented by triangulation, meaning the use of multiple sources of evidence (Toma, 2006; Yin, 2003). In this case, the research specifically employed both interview data and document content data, and used supplementary data collection efforts to augment and corroborate evidence collected from the primary sources.

Trustworthiness in data analysis is referred to as confirmability (Toma, 2006). Often this is enhanced through member checks. I requested that participants confirm categories and themes

that emerged from the data and my interpretation of the data. I summarized key points at the end of every interview and distributed these to participants in my study for review. Negative case analysis, meaning the description of instances of disagreement with the researcher's interpretation, is an imperative of confirmability and credibility of qualitative research and was undertaken during my analysis of the data.

In qualitative research, generalizability, a distinctly quantitative term, is referred to as transferability (Toma, 2006). In my findings and conclusions I described other populations, settings or individuals to whom implications may be applied. This was conducted with the caveat that readers judiciously apply research interpretations. Transferability was maintained by a thorough and specific description of opportunities for application of the study's results and implications, which are outlined in Chapters Five and Six.

The Role of Researcher

As mentioned before, qualitative research is fundamentally interpretive, requiring a sustained and intensive interaction with participants. This, in turn, introduces a range of personal and ethical issues into the research process (Creswell, 2003). In the following paragraphs, I will unequivocally identify biases, values and personal interests that concern my research topic and process and reflect on how these issues shaped my research.

Researcher's Philosophical Assumptions

My interest in higher education and development is principally emancipatory in nature. I endeavored to keep this in mind when interacting with participants and analyzing data in order to avoid coloring the findings with my own assumptions. Yet I hoped that the process of inquiry and the knowledge generated by my study would be transformative, meaning that the results would become a source of empowerment for individuals employed by the organization and institutions I studied. It was my intent that my research would impact policy development and implementation in a positive way. I also asked my participants to act as co-collaborators by having them define key terminology and asking them to assist in the identification of other sources of evidence. I wanted my research to positively impact oppressive social relations, such as those that derive from center-periphery associations.

My philosophical assumptions regarding my topic and my research are born from my experiences in developing nations. Upon graduation from college, I accepted a position on a Fulbright-funded community development project in Qastal, Jordan. I lived and worked in

Jordan for many months, endeavoring to improve the economic conditions of the residents of a small community on the outskirts of 'Amman. This project entailed the revitalization of an old *qasr* (a castle-like structure, or fort) to boost tourism in the area. The community surrounding the *qasr* had been using the decaying structure as a dumping ground. After the project removed the refuse from the structure, we discovered an ancient aquifer and cistern for collecting water. This was shocking because the people in the area depended entirely upon expensive, and often contaminated, water imported from Israel. The technology for collecting water had been lost or purposely concealed. All along, the people in Qastal had the answer to their water crisis, hidden under mounds of trash. I believe that this experience enhanced my awareness, knowledge and sensitivity to the challenges that developing nations must overcome. Yet, I maintain that people often have the solutions to their own problems.

Protection of Human Participants

Due to my perception of participants as co-collaborators in producing relevant conclusions from my study, it was of the utmost importance that the individuals who generously offered their time and insight should be protected from exploitation and other risks that the research may have entailed. Thus, prior to the beginning of this research, I first ascertained the permission of the AAU and the individual institutions to conduct my study (see Appendix A). I then contacted the IRB office at Virginia Tech and completed an online training on the history of research, issues in bioethics and the protection of human subjects. I subsequently received a certificate from the Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board indicating that I completed the training successfully.

As this study required the use of human subjects, an IRB application was submitted to the University for approval (Appendix E). During the IRB process, I acknowledged and accepted my responsibility for protecting the rights, welfare, health, and safety of participants and for complying with university regulations; I fully informed participants of the risks, benefits and other aspects of the research in which they were being asked to participate; I obtained informed consent from each participant in a non-coercive manner; I provided each participant a copy (or duplicate original) of his/her signed consent form; and I conducted research by generally accepted ethical standards such that the rights and welfare of participants were not compromised and that the greatest possible benefits would accrue to the participants and to society (VT IRB, 2008).

Data collection took place in Africa, though, where different mores, traditions, and institutions may require different research etiquette, particularly in terms of informed consent, recruitment practices, and documentation. Special attention was given to local customs and to local cultural and religious norms in drafting written consent documents. Where there was no equivalent local board or group in the country where the research was conducted, I relied on local experts and leaders to provide approval.

Gaining Entry

As mentioned, I received permission to conduct my study at the AAU and at the individual institutions. Individuals at both the AAU and the individual institutions were made aware of the nature of my study and I informed them of my need to speak with individuals and to collect documents. The study did not prove to be disruptive to the workings of the organizations or to their staff. The results of the study were disseminated in two journal articles and were also included in a report to the AAU.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are of the utmost importance to the trustworthiness of qualitative research, because of the proximity between the participant and the researcher (Creswell, 2003; Rossman & Rallis, 2003; Toma, 2006). First, it was imperative that I respect the rights, needs and values of the participants in my study. Research of any nature has an intrusive element. Interviewing requires the time of the participant and has an invasive quality as the researcher is often asking for opinions and for the participant's experience. This can be a potentially sensitive or politically charged situation, particularly when the participant's position and institution are highly visible (Creswell, 2003). Furthermore, researchers and participants are never equal (Siedman, 2006). The following safeguards were undertaken to protect participants during the research process: (a) research objectives were articulated verbally and in writing, including a description of how the data would be used; (b) written consent was received from each participant that included guarantees of confidentiality; (c) participants were offered confidentiality; and finally, (d) the participants' rights, requests and wishes were considered prior to the reporting of the data (Creswell, 2006).

To lessen the intrusive nature of my research and to balance equity between the researcher and the participant, I contacted each participant individually. I was explicit about the purposes and processes of the research I was conducting. I scheduled interviews and interview

locations that were convenient to and reasonable for the participant. I took care to not insert my opinion into the interview process or to reinforce responses that I liked or that corroborated my own personal views. I endeavored to remain aware of the context and to not be exploitative, as so much research in developing nations has been. "Striving for equity is not only an ethical imperative; it is also a methodological one" (Siedman, 2006, p. 110).

In summary, I designed this study to elicit data about education networks and their contributions to development. The design described in this chapter enabled me to gather data germane to the research question posed in the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

Findings

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the findings elicited from data analysis. A description of "code maps" constructed from the themes discovered in the data will also be provided. Finally, this chapter will act as a bridge to the next two chapters that take the form of scholarly articles; delineating the rationale for the topics chosen and the intended audiences of the articles.

Discussion of Findings

Data analysis revealed a variety of concepts that developed into larger themes. These themes were then developed into analytical frameworks that frame groups of concepts in the larger bodies of literature on public policy, higher education and development. In this chapter I provide an abridged discussion of my findings as well as introduce the two manuscripts that follow in Chapters Five and Six.

Public policy

Interviews with participants at the AAU revealed data relevant to public policy and administration. Upon further analysis concepts such as policy innovation and policy diffusion emerged. These emergent concepts exposed that policy activities were undertaken by participants in furthering particular development priorities in higher education. The analytical framework of policy entrepreneurship (Roberts & King, 1991) helped to illuminate these activities in pursuing policy agendas in higher education and development.

Higher education

The most salient theme that emerged for the data at the Kenyan universities was that of academic capitalism (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Participants spoke often of the reforms taking place on their campuses and often described market-oriented behaviors. The discussions with participants on quality assurance initiatives at their institutions, the creation of revenue generating programs, as well as their views on students were all indicative of a particular theory in higher education that could act as an analytical framework for the data. Negative cases also provided fodder for a particular reshaping of that theory and a discussion on how academic capitalism is contextualized in developing countries.

Development

Findings on development, both at the AAU and at the individual institutions, indicated contrasting perceptions of development. At the AAU, discussions regarding development revealed focus on modernization, in conjunction with concerns about sustainability. The actororiented approach could be employed to understand the concepts that evolved from AAU staff perceptions of development and provided an insight into organization development agendas, ones that necessarily engaged agency, collaboration, and social and economic concerns (Long, 1990).

The Kenyan universities' data illuminated a communitarian, or participatory framework of development, that engaged stakeholders and shared governance in the development process. Staff and faculty often intertwined their personal convictions about development with the work of the university, indicating a certain "wholeness", or the idealization of the community (Pieterse, 2001). Academic capitalism as it as expressed at the Kenyan institutions can also be interpreted through social capital development. Universities concentrate social capital and recent market-oriented reforms may reinforce perceptions of universities as "instruments of exclusion" that concentrate power among the wealthy (those who can afford higher education), as described by Rahnema (1997). The commodification of students as job creators, versus learners, also has implications for social capital theory.

The Kenyan universities data also revealed activities in peacebuilding. Many participants were anxious to discuss the recent political violence and its affect on the campus. Activities mentioned by participants included service creation for affected university constituencies, capacity building, and community outreach. Participants also openly spoke of the equalizing effect of the university as positively impacting the manifestation of the political violence on campus.

All of these findings are displayed in code maps, that follow, adapted from Anfara, Brown, and Mangione (2002). These maps display, for the reader, the emergent concepts and how they develop into themes, then data application, and then an interpretation of the data as a whole, or a "story line."

Manuscripts

The format of this dissertation is that of the manuscript option. In lieu of traditional Chapters Five and Six, I chose to complete manuscripts for publication. Two of the data

Table 3

Code Map for AAU data

	Case Study Research Questions	
RQ #1 How do AAU staff and members define development in the African milieu?	RQ #2 How do AAU administrators perceive the education network's contribution to regional development?	RQ #3 How does regional cooperation relate to development?
	Fourth Iteration: Interpretation	

Staff members at the Association of African Universities perceive development as improvement in quality of life and sustainable economic and social progress. These priorities are attained by AAU activities that seek collaboration with development partners and universities. Staff members identify the organization's primary contribution to development as policy entrepreneurship and building the capacity of the university's core functions of teaching, learning and research.

8,		
Third Iteration: Data Application		
1. Actor-Oriented Approach	2. Policy Entrepreneurship	
First Iteration: Emergent Categories		
1A. Improving Quality of Life	2A. Organizing/Convening	
1B. Progress	2B. Increasing Visibility/Relevance	
1C. Sustainability	2C. Supporting/Sponsoring	
1D. Focused socially and economically	2D. Policy Development/Diffusion	
1E. Indicated by health, infrastructure,	2F. Funding	
freedom, education and economic	2G. Researching	
factors.	2H. Advocating/Advocacy	
1F. Connecting other development	2I. Capacity building	
partners		
1G. Agency in development		

applications described above, policy entrepreneurship and academic capitalism, emerged as the most robust and compelling and were developed into two unique pieces of empirical scholarship. The first manuscript, entitled "Agents of development: African higher education networks and policy entrepreneurship", was crafted to meet the specifications for publication of *Higher Education*, an international journal on higher education policy. The second manuscript, entitled "Reshaping Academic Capitalism to Meet Development Priorities: The Case of Public Universities in Kenya", was developed in line with the publication criteria of *Comparative Education*, an international journal on education. Dr. Joan Hirt and I are listed as co-authors on each manuscript. Reference lists accompany both manuscripts. A complete reference list,

encompassing citations from Chapters One-Four and the manuscripts, follows the second manuscript.

Table 4 *Kenyan Universities Data Code Map*

Case Study Research Questions		
RQ #4	RQ #5	RQ #6
How do faculty and staff at African universities define development in the African milieu?	How do faculty and staff at universities in Africa perceive their institution's contribution to development?	What resources and relationships enable these universities to play a role in development?
	Fourth Iteration: Interpretati	on

Staff, administrators, and faculty at two universities in Kenya, overarchingly defined development in Africa as a participatory process and perceive development as improvement in the quality of life of individuals that requires collective, sustainable economic and social action. Staff members identify the organization's primary contribution to development as job creation, research, and community engagement. One form of community engagement emerged as peacebuilding activities undertaken by the universities during and after national political violence. Resources and relationships that have enabled the institutions to overcome challenges to their ability to successfully participate in development are linked to paradigmatic shifts in university values regarding financing, students, faculty, quality and the market.

Third Iteration: Data Application		
1. Participatory development 2. Peace	ebuilding 3. Academic Capitalism	
First Iteration: Emergent Categories		
1A. Improving quality of life	2C. Equalizing effect	
1B. Levels of action (individual,	2D. Community outreach	
community, institution, nation)	2E. Academic input into conflict recovery	
1C. Setting development priorities	2F. Capacity building	
1D. Alignment of development		
strategies (institutionally, nationally,	3A. Quality assurance (ISO certification,	
internationally)	performance contracting)	
1E. Appropriate technologies	3B. Parallel programs	
1F. Development in context	3C. University values – student as job creator,	
1G. Nation building thru	faculty as service provider, administration as	
teaching/research	coordinating body	
1J. Cooperation & collaboration	3D. Institutionalizing corporate jargon	
1J. Shared governance	3E. Accountability	
	3F. Public good and corporate responsibility	
2A. National conflict	3G. Institutional autonomy	
2B. Service creation for affected	3H. Market driven programming	
stakeholders (counseling, deferred fees,	3I. Relevance	
busing, charity projects)		

CHAPTER FIVE

Manuscript One

Agents in Development: African Higher Education Networks and Policy Entrepreneurship

Abstract

Myriad international and indigenous agents have spearheaded development in Africa in diverse areas: health, agriculture, and economics, among others (Willis, 2005). Increasingly, tertiary education is seen as an important partner in development efforts (Bloom, Canning & Chan, 2006). Indeed, major international initiatives, such as the United Nations Development Program's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (2000), mandate that higher education institutions play a central role in advancing development. Eradicating poverty and hunger, improving maternal health, promoting gender equality, and environmental sustainability can and should be addressed at the university level.

Yet higher education and development have a contentious relationship. In fact, practically all of the literature on higher education and development in Africa focuses on the "crisis" of postsecondary institutions and their impotence in the development process (Salmi, 1992; Task Force for Higher Education and Society, 2000). To surmount this prevailing sentiment, alternative agents in development should be considered if higher education is to fulfill its role in the development process in Africa. One such alternative agent is the higher education network. This case study was designed to examine the role of one such higher education network in regards to development in Africa.

CHAPTER FIVE

Agents in Development: African Higher Education Networks and Policy Entrepreneurship Myriad international and indigenous agents have spearheaded development in Africa in diverse areas: health, agriculture, and economics, among others (Willis, 2005). Increasingly, tertiary education is seen as an important partner in development efforts (Bloom, Canning & Chan, 2006). Indeed, major international initiatives, such as the United Nations Development Programme's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (2000), mandate that higher education institutions play a central role in advancing development. Eradicating poverty and hunger, improving maternal health, promoting gender equality, and environmental sustainability can and should be addressed at the university level. "[H]igher education...has to assume a critical role in the development possibilities in our globalized and knowledge-driven twenty-first century society" (Zeleza, 2003, as quoted in Puplampu, 2006, p. 31).

Yet higher education and development have a contentious relationship. In fact, practically all of the literature on higher education and development in Africa focuses on the "crisis" of postsecondary institutions and their impotence in the development process (Salmi, 1992; Task Force for Higher Education and Society, 2000). This crisis is seen by many as result of the neoliberal development agenda implemented in post-colonial Africa and reinforced through aid stipulations (Okolie, 2005). Massive African debt has paved the way for economic reform and intervention at the state level (often involuntarily and without consideration of the specific needs of particular countries) that consists of mechanisms like trade liberalization, fiscal austerity in the public sector, and currency devaluation (Kiely, 2007; Stiglitz, 1998; Toye, 2000). Commonly used to manage balance of payment problems that emerged in developing countries that had heavily borrowed from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), these mechanisms of neoliberalism are known as structural adjustment (Rapley, 2002). The intended purpose of these economic activities is to allow African countries to overcome obstacles to development: corruption, inflated currency, barriers to trade, excessive spending in the public sector, and government mismanagement. "Nearly 20 years [after the implementation of structural adjustment activities] hardly any of these countries is on a path of sustainable growth...indeed the social conditions in them have largely worsened" (Okolie, 2005, p. 243). Thus the African state has been unable, unwilling, or prevented by austerity policies to adequately engage higher education in development initiatives.

To surmount this prevailing sentiment, alternative agents in development should be considered if higher education is to fulfill its role in the development process in Africa. One such alternative agent is the higher education network. A network, for purposes of this study, involves "formal or informal structures that link actors (individuals or organizations) who share a common interest in a specific issue or a general set of values" (Perkin & Court, 2005, p. 2). This case study examined the role of one such higher education network in regards to development in Africa. We begin by discussing the literature on different agents in the development process in Africa and demonstrating the need for more empirical research. Next we provide an overview of the data collection and analysis methods employed in the study. The results are interpreted through Roberts and King's (1991) notion of policy entrepreneurship and we offer implications for practice and research. Finally, we draw some conclusions regarding the adoption of policy entrepreneurship by agents in development.

Agents in Development in Africa

When we refer to agents in the development process we mean organizations, groups and actors that have exerted *agency* in development. This agency may take the form of initiatives, policies, or projects on the ground that have the intent of improving quality of life, infrastructure, economies and/or education. That there are different perspectives on how this "improvement" is accomplished goes without saying. "Development thinking and policy...is a terrain of hegemony and counterhegemony...in this contestation of interests there are many stakeholders and multiple centers of power and influence (Pieterse, 2001, p. 9). Accepting higher education as both a point of intervention in development and an agent of development, we focus on the existing literature about agents of development (international, national and institutional) and their activities and policies in development in Africa.

International Agents

International agents in development typically include international financial institutions (IFIs), such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and multilateral agencies such as the United Nations (UN) and the World Trade Organization (WTO). The policies and interventions of these organizations are highly influential in development.

IFIs have traditionally relied on lending that targets primary education, consigning higher education to a negligible place on the development agenda (Bloom, et. al., 2006; Puplampu, 2006). Furthermore, neoliberal polices of IFIs have changed the historic approach to higher

education in Africa (free to all) through the introduction of alternative financing, such as user fees (Tikly, 2001), and have heavily influenced government input into public sector activities leading to decreased funding for higher education (Lulat, 2003; Okolie, 2005; Task Force on Higher Education and Society, 2002).

Yet recent World Bank analyses, most notably *Accelerating Catch-Up: Tertiary Education for Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa*, report rising rates of return on higher education and argue that "higher education expenditures can now be justified as strategic investments in human capital formation that boost productivity and enhance national economic competitiveness" (Saint, 2009, p. 14). The report recommends that development policies should now be country-specific, a shift from the broad brush with which the agency painted development and higher education in the past (World Bank, 2009). However, this report does not purport to offer a new policy statement in regard to higher education and development by the World Bank (Yusuf, Saint, & Nabeshima, 2009).

Beyond IFIs, there are other international development agencies. United Nations organizations, such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), work across a spectrum of development agents in collaborative endeavors to impact development. Typically interventions in higher education focus on capacity building, such as teacher education, information and communication technology (ICT), quality assurance, and reforming higher education to address current challenges, such as the environment, access, and research (UNESCO, 2009).

UN agencies have been instrumental in providing a platform for issues that impact higher education and development, such as the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). GATS, a product of the WTO, promotes a market-oriented approach to the delivery of higher education and further deregulation of educational markets (Altbach, 2001). GATS is driven by multinational corporations and government agencies in developed countries calling for the integration of higher education into the legal structures of world trade through the WTO (Altbach, 2004).

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and UNESCO collaborated to develop guidelines on quality assurance and accreditation for cross-border higher education (Robinson, 2005). Faculty unions roundly rejected these guidelines, arguing that their interests had been excluded and their prominence as a stakeholder in higher education

overlooked (Mihyo, 2005; Robinson, 2005). The result of this omission, scholars argue, undermines notions of quality in higher education promulgated by the guidelines (Robinson, 2005). Nevertheless, adherence to GATS appears to be inevitable. "In the majority of cases the African countries have been put on the alert by the creeping GATS conditionality that some donor countries are attaching to aid" (Mihyo, 2005, p. 128). This means that African nations may be required to adhere to GATS policies by development donors to receive aid.

National Agents

The agency of the state has been well documented in the development literature, but the states' perspective and policies on African higher education is worth noting here. Governments provide "social overhead capital" or infrastructure support that facilitates development, specifically economic development (Krueger, 1990, p. 9). For higher education, this translates into the state funding salaries for faculty and staff, subsidies for students, grants for research, and money for facilities. Furthermore, higher education in Africa is perceived as a way to further development goals by creating a sense of national unity, nurturing collective self-reliance and reducing social inequalities (Samoff & Carroll, 2004). Yet as Rathgeber (1988, p. 398) noted "[t]here is little articulation between policy and research, between the needs outlined in development plans and the topics of interest to African scholars." Thus in the early 21st century, there is a growing disaffection for the universities of Africa due to their seeming inability to have a significant impact on the continent in terms of economic development (Ajayi, Goma & Johnson, 2006).

State development polices and their intervention into higher education (or lack thereof) have often had deleterious effects on society as a whole. The emergence of the knowledge economy has led to an explosion of technology programs at institutions where linkages to the private sector are viewed a panacea for building knowledge production capacities (Puplampu, 2006). This has led to an overall decrease in social and natural science programs even though challenges such as access to clean drinking water and preservation of natural resources are both pressing and pervasive on the continent. Moreover, African governments' unwillingness to acknowledge the HIV/AIDS epidemic has led to an increasing loss of academic talent (Bollag, 2001). National governments have also undermined the academic integrity of institutions through their intolerance towards critical views, creating a vacuum of political analysis inside and outside of higher education (Altbach, 2001; Ngome, 2003; Puplampu, 2006).

Institutional Agents

The challenge is to convince national governments that "the process of development requires the kind of trained minds and thinking society that universities are uniquely equipped to promote" (Court, 1980, p. 657). For example, universities in Kenya and Tanzania have enacted intentional development initiatives to obtain the "developmental university" ideal. The real achievements of these initiatives have come from developing local staff, divesting colonial holdovers, and establishing public legitimacy.

Contribution does not reside in the precise impact upon material goals, but in successful accomplishment of the things which universities alone are capable of offering including the creation of knowledge, understanding and intellectual integrity. In this sense the university is as much a measure of development as a vehicle for it (Court, 1980, p. 668).

Other scholars debate whether third world universities are instruments of development and rejoin with a resounding no (van den Bor & Shute, 1991). Often this is because the institutions themselves are in dire need of developing. The contribution the university makes is its basic function as an institution of higher learning. Yet "declining public expenditures on higher education, deteriorating teaching conditions, decaying educational facilities and infrastructures, perpetual student unrest, erosion of universities' autonomy, a shortage of experienced and well trained professors, a lack of academic freedom, and an increasing rate of unemployment among university graduates" inhibits even the basic functions of teaching, learning and research, further disabling the university's contributive capacity to promote development (Atteh, 1996, p. 36).

As the literature demonstrates, destabilizing development priorities at the international level, hostility at the national level, and a lack of institutional capacity have undermined higher education's ability to be an agent, in and of itself, in the development process in Africa and attempts at intervention often fail. Consequently, an increasing body of research in education and the social sciences has begun to focus on alternative forms of development agents (outside formal policymaking circles) that view higher education as relevant and imperative to the development process. These alternatives include transnational advocacy groups, nongovernmental organizations, civil society organizations, networks, and university cooperative arrangements (Lerche, 2008; McNeely, 1995; Mundy & Murphy, 2001; Perkins & Court, 2005; Audenhove, 1998; van den Bor & Shute, 1991). The focus of the current study, higher education

networks, has been explored in very limited ways, particularly in Africa, and their agency in development has been entirely neglected by the literature. We sought to explore this gap in the literature on agents of development in Africa.

Methodology

This study was designed to answer the question, "How does a higher education network contribute to development in Africa?" We employed qualitative strategies of inquiry because they are well suited to cross-discipline research in international development (Harris, 2002). Specifically, we conducted a case study of the African Higher Education Network (AHEN), which is a pseudonym for the organization to protect the confidentiality of participants. *The Setting*

The AHEN is a formal network that functions as an association of universities in the region. Founded in 1967 and headquartered in West Africa, the AHEN is an advocate for university interests and creates a platform for those interests among international and regional bodies. It supports networking between universities and these bodies in the pursuit of teaching, research and service.

The AHEN represents more than 200 higher education institutions (public and private) from all regions of the continent. AHEN staff members are experts and former professionals at African universities. Those participating in AHEN-sponsored programs and initiatives, both formally and informally, include staff, faculty and administrators at universities; governmental bodies, such as ministries of education; preeminent continental organizations; UN bodies; regional economic communities, such as ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States); philanthropic organizations; civil society organizations; funding agencies; and universities outside the region.

Data Collection

Data were generated through fieldwork undertaken between January and October 2008. We employed two primary data collection techniques: open-ended interviews and document analysis. We traveled to Africa and conducted semi-structured, in depth interviews with individual and small groups of AHEN staff members, and observed meetings and organizational-related gatherings. We were able to establish credibility through prolonged and varied field experience. The initial trip to AHEN headquarters took place over the course of a month, allowing for ample opportunity to meet with and gain the trust of participants. Furthermore, we

corresponded with participants at AHEN for 10 months via email prior to the fieldwork and following up fieldwork with additional questions, providing summaries of interview data, receiving feedback on summaries, and requesting documents. The documents we collected from the network included meeting minutes, policy documents, and research reports, as well as media accounts of AHEN programs and activities.

The interviews were conducted using a semi-structured protocol to ensure that similar data were collected across participants. The interview questions sought both factual information from participants as well as their opinions on development at the national and regional levels. For example, participants were asked to define development, to identify the most important project they had worked on at AHEN, and to describe why that project was the most important. *Participants*

Twelve interviews took place with 10 junior and senior professional staff members, each interview lasting 1 to 3 hours. Biographical information was collected on each participant that revealed the age, education level, home country, and employment history of respondents. The majority of staff (n=8) hailed from West African nations, were male (n=7), and had been previously employed at an African university (n=8). All respondents had at least a master's degree and 6 respondents held terminal degrees.

Data Analysis

Prior to analyzing data collected at AHEN, we organized and prepared the data for analysis. We sorted and arranged the data into different types according to the source of the information. These included interviews, documents, and supplementary data. We also arranged data according to where it was obtained (e.g., AHEN participant, AHEN document, AHEN event). We then read through all of the data to obtain a general sense of the information and to reflect on its overall meaning. We kept analytic memos that brought together data from across the sources of evidence on emergent insights (Rossman & Rallis, 2003).

Detailed analysis was conducted with the aid of coding. We first used open coding, then axial coding, and finally selective coding (Dey, 1999; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This analytical technique allowed us to identify categories and themes, to further refine the data to establish and corroborate themes, to ascertain significance, and to identify theory regarding the central phenomenon of development (Dey, 1999).

Analytical Framework: Policy Entrepreneurship

As we reviewed the data, an interpretive framework emerged: policy entrepreneurship. Policy entrepreneurship refers to individuals and groups who "work from outside the formal governmental system to introduce, translate and implement innovative ideas into public sector practice" (Roberts & King, 1991, p. 152). Often policy entrepreneurs are people who simply push particular policy proposals (Kingdon, 2006; Mintrom, 1997). Individuals and groups who exhort the adoption of new policy initiatives also advocate for policy innovation, or rather "a new combination of things that creates a disjuncture from standard operating procedures and the routine response of current systems..." (Roberts & King, 1991, p. 150). Policy innovation is considered the dominion of policy entrepreneurs (Mintrom 1997; Roberts & King 1991; 1996).

Roberts and King (1991) describe four forms of entrepreneurship activities in policymaking: creative/intellectual, strategic, mobilization/execution, and administrative/evaluative. Creative/intellectual activities characterize the ability of policy entrepreneurs to identify policy problems, develop a solution, or to interpret trends from abroad and then contextualize them to fit the policy problem. Strategic activities encompass entrepreneurs' ability to adopt a broad vision and develop action plans from that vision. Mobilization and execution activities mark the ability of policy entrepreneurs to take an innovative idea and propel it onto the formal public sector agenda. Administrative and evaluative activities indicate the level of participation by policy entrepreneurs in the implementation process of the innovative policy into the public sector. Table 1 summarizes the activities associated with each form of entrepreneurship. Using this framework, we identified distinct entrepreneurial activities preformed by the AHEN in the policymaking process in Africa that impacted development on the continent.

Findings

Interaction with our participants at the AHEN revealed organizational objectives and activities that were intended to address development priorities. Beyond traditional capacity building at the institutional level, the AHEN undertook advocacy, organized meetings and workshops, convened stakeholders, lobbied regulatory agencies, funded affiliated projects and implemented activities meant to express agency in the development process.

The findings focus on three policy innovations at the AHEN: research and education networking (RENU), universities responding to HIV/AIDS, and education for sustainable development (ESD). The AHEN's RENU initiative coordinates efforts among constituencies to Table 5

Activity Structure of Policy Entrepreneurship

Form of Entrepreneurship	Associated Activities
Creative/ Intellectual	(a) Generate ideas (b) Define problem/select solution (c) Disseminate ideas
Strategic	(a) Formulate grand strategy and vision (b) Evolve political strategy (c) Develop heuristics for action
Mobilization and Execution	(a) Establish demonstration projects (b) Cultivate bureaucratic insiders and advocates (c) Collaborate with high profile/elite individuals and groups (d) Form lobby groups and coordinate efforts (e) Cultivate media attention and support
Administrative and Evaluative	(a) Facilitate program administration (b) Participate in program evaluation

Note. From "Policy entrepreneurs: Their activity structure and function in the policy process," by N. Roberts and P. King, 1991, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, 1*(2), p. 168. Reprinted with permission of the authors.

integrate information and communication technologies (ICT) into African universities so that researchers at these institutions can network regionally and internationally. AHEN's HIV/AIDS program seeks to mobilize the African higher education community to mitigate the impact of

HIV/AIDS on institutions, addressing challenges encountered by students, staff, faculty, and the community. The ESD initiative, a new AHEN program, seeks to reorient "existing education policies and programs to address the social, environmental and economic knowledge, skills and values inherent to sustainability" (AHEN policy document). Data analysis revealed evidence of all four forms of policy entrepreneurship described by Roberts and King (1991) across these three policy innovations.

Creative/Intellectual Activities

Data exposed many activities undertaken by the AHEN to generate ideas, define problems, select solutions, and disseminate ideas. This group of activities required the work of experts and stakeholders on a policy problem. The participant in charge of RENU observed that all idea generation and problem defining took place during meetings with stakeholders.

It's not easy. You also have to listen to the community. For instance my program was [initiated in response to] a demand from the general conference [attended by AHEN members] because they saw the importance of ICT and they mandated the AHEN to address these issues. So if you get [buy-in] from the community it's much easier because it is demand-driven, it's not just a result of your thinking what might be of interest for the community.

In redefining the HIV problem as a university problem, a participant noted difficulty in attaining the mandate needed from stakeholders to move forward in problem identification and solution selection.

I think it was a joint meeting....[we] asked the higher education community "How are you addressing HIV/AIDS?" and at that time, the institutions were quite taken aback. "HIV/AIDS, but that's a health problem. That's for the health sector, what have we got to do with HIV/AIDS? We don't have AIDS on our campuses!"

A study was commissioned by the AHEN to research the depth of the problem at African institutions and how they were responding to HIV/AIDS. The AHEN then confronted stakeholders with the dire nature of the problem at a major conference (regarding ever increasing loss of academic talent such as students and the academic work force) and elicited help in identifying best practices and policies suited to the challenges faced by African institutions.

A lack of proper coordination on policy issues further complicated managing problems. In the instance of ESD, the AHEN acted as a catalyst to coordinate institutions to define problems and accept responsibility for solution creation.

Well like I told you [universities] are the centers of knowledge generation and sustainable development is...the other key issue on the lips of everybody. But the universities, even when they are doing something they are all scattered; they are not well coordinated. So the AHEN as a continental higher education body should bring universities together to

deliberate on the issue. The role of higher education in sustainable development is long overdue.

In all three instances, research, advocacy and coordination were required on the part of the AHEN to acquire buy-in from stakeholders responsible for implementing policy solutions. Furthermore, the AHEN framed the policy issue at the heart of each example as one that pertains to both the core functions of higher education and to the development process. A primary RENU advocacy document states "Education, cutting-edge research, science and technology are the key ingredients of sustainable social and economic development." Thus the process of problem identification by the AHEN made the problem relevant not only to university stakeholders but also to international development groups and donor agencies. Across all three examples, the process of selecting solutions was an activity that required cooperation with university stakeholders as well as with IFIs, multilateral agencies, donors, and national ministries of education.

Strategic Activities

Strategic activities, the second element of policy entrepreneurship (Roberts & King, 1991) involves formulating a grand strategy to generate a solution to the policy problem. Additionally policy entrepreneurs make use of short-term tactics to cope with changing political priorities. In the case of the AHEN, the strategy employed to get the RENU initiative off the ground was tactical to fit trends in benchmarking in Africa.

We try to identify fields or institutions where we know that if we succeed it will have impact on other institutions in the positive. So we saw the potential of countries like Ghana, Nigeria, Cameroon and Senegal regarding the establishment of research and education networks...because we know that from history many other countries are looking to these countries, and if something happened there and people will say okay, we also want to do it. That is our strategy there.

Another participant, speaking to the ESD initiative, identified awareness creation, collaborating with other organizations, and rewarding institutions as important short-term tactics in the AHEN's long-term strategy to create critical mass around the issue of environmental sustainability at African universities.

In 2006, I was able...to make education for sustainable development the main theme for the celebration of African University Day and it was celebrated by all members and other higher education bodies. So, you know, it was like an awareness creation. We even, in collaboration with UNEP [United Nations Environmental Program], gave an award to a university that was doing the best in environmental management.

These initiatives captured the attention of stakeholders by using tactics that encouraged increasing familiarity with a policy solution.

In the case of HIV/AIDS initiative, participants noted the persistent battle to maintain focus on the epidemic.

The rector of the university, he was very committed in HIV/AIDS programs, very committed. But four years later, he was changed. And now, another rector was appointed by the government. Unfortunately, this one was not committed to HIV/AIDS activities, and it fell down.

Short-term tactics, such as benchmarking, rewarding extant endeavors, creating a sense of urgency, and raising awareness, had to remain flexible and immediate enough to fit the ever shifting political priorities of leaders in Africa.

Mobilization and Execution Activities

In mobilizing and executing activities, policy entrepreneurs may be expected to conduct demonstration projects, cultivate advocates and bureaucratic insiders, collaborate with high profile people and groups, enlist the support of elected officials, lobby and attract media attention (Roberts & King, 1991). In fact, much of this was accomplished by the AHEN being strategic and targeting certain groups to support mobilization and execution of project goals.

For RENU, the AHEN staff had to cultivate relationships with large bureaucratic groups to guarantee discussions that could directly impact ICT at higher education institutions in Africa. As a policy entrepreneur, AHEN, through the research and expertise of its members, also sought to mobilize support by lobbying regulatory agencies and economic communities to establish regional networking units that could make use of cross border connectivity.

For instance, it was a meeting of the West African Power Pool, which is an institution of the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States]. You cannot say you want to promote or establish a regional research and education network in West Africa if you are not working with...the West African regulatory organizations, because when it will come to interconnect the national research and education networks you will deal with cross border connectivity, and this is regulated. So you have to work with these

institutions, and also if you want to leverage resources or mobilize resources it is very important.

By working with ECOWAS, the AHEN sensitized officials to the challenges that higher education institutions face and enlisted support for ICT solutions. The AHEN also sought support for the ICT initiative from high profile organizations such as the African Union (AU) to increase funding, visibility, and relevance of the project to national governments and universities.

In the case of the HIV/AIDS initiative, a demonstration project was conducted to marshal support from universities and development partners. Lacking the data to prove the soundness of its policy solution (mainstreaming HIV/AIDS awareness into the university curriculum), the AHEN conducted five in-depth surveys and developed a tool-kit for policy development. The AHEN then targeted one institution in Kenya, a country with a high HIV infection rate, and funded implementation of the tool-kit; the results of which were widely distributed at conferences and among development and university stakeholders to mobilize much needed sponsorship for its policy solution.

The ESD initiative, while still embryonic, has partnered with the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) to increase its visibility. In a memo to AHEN staff on the progress of the ESD initiative, one participant wrote:

Recognized by partners as the voice of Africa's higher education system, the [AHEN] was elected to present the keynote address at the 4th World Environmental Education Conference to be held in Durban, South Africa...To that effect, it was further agreed that since the Conference was a high profile one and is to be held at the home country of the current President of the [AHEN] Executive Board...[he] be approached...to present the keynote address.

By cultivating regional bureaucratic insiders and international advocates, the AHEN (due to its location outside formal public policymaking) ensured increased visibility among policymaking bodies. Moreover, collaborating with elite organizations such as the UN and the AU increased the AHEN's resource base for entrepreneurial activities. Demonstration projects, such as the one conducted by AHEN in HIV/AIDS, established the success of its policy innovation and led to more funding and high profile advocates for the initiative. Finally, these activities by AHEN led to media attention (such as press coverage of workshops) and

opportunities for commentary in African and international magazines that in turn increased organizational visibility and credibility and facilitated execution of project objectives.

Administrative and Monitoring Activities

In the entrepreneurship activity framework, after programs are initiated, administration and evaluation begin. This is accomplished by providing clerical assistance, coordinating testimony, and participating in the evaluation of policies (Roberts & King, 1991).

In the case of the AHEN, enacting legislation was not the objective of the three policy innovations. Rather, changing regional regulatory policy, mainstreaming development priorities into university policies, and producing development-savvy students, faculty, administrators, and stakeholders emerged as the overall goals of the initiatives.

Across two of the initiatives, the administrative component has been ongoing. In the case of RENU, the AHEN acted as the "focal point" of all continental ICT initiatives. It provided funding and expertise to start up RENs and developed workshops – disseminating best practices and potential models. Thus the administrative component of its entrepreneurial activities was continuous. The HIV/AIDS initiative's administrative component included policy development with universities, workshops, and providing funding to institutions for policy implementation and to students for research on HIV/AIDS. Currently, the AHEN is in the process of creating regional networks that would allow it to shift the administrative activities of the HIV/AIDS initiative away from the AHEN to universities.

In regards to the evaluation component, much of the AHEN's activities suffer from a lack of consistent assessment and evaluation. In fact, almost every AHEN staff member mentioned in our interviews the missing elements of evaluation and measuring the impact of AHEN activities.

While we had very good results, I cannot say how much that fed into policy at the individual institutions. That has always been a problem, measuring the impact of some of our activities.

Yet in some programs it is difficult to quantify success. While university adoption of policy innovation may be a measure of success, another may be increasing awareness of development concerns and activities that address development objectives.

What I can tell about the program, for instance, we funded around 20 universities since 2006 to develop HIV/AIDS policy. I know there was an evaluation of curriculum integration policy last year. There was a perception that stigmatization is now not a major

issue. When you are doing the policy you involve all stakeholders, at least a kind of information sharing, so that you can lead wisely. [T]he stigmatization is no longer an issue in one of the universities that research was undertaken.

Yet another measure may be success in securing funding for AHEN initiatives. The African Capacity Building Foundation, the African Development Bank, the International Development Research Center, the Carnegie Corporation, the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the United Nations Development Program have all provided funding either to the AHEN for start up and continuation of initiatives or to beneficiaries of AHEN policy innovations for continued capacity building.

Discussion and Implications

Through the lens of policy entrepreneurship, we discovered that the AHEN, a higher education network, acted as an agent in development by undertaking activities aimed at addressing development priorities and using higher education as a point of intervention. In fact, this study demonstrated that agency in development can be exerted when undertaking entrepreneurial activities in policymaking.

The findings suggest that the creative/intellectual form of entrepreneurship is facilitated when stakeholders are involved in setting the agenda. Therefore, higher education networks ought to involve stakeholders in identifying what problems need to be addressed and the priority of those issues in the community of stakeholders. This also suggests that there is no clear delineation between creative/intellectual forms of entrepreneurship and mobilization and execution forms as both overlap in cultivating advocates to support a particular policy innovation. That both can happen concurrently may improve use of scarce organizational resources when applying them to policy entrepreneurship activities in development.

Moreover, activities associated with the mobilization and execution form of policy entrepreneurship demonstrate that cultivating relationships with high-profile groups and organizations also aids policy success. By mobilizing regional and international development organizations in support of policy solutions, higher education networks are able to garner the credibility and visibility needed to carry out their innovations.

In regard to the findings on monitoring and evaluation activities, higher education networks interested in using policy entrepreneurship to pursue development objectives should be cognizant of and endeavor to build such activities into their planning. This could decrease the

amount of time and money spent on demonstration projects if policy outcomes are documented and measured. That the AHEN has fallen short in this form of entrepreneurship does not appear to have had an impact on its ability to secure funding for the three initiatives discussed herein, but will no doubt become increasingly important during times when the global economy deteriorates and competition for funding increases. To properly manage organizational resources, higher education networks will need to routinely incorporate monitoring and evaluation activities into their policy initiatives.

Our study also served as a catalyst for future research. For example, studies about the implementation of policy innovations may reveal how they are enacted and their impact on intended beneficiaries. Longitudinal research of the policy innovations sponsored by higher education networks may explore policy change at the different strata of policymaking discussed in this paper: international, national, and institutional. Lastly, quantitative research possibilities may exist in correlating expenditures on policies that originate outside the formal policymaking realm to their impact on development.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we echo our earlier sentiments: the relationship of higher education and development remains contentious. We feel compelled to note that the diffusion of policy entrepreneurship does not necessarily bode well for the development process on the African continent. Post-colonial development policies were once policy innovations, yet ones that furthered Western hegemony over the region (Okolie, 2003). This then begs the question: Do education networks promote increased research capacity or increased dependency on Western modes of knowledge creation and transfer? Are conceptions of sustainable development contextualized to meet African needs? In fact, we would argue that our use of policy entrepreneurship in this paper conforms to the existing international development protocols. The concept of entrepreneurship, while useful in understanding the activities of the AHEN in policymaking, is reminiscent of privatization and intervention into traditional forms of policymaking – activities consistent with neoliberalism.

Many African countries, formerly contending with restrictions placed on them by structural adjustment programs, are now considered 'post-conditionality' countries, where neoliberal development policies have been institutionalized within governments and policymaking. "This ensures that policy choices do not transgress the existing international

development consensus" (Lerche, 2008, p. 241). While the AHEN may be advocating for the increased exposure of African universities to policy innovations that will build institutional capacity and encourage agency in development, it may also be escalating conformity to Western prescription, furthering dependency and neoliberalism as solutions to development challenges.

Yet we would also argue that higher education networks can play a unique role in development. Due to their position outside formal policymaking bodies, they may be able to exert agency that is not infused with neoliberal values. Networks may be in a position to reject the prevailing development consensus and seek alternatives to this type of development. In fact the participatory nature of policy entrepreneurship may allow higher education networks to put the "African" in African development as they respond to community needs and attempt to adapt policy innovations to fit African development challenges.

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CHAPTER SIX

Manuscript Two

Reshaping Academic Capitalism to Meet Development Priorities:

The Case of Public Universities in Kenya

Abstract

Higher education reform is being pursued internationally to improve universities' use of existing assets as well as to enable institutions to garner additional resources (Dill, 1997). These reforms encompass shifts from a reliance on public funding to private financing for the institution (Heller & Rogers, 2006; Banya & Elu, 2001; Johnstone 2004; 2005), program reallocations (Gumport, 2000; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Zusman, 2005) and quality assurance initiatives (Rhoades & Sporn, 2002; Mok, 2000; Vidovich, 2002), among others. Public discourse surrounding these reforms is typically framed as good vs. bad, public vs. private, equalizing vs. stratifying (Gumport, 2000; Johnstone, 2004; Kerr, 1994; Lynch, 2006; Slaughter & Rhoades 2004; Slaughter & Leslie, 2001). This sort of dichotomous thinking has been further exacerbated by the emergence of academic capitalism: the push for institutions to adopt a paradigm shift and act more as market agents as opposed to agents of development (Rhoades & Slaughter, 2004; Slaughter & Leslie, 2001; Slaughter & Rhoades 2004)

Research on this shift has focused on Western institutions, unavoidably engaging Western conceptions of development. What has been consistently neglected in the literature is the notion of academic capitalism at universities in developing countries. In this study we explore how faculty and staff at institutions two institutions in Africa perceive these changes and the intersection of marketization and development.

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Higher education reform is being pursued internationally to improve universities' use of existing assets as well as to enable institutions to garner additional resources (Dill, 1997). These reforms encompass shifts from a reliance on public funding to private financing for the institution (Heller & Rogers, 2006; Banya & Elu, 2001; Johnstone 2004; 2005), program reallocations (Gumport, 2000; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Zusman, 2005) and quality assurance initiatives (Rhoades & Sporn, 2002; Mok, 2000; Vidovich, 2002), among others. Public discourse surrounding these reforms is typically framed as good vs. bad, public vs. private, equalizing vs. stratifying (Gumport, 2000; Johnstone, 2004; Kerr, 1994; Lynch, 2006; Slaughter & Rhoades 2004; Slaughter & Leslie, 2001). This sort of dichotomous thinking has been further exacerbated by the emergence of academic capitalism: the push for institutions to adopt a paradigm shift and act more as market agents as opposed to agents of development (Rhoades & Slaughter, 2004; Slaughter & Leslie, 2001; Slaughter & Rhoades 2004).

Research on this shift has focused on Western institutions, unavoidably engaging Western conceptions of development. What has been consistently neglected in the literature is the notion of academic capitalism at universities in developing countries. Specifically, how do faculty and staff at institutions in developing nations perceive these changes and the intersection of marketization and development? This study was designed to explore notions of development and academic capitalism at two universities in Africa.

The Dichotomous Nature of University Reform Discourse

Scholars participating in the university reform discourse often idealize the historical public good model and demonize the current trends in academic restructuring, such as academic capitalism (Bok, 2003; Gumport, 2000; Kerr, 1994; Lynch, 2006; Kezar, 2004; Kezar, Lester, Carducci, Gallant, & McGavin, 2007; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). The discourse is permeated with notions of mutual exclusivity, moral legitimacy, and inevitability. It is an emotional discussion often pitting faculty against administrators whom faculty perceive as being proponents of marketization efforts, or, at the very least, yielding to pressure "to simply service the market" (Lynch, 2006). Is higher education a public good or a private good? Do the models of academic restructuring undermine public interests in higher education, such as research,

teaching and service, signaling a capture by neoliberal market values that seek decreases in public expenditure on higher education and a reorientation toward alternative financing through entrepreneurialism? A richer discussion of this dichotomy, coupled with background on the mechanisms of reform and the linkage between reform and development ideals provides the context for our study. Research on the emergence and spread of a particular model of reform, academic capitalism, is central to this discussion.

The public good model dominated higher education in the U.S. from its inception in 1636 to the late 20th century (Geiger, 2005). The model is grounded in the assumption that higher education is a social institution devoted to functions such as "the development of individual learning and human capital, the socialization and cultivation of citizens and political loyalties and the preservation of knowledge and the fostering of other legitimate pursuits for the nation-state" (Gumport, 2000, p.74). Thus public higher education was an agent of national development through its functions of producing both knowledge for the public benefit and educated citizens (Altbach, 2005). Moreover, higher education has evolved to be a necessary condition for economic sufficiency, as well as for the "conditions correlated with civic, community and cultural life" (Callan, 2001, p. 85).

In the past 25 years in the United States and other Western nations, however, higher education has shifted to a managerial model grounded in issues of efficiency, effectiveness, and economy (Pollit, 1990). The shift is the result of external pressures such as shrinking state budgets that led to decreased discretionary spending on higher education, forcing institutions to seek funding elsewhere (Hauptman, 2001; Zusman, 2001; Zumeta, 2001). This in turn has created "privatization" at public universities, where many highly sought after academic programs (business, law, medicine) require students to fully fund their degrees (Zusman, 2001).

This shift to a managerial model has also led to reforms at the institutional level that reflect market forces. Indicators of these reforms include quality assurance initiatives that purportedly ensure accountability, the influx of management language to describe the functions of the institution (students who have become customers, deans who have become vice presidents), and the reorganization of academic units, or adjustments in product lines, to reflect current market demands (Deem, 2001; Gumport, 2000; Kezar, 2005; Lynch, 2006; Slaughter & Leslie, 2001). This shift in paradigms also propels faculty entrepreneurship, recasting faculty as supplicants of research dollars, and prioritizing revenue generation over teaching students (Dill,

1997; Rhoades & Slaughter, 2004). Administrators have become brokers in higher education; negotiating transactions with private industry for university products (research and students) and cultivating the campus as a marketplace for industry products (Slaughter, 2001). "In many ways, adopting business rationales with strategic management principles has become *de rigueur* for repositioning higher education organizations to compete within new economic realities" (Gumport, 2000, p. 73).

Some view this transition in cost-sharing and the growing commodification of higher education as a step toward greater equity:

To some, a shift of some of the cost burden to those parents who can afford to pay – providing there are means-tested grants for those who are unable to contribute – is a step in the direction of greater equity. This is the classic argument of the market-oriented neoliberal economist who views the flourishing growth of private, tuition dependent higher education worldwide as a clear signal that both parents and students perceive great private value in higher education and therefore ought to be expected to contribute something towards its costs, and who views cost-sharing in the public sector as a step in the right direction of greater efficiency, responsiveness, and equity (Johnstone, 2004, p. 407).

Internationally, this move in policy to deregulate and commodify higher education to permit private institutions to compete with public colleges and universities would enable more countries to move from elite-controlled institutions to massified systems, increasing opportunity and access for more of a country's citizenry (Dill, 1997). Ostensibly this would allow for a more efficient allocation of public resources, redirecting funding to more pressing national needs.

Conversely, these transformations have revised perceptions of higher education from a public good to a private good, benefiting students who can afford to be educated and industries that can afford to fund research (Altbach, 2001). This adaptation of business values to a social institution like higher education has been perceived by many to be a betrayal of faculty, students, and society at large. As Olssen and Peters (2005) ask, "[w]hen organizations are ruled by new governance arrangements and models, under relations of managerialized accountability, what happens to the presumption of trust that public servants will act in the public good?" Critics argue that these reforms threaten intellectual independence (of faculty and students), cultivate obedience (in students), and decrease critical inquiry and access to knowledge, in effect

undermining the traditional values of the public university (Lynch, 2006; Gumport, 2000; Slaugher & Leslie, 2001; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004).

Furthermore, the involvement of the market may play a role in intensifying inequity, particularly when it becomes the definitive point of reference for the university. It has been argued that higher education, historically, has been a mechanism of maldevelopment, due to the persistence of knowledge centralization and concentration at the university-level (Gorostiaga, 2000). Under the market model of higher education, knowledge distribution is even more distorted than income and power distributions, an imbalance in distribution that may have unintended antidemocratic consequences. This hijacking of knowledge is inextricably linked to issues of poverty in that it has furthered social stratification - between those who can afford the cost of higher education and those who are talented but lack economic resources (Gorostiaga, 2000).

Callen (2001) highlights another side of the financial concerns of students - "[a]s we approach this new era of constrained resources for higher education, recent trends show disproportionate increases in subsidies for middle-income students and families and decreased public concern for those with lower incomes" (p. 85). Therefore, issues of knowledge capture, income distribution and elitism, compounded by cost-sharing schemes inherent to marketized behavior, create opportunity gaps in access to higher education that are antithetical to development concerns.

Much of the discourse described revolves around the emergence of academic capitalism. Academic capitalism has been predominantly researched in developed nations with massified systems of higher education. It centers on "higher education institutions…seeking to generate revenue from their core educational, research and service functions" (Rhoades & Slaughter, 2004, p. 37). Broadly, it is the university and its constituencies engaging in market-oriented behaviors.

Sheila Slaughter and Gary Rhoades (2004), in their seminal work *Academic Capitalism* and the New Economy, characterize these behaviors as a product of changes in the international policy climate. These policy changes include the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) that has sought to commodify higher education and trade that commodity on a global scale (Altbach, 2001; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Federal legislation on student financial aid (decreasing loan amounts, but opening up the federal lending market to for-profit educational

ventures thus increasing competition for students) and university research (e.g., intellectual property and copyright laws) in the U.S. have facilitated the emergence of education commodification (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). State policies are also culpable for academic capitalism. Increasing students' share in the cost of higher education and calls for accountability resulting in state performance indicators for public colleges and universities have contributed to the current marketized environment (Ruppert, 1997; Zemsky, 2001).

Interestingly, research on the impact of academic capitalism and how it is expressed has focused almost entirely on Western, developed nations. Yet, trends in Western countries are inevitably globalized and feed out to periphery, or developing nations. Furthermore, the neoliberal forces that play a major role higher education in developed nations also prevail in other sectors in developing countries due to the consensus of international financial institutions, such as the World Bank, and multilateral organizations, such as the United Nations (Rhoades, Maldonado-Maldonado, Ordorika, & Velazquez, 2004).

Of the voluminous research on academic capitalism, an exhaustive search of the literature revealed only a handful of articles on its role in developing nations. Lawrence and Sharma (2002) discuss the infiltration of market-based vocabularies (such as total quality management and balanced scorecard) into a state university in Fiji. They argue that this infiltration is more indicative of societal changes that seek to commodify education and the academic workforce. They also perceive these reforms at the university to be socially stratifying as new policies "sacrifice the weak in the name of economic performance" (p. 675) and undermine democratic principles in the public sector as private sector ideals are accepted wholesale by university management (Lawrence & Sharma, 2002).

Yang (2004) discusses how Chinese universities are responding to global trends toward academic capitalism, particularly how globalization supports such trends and undermines internationalization at Chinese universities. Yang identifies the shift of the nation-state to a global competitor as impacting universities so that education policy no longer serves social needs, but economic ones. Internationalization has supported cultural understanding among Chinese and foreign scholars and students, facilitated dissemination of Chinese research, improved Chinese science and technology, and created university linkages across borders that have increased institutional funding. Yet, Yang notes that "...globalisation has also changed how Chinese universities operate, and has begun to create a culture of competition, corporate

managerialism, efficiency and accountability in China's higher education that could undermine aspects of internationalization" (p. 495).

Rhoades, Maldonado-Maldonado, Ordorika, and Velazquez (2004) turn to Latin America for examples of academic capitalism at mega-universities. They identify three neoliberal policies at work that foment academic capitalism in Latin America: reduced public financing, evaluation and quality assurance, and increased tuition and privatization as a means for providing access. One elite private university in Mexico exhibits academic capitalism. In contrast to private higher education in the U.S., however, the Mexican institution programs long-term development into its community activities. The authors suggest "...the most feasible and successful future for these institutions lies not in a path of emulating academic capitalism, U.S. style; rather, it lies in drawing on their own distinctive strengths in addressing the challenging national projects of the future" (p. 327).

It is this point of departure that frames the current study; that manifestations of academic capitalism in developing countries are not based on all or nothing premises. So while critics argue academic capitalism promotes private good and inequity, proponents suggest it seeks greater efficiency and equity. Neither side considers the issues beyond the Western world. To address this gap in the literature, we sought to understand how personally held beliefs about what constitutes development intersected with marketized behavior to impact reform at public higher education institutions in a developing country. Two large public institutions in the Democratic Republic of Kenya are the focus of the current study.

Methods

This study was designed to answer the question, "How do faculty and administrators perceive their university's contributions to development?" We employed qualitative strategies of inquiry because they are well suited to cross-discipline research in international development (Harris, 2002). Specifically, we conducted a case study of two large, preeminent public universities in Kenya – Kenya National University (KNU) and University of Kenya (UK), which are pseudonyms.

The Setting

To understand issues of development and higher education in Kenya, it is important to have a general understanding of the country and its development challenges. The Republic of Kenya is on the eastern coast of Africa, located between Somalia and Tanzania. It is home to a

tribally, ethnically and linguistically diverse population of close to 38 million people. Kiswahili is the *lingua franca* and English is the language of instruction in higher education institutions, as well as the official language of the Republic. Kenyans gained independence from their English colonizers in 1963. The economy of Kenya is based predominantly on agriculture, with a 40% unemployment rate. It is a democratic republic, but recent contested presidential elections and subsequent political violence led to the creation of a coalition government in 2007.

According to Transparency International's popular Corruption Perception Index, Kenya is ranked 147 out of 180 countries surveyed (Somalia, it's neighbor, ranked 180th) (Transparency International, 2008). That is, it is among the most corrupt countries in the world. In regards to development, the United Nations Development Program reports Kenya as having medium to low human development, ranking 144 out of the 179 countries on which data were collected (UNDP Human Development Index, 2008).

Kenya is home to 6 public and 13 private higher education institutions. Approximately 80% of students are enrolled in the public universities (Ngome, 2003). Both KNU and UK are located in and around a major metropolitan area. Each institution serves more than 20,000 students on multiple campuses. In 1991, the government of Kenya introduced cost sharing into public higher education, requiring students and their parents to cover tuition. A means tested loan was offered to students who were unable to afford tuition, but loans cover only a third of the yearly cost to enroll in college. The remainder must be borne by students and their families.

Decreasing government funding for higher education has forced public institutions to seek alternative financing. Revenue diversification and cost containment measures were undertaken at both KNU and UK. These measures included: raising student-staff ratio, reducing expenditures on student welfare (such as room and board), establishing units for income generation (such as consultancy services), instituting overhead charges (if a faculty member receives an external grant, he/she must surrender a percentage to the university), and establishing enterprise services ("Kenya", n.d.).

In 1993, the government of Kenya, in response to pressure from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, began formulating and implementing poverty reduction strategies to manage issues of corruption and lack of accountability in the public sector (Kobia & Mohammed, 2006). In 2001, the government launched the "Strategy for Performance Improvement in the Public Sector", which sought to increase productivity and improve service

delivery. This was a results-oriented management initiative that required public sector agencies to morph their bureaucratic policies that served organizations to service-based policies that focused on customer satisfaction and value for the money (Kobia & Mohammed, 2006). Part of this transformation was the implementation of a Performance Contract, a memorandum of understanding between the government and each public institution (now referred to as state corporations) that required institutions to:

- Improve service delivery to the public, ensure managerial accountability and build a culture
 of accountability that pervades all levels of the public sector;
- Ensure that resources are focused on attainment of national policy priorities;
- Institutionalize a performance oriented culture through an objective performance appraisal system;
- Measure and evaluate performance;
- Link rewards to measurable performance and results (Kobia & Mohammed, 2003, p. 11). As of 2008, when this study was conducted, KNU and UK had completed three performance contracts with the government of Kenya.

Data Collection

Data were generated through fieldwork undertaken between January and October 2008. We employed three primary data collection techniques: open-ended interviews, documents, and supplementary materials. We traveled to Africa and conducted semi-structured, in depth interviews with individual faculty and staff members at KNU and UK. The initial trip to KNU and UK campuses took place over the course of a month. Furthermore, we corresponded with participants for three months via email before and after the interviews – following up with additional questions, providing summaries of interview data, receiving feedback on summaries, and requesting documents and supplemental materials (e.g., brochures on particular programs). The documents we collected from participants included policy documents and institutional reports, as well as media accounts of KNU and UK programs and activities. These materials were used to complement data elicited from interviews. Supplementary materials included field notes and journals about our experiences in the data collection process.

The interviews were conducted using a semi-structured protocol to ensure that similar data were collected across participants. The interview questions sought both factual information from participants as well as their opinions on development at the national and regional levels.

For example, participants were asked to define development, to identify challenges encountered by the institution in contributing to development, and to describe what university resources and relationships were the most valuable in overcoming these challenges.

Participants

We identified a limited number of respondents to interview initially. These individuals had been identified in a previous research project as knowledgeable about matters of higher education and development in Kenya. Once on the ground in Kenya, snowball sampling was employed to identify additional participants. Care was taken to contact participants from across the university. Fifteen interviews took place with faculty, staff and administrators, each interview lasting 45 minutes to two hours. Biographical information was collected on each participant that revealed the education level and employment history of respondents. Participants hailed from the humanities (n=2), the sciences (n=2), education (n=2), academic affairs (n=2), student affairs (n=3), university relations (n=1), and university administration (n=3). Seven participants had been with their respective institution for 20 years or more. Each respondent had some college, and 12 held a masters or more advanced degree. Four participants were in the midst of a degree program (n=2) for a bachelors and n=2 for a Ph.D.). Fourteen respondents were Kenyan. Seven participants were men and 8 were women.

Data Analysis

Prior to analysis, we organized and prepared the data for analysis. We sorted and arranged the data into different types according to the source of the information: interviews, documents, and supplementary data. We also arranged data according to where it was obtained (e.g., KNU participant, KU document). We then read through all of the data to obtain a general sense of the information and to reflect on its overall meaning. We kept analytic memos that brought together data from across the sources of evidence on emergent insights (Rossman & Rallis, 2003).

Detailed analysis was conducted with the aid of coding. We first used open coding, then axial coding, and finally selective coding (Dey, 1999; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This analytical technique allowed us to identify categories and themes, to further refine the data to establish and corroborate themes, to ascertain significance, and to identify theory regarding the central phenomenon of development (Dey, 1999).

Findings

As we analyzed the data, it became clear that our respondents talked about development and academic capitalism in the context of the three traditions of the academy: teaching, research and service. We employed this taxonomy to best represent their perceptions of higher education, development, and the changes that occurred as academic capitalism took root at their institutions. *Teaching*

Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) point to the creation of new circuits of knowledge in universities as one indicator of academic capitalism. This reveals itself in the U.S. when universities create new undergraduate and masters programs, offered through distance education or evening/weekend programming that are attractive to working adults who do not have access to or the time to attend traditional academic programs. These programs are cheaper to operate, according to the authors, because they do not require the hiring of additional faculty and there is typically little to no provision for tuition waivers. They refer to this as "instructional capitalism" (Rhoades & Slaughter, 2005).

KNU and UK have embraced instructional capitalism. As one participant, a senior vice president of finance, stated, "[t]here are shifts [in academic programming], and the shifts seem to be more market-driven." Both institutions are offering new curricular programs, often referred to as Module 2 programs. The purpose of these programs is to reach students who are not admissible to any university (due to low test scores) or to attract working professionals who believe more education is necessary for career advancement. In both cases, the student is responsible for the full cost of education. Most participants perceived this new programming as vital to their institution's budget: revenues maintain facilities and sustain and faculty remuneration. One participant described it this way:

What we did, because of the government cutbacks, we introduced Module 2 and these are fee-paying students, they pay fees at market rate. So these are the ones that have helped us in some areas that are in short supply with regard to government funding. It's an incentive. For example, we call the staff who deals with the teaching 'direct service providers'...and whatever you've generated, you can get 5% of that amount.

One participant, an associate dean of continuing education, describes this parallel programming as generally beneficial in supplementing university and individual faculty income, but focuses on the detriment to research and other traditional missions of the university:

The whole idea is to generate income and what has happened is that now lecturers began teaching, taking as many courses as they can to make the extra income because lecturers' salaries was [sic] also very low. And that shifted focus because you find very little output in terms of research and publications. I would say there is now divided attention now there is so much effort going into generating income.

But with that revenue, another education faculty member points out, the university has been able to improve teaching facilities. A university registrar for planning explains that Module 2 has also allowed the university to complete building facilities for "accessibility", meaning increased university capacity for students. Rhoades and Slaughter (2004) note the pattern in the U.S. of shifting the meaning of access to accessibility, particularly in online education. "The idea is to make higher education more physically accessible and convenient to employed persons in business, as opposed to enhancing access for those students who face cultural, social and economic barriers to entry" (p. 44).

Another interesting shift, particularly at KNU, is the requirement that all lecturers obtain a Ph.D., at their own expense, even in fields where a master's degree is the terminal degree. One participant, a faculty in the fine arts, articulates frustration with this new university policy and the timeline for completion mandated by the Vice Chancellor:

There is this timeline, but for most people, we are looking at it and knowing "I can't." I am not able to make the timeline because of...finances and the time factor, because you have to do your full workload, on top of finishing your Ph.D.

This new policy could also be construed as the university seeking out a new market of student, as these faculty members pursue Ph.D.s at their home institution or at another of the public universities. Yet a faculty member in the humanities notes with some enthusiasm that "everybody has acknowledged and accepted that knowledge does not end anywhere" and that this push by the university is designed to improve the overall quality of the institution.

Module 2 initiatives at both universities exemplify instructional capitalism in that they seek out and deliver education to new student markets (those who can pay) and generate revenue for the institution and for individual faculty members. It is also interesting to note the use of terms like "direct service provider" and "accessibility" which mark an infiltration of business-speak into the lexicon of university administrators. Lynch (2006) explains that this indicates a

colonization of hearts and minds, as it depoliticizes debates about education, hiding ideological foundations in the language of economic efficiency.

In our interviews, though, there were very few negative perceptions of these new policies and practices at the universities. Faculty members and administrators expressed the belief that revenue generation was a positive thing for the university as it would improve the university's facilities, its teaching staff, enable the university to reach more students, and aid in retention of qualified staff.

Research

In Western universities, academic capitalism promotes faculty entrepreneurship in research endeavors and administrators emphasize commercial research markets (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). These markets entail direct relations with and connections to industry. Research parks and institutes, faculty consulting services, patenting and copyrighting policies, and burgeoning corporate research funding typify this entrepreneurship. In academic capitalism, the focus is on research, to the detriment of teaching and service.

This however does not appear to be the case at KNU and UK. In fact, most faculty members and administrators perceive a lack of linkages to industry to be a *failing* in their country. The issue of funding is consistently presented as a huge challenge for these institutions and many see relationships with industry as a practical solution to the problem:

The universities are generators of knowledge and technology, the industry and the consumers are people who are recipients of this knowledge that's generated. If we start collaborating and actually holding dialogue, meaningful dialogues, then it's going to happen. We have limitations in markets and the limitations are not the markets [themselves], per se. It's the linkage between the producer and the market. I am seeing the institution as being part and parcel of the society out there, the industry and the private sector, in actually revolutionizing economic development.

The research funding that is sought by these universities tends to be for projects that align with national and international development priorities as opposed to corporate interests. This type of funding is commonly obtained from international development agencies. A faculty member notes a push by the new Vice Chancellor to focus on developing the skill set faculty need to pursue external funding:

Individuals have seen the need for taking initiative for change. There were many things that people used to assume must be done by the state. When the new leader came, the first thing she did was to take all the big brains of the university and organize a seminar for one week on how to write proposal about every aspect of the university for grants.

However another faculty member in the sciences notes how this push for external funding is having an impact on the research agendas of individual faculty members. That is, research is being pursued based on donors' interests. She believes that this produces a challenge for faculty members because donor interests tend to be linked to prominent national agenda issues. For example, "if you're not interested in HIV/AIDS or malaria, then there's no money." Consequently, she is trying to identify a way to link her research agenda on metabolic disorders in non-infectious diseases to HIV/AIDS to compete for funding.

At KNU and UK academic capitalism with respect to research has been reshaped to the state's context, to fit more pressing national needs. While the universities are attempting to connect more directly with industry, there appears to be a real push to seek external funding from outside donors for the purpose of furthering development priorities at the institutional, national and regional levels. For some faculty this is a constraint as intellectual pursuits outside of development considerations are considered less exigent and therefore unfundable. On the other hand, most respondents concur that the form that academic capitalism has taken in Kenya in terms of university research has far reaching potential. As one administrator put it, "We may be the country that gives you the AIDS vaccine."

Service

The service mission of the university is trickier to characterize in terms of reform under academic capitalism. Service as a revenue generator for universities is not well delineated by Slaughter and Rhoades (2004). The authors do suggest, however, that other more explicit revenue generators such as teaching and research are pursued over and to the disadvantage of service.

At the universities studied in Kenya, service is defined primarily in terms of students. Student service is pressed as a skill builder and a way to give back to the communities that surround the university. This experience is seen as helping students to develop as employers or, as it was described to us on many occasions, as job creators.

This is your chance to look at the challenges in our nation; we train [students] to see the challenges as opportunities and once the challenges are identified, you go and you think how you're going to create a solution with the tools that are the calling of your profession and create jobs so that you can do managed solutions. We want [students] to be business owners.

What was most evident in our data was that service and the training of students are seen as a function of development. That service is a requirement of all students at KNU also aids in course units sold, increasing revenue for the institution. This sentiment seemingly corresponds with Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) who argue that in the academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime students are valued as creators of intellectual property and as workers rather than as learners. Furthermore, focus on community service activities makes the university appear to be accountable to local communities, even though these same activities produce revenue for the institution. Often these disenfranchised communities are the victims of bad government policy and corrupt, profit-seeking social institutions. As academic capitalism has been enacted, however, service initiatives may benefit communities.

Discussion and Implications

It is clear that academic capitalism, in its more Western form, plays out at KNU and UK, but is articulated differently. Learning enterprises such as Module 2 are indicative of instructional capitalism as described by Rhoades & Slaughter (2004). Yet, in the West teaching has suffered as a result of instructional capitalism while in Kenya this form of capitalism has facilitated greater access for students. In regards to research and academic capitalism, in the West funding from private sources has influenced the pursuits of faculty. In Kenya, corporate sponsorship is seen as desirable, but not forthcoming. Rather, international agencies are setting the research agenda for faculty and that agenda is clearly linked to national and international interests. As for service functions, the focus is on generating agency in students who will go on to graduate and address the nation's development challenges. This aligns with individual beliefs about development and the university's contribution to development expressed in our interviews.

Development was consistently conceived by participants as a positive change, a process that is participatory, "that takes care of all stakeholders and takes into account the cultural basis of a particular group." People's quality of life is improved and outcomes of development improve the economic, moral, cultural, and social fabric of the nation. Participants note that

public institutions and government drive this process of change, but communities should also propel the process "and take their own governance." Development requires collective action in which the change in an individual feeds into change in the community. "Especially in the African context...the community is basic."

Individual participants pointed to community development projects undertaken by universities that generated knowledge used by the nation's communities.

The university is an agent of development – not only generating the knowledge, but also disseminating. But also using that knowledge to drive innovation that is relevant and will answer challenges that are within the Kenyan society. And these range from engineering to teaching, but also to communications and conflict resolution in our communities.

They focused on the university as a place to work collaboratively with communities to develop products that are "appropriate" and locally applicable, as well as affordable and energy saving. This awareness even affects academic elements of the university. For instance, a new engineering program was created on one campus that is referred to as the "appropriate technology department" because it targets efforts at addressing specific community challenges. Students were described as job creators and entrepreneurs who could create opportunities for fellow Kenyans, each "pulling up 10 or 15 of his brothers and sisters with him."

These beliefs about development and the university's role in development in Kenya, we argue, have affected the way that academic capitalism is both perceived and manifested. In the West, the infusion of academic capitalism in higher education has come at the expense of the public good. In Kenya, that is not the case. When Kenyan faculty and administrators speak about the reforms taking place at their institutions it is with keenness for an improved university that will be better able to perform its core functions and, in turn, contribute to nation-building. Furthermore, programs that do make money for the university, such as the appropriate technology department, are touted as serving both as contributors to development and revenue generating agencies. One participant argued that Module 2 initiatives had improved education levels nationwide, pointing to that as an indication of the university's role in development. A focus on human capital permeated each interview and our respondents were intent on improving local communities and the nation through their research, teaching and service. In short, their academic capitalism endeavors exemplified an institutionalized concern for the public good.

Why have these universities manifested academic capitalism this way? We argue that there are several probable explanations for our findings, although we admit that there may be other factors at play that are not beyond consideration. First, we suggest that this amalgamation of development and university reform is a consequence of the debt crisis in Africa. Historically, African institutions have been at the mercy of international financial institutions seeking to recoup losses in foreign lending through reform and increased accountability. These agencies bring with them a particular attitude regarding the quality of Western models, in conjunction with agency development goals, leading to the intentional adaption of these models to universities in Africa. This explanation assumes that there was very little agency by administrators and faculty in how academic capitalism is expressed at their university.

Next, this amalgamation may be purely pragmatic. Faculty and administrators may see very little choice and perceive their funding situations as akin to crisis. Thus instructional capitalism is tapped as a quick fix and comprehensive reforms to research and service are left unexplored. Furthermore, the dichotomized discourse of public good/private good is not practical due to the urgency regarding resources.

Finally, the reshaping of academic capitalism in Kenya may be due to the deeply entrenched nature of nation-building. As the data imply, the focus on job creation, citizenship and community development is preeminent. Interestingly, some research has suggested that nation-building in Kenya has been historically eschewed in favor of tribalism (Miguel, 2004). Yet none of our participants mentioned tribal affiliation except for one, a Ghanaian from the Volta Region who considered himself Twee. Perhaps nation-building attitudes are exhibited in more highly educated Kenyans or those who have had prolonged exposure to university values, such as the ones we interviewed for this study.

Regardless of the explanation for the Kenyan interpretation of academic capitalism, our findings have implications for policy, practice and research in higher education and development. These are best delineated in accordance with their impact on the specific functions of the university: teaching, research and service.

Teaching

Universities, regardless of their method of reform, should be careful to implement policies that facilitate access and include disadvantaged populations. In Kenya, reforms such as Module 2 allow for greater access to higher education but will continue to serve those who can

pay; therefore the most economically disenfranchised are excluded from obtaining university degrees and the economic empowerment associated with higher education. Additionally the appropriation of the term "accessibility" in academic capitalism in Kenya diverts attention from disabled students' needs for accessibility to campus facilities, as structural and social barriers to higher education in Kenya still exist. University administrators and faculty in developing nations should be wary of the language they employ and how it serves to either shed light on issues of social concern or further obfuscate those concerns.

Additionally, university officials may wish to critically analyze reforms touted by their governments that are responding to conditions placed on them by international financial institutions. In the process of meeting these conditions, universities in developing countries may be forced to accept models of change that are not compatible with national development priorities. Accepting wholesale the academic capitalism model manifested in developed countries and pushed through neoliberalism could be disastrous for developing nations and their universities.

University administrators and faculty in developing nations should endeavor to marry development priorities with university reform initiatives. The university can be a driver for change in communities and stakeholders can capitalize on this institutional capacity. They should be deliberate about the inclusion of development priorities, across all development dynamics, when seeking reform. For example, mainstreaming HIV/AIDS awareness into Module 2 curricula (which KNU and UK already do in their traditional programs) may help universities in developing countries to reach out to more of the public, as well as aid attainment of development goals.

Research on instructional capitalism at universities in developing countries should delve more deeply into the lived experiences of students and families in cost-sharing. Seeking to understand the value placed on higher education and the subsequent sacrifices made to attain it may impact policymaking at the national and institutional levels and will no doubt enrich the research on alternative financing in developing nations.

Research

Our study has implications for the reform of the research function in developing nations. The shift away from public expenditures for higher education to private financing is inevitable, particularly in light of the global financial crisis. Developing nations will have ever decreasing

allocations for education as they seek to meet more basic needs. Consequently, it may be wise for faculty and administrators to seek greater linkages with industry partners. Beyond the dependence on development funding, industry linkages may increase the applicability of technological advances made at these institutions and disseminate them beyond the nation to a global market, increasing funding for both faculty and universities. These linkages, if lucrative, may also enable universities in developing countries to retain qualified staff and stem brain drain.

There is little doubt that ours was merely an initial foray into the ways academic capitalism has been enacted in developing nations. Future research should continue to study the transmission of academic capitalism in different regions of the world. It would also be very interesting to document resistance to market-oriented university reforms to provide a framework for other universities.

Service

As our research further demonstrated, the impact of academic capitalism on the service function of the institution has not been well characterized. Research on academic capitalism's specific implications for the service function at universities in developing countries should be undertaken to better understand how students, faculty and administrators, as well as those they serve, are affected by/cooperate in these reforms.

Conclusion

The dichotomous view (good v. bad) of academic capitalism in the West draws attention away from the expression of academic capitalism in developing countries. This prevents Western scholars from recognizing that academic capitalism can benefit universities in developing countries. It can improve facilities, reach educationally excluded populations, and develop technologies that are appropriate to community needs. Although academic capitalism has been understood predominantly by its economic mechanisms and desired outputs, this study demonstrates that it can also produce social and cultural "revenue", particularly when the individuals that make up the academic workforce of an institution prioritize development needs. Discussions of academic capitalism should be reshaped and contextualized to the dramatically different settings in which it is enacted.

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Ref. CS/1

February 27, 2008

Ane Turner Johnson
Ph.D. Candidate - ELPS
Virginia Tech
Graduate Assistant
AdvanceVT
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Dear Ms Johnson,

I refer to the mail from Dr. Joan B. Hirt, Associate Professor, Educational Leadership and Policy Studies at Virginia Tech University. On behalf of the Secretary-General of the Association of African Universities (AAU), I have the pleasure to invite you to visit the AAU Secretariat in Accra, Ghana during the month of June 2008.

AAU is ready to receive you at the Secretariat to conduct the research for your Ph.d study. As requested, AAU Professional staff will be available to assist with your interviews. We also recommend that you visit some of AAU's member institutions in Ghana.

AAU will be ready to receive you first week in June 2008. Kindly send us your arrival details as soon as it is ready.

We look forward to welcoming you.

Yours sincerely,

Pascal Hoba (Dr.)

Head, Communication & Services

APPENDIX B: LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT

<u>Title of Project</u>: Mobilizing Higher Education for Development in Africa: A Case Study of the Association of African Universities

<u>Investigators</u>: Dr. Joan Hirt and Ane Johnson, Ph.D. Candidate

<u>Purpose</u>: In this qualitative study, the researchers will investigate higher education and development in Africa. Specifically, this study explores the Association of African Universities' role and contribution to regional development in Africa, and how participation in the AAU aided two member institutions in national development

<u>Description and Procedures:</u> The purpose of this study was to investigate the role of higher education networks in regional development and how these networks may aid individual institutions to participate in national development. In particular, this case study examined how the Association of African Universities (AAU), a higher education network of 199 members from 45 African countries, influences regional development. Additionally, this study explored the role of the AAU in two member institutions' contributions to national development. Data will be collected through interviews with strategic administrators and faculty of the Association and the selected institutions.

During this project, Ane Johnson will be interviewing you to find out your perception of higher education and development in Africa. The interview will be audiotaped _____ for data analysis purposes only.

<u>Risks:</u> Your data will be kept secure and confidential. You can withdraw from this study at any time. There are minimal risks involved with your participation. No identifiable information – name, identification number, etc. – will be used when describing the results, in order to alleviate risks.

<u>Benefits</u>: The information you provide will contribute to the advancement of knowledge and to support the mobilization of higher education in Africa and the universities' participation in development. This research may also lend to policy changes that will be more favorable to and supportive of university and the association's participation in national and regional development.

<u>Extent of Anonymity and Confidentiality</u>: All of your responses, writings, or other materials will be kept confidential and anonymous. This research data will also be developed into a dissertation, published articles and conference presentations. Please note all identifying responses will be masked to keep your identity confidential.

<u>Freedom to Withdraw</u>: Participation is completely voluntary. Should you decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without penalty.

Your signature below gives us permission to use the data collected from your interview during the project. (You will also receive a copy of this form for your records). Any further questions about this study can be answered by the principal investigator, Dr. Joan Hirt, at jbhirt@vt.edu or

co-investigator, Ane Johnson, at <u>atj@vt.edu</u> , or Dav Compliance at Virginia Tech, at moored@vt.edu.	•
Participant Name	Date
Researcher Name	

APPENDIX C: AAU INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

First, thank you for meeting with me today. Is it okay to tape record this interview so I do not miss anything? You signed the consent form for the interview; however, I want to remind you that your participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw from this study at any time. (Interview questions will be asked aloud, will be audio-taped, and interviewer will take additional notes).

PART I: Interview Questions

- 1. First, would you tell me a little bit about your background? Where are you from, etc.
- 2. How did you come to work at the Association of African Universities?
- 3. In your opinion, what do you believe to be the purpose/s of higher education in Africa? What do you think the challenges are to achieving this purpose/s?
- 4. Can you think of a particular time when the AAU helped an individual institutional member play a role in achieving this purpose?
- 5. The AAU has individual institution members. Some of these institutions have benefited from participation in the AAU and some have not. Can you name two institutions from the same country that are members please identify one institution that has benefited from membership in the association and one that has not?
 - a. Why do you think that University A has benefited? Can you provide some specific examples?
 - b. Do you believe that University A has been able to actively contribute in change in its own country?
 - c. Why do you think University B has not benefited? Can you provide some specific examples?
 - d. What do you believe to be some obstacles to University B ability to contribute to change in its own country?
- 6. In your experience, what has been the most important project you've worked on at the AAU, and why was it the most successful?
- 7. What has been the least successful project you've worked on at the AAU, and why was it not successful?
- 8. Can you tell me a bout a time when you cooperated with organizations, in your capacity as a representative of the AAU, outside the AAU and how has this cooperation influenced the work you do?

- 9. Finally, is their anything you would like to add about the work of the AAU in Africa?
- 10. Can you provide or direct me to any documents (internal or external) or personal communications that could highlight some of what we've spoken about today?

Thank you for talking with me today. An overview of this interview will be provided to you. This overview will highlight important points made during the interview. Please review it to be sure it reflects what you intended to say. And remember, you are always free to contact me if there are any areas that you would like to elaborate.

PART II: Demographics & Employment

Please choos	e an alias to be	identified by in	n the final repor	rt of data findings and discussion of
results:				
Gender (plea	se check one):			
☐ Female	☐ Male			
Age Range (check which ra	nge applies):		
□ 20 – 30	□ 30 – 40	□ 40 − 50	□ 50 – 60	□ 60 or above
Education Le	evel (check all l	evels you have	completed):	
•	chool	•		y School (University)
Job Title:				
Length in Po	sition:		_	
Description of	of Employment	Duties:		

PART III: Defining Development

(Please return to Ane Johnson upon completion, thank you!)

Alias:
Job Title:
Employment:
1. First, please think for a few minutes about what the concept of development means to you in particular. This study is not seeking textbook definitions; we want <u>your</u> opinion and perspective, so consider the concept thoughtfully and then <i>write a definition of development</i> (in the space below, please write in print and as neatly as possible):
2. Okay, now please think about what you consider to be indicators of development. By indicators, we mean measures or markers of <u>your</u> definition of development in a society. Please <i>write out below your indicators of development</i> (again, please write in print):

(please use the other side of this paper, if necessary)

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!

Return to Ane Johnson upon completion.

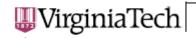
APPENDIX D: INSTITUION INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

First, thank you for meeting with me today. Is it okay to tape record this interview so I do not miss anything? You signed the consent form for the interview; however, I want to remind you that your participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw from this study at any time.

PART I: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is development?				
2. Based on your response, what do you believe the university is doing to contribute development?	Ю			
. What do you perceive to be the greatest challenge to development?				
4. What resources/ relationships enable the university to overcome this challenge?				
PART II: Demographics & Employment				
Participant #:				
Gender (please check one):				
□ Female □ Male				
Age Range (check which range applies):				
$\square 20 - 30$ $\square 30 - 40$ $\square 40 - 50$ $\square 50 - 60$ $\square 60$ or above				
Education Level (check all levels you have completed):				
☐ Primary School ☐ Secondary School ☐ Postsecondary School (University) ☐ Graduate School (Masters and/or Doctorate)				
Job Title:				
Length in Position:				

APPENDIX E: IRB APPROVAL



Office of Research Compliance Institutional Review Board 2000 Kraft Drive, Suite 2000 (0497) Blacksburg, Virginia 24061 540/231-4991 Fax 540/231-0959

e-mail moored@vt.edu www.irb.vt.edu

FWADD000572(expires 1/20/2010)

IRB # Is IRB00000667

MEMORANDUM

DATE:

SUBJECT:

Joan B. Hirt TO:

Ane Johnson

March 31, 2008

Approval date: 3/31/2008

Continuing Review Due Date:3/16/2009

Expiration Date: 3/30/2009

FROM: David M. Moore

IRB Expedited Approval: "Mobilizing Higher Education in Africa: The Association of

African Universities and Its Contributions to Development", IRB # 08-172

This memo is regarding the above-mentioned protocol. The proposed research is eligible for expedited review according to the specifications authorized by 45 CFR 46.110 and 21 CFR 56.110. As Chair of the Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board, I have granted approval to the study for a period of 12 months, effective March 31, 2008.

As an investigator of human subjects, your responsibilities include the following:

- Report promptly proposed changes in previously approved human subject research activities to the IRB, including changes to your study forms, procedures and investigators, regardless of how minor. The proposed changes must not be initiated without IRB review and approval, except where necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subjects.
- 2 Report promptly to the IRB any injuries or other unanticipated or adverse events involving risks or harms to human research subjects or others.
- 3. Report promptly to the IRB of the study's closing (i.e., data collecting and data analysis complete at Virginia Tech). If the study is to continue past the expiration date (listed above), investigators must submit a request for continuing review prior to the continuing review due date (listed above). It is the researcher's responsibility to obtain re-approval from the IRB before the study's expiration date.
- If re-approval is not obtained (unless the study has been reported to the IRB as 4 closed) prior to the expiration date, all activities involving human subjects and data analysis must cease immediately, except where necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subjects.

Important:

If you are conducting federally funded non-exempt research, please send the applicable OSP/grant proposal to the IRB office, once available. OSP funds may not be released until the IRB has compared and found consistent the proposal and related IRB application.

cc: File

Invent the Future

APPENDIX F: COPYRIGHT PERMISSION

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Mar 11, 2009

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