

WESTERNIZATION AS LINGUA FRANCA: HISTORICAL AND DISCURSIVE  
PATTERNS OF HEGEMONY IN GLOBAL HIGHER EDUCATION

Mallory Carson Moore

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APPROVED:

Barrett Taylor, Major Professor  
Uyen Tran-Parsons, Committee Member  
Hyunny Ro, Committee Member  
Lindsey Coco, Committee Member  
Natalya Lindo, Chair of the Department of  
Counseling and Higher Education  
Rudi Thompson, Interim Dean of the College of  
Education  
Victor Prybutok, Dean of the Toulouse  
Graduate School

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Westernization as a historical process of universalizing western cultural and societal norms has, in terms of global education, evolved into a narrative of competition, resource-hoarding, erasure, and general accumulation of capital by the few. Universities and colleges are hubs for the production and reproduction of ideologies and ways of knowing that permeate the highest echelons of the global milieu and contribute to the creation of the global imaginary. The research questions that guided this study asked how Western hegemony is dialogically reinforced in global higher education at the regional and supranational level, and how historical determinants have impacted the regional and supranational translation and manifestation of Western educational models. Through a framework of world system theory and world society theory, I analyzed narratives and calls for improved global higher education at the regional and supranational level to identify mechanisms that have upheld western hegemony within global higher education. I employed a comparative-historical, mixed-methods analysis that utilized two qualitative approaches: historical narrative inquiry through a systematic review of journals and discourse analysis of documents published by the supranational and regional organizations sampled in this study. The overarching mechanisms that allowed for the maintenance of westernization were capacity in Africa, identity in LATC, and affect in Europe. The biased operationalization of global quality indicators has allowed for contemporary reproductions of colonial representations. Historical processes of colonization have evolved to maintain the global imaginary of world society while concretizing the asymmetric relationships of a networked society within the world system. These findings contribute to the body of literature on the manner in which global higher education systems interpret, mediate, sustain, and resist processes of westernization.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAU	Association of African Universities
AU	African Union
BP	Bologna Process
EHEA	European Higher Education Area
EU	European Union
EUA	European University Association
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
UDUALC	La Unión de Universidades de América Latina y el Caribe
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organization

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The field of global higher education has historically been plagued by humanitarian, economic, and political crises that have shaped and determined the trajectory of academic systems. The result has been a myriad of varying philosophical, epistemological, and geopolitical consequences. Imperialism, colonialism, and the overall marginalization of certain systems of knowledge production have punctuated countless timelines and geographic places to crystalize the inequitable world in which we exist today (Shajahan et al., 2022). Westernization as a historical process of universalizing Western cultural and societal norms has, in terms of global education, evolved into a narrative of competition, resource-hoarding, erasure, and general accumulation of capital by the few. Institutional rankings, the ubiquity of English, and the spread of Western curriculum and accreditation practices are just a few of the explicit forms that serve as fixtures within Western educational hegemony. The following research focused on understanding the historical processes and linguistic tools that have served as channels of westernization across global higher education systems.

#### Background

Educators, scholars, and students have traveled the world for centuries in search of innovation, collaboration, and growth in knowledge (Thelin, 2011). This has spurred the exchange and compounding of knowledge sets that have brought about some of the greatest advancements known to the world. Yet, recognition of global epistemologies is inequitably and unevenly dispersed. Universities and colleges are hubs for the production and reproduction of ideologies and ways of knowing that permeate the highest echelons of the global milieu and contribute to the creation of the global imaginary. These are incredible sites of inspiration and

innovation, and yet they also serve as catalysts of erasure and epistemicide (Santos, 2014). Both explicit and submerged campaigns against non-Western ways of knowing are woven throughout the history of our field, at times outright othering and denouncing knowledge sets and others masquerading as development and progression.

It is important to note that “the rhetoric of modernity and the logic of coloniality” (Mignolo, 2011, p. 83) have produced an ideology based on supposed global progress. Western epistemologies are not beacons of light guiding non-Western countries towards modern illumination; they are single ways of knowing amongst a pluriverse of thought. The foundation of this study was born from my desire to address the West’s role in recent history of perpetuating false universalisms and to “scrutinise the tendency to normativity” (Iveković, 2010, p. 46). Control and influence of supranational organizations through financial and political power greatly impact regional systems of higher education. It was my aim to understand the translation of westernized models through these primarily Western controlled institutions. By focusing on the power of the supranational and the contextualities of the regional, the translation of supranational and regional calls for improved higher education can be better understood. Through this, it is possible to further our understanding of the structures and processes that shape our global order, particularly within higher education.

### Brief History of Universalities

European universalism grew from the emergence of a monocentric, or rather Western, civilization in which European colonization, based on the idea of addressing the historically-termed primitivism and promoting modernity, cut across the world (Wallerstein, 2006). This colonization of space and time allowed for the eventual cementing of a European led global milieu that allowed for the proliferation of Western ways and supposed justification for

European rule. Santos (2014) takes great care in their outlining of the epistemological divide at the global level which exists as an “invisible distinction...between metropolitan societies and colonial territories” (p. 118) where non-Western ways of knowing were and continue to be subject to exclusion, devaluation, and omission. Santos states “the other side of the line separates true and false, legal and illegal. The other side of the line comprises a vast set of discarded experiences, made invisible both as agencies and as agents, with no fixed territorial location.” (p. 120). This disavowal of knowledge sets based on arguments of modernity, development, and perceived truth effectively eliminates experiences, understandings, and identities through displacement. The historicity of this concept of a supposedly veracious and universal Western episteme based in science, philosophy, or theology extends back to the earliest concepts of the old and new world. Western models of education have created a doxa of superiority and countless historical, political, economic, and cultural narratives to ensure its preservation.

Mignolo (2011, p. 19) further echoes this sentiment by saying:

An epistemic hierarchy that privileged Western knowledge and cosmology over non-Western knowledge and cosmologies was institutionalized in the global university system, publishing houses, and Encyclopedia Britannica, on paper and online. A linguistic hierarchy between European languages and non-European languages privileged communication and knowledge/theoretical production in the former and subalternized the latter as sole producers of folklore or culture, but not of knowledge/theory.

Colonization, in both its historical and modern forms, has deep ties to “politics of translation” (Iveković, 2010, p. 47), not merely in the sense of multilingualism but across varying epistemes. Mignolo (2011) goes on to state “the difference lies in the geo- and body-politics of knowing and knowledge. That is, the concerns of a given scholar, politician, activist, banker, journalist, farmer, former slave, and so on do not meet in the universal house of knowledge where truth without parenthesis is disputed and conflict of interpretation arises.” (p. 29). The coloniality of knowledge through Western global designs led to the drive towards

erasure of various historical lines, and with them the countless cultural, environmental, political, and economic ways of knowing from around the world. Santos (2014) puts it quite eloquently when stating that “the hegemonic contact converts simultaneity into non contemporaneity. It makes up pasts to make room for a single homogenous future.” (p. 122). Control of thought, understanding, experience, and ways of knowing equates to the control of one’s reality. Education has long been a tool for power, and it remains a fixture in the upholding of Western hegemony.

### A Modern Project of Westernization

Control transformed from the appropriation of land and involuntary assimilation to deeply seeded and complex processes of wealth accumulation and financial domination through supranational structural adjustment projects. A regressive and predatory globalization, though existing for centuries, has allowed further disarming of countries in the Global South through intricate oversight and ownership through supranational, aid-based agreements (Katz, 2006). This aligns with Harvey’s (2007) argument on accumulation by dispossession under neoliberal economic theory. Harvey discusses the origin of this concept and its relation to forced privatization and restriction of “rights to the commons” (p. 35), referring primarily to land and property. However, Harvey provides contemporary examples of this accumulation by citing access to education as a current tool that acts to restore “class power to capitalist elites in the United States and elsewhere.” (p. 35). This modern projection of control reveals the “political and epistemic struggles” (Mignolo, 2011, p. 33) that undergird and drive our current world order which is viewed by some as “imperialism without colonies” (p. 54). Western nations have come to dominate the global stage of academia, resulting in a system built to privilege the West’s universities and colleges and has led to a worldwide convergence on Western models. With the

goal of continued imposition of a Western universality, the field of higher education has borne a hierarchy of global academic forms which are ordered by their proximity to Western knowledge (Downey et al., 2022). Epistemic privilege of the West has resulted in a globalized deficit thinking towards knowledge sets and ways of knowing from the Global South.

Calls for the decentering of Western paradigms have grown in recent years as critical de-westernization takes form as an epistemological revolution. This cognitive justice movement is based on the epistemicide (Santos, 2014) or historical displacement of native/non-hegemonic systems of knowledge around the world (Ndofirepi & Gwaravanda, 2019) and works towards the upholding of all forms of knowledge. Alter-globalization, a movement that protests the predatory nature of economic globalization, has confronted colonial and hegemonic knowledge recognizing the growing links with higher education. The efforts to decenter the West's universality and rewrite the West-washed global canon persists. However, the intricacies of modern westernization require much unangling.

#### Problem Statement

In this study I analyzed regional journal articles and calls for improved global higher education at the regional and supranational level to explain how Western hegemony has been translated and sustained linguistically and historically.

#### Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study was to understand how Western systems of higher education have been extended, translated, and sustained across the world through supranational and regional influence. This study enhanced and furthered understanding on the creation and sustainment of Western educational hegemony at macro-levels around the world through both a discursive and historical lens, as well as through understandings of the current world order

provided by a framework built on world system and world society theories.

### Theoretical Framework

My theoretical framework was built on two understandings of the world order put forth by Immanuel Wallerstein and John Meyer. Wallerstein's (2004) world system theory depicts a world purposefully carved up to serve the economic and political interests of a faceless elite class whose control is deeply entrenched in the structuring of the world order. Meyer (1997) describes a world intricately interconnected by extensive webs of commerce, communication, policies, and culture that have inspired a globalized social milieu voluntarily led by the competent and knowledgeable whose true goals are to propel the global community towards progress and modernity. These two depictions of the current world order both put forward claims that represent truths (ex. Wallerstein's concept of power and Meyer's concept of agency), despite their contradictions and guided the linguistic and historical analysis in this study.

### Research Questions

The questions guiding this study were:

- How is Western hegemony dialogically reinforced in global higher education at the regional and supranational level?
- How have historical determinants impacted the regional and supranational translation and manifestation of Western educational models

### Significance of the Study

The bridging of geographical, historical, linguistic, and educational threads in this study brought new macro-level insight to the current literature on global systems of higher education. The findings of this study further established the field's knowledge on westernization of higher education but also broadened our understanding of how Western knowledge sets have been

translated and sustained at the supranational and regional level in Africa, Europe, and Latin America and the Caribbean. My use of concepts, theories, and a methodology that exist primarily in the fields of sociology and human geography contributed to this updated understanding. The discord between universalistic internationalism and academic imperialism (Jeronimo & Montero, 2017) remains a focal point in comparative studies and necessitates further understanding of processes and mechanisms that shape our current world order.

### Research Design

To further understand the creation and sustainment of western educational hegemony, I employed comparative-historical methods, a mixed-methods analysis that utilized two qualitative approaches: historical narrative inquiry and discourse analysis. The historical narrative inquiry constructed a condensed timeline for each region included in the study (Africa; Europe; Latin American and the Caribbean) through a systematic review of journals that either originated from the region or whose primary focus was research on the region. Articles were selected by their date of publication, relevance to the field of higher education, impact of political/economic/cultural/educational policies related to the region's higher education systems, and discussion of exogenous global forces. The discourse analysis critically assessed documents published by the supranational (World Bank; World Trade Organization; United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization; Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) and regional (Association of African Universities; European University Association; Unión de Universidades de América Latina y el Caribe) organizations included in this study. The discourse analysis was guided by the theoretical framework of this study which was built on world systems theory and world society theory. The findings of both approaches



were merged to establish a macro-level picture that reveals partial insight into how Western models of higher education have been translated and sustained around the world.

### Assumptions, Limitations, and Scope

The scope of this study represents one of its primary limitations as the macro-level from which I approached in this study omits the micro-level nuances of statehood.

### Positionality Statement

As an individual who has been trained, benefited from, and operates within the Western epistemological framework, I acknowledge that my positionality has bearing on my understanding of non-Western experiences. It was my intention to engage as deeply as possible with postcolonial scholarship, to center non-Western voices, and to recognize the importance of not merely identifying the problem but moving towards a space that exists outside of the Western episteme.

### Definition of Key Terms

- *Episteme* comes from one's epistemological assumptions regarding how we know our reality and what we regard as truth which is based in our socialization and cultural norms (Rallis & Rossman, 2012).
- *Globalization* exists in various forms (economic, technological, environmental, etc.) each with their own schools of thought. For the purposes of this study I will refer to Kellner's (2002) critical theorization of globalization which warns against the trap of determinism when conceptualizing globalization. Globalization represents a series of contradictory processes within a global networked society which produce both homogenization and heterogeneity, innovation and destruction, freedom and subordination.

- *Global north – global south* divide largely represents the groupings of predominantly English-speaking, economically developed countries of Western Europe and North America versus the politically and economically marginalized countries of the world. This line “makes plain the vast disparities in wealth and influence between predominantly Anglo regions and the rest” (Lee, 2021, p. 3). Though certain clusters do exist above and below the equator, the global north and global south should not be thought of in geographic terms, but rather their characteristics. In terms of higher education, the Global North and South encounter paradigmatic conflicts that are based in historical and geopolitical might and domination that control hegemonic ideologies found within curriculum and teaching practices.

- *Hegemony* represents differential expansion of power or influence amongst ideologies resulting in the dominance of one through control and subjugation of others at political, economic, and socio-cultural levels. Hegemony is seen as being “inherently interventionist” (Anderson, 2017, p. 5) and driven by force. However, terms like consent frequent the discourse surrounding the definition of hegemony leaving ambiguity within its meaning.

- *Neoliberalism* centers the supremacy of the market, supporting privatization and deregulation to allow for an unfettered system of free trade (Bamberger et al., 2019; Harvey, 2005). Variation in the definition of this term occurs across geographical boundaries as understanding and uptake of neoliberalism is impacted by a location’s context. This paradigmatic shift towards free-market policies and competition occurred in the 1970s following the reign and subsequent fall of Keynesian economics, which represented a more welfare-centric economic system. When considering neoliberalism within the frame of higher education, education itself is reduced to a commodity that can be obtained for “individual economic gain” (Bamberger et al., 2019, p. 204) within the global knowledge economy.

- *Subaltern* refers to the marginalization and exclusion of a group that have been systematically othered by those in power (Gramsci, 1971). This term's application is not intended for just oppression, but rather for a minoritized group whose agency has been stripped away and have thus been relegated to the lowest tier by the hegemon.

- *Time-space*, also related to such terms as temporality and spatio-temporal in the literature, represents time and space as varied social constructs that shape our social order, and thus our social processes, through purposeful assignment, definition, imposition, and reproduction (Harvey, 1990). Time can be understood in terms of hours, eras, and modernity. Space can be understood as physical location, hierarchy, history. Both time and the spatial domain have the capacity to be gendered, racialized, and marketized, and therefore should be understood for their multidimensionality. This research follows Harvey's (1990) concept of "historical geography of space and time" (p. 418).

- *Westernization* refers to the growing presence of Western norms in other parts of the world, existing on a spectrum ranging from consensual adoption to forced assimilation. Western normativity takes cultural, political, and economic forms. The manufactured image of the West is such that westernization has become synonymous with modernity and development discourse, as well as broader understandings of globalization and internationalization (Lee, 2021).

## Conclusion

Western knowledge sets have come to dominate global systems of higher education, crafting a world that deeply engages with the erasure of non-Western thought through the privileging and reproduction of Western ways of knowing. Transitioning from the history of European universalism to the modern project of westernization, from the othering of the so called subhuman to the structured marginalization and formation of the subaltern, the West has

retained its position as hegemon. Through this dissertation I aimed to contribute to the body of literature addressing Western educational hegemony by analyzing the processes for translation and sustainment around the world. With the lenses of both world systems theory and world society theory I utilized comparative-historical methods to consider the historical processes and linguistic tools used to promote and preserve the West's hegemony in global higher education.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

Higher education remains a unique and highly contested institutional domain, consisting of networked educational nodes (Castells, 2001) and dynamic, uneven flows of cultural, technological, financial, and political landscapes (Appadurai, 1990) that shape the field both exogenously and endogenously. This fluidity of ideologies, populations, and resources contributes to the expansive, and largely constructive, nature of this field while also devising a stratum of institutions and systems that make up our inequitable world. The current landscape of social reproduction in global higher education can be viewed through varying lenses, of which this study focuses on two: A hierarchy hinging itself upon asymmetric relationships, accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2007), and hegemonic gain through ideological domination; and a network of institutions with relatively comparable goals, shaped by globally contrived and agreed upon values, engaging in isomorphic script-making to achieve them. When considering the core themes of this study (i.e. westernization, hegemony, and convergence), these theories provide a framework that accounts for the spectrum of discourse surrounding processes of westernization and how they have sustained.

This study expands on the dialogue surrounding hegemony and global society by examining regional journal articles and calls for improved higher education at the supranational and regional level through the lenses of two grand narratives: world system theory and world society theory. Two primary arguments within the dialogue on current global order are the beliefs in collaborative forces towards common goals and the power-based stratification of nations within the global milieu. Neither of these views discount the existence of systemic power in which our world is guided, however the degrees of agency that nations and regions retain

marks the departure between the two camps. These presumed levels of consciousness towards global powers and their exerted force are what drive the juxtaposed voices of determinism and social constructivism in this debate. However, before analyzing the current literature on global higher education's order through these lenses it is important to navigate the current and historical ideological processes and mechanisms that have influenced discourse on higher education policy at the global level.

Prior to the review of this chapter's contents, I feel it necessary to acknowledge that, as I am the primary tool in this research, the call is coming from inside the house. As an individual who has been trained, benefited from, and operates within the Western epistemological framework, it is my intention to engage as deeply as possible with postcolonial scholarship and to recognize the importance of not merely identifying the problem but moving towards a space that exists outside of the Western episteme. The intention of this study is to reveal the mechanisms and processes through which global higher education translates the current westernized neoliberal agenda. However, I would be remiss if I did not recognize and concede that my very study of this subject matter exists within the cycle of Western thought and knowledge, as well as contributes to the current dominance of global English. The result of this study is not to decry the evils of current global powers and retreat into my fortress of Western hubris, but rather to be a continuation and contribution towards "knowledge as emancipation" (Santos, 1998). The importance of this study is revealed in the paucity of information that centers the translating of these processes and trends of either hegemony or isomorphism across spatio-temporal contexts. This study asked how Western hegemony is dialogically reinforced in global higher education at the regional and supranational level, and how historical determinants have

impacted the regional and supranational translation and manifestation of Western educational models.

I begin my review of the literature with an explanation of the study's theoretical framework. I continue with a review on themes of hegemony and universalism to demonstrate the historical and contemporary justification of westernization, followed by recent discussions of global academia as the new imperialism. The review continues with literature surrounding globalization as both a process of time-space compression and a fluid channel of overlapping scapes (Appadurai, 1990) through which knowledge, power, and influence flow. The concept of globalization is further unpacked through the discussion of increased thickening of globalism as relationship dynamics alter in an increasingly connected networked society (Castells, 2001). Finally, the inception and expansion of supranational and regional higher education and adjacent organizations are discussed as the vehicles through which translation and sustainment are carried.

#### Literature Strategy Methods

The systematic search for literature included the use of search terms such as global higher education, westernization in higher education, hegemony in education, global English, regionalization, intergovernmental organizations and education, and regional higher education. There were no time limits placed on the literature included in this review, particularly as this study's methodology includes a historical narrative inquiry and given the time period in which the theoretical framework is drawn.

#### Literature that Support Methodology

This research was poised to interrogate multiple historiographical questions, timelines, and geographies as they intersect with mechanisms of power and influence, requiring

methodological pluralism. These methods are further explained in the following chapter, but this study employed comparative-historical methods to answer the research questions through content analysis and historical narrative inquiry. Comparative-historical methods exist largely in the academic discipline of sociology with its focus surrounding the phenomenon of social change (i.e., “industrialization, technological development, warfare and revolutions, social movements...and globalization” (Lange, 2013, p.1). However there is growing appreciation beyond sociology for the insight this approach provides. Lange (2013) composed a thorough review of both the strengths and challenges associated with this methodology but expounded upon the optimization of understanding that comes from the use of multiple methods. For this study, identifying the intersection of linguistics and historiography allowed for the revelation of both explicit and submerged dynamics between the supranational and regional levels, and how they have both materialized and sustained

The architect of one of this study’s driving theories, Immanuel Wallerstein, is one proponent of comparative-historical methods, employing it in much of his work but particularly through his analysis of the global order, or what he calls the world system (Wallerstein, 2004).

As is expanded on in the coming sections, much work has been done to demonstrate the existence of westernization and its predominance around the world, and yet this study aimed to argue that these truths “only make sense if we carefully contextualise them within the shifting geographical, institutional, and historical spaces in which they took place.” (Jerónimo & Montero, 2017, p. 35). Tikly (2004) furthers the relevance of this study’s methods by pointing to the value of discourse in understanding social change, looking at the relations between translation and institutionalization, and how this manifests in varied and contradictory social realities around the world:



Education provides a key site for discursive struggle over versions of social reality...discourses about the nature of social reality and of human nature itself, including those about education and development provide the bricks and mortar, the final recourse in relation to which hegemony and counter-hegemony are constructed and contested. (p. 178)

The complexity of cases with which this study concerned itself, much like the work of the scholars mentioned above, necessitated, and justified the use of comparative-historical analysis in this research. Context and causal processes are central to the understanding of macro- and meso-level arenas, and comparative-historical analysis provided for that needed nuance through consideration of both idiographic and nomothetic explanations (Lange, 2013). Studying education's role in the development or hindrance of human and social capital worldwide must "value the need for the internationalism, transnationalisation, and globalisation of the historical objects, problems, and methods with a view to decentralising the historical analysis of specific nations or regions" (Jerónimo & Monteiro, 2017, p. 3). Analysis of such topics requires the study of the regional and global, the historical and contemporary, the hegemonic and communitive.

### Theoretical Framework

This study should not be relegated to theoretical monism but to engage with pluralistic views of global order. As stated by Santos (1998), "it is not possible to gather all resistance and agents under the aegis of one common grand theory" (p. 126). To catalyze a successful study focusing on macro-level, regional and global processes, it was paramount that I identified a heterogeneous band of ideological theories to account for the vast spectrum of explanations regarding the current global standing. The literature review composed a genealogy of the following two grand narratives, outlining the explanatory power that give merit to these schools of thought.

## World System Theory

Formulated by sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein (2004), world system is a critical, theoretical, and conceptual structure concentrated in a historically, politically, and economically entrenched network of superpowers. Described as overlapping and intersecting, world system analysis can be visualized as a web of four axes – historical-critical axis, critical analysis of events and processes, study of immediate history, and critical epistemological reflection of social realities (Wallerstein et al., 2012). Marxist encounters are threaded throughout this school of thought as Wallerstein maintains that capital is the locus of our modern world system (Synder & Kick, 1979). The nation-state is not viewed as the only fit unit of analysis, or rather it is limited to one's understanding of our world order when confining thought to national timelines and geographies. Focus must be placed on global dynamics, through which we see Wallerstein's tripartite depiction of the current world order: core, semi-periphery, and periphery countries.

The core is comprised of wealthy and powerful nations whose economic prowess depends on the exploitative processes and accumulation from the semi-periphery, an intermediary cluster of countries, and the periphery, a largely impoverished portion of the world relegated to the outer rim of the global stage (Wallerstein, 2004). Challengers to the world system theory question the lack of precise classifications for core, semi-periphery, and periphery countries (though this quantification has been attempted by scholars i.e. Mahutga & Smith, 2011). However, the hierarchical structure is seen by world system as being “not only endemic to but structurally necessary for the continued existence of a world capitalist system” (Evans, 1979, p. 16). This theoretical camp centers the idea that structural relations have been built on exploitative links delimited by geopolitical boundaries. Geopolitics and geoeconomics are the arena in which the current world-system is bound (Chase-Dunn, 2015) .

Though world system intimately links power and global economics, it should be noted that economics has inherent cultural ties, demonstrated by the individualistic versus collectivist cultural norms and traditions of the West and non-West countries, respectively (Tikly, 2004). In terms of education, we witness the cross-pollination of political, economic, and cultural spheres in curriculum, mission statements, institutional spending, and recruitment among other actions by postsecondary schools, organizations, and agencies. World system considers education as yet another arena of power and domination, from whence the global core can control and maintain the world order. Ideological influence through accreditation processes, predominantly English-based publications, preeminence in student recruitment, and self-fulfilling ranking systems all serve as examples of processes of legitimization, which are required for the sustainment of hegemony.

### World Society Theory

World society theory posits that the global construction and legitimization of competent, agentic, and modern actors with choice and influence over the social environment is the explanation for our current world order (Meyer, 2010). These actors, on an individual and collective level, have similar goals and values. Because of this, agents look to one another for problem-solving strategies leading to processes of isomorphism and diffusion where we see the borrowing of structures and models through lenses of universal principles. Disorder from the worldwide expansion of human rights and agentic power is controlled through the “cultural canopy” (p. 8) of scientization which has established a series of principles that have been globally standardized and legitimated. World society challenges the idea of hegemony through coercion with homogeneity through conscious consent. Power and subjugation are not king, but rather we are each agents “in a suprasocietal or transcendental cosmos, rather than in an empire

or state.” (Meyer, 2010, p. 6). The rise of social structures based in universalism and collective good, such as supranational organizations, have marked the departure from mass self-interested rational action to agentic Others as global guides towards successful actorhood. Without these Others, “it is hard to imagine countries living up to the advanced modern expectations for actorhood without the active assistance of all these people” (p. 7).

Postsecondary institutions acquire actorhood through “clear purposes and missions, plans and strategies, sovereign decision structures, internal coordination and control systems, and so on” (Meyer, 2010, p. 10). Higher education is seen by some as the vessel through which actualization occurs for global movements and sociopolitical change, the legitimation of knowledge and global citizenry, and the rationalization of our current society through the establishment of common frames (Schofer et al., 2021). Individuals are not subjugated by universalities in academia, but rather actively contribute to systems of knowledge and understanding. This results in their further empowerment and incorporation into the global society as conscious beings who contribute to and benefit from the world order.

World society theory concedes the existence of self-interested organizational actors, acknowledging that power and asymmetrical goals appear but are not representative of most nation-states, organizations, or individuals. The authority and power granted in Otherhood is challenged and validated in a rational and contemporary arena of worldwide agency. Local interests, identities, and histories are expected to be dismissed or altered, as determined by knowledgeable/trained and globally connected Others, to reflect the universally held principles of the world including “human rights, consumer rights, environmental regulation, social and economic development, and human equality and justice” (Meyer et al. 1997, pp. 164-165).

Meyer and colleagues propose a fictitious island that has remained unknown and

detached from global society as an example of their institutionalist theory, citing the likely isomorphic diffusion of modern global models upon the island and its inhabitants after its discovery (Meyer et al., 1997). Standardized forms of infrastructure, under the guidance of the educated Others of worldwide agencies and organizations, would populate the island “under the general rubric of development” (p. 146). One parallel to this example could be the transition to New Public Management across higher education institutions (Broucker et al., 2018) which had propelled a more corporate style system of governance throughout the field. Resistance to these global prescriptions is deemed a great challenge due to global and domestic pressures of conformity towards internationally held values. Rather than countless trajectories, common global society models have taken hold shaping the current structure we see in the world (Meyer et al., 1997).

#### Tournament of Theories

When considering the concept of hegemony within these two theories, world system cites European universalism (Wallerstein, 2006) which assumes and imposes, across time, the West’s claim of superiority in their practices over others with the belief that the West has supposedly been more sophisticated and more advanced than others. World society leans towards the idea of a universal universalism (Meyer, 1997) that the world is convening on commonly held values established by entrusted professionals absent brute force or control. Scholars have heatedly contested the veracity of these two grand theories, hurling inaccuracies and missed variables across articles within each camp (Downey et al., 2020; Caruso, 2008). World system theory places too much emphasis on economic power and force, citing the hegemonic capitalist class as the constructor of current world order and ignoring the relevance of culture and agency. World society theory is peering through a rose-colored lens, ignoring the problematic discourses of

modernity and development sustained by the exploitative practices of the script-writing professionals and the imperial order they inherited.

Both theoretical frameworks denote the presence and importance of supranational actors like the IGOs considered in this study. World system indicates a hierarchical relational system that facilitates the transfer of dominant ideologies, models, and structures across regional higher education systems to perpetuate the current world order of control and subjugation. World society would dictate that the mass adoption of Western practices and models, or rather universalistic principles scripted by agentic Others, are due to comparable goals within individual and organizational actorhood.

### Hegemony and Universalism

With its origins in the Greek language, hegemony is derived from the verb *hēgemonia*, meaning to “guide” or to “lead” (Anderson, 2017). Classical uses of the term are mired by ambiguity due to the contention surrounding the defining and demarcation of coercion and consent. Antonio Gramsci’s writings from his imprisonment draw parallels between the use of *gegemonia* during the Tsarist revolution (p. 13) of the early 20th century and the fascism Italy faced under Mussolini. Gramsci’s prison notebooks aimed to explain how “...an exploitative order was capable of securing the moral consent of the dominated to their own domination” (Schwarzmantel, 2014, p. 21). Gramscian thought focused not on divorcing coercion and consent, but rather the promotion of hegemony’s polyvalent modality relying on both to actualize power. Inspired by Gramsci, Ranajit Guha's *Dominance without Hegemony* (1998) constructs a matrix of relationships built on the tension that exists within the understanding of power. From the subaltern school of thought, focusing primarily on colonialism in India, Guha draws from Gramsci’s philosophical reflections on hegemony as a condition contingent upon the extensions

of dominance and subordination. The complexities of this model reflect the pluralism of this study's theoretical framework to understand the mechanisms of legitimization of dominant Western models.

Hegemony has acquired various understandings and manifested differently based on who controlled the scales of power at which point in history. U.S. hegemony has been identified as being quite distinct, having taken hold at a time where technological advancement, global connectivity, and increased knowledge production intersected. Much like the economic, entertainment, and technological might of the U.S., the country's dominance in the field of higher education is constructed through strategically carved out roles, buttressed by histories of colonial and imperial domination, in the international higher education policy world.

The characteristics of U.S. hegemony, concentrating on its presence and forms within global higher education, are seen through gatekeeping via English as lingua franca (Marginson, 2006; Spring, 2014; Salomone, 2022), asymmetrical presence and control in academic journals and publications, self-fulfilling prophetic global HEI rankings (Mayumi, 2011; Welsh, 2020; Amsler & Bolsmann, 2012), and the continued position as the number one receiver of internationally mobile students in the world (IIE, 2023; Marginson, 2008). Each of these have been codified by the de-politicization or claims of inevitability of the U.S.'s critical positioning within the field of higher education, despite inherent and inextricable colonial and imperial themes woven throughout (Ives, 2009). The legitimization of U.S. dominance is what has concretized hegemony in this case.

The expansion of Global English is particularly pertinent to the processes of Westernization, and the bolstering of Western hubris. Language politics can be witnessed at various supranational levels, with many international political and economic proceedings and

their subsequent reports being made in English (Crystal, 1997). Scholars such as Brutt-Griffler (2002) make arguments for choice within the spread of Global English, even the beneficial nature of English as lingua franca, rallying behind the theoretical camp of agency amongst individuals and institutions. Disagreements surrounding the definition of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992) or the validity of Global English “being a result or at least a legacy of linguistic imperialism” (Brutt-Griffler, 2002, p. 27) base their dissension on English being a byproduct of original imperialistic intent, not its primary purpose. The lack of evidence indicating that there was an ideological and imperial push to subjugate and minoritize non-English languages challenges the idea of a linguistic imperialism. However, other scholars point to the chronological coinciding of colonialism and the spread of English, whether deliberate or a mere consequence, and claim it as a contributing force that should not be isolated from the changes in global power dynamics and economic relationships over time. In a contemporary context, the existence of a lingua franca or global language constructs unequal power relationships and impacts the propensity for counter-hegemonies of subaltern populations (Gramsci, 1971; Ives, 2009). The development of “social group consciousness” (Ives, 2009, p. 663) is limited when one language dominates and restricts the channels through which social change can be made.

#### Westernization and Western Hubris: Exceptionalism through Isolationism

Despite our own long histories of disenfranchising the poor in order to foster our current system of a free market democracy, Western nations have expected countries in the Global South to adopt such neoliberal patterns in a significantly shorter period of time. This is understood through Western nations’ histories of protectionism and isolationism to create their dominant status in the global market, while imposing economic policies or structural adjustment programs



(established by the Western dominated IMF, WTO, and World Bank) on developing countries and expecting the same results sans the safeguards needed to ensure their success (Peet, 2004). This process is similarly reflected in global higher education, in which Western systems have touted their models as the global standard and looked to educational systems in the Global South to replicate such systems despite substantial variation in context. Interventionism is an inherent characteristic of the hegemonic condition (Anderson, 2017) and remains a core function of Western countries across time and space. What is promoted as a form of educational egalitarianism has revealed itself as educational elitism through the masquerading of detrimental policies as progressive (Mayumi, 2011).

Harvey (2007) spends time covering just this in his discussion of neoliberalism as creative destruction. Without long-standing redistributive institutions, countries face less successful attempts at softening the blows of capitalism and subsequently bolster the wealth disparities that emerge between the global elite and the globally marginalized. The lack of fair structural and systemic reforms needed to ensure equitable standings in the global knowledge economy have allowed for the creation of channels in which “dominant discourse tied to Western notions of development” (Katz, 2006, p. 335) flow freely and powerfully. Wallerstein (2006) states that hegemony in postcolonial contexts is demonstrated by the dependency of the Global South at the transnational level, contrasted by the West’s ability to detach and isolate when needed historically.

This sense of American exceptionalism results in a Western hubris known as European universalism, a result of the legitimation of the West’s dominance and hegemonic standing. As discussed by Wallerstein (2006), European universalism can be understood through three main tenets: pursuit or defense of ‘human rights’, superiority through values, and scientific truths of

the neoliberal market (p. XI-XII). Stein (2017) elaborates on the dangers, stating “this approach also articulates concerns about the colonial politics of Western knowledge production, which not only devalues non-Western knowledges but also produces colonial representations of the non-West that rationalize Western exceptionalisms and justify Western political and economic interventions abroad” (p. 15).

The issue that arises with European universalism as justification for Western educational models is the detachment of epistemologies from their local histories, in this case the virtues of Christian white communities of the West, particularly Europe and the United States (Shajahan, 2016). Transplanting ways of knowing and understanding across geographies without acknowledging that they are laden with contextualities, and either knowingly or unknowingly assuming superiority, is a driving force behind the current hegemonic rule. As Katz states, the world is witnessing a “convergence of states and global actors around the neoliberal creed (U.S., E.U., WB, WTO) founding a historic bloc which co-opt major organizations in global civil society and use them to promote this agenda under a cloak of openness” (2006, p. 335). The pervasiveness of Western exceptionalism within higher education brings this review to the concept of Western educational modes as the new imperialism.

### The New Imperialism

Imperialism as a process has taken many forms over centuries, but its meaning and core pillars of power and accumulation have remained. The manner in which westernization has spread and sustained itself within global higher education is central to the original questions driving this study. Scholars have tried to identify or “name the enemy” (Starr, 2000; Santos, 1998), an exceedingly difficult challenge due to the bureaucratization and lessening transparency of organizations around the world. Further questions arise when analyzing the global flows of

cultural scapes (i.e. ethnoscaples, mediascaples, technoscaples, finanscaples, ideoscaples) (Appadurai, 1990) in a networked society of tightly woven systems of capitalism, imperialism, and liberalism (Castells, 2001) that have all organized and affixed themselves around accumulation.

One example to consider is what has been termed the “global university” (Biesta, 2011; Spring, 2014), in essence a blueprint from which an increasing number of institutions are drawing in the attempt to become “world class” as defined by Western systems of postsecondary education. The focus for institutions becomes how they are positioned in relation to others in terms of reputation, funding, and student mobility. The quality of the institution becomes based on inequitable comparative performance indicators, which serve as the driving force of organizational culture and decision-making. The pervasive influence that is held by the intangible global knowledge economy impacts the objectives of institutions. Adaptation occurs through the positioning in economic terms and macro-meso-level shaping of strategies, goals, and beliefs to reflect prescribed ideologies. But tensions exist surrounding the consequences of these efforts: “Even capacity-building projects have been observed as reproducing coloniality when quality is determined by Western norms” (Lee, 2021, p. 3). In essence, global higher education systems are facing externally generated “value-creation and value-realization” (Welsh, 2020, p. 138), or the assigning and questioning of who is contributing to value creation within the global knowledge economy.

Tikly (2004) points to the “changing discursive repertoire” (p. 180) of supranational organizations with the genealogy of Eurocentric and Westernized understandings of development dating back to historic ideas of “progress, modernity, and civilization” (p. 181). This notion of underdevelopment has discursively affixed itself to the primary goals of the supranational

organizations included in this study, based on justifications of liberation and global equity, providing a channel for interventionist policies. The deficit perspective of developed-underdeveloped binary, or what is now referred to as the “developed-developing” with its euphemistic and racist undertones (Tikly, 2004, p. 184), points to the submerged discourse taking place at the macro levels. Scholars have since claimed that higher education has grown into a co-opted platform to promote ideological globalizing mechanisms of hierarchization (Katz, 2006; Robertson & Keeling, 2008) and point to the inherent violence of modernity discourse (Andreotti et al., 2015). The West’s position of hegemon necessitates and relies on this intentionally created apparatus of reinforcing tools to legitimate their place in the global order.

Peter Ives posed a rather poignant question asking “under what circumstances does learning English enable such dismantling, and under what circumstances does it further entrench psychological, cultural, economic and political subordination?” (Ives, 2009, p. 671). Within the context of this study, a related question can be asked; does westernization of global higher education systems provide regions with the tools for counter-hegemonic action, or does it maintain subalternity through the unequal power dynamics and economic relationships of our current world order? It would seem evident that the control, or rather limiting, of educational agendas through financial agreements based on prescriptive guidelines would suppress subaltern counter-hegemonies. However, this could also be seen as a site for potential creation of agency by the subaltern through participation in the Western episteme.

### Discourse on Globalization and Globalism

Understanding the discursive and functional differences between globalization and globalism is fundamental in the realization of institutional processes and relationships at the meso- and macro-level. Both terms are geographical and spatial, have histories of expansion and

contraction, and involve the connectivity of the world. But to define them plainly, globalism is the ideological framework of interconnectivity (i.e. values, understandings, beliefs) which describes the social-cultural-economic-political relations, whereas globalization pertains to the processes and mechanisms that drive or dampen said interconnectivity. Globalization, its own term rife with varying definitions and multivalent forms, is primarily thought of as a series of reinforcing and exclusionary processes that intertwine global realms in spaces of finance, technology, culture, environment, and politics (Papastephanou, 2005). The system of processes that comprise the infrastructure of globalization are thought to have contributed to the decoupling of space and time, intensifying the awareness of the world as a whole and compounding the interconnection of global nodes (Castells, 2001; Harris, 2002). Globalism discourse focuses on the logic that upholds and sustains global processes (i.e. beliefs on concentration and dispersal of power) which plays a pivotal role in assessing the tension between system and society. The two inform and shape each other and both concepts are necessary to understand the scales of power with which this study is concerned.

In considering the current social, cultural, economic, and political landscapes that intersect with the global field of higher education, it is important to understand the timelines which have resulted in the current era of global neoliberalism. The knowledge economy remains a modern global fixture and has moored itself to one of, if not the primary, central role of higher education today. Shifts towards the market, marked by greater links between HEIs and the private sector through research agendas and funding streams steeped in competition (Slaughter & Cantwell, 2012), further entrench the field within neoliberal globalization. The intentionality of this phenomenon has been called into question (Welsh, 2020) as Western dominance diffuses to other parts of the world, suggesting coterminous emergence or that the phenomena emerged

simultaneously yet distinctly around the world. Though others maintain that to preserve control, Western powers have engaged in the geo-strategic construction of a system that reinforces the asymmetrical capacities seen in higher education systems around the world (Wallerstein, 2006; Collins, 2007; Kamola, 2014; Bamberger et al., 2019; Lee, 2021). This intentionally constructed teleology provides the justification for European universalism (Wallerstein, 2006) within education and is touted through presentist dialogues of modernism. Historic scales of power contribute greatly to the global order seen today and should be considered when analyzing the global higher education policy arena.

As World War II drew to a close, representatives from 44 nations met at what was called the Bretton Woods Conference to discuss the financial order of the postwar world resulting in the creation of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (now known as the World Bank) (Lamoreaux & Shapiro, 2019). Primarily led by the US and the UK, these discussions ushered in an era of development and continued efforts towards a sustainable international economy in light of the interwar collapse. Economic theory put forward at the conference by John Maynard Keynes and other economists, known as Keynesian economics, promoted government intervention through channels of public policies and expenditures to address the need for global stabilization and to restore economic growth (Frieden, 2019). However, the agreements of Bretton Woods began to deteriorate around the late 1960s/early 1970s as inflation rose in the U.S., and subsequently the rest of the world, resulting in the dollar standard without gold; an original agreement broken by the U.S. to ameliorate their threatened power on the global financial stage.

The departure from Bretton Woods and Keynesian economic thought ushered in the era of neoliberal policy, i.e. structural adjustment, Reaganism-Thatcherism, deregulation, austerity

regimes, and the associated pressures and forces of a global market-place (Chase-Dunn, 2015). The welfare state contracted, drawing with it the general widespread funding of higher education and higher education initiatives. The production of a global technological infrastructure through scientific and technological revolutions have made current globalization processes possible through time-space compression or space of flows which allows for the synchronous engagement of individuals, communities, nations, and markets regardless of physical or temporal place. Kellner's (2002) theorizing of globalization elucidates the positive and negative models of technological determinism citing both the empowerment of excluded persons and social groups, as well as a homogenizing technological system that perpetuates domination and ideological hegemony through this networked system. The coevolution of science, technology, capitalism, and democracy has contributed to the restructuring of place, the reconstruction of time, and the creation of new modes of success and struggle. Capital, information, and humans are mobile forces that are framed by geometries of power and shaped by relations of empowerment and disempowerment, participation and exclusion. It is within scale that control, power, and hegemony are structured, and the importance of geographical scale of operations is recognized (Swyngedouw, 1997).

Analyzing the geopolitics of knowledge production allows me to understand the granting of global designs from certain centers of knowledge over others (Shajahan, 2016). The terms globalization and internationalization have come to be synonymous with the process of westernization and has inspired much debate over the homogenizing power of these processes and how the locale mediates its translation (Lee, 2021). As will be outlined below, supranational organizations play major roles within this geopolitical battle through their policy agendas and funding schemes based in the promotion of educational services and human capital development.

It is important to acknowledge the production and reproduction of global imaginaries based in “particular histories...that emerge within the context of specific material apparatuses” (Kamola, 2014, p. 523). These imaginaries, which form and distort understandings of relation and existence within the global milieu, are reinforced through practices, processes, and systems that intentionally curate how the world is viewed.

Shajahan considers the “production of colonial difference” and “coloniality of time” (2016, p. 697) in which the divide of the global north and global south takes place through European universalism (Wallerstein, 2006). Here, socio-political-cultural difference is translated into the locus of inferiority, and through time scales where we see the discourse of modernity and antiquity. Narratives such as Friedman’s “Lexus and the Olive Tree” (1999), Barber’s “Jihad and McWorld” (1992), and Huntington’s “Clash of Civilizations” (1996) depict a binary world in which othering and exclusion occur along cultural fault lines. These are classic examples of the essentialization of non-Western cultures seen in global discussions of development, which continue to fuel and now manifest in the discourses of modernity and supposedly globally held universal goals. These understandings impact whose “knowledge is counted”, and “whose notions of time and progress are deployed in policy circles” (Shajahan, 2016, p. 706).

The result has seemingly become a cycle in which countries are clinging, whether consciously or not, to the dictated doxa of international education. The consequences of hegemonized international education are known, as this work has been interrogated by scholars across disciplines with varied lenses and theoretical frameworks (Amsler & Bolsmann, 2012; Kamola, 2014; Lee, 2021; Leal et al., 2022). Thus, this review does not focus solely on the existence of such Western hubris and hegemony, but provides for the institutionalization,



legitimization, translation, and sustainment of Western hegemony within the realm of global higher education.

### Globalism and the Networked Society: Isomorphism and Institutionalization

The geographies of higher education exist in varying, heterogeneous scales (Swyngedouw, 1997; Marginson, 2022) that intersect with, isolate from, and impart upon each other through flows of space in which global histories, cultures, and identities meet. The geo-spatial theorization of the field has expanded the understanding of global engagement of institutions at the micro-meso-macro levels (or local, national, regional, and global), providing further insight into the current processes of convergence taking place around the world. When considering the convergence upon common models, debate has surrounded both the modern existence and power of the nation-state, as well as the mediums of power across the micro-meso-macro scales. Marginson and Rhoades' (2002) glonacal framework returned power and agency to the nation-state, denouncing the global-local binary as insufficient and refuting the determinism of globalization processes. Yet, the levels of power and influence retained by these scales still draws disagreement even with the inclusion of the nation-state as agent. This understanding positions us towards the question of institutionalization, or rather *how* models emerge around the world and what allows for their sustainment. Marginson (2022) discusses three modes of global convergence, citing global connections, global diffusion of models and practices, and global systems in which “the globalization of higher education and knowledge continues to markedly advance” (p. 1369).

Whether considering societies or hierarchies, all entities exist within a networked society amidst a backdrop of time-space compression according to Castells (2001; 2022). Though the diversity between institutions, cultures, and peoples may exclude them from existing within the

“nucleus” of this networked society, they all act as nodes that are impacted, influenced, and included in the network. Examples of this include global institutional rankings or bibliometrics in which value and worth are determined by the very fact that all of these nodes (i.e. individual scholars, academic entities, and knowledge sets) are included in the global field of higher education. The connectivity of the world, through expanded digitization of communication, trade, and political channels, has further contributed to the dynamic space of social and counter-social movements. Yet this propensity for exclusion by the nuclear countries of the networked society have perpetuated the imbalances within and between regions as “wealth and power are spatially concentrated” (2022, p. 3). But Castells proposes the logic of resistance, much like Marginson and Rhoades (2002), which exists within these spatial forms of dominance and power through various “strong” identities (religious, national, ethnic, territorial, gender, and self-defined identities), demonstrating a rejection and opposition between “the Net and the Self” (Castells, 2022, p. 3).

The selection of supranational agencies and regional higher education organizations in this study does not discount the breadth and importance of the micro-level. Importance lies in the multilayered nature of globalization – the reconfiguration and appropriation of global processes within a local context, not just the exogenous force of these processes at a broad, macro-level. The plurality and diversity of higher education systems across countries and states are salient, meriting future work on this subject matter. However, in our current political, economic, and social global topography, these macro- and meso-levels allow this study to not only align itself with the trend of regionalization taking place around the world amidst vies for hegemonic status (Snyder & Kick, 1974), but to recognize the crucial, and at times submerged, role of supranational and regional figures in postsecondary educational globalism.

## Supranational Organizations and Higher Education

Emerging from the need for international cooperation in trade, human rights, climate, healthcare, and other global challenges, international governmental organizations (IGOs) were established through channels based in proclaimed mutual self-interest. IGOs were charged with advisory roles and so often employ prescriptive mechanisms that claim to mitigate international disputes and elevate the prosperity of member states. There are scholars (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Schofer & Meyer, 2005; Schofer et al., 2021) who believe these institutions maintain their authority through their financial giving, ranks of highly educated professionals, and research capabilities towards setting progressive policy agendas. Other scholars (Mundy, 1998; Robertson, 2009; Collins & Rhoades, 2010; Anwaruddin, 2014; Shajahan, 2016) state that the regressive and predatory nature of neoliberal globalization confers authority and power upon these supranational organizations who have the propensity to undermine the political, economic, and social capital and capacity of countries who fall under their dominion (Katz, 2006). The following institutions have been selected for study as they have contributed to the current global educational stratum through the funding of higher education related research and the subsequent promotion of methodologies and models for postsecondary systems. The associated mission and goal statements of these transnational organizations serve as the launching pad from which scholars assess the underlying motivations and effectiveness of these institutions, and through which this section will follow.

### World Bank (WB)

The World Bank has two goals: end extreme poverty and promote shared prosperity in a sustainable way. -The World Bank, Mission Statement

Considered to be an institution of knowledge production and knowledge sharing (Bassett & Maldonado-Maldonado, 2009), one of the largest higher education adjacent agencies that

heavily participates in the discourse on global higher education is the World Bank (WB). The WB serves as one of higher education's leading external investors. With a constituency of borrowers and contributors, the WB both sets the global development agenda through economic based policies and heeds the recommendations and desires of its highest financiers. The top five largest shareholders of the WB (United States, United Kingdom, Germany, France, and Japan) each hold permanent positions on the executive board, indicating the power of the Global North within this organization. The primary efforts conducted by the WB include:

Vision development, strategic planning, and consensus building at both the national and institutional levels; finance reforms (e.g., allocation of recurrent budget; competitive funding; cost sharing; student loans; scholarships); governance and management reforms (creation of policy bodies; mergers; adoption of academic credit systems; management information systems); quality improvement (strengthening of existing programs; evaluation and accreditation systems; innovations in program content and delivery; innovations in academic organization; information and communication infrastructure); institutional diversification (establishment or strengthening of poly - technic or technical institutes); science and technology development (strategy development; capacity for monitoring and evaluation; reform of resource allocation mechanisms; competitive funding; promotion of research in priority areas; joint public-private sector technology development; capacity for metrology, standards, and quality testing; intellectual property rights. (Bassett & Maldonado-Maldonado, 2009, p. 108)

Initially seen as a strategy to ameliorate poverty, the WB shifted its focus from funding primary education in its early stages to postsecondary education around the 1990s after having denounced the importance of higher education in the Global South (Bassett & Maldonado-Maldonado, 2009). The WB has since established a series of mechanisms to manage its educational oversight. Through its SABER student assessment system, the WB assesses the effectiveness of global education systems through standardized sets of policy goals established by the policy-makers, consultants, and researchers that they employ. These policy scripts converge on a homogenized set of beliefs and goals for the success of a nation, hinging their financial support on the ability to internalize the processes and models, as well as the systems of

monitoring and evaluation, proposed by the organization (Downey et al., 2020). In other words, continued funding and support of the WB requires adherence of these client countries to the prescribed recommendations, which has been seen through recommendations of private sector interference, decentralization of higher education governance, and the restructuring of funding through student user fees (Shajahan, 2016).

There are diverging thoughts on the role of the WB, with some viewing it as a beneficial institution contributing to the proliferation of a single world culture while others view it as a neoliberal machine predominantly influenced and driven by its wealthiest contributors (Spring, 2014). The organization's categorization of valued knowledge is based on the knowledge set's perceived economic worth and its propensity to contribute to the global knowledge economy. While this devalues other forms of knowledge, the WB states that the prescribed models of higher education, which have been based on research conducted by the organization, serve as a panacea to the economic woes of nations in the Global South. However, there are scholars that point to the inappropriateness and inaccuracy of this assumption citing debt incumbency via structural adjustment loans (i.e. the interest often mires the prospects of borrowing nations). Despite the WB's claims of entry to the global knowledge economy, systems of dependency are perpetuated between the Global South and the Global North (Collins & Rhodes, 2010). The assessment by organizationally-curated standards reinforces the Western hegemonic epistemologies and expectations of so-called modern education on countries in the Global South (Slider do Nascimento de Paula, A. et al., 2019; Shajahan, 2016). Additionally, the departure from Humboldtian models of higher education, which championed both the arts and sciences through a lens of discovery (Tomicic, 2019), has become a hallmark of the WB's take on educational policy which favors utility, effectiveness, and efficiency. Focus has been placed on

degrees that will contribute to the global economy, rather than the fields that might promote local knowledge, traditions, understanding, or needs.

### World Trade Organization (WTO)

The overall objective of the WTO is to help its members use trade as a means to raise living standards, create jobs and improve people's lives. The WTO operates the global system of trade rules and helps developing countries build their trade capacity. It also provides a forum for its members to negotiate trade agreements and to resolve the trade problems they face with each other. -World Trade Organization, What is the WTO

The commodification and globalized trade of higher education is further exemplified by its sanctioning through the World Trade Organization's (WTO) General Agreement of Trade in Services (GATS) and Agreement on Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) (Spring, 2014). Both GATS and TRIPS claim their role in the protection and liberalization of free trade in services, to include the byproducts of the current knowledge economy. More specifically, GATS classifies education as one of their twelve service sectors in which barriers to freer flows of services are to be systematically removed (Knight, 2002; Collins, 2007) and TRIPS "protects intellectual property sold by individuals, universities, corporations, and other institutions" (Spring, 2014, p. 94) such as patents, software, technologies, and data. Both GATS and TRIPS are overseen by member nations of the WTO, with decisions requiring approval from all and adherence to the following three standards which govern each member:

The first obligation is equal and consistent treatment of all trading partners...The second obligation is that all foreign providers of educational services receive equal treatment within the host country. The third is that each country determines the extent of market access to foreign providers...The same obligations cover the protection of intellectual property under TRIPS. (Spring, 2014, p. 94)

Academic capitalism helps to further elucidate the phenomenon taking place between global higher education and the WTO, as education becomes further entrenched in commoditization and market ideologies (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). GATS has drawn both

critique and applause, contributing to the increasingly polarized debate over the role of higher education: public services vs private good. It is important to acknowledge that the commercialization of higher education emerged prior to the inception of GATS, however, the impact of trade liberalization through GATS has certainly emphasized the existing risks and benefits outlined by scholars. Massification and increased access, innovative modes of delivery, increased mobility and transferability, and opportunities for global collaboration are met with increased costs, stratification and hierarchization, questions of quality, scarcity of funding, and threats to cultural identity and local knowledge through acculturation (Knight, 2002). One of the primary consequences those who oppose GATS point to is the power wielded by those who are seen as major suppliers of education and the threats facing those that are seen as consumers (Collins, 2007). This asymmetrical power structure created by this liberalization, to include its complexities through lack of transparency and explicit language in GATS policies, is clear. One of the regional organizations included in this study, the African Association of Universities (AAU) has been one vocal entity decrying the “reduction of higher education...to a tradable commodity subject primarily to international trade rules and negotiations” (p. 286) citing the perceived threats to autonomy and authority to regulate based on local needs and priorities.

Collins’ (2007) critical discourse analysis of various WTO documents poignantly concludes that the implications of the USA’s negotiating proposal either indicate the country’s indifference towards the reproduction of inequity through GATS or the belief that their models and processes will usher countries in the Global South towards economic and educational success. Yet the uneven flows of education and its related policies and regulations under the umbrella of GATS clearly demonstrate the imbalanced power relations and the new imperialism.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

UNESCO's mission is to contribute to the building of a culture of peace, the eradication of poverty, sustainable development and intercultural dialogue through education, the sciences, culture, communication and information. -UNESCO, Mission Statement

In contrast to the WTO's GATS that frames education as a tradable service and the WB's neoliberal policy scripts, UNESCO focuses on a hopeful communitarianism and collectivity driven by participation and cooperation to achieve universal wellbeing. In other words, UNESCO recognizes education as a shared societal responsibility, contrary to the market model promoted by other supranational agencies. Locatelli and Marginson (2023) delve into the difficulty faced by UNESCO of assigning the term public good, or common good, as it is "both political or economic, state-defined or market-defined, broadly inclusive or narrowly residual, and normatively negative or normatively positive. There is no consistency in the relation of 'public' and 'private' (p. 206). The purpose of higher education has drawn much debate, exceedingly so in this current knowledge economy, which impacts the way policy scripts are written as well as interpreted. Democratic equality, social efficiency, and social mobility are three such purposes that have been assigned to higher education (Labaree, 1997). Each of these forms manifest in the beliefs of the included supranational organizations: the creation of an educated global citizenry capable of actively and knowledgeably participating in the processes and systems that dictate our world (democratic equality); the training of individuals to acquire the skills needed for a fully-functioning and sustainable economy (social efficiency); or the climbing of one metaphorical "social ladder" in which educated individuals can access and experience upward societal mobility through education (social mobility).

But UNESCO should not be mistaken for an outlier amongst the other supranational organizations included in this study. These agencies exist within a shared forum, with UNESCO



conceding to the club of supranational entities and the agendas put forward as seen in their discursive shift from education as societal good to education as economic imperative (Buckner, 2017). The calls for improved higher education promoted by UNESCO, and especially the partnerships facilitated by or led by UNESCO, contain Western depictions of social realities through proclamations and recommendations on how to resolve endemic poverty in the Global South and promote development discourse.

#### Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is an international organisation that works to build better policies for better lives. Our goal is to shape policies that foster prosperity, equality, opportunity and well-being for all. We draw on 60 years of experience and insights to better prepare the world of tomorrow. - OECD, Who We Are

From 2007 to 2017, the OECD designed and conducted their Assessment of Learning in Higher Education whose primary objective was to provide data to governments, institutions, and students that would assist in the following (OECD, 2015):

- Allow governments to evaluate the quality of their tertiary educated human capital among the higher educated cohorts against the international standards.
- Enable institutions to compare and benchmark the learning outcomes of their students against international standards in order to improve the quality of teaching and learning.
- Empower students to weigh their learned skills against the distribution of learning outcomes in their own institution and country and against international standards.

The OECD study focused on the measure of four areas including generic skills assessment, discipline-specific skills assessment, contextual information, and ‘value-added’ measurement. Critical educational policy analysts have scrutinized the assessment for its perceived perpetuation of coloniality and Eurocentrism through the creation of a “global space of equivalence” (Shajahan, 2013, p. 677), citing the erasure of non-dominant knowledge systems

and the privileging of Western models that exist in present educational policy discourses. Thus, hegemonic local histories and knowledge systems, born of certain “historical-material conditions” (Shajahan, 2013, p. 680) retain the social privilege to determine and implement global policy design under the guise of quality assurance, progress, and development. Other scholars that have focused on the biased operationalization of global quality indicators question the systems of knowledge that are being validated through the normalization of Western, Eurocentric experiences and understandings (Stein, 2017). These Western-based channels facilitate “the transition from colonialism operated by states and militarism to neocolonialism operated by international institutions acting in the interest of capitalism and competition favoring nations at the top of the global economic hierarchy.” (Collins & Rhoads, 2010, p. 185)

It is important to note, for each of these supranational organizations, the location from which these recommendations stem. This “god's-eye point of view” (Shajahan, 2016, p. 701) is based on the presumed universal virtues of these institutions. The mission statements and goals discussed above promote policy agendas and models that aim for worldwide progress (i.e. social-cultural and politico-economic) and champion the rights of all global citizens. However the following section introduces the other key actors in this macro-level analysis of calls for improved higher education. When considering the academic dependence bred from the financial reliance on these supranational organizations (Collins & Rhoads, 2010), we can begin to understand how the proliferation of Western models occur and sustain themselves as we reach the regional level.

### Regional HEI Organizations

#### European University Association (EUA)

European institutions of higher education have historically been less imbued by global

social and economic mechanisms of influence than other institutions around the world (Ramirez & Tiplic, 2014), having maintained preeminence in academia for much of the field's early formal history (Thelin, 2011). However, in recent decades there has been evidence to suggest that the European Union (E.U.) is pushing convergence through region-wide policy reform and institutional compliance measures brought on by the Bologna Process which has altered the fabric of member states to resemble a more common European ideal. The regionalizing processes of the European higher education area have served as a model for unification of national higher education systems. However, the fashioning of this supposed European ideal and promotion of its economic importance to the region has further legitimized neoliberal scripts in the current global higher education landscape (Robertson & Keeling, 2008).

The European higher education area promoted first a flexible adherence or voluntary cooperation to this process of standardization, but then shifted towards mechanized, monitored, and mandatory coordination (Ravinet, 2008). This was buttressed by the belief that forced participation would generate the cohesion necessary to unite the region and foster its advantage and competitiveness on the global stage. This interconnected, intergovernmental policy space has grown into an arena of agencies, organizations, ministers, and other professionals each sharing and advocating for how they envision the future of European higher education. Among these is the European University Association, established in 2001 following the merging of the Association of European Universities (CRE) and the Confederation of European Union Rectors' Conferences (EURec), which serves as one of the E4 entities (European Association of Institutions in Higher Education (EURASHE); European Network for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA); European Students' Union (ESU); and the European University Association (EUA)) that advises the Bologna Process (Nokkola & Bacevic, 2014). The EUA's

original mission was to serve as a voice of autonomy for member institutions, but through its lateral influence on policy work within the EHEA it has transformed its role to consultant and knowledge-producing force across the European university landscape, in part constructing and impacting the realities of the institutions it represents (Nokkola & Bacevic, 2014).

Arguments exist surrounding the differential impact of these mechanisms instilled by the EU as the region strives for a common European higher education area (EHEA), citing that national variation causes EU policies to manifest differently in each member state (Börzel, 2003). Börzel discusses the relationship between the European Union and its member states, focusing on both the top-down and bottom-up mechanisms that shape this dynamic. Börzel implies that the perceived erasure of national identity, or this convergence on a common model, is mitigated by micro- and meso-level forces, or rather that domestic and transnational interests meet in a singular arena to find balance. However, conflicting scholarly work states that the transnational political and economic coordination of the EU, and therefore the European higher education area, has resulted in the negation of both national autonomy and context through forced alignment with supranational agendas (Veiga et al., 2019). The aims of creating a comparable region of higher education with increased access and equitable opportunities are influenced by the pressures of the global knowledge-economy.

#### Association of African Universities (AAU)

Cardoso (2020) described African universities as being “locked in a profound crisis” (p. 303). Following the 1970s, most African nations achieved independence and entered a transition to a form of post-colonialism. However, colonial remnants, delayed massification efforts, geographic isolation, and recent formation of countries in Africa have presented a unique regional system of higher education. Global financial hands of the WB and International

Monetary Fund (IMF) retained control through structural adjustment (Knight & Sehoole, 2013), as well as the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) established by the United Nations (U.N.). Each serves as a compounding layer of mandates requiring the countries of Africa to establish strategies and achieve set objectives to address poverty through the mobilization of knowledge and technology (Knight & Sehoole, 2013). The adaptation of neoliberal policies in this region at a time of great infrastructural change, particularly in higher education where institutions shifted from “colonial projects” (Zavale & Schneijderberg, 2022, p. 228) to organizations within the global higher education arena, holds explanatory power as one considers the development/modernity discourse surrounding this region. The external forces of global demands and the growing needs of the local communities have created a landscape of higher education in constant capacity-building.

There remains a dearth of literature surrounding African higher education, particularly the presence and efforts of formal networks, at both the regional and national level (Johnson et al., 2011; Zavale & Schneijderberg, 2022), despite the complexity of these systems and the role they play in understanding the current order of global higher education. Among these organizations is the Association of African Universities which represents the interests of more than 400 universities from across the continent at a regional and international level (AAU, n.d.). The AAU focuses on stabilizing the region’s postsecondary educational systems, naturally confronting the prevalence of resource scarcity and questions of access that mire many of the institutions it represents (Cardoso, 2020). But these challenges are compounded by the demands of the global knowledge economy. The view of postsecondary education in Africa from the level of supranational organizations remains that of utilitarianism. Education is seen as a tool to shape the African economy, but whether that be to support or to fully participate in the global

knowledge economy is debated. But to actively compete means to add further concerns for the AAU: deciding which university model Africa should uphold, gauging the appropriate levels of influence from the public and private sectors, and what role research should play within postsecondary African education (Cardoso, 2020). The AAU has demonstrated its commitment to innovation policies and expansion of regional education efforts, however, post-colonial development discourse lingers and hints towards a continued dependency upon Western prescriptions, which can be seen as a contributor of ongoing Western hegemony (Johnson et al., 2011). The institutionalization of neoliberal policies upon and through this network merits further understanding.

#### Unión de Universidades de América Latina (UDUAL)

After conducting an analysis on the international organizations in the Latin American and Caribbean Region, Lopez and colleagues (2011) found common patterns impacting the success of the organizational goals of integration and cooperation. “Tendency toward competition, concentrating on obtaining immediate benefits from relationships with other entities, asymmetry...with regard to the benefits obtained by member universities, and super structural and bureaucratized decisions” were identified as pervasive themes across these organizations. Among this list is the Unión de Universidades de América Latina (UDUAL), a formal network representing more than 200 institutions from across the Latin American and Caribbean region whose goals include the improvement of relations between Latin American universities, promotion of academic exchange, and coordination of academic structures (UDUAL, n.d.). Scholars have witnessed a hegemonic imposition of ideals that are cloaked by the “democratizing creation of emancipatory curricula that embrace autochthonous social, economic, and cultural interests and needs” (Henry & Beserra, 2022, p. 4).

The stratification of institutions in the Global South exists within a wider system of inequity between countries, placing various forms of marginalization at several levels for these lower-resourced universities and colleges (Holm-Nielsen et al., 2005; Majee, 2019). Inter-regional projects such as the European Union Latin America and the Caribbean (EU-LAC) Higher Education Common Area and the European Union-African Union (EU-AU) Partnership most clearly reflect the region-to-region flows of educational models, policies, and trajectories at the meso-level. Historicizing these relationships, in addition to the influence imparted by supranational higher-education adjacent organizations draws us closer to understanding the legitimization of homogenizing educational forces.

#### Conclusion of Literature Review

This study is bounded by a theoretical framework which accounts for contrasts between understandings of power and submission, varying shades and forms of consciousness, and the manifestation of coercion and agency across space and time. The discord between universalistic internationalism and academic imperialism (Jeronimo & Montero, 2017) remains a focal point in comparative studies and necessitates further understanding of processes and mechanisms of translation and institutionalization that shape our current world order particularly in global higher education. Colonial remnants and neocolonial mechanisms have maintained inequities between institutions in the Global North and the Global South. The manner in which global higher education has been situated within a Western discursive framework guides this study. To review, my research questions ask how Western hegemony is dialogically reinforced in global higher education at the regional and supranational level and how historical determinants have impacted the regional and supranational translation and manifestation of western educational models. World system theory and world society theory provide the framework from which I assessed

both language and historical processes to answer these questions. The following chapter outlines the methodology of this study.



## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

For this study, I used qualitative methods, specifically comparative-historical analysis (CHA), to aid in the answering of my research questions. Qualitative research differs from quantitative approaches in that the researcher is engaging in the process of meaning-making through the gathering of purposefully selected text and imagery-based data from multiple sources through methods that center the researcher as the primary tool (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Qualitative methods allow for the dissection and analysis of language, which served as a fixture of this study. While quantitative methods could also provide useful insight to a study such as this, and are frequently used by CHA scholars, the centering of discourse necessitates a qualitative lens. Furthermore, my selection of a mixed-methods approach allowed for the construction of a more complete picture when considering the sustainment and translation of Western global models of higher education.

Creswell and Creswell (2018) address concerns with providing holistic accounts stating, “qualitative researchers try to develop a complex picture of the problem or issue under study... This larger picture is not necessarily a linear model of cause and effect but rather a model of multiple factors interacting in different ways.” (p. 182). This study is not purporting to concretize the processes of how Western hegemony has taken hold in higher education systems around the world. Following Creswell and Creswell’s line of thought, I aimed to connect timelines, processes, and mechanisms to understand how these moving pieces have shaped the facilitation and translation of Western educational models. Drawing from the field of sociology, my CHA furthered understanding of what are referred to as grand questions. In other words, comparative-historical methods analyze “big structures and large processes, and make huge

comparisons" (Lange, 2013, p. 5). This focus on grand questions may lead to even greater ambiguity that Creswell and Creswell (2018) identified as a common feature of qualitative research. Accordingly, those who utilize CHA acknowledge the need to balance the particular with the general, which remains an enduring concern for analyses of complex social phenomena (Lange, 2013). Finding such balance between the macro and meso levels of institutional and structural influence is imperative to understanding the processes that have created and sustained educational hegemony by the western world. This methodological approach bridges both nomothetic and idiographic explanations. Nomothetic explanations are defined as relating to the generalization or broad explanations of phenomena, and idiographic explanations refer to the particular typically at a case-level which allows for the in-depth understanding of events (Lange, 2013). Both are deemed necessary in CHA and will allow me to expand my explanatory power.

This chapter reviews the research questions, outlines the components of CHA in depth, addresses the method's application to this study, reviews the collection and management of data, and discusses the analytic approach of this methodology. I conclude by addressing the combination of insight, threats to validity, and ethical concerns.

### Research Questions

The selected methodology is comprised of two main components; historical/within-case and comparative methods. Though these two are related and were eventually bridged to develop holistic findings, they involve two different approaches with separate foci. This impacts the phrasing of this study's research questions and necessitates that each question complement the study's methodology.

The questions guiding this study were:

- How have historical determinants impacted the regional and supranational translation and manifestation of Western educational models?

- How is Western hegemony dialogically reinforced in global higher education at the regional and supranational level?

The first research question aligns with the historical component of this methodology, also referred to as the within-case method, as it tracks the timelines and processes related to the sustainment of westernized global higher education models within each region. Historical determinants were defined as macro- and meso-level events across the region which have impacted the region's higher education system at a social, political, economic, or cultural level. Impact was determined by major shifts within the region that have altered the way Western models of education are understood, legitimized, resisted, or perceived. The answering of this research question resulted in the creation of a chronologically ordered timeline in the form of a historical narrative.

The second research question is linked to the comparative component of comparative-historical methods, as it assesses and compares the use of language on global higher education models across supranational and regional higher education or higher education adjacent entities. Regional and supranational levels were reflected in and defined by the organizations selected for this study. To answer this question, the method approached discourse analysis deductively through a series of coding methods, drawing coding schemes from the grand narratives that made up my theoretical framework. The coding scheme was applied to organizational documents through the lens of grand narratives to better understand how western hegemony in the field of education has sustained over years.

In summary, the selected research questions appropriately attended to both the discursive and historical elements central to this study. Though I used the questions to guide separate analytic approaches within my study, the pluralistic approach of CHA allowed for the merging of

findings to further insight into social phenomena. The details of this methodology are outlined below, followed by specific applications of the research design.

### Overview of Research Design

The methods graphics in Appendix E outlines the various components of this study to provide a visualization of how each part connects, and ultimately yields a holistic depiction of westernization in global higher education, focusing on the supranational and regional areas of Africa, Europe, and Latin America and the Caribbean.

### Research Methodology

Though CHA has been utilized by scholars for a number of years, particularly in the field of sociology, there remains a dearth of literature that explicitly dissects the methodology (Lange, 2013). Comparative-historical analysis, as its name states, is comprised of comparative and historical methods. The hyphen between these terms bridges the idea that common social processes exist around the world, and yet variability and contextuality persist. While the components are concrete, CHA provides a methodological flexibility due to the spectrum of approaches available to researchers. This methodology does necessitate triangulation, relying on at least two methods to appropriately address the comparative and within-case elements. Historical narrative inquiry and critical discourse analysis were selected for their complementarity, particularly their adeptness at identifying the general and particular, making them a well-suited combination for this study.

The comparative component analyzes data across multiple cases to determine commonalities and differences among them. Though large-N comparisons are one of the methods that fall under comparative options, small-N comparisons are used most frequently by CHA researchers due to the small number of cases that are typically studied, and as it partners

well with the tenets of historical/within-case methods (Lange, 2013). It should be noted that this does limit the breadth of general claims that can be made from this study. However, it is this triangulation with the historical methodology that produces a robust set of findings. This study utilizes the ideal-type comparison which “explores the extent to which cases conform to ideal types....and the ideal type itself offers hypothetical explanations of patterned action” (p. 105). The ideal-type comparison ties to my theoretical framework, as both grand narratives put forth “common characteristics and patterns of the phenomenon” (p. 105) of global patterning. I selected discourse analysis, with the use of deductive coding based on my theoretical framework, to reflect the ideal-type comparison.

The historical component, which is also termed the within-case method, analyzes a particular case to identify and interpret traits, timelines, and processes that are central to understanding a social phenomenon in a specified area. This analytic approach consists of a primary and secondary technique to obtain evidence and analyze findings respectively, with this study utilizing historical methods as primary and causal narrative as secondary. The historical methods entail significant reviews of data that cover events and accounts across a specified period of time. The causal narrative takes these data and seeks to find insight on why social phenomena occur. This component is “largely descriptive and ideographic” and “has the potential to produce insight that can be applied to additional cases” (p. 40). Further traits of this methodology (CHA) are described by Ohnesorge (2021, p. 261) who states:

(1) CHA starts from a positivist epistemological perspective; (2) CHA-based research usually is concerned with “big questions;” (3) comparative methods are applied in CHA, either across different cases or within cases across time, allowing for in-depth analyses; (4) by considering respective starting points, specific historical developments, and cultural particulars.

In addressing the first and second features, the use of comparative-historical analysis and

the two particular grand narratives in this research, world system and world society, placed this study at a macro and meso level. Because I was interested in explaining global-level phenomena, my study was set in a teetering position between positivist and constructivist, set and experientially created realities, “platonic fixity and Foucauldian relativity” (Argyros, 1992, p. 670). In essence, the initial positivist-leaning questioning of why the educational world order exists the way it does, develops into a query of how the global field of education has evolved. The selected approaches for this study, discourse analysis and historical narrative inquiry, attended to this idea of essentialism versus variability as my questions interrogated the general of the macro and the particular of the meso.

Ohnesorge’s (2021) third feature, which was represented by my selected methods, is confirmed by Tirvassen (2018) who states that “the baselines of Narrative research are the epistemological and ontological principles underpinning the process of the construction of meaning regarding the phenomena under the lens of the researchers” (p. 102). The historical narrative inquiry delves into the experiences and understandings of the individual, or rather in this case the compilation of stories representing regional experience. The comparative discourse analysis represents the linguistic traversal across cases at the macro level through regional and supranational organizational documents that call for improved systems of higher education around the world.

The final feature is nicely encapsulated by Argyros’ (1992) reference to Prigogine’s self-organizing dynamical systems (p. 666), as well as their connection of fractal geometry and social narrative inquiry which highlights the existing dynamism from “infinite complexity” (Shenhav, 2015, p. 60) and variation at different scales, as well as the potential for patterns or similarities across these levels. To briefly touch on this theorization, as I admittedly have not obtained any

formal degree in mathematics or the natural sciences, a fractal is defined as a “mathematically conceived curve such that any small part of it, enlarged, has the same statistical character as the original” (Shenhav, 2015, p. 60). Variability exists, and yet there remain commonalities or similarities amongst these variations. As Argyros states, this suggests a “global coherence of chaotic systems” (p. 666). The multiplicity of narratives, as Shenhav puts it, implies the proliferation of a story or rather the multiplication of a narrative with each retaining a common core they call the “time-theme” (p. 60). This relates to the study at hand through its use of such grand narratives that depict models of the world which situate themselves around patterns. The multiplicity of narratives on the world order is where variation emerges, still nestled in these commonalities, but providing for rich analysis to determine the departures and convergences upon models.

In essence, CHA methodology emerges from the belief that social phenomena can be qualitatively operationalized and studied through synchronic and diachronic comparisons and guided by big questions surrounding the intricate nature of complex systems. To review, the four pillars of this methodology in relation to this study include: within-case methods to identify historical narratives surrounding determinants of certain processes; comparative methods to identify commonalities and differences; epistemological rationale for the scope of knowledge allowing social scientific insight to understand and provide explanation for social phenomena; and a unit of analysis which allows for the macro and meso-level understanding of processes that impact large populations. The following sections discuss my selected approaches at length to provide further justification for my methodological choice.

#### Historical/Within-Case Method: Historical Narrative Inquiry

Historical narrative inquiry (HNI) constitutes the “historical” in comparative-historical

methods, focusing on the “causal impact of time” (Lange, 2013, p. 71) and recognizing the importance of understanding sequential processes and the diachronic analysis of phenomena within cases. Lange outlines the six ways in which within-case methods can analyze the causal impact of time listing “establishing causal order, analyzing causal processes that occur over time, analyzing nonlinear processes, exploring asymmetric processes, considering period effects, and investigating path-dependent processes.” (p. 71). The use of history to orient current discourse on improved global higher education is not just useful contextually, but of great necessity to understand the lasting impact of social-political-economic movements and events that have shaped postsecondary education across time. Establishing a historical landscape, though diluted when expanded to the regional level, is paramount to this study as “context must be foregrounded” (Tirvassen, 2018, p. 98). Charting only the recent history of global higher education restricts a deeper understanding of the nuances that have informed and shaped westernization around the world.

General causal explanations, which have come to dominate discussions surrounding trends such as westernization, presume the ubiquity of certain processes without understanding the historical nature of the locale. Within-case methods address this challenge through the analysis of temporality of processes. Processes of westernization occur over time and cannot be unmoored from the historical timelines that framed them. Comparative-historical methods are unique in that they focus on processes and thus rely quite heavily on causal-process observations, defined by Lange as “evidence about what happened and why it happened the way it did” (p. 141). Historical narrative inquiry requires the longitudinal analysis of narratives related to the same issue across time (Shenhav, 2015). The purpose of my methodological choice is to recognize “language behavior in its relationship to the social architecture of human



communities” (Tirvassen, 2018, p. 95) to include the historical timelines of the selected regions.

The practice of historical narrative inquiry requires the organizing and deciphering of historical materials through a narrative framework. This form of narrative is differentiated through its “representation of temporality” (Shenhav, 2015, p. 12). This is compounded by views osmotically passed through these timelines and realities from my own social understanding. Like all sound qualitative research, I must consider the ontological and epistemological foundations of this study. Narrative inquiry is a powerful approach that involves “gathering the stories and for the subsequent representation of the stories to the reader” (Wilson, 2007, p. 27). My work is inherently grounded in my “beliefs about the world” and my “stance about why and how knowledge is created” (Tirvassen, 2018, p. 96). For this reason, it is imperative that I include the works of scholars most fluent in the selected regions, rather than solely relying on the interpretations of Western researchers. However, care must also be shown when selecting the literature to constitute my data. Validity and confidence in the literature to be examined is one challenge faced in this methodology (Polkinghorne, 2007), which requires its own sound approach to data collection to be considered for inclusion in this study. The parameters which address this concern are covered in a subsequent section.

There exists a profound relationship between narrative and reality, with the two mutually influencing and constructing each other’s interpretation and representation. The lived experience inspires and guides written word, and the written word devises a simulacrum of how the world is experienced or understood. This further reveals the power held in the use of this methodology; the written history of regional context and the policy scripts based in the imaginaries of universal good, each contending with the other through processes of translation, understanding, and “intertextuality” (Shenhav, 2015, p. 74). This line of inquiry is not intended to superficially

arrange events throughout time but to establish a rich and profound record of related events, “so that the resulting narrative may escape the twin evils of overdependence upon chronology, on the one hand, and a formless insignificance, on the other” (Lottinville, 1976, p. 4).

Looking to both topical (what happened) and chronological (when it happened) construction of this historical narrative, due to the conditions of change over the breadth of time covered (Lottinville, 1976), this method collected secondary data covering the political, economic, social, and cultural processes and movements across the African, European, and Latin American regions. These sources were bounded by their relation to higher education, such as the retrenchment of the welfare state or the broadening of access to post-secondary education. This ensured that the research remained focused and clearly connected the events of the timeline to the topic of study. In starting this historical narrative inquiry, I considered the following questions posed by Lottinville (1976):

What makes the period worth examining? What was at stake? Who advanced and who failed? What was the ultimate outcome? What does this episode mean to the larger fabric of history? (p. 43)

The analysis revealed what happened, how it happened, what impact was felt, and how it altered the fabric of regional higher education. I identified junctures that punctuated the historical modes of higher education across each region through the identification, collection, and retelling of regional scholarly accounts.

As stated earlier, there are far more levels to which this research could refine its focus. I readily recognize the analysis of a social fabric at the regional level omits many if not most of the deeply nested complexities found in the realities of nations, states, communities, and individuals. However, great insight can still be extrapolated at the macro-regional level, which can refine the selected theories and their contemporary application to the world order. Though

the goal of this study was not to establish causality, the within-case component of this methodology helped in determining possible direction of causation to include “the potential of an elective affinity - a situation where two factors simultaneously promote one another” (Lange, 2013, p. 71).

#### Historical/Within-Case Design

The first component of this methodology is the historical analysis, which represents the within-case temporal analysis of processes over time. The unit of analysis for this component was scholarly literature covering the regions from which the selected regional higher education organizations of this study belong. This includes Africa, Europe, and Latin America.

Three independent inquiries were conducted, one for each region, starting from the pre-colonial period, though with much of the literature starting in the 20th century, and carrying forward to the present year. Once the inquiries were completed, they were merged into separate narratives with each timeline running parallel to reveal commonalities amongst historical nodes as well as shifts that distinguish the region.

#### Comparative Method: Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis, particularly through a critical lens, understands language as being ideologically laden with close relations to social phenomena. Existing as both a “normative and explanatory critique,” this analysis describes and evaluates realities in relation to socially-held values, as well as explains said realities as products of societal “structures or mechanisms” (Fairclough, 2012, p. 9). Organizations, notably with varying intentions, compete in arenas for the dominance of discourse to obtain influence over outcomes (Maguire & Hardy, 2006), such as global education in this case. The legitimization of a system or process stems in part from its prevalence and perpetuation through discursive channels that extend to the masses for uptake and

behavioral patterning. Having stake in this social embedding plays greatly into the relations amongst institutions as well as the level of success reached in furthering ideals, processes, models, and so on. In essence, critical discourse analysis (CDA) concerns itself with the dialectical relations between values and causes based in social structures of power, particularly the social power of institutions or groups (Van Dijk, 2003; Bangerter & Cornelissen, 2018). Language itself is not a mirror image of reality, but rather it is a pivotal and active component that constitutes reality (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2011; Schleppegrell, 2012).

Fairclough (2012) describes discourse as including

(a) meaning-making as an element of the social process; (b) the language associated with a particular social field or practice (e.g. ‘political discourse’); (c) a way of constructing aspects of the world associated with a particular social perspective (e.g. a ‘neo-liberal discourse of globalization’). (p. 11)

Language is brimming with nuance and contextualities that explain the broad spectrum of ways discourse can interact and be construed. The selection, use, order, and combination of words intersects with context where both mutually inform the other. In other words, language can reveal in which context an individual is operating and how language used contributes to the construction of the context. This allows for profound creation of meaning, where ideologies, beliefs, disagreements, relations, power, and a vast number of other intentions and feelings are communicated. The manner in which this occurs is an additional layer, with meaning taking place explicitly, subversively, or somewhere in between.

To approach these manifold meanings, systemic functional linguistics (SFL) proposes three metafunctions to aid in the deciphering of discourse. SFL’s three metafunctions include ideational, interpersonal, and textual,

as in every clause our language simultaneously construes some kind of experience (ideational metafunction), enacts a role relationship with a listener or reader

(interpersonal metafunction), and relates our messages to the prior and following text and context (textual metafunction). (Schleppegrell, 2012, p. 21)

Alvesson and Kärreman (2011) discuss their framework of discourse as having two dimensions, and for the purposes of this study I will focus on their covering of “Big D” discourse or megadiscourses. Drawing heavily from Foucault’s theorizing, this level tracks discourse on processes that standardize macro phenomena, such as this study’s focus on westernization in global higher education. In the Foucauldian sense, discourse can be understood as a vessel for understanding, reflecting the relations of power and knowledge that have been based in and constructed by historical systems. These systems of ideas have “institutionalized...ways of addressing a topic, to ‘regimes of truth’” (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2011, p. 1129).

Alvesson and Kärreman (2011) cite discourse analysis as being useful for “emphasizing the communicative character of human interaction...capturing vital aspects of organizational activity...and allowing for critical-performative views on organizations” (pp. 1123-1124).

Ultimately, SFL assists in answering two questions: “how does this text mean what it does” (Schleppegrell, 2012, p. 22), and “how does this text contribute to shaping the social context” (p. 22), which were attempted by looking at linguistic pathways to world system or world society through deductive coding of organizational documents. The unit of analysis for this method was text with the analytic tool of CDA due to its goal of interpreting power within semantic macrostructures. As the organizational documents published by my selected supranational and regional organizations impart recommendations for improved higher education models, they inherently hold varying levels of power and influence, as well as control the field and its subsequent systems of higher education around the world.

Alvesson and Kärreman (2011) acknowledge the limits to discourse analysis, as well as the risks of extreme reductionism/collapse of meaning through interpretation of contemporary

discourse. However, the addition of historical narrative inquiry as its methodological companion allows for a truer assessment of organizations' "options, their choices, and their ways of reaching a conclusion" (p. 1134). This also allows for at least partial avoidance of the "voluntarist/subjectivist tendencies" (Conrad, 2004, p. 428) that critics of discourse analysis cite. This pluralism will aid in the prevention of predetermination or oversimplification during the process of analyzing discourse.

### Comparative Design

The second component of this methodology was the discourse analysis, which represented the comparative study of dialogue embedded in the regional context of the phenomenon. The data sources for this method were public documents authored by the selected supranational and regional higher education and higher education adjacent organizations. This included:

- WB (World Bank)
- WTO (World Trade Organization)
- UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization)
- OECD (Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development)
- EUA (European University Association)
- AAU (Association of African Universities)
- UDUALC (Unión de Universidades de América Latina y el Caribe)

Discourse analyses were conducted on each of the selected documents by organization to reveal themes that embody the organization's communication. These themes were then cross-examined as a whole to uncover commonalities and differences among supranational

organizations, among regional organizations, and finally among supranational and regional organizations.

### Sample Selection

To delimit my potential cases, the data sources for this study were drawn from the regional and supranational, focusing specifically on the regions of Africa, Europe, and Latin America and the Caribbean. Other regions of the world, particularly Asia and the Middle East, were not selected primarily on the basis of publicly available documents and existing connections to the chosen supranational organizations, as well as constraints on time and linguistic barriers. Lange (2013) acknowledges the importance of finding the balance between including enough cases to provide a well-developed understanding of the unfurling of processes and phenomena while delimiting the cases enough to ensure the depth of within-case analysis and more generally the feasibility of the study.

When considering my theoretical framework, and to additionally dispute possible cherry-picking of cases, the regions of this study contain countries that would be labeled by Wallerstein (2004) as core, semi-periphery and periphery. Likewise, each of these regions have countries belonging or connected to the selected supranational organizations who would be deemed by Meyer (2010) as the knowledgeable professionals who compose global scripts. This study's composition of cases ran the socio-political-cultural-economic gambit historically and could more holistically contribute to the understanding of westernization's promulgation and sustainment through available data.

### Data

A list of all supranational and regional documents reviewed in the study can be found in Appendix A.

## Data Management

### Data Preservation

All documents were downloaded from the source site as PDFs and stored in a google drive. There are no human subjects, and all data is publicly available. This google drive also housed the study's codebook. As a second location for data storage, similar folders were housed on my personal laptop as back-up should anything have happened to the google drive's integrity.

### Data Analysis

As this research design was mixed methods and involved the use of two qualitative approaches, I detail the separate process of each below, as well as the bridging of the inquiries.

#### Across-Case Analysis: First Cycle Coding

Saldaña defines a code as being “a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data.” (2009, p. 3). Coding involves a substantial amount of reflection on the data at hand, requiring processes of summarization, reduction, and condensation to extract the word or phrase that appropriately elicits or evokes the intended meaning. This phase of the research began with the organization and preparation of the collected data for analysis. This required the sorting of organizational documents based on their type which Saldaña (2009) would consider a form of first-cycle coding termed attribute coding. This form of coding falls under the umbrella of “Grammatical Methods” (p. 55) and serves as a precursor for most qualitative studies for its management and basic organizational properties. The list of attribute codes includes:

- Region (Africa, Europe, Latin American & the Caribbean)
- Type of document (white paper, annual report, research article/publication, comunicués/declarations)



- Intended audience (internal, external)
- Primary subject (evaluation, curriculum, organizational structure, access)
- Decade published (1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, 2020)
- Organization (WB, WTO, UNESCO, OECD, AAU, UDUAL, EUA)
- Level (supranational or regional)

The next stage of data analysis involved a series of coding termed provisional coding (Saldaña, 2009), which falls under the umbrella of “procedural methods” (p. 120). Provisional coding is “generated from such preparatory investigative matters as: literature reviews related to the study, the study’s conceptual framework and research questions...” (Saldaña, 2009, p. 120). This phase of the research began with the collection and review of documents produced by Immanuel Wallerstein on world system and John Meyer on world society, both scholars who authored the theories that comprised my theoretical framework. General ideas were extracted from the articles of Wallerstein and Meyer which produced recurring phrases and ideas. The initial codes generated can be viewed in Appendix D. However, I exercised caution with this coding and allowed for the emergence of new codes as I try to avoid pre-conceptions of what the data were saying.

To organize my coding scheme, I created a codebook that contained a list of my predetermined codes, definitions to provide meaning, exclusion criteria, and examples of how this code might be identified or used. As stated, my codebook was informed by my theoretical framework, drawing from Wallerstein’s world system theory and Meyer’s world society theory, though it should be noted that I wished to continue the trend of flexibility seen throughout this methods section, and to allow for inductive coding should the need have arisen during analysis.

### Across-Case Analysis: Second Cycle and Continued Coding

Magnitude coding is a supplemental coding strategy that allows for the symbolic or alphanumeric indication of “intensity, frequency, direction, or evaluative content” (Saldaña, 2009, p. 58). This process is most often used with mixed methods analyses that contain a quantitative component, however this approach is also useful for adding dimension or texture to qualitative data. As this study focused on the nuance of language, particularly looking at discourse related to power, consciousness, and consent, having these tiers of codes to distinguish these multilayered concepts helped further insight. To be clearer, the scale on which meaning can fluctuate between explicit or covert, specifically with these complex concepts, necessitated an added tier of differentiation. This magnitude coding chart can be viewed in Appendix B.

### Across-Case Analysis: Categorizing

The grouping of similarly coded data resulted in the forming of categories. Saldaña (2009) describes qualitative categorization as the systematic process of consolidating meaning through the reapplication and grouping of codes. This phase brings patterns into clearer focus by aligning commonalities or shared characteristics, while also identifying stark contrasts that exist across the data. This relies on the use of “tacit and intuitive senses to determine which data look alike and feel alike” (p. 9).

### Within-Case Analysis

Using a different conception of traditional stories, this inquiry framed articles as narrative through the scholars’ connection to the region through experience, identity, and/or knowledge. Following the collection of these articles, I focused on their discursive organization to form the historical narrative of events. These journals were selected due to the representation of scholars based in the geographic region of study. Centering the voices of these African, Latin

American/Caribbean, and European scholars addressed one layer of the inherent bias of the Western episteme found not only in Global Higher Education studies at large, but more specifically the tinges of westernization found in my study due to my positionality.

### Bridging Inquiries

Bringing the findings of both methodologies together into a cohesive picture required further analysis. Rossman and Rallis (2017) describe the process of analysis and interpretation as involving “(1) fully knowing the data (immersion), (2) organizing these data in chunks (analysis), and (3) bringing meaning to those chunks (interpretation)” (pp. 227-228). The findings contained narratives of regional timelines and themes from organizational scripts. Following the completion of the two methodologies, historical narrative inquiry and discourse analysis, I bridged the results to construct a more holistic understanding of the findings on westernization within global higher education through my description of the identified mechanisms. Lange (2013) describes three methods of combining the comparative and historical/within-case findings: methodological triangulation, methodological complementarity, and methodological synergy. The order in which I’ve listed these integration strategies represent their effectiveness from least to greatest.

The first strategy, methodological triangulation is inherent to the study as I am employing historical methods, narrative, and discourse analysis. While this strategy does not have a process of integration or supplementation, it allows for the independent production of findings from separate methodologies to allow for comparisons. The second strategy, methodological complementarity, “exploits one method for one type of insight, another method for another type of insight, and combines all insight in an effort to offer a more complete picture of the phenomenon under analysis” (Lange, 2013, p. 125). In essence, this strategy allows for the

maximization of each analytic approach's strengths through their combination to account for and minimize their respective weaknesses. However, it should be noted that the researcher must be fluent in the selected approaches to identify said strengths and weaknesses, as well as knowledgeable on their cohesion so as to not limit parsimony (Lange, 2013). Methodological synergy, however, is the strategy that most appropriately addressed my selected methodologies and primed my study for enhanced validity and understanding.

Methodological synergy increases the insight of my research questions, as it "improves the insight offered by one or both methods" (p. 127). My use of narrative and small-N comparison confirmed this approach. Historical narrative inquiry produced the necessary context as I studied the timelines and processes of each region included in the study to help understand how translation occurs and what conditions allow for the sustainment of Western models at the meso-level. The discourse analysis produced themes from supranational and regional organizations to dissect the mechanisms through which westernization flows. The historical narratives of Africa, LATC, and Europe strengthened and fused with the categorization of supranational and regional discourse to determine the fit of the grand narratives employed in my theoretical framework as well as the mechanisms most related to each region.

Although I did not employ a hermeneutic approach, Tracy's guidance (2020) on the examination of talk or text was applicable as she states that researchers can examine "talk or text by empathically imagining the experience, motivations, and context of the speaker/author, and then by engaging in a circular analysis that alternates between the data text and the situated scene" (2020, pp. 51-52). Cyclical and simultaneous consideration for context among the findings are crucial as I incorporated the methodologies to reach conclusions. The reporting of findings resembles a narrative with applications of themes from the discourse analysis applied

across timelines developed through the historical narrative inquiry.

### Validity and Reliability

It was critical that I addressed the complications of validity inherent to this form of research, primarily the telling of history within the historical narrative inquiry, and the translation of meaning through the comparative content analysis. Concerns have arisen over the possibility of data bias in comparative-historical methods as, depending on the scope and temporality of the study, secondary data may be corrupted by biases of the original researcher as well as the risk of conflicting data which could skew understandings based on selection (Lange, 2013). Additionally, given that data are often produced and legitimated by the hegemon, a study centering hegemony carries an explicit risk of perpetuating dominant thought. The use of multiple methods (Language, 2013) and varied cases (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) addresses one threat to validity by providing various approaches, perspectives, experiences, understandings, histories, and ultimately insight. The weaknesses present in the methods when conducted independently are mitigated by bridging the findings of each. It should also be noted again that my methods resulted in both nomothetic and idiographic findings, meaning that while I sought general processes that could be applicable across cases I was also looking at the particular to understand the critical role of context. I selected two competing grand narratives that starkly differ in their views of global patterning, which provided a grand plane through which the data could pass to identify the modes through which westernization is both translated and sustained. The data corpus of this study allowed for “rich, thick descriptions” and “adequate engagement in data collection” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 259).

### Causality

Contention surrounds the ability of qualitative methodologies to produce causal

relationships and explanations. However, literature on the departure from the binary of positivism/empiricism and constructivism informs my belief that this study can propose causal connection (Maxwell, 2004). Maxwell's realist approach to causal explanation is derived in the "significant shift in the philosophical understanding of causality" (p. 246) which posits that causality can be derived "not of regularities but of real (and in principle observable) causal mechanisms and processes, which may or may not produce regularities" (p. 247). My use of causality was fundamentally different than its use in a strictly positivist study. As opposed to variance theory, my work situated process theory as the foundation of causality by which "events and the processes that connect them" (p. 248) are analyzed to determine the influence, commonalities, and contradictions that exist between them.

The importance of understanding causality relates to the desire to understand the institutional change, policy design, and adaptation/resistance taking place at the meso- and macro-levels. This research focused on the translation and sustainment of Western models of higher education, centering the question of how this phenomenon occurs across time and space. The framework in place inherently required the questioning of causality, whether through force or consent, across geographical and historical lines.

As the nature of this research is methodologically pluralistic, this required a similar approach to understanding causality within this comparativist realm. I questioned under what conditions, or through which processes western models transform and perpetuate across geographical spaces and timelines. This determination is not found through trials, interventions, or statistical regressions, but can be analyzed through a "Weberian counterfactual approach" (Fontaine & Geva-May, 2022, p. 3). The counterfactual addresses the possibility of other events taking place should the presumed cause not have transpired. Fontaine and Geva-May collected

models of causality established in prior works to outline the breadth of causation within comparativist work to include: “causality as regularity” (if causality is about law-like generalizations), “causality as necessity” (if it is about contingent causal forces), “causality as ideal-type” (if it is about historical patterns or chains of events), and “causality as social construction” (if it is about actors’ framing and beliefs)” (p. 3). The discursive and mechanistic pillars of this study heavily leaned towards Type 3: Causality as Ideal-Type and Type 4: Causality as Social Construction (Fontaine & Geva-May, 2022).

Process tracing was key to both determining and understanding the mechanisms of causation in this research. Though it should be underlined that this was based on discovering relations, not the quantitative practices of input and effect. The use of textual data “retains the chronological and contextual connections between events.” (Maxwell, 2004, p. 248) as opposed to the variance approach which ignores the social and historical parameters that impart themselves upon events. The control retained by empirical approaches is certainly important and clearly valid, however the qualitative causal explanation holds weight. However, threats to validity exist within the qualitative camp and are addressed in a later section.

### Analytic Memos

Analytic memos are another tool to assure validity as they serve as a record for decision-making, not just to lay an audit trail for the reader but to provide insight into how I as the researcher experienced and engaged with the data (Saldaña, 2009). Reflexivity is a key component of qualitative research, and the analytic memo served as a space for me to converse and delve deeper into my thoughts and the complexities of the study, showing progression through my methodological steps and my understanding of the findings taking form. These memos were unencumbered depictions of my thought process from the start of data collection

through to the completion of data analysis..

### Ethical Considerations

As this research does not involve the collection of data from participants, relying solely on secondary data, I was not presented with the ethical issue of participant permissions, pressures, or protections. This study did not require approval from an Institutional Review Board (IRB). However, the primary consideration, or rather concern, for this study was identifying the balance between regional voices of the global south and supranational forces of the global north, given my own westernized training and background. As the primary tool in this research, I was tasked with the translation and analysis of experiences, understandings, and timelines that exist outside of my own reality. It was pertinent that I allowed the codes and trends to develop organically, recognizing my inherent biases

### Summary

This chapter provided a detailed account of the methods of this study. I used comparative historical analysis, a mixed-methods approach that provided insight through its combination of comparative and within-case approaches. The value of this method was shown through its nomothetic and idiographic producing approaches as I sought to balance the general with the particular. Within-case was addressed through historical narrative inquiry, which included the primary analytical approaches to gather evidence followed by secondary methods of explanatory power which analyzed the data. This method collected secondary data covering the political, economic, social, and cultural processes and movements across the African, European, and Latin American regions from regional higher education journals and was bounded by their relation to higher education. Three independent inquiries were conducted on each region and were then merged into a series of narratives running parallel across this study's timeline.



The comparative component of this methodology was addressed through discourse analysis, which represented the dialogue embedded in the regional context of the phenomenon. Discourse analysis was run on selected documents by institution from supranational and regional organization. The codes were deductive, or pre-determined based on the grand narratives that make up my theoretical framework but allowing for the emergence of new coding schemes. My analysis consisted of attribute coding, procedural coding, magnitude coding, and categorization.

To address validity, I will employ the triangulation of methods, in-depth engagement with the data, multiple cases, reflexivity, and analytic memos.

## CHAPTER 4

### FOUNDATION OF FINDINGS

The following narratives provide a macro-level view of the world from the pre-colonial era to our current century. As the majority of my findings come from the mid-20th century to the 21st century, this chapter focuses on the pre-colonial, colonial, and early post-colonial eras to lay a foundation towards understanding the differing colonial realities of Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean (henceforth named LATC). Naturally, the global and regional events included do not encompass every occurrence to have ever influenced higher education at the macro-level. Reasons for their omission include the concentrated impact of the event, the minimal relevance over time, and the patience of those who may find themselves reading this paper. Note that the time frames put forward are not fixed and many of their dominant traits can be found in subsequent decades. For instance, as the narratives progress from the colonial era to the social contract era, we should not understand the processes of colonialism and imperialism to have ceased. Rather, attention should be paid to the manner in which these processes evolve around time and place. In other words, the underlying intentions behind these processes endure but the mechanisms employed to maintain these interests change through time.

In the following passages, the reader will find that I refer to the ‘university’ and the ‘state’ in describing the changes to control, autonomy, and resistance over time. In my use of these terms, the *university* constitutes the body of higher education institutions that occupy that region as well as the ideal of a higher learning institution that was promoted across the timelines. The *state* refers to the national governments, in all their forms, that emerged following independence. Again, it is noted that great variation took place during these time periods and national context played a large role in the translation and/or uptake of models, policies, and

reforms. Many countries in all three regions would depart from the timelines I describe and merit far more investigation into particularities than what this research has promised. However, the chronologies depicted below account for the macro-level events that most if not all of the states in that region encountered and compile the convergent trends or commonalities of change.

Additionally, as the narratives progress, it is important to reflect on the multivalent forms of time and space, beyond sequence and locale, in relation to the various meanings ascribed to higher education. Education is conditioned by the society in which it is embedded. It includes the historical and contemporary scales and landscapes which have collided across time, resisting and informing, altering and eliminating, to create nuanced and contextual realities (Appadurai, 1990; Custer & Malhães, 2023). The narratives below follow a sequential path across each continent, but the time and place in which each event occurs should be understood more deeply to account for the kaleidoscope of spatio-temporal patterns and configurations which impact expansion, consolidation, reorganization, and other global processes.

Finally, I would like to note that I am not determining whether any of these actions/programs/initiatives or similar occurrences are positive or negative. It is not my goal, nor my place to continue the pattern of prescriptive Westerners through assessment of any region's higher education system or effectiveness of any reforms that have taken place. The findings put forth focus on and center processes and mechanisms in the following regions as told by scholars and organizations with connections to the region. Ajani (2020) reminds the academic community that "emphasis has remained mostly on knowledge produced about countries of the global south rather than being considered as sites of knowledge production and theoretical debate" (p. 44). Thus, I aim to resist the tendency towards repeating this unequal valuing of information based on

origination. With this understanding grounding my work, I will begin the telling of this historical narrative.

### Pre-Colonial

The spheres of knowledge prior to the centuries of colonization lie outside of the scope of this work. However, given the themes of this research, I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge the breadth of knowledge sets that existed prior to the colonization of Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean (Mabizela, 2007; Teferra, 2014). Tribes, races, nations, and empires of these regions each had their own epistemic foundations through which their values, ideas, and understandings were founded. Identity and cultural norms were institutionalized and societal needs were understood and served through these knowledge sets for centuries. The efforts towards erasure of these vast and diverse epistemes is reflected in the limited knowledge we possess of them today. This is indicative of the oldest and most explicit example of Western machination, that being the imperialistic justification of European universalism (Wallerstein, 2006). European universalism assumes the superiority of Western practices over others with the belief that the West has historically been more sophisticated and advanced. The coloniality of knowledge undermined and degraded African, Latin American, and Caribbean paradigms through its claims of universality and science (Teferra, 2014; Afolabi, 2020). There are indigenous knowledge sets that have persisted in certain settings through careful preservation. However, many of these Southern paradigms were deprived of the time and space to experience further exploration, application, and maturation.

The European university has long been championed, through its own self-referential beliefs, as the historic ideal of higher education. The Medieval Era university focused entirely on the production of professionals such as lawyers, doctors, and theologians (Maassen, 1997). Some

of the oldest surviving universities, as we in the Western world recognize them today, were formed in this region of the world (i.e. Bologna, Oxford, Cambridge, Salamanca, Padua, Coimbra) and provided for the mobilization of scholars and students and the exchange of ideas (Kovacevic & Dagen, 2022). This model of the university would endure through much of Europe's early educational history.

### Divergent Colonial and Early Post-Colonial Realities

#### Global: An Age of "Discovery"

This section cuts across a substantial amount of global history as it encounters around five centuries worth of events. However, I will not write *ad nauseum* about the innovations and travesties of these time periods. What should be underscored when covering the periods of colonization in Africa and the LATC, are the differences in relationships to colonialism. Africa fell under colonial rule in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, in comparison to the nearly six centuries endured by LATC. Colonization in LATC was facilitated by the rapid rates of depopulation through disease, displacement, and genocide, as well as repopulation by colonizers and the import of enslaved Africans. Colonial settlement in LATC was not just for the extraction of resources, but the investment of reproducing European society. The colonization of Africa however was not focused on establishing a permanent physical presence, but rather the creation of a sufficient infrastructure that would allow for Western accumulation of African resources. The physical presence of European colonizers in Africa was substantially lower and segregation was enforced rather than the co-mingling and creation of a new heritage as seen in LATC. Reproducing European ways of life, particularly through European networks of higher education institutions, was of less importance in Africa than in LATC. These distinct relationships to

colonialism would later manifest in the differing realities and forms of neo-colonialism that have taken hold in each region.

#### Africa: Colonial Installations and the Scramble for Africa

When the tortoise ran faster than the cheetah and the ant was larger than the elephant: when the chameleon could not change its colour and Empires were eternal while kingdoms were temporal, then did the universities of Jenne and Sankore flourish. These were homegrown universities in a continent baptized by the sword and given the name Africa. - Mogobe Bernard Ramose (2005, p. 1187)

Though Western exploitation existed in Africa prior to the 19th century as previously mentioned by means of the slave trade and early colonial conquests, the 1885 Berlin Conference induced the European 'scramble for Africa' resulting in the intensified colonization and arbitrary division of African territories (Chandler & Tarver, 1993). The carving up of Africa by Western European colonialism blurred and in many cases reconfigured historical, geo-political lines. This mixing of ethnic groups, kin, tribes, lineages, languages, beliefs, and practices would provide for the arena in which Western models were supplanted through missionaries, administration, and education (Afolabi, 2020). By World War I, the continent had been nearly subsumed by the colonial power of Europe.

Higher education was sparse under colonial rule and reserved for those who would come to occupy government positions, establishing a small elite bolstered by its proximity to colonial power, and far removed from the greater population and realities of Africa (Unterhalter & Allais, 2022). These colonial universities, though few, were concentrated in capitals of northern blocks and South Africa which would serve various colonial territories as regional institutions.

Education at this time was a focal point in the colonizing mission of 'civilizing and modernizing' as they allowed for the installation of colonial frameworks and the reproduction of European infrastructures. However, the university, though used infrequently in comparison to LATC, was a

tool to guarantee the endurance of European ideologies and practices even without physical colonial presence. The degradation of indigenous knowledge sets, native languages, familial and territorial lines, and the “once strong African collective ethos” (Bloom, 1988, p.178) would heavily shape the African condition which had existed for centuries. This influence on the African social fabric was facilitated and perpetuated partially through the creation of an African elite educated in the Eurocentric university to serve within colonial frameworks, maintain colonial authority, and reproduce the coloniality of knowledge (Mabizela, 2007; Mamdani, 2008).

Though languages like Italian and Portuguese later transformed indigenous languages, English and French dominated instructional modes and the production of knowledge primarily due to the immense span of England and France’s occupation. Indigenous languages were displaced as producers and communicators of knowledge, establishing a “linguistic curtain” (Zezeza, 2003, p. 177) that would remain, particularly in the case of English, across time. Though this theme will run throughout the contents of this narrative and require further elaboration, this germinal introduction and eventual metastasization of European languages in African institutions and beyond should be recognized as much as other colonial processes that took place. The emptying of normative value (Manthalu & Waghid, 2019) of indigenous African languages effectively erased the particularisms that had constructed and sustained the continent before colonization. English and French came to Africa with socially-determined sets of values, understandings, and “context-specific truth” (Nkoane, 2015, p. 39) embedded by their respective European environments which nestled language in their toolkit of social reproduction. Linguistic processes undergird human interaction, and with English learning relegated to the elites and select few who took part in the educational institutions of the colonizers, participation and

inclusion of the wider public was nearly entirely limited (Zezeza, 2003). The disarticulation of knowledge, in which asymmetry exists between the enforced knowledge produced and the realities of the society in which it is embedded (Afolabi, 2020), was facilitated by the denigration of indigenous languages, laden with the tradition and history of Africa, and supplanting of indigenous languages for English as linguistic capital.

The early and late periods of colonial dominance in Africa demonstrates a rather large shift from a confident colonialism, based on ‘civilizing’ missions and pride in the relegation of indigenous knowledge sets in favor of Western educated Africans, to a more self-conscious colonialism that grew suspicious of the educated strata due to the recent nationalistic uprisings of India, another area dominated by British colonial rule (Mamdani, 2008). Post-secondary institutions were not in abundance even in the more heavily colonized regions, but this fear of anti-colonial sentiment in the mid 19th century led to the contraction of Western education. Despite the receding emphasis placed on higher education, the infrastructure of colonial administration had been concretized across much of the continent. As the new century dawned, the early to mid-1900s would mark the start of African independence movements which ranged from passive withdrawal of colonialists to fierce militant decolonization. However, despite the claims of sovereignty, this pivotal era would present enduring challenges for the higher education systems of the African continent whose colonial foundation would systematically hold the region’s educational propensity captive for decades.

#### LATC: The Crown, the Cross, and the City

La invasión cultural, también denominada colonialidad del poder, anclada en las estructuras de poder y en los imaginarios de colonizadores y colonizados, se mantiene viva en la cultura hegemónica, permanece en la auto-imagen de las poblaciones blancas y no blancas, en las relaciones intersubjetivas, en el sentido común, en las teorías y en los manuales de estudio y en el aprendizaje, en los llamados criterios objetivos del trabajo



académico. En otras palabras, permea lo discursivo, lo simbólico así como el imaginario social. - Sonia Stella Araújo-Olivera (2012, p. 3)

(The cultural invasion, also called coloniality of power, anchored in the power structures and in the imaginaries of colonizers and colonized, remains alive in the hegemonic culture, remains in the self-image of white and non-white populations, in intersubjective relationships, in common sense, in theories and study manuals and in learning, in the so-called objective criteria of academic work. In other words, it permeates the discursive, the symbolic as well as the social imaginary)

Between the 16th and 17th century, Spain, and other colonizing powers like France and Portugal, established several Higher Education Institutions in LATC under colonial rule.

Designed to serve both the church and state, legitimation was derived from papal and royal charters and funds came from both the church and students (Brunner, 2009). These institutions were to mirror the European medieval era ideal in which the curriculum, and effectively the mission, of the university were to contribute to the socialization and proselytization of the colonies (Sauter, 1993; Cajiao, 2001). Spanish was installed as the dominant language through colonization indicating the disavowal and near extinction of many indigenous languages (Bernach-Calbo, 1997). Despite similar economic interests as other Western European imperial conquests in the 19th century, Spain's brand of colonization in LATC was rather distinct as it was deeply rooted in religious missions. However, LATC colonists would set in motion a series of political and military upheavals to claim their independence in the early 19th century.

Birth of the states meant rapid processes of change and identity development, which necessitated a system that would provide for the founding principles of equality, freedom, and the consolidation of the state (Sauter, 1993; Narváez, 2009). The chance at national construction was hard fought and required the state to provide for economic relations, political representation, and an ideological culture to support the fledgling countries. But this would not extend to the whole of the LATC population as colonial remnants took form in the ethno-racial caste system that extended across the region. The region faced precipitously high levels of political instability

during this time, as well as forces that upheld colonial economic interests for financial gain. This friction would manifest in the creation of armed forces to protect sovereignty, the creation of constitutions to legitimize freedoms (although concepts from European texts were embedded), and the routing of resources towards the creation of an expanded educational system to produce a civic society and collective identity (Sauter, 1993; Torres, 2008). Higher education in particular would be viewed as an engine for both national formation and progress.

Following independence in the 19th century, the newly formed state gained a prominent role in the supervision of the university, much to the chagrin of the Church which had for centuries monopolized the mission of education (Sauter, 1993). Many of the religious institutions installed during colonialism would endure, however the French Napoleonic model of schools dedicated to professionalization, and nationalism, would emerge (Villanueva, 2011; Knobel & Bernasconi, 2017). As states took form, the need for trained individuals to establish and maintain administrative and legal authority, as well as a sense of allegiance to the state secured this model of the university. Though the presence of the university remained and was recognized as a vital thread to national development, it did not immediately adopt the role of an autonomous societal change agent in the wake of independence. The ‘teaching state’ represented the power the state had in defining the role of education and to what purposes it would serve in the construction of the newly independent nations (Sauter, 1993; Gallego, 2001; Narváez, 2009).

The liberation of Latin America left positions of political, and particularly economic, control open for the taking. With this, a concentrated number of families commandeered the agricultural and livestock sectors that remained and effectively formed a networked oligarchic, non-democratic regime that profited off the existing export economy leftover from the colonial era (Narváez, 2009). These neocolonial regimes would greatly overpower and influence the

ideals of nation building to consolidate a state that served their objectives and interests. This would include the pursuits of the university.

The generations of Latin American government control across time warrant initial discussion as they serve as primary vehicles of change within higher education, though they will be elaborated on as shifts take place along the timeline. Torres (2008) accounts for three main social movements and political regimes that profoundly shaped educational models across the region, to include the liberal conservative state of the late 19th century and early 20th century, the developmental state of the mid to late 20th century, and the neoliberal state from the 1980s on. The liberal conservative state, heavily influenced by revolutions and subsequent principles of the West, imbued itself with the responsibility of creating an educated citizenry through the expansion of schooling. The developmental state valued education for its generation of human capital and contributions to the stabilization of socio-political-economic climates which further opened access and induced a rise in enrollment. The neoliberal state, marked by structural adjustment models, fiscal austerity, and then the burgeoning global knowledge economy, fueled conflict for the university due to the siphoning of resources and autonomy. But each of these eras experienced overlap, as well as punctuation by corporatism, authoritarianism, and dictatorships which led to the securitization and control of the university (Brunner, 2020). These governmental shifts would effectively prime the region for the implementation of interest-based agendas through “la segregación territorial” (territorial segregation), “la fragmentación social” (social fragmentation), and “la deslegitimación cultural” (cultural delegitimization) (Dominguez, 2009, p. 7). Each of these forms were extended to the university, placing consistent pressures to meet the ideal forced upon them by the political authority of the time.

The turn of the century would carry a series of economic shifts brought on by waves of

industrialization. In its infancy, the newly formed states of LATC were rapidly incorporated into the already hegemonized Western economic system, largely due to the oligarchic regime who sustained economic relationships for their own financial and political gain (Arocena & Sutz, 2021). Higher education became a more active component in national development, under the steering of the state, as it would provide the workforce training and human capital needed to meet the changing economic needs of the region. This signaled a rapid increase in access to post-secondary education and the further stratification of the LATC populace. The result would be the catalyst to a growing middle class across Latin America. This burgeoning bourgeoisie would soon buttress against the oligarchic powers to produce a critical encounter between the growing class and the ancien regime of the oligarchy who clung to models of colonial interests and the absolutist state (Sauter, 1993). After independence, Oligarchic control over production and foreign exchange allowed this group to beget further power,

The Córdoba University reform movement of 1918 would be a crucial event that confronted the dominance and authority of the oligarchic regime (Arocena & Sutz, 2021). Among the demands listed were open access (i.e. elimination of fees), secularization, and university autonomy with co-governmental powers vested to the staff, faculty, and students. The signing of this charter intended to signal a new era of higher education and democratization through transnational cooperation. This extension of higher education to the middle and working class appeared to indicate a path to mobility and effectively shift the power differentials away from oligarchic control. However, the concessions made to the Córdoba reform would not fully come to fruition.

The 1929 economic crash induced un/underemployment due to the decline in export revenues. The mono-agro-economies, still largely under oligarchic control, were greatly

impacted and the state would call for the consolidation of higher education to help draw the region out of its financial turmoil. Rationalization of the market would creep its way into economic discourse as nations contended with rising tensions from economic and political instability. This framework for economic subsumption of education would become a hallmark of the LATC University through the coming decades, spurring resistance movements for the pursuit of autonomy and academic freedom.

#### Europe: The Ivory Tower, the Service Station, and the Cultural-Frontier-Post

An effect of the academic machinery, indeed, is to frame the past continuously as a time when people were mixing up facts and values, and as desperately in need of enlightenment, exactly like the chained people in Plato's cave. - Maarten Simons and Jan Masschelin (2009, p. 207)

The "long 19th century" of Europe, spanning from the French Revolution to the start of WWI, contained great socio-political change, as well as the birth of an industrial revolution that would expand to the rest of the world. Following the French Revolution and the ratification of the constitution française in 1791, the concept of the nation-state, though not fully realized for all, would spread across Europe (Tröhler, 2016). The "idea of a nation" (p. 287) brought forth the notion of a national identity and citizenship, which necessitated an agenda to inspire allegiance to these newly formed territories. The Napoleonic model of the university, which touted "the raising of cultural capital of the post-revolutionary bourgeois family" (Zgaga, 2009, p. 178), offered such a solution through its focus on the development of civic pride and contributions toward the creation of the state via the acquisition of skills that would promote its economic growth. The medieval university, which had supported education of the elite few, was seen as an antiquated model that was disappearing in both its physical presence and its relevance. The Napoleonic model was instead believed to have "supplied the patriotic citizen and soldier and the future state official and administrator" (p. 180), establishing a foundation for the creation of a

politically and economically strong state. It is worth pointing out that the Napoleonic era established the notoriously elitist Grande Écoles, with a number of alumni reaching the French presidency, which have survived through the centuries.

The Humboldtian model of higher education, however, would become the symbol of modern higher education structure in the early 19th century through its de-emphasis of nationalistic teachings, and centralizing of not just learning but the pursuit of knowledge through research - *Wissenschaft* (Zgaga, 2009). This model would spread throughout much of the world as more institutions sought the discovery and production of knowledge rather than the much more technocratic approach of passive receiving of knowledge in the classroom. This diffusion and exalting of anglo-Western educational models in other parts of the world would come to inform the neo-colonial mechanisms of the 21st century.

These generations of the European university, “the university as service station, the university as ivory tower, and the university as a cultural-frontier post” (Aviram, 1992, p. 398), would cycle across the timeline as the university experienced the socio-political-economic waves of the 20th century. But before the European university narrative continues into the next century, it is important to again note that Western European nations would simultaneously install their educational systems, variably and in different forms for different reasons (ex. religious motivations, ‘civilizing missions’, for expansion and insurance of administrative control, etc.), across their colonized territories. As humanistic and empiricist theories flourished in academic discourse of European scholars, concurrently, colonial interests were in conflict with the knowledge sets, and moves towards resistance, of African and LATC natives.

## CHAPTER 5

### FINDINGS

The previous chapter outlined the processes of colonization across LATC and Africa, underscoring the differing realities, consequences, and efforts of resistance that manifested within each region. The following narratives start in the mid-20th century and extend to the present day, representing the post-colonial timelines of each region. Each section of time will begin with an outline of major global events that either directly or inadvertently impacted regional higher education systems, as will be seen in the subsequent regional stories. The regional sections will then start with an author's quote that embodies the atmosphere of the time. The narratives will then alternate between regions.

#### Social Contract (Late 1940s to the 1970s)

##### Global: Rebuilding the World

Following WWII, Europe had emerged financially, infrastructurally, and politically broken. What had started as a regional conflict confined to Europe had ended as a battle of nations from around the world. The war had caused substantial destruction, not just to the region but to the global economy and the processes that depended on it. The agreement following the Bretton Woods Conference, which took place a year before the war concluded, produced a series of institutions and reconstruction/restabilization schemes to assist in restoring the global economic order and promoting international cooperation (Harold, 2012). The Articles of Agreement established the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (which would later become the World Bank) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Further organizations that emerged at this time included the World Trade Organization (WTO), the United Nations (UN), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the United Nations

Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organization (UNESCO). This period would also contain the establishment of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). These institutions would play a substantial role in the coming decades, imparting their ‘expertise’ to shape regional economic, political, and social domains, including higher education.

The Yalta Conference of 1945 would bring together the leaders of Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States to divide Europe in the wake of WWII. But the creation of the Western and Eastern European Blocs would prompt a new conflict of global proportions. The geopolitical and nuclear arms race of the Cold War marked another great conflict fueled by economic dominance and political supremacy. The Cold War’s two primary players (Russia and the US) placed the Global South in the crosshairs of the warring factions. With the wave of independence movements following WWII, the Eastern Bloc vied for the ‘unclaimed’ support of African and LATC intellectuals (Kunert, 1978; Clayton, 1998). Significant funding was allocated to the transplant of academics to Russian and German universities for indoctrination (Teferra, 2014).

The oil crisis of 1973 triggered an economic downturn across the globe, as the sharp increase in oil prices led to negative economic growth in the West. Debt crises for Africa and LATC were caused by lowered commodity prices, high interest rates, increased cost of borrowing, slowed foreign exchange, and inflation (Coetzee & Jahed, 1993). This global economic recession would largely put an end to the Keynesian welfare programs that had proliferated after WWII, radically changing the paradigm on public services.

#### Africa: Inherited Systems and the “D” Word (Development)

It follows that all societies are subject to social change and that all of them, regardless of their level of technological advancement, are caught up in the process of development. From this point of view the distinction between developed, developing and least



developed countries is relatively meaningless, mere terms of convenience in a jargon invented within the development industry. - Stan Schoeman (1984, p. 47)

From the mid-20th century, newly independent colonies began the process of rebuilding their continent after decades of colonial oppression and destruction. Independence brought with it a wave of Pan-Africanism and the pursuit of decolonizing knowledge, particularly the decolonization of African representations (Oanda & Obonyo, 2021). What materialized was the ‘developmentalist university’ (Mamdani, 2008; Sifuna, 2014) whose core objective was the development of Africa through extraction of colonial frameworks by means of curricular and administrative reorganization. However, it is important to note once more that the reclaiming of independence did not wholly relinquish Africa from the shackles of colonialism. Colonial infrastructures installed from the previous century were deeply embedded and intertwined with African realities and profound socio-political consequences had resulted from the repatterning of African geopolitical lines.

To create a regional culture of collaboration, the Association of African Universities (AAU) was established in 1967, through the coordination of UNESCO, with the responsibility of consulting and facilitating information exchange amongst institutions across the region (Fongwa, 2018). The AAU’s aim has historically been to provide “a platform for research, reflection, consultation, debates, co-operation and collaboration on issues pertaining to higher education” (AAU, 2021, n. p.). In their early years, the AAU would prove to be a symbol of solidarity with a number of countries enlisting as members within the first few years of its existence. The AAU would grow both its role and its physical presence as an intermediary between the universities of Africa and their external stakeholders.

Commentary from the World Bank (WB) on the state of Africa would largely start in the 1970s as the world felt the impact of the 1973 Oil Crisis. The solutions contrived by the WB

were a series of programs aimed at alleviating poverty through strict financial management. In exchange for adherence to the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), the WB would provide financial assistance towards projects and programming. The lens through which Africa was viewed by the WB can be understood through the language used in their World Development reports. Below are just a few of the statements made by the WB in their 1979 *World*

*Development Report: Structural Change and Development Policy:*

Because education offers one of the few chances for the poor and disadvantaged to escape from poverty, efforts to ensure the equitable distribution of educational opportunities are extremely important. In this respect, the high unit costs of secondary relative to primary education, and the need to widen access to primary education, suggest a reallocation of limited educational budgets in favor of the latter. (p. 53)

Current unemployment among the educated also emphasizes the need for a critical review of future plans to expand higher educational facilities in these countries. (p. 53)

Since investments in education have a long gestation, at early stages it will generally be necessary to rely quite heavily on foreign expertise. (p. 103)

The emphasis on education (solely primary) is stark. The WB frames the pursuit of expanding tertiary, and even secondary, education as nonsensical based on their rate of return and cost benefit analyses. Rather explicitly, the WB advocated for the contraction of the African university and the insertion of foreign ‘experts’ to help lead in curriculum development and organizational management.

The hardfought autonomy of Africa had brought the expulsion of the physical colonial manifestations, however, what accompanied was the continued dispossession of both African material and ideological resources. Coloniality persisted, in part, through the lasting repercussions of African epistemicide and colonial educational structures (Afolabi, 2020). It would be emboldened by the language and action of the WB. The canon of Western knowledge had denigrated African knowledge for its ‘baselessness’ or lack of ‘scientific founding’, clearly

demarcating the European stance on the inferiority of traditional African ways of knowing. This effectively destroyed the foundations of and prevented the reemergence of African epistemologies following independence. Western languages and literature continued as the mediums of instruction in African classrooms and post-secondary curriculum focused on subjects of development such as redressing poverty, social engineering, food production, and economic planning (Leistner, 1981; Hoebnik & van der Zanden, 2004). While these might appear as appropriate educational directions for newly formed states, the societal challenges, which universities were intended to broach, were expected to be carried out by the very colonial instruments that had deprived them of their intellectual and regional legitimacy.

Following independence, the maintenance of higher education institutions fell to the newly formed states which included their funding and directional steering. With education being held as a tool for economic and social progress, the development university co-signed the newly devised social contract between higher education and the continent. Two influential conferences in the early 1960s (1961 Addis Ababa Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa - 1962 Tananarive Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa) brought together representatives from African states and further pushed the notion of higher education as social development tool, supported by UNESCO and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (Sifuna, 2014). The result of these conferences was the technocratically-minded campaign towards the economic and political self-realization of Africa, built on social responsibility and effectively placing the onus of facing colonial fallout on the African university. This again centered education as a vehicle for change, placing increasing pressure on a still foreign framework that was leading the fragmented region. The Addis Ababa Conference ultimately called for (Schoeman, 1981, p. 128):

- Quantitative and qualitative improvements in facilities
- Reorientation of systems to the needs of Africa
- Unrestricted access to education for adults, as well as school-going youth
- Massive international assistance to cover the cost of educational expansion

During this forum, higher education was regarded as the least important sector of African education. Concerns surrounding the “university” and its production of graduates with advanced learning to fill professional positions were consigned to colonial expatriates (Europeans who had remained in Africa following the independence movements), with the sentiment that primary and secondary education had to be addressed before any other societal goals could materialize (Schoeman, 1981). However, following the end of World War II, the so-called ‘Titans of Industry’ - Carnegie, Ford, MacArthur, and Rockefeller - entered the discourse on development in Africa (Teferra, 2014). These ‘partnerships’ reintroduced the prioritization of higher education with the funding of indigenous institution construction to train the next generation of African leaders. This trend of external donor involvement, though meeting one of the objectives of the Addis Ababa Conference, would signify the new generation of encroachment on intellectual autonomy of the university via “disparate agendas” of foreign stakeholders (Mama, 2006, p. 4). These foundations would have a profound impact on the direction of teaching and learning, as well as the construction of new educational spaces to provide for continental development.

Massification would take hold across the region in the 1960s as new universities opened their doors to the masses who had once been excluded from postsecondary education (Zezeza, 2003). This expansion of the African university offered a chance for countries to develop their citizenry through advanced learning, providing a route towards a reconstructed Africa. But as enrollment grew throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the capacity to effectively serve the swelling student populations was strained. In addition, frustration with government officials from unkept

promises, corruption, and ethnic/national tensions made for an enduring period of political and economic instability across the region. The post-colonial governments in many of the newly formed states had failed in their decision-making and implementation of development projects, giving way to a decade of authoritarian and militaristic coups (Kotze, 1979).

The African university was to play a crucial role in the articulation of statehood and the catalyst towards a 'modern' Africa which meant a fluency in development studies that was not prevalent across the academic staff. But with this 'belief in education as the only way of overcoming poverty and economic backwardness'' (Cornwell, 1988, p. 10), the university faced opposition. Much tension rose between the state and the university, particularly towards those who were born of the colonial period rather than times of independence. Additionally, the increased funding of the university, which appeared to subtract from the needed funding for other social services, as well as the continued use of foreign models to guide curriculum drew distrust and contempt from the wider society (Elliot, 1977). Thus, a growing divide emerged between those who understood the university as an engine for progress and those who recognized it as a mechanism for continued colonialism.

The 1970s truly marked this distrust as the processes of politicization and parochialism reached the doors of the African universities (Zezeza, 2003). With control still in the hands of the developmentalist post-colonial state, to include funding and oversight of the curriculum, criticism from scholars and students surrounding unmet goals of the state, and dire financial straits within the university, was translated by the government as anti-nationalist sentiments. Censorship of thought, removal of personnel, limiting of academic mobility, military presence on campuses, incarceration, and massacre were among the actions taken by state regimes throughout the mid- to late-20th century (Mama, 2006; Alidou et al., 2008).

## LATC: The Normativity of Planning

La educación constituye una palanca para el progreso Carlos Alberto Torres (2008, p. 210)

(Education constitutes a lever for progress.)

As the region continued to face the impermanence of their economic and political landscapes, the university was envisioned as the cure all for the upheavals and instability they endured. Educational planning, under the auspices of developmentalism, dominated the regional higher education systems as technocratic-economist models were installed to appease the current economic order (Teske, 2008). The state had profound oversight of the university, imposing consolidation of higher education systems through a *paradigma burocrático centralista* (a centralist bureaucratic paradigm) (Aparicio, 2006, p. 3) which created a growing monopoly of control. To mobilize the institutions towards a common purpose (autonomy), the founding of the Unión de Universidades de America Latina y el Caribe (Union of Latin America and Caribbean Universities) UDUAL in 1949 marked the largest and most consolidated effort towards transnational postsecondary education cooperation. The Union's functions were to provide a forum for knowledge exchange with the aim of promoting collaboration and cooperation amongst the region's higher education institutions. In the decades after its establishment, UDUAL centered its mission on championing the autonomy of the university. The state, however, did recognize the importance of the university and contributions to the social project for an educated citizenry engaged in a diversifying economy. This mutual legitimation of the state and the university fostered a strong, though highly uneven relationship between the two as funding and support was exchanged for autonomy and academic freedom (Brunner, 2009).

Despite its entrapment in the developmental agenda, the university is said to have experienced its heyday between the 1950s and 1960s because of its dubbing as a panacea which

inspired hope for radical change, as well as sizable funding (Reimers, 2002). However, as migration and urbanization increased in the 1960s, growing pressure was placed on the services of the public sector. Though a substantial amount of money had gone towards infrastructural projects, the agrarian movement towards the industrialized urban for employment would add to the ongoing tension of unkept promises between the state and the public. Student and faculty movements sprang up to resist the shrinking budgets and growing presence of private interests that were steering the university.

The 1970s would prove to be the ‘golden age’ of international cooperation agencies. In the same year as UDUAL, the Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos (Organization of Ibero-American States) (OEI) was formed as an intergovernmental agency to formalize the contemporary connection between LATC and the Iberian Peninsula (Spain and Portugal) (Lamarra, 2004). Spanning education, science, technology, and culture, the OEI championed the integration and convergence of the two regions to allow for exchange of knowledge and expertise. The IMF, WB, OECD, and UNESCO thronged to LATC during the 1980s to address the volatile nature of their economy and social conflict (Gomez, 1999). The WB and IMF in particular would grow their presence in the region as the Oil Crisis of 1973 exacerbated LATC’s external debt (Lopez, 2005). The budget for the university had been slashed, educational planning offices were set up across the region to begin their installation of educational monitoring and quality assurance, and the grip tightened on higher education’s place in the region. The fragility of the democratic institutions across Latin America and the Caribbean would come to a head for much of the late 20th century as authoritarian regimes rose to power. The political volatility that followed, as well as the occupation of WB and IMF programs, would usher in mass retrenchment of state funding and the privatization of the public sector.

## Europe: A Borderless Project

These processes contributed to a new meaning of the word. Europe as a whole (politically, socially and economically radically divided in the past) was no longer understood as a mere geographical entity. It began to shine in a new light: it is one and it is diverse - but its diversity is our richness. - Pavel Zgaga (2009, p. 175)

Before laying out the narrative of European higher education from the 20th century and beyond, it is important to reiterate Appadurai's (1990) 'scapes' as they impart an additional lens through which change and reality can be understood. He states that various global landscapes impact reality and are situated around perspectival constructs influenced by "historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different actors" (p. 296). The particular 'scapes' which should be kept in mind through the narrative are ideoscapes (the political, economic, and social culture organized around a lexicon of keywords to create an approved ideology) and mediascapes (the lines between the fictional and realistic world, depicted through curated images and narratives with the intention of serving the interests of those wielding power). Appadurai's thoughts provide for the intersection of imaginaries and realities layered by actor interests and global pressures which closely relate to the European condition over the next several decades.

Following the two World Wars, it was evident that Europe was fragmented. Nationalism and inter-conflict had driven the region into collapse, revealing vulnerabilities in their global positioning. Wishing never to engage in such conflict again, many, though not all, European representatives embraced the discourse on harmonization. The decades following WWII induced a wave of Europeanism as the region addressed its lingering tensions and weaknesses. The signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957 established the European Economic Community (EEC), what would later come to be known as the European Community, which served to promote economic integration and unity, initially through coal and steel. The EEC, though initially representing a handful of European countries and not without its disagreements, would yield



more forums, commissions, and councils that allowed for the expansion of Eurocentrism.

Two years after the formation of the EEC, the Standing Assembly of the Standing Conference of European Rectors (CRE) was created in Dijon, FR to organize a space for university administrators to convene on the development of European higher education sans governmental oversight (Barblan, 1982). The “I am European” slogan was thrust into the regional discourse to encourage regionalization under a mono-identity, placing the region if not before then in line with one’s national identity (Hummrich, 2018). The expansion and streamlining of European governmental entities flourished at this time, particularly after the Brussels Treaty of 1965 which introduced a single Commission and Council, to be known as the European Commission and the European Council. These two arms of the European Union (later established by the Maastricht treaty in 1992), along with the European Parliament, would come to enjoy extended decision-making power. This early creation of a European policy sphere through the establishment of transnational commissions and councils would continue to grow and greatly shape the influence held and abstraction of state authority to the European level.

The reconstruction of Europe dominated agendas and education was identified as a mechanism to promote solidarity and cooperation across the nations. This consensus surrounding the importance of higher education would lead to the rapid construction of new institutions, and expansion of existing universities, to allow for growth in enrollment (Teichler, 1989). The mobility of a united civic society as the key to stimulating economic development, as it was believed at the time, would come to include the drive for universalized education and addressment of the inequities that existed both prior to and following the war. Through the post-war Keynesian welfare state, increased access and massification were realized across much of Europe.

Though there is never truly a 'Golden Age' of higher education as it is inherently exclusionary, the period of the 1950s and 60s were a time of increased funding to include a broad spectrum of academic research fields, growing enrollment rates, construction of new institutions, and efforts towards the continued goal of a knowledgeable European citizenry (Kwiek, 2005). However, with social and political changes taking hold all across the world, the end of the 1960s erupted with student protests. Their demands, which varied based on national context, were largely born from economic instability, political crises, a lack of social security, and a social imaginary that was fed to the region. Student disillusionment, particularly with the university, reached its zenith in 1968 as student groups took to the streets calling for reform (Neave, 1985). Though funding had increased and autonomy appeared stable, the pressures of educational consolidation meant the university was to engage with this narrative of what students saw as passive conformity.

The 1970s marked the first overt push towards the institutionalization of higher education as an area of cooperation and action (Fogg & Jones, 1985; Antunes, 2006). Massification of the 1960s had opened education beyond the elite class, but also led to diversity of institutional form and change to the university's relation to society and the market. Higher education was seen as a vehicle for development that should be aimed at addressing national needs and acquiring of competence strategies, which resulted in the direction away from the traditional university for many students in favor of short/cycle and vocational training (Neave, 1985; Kerr, 1987). The state played a central role in the funding, organizing, and steering of higher education institutions at this time. This would endure until the complexity of the institutional structure, from increase of institutions and student numbers, made government control tedious and ineffective (Maassen, 1997). This would create a space for intermediary agencies and external stakeholders to liaise,

but also chip away at institutional autonomy. Additionally, pressure was placed upon the financial management of the university, especially as budgets became tighter from the era of massification (Van Vught, 1989). Neave (1985) identifies three examples of budgetary consolidation in the 1970s to include changes to the time span (i.e. budgetary time frames that would project funding), budget criteria (i.e. the detachment of funding from enrollment to performance-based), and the diversification of university funding (i.e. links to industry through contracted research). These mechanisms would broaden the distance between decision-making and the university.

The time leading up to the 1980s experienced a healthy amount of growth, though not near the levels of massification experienced in the 1960s. The ongoing expansion led to what Teichler (1989) dubbed “educational inflation” (p. 233) which drew criticism of the university for having created a population of graduates that were ‘overeducated and overqualified’. With the increase and diversification of graduates, at the behest of most countries in the 1960s, the focus of educational planning solidified its shift towards the service of the labor market (Van Vught, 1989). However, Neave (1985) marks the years between 1975 and 1985 as the decade of consolidation. It is during this period that the “sectoral profile” (p. 111), or rather the stratification amongst educational sectors and across higher education systems, became increasingly apparent. The changes to institutional forms and organization at this point represent this consolidation as forces external to the university gained more bearing on their physical and academic structure. The explosion of growth in the 1960s created increasingly complex systems, from which grew a need for greater administrative presence. These consolidation efforts resulted in substantial oversight and control of the university

The mission of the European university soon became engrossed in “the twin crises of

autonomy and legitimacy inside the university and its external economic role in society” (Neave, 1985, p. 112). The growing entanglement of external entities allowed for increasing translation and prescription of higher education visions and goals. Governments became more deeply engaged with the ‘private lives’ of the university which would manifest in the continued assault on institutional autonomy in the wake of the 1980s.

#### Neoliberal Beginnings (1980s to Late 1990s)

Channels of capital exchange came to a near standstill at the start of the 1980s, as the ramifications of the oil crisis of the 1970s lingered (Coetzee & Jahed, 1993). The expansion of the neoliberal paradigm, an economic stance built on the belief in free market’s ability to effectively and efficiently address public issues through unfettered capitalism, fundamentally changed the management of many higher education systems around the world. The introduction of new public management brought corporate practices to the public sector including fiscal austerity, outsourcing, competition, and measurement of outputs. This would radically change the relationship between the state, the university, and the market, with the latter being privileged. These two decades would also include the extension of WTO GATS to educational services, the establishment of the European Union, the fall of the Iron Curtain and the Soviet Union, and the end of Apartheid.

The 1998 UNESCO World Conference on Higher Education, prompted by the financial crises of the global South and subsequent hemorrhaging of higher education systems, raised solutions to the challenges. Among them included the mutual recognition of degrees, the harmonization of higher education programs, creation of quality assurance mechanisms, and commitment to capacity building (UNESCO, 1998).

## Africa: The Lost Decade I - A SAP-ed Society

What did this project stand for? Was it a graceful way of saying farewell to an empire, and of dismantling its memory? Or was it a project of redress, a way of making amends? As the Minister from Scotland has just said, how does one deal with a past of injustice and oppression? Is it enough to say let bygones be bygones, or do we need to recognize that a measure of justice is necessary for reconciliation to take place? - Mahmood Mamdani (2008, p. 2)

Deteriorating conditions of the university, as well as the region at large, led to substantial international borrowing to subsidize the socio-economic challenges facing the continent. To service the rising debts in Africa, the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) initiated their stabilizing and funding mechanisms, the stabilization program and the structural adjustment program (SAP) respectively, which provided policy guidance and financial assistance in exchange for the meeting of set infrastructural conditions to ‘stabilize’ the economic turmoil (Cheru, 1995). The accurate reasoning for the WB’s intervention, whether by external economic shock or internal ineffectiveness, is debated (Coetzee & Jahed, 1993). But regardless, these programs would come to dominate the region and would radically change the economic, political, and social dimensions of Africa.

The SAPs of the 1980s were built to “stabilize economies, improve the allocation of resources, raise the level of output and income, and to achieve a higher level of savings and a more efficient use of capital in order to raise the rate of production growth” (Coetzee & Jahed, 1993, p. 80). Furthermore, these prescriptive policies generally involved reduction and privatization of the public sector, liberalization of trade, and implementation of fiscal austerity acts. The perspective of the WB on African higher education was not favorable. The routing of public funds to the university would be challenged greatly and halted its growth in the 1980s. This can be understood in the following reports:

- 1980 *World Development Report: Poverty and Human Development*

For example, the number of university specializations can be reduced, relying on foreign universities (not necessarily in developed countries) for specialized training in areas in which small numbers of students lead to excessive teaching and equipment. (p. 50)

Universal primary education in particular can provide all citizens with a common intellectual heritage and help overcome the potentially divisive effects of regionalism, tribalism, race and caste and class distinctions. (p. 72)

- 1981 *World Development Report: National and International Adjustment*  
Some of the burden on public services can be relieved by allowing the private sector to provide for middle-class needs (for university education or certain kinds of health care, for example). (p. 99)
- 1983 *World Development Report: Management in Development*  
The need for coordination is reduced when government managers transfer those functions they cannot manage efficiently to other levels of government, public enterprises, local communities, or the private sector. Decentralization is conventionally defined as one of three things: (a) 'deconcentration' transferring resources and decision making from headquarters to other branches of central government; (b) 'devolution' to autonomous units of government such as municipalities and local governments; and (c) 'delegation' to organizations outside the regular bureaucratic structure, such as public corporations and regional development authorities, or even to nongovernmental bodies such as farmer cooperatives, credit associations, and trade unions. (p. 103)
- 1984 *World Development Report: Population Change and Development*  
But the evidence on education suggests that capital-widening and spreading resources over more and more people can be counterproductive. (p. 84)  
Developing countries have little scope to reduce educational quality any further. (p. 85)
- 1987 *World Development Report: Industrialization and Foreign Trade*  
More than general education is required, but high achievements at the frontiers of science are not. Science played a minor role in the first industrial revolution in Britain. Scientific excellence played an important role in Germany's rise to industrial prominence in the nineteenth century, but its system of polytechnical institutes, which taught basic industrial skills, probably mattered more. The United States and Japan both rose to world industrial leadership by copying and modifying foreign technologies. (p. 55)
- 1988 *World Development Report: Public Finance in Development*  
Many public services for which charges are both feasible and appropriate are often provided free or at highly subsidized prices to all users. As a result there is

significant scope for raising additional public revenue from higher user charges especially for services such as higher education, hospital care, electricity, water supply, and urban transport. (p. 183)

In each of the World Development Reports from 1980-1989, the WB de-emphasized the importance of the university, as well as its worthiness of funding. The importation of foreign educational systems, technologies, and professionals is promoted as the best option for African education. The African university was patronized and framed as inefficient, ineffective, and anachronistic to the world around it. The receding of the state's financial support, primarily due to the funding of the IMF and prescribed SAPs of the World Bank, was swift. The World Bank's touting of primary and secondary education as the key to progress in Africa, based on Bank reports that indicated low returns on investment in higher education, effectively triggered the mass divestiture of state funding from higher education (Mabizela, 2007; Mamdani, 2008; Zeilig & Dawson, 2008; Teferra, 2016).

Development reports concluded that, even with the influx of funding to the primary and secondary schools, the region was failing to embrace and fully implement the WB's vision. Backed by their statistical findings, the agency rallied around the idea of Africa's lack of capacity to fully realize a 'developed' society capable of existing independently on the global stage. However, Cornwell (1988, p. 8) remarked "one such reason is that primary and secondary schooling in African countries are based on the systems of economically advanced societies. Thus their almost exclusively academic orientation prepares scholars for the next level in the hierarchy, rather than for specific employment opportunities in a modernizing labour force." This ideology of favoring and championing the importance of primary education over higher education would sustain itself through much of the 1980s.

Further, the World Bank decreed that as African higher education was producing minimal and essentially private rather than public benefits, the "beneficiaries should share a significant

part of the cost of higher education” (Mamdani, 2008, p. 8). This financial decentralization ushered in the crisis-era universities which included flight of African scholars abroad, a deluge of students to overloaded facilities, and outworn educational resources (Ndulu, 2004; Khelifaoui, 2009). As the push towards economic growth subsumed the continent, the WB had failed to reconcile the chasm between market development and human development. What would emerge were waves of student and academic protests and intense activism, dubbed the “anti-SAP riots” (Alidou et al., 2008, p. 65) against institutional budget cuts, state suppression, and WB involvement. To address the tension, and their growing critics, the WB instituted “social dimensions of adjustment projects” but with their structures set in place, these programmes “are found to be too little, too late to tackle the structural causes of poverty and powerlessness in any significant way” (Cheru, 1995, p. 237).

To reiterate the socio-political-economic climate of the late 20th century once more, corruption across postsecondary institutions was pervasive at this time as state authoritarianism flourished across the continent, divorcing university agendas from those of the independence era. Institutional decay became ubiquitous as both physical and academic infrastructures suffered from mismanagement of funds. Governance of higher education, heavily influenced by the World Bank, transitioned to discussions of accountability, efficiency, and effectiveness based on reports of cost-analysis. These were facilitated by the global wave of new public management that instilled corporate practices into the operations of the public sector (Sall & Oanda, 2014).

As the World Bank steered Africa towards marketization, the absence of a stable market economy across the region contradicted the prescription of marketized education. To engage with and realize the goals of the World Bank’s strategy, it was necessary for a sizable and sustainable market to have been established. The absence of a substantial private sector to take



control of the African higher education field meant that interventionism by the state persisted. This would shift the political and economic environment from authoritarian state to authoritarian market. Despite directives from the World Bank in lieu of direct state oversight, state-appointed university officials remained a domineering component of academic staffing and incoming financial support was not always diverted to the intended projects (Zezeza, 2003; Brocke-Utne, 2003).

Once more, the higher education institutions of Africa worked to create a collaborative environment in spite of the fractious nature of their respective countries and denigration of the WB. The Arusha Convention (i.e. the Regional Convention on the Recognition of Studies, Certificates, Diplomas, Degrees and other Academic Qualifications in Higher Education in the African States) of 1981 aimed to establish harmonization of African higher education systems to construct an African Higher Education Area. While this push towards regionalization can be seen as the ‘Bologna Process before the Bologna Process’ in Africa, its slow and eventual failed uptake left this attempted mobilization open to the influence of the European Union when their initiative of regional comprehensive education took off (Obasi & Olutayo, 2009).

The regionalization discourse would extend to the involvement of other agencies and organizations. Within the UNESCO Summary of Arusha, one tenet states:

Resolved to organize and strengthen their cooperation in the field of recognition of studies, certificates, diplomas, degrees, and other academic qualifications by means of a convention which would be the starting point for concerted dynamic action carried out, in particular, through national, bilateral, subregional and regional bodies already in existence or set up for that purpose. (UNESCO, 1981, p. 3)

The rise of the regional policy and research network was greatly owed to this push towards regional collaboration and harmonization of educational systems (Sall, 2004). The studies conducted on the African university grew, as did the entities funding the conduct of the research.

What is of interest is the duality posed by these externally bankrolled think tanks. This research allowed academics to contribute to local knowledge on the current state of African education, but at the cost of research through Western paradigms and the subsequent setting of agendas that served external interests (Ndulu, 2004).

This displacement of research from the university to external entities was driven by the ongoing attacks of the state and the promise of funding from supranational and donor interests (Zezeza, 2003; Brock-Utne, 2003; Prewitt, 2004). However, the directional control these external entities had over the flow and content of research contributed to the epistemological, linguistic, and administrative grip over African academics. The inferiorization and reductionism of African knowledge through statistical reports, at the hands of both donors and the African scholars they paid to conduct them, reaffirmed the hallmark of colonial impositions upon African experiences and realities. The knowledge produced on Africa at this time did not allow for the region to construct its own understanding of what African development could mean *to* and *for* Africa outside of a Western lens. This neocolonial conquest through comparison would magnify as the region progressed into the 1990s.

The diversification of higher education institutions would be the next prescribed objective to account for the continued growth of higher education seeking students and to further market presence, to include private universities, independent institutes, professional schools, and other degree-granting/credentialing institutions (Sall, 2004). The population of primary- and secondary-educated students multiplied due to the World Bank's prioritization of those educational levels. This overwhelmed the higher education systems whose growth had been stunted through SAPs, leaving a gap for private institutions to absorb demand. Private institutions existed prior to the 1990s, many through church backing/affiliations. However, the

increased demand for continued education in this decade brought with it the rise of the private sector, particularly the explosion of the for-profit institution (Mabizela, 2007; Tamrat, 2017).

The prevalence of privatization, and thus commercialization of higher education institutions could partially be attributed to the strength of a state's economy at the time, but more largely influenced by the structural adjustment of the World Bank and the "neoliberal post cold war social context" (Mabizela, 2007, p. 22). The lens with which the rise of private higher education is viewed depends on what is most concerning. Private educational institutions allowed for the widening of access, especially as public institutions continued to shift the cost-burden to the student. They are also seen as having the propensity to respond more rapidly to the needs of the market and offering in-demand skills to their graduates (Levy, 2007; Tamrat, 2017).

However, private institutions also call into question the notion of legitimacy and quality, as well as their predilection for Western/market-centered practices (Levy, 2007; Mohamedbhai, 2014). These trends would foment the university transition from agent of development and nation-building to agent of the market. The entrepreneurial university of the 1990s signaled an emerging corporate governance structure from within to assist with the diversification of funding prescribed by the WB (Ogachi, 2011; Langa, 2023), but the dearth of resources from the SAP-ed state meant the university had to look elsewhere. This financial decentralization would effectively shift the cost burden to the student, exacerbating existing inequities. The unsustainable expansion of the university through enrollment for the purpose of revenue development would add to the mounting infrastructural crises. The increase of students necessitated an increase in resources to staff the institutions, construct greater physical spaces, obtain more materials for classrooms, and other expenses that would quickly consume whatever rise in revenue collected.

The fight for institutional autonomy and public support of the academy remained as the university grappled with the financial climate of austerity. The Kampala Declaration on Intellectual Freedom and Social Responsibility of 1990 reflected this effort which linked the confirmation of academic freedom, and the freedoms of the greater continent, to the ongoing conditions that plagued the region. Within this declaration were claims towards (Mama, 2006, p. 10):

- The state and academic freedom
- Civil society and academic freedom
- The intelligentsia and academic freedom
- Donors and academic freedom
- The social responsibility of intellectuals

The declaration conveyed the historical power struggles of the university (the state, civil society, and social responsibility) and confirmed the current challenges to the university's freedom (foreign intelligentsia and donors).

This building tension amongst the expanded list of stakeholders in African higher education would manifest in the contemporary models we understand today. The World Bank's insistence on differentiation and diversification established the market as a 'panacea' to the African condition (Langa, 2023). Challenges of the new century would compound the political and economic crises that dominated the latter part of the 1900s. This included the mass exodus of educated Africans (Ndulu, 2004), encroaching foreign partnerships/interests (Brock-Utne, 2003; Teferra, 2014; Fongwa, 2018), increased quantification through digitization (Tamrat, 2023), and concentration of the market imperative.

## LATC: The Lost Decade II - The Quest for Quality

De la misma forma que un pez, en una fábula animada, no se percataría de vivir inmerso en un ambiente diferente al resto de las especies, los seres humanos tampoco solemos caer en la cuenta de que vivimos sumergidos en el modelo capitalista del que somos parte y en el que nos hemos ido socializando y que ha ido construyendo nuestra forma de pensar y comprender la realidad que nos rodea. - Enrique Javier Díez-Gutiérrez (2015, p. 158)

(In the same way that a fish, in an animated fable, would not realize that it lives immersed in an environment different from the rest of the species, human beings do not usually realize that we live immersed in the capitalist model of which we are part and in which we have been socializing and that has been building our way of thinking and understanding the reality that surrounds us.)

The financial crisis of the 1970s had led to the contraction of financial streams abroad and sizable decreases in public spending (Brovetto, 1999; Muñoz García, 2021). The reverberation of this was felt around the region and manifested in un-/under-employment and limited negotiating power on exports (Palma, 1993). The LATC of the 1980s was marred by exorbitant levels of external debt, owed to international lenders who had retained the financial power to continue their monetary giving such as the WB. Continued political and economic instability, stoked by hegemonized power of military regimes (Gomez, 1999), fueled the need for funding to address the ongoing upheaval.

The WB, and its lending arm the IMF, greatly contributed to the weight of the region's debt through their structural adjustment programs which required the import of neoliberal practices to receive financial support (Lopez, 2005). Introduction of the neoliberal paradigm and managerial governance of the university indicated another sizable change in the purpose and expectations of higher education within LATC. A growing focus on accountability and effectiveness would introduce waves of standardization, measurement, and tighter budgets. A faux-autonomy was granted to the university as state support receded, but this governmental oversight and steering would be magnified by external demand for quantifiable data and systems

of educational comparability to demonstrate progress, and in particular, the quality of the university (Díez-Gutiérrez, 2015). The higher education systems of the region would become embroiled in a battle of autonomy versus assessment (Lamarra, 2004)

The idea of quality within educational systems was not a novel concept to Latin America. However, the quantitative and statistical measurement of quality based on Western designs would introduce an evaluative process that was indeed foreign to the systems of education across the region (Cabrera, 2005). These differed from the measurements of quality in the early 20th century in that internal determinations were substituted with external expectations, which can be attributed to the increase of both public and private organizations/partnerships within the university (Férrandez, 2004; Teske, 2008; Aupetit, 2017). The rise of the Evaluative state and accreditation processes, along with the scarcity of resources and declining financial support, fed into the culture of austerity. Cost-benefit analyses and evidence of profitability came to be the defining mantras and practices surrounding quality of education. The use of performance reports and financial statements to determine state support generated competition amongst institutions which magnified the existing stratification and inequity that existed.

The Major Education Project of Latin America and the Caribbean was the first major declaration to both introduce and question the notion of quality across educational systems (Araya, 2007). Over the next decade, two generations of reforms would come to dominate the educational sphere: the first being the financial support and management of educational institutions and the second centering the effectiveness and outputs of the university (Martinic, 2001). This discourse would come to more fully trigger the decentralization of higher education oversight to private and external entities and processes (González, 1994). To enforce these reforms, a dramatic increase of evaluative and accreditation organizations surfaced across LATC

such as the Central American Accreditation Council, the EU-backed MERCOSUR Working Group of Evaluation and Accreditation Specialists, the UNESCO-backed Latin American Laboratory for Evaluation of the Quality of Education, and the Ibero-American Network for the Accreditation of Quality in Higher Education (RIACES) (Férmendez, 2004; Lemaitre, 2004). What was soon expressed, though clearly not by the lending and advisory agents, was the irrelevance of these imported evaluative instruments due to the diversity and essentially contradictory nature of the educational environment that had materialized over the decades.

The self-proclaimed Western bastions of modernity and progress promoted their standards and indicators, much as they had in the past, as the mechanisms through which LATC higher education would flourish and propel the region's economy and populace into the modern era. However, it was clear that the evaluative tools were “una simple maquinaria represora” (simply a repressive machinery) (Murillo & Roman, 2010, p. 114) that perpetuated the imbalance in dispersal of wealth and opportunity. Reports would decry the university's inability to maximize private partnerships, to economize its curriculum, and to keep pace with the demands of the labor market. Multilateral agencies, particularly those that had financial strings attached to the neoliberal reforms being implemented, would denounce the university as an inefficient and ineffective institution that was not being held accountable in spite of its public, though limited, funding. This lack of confidence in the university, along with the enduring calls for diversification of funding/institutional structures and ongoing increase in postsecondary enrollment, drove the increased presence of private institutions (Brovetto, 1999).

The establishment of the EU-Rio in 1990, which served as a formal partnership between the two regions, included the promise of funding for infrastructure projects from the European Investment Bank (CE-IRELA, 1995). The relationship was described as “having undoubted

benefits for both parties” (demostrado ser un foro decisivo de indudables beneficios para ambas partes) while allowing for a “genuinely European means of promoting stability politics and economic development in other regions of the globe, and to promote integration initiatives outside of Europe.” (un medio genuinamente europeo de promover la estabilidad política y el desarrollo económico en otras regiones del globo, y de impulsar las iniciativas de integración fuera de Europa.) (CE-IRELA, 1995, pp. 190-191). Europe’s influence was also exerted as the primary partner of the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) whose transnational initiative was to integrate economies to form an economic bloc in South America, through both trade and investment. This represents just a few of the economic and financial cooperatives established between the two regions, among others such as the EU-Andean Pact, the 1984 San José Process, and the Lomé Convention with the Caribbean (CE-IRELA, 1995).

To expand a bit on the influence of MERCOSUR, this transnational economic cooperative, largely supported and funded by Europe, would come to be a major player in the implementation of quality management across the region, as well as further accommodation for the economy’s presence in the LATC academic sphere. The establishment of the Working Group of Evaluation and Accreditation Specialists in 1997 signified MERCOSUR as a vehicle for accreditation practices (Férrandez, 2004). Furthermore, the 1995 Educational Integration for the Pursuit of Postgraduate Studies in the Universities of Member Countries MERCOSUR, 1997 Admission of Degrees for the Exercise of Academic Activities in MERCOSUR countries, and 1998 MERCOSUR MOU for the Implementation of an Experimental Mechanism for the Accreditation of Degree Courses would place this economic body, and the influence of its European beneficiaries, at the heart of degree structuration and curriculum standardization. To pause for a moment, it is evident that the imparting of skills to productively contribute to the



economic development of a country has long been seen as a function of the university all over the world. It would be foolhardy to consider this encroachment of the economy on higher education as unforeseeable. However, the rapid, external, and deep-seated nature of this economization and standardization of the academy within the Global South merits emphasis across these narratives.

Despite the glaring emphasis on quality by financial and multilateral organizations, the discourse on social responsibility would reemerge as the region neared the new century, with organizations like the World Bank citing increased need for equity as the underlying cause for failure to successfully adopt the educational, and ultimately economic, models. Araya (2007) points out the contradictory nature between the pairing of quality and equity, particularly in the Buenos Aires and Havana declarations which stated that one could not fully exist without the presence of the other. The contradiction of note lies in the rhetorical espousal of equity and yet the practice of neoliberal practices to produce 'quality' which in turn reproduced social inequalities. The university found itself entangled in a web of conflicting demands: political and bureaucratic forces from the state, economic pressures from the Market, and their own wants derived from declining financial support (Brunner, 2009).

Liberation had become synonymous with processes of 'modernization' and much like the agendas towards creating a communal consciousness or production of human capital, the university, consciously agreeing or not, experienced neoliberal diffusion through the channels of education. The state of higher education in the new century would structurally contrast the frameworks of the 20th century. Modes of education and instruction would change with the adoption of new technologies. Funding sources would be forced to diversify as financial support continued to recede. Stakeholders of the university would continue to grow at a global level

furthering external agendas and objectives. But the challenges that had historically plagued the university would remain in the new global knowledge society.

#### Europe: The Dichotomy of Economic Competitiveness and Social Cohesion

However much the universities have come to be regarded as instrumentalities or as objectives of the planner's art, they are much more than the 'knowledge-generating engine' sandwiched between the corporatism of the industrial state and the exigencies of business. -Guy Neave (1985, p. 120)

The vision of a unified Europe emerged once more, with stronger emphasis on its reinstatement as a global player. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the Maastricht treaty marked two pivotal events that both symbolized and solidified the move towards Europeanization with the continued unification of the Eastern and Western European countries. The European Union expanded its membership and endeavored on the making of a consolidated, yet diverse, geographical assemblage whose vision was based in the reclaiming of their political and economic preeminence: an enduring tension of "Europe of the Euro vs. the Europe of Knowledge" (Zgaga, 2009, p. 175).

As it had been in the past, the university, and education more generally, were identified as a tool through which a common European identity and European consensus could be constructed. But this renewed European ideal was not purely based in cooperation and collaboration, but also a "measurement of the individual to economic standards" (Hummrich, 2018, p. 784). Transition from the European Community to the European Union and the Common Market depicted the competing agendas of social cohesion and economic demands (Kirkland, 1992; Papatsiba, 2009). The vision of a united Europe and its promotion of movement across national borders would come to feature not just a scholarly movement of ideas and discovery, but of worker mobility and an enhanced and united regional human capital. This new hierarchical structure in which educational value was no longer just for the construction of the

national citizen or the pursuance of the humanities, but rather the contributions the post-graduation career would make to the economy, radically changed academic objectives (Cerych, 1989).

The politics of austerity and divestiture of state functions, in the era of “post-Keynesian education policy consensus” (Lohmann, 2002, p. 551), rapidly reduced funding to higher education as well as contributed to its erosion from what remained of the traditional welfare state (Neave, 1990; Kwiek, 2005). Concerns surrounding the effectiveness of the university, much like in other regions of the world, sparked conversations on standardization through the push for comparability, decentralization, and revenue diversification through private funding schemes (Eicher, 1998; Cort, 2010; Elken, 2018; Brøgger, 2019). The proliferation of “community action programmes” would signal the increasing political intervention in the educational field through the establishment of ERASMUS, SOCRATES, and Leonardo da Vinci, Lingua, and Minerva schemes which encompassed exchange for education (primary, secondary, and tertiary), language learning, and professional training (Antunes, 2006, p. 40). Born of the desire for greater cohesion and cooperation across Europe, the European Action Scheme for Mobility of University Students programme (ERASMUS, now known as ERASMUS+) was packaged as a channel through which students could gain a formative experience enveloped in a new culture, and nations could be brought together through cross-border educational exchange of educated youth. The implementation of the Joint Study Programme under ERASMUS would lay the foundation for cross-border education and provide further justification for the need of a comparable, regional educational system and crediting recognition across institutions (Maiworm, 2001).

The 1991 Memorandum on Higher Education in the European Community, drafted by the

commission of the European communities, would formally tie the field of higher education to the growth of the knowledge-based economy. In essence, this document stated that the labor market desperately needed an increase of highly educated citizens to protect and ensure Europe's existence. The pressure to expand links to industry were underscored at this time, as curricula and academic requirements were modified to meet economic needs. Organizational structure and administration of the university, marked by increasingly reduced autonomy and growing managerialism, would satisfy the growing neoliberal imperative (Maassen, 1997; Hall et al., 2015; Souto-Otero, 2019). Souto-Otero describes the 'privatization of policy' as "the production of policy related texts, such as evaluation, monitoring and policy reports, by consultancies, think-tanks and other (semi) private organizations (2019, p. 35). This forfeiture to the external further signaled the creep towards corporatism and the uptake of new public management in higher education governance as multilateral organizations at various levels found entryway to the academic sphere.

Before continuing on to the documents that further entrenched and reinforced higher education's role in the market, I would like to bring attention to the growing number of contradictions that exist across the region. As hinted at by the title of this section, the vision of an economically competitive and socially united Europe produced two very distinct realities. The first depicted a unified region, in which nations with diverse histories and traditions successfully come together to address the economic needs of Europe, leading to its successful positioning in the global knowledge economy. The second included an uneven landscape of asymmetrical interests which prioritized the development of an educated European citizenry, without accounting for the nuance and importance of national context. The contradictions between the drive towards economic competitiveness and the campaign for social cohesion were stark as

varying definitions of each weakened the reality of both existing equally.

Though still an important figure, the state would lose much of its control and influence that had been central in previous decades. The emphasis on regionalization during these two decades would increase the power of transatlantic influence and abstract the decision making power, once primarily in the hands of the state, to the international level and beyond. The state's role in higher education would be redrawn as the campaign towards Europeanization expanded.

Silova and Brehm (2010, p. 457) state that:

Adding to this complexity are the voices of outside, non-European system actors who filter the multiple conceptions of education inside Europe to create (imagined) boundaries of the European education space for foreign audiences. The role of these outside actors is frequently overlooked in the discussions of how the European education space is produced, negotiated, and redefined.

The Maastricht Treaty of 1992, particularly Article 126, would formally prescribe competencies to be achieved through education with the concession that these were to merely assist states in the development of their systems. Though the assurance that states would not forfeit their oversight was clearly outlined in the document, this did not prevent the EU from establishing a Directorate-General, Commissioner, and firmly setting the European Council of Ministers of Education as a critical arm of the European Union (Antunes, 2006). This would, in fact, extend and begin to legitimize the EU's capacity for intervention in the field of education at the national level. The voluntary Maastricht competencies put forth would come to inform many of the educational development schemes by way of the Copenhagen Process, Education and Training 2010 Program, and the subsequent spread of the Open Method of Coordination scheme (Nóvoa, 2013).

The Open Method of Coordination (OMC) imparted normative standards, common cyclical processes, and peer review to effectively monitor the progress of national uptake

following Article 126. More specifically, the OMC established time tables for goal attainment, quantitative and qualitative indicators for comparing best practices, evaluation as mutual learning, and translations of practice to national contexts (Wahlström, 2010). The OMC effectively assembled the narrative for what a European standard would represent. This framework of both structural and procedural governance cemented the maintenance and reproduction of the learning objectives throughout the growing European dimension of comparable education.

It's important to pause here and dissect the meaning and repercussions of this push towards standardization for higher education across the continent. Europeanization created a new topography by curating an imagined reality despite the spatial distortions which existed across the region, from country to country (Barbousas & Seddon, 2018). This would inevitably lead to an uneven respatialization of education across Europe where varying scales of knowledge production collided. The abstraction of education to the transnational level distorts it at the national to make it fit into the visions and wants of the macro-structure. The propensity for social exclusion was inherent, as Milana states “supranational knowledge networks working with de-territorialized horizons rather than the territorialized authority that had historically anchored education in nation-states” (2008, p. 768).

In partnership with the OECD Center for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI), the US National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), the European Commission Director General, Eurostat, and UNESCO, the International Indicators and Evaluation of Educational Systems Project (INES) established international indicators and evaluative processes to promote cooperation, exchanges of information, and methodologies for assessment. The processes of comparability and standardization would extend and magnify in the coming decades with the

reveal of the first *Education at a Glance* in 1991, which served as an early take on “regulation by information” (Elken, 2018, p. 337). The matrix of global indicators put forth by the OECD (Appendix F) expanded to intricately dissect the progression of each member state, detailing who stood where within their contrived state of global equivalency. The OECD’s Director for Education in 2005 stated “Governments are paying increasing attention to international comparisons as they search for effective policies that enhance individuals’ social and economic prospects, provide incentives for greater efficiency in schooling and help to mobilise resources to meet rising demands.” (OECD, 2005, p. 3)

This paradigm of international comparability was further echoed in the 2006 *Education at a Glance*:

The beginning lies in accepting international benchmarking in educational performance as a basis for improvement, rather than seeking reasons why education systems should not or cannot be compared. It is only through such benchmarking that countries can understand relative strengths and weaknesses of their education system and identify best practices and ways forward. The world is indifferent to tradition and past reputations, unforgiving of frailty and ignorant of custom or practice. Success will go to those individuals and countries which are swift to adapt, slow to complain and open to change. The task of governments will be to ensure that countries rise to this challenge. (p. 18)

As a side note, the OECD had also launched its now defunct World Education indicators program with UNESCO at this time to collect statistical data on education to produce a common databank. A pilot scheme for what would eventually become the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System would further contribute to the belief in comparability. Objectives of the ECTS would be realized through its creation of common educational modules with specific learning objectives tied to the Quality Framework of the Bologna Process (Brøgger, 2019).

A series of declarations issued in the late 20th century would reshape the future imperative of the European higher education sphere, to include the Sorbonne, Lisbon, and Bologna Declarations. The Magna Charta Universitatum 1988 would place the first official call

for a European higher education area, but it would be formalized and articulated by the Sorbonne Declaration of 1998 built on the pillars of comparable degrees and a differentiated undergraduate and graduate educational structure (Ravinet, 2008). Further, Sorbonne argued that Europe was not just of the Euro or its economic and financial institutions, but that it must also be a Europe of knowledge (Zgaga, 2009).

Sorbonne would lay the groundwork for the birth of Europe's most enduring educational consolidation project a year later, the Bologna Declaration, which established that European education systems must reform, harmonize, and encourage mobility of people across Europe through internationalization programs by 2010 (Kovacevic & Dagen, 2022). The declaration went on to state that higher education institutions were not responsive enough to the needs of the economy. A position that had not previously existed was created to provide an electorate general of education and training the same year. From these two proclamations, the Lisbon Strategy was born in 2000 marking a pivotal shift in the dynamics within and surrounding European Higher education. It is worth emphasizing that the Bologna Process was not legally binding, but rather a declaration of intent to reform to meet the prescribed objectives: transparency, comparability, and portability (Young, 2007).

One of the most cited statements from the Lisbon Strategy is the European goal "to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world with greater social cohesion" (Lisbon European Council, 2000). These words, now notorious for their inherent contradictions based on the incongruity of interests, signaled the growth of steering mechanisms and coordinating schemes towards standardization. Over the coming decade, this would allow the EU to shape education into a policy space which Lawn (2011, p. 260) describes as "enmeshing and holds actors within a web of network obligations and relations." The



following decades would realize the EU's comparative construction through the proliferation of regional frameworks, action programs, working groups, and supranational interference.

### Global Knowledge Society (2000s and Beyond)

#### Global: The University and the Knowledge Society

My third basic principle is that new need not be bad. One of the benefits of globalisation is that it promotes competition, and competition creates diversity. The idea that globalisation means homogenisation flies in the face of all the evidence. Globalisation is certainly creating diversity in higher education. However, higher education is a conservative enterprise. What is new is regarded with suspicion. It has to prove itself, which is absolutely right. But we must guard against the mindless rejection of new approaches even when they have proved themselves. - UNESCO (2002, p. 40)

The first few decades of the 21st century have been marked by a rise in domestic and international terrorism, an international recession, several humanitarian crises, the re-emergence of nationalist ideologies, and a global pandemic that quieted the world. The rapid interconnection and exchange of capital, but particularly of knowledge, has produced a networked global knowledge society that centers research, development, and innovation. With the start of the new millennium, world leaders of the United Nations endeavored to create a new global development framework, jointly agreeing on The United Nations Millennium Declaration of 2000. With its primary goal of promoting developmental progress around the world, the declaration established eight agendas to address disparities in poverty, gender equity, child mortality, maternal health, global disease, sustainability, global partnerships, and education (UNESCO, 2004). The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), each with their own respective objectives/strategies, were given a target date of 2015 as well as a set of mechanisms for measurement to track progress. As the deadline approached, it became evident that success was uneven across the world.

Global leaders again convened upon a renewed push towards international development,

opening a ring of consultation which included experts from both the public and private sector. What resulted was a set of 17 aims called the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015 with a new target date of 2030. The SDGs built from the foundation laid by the MDGs with an enhanced focus on sustainable social, political, economic, and environmental development. Of note is that the SDGs moved beyond the focus on primary education and established lifelong learning as a global need. The inclusion of lifelong learning doesn't necessarily equate to a central goal of equitable higher education. The SDGs of 2015 established the quantification of progress, in which the OECD aligned their matrix of global indicators to assess the 'success' of their member states in achieving the outlined goals of the SDGs (Appendix F), and accountability within education. This dialogue on responsibility and ownership would call into question who should shoulder the work, as well as face blame, as regions try to meet the SDGs (Appendix G). Though the focus for certain regions had centered on primary education for most of the 20th century, the university would be categorized as an instrument for development and, once again, domination through the immersion of the global knowledge economy.

UNESCO's First Global Forum on International Quality Assurance, Accreditation and the Recognition of Qualifications in Higher Education in 2002 brought together educational leaders from around the world to impart their thoughts on the need for greater comparability and accountability throughout all higher education systems. Demand for cooperation and knowledge sharing across borders marked many of the agendas of supranational organizations who called for the multiplication of stakeholders to ensure the success of higher education systems around the world. The Academic Rankings of World Universities (Shanghai) and Times Higher Education World University Ranking would inspire a new generation of competition. And higher education would be classed as a 'tradable service' through the WTO Doha Development Agenda.

## Africa: A Whole New (Quantifiable) World

To maintain the force of love and charisma and, at the same time, to allow it a formative role in an ethical relation enabling the work of cognition, certain techniques (analytic techniques and regulations of exchanges) come into play. The transference involves a criss-crossing between two different forms of exchange, those of bond and those of contract. In as much as it re-edits the Oedipal situation and elicits transference love, the transference activates bond relations, that is, primary relations that are characterised by hierarchy and dependence. - Ulrike Kistner (2007, p. 88)

The shift from the original role of the post-colonial university being nation-building to the new drive towards competitiveness was engineered through the installation of the neoliberal paradigm in Africa. The World Bank, who during the 1980s had questioned the necessity of the university in Africa, gained control of its steering and drove much of the higher education system right into the hands of the for profit sector. In the World Bank and UNESCO's oft cited publication, *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise*, the organizations express their thoughts on the state of higher education, despite their earlier suppression of it in the prior decades, stating:

For many of the countries in the developing world, political leaders at the start of independence exhibited little understanding and sometimes little sympathy for the needs of university education. However, at independence and still today, most problems faced by developing countries were believed to require some degree of government guidance and supervision. Higher education was no exception, leading to policymakers, with little sympathy to its needs, managing it in the same way they managed roads, the army, or customs. The failure to recognize the importance of taking the long-term view undermined the higher education sector's performance and inhibited the development of governance traditions. The proliferation of new institutions in most developing countries has now diluted whatever useful traditions existed and also created shortages of qualified personnel. (2000, p. 63)

The report also outlined the ideal university throughout the paper, but specifically stated the 'desirable features' of a higher education system, to include: "Stratified structure; Adequate and stable long-term funding; Competition; Flexibility; Immunity from Political Manipulation; Well-defined links to other sectors; Supportive legal and regulatory structures; System-wide

resources” (2000, pp. 50-52). This would open the university to a landscape of partnerships, which admittedly had been occurring since independence, but were now freer to entangle themselves within the vulnerabilities of the region and abstract those to the global market. The WB would refer to itself as a knowledge bank that held the expertise to effectively guide higher education systems towards successful integration into the knowledge economy. However, scholars have interrogated the validity of this citing their incongruent approaches to regional, and especially educational, development throughout the previous decades (Halvorsen & Skauge, 2004; Hoebink & van der Zanden, 2004).

Partnerships for higher education in Africa from 2000-2010 were pervasive, but a particular class of funders that had established themselves in the wake of World War II, were the American ‘titans of industry’: the Carnegie Corporation, Ford, Hewlett, Kresge, MacArthur, Mellon, and Rockefeller foundations who would become a consortium of donors called the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa (Brock-Utne, 2003; Teferra, 2014; Fongwa, 2018). Private foundations from the Global North constituted the largest grant-giving donors to Africa, with the aforementioned US foundations contributing over four billion dollars to the training, research, and expansion of African higher education (Masaiti & Mboyonga, 2022). These foundations held a great deal of influence in the development of African higher education through the vast number of grants provided to the region. The consortium dissolved in 2010, however partners like the Carnegie Corporation have continued their involvement in policy dialogues and financial donations to higher education systems (Teferra, 2014).

Further international partnerships and cooperative agreements in the 21st century included:

- World Bank (1980)

- Africa-US Higher Education Initiative - US Omnibus Appropriations Bill (2007)
- Canada-Africa Higher Education Partnership: Strengthening Higher Education Stakeholder Relations in Africa (SHESRA) (2009)
- Southern Africa-Nordic Partnerships (SANORD) (2006)
- European Commission-African Union Commission Partnership in Higher Education (2000)
- Scandinavian Partnerships (NORPART) (2017)
- Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst funding programs (DAAD) (2013)
- Austrian Partnership Programme in Higher Education and Research for Development (APPEAR)
- Belgian University Commission for Cooperation with Developing Countries (CUD) (2003)
- Irish African Partnership for Research Capacity Building (IAP) (2007)
- Netherlands Organization for International Cooperation in Higher Education (NUFFIC)
- Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD V) (1993)
- Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) (2000)
- India-Africa Framework for Cooperation (2008)
- Africa-Brazil Higher Education Program (2013)
- Europe-Africa Quality Connect Pilot Project (2010)
- Carnegie Corporation of New York - African Diaspora Fellowship Program (CCNY-ADFP) (2013)

It should be stressed again that power differentials are inherent in North-South cooperations as policy instruments and external recommendations are inherently value-laden. Within each of these funding-support schemes are evaluative processes, training programs, campaigns for visibility, and integration efforts. These are not altruistic extensions of funding and expertise, void of private interests, but rather channels through which primarily Western

ideologies and methodologies have traveled. Though it should certainly be noted that South-South cooperation, or in terms of Wallerstein's model, periphery-semi-periphery cooperation has emerged to establish new networks outside of the Euro-sphere.

The physical, organizational, and curricular changes made to the donation receiving university served as yet another reiteration of external agenda-setting. Many of these entities commissioned research, comparative studies, pilot programs, and other projects that were either conducted outside of the region or by African professionals employed by/deeply entangled in the frameworks of these organizations. The emerging research on Africa by scholars "has mostly catered to the foreign gaze" (Afolabi, 2020, p. 101) "hence the many top-down studies and paucity of bottom up research" (Weber, 2005, p. 1000). In 2007, the African Union (AU) Commission implemented a series of initiatives. Among them were the African Higher Education Harmonization Strategy (which echoed many of the calls for comparability and compatibility of the Lisbon Strategy, 1998 World Conference on Higher Education, and the Bologna Process in Europe) (Obasi & Olutayo, 2009), the African Tuning process (a further standardization tool of the European scheme, which was funded by the EU), and the African quality assurance mechanism (Shabani et al., 2014). The African Quality Assurance Network (AfriQAN) was put forth by the AAU in 2007 to meet such objectives through training based on capacity-building. These trainings were modeled under the auspices of the World Bank and UNESCO through the Global initiative for Quality Assurance Capacity (Shabani et al., 2014). A final product of the AU which deserves acknowledgement, and ongoing attention as the implementation of strategies are currently underway, is Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want. This plan outlines the strategies towards achieving economic, political, and social mobilization through pan-Africanism and sustainable investments. Among the visions are integrated transport

networking, an African free trade area, an African passport, a pan-African e-network, an African virtual university, and a reinvigorated African renaissance. Within their first aspiration, “A Prosperous Africa based on Inclusive Growth and Sustainable Development”, goal two states “Well Educated Citizens and Skills underpinned by Science, Technology, and Innovation” (African Union - Goals and Priority Areas of Agenda, 2063, n.d.).

In partnership with the Association for the Development of Education (ADEA) in Africa, the AAU has released the Higher Education Management Information Systems Norms and Standards Benchmarking Framework for African Region. Responding to the ongoing call for quality enhancement and monitoring, this template drew inspiration from a bevy of external organizations to include the THE/SIR/QS Ranking reports, the Association of Commonwealth Universities, the British Council, and UNESCO (ADEA & AAU, 2016). The framework is an amalgam of requirements for requesting institutional assessment by AAU and ADEA. To meet the objectives of the Agenda 2063, the university faces continued assessment and control due to the enduring pressure of providing ‘approved’ innovation and development to the region.

Zeleza’s ‘6 C’s’ (2003, p. 164) help to synthesize the condition of higher education at the start of the 21st century:

- Corporatization of management
- Collectivization of access
- Commercialization of learning
- Commodification of knowledge
- Computerization of education
- Connectivity of institutions

This outline encompasses the scarcity-induced rise of market ideology across the

continent which was subsumed and fed by the continued rise of the neoliberal paradigm. The extrapolation of higher education from the commons, or rather the original notion that higher education was a public good and was to serve in the rebuilding of African society, was reduced to entrenchment into Western ideals.

#### LATC: The Empire Strikes Back

Reducir por tanto la educación al terreno del capital, la eficacia, la competitividad o el éxito académico, es aherrojarla de piel y huesos, convertir sus órganos vitales en elementos disfuncionales que apenas permiten vehicular su corporeidad y la desvirtúan, la vuelven irreconocible y, en última instancia, provocan que asuma esa máscara impuesta, diluyendo su identidad, haciéndola naufragar. - Eduardo S. Vila Merino (2009, p. 2)

(Therefore, reducing education to the realm of capital, efficiency, competitiveness or academic success is to shackle it with skin and bones, to convert its vital organs into dysfunctional elements that barely allow its corporeality to be conveyed and distort it, making it unrecognizable and, ultimately, to cause her to assume that imposed mask, diluting her identity, making her shipwrecked.)

The Ibero-American Space of Knowledge, established in 2005 at the OEI Ibero-American Summit of Heads of State and Government in Salamanca, placed a premium on academic mobility, quality management, and strengthened research and development (García et al., 2011). This partnership would foster yet another link of former colonial powers, that of Spain and Portugal, to the educational processes of Latin America and the Caribbean. Academic mobility, quality management, and strengthened research and development would be prioritized in their efforts. The Mar del Plata Summit of 2010 would produce three of the main programs (García et al., 2011; Cuevas & Perez, 2011):

- Ibero-American Innovation Program

Increase Ibero-American competitiveness, particularly of small and medium-sized companies and, within the societies of the region, contribute to a more balanced model of social and economic appropriation of knowledge, taking into account the different degrees of development of the countries involved. (Cuevas & Perez, 2011p. 33)



- Science and Technology for Development program  
Contribute to the harmonious and sustainable development of the Ibero-American region through collaboration and cooperation between national science and technology organizations, innovation promotion organizations, university research groups and centers, and research-development centers (r&d)and companies. (Cuevas & Perez, 2011p. 33)
- Pablo Neruda Program  
Contribute to the construction of a shared space of knowledge that favors regional integration through cooperation between higher education institutions, to strengthen training capacities at the postgraduate level through the academic exchange of students, professors and researchers. Supports the strengthening of national and regional systems of accreditation and quality assessment of higher education. (Cuevas & Perez, 2011p. 33)

Heavily influenced by the convergence and standardization processes of the European higher education area, as well as formally by the European Commission, the América Latina Formación Académica (ALFA) Tuning Project was initiated in 2002 to strengthen the university's capacity to generate graduates with comprehensive knowledge sets to serve the labor market (Vivas, 2009; Puiggros, 2010) . These efforts would also serve to construct the Common Higher Education Space of the European Union, Latin America and the Caribbean (EULAC). The growing entanglement of external and international stakeholders/expertise continued to change the educational landscape with increased input on how the LATC university should operate. A series of declarations were released by UDUAL (among them Montevideo 2006, São José dos Campos 2007, Cuiabá 2013, Quito 2014, Campinas 2015, Bogotá 2022,) renewing their commitment to the autonomy of the institution as international providers continued to populate the LATC field. This growing presence of transnational providers across Latin America and the Caribbean represents what Aupetit (2017, p. 81) refers to as “una dinámica de comercialización neocapitalista global” (a dynamic of global neo-capitalist commercialization).

In a recent declaration, UDUAL (2020, p. 1) reflected on the educational movements of

the early 20th century, put forth that:

Sin duda, las normas internas de las universidades deben adecuarse a las nuevas necesidades, así como a los nuevos desarrollos en las diversas áreas del conocimiento humano. Pero, lo que no puede hacerse es pretender cambios a su legislación sin la participación de estudiantes, profesores, personal administrativo y de las autoridades electas para gobernar. Cualquier modificación requiere necesariamente que sus comunidades organicen procesos de deliberación colectiva, a través de los cuales sea posible consensuar los cambios que se considere necesario.

(Without a doubt, the internal regulations of universities must adapt to new needs, as well as new developments in the various areas of human knowledge. But, what cannot be done is to seek changes to its legislation without the participation of students, teachers, administrative staff and the authorities elected to govern. Any modification necessarily requires that its communities organize collective deliberation processes, through which it is possible to reach a consensus on the changes that are considered necessary.)

The many faces of the Latin American and Caribbean university were characterized by the cycles of socio-political-economic upheaval that tore apart the region. In the Bogotá Declaration, the UDUDAL-C (2022, p. 2) outlined three of the crises they feel impacts the university most: “crisis del concepto de democracia, desigualdad, crisis identitaria de la universidad.” (crisis of the concept of democracy, inequality, identity crisis of the university).

Dispossessed of their rich histories of knowing from the Mayan, Aztec, and Incan empires. Subjugated by colonial rule and then thrust into the role of savior as the region was consumed by political and economic turmoil. For centuries, the Latin American and Caribbean university was deprived of the chance to actualize its own identity through discoveries. To contrive a space for LATC scholars and students to carve their space in the global knowledge economy sans prescriptive agendas based in ‘best practices’ of the West. Divested of its own authority to organically grow, the university was shuffled from stakeholder to stakeholder. Faulted when it was unable to meet the foreign demands placed on it. My account does not aim to reduce the LATC university, or to diminish the great strides and profound achievements of LATC scholars. Rather, the centuries of time lost as the Western world continued to turn should

reveal this stolen spatial-temporal dimension. This will be understood as identity and elaborated on below.

Europe: “The Most Competitive Knowledge Economy in the World”

The hierarchy is then shifted to the economic sphere of nations or regions thereby constituting a de-contextualised symbolic value which can be charged with new meaning and thus create a material reality which is no longer related to its original. - Barbara M. Kehm (2014, p. 111)

The ERASMUS programme of the 1980s would encounter change during the 21st century, not just in its renaming to ERASMUS+, but its expansion to the circumscription of the EU’s educational mobility program agenda with a sizable increase in financial support. As one of the pillars for constructing a group identity/European identity, despite the mechanisms that produced students who were most likely to identify themselves as a transnational/European citizen. ERASMUS+ remains a regional endeavor aimed at thickening the relationships between nations and individuals. This would serve as but one example of the incongruity between the foci of labor market and social cohesion. Through the funding of Erasmus+, the European University Initiative was established to continue the structural integration of European institutions, from the West to the East, under the mission and economic goals of the Bologna Process (Kovacevic & Dagen, 2022). The increased competition for resources was cited as a sign of success indicating that higher education institutions were performing at maximum capacity to deliver the most innovative contributions to the knowledge economy.

The European university had been primed for consolidation for much of the late 20th century, and so the inception of the Lisbon Agenda would come to embody European Higher Education and its trajectory through to the present. Within the Memorandum on Higher Education 2001, the European Commission makes greater claims towards the role they play in the adaptation to a changing economy and labor market. The call for a stronger European

dimension in higher education is notable as it expands on the necessity of academic and professional mobility, further contributing to the idea of a singular European university and European market. It should be noted, before delving deeper into the structure of this monumental endeavor, that components of the discourse put forth by the Lisbon Agenda do promote diversity, equity, and inclusion. The European processes of regionalization required an acknowledgement of the enduring dissimilarity of nations across the continent. The discourse surrounding this regional scheme did not explicitly state that nations, and their respective higher education institutions, had to forgo their identities and the contexts that had shaped them. But the incompatibility of individuality and conformity can be understood through the evolution of policy documents surrounding standardization.

These objectives would result in the creation of the European Qualification Framework, a neutral evidence-based tool for translating national systems and measuring the mission of ‘transparency, comparability, and portability’. However, much debate would surround the neutrality of the EQF and the impact it had on the autonomy of the university. Cort (2010) refers to the EQF and its introduction of common indicators as a value-laden management instrument that utilized the discourse of both social cohesion and global competitiveness in order to mobilize support from stakeholders. The framing of international indicators as derivatives of expert knowledge further emboldened its message for authority on the management and implementation of educational models and standards (Méhaut & Winch, 2012).

Following the institution of the Bologna Process as a regionally held directive, the Prague Ministerial Conference of 2001, to be the first of many, was held to determine the progress that had been made towards the set goals. The result of Prague 2001 was the maintenance of higher education as a public good, therefore making it a public responsibility (Wächter, 2004). The

mostly biennial meetings of the ministerial conference would maintain much of the original demands of the Lisbon Agenda with certain pressures coming to the fore while others were of lesser concern. The 2003 Berlin ministerial conference boasted institutional autonomy and accountability, quality enhancement as an institutional responsibility, and national quality frameworks (Wächter, 2004; Gvaramadze, 2008). The 2005 Bergen ministerial conference touted the enhancement of quality of university educational activities through internal mechanisms that matched the frameworks recommended by the EHEA (Gvaramadze, 2008).

The early 2000s would also bring the rise of European academic journals, associations, institutional consortia, student organizations, and thematic organizations (Beerens, 2008; Nokkala & Bacevic, 2014). The emphasis placed on the growth and nurturing of the European education system for its economic worth placed a premium on its understanding, as well as expertise that could aid in its evaluation. The access to studying, reporting, and decision making on the university multiplied with the growth of the European regulative network and its partners (Gornitzka, 2010). Among the inner circle of policy influencers would stand the E4 (to include the European University Association, European Association of Institutions in Higher Education, European Network for Quality Assurance in Higher Education, European Students' Union) who serve as an informal, but highly influential, consultant of the Bologna Process (BP). The EUA in particular has a remarkably close relationship with the European Commission and is identified as one of the driving forces behind the follow-up mechanisms of the BP. The Bologna Follow Up Group, and its associated working groups to include the EUA, serve as the interstitial conservators between ministerial meetings who oversee the implementation and progress of the goals outlined in the prior communiqué (Lazetic, 2010, p. 551).

The EUA's involvement is extensive and spans regional university initiatives, projects,

and working groups such as:

- Shaping Inclusive and Responsive University Strategies (SIRUS)
- Tracking Learners' and Graduates' Progression Paths (TRACKIT)
- Mapping University Mobility of Staff and Students (MAUNIMO)
- Examining Quality Culture (EQC) in higher education institutions
- Mapping the application and implementation of the European Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area (MAP-ESG)
- EUA Rankings project
- Autonomy Scorecard (A-Card)
- EUA Funding Forum

Their authority extends beyond the region, with their involvement in global European partnerships:

- Access to Success: Fostering Trust and Exchange between Europe and Africa (2008-2010)
- Europe-Africa Quality Connect: Building Institutional Capacity through Partnership (Europe- Africa QA Connect)(2010-2012)
- Cooperation on Doctoral Education between Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Europe (CODOC) (2010-2012)
- Building Capacity of University Associations in fostering Latin-American regional integration (ALFA PUENTES) (2010-2013)

The EUA's partnership with non-university research consortia, according to the organization, gives legitimacy to their consultative authority. This jurisdiction has allowed them to not only conduct site visits at European institutions to determine their progress, but also to convene on other regional agencies in an advisory capacity.

In 2011 the European Semester process was enacted by the European Commission, European Council, and Council of the EU, which established an annual set of objectives for

educational institutions. In essence, countries are expected to provide data on their progress towards meeting those objectives to the European Commission which would then compile the results as a *Country Report* (Alexiadou & Rambla, 2023). The Commission then provides *Country Specific Recommendations* and elicits *National Reform Programs* from the countries based on the recommendations they were given. These programs are then reviewed by each of the transnational bodies to establish terms and recommendations for the educational body of the state. This has greatly contributed to the prevalence of the distanced regulative body (Amiel et al., 2022; Zembylas, 2023).

The Yerevan Communiqué of 2015 begins the discursive use of global modeling, officially signifying and endorsing the EHEA's template for international educational cooperation. It is of great importance to underline the geo-political significance of institutional/world ranking and the sizable impact it has had on positioning within the global knowledge economy (Erkkilä, 2014; Kehm, 2014). The transparency, and thus global visibility of the European university has radically evolved with the implementation of the Bologna follow up mechanism of stocktaking working group score cards (Ravinet, 2008; Brøgger, 2019). This exposure plays a profound role in the institutional willingness to uptake prescribed models.

The stark divide between the European social imaginary and the European reality magnifies the juxtaposition of regional understandings and their use of diversity and social cohesion, and the realities of the marginalized populations that exist across the continent. This conflicts with the depiction constructed by regional agencies that center the European identity, European value set, and European goals. The uneven implementation and success of the Bologna Process is indicative of the blanket policy goals that enforced uniformity across the region's educational systems. Zembylas and Bakerman (2013, p. 46) made a powerful statement

regarding the mention of social cohesion, stating:

Social cohesion places emphasis on the integration of the individual and the group as the basis of overcoming social, ethnic, or political conflict. This understanding of integration, however, often implies that ‘other’ (e.g. minority) groups must adjust to the majority’s social and cultural norms so that the society becomes cohesive.

There is a heavy reliance on the ideoscape and mediascape, with frequent use of politically devised keywords that inspire the narrative of solidarity and cooperation across the European region towards state-crafted democratic duties and societal responsibilities. However, the voices of those who are intended to be represented have not been institutionalized at the regional level of reporting, despite verbiage that would indicate progression in the EHEA. The external dimension and the internal social dimension represent competing logics. This is not to say that various dimensions of influence cannot coexist, tending to the demands and needs of their respective constituencies. But linguistically, social cohesion hinges on the levels of academic attractiveness and competition worldwide. The European self-appointed duty to deconstruct barriers and widen access is indeed teeming with calls to regionally shared values, commonly held beliefs, and the “creation of a common higher education language” (Lažetic, 2010, p. 533). But the dichotomy of the European ideal of harmonization and the regional reality in its desire to restore global positioning, and ultimately global hegemony, has proven to be a challenge.

A controversial point is put forth by Lawn (2011) who states that “what is happening now in the European education space is a sophisticated version of structural adjustment through the embedding of new standards and statistical categories of performance” (p. 267). Though this dips into the narratives of the other regions included in this study, it calls into question, as do the research questions of this study, the power of the supranational and regional organizations whose influence has dictated the trajectory of the university. It is not my place to determine the validity



of Lawn's claim, however, the concept I identified across the narratives which aids in understanding the influence of regional and supranational organizations in Europe, is that of affect.

### Mechanisms

While this historical telling does not wholly reflect the exhaustive history of these regions, nor does it address the valuable nuances found at the state and especially institutional levels, it encapsulates the macro-level events and subsequent educational trends that took place. Throughout the narratives, the following policy areas were monitored as their transformations revealed the mechanisms of Western frameworks: curriculum-academic freedom, governance, finance, language, research, and regionalization. Each of these areas could constitute its own study, especially as the metamorphosis of each plays a sizable role in the construction of each generation of regional university. The remaining passages will integrate the content of the historical narrative inquiry and the themes produced from the discourse analysis to reveal the mechanisms I have identified. As a reminder, the questions guiding this research study are as follows:

- How is Western hegemony dialogically reinforced in global higher education at the regional and supranational level?
- How have historical determinants impacted the regional and supranational translation and manifestation of Western educational models?

The historical narratives I have constructed above outline just a few of the major events that took place across these regions and at the global level since the start of the 21st century. In each section, it is evident that various stakeholders gained access to the university, imparting and installing a spectrum of frameworks through which one primary force traveled: Westernization. The use of diverse sub-mechanisms allowed for the translation and manifestation of Western

educational models across time and space to produce an uneven landscape of global inclusion in the knowledge economy. The mechanisms identified below are not exclusive to any one region, nor should they be understood as reductionist or the sole vehicle through which westernization was passed. However, these concepts account for many of the channels that mediated the various iterations of the Western ideal around the world. In the interest of time and space, the following discussions will outline the sub-mechanisms within each theme and will focus on the primary organizations whose influence provided for the translation and manifestation of westernization.

Africa: Capacity - The World Bank, UNESCO, and the Association of African Universities

Capacity, a term that is echoed throughout the strategic plans of the Association of African Universities (AAU), has a breadth of conceptual applications in this region. Capacity can indicate the ability or propensity to achieve. It can describe the resources held by an entity. It can encompass the mental fortitude one possesses. It can indicate a maximum that something can contain. And it can represent the amount one can generate. The capacity of the African university, in each of these forms, has been interrogated by the World Bank:

The appropriate strategy for most developing countries, as Chapter 2 argued, is to acquire foreign technology as cheaply and use it as effectively as they can, adapting it to local conditions. New knowledge in the form of scientific discoveries and inventions requires abundant financial resources, sophisticated human capabilities, and the business acumen to stay ahead of competitors—factors generally beyond the reach of developing countries. (World Bank, 1998, p. 42)

Higher education institutions clearly need well-designed academic programs and a clear mission. Most important to their success, however, are high-quality faculty, committed and well-prepared students, and sufficient resources. Despite notable exceptions, most higher education institutions in developing countries suffer severe deficiencies in each of these areas. (World Bank, 2000b, P. 23)

Questioned by UNESCO:

The most viable institutions of higher education, in-both financial and operational terms are those which have succeeded in incorporating mechanisms and information systems that enable them to remove mediocrity and guarantee quality of teaching, research and

service. These are also the institutions which stand a better chance in competition to obtain resources from the public and private sectors. (UNESCO, 1995, p. 26)

Beset as they are with serious socio-economic and political problems, many developing countries will not find it easy to divert significant resources towards assisting higher education in those countries which are facing particular difficulties in developing their education systems and their scientific and technological capabilities in higher education. It is therefore up to the international academic community and international organizations to assist higher education in those countries which are facing particular difficulties in developing their education systems and their scientific and technological capabilities. (UNESCO, 1995, p. 34)

And defended by the AAU:

AAU is one of the few African institutions in the 1980s and 1990s which consistently stood for and promoted higher education until the policies endorsed by the World Bank and some African governments, which downplayed the role of higher education in favor of basic education, was reversed. (AAU, 2016, p. 12)

The World Bank and UNESCO have included the discussion of Africa in many of their reports, with much of their expertise claiming that Africa must rely on external assistance to fortify the capacity to independently exist in today's world.

To be clear, I do not wish to categorize the following sub-mechanisms as African academic dependence, or regional dependence, for this theorization further disparages and marginalizes the profound wealth of understandings, values, experiences, and ways of knowing that populate the continent. Perceiving African efforts as trying to 'catch up' to the ideas, theories, concepts, and technologies of the world, or the reliance upon foreign investment/aid as a nod to economic dependency (Ajani, 2020), is to miss the common thread amongst each of these elements: Western constructs and interests. Africa's dispossession of academic autonomy and maturation of independent, pan-African realities should be recognized through the previous narratives. The use of capacity in this sense represents the hindrance and control placed on the African university's ability and potential to generate, produce, and achieve.

The colonial installation of Western epistemological and linguistic dimensions (Zezeza,

2023), the encroachment of African research networks led by foreign (though often actually conducted in the late 20th century by native) experts, and the quantification of ‘quality’ through tools and lenses devised in the West confirmed and legitimated external agendas, allowing for the compounding interests of varied stakeholders (Mama, 2006). The erosion of African institutional autonomy progressed from the coloniality of knowledge to the political persecution of authoritarian regimes. From the structural adjustment of the late 20th century, which refused to recognize the importance and potential of the African university, to the competing interests of neoliberal financiers who continue to exploit the capital (both physical and mental) mines of the region (Ogachi, 2011).

The mission of the African university was transfigured through the decades as the world debated on which brand of developmentalism would ‘fix’ the continent, and further, how the world could prolong its grip over Africa’s future. Africa’s capacity to reconstruct an education “that is **of** Africa and **for** Africa” (Brocke-Utne, 2003, p. 26) has been appropriated, coerced, and contradicted. This suspension has left Africa in a state of stasis, not towards Western notions of progress, but towards actualization of an African paradigm. The capacity to decolonize while existing in the neoliberal framework continues to be co-opted by African research centers established outside of Africa and led by non-Africans (Afolabi, 2020), the regional policy research networks that set the agenda for knowledge producers (Ndulu, 2004), the tokenization of African scholars (Khelifaoui & Oanda, 2012), the journal/publishing firms that primarily acknowledge and thusly impose Western epistemes and frameworks, and policy recommendations that provide short-term alleviation for larger problems, to name but a few.

The massification of primary and secondary education created capacity shortfalls after the World Bank acknowledged the relevance of tertiary education in the African context. This

would result in unsustainable enrollment growth which overwhelmed the physical capacity of the university (Ogachi, 2011). The still growing mix of stakeholders (i.e. international financial institutions, african governments, academic associations, and scholarly organizations) all limited the university's capacity for change based in the African reality due to the application of their own private interests into strategic planning (Mama, 2006). The erosion of institutional capacity through weakened autonomy brought on by political persecution and state control until the 1980s and the financial restrictions and infrastructural deconstruction of the World Bank into the 21st century. The refitting of the Bologna Process shell via the Arusha Convention on African regionalization limits capacity through Eurocentric harmonization and compliance strategies that were born of a context that did not include the arbitrary division of cultural and tribal ties. Further, the Bologna Process inspired strategies centered on accreditation, recognition of qualifications, and quality assurance. The original Arusha strategies underscored

Greater brotherhood and increased solidarity in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national diversity. Noting that the fulfilment of these aspirations, long thwarted by colonial domination and the consequent division of the African continent, calls for intensive co-operation among the African states, which alone is capable of safeguarding their hard-won independence and sovereignty, of preserving and strengthening the cultural identity and diversity of their people, or respecting the specific character of their educational systems. (UNESCO, 1981, p. 2)

It has been proposed that organizations like the WB depend on the perpetual state of crisis in Africa (Rimmer, 1993). This maintenance of an incapacitated Africa would give credence to Wallerstein's world system theory in which the upholding of hegemony requires political and economic subjugation. The system is sustained by the confinement of the periphery and the removal of useful tools (or the installation of inappropriate/foreign tools) to preserve the status quo and halt progress that would reconfigure the hierarchy and global paths of exchange.

The African university has endured profound change across time and necessitates regaining the rights to restore and foster their own academic capacities.

LATC: Identity - The World Bank, OECD, UNESCO, and UDUAL

The term identity of course includes the racial and class identities of the individual and the processes of colonial denigration and modification that warped them. The nationalities of the many countries that comprise Latin America and the Caribbean who were enveloped in political violence through much of their existence. The ties between the inter-American sphere of North America, Central America, and South America. The connection of the Latin American Peninsula, to include the Andean populace. The enduring colonial history of the Ibero-American Sphere/Ibero-Peninsula between Latin America and the Caribbean and their Western European colonizers. But through a more conceptual lens, identity across the history of Latin America can be understood as the recurring construction and reconstruction of a social imaginary which the region was to understand as reality. Boom (2009, p. 166) describes “lo educativo en América Latina se mueve en el interludio de la sociedad disciplinar que la hizo emerger y las nuevas formas de lo social que aún subsisten con sus huellas y heridas del pasado.” (education in Latin America moves in the interlude of the disciplinary society that made it emerge and the new forms of the social that still persist with their traces and wounds from the past.)

The struggle to disassociate from the external influences of developmentalism that forced imitation of educational development in other regions of the world has left the LATC university to reconcile both the realities and imaginaries of the past, present, and future through foreign lenses. Across this historical narrative, it is possible to trace the deconstruction of Latin American identity across decades. The many faces of the university have contributed to the reconstitution of LATC reconstruction through the dismantling of indigenous languages by

imperial forces, the perpetuating of the colonial regime's economy by the oligarchs, the delaying of independence by militaristic uprising, the financial entrapment of the World Bank, the standard setting of the OECD and UNESCO, and the neoliberal chokehold of the global knowledge economy.

The contemporary channels through which Westernization flowed through the university were governmental influence, supranational organizations, and the market economy through interest-based networks that imparted their wants and needs through the identity of the university (Sebastian, 2013). At times the university was presented with spaces of false freedom such as the exchange for civic engagement post-independence, for human capital production in the mid-20th century, and quantifiable data and comparability in the 1980s and 90s. But the imposed performativity and legitimacy-seeking via evaluation and assessment should be understood as autonomy-limiting processes.

The LATC university had been conditioned to exude a utopian ideal in the form of a united mass whose distinct cultures and background would mobilize for the betterment of the region (Guzmán, 2005). The promise of an LATC actualization through the prescribed strategies of whichever entity was in power produced distrust of the university's capability. Across the LATC narratives, the university was positioned as a tool to resolve the challenges faced by the region. The influential grip of stakeholders from national, regional, international, and multilateral organizations has played a sizable role in determining the region's educational agenda, and identity formation, since the mid-21st century (Lamarra, 2004; Teske, 2008). Among these are:

- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
- Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)
- International Institute for International Planning (IIEP)
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

- UNESCO International Institute for Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (IESALC)
- European Commission América Latina Formación Académica (EC-ALFA)
- Alban project
- Common Higher Education Space of the European Union, Latin America, and the Caribbean (UEALC)
- European Investment Bank
- EU-Rio Group
- EU-Andean Pact
- San José Process
- Inter-American University Organization (OUI)
- Institute of University Management and Leadership (IGLU)
- International Monetary Fund Independent evaluation Office (IEO)

The interests and agendas from each of these entities, though many claiming the importance and centering of historical and social contexts in their proposals, were imparted on the construction of the LATC university.

The West's development through accumulation and dispossession provided for the deprivation of Latin American and Caribbean identity and collective consciousness; two concepts that greatly inform the propensity for social- and self-actualization. The university had long been identified as a vehicle for communal actualization, the establishment of a collective identity. The university indeed serves as a conduit for the growth of epistemologies, the preservation of traditions, and the exploration of understandings. However, the university is also a tool for reproduction that aids in the materialization of perceived movements and understandings towards development.

Again, this depiction would give credence to Wallerstein's world system theory. The



Latin American and Caribbean progression towards identity development following colonization has been abstracted across historical spaces and times. The detachment from LATC realities has prevented the donning of a liberating identity autonomous from the pressing influence of the external. In place of a long historical sequence of independent discovery, failure, recovery, growth, and the number of other experiences inherent to the identity development of other areas of the world, Latin America and the Caribbean experienced a simultaneity of both ‘antiquity’ and ‘modernity’, with both conditions imposed from the international collective. These diagnoses provided by and perpetuated by external stakeholders maintained the inability to actualize and mobilize beyond Western ideals.

Europe: Affect - The OECD, UNESCO, and EUA

It should be underscored that the European Union retains no official governmental authority over the higher education systems of its member states, and is thus unable to enforce its policy recommendations with any defined power or threat of consequence for lack of conformity. And yet, since the start of the 21st century and notably in great variation, European higher education systems have adopted a system of consolidated regional education built on comparability, transparency, and portability. This happened largely through the engineering and elicitation of emotion and feeling. In this case, shame or pride induced from the rise of public, comparative studies on EHEA policy compliance. The phrase “comparison is the thief of joy” seems highly appropriate in this description. The OECD’s 2011 *Education at a Glance* speaks to this mechanism:

Indicators can prompt change by raising national concern over weak educational outcomes compared to international benchmarks; sometimes, they can even encourage stronger countries to consolidate their positions. When indicators build a profile of high-performing education systems, they can also inform the design of improvements for weaker systems. (p. 17)

The “shock” effect of international comparisons on educational reform is nothing new. (p. 17)

By showing what is possible in education, the indicators have helped countries not just to optimise existing policies but also to reflect on what lies behind them. This involves questioning, and sometimes changing, the paradigms and beliefs that underlie current policies. (p. 17)

This intentional tooling of emotion and feeling has helped to facilitate the mission of Europeanization.

Within the process of Europeanization, the consolidation and networking of the university, the market, and the state, by ‘expert’ transnational groups allowed for the manufacturing and curation of collective policy problems which necessitated solutions (Grek, 2010; Custer and Malhães, 2023). This is not to deny the very real pressures of a rapidly evolving economy or the challenges in integration of socially-politically-economically diverse nation-states under a regional identity. But the ‘issue’ through which the pillars of comparability, transparency, and portability were born, and that went on to influence other regional higher education systems around the world, proves largely to have been born from the minds of politicians and government ‘experts’. An example that can provide for this logic is the European Qualifications Framework. The invisible hand of the almighty indicator provided for the manufacturing and legitimation of problems that ‘all of Europe’ supposedly faced, not just the individual state. As Brøgger (2019) states, this influence made “agents want what they have to do” (p. 204). The Qualifications Framework did not serve as a tool of force, but rather a systematic ushering of the higher education institutions in the desired direction. The shaping of public moods through the packaging of policies to cure all problems can be attributed to the gathering of powerful organizations under the guise of united European goals.

Over time, European affective regimes have been used to construct and resolve issues of

“democratic deficit” “erosion of the civil society” and “lack of democratic participation and governance” (Simons & Masschelein, 2009, p. 204). Though much of this is non-binding, it is “enmeshing and holds actors within a web of network obligations and relations” (Jones, 2005, p. 231). Education and research policy does not fall neatly under the jurisdiction of the E.U. unless it is demonstrated that nations are incapable of handling their educational affairs. Therefore control has been exercised through the production of publicly visible data, “regulation by information” (Elken, 2018, p. 337), and “a fear of shame and the thrill of fame” (Naido, 2018, p. 611).

As a consultative member of the Bologna follow up group, the EUA holds great influence over the policy discourse. The EUA commissions a number of forums, surveys, reports, webinars, workshops, site visits, case studies, conferences, and benchmarking projects to carry out the overarching goals of the BP towards building a common European higher education area. Influence on the development, implementation, and monitoring of educational policy by the EUA is stated as benefiting both the university group it represents (through vertical communication of concerns and interests), as well as the transnational organizations (through horizontal surveillance of university implementation). The EUA, responsible for creating the *Trend Reports*, summarizes the progress of individual countries in the uptake of Bologna Process policies/recommendations (finance, autonomy, quality assurance, internationalization) that are publicly published for the region, and the world, to view. Nokkala and Bacevic aptly state that “EUA knowledge production thus contributes to the construction of the identities and agency of its member institutions. In other words, the reports produced by the EUA do not only reflect the “reality” of the European higher education area they inevitably also construct it.” (p. 700).

The creation of the European qualification framework induced an affective regime that

centered the lack of comparability and standardization as the blockade to European dominance. The duality of the EQF is understood through its “empowerment of groups who fall outside of the formal system” and “improving the match between competences of populations and the needs of businesses in order to promote economic growth” (Cort, 2010, p. 311). This serves as a further example of the double sided discourse on social inclusion and global competitiveness.

While there are tinges of Meyer’s world society theory throughout this mechanism, as knowledgeable others are imparting their expertise to strengthen the European university, the control and coercion of Wallerstein’s world system theory persists. The creation of common problems that necessitated collective action heavily influenced the decision-making processes of the institutions across the region. The many stakeholders of the European university curated a discourse matrix that allowed them each to move in on the educational sphere. The scaffolding of standardizing frameworks, stock taking reports, follow up mechanisms, and committees of committees, all for the reporting of progress towards ‘common European values’, conceived a labyrinth of comparison. The consolidation and publication of their findings served as a tool of governance, allowing the bevy of multilateral organizations to enforce their agendas at a distance (Nóvoa, 2013).

The findings of this study have revealed various mechanisms that have allowed for the translation and sustainment of westernization educational models around the world, to include capacity, identity, and affect. Regional and supranational organizations have straddled various policy dimensions as they grapple with the promises made to their stakeholders, but also to the university. It is clear that across these timelines the university has encountered generations of control/steering/advising that have shaped its role and purpose in society. Responses to the changes of the world are necessary, and in fact inherent to the spirit of academia. However, the

Western predation of the African, LATC, and European university and its encroaching influence across time and space have radically impacted regional educational realities. Development discourse has shifted more explicitly to the interpretation of a world built on Western values and understandings. This has had profound implications for the field of higher education in Africa, Europe, Latin America, and the Caribbean. The following section will establish the implications of these findings for practitioners and the study of the field of higher education more clearly.

## CHAPTER 6

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study expanded on the dialogue surrounding hegemony and global higher education systems by examining calls for improved higher education at the supranational and regional level through the lens of two grand narratives: world system theory and world society theory. The purpose of this study was to understand how Western systems of higher education have been extended and sustained across the world through supranational and regional influence. This study enhanced and furthered understanding on the creation and sustainment of Western educational hegemony at macro-levels around the world both discursively and historically. The research questions of this study focused on how Western hegemony was dialogically reinforced and what impact historical determinants had on the translation and maintenance of Western educational models. As a reminder, westernization can be understood as a historical process of universalizing Western cultural and societal norms. In terms of global education, westernization has been universalized through processes of legitimation such as accreditation, global rankings, English as lingua franca, and other mechanisms that reinforce Western educational models.

Wallerstein's (2004) world system theory depicts a world that has been intentionally designed to serve the economic and political interests of a faceless elite class whose control is deeply entrenched in the structuring of the world order. Meyer's (1997) world society theory describes a world intricately interconnected by extensive webs of commerce, communication, policies, and culture that have established a globalized and universal social milieu willingly led by knowledgeable others whose goals are to propel the global community towards progress and modernity. My findings have established that both of these grand narratives exist within the discourse and histories of my selected regions. To reflect back on the divide of these two

theoretical camps, as discussed in Chapter 2, arguments surrounding missing variables within each underscore the inability of either theory to accurately explain the current world order. World systems theory certainly accounts for the various iterations of hegemonic power through domination across time. The intentional construction of the outlined mechanisms in my findings demonstrate the existence of Western self-interest and self-preservation, concepts strongly opposed by the world society camp. Yet, the structuring of the world order is not fixed and to deny this is to dismiss the movements of resistance that have worked to re-empower the epistemologies and experiences of the marginalized. World society, though flawed in its attempts to frame the West and its experts as magnanimous guardians, does in fact establish spaces for agency though it often assumes the acceptance of Western models. But to consider Mignolo's statement once more on "the rhetoric of modernity and the logic of coloniality" (2011, p. 83), the realities in which each of these theory's explanations exist are of great importance. .

Has westernization permeated global higher education systems and sustained by becoming a common value outlined in policy scripts created by knowledgeable Others and thus a necessity towards achieving globally-agreed upon goals? Or has westernization diffused across space and time through asymmetrical channels and relationships that are structured to maintain the current capitalist hegemonic order? A simple answer to both questions is yes. Harking back to my comments on self-organizing dynamical systems and fractal geometry back in Chapter 3, the "infinite complexity" (Shenhav, 2015, p. 60) and potential for patterns or similarities suggests a "global coherence of chaotic systems" (Argyros, 1992, p. 666). We are indeed conscious, rational, and competent individuals, as outlined by Meyer, with the agency to reconstruct the world around us. However, any further assumptions put forward by world society, to include that we are all bound by common values and interests that operate under

globally held rules and institutions, is to uphold European universalism's claim of Western universality. Commonly held interests have stemmed from common pressures towards the current global knowledge economy. The very machination of a capitalist, neoliberal society constructed to serve the interests of those who built it would indicate the validity of world systems theory. There is an ever-growing juncture between the social imaginary and the global reality, both shaped by the same hegemonic creator, but yet there are spaces that can allow for the rewriting of these narratives.

The grand narratives used to frame this study grapple with hegemony through coercion and homogeneity through consent. However, Gramscian thought focused not on divorcing coercion and consent, but rather the promotion of hegemony's polyvalent modality relying on both to actualize power (Gramsci, 1971). In other words, there are multiple mechanisms and processes that reinforce one another which allows for the legitimization of the current hegemon. It is the presence of both lenses which makes disentangling westernization such a challenging feat. World society indicates that the mass adoption of Western practices and models, or rather universalistic principles scripted by agentic Others, are due to comparable goals across individuals and organizations. In analyzing the supranational documents of the WB, OECD, WTO, and UNESCO, I can understand the pretense of world society in which these supranational organizations urge their constituents to converge upon common goals for the betterment of their regions. The influx of statistical measurements, cross-border partnerships, and consultative practices could be understood as, and are depicted by these IGOs as, a network of knowledgeable Others guiding the emergence of a globalized milieu (Appendix G). World system indicates a hierarchical relational system that facilitates the transfer of dominant ideologies, models, and structures across regional higher education systems to perpetuate the



current world order of control and subjugation. These same measurements and partnerships that support the tenets of world society also serve as the conduits for coercion within the world system. The “god's-eye point of view” (Shajahan, 2016, p. 701) attributed to the included supranational organizations is based on the presumed universal virtues of these institutions. However, the very nature of universality, as constructed by and in the image of Western knowledge, signals the non-existence of, or at least the invalidity of, non-Western ways of knowing.

In dissecting how Western ideologies and models are translated and upheld, it became clear that the regional organizations included in this study (AAU, EUA, UDUALC), over time, have played a substantial role. Each of these regional organizations had connections to, and varying degrees of influence over, the discourse taking place at the macro-level. Nevertheless, despite regional organizations having a seat at the table, supranational organizations have effectively co-opted regional organizations to translate and facilitate westernization through the lens of European universalism. European universalism can be understood through three main tenets: pursuit or defense of human rights, superiority through values, and scientific truths of the neoliberal market (Wallerstein, 2006, p. XI-XII). The knowledgeable Others, as Meyer describes them, have vested themselves with the authority to determine the validity of economic, political, and educational systems through the evolution of values, standards, and metrics.

Supranational organizations, through their network of experts and financial backing, have authorized themselves to serve as the keepers of scientific truth, superior values, and human rights. To expand this sphere of influence and ensure uptake, regional organizations are tooled to serve as vessels through which macro-level policy discourse travels and becomes translated. These channels between supranational organizations, regional organizations, and regional higher

education systems have historically moved unidirectionally through top down scripts that have provided for the maintenance of Western authority. However, the mechanisms identified in this study have not wholly subsumed the higher education systems of these regions. The direction of these channels can be altered to encourage truly mutual exchange, but this requires an acknowledgement of the direction of flow and the consequences of this enduring process of Westernization by those who created and maintained it. Discourse on resistance to hegemonic ideologies is also woven throughout these narratives which contributes to the ongoing construction of an epistemological counter-revolution.

### Summary of Findings

This research focused on the mechanisms established and utilized by the sampled supranational and regional organizations which included the processes, discourse, and historical determinants that upheld westernization. The overarching mechanisms were capacity in Africa, affect in Europe, and identity in LATC. Though I expanded on particular mechanisms and sub-mechanisms for Africa, Europe, and LATC, the processes outlined are not exclusive to one particular region nor are they the sole conduits of westernization. However, the identified concepts encapsulate many of the most influential channels.

It is important to pause and reflect on these nuanced relationships with colonialism that existed, and continue to exist, within Africa and LATC. Africa fell under colonial rule in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, in comparison to the nearly six centuries endured by LATC. Colonization in LATC was accompanied by rapid rates of depopulation through disease, displacement, and genocide, as well as repopulation by colonizers and the import of enslaved Africans. Void of most of its original inhabitants, a Hispanic culture emerged that would grow into an ethnic-racial caste system. Colonization in LATC was not just for the extraction of

resources, but the investment of creating a facsimile of European society. The processes of colonization, and the contemporary understanding of westernization, were sustained through the destruction of LATC understandings, infrastructures, and peoples. This effectively established a canvas stripped of identity, susceptible to the machinations of Western powers that would result in an enduring co-optation of socio-economic-political structures. This is most notable today through the historic Ibero-American ties that allow for continued European involvement across the LATC region.

The colonization of Africa however was not focused on establishing a permanent physical presence, but rather the creation of a sufficient infrastructure that would allow for Western accumulation of African resources. The denigration of African epistemes, languages, and traditions was not in the same vein as LATC in which they wanted to clear a canvas for European reproduction, though Africa was certainly still viewed as inferior and necessitating reform. The physical presence of European colonizers in Africa was substantially lower and segregation was enforced rather than the co-mingling and creation of a new heritage as seen in LATC. Investment in the reproduction of European ways of life, particularly through the concretization of a European network of higher education institutions was of less importance in Africa. Though colonial universities were established in certain areas of the region, they were not held as engines of reproduction but rather tools to maintain European oversight and authority. The disavowal of higher education's importance within Africa during the mid to late 20th century underscores the intentional disregard for the educational progression and maturation of the region.

The colonial installation of Western epistemological and linguistic dimensions (Zezeza, 2023), the encroachment of African research networks led by external experts, and the

quantification of 'quality' through tools and lenses devised in the West have limited the capacity of Africa's higher education systems to exist authentically and within a fully African episteme. Colonization in Africa did not install European infrastructures as was done in LATC, but it also did not want the region to flourish or escape the socio-economic confines of Europe. The view of postsecondary education in Africa from the level of supranational organizations remains that of utilitarianism which has dispossessed the region's higher education systems of the resources and investment in truly African epistemologies. From the structural adjustment programs of the late 20th century led by the WB to the competing interests of external, primarily Western financiers who continue to exploit the region (Ogachi, 2011), Africa's capacity has remained suspended and co-opted. The AAU has long defended the African university and its abilities, representing the region's higher education systems and promoting collaboration across institutions. However, the linking of foreign agendas with the realities of resource scarcity has heavily influenced the relationships between the AAU, its financiers, and its constituents.

The influential grip of stakeholders from national, regional, international, and multilateral organizations has played a sizable role in shaping the LATC region's educational agenda and identity formation. Unlike Africa, colonization across LATC focused heavily on the reproduction of European life through the installation of infrastructures that mirrored Spain and Portugal. The imaginary surrounding the university has been externally crafted from the first replica of the Spanish university and the French Napoleonic model during colonial and early post-colonial eras, to the influence of Ibero-LATC partnerships that induce models from the European higher education area. LATC has endured various reconstructions through the dismantling of indigenous livelihoods by imperial forces, the perpetuating of the colonial regime's economy by the oligarchs, the delaying of independence by militaristic uprising, the financial entrapment of

the World Bank, and the neoliberal chokehold of the global knowledge economy. The historical and contemporary imaginaries of the LATC university have prevented the actualization of an identity based in the realities of its populations.

Europeanization, or the movement towards a collective European identity and values above nationality, has greatly shaped the identity of the European university, particularly in the 20th and 21st century. The expansion of regulatory bodies extending from the European Union has permitted the encroachment of regional agencies on national higher education systems. The mantra of comparability, transparency, and portability have driven the region towards mass standardization despite historical and contextual differences. The EUA's role and use of affect in the translation and maintenance of westernization has greatly contributed to this standardization of European higher education systems, as well as those of Africa and LATC through transnational partnerships. As a consultative member of the Bologna follow up group, the EUA holds great influence over the policy discourse. The biased operationalization of global quality indicators has allowed for contemporary reproductions of colonial representations of the Global South which have 'rationalized' Western 'exceptionalisms' and justify Western interventionism. Coloniality and Eurocentrism are thus perpetuated through the creation of a "global space of equivalence" (Shajahan, 2013, p. 677).

Historical processes of colonization have evolved to maintain the global imaginary of world society while concretizing the asymmetric relationships of a networked society within the world system. As Katz (2006) states, the world is witnessing a "convergence of states and global actors around the neoliberal creed (U.S., E.U., WB, WTO) founding a historic bloc which co-opt major organizations in global civil society and use them to promote this agenda under a cloak of openness" (2006, p. 335). The employment of directional devices through power (formal and

informal regulations), money (financial backing) and knowledge (supposed expertise) facilitate the maintenance of the current global order (Ioannidou, 2007). Access to each of these devices allows, through both supranational and regional organizations, the maintenance and extension of Western models of higher education across the globe.

### Implications

The findings of this study thoroughly present the historic implications of westernization across regional higher education systems. Within each region, though to differing degrees based on their historical context, the university has been appropriated to serve the needs of a macro-level force. Knowledge sets, traditions, epistemologies, languages, and understandings of the world have been warped, if not completely eradicated, by the hegemony of Western ideologies. The sustainment of a global education system that is made to privilege the knowledge of its creators weakens, and often eliminates, the potential of other ways of knowing. This not only deprives regions of engaging with epistemes that align with their locale and represent the needs and understandings of their communities, but it denies the world of alternative explanations, innovative approaches, and a pluriverse of thought to address both current and future crises. Dominant ideologies silence the worth and validity of knowing that exists outside of the hegemonic core. The tools utilized within each of these mechanisms (i.e. foreign think tanks, externally generated surveys, universal policy scripts) perpetuate these exploitative connections between global higher education systems, and though the institutions that establish and fund these tools cannot be destroyed, they can be dismantled. Higher education systems should not and cannot exist in a global space of equivalency, as the histories and realities that make up the world are as complex as they are inequitable. Decontextualization through purely quantitative depictions of ‘success’ within higher education systems omits the crucial and necessary nuance

that must be accounted for in order to understand each particular educational environment.

With this understanding, I would like to focus attention now on the implications of these findings for those who have trained under and operate within the Western episteme, as a Westerner. These findings have underscored the mechanisms and associated tools used to uphold and translate Western educational models, as well as traced their evolution across regional timelines. The work that must continue is the understanding of how non-supranational agents can contribute to the disarmament of these tools. When Western students, scholars, or administrators utilize tools such as global standards or reports on the state of global higher education in their classrooms or strategic plans without addressing the decontextualization of global data collection, they are reinforcing and contributing to the legitimization of these mechanisms. Ignoring the detachment of epistemologies from local histories, whether in favor of dominant ideologies or the erasure of non-Western thought, is to remain complicit in the perpetuation of false universalisms.

It is our responsibility as beneficiaries of this global order to channel our educational privilege towards the uplifting of marginalized knowledge sets. To first *decenter* Western educational models, we must acknowledge their inherent biases which privilege Western ways of knowing and understanding while dispossessing non-Western knowledge of their validity. To contribute to the *dismantling* of such systems and mechanisms that uphold this privileging of Western thought, we must not only engage with non-Western epistemes but allow for this space to be legitimately occupied by non-Western students, scholars, and experts. Undoubtedly, this proposal is not new and this epistemic-social justice work is being championed by scholars and students across the Western field of higher education. However, counter-hegemonic movements must be sustained, empowered, and expanded to realize these necessary goals. We must

interrogate hegemonic theories, engage more deeply with counter-hegemonic frameworks, and amplify marginalized voices. Reflexivity will be key to understanding how we as Western scholars, whether directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, contribute to the maintenance of Western hegemony.

### Looking to the Future

In reflecting back on the applications of the framework used in this study, I wish to close this chapter by focusing on one component of world society, which accounts for agency. I proposed a question in Chapter 2, which asked: Does westernization of global higher education systems provide regions with the tools for counter-hegemonic action, or does it maintain subalternity through the unequal power dynamics and economic relationships of our current world order? This question exists outside of the scope of this study, but it presents a space for future research. World society posits that though there is a conscious convergence upon common global models, individuals retain some semblance of influence through which they can challenge and resist in a rational and contemporary arena of worldwide agency (Meyer, 1997). Following Gramsci's line of thought on the subaltern, hegemony is neither static nor invulnerable to renegotiation and reconstruction. This allows room for counter-hegemonic movement (Gramsci, 1971). The scholars included in this study have not proposed that resistance take the form of replacing the current hegemon. Rather, the focus is on the push for dismantling the contrived 'universality' of Western thought.

As I have stated throughout this work, it is not my intention or goal to prescribe solutions or to provide judgment on any of the regional higher education systems discussed above. Rather, through this work I aimed to center the voices of those who exist within and focus their studies on the higher education system's of the included regions. To conclude, the following passages



account for the reflections of scholars included in this research to conceive of a future that deconstructs colonial legacies and decenters European universalism in the discourse on global higher education. This is but a small sampling of the work being done, but presents a foundational understanding of counter-hegemonic movements taking place.

## Africa

Though the current iterations of an African Higher Education Area stem from the influence of European models, African scholars aim to re-envision a regional higher education space *of* Africa and *for* Africa. Liberatory scholarship calls for ethics of diasporic collaboration through Afrology and Afrocentricity built on an African intellectual métissage which “calls for a rejection of a totalising and oppressive ethic that devalues anything non-Western” (Nkhoma, 2018, p. 99). Furthermore, Nkhoma speaks to the persistent challenge of difference brought by the historic redrawing of cultural and tribal lines. These “cultural politics of identity and difference” (p. 100) must be unpacked to address the enduring polarity within Africa and legitimate a movement supported by a united African diaspora.

Scholars have cited the strengthening of relations between African universities and the African academic diaspora as a critical component of actualizing this goal. Nkoane (2015) speaks to the reinvigoration of sustainable rural learning ecologies (SuRLEc) which returns the validity of African Indigenous Knowledge Systems. This extends value and validity to indigenous languages as vectors of knowledge production (Brand, 2004). In particular, the Ubuntu framework (Higgs & Keevey, 2009; Okeke, 2010; Nkhoma, 2018; Waghid, 2021) and Akan framework (Wiredu, 2004) are two indigenous African epistemologies which scholars have proposed as philosophies to lead decolonization. Both Ubuntu and Akan center the sense of responsibility to community and kin, as well as the wisdom and knowledge each African

possesses that is linked to both human and non-human actors.

## LATC

Despite the social-political-economic realities facing the LATC university, scholars are investing more deeply in an education that acknowledges the historical, cultural, and material conditions of its making while also extending beyond the imaginary thrust upon it across time (Aparicio, 2006). Razing the colonially-induced caste system of the region requires the centering of interculturality, sustainability, community and collective action, and indigenous movements (Bernach-Calbo, 1997; Arocena & Sutz, 2021; Pennington, 2023). To overcome the epistemic inequities built by a regional history of dispossession and subjugation, scholars underline the importance of reclaiming the university's purpose as a cultural institution (Pennington, 2023). LATC higher education cannot fully disentangle itself from the interests and demands of the external, but it can champion the bridging of the socio-economic gap across the region. Ibero-LATC partnerships and the general influence of Western models maintain colonial ties and thus colonial realities. By driving curriculum towards empowerment of the local, based in community action and multiculturalism, LATC scholars envision a university that represents and champions the needs of the region.

## Europe

European higher education in recent decades has centered the standardization, or Europeanization, of its institutions. However, as Brøgger (2019) notes, standardization does not equal uniformity and the tools utilized to circulate and enforce said standards are certainly never neutral. The Bologna Process (BP) has served as one of the primary entities overseeing the successful creation of a European higher education area. Among the pillars of the BP is social inclusion across the region, which has been largely neglected across the BP's history. Despite the

repeated calls for improvement of social inclusion, the definition of this pillar has remained largely unknown and its goals unrealized. The symbolic rather than material policies of the BP surrounding inclusion have resulted in hollow attempts to rectify the persistent inequities despite its ongoing presence in policy discourse (Kushnir, 2020). A resulting scholarly movement towards the scrutiny of the BP's inaction within social inclusion has started a dialogue on future efforts.

Ryen and Jøsok (2023) put forth a reconceptualized understanding of citizenship education unlike that of the Europeanizing form it held in the past. Still present are the goals of political participation and social integration, however the focus shifts to education moving “beyond the existing” task of “socializing students into the order” (p. 40) but towards a creation of self within society that exceeds what exists. More clearly, citizenship education as a tool of self-actualization to commit to the betterment of society, not just to contribute to the current world order. The authors present a return to Bildung-centered education in which human development is linked to the continued learning and critical understanding of the world. This requires the acknowledgement and addressing of inequity and exclusion that has stemmed from the standardizing practices of the BP.

The nature of relation between institutions (i.e. the supranational and regional organizations) plays a key role in the facilitation and sustainment of Westernization in global higher education. The use of regional organizations to manufacture consent to the uptake of Western ideologies in turn contributes to the symbolic and physical interests of the West. Exploitative relationships, as documented in Africa and LATC, facilitate the transmission of dominant ideologies. This process of “intellectual socialization” (Clayton, 1998, p. 485) is fostered through educational assistance programs and the rise of global equivalency. Common

goals have emerged, but the contexts in which they were forged cannot be overlooked. What is of note, is that across the various timelines, macro-level Western forces have negotiated these commonly held values, interests, and goals.

### Conclusion

This historical telling does not wholly reflect the exhaustive history of these regions, nor does it address the valuable nuances found at the state and especially institutional levels. Nonetheless, this account encapsulates the macro-level events and subsequent educational trends that took place over the 20th and 21st century. The organizations included in this study differ by their capacity to command influence within the sphere of global higher education. These entities exist in varying policy dimensions to fortify their authority and exert their influence upon the higher education systems of their region, and in the case of Europe, the educational systems beyond their borders.

To reiterate, the selection of supranational agencies and regional higher education organizations in this study does not discount the breadth and importance of the micro-level. Great importance lies in the multi-layered nature of globalization, specifically the reconfiguration and uptake of global processes within a local context, not just the exogenous force of these processes at a macro-level. The plurality and diversity of higher education systems across countries are salient, meriting future work on this subject matter. However, this study has expanded upon the historic and contemporary role of regional and supranational influences on the trajectories of global higher education.

Westernization has passed through formal and informal macro- and meso-level channels across time and space, facilitated by development discourse, mass standardization, and a global economy built on the commodification and exchange/privileging of certain knowledge sets. With

the goal of continued imposition of a Western universality, the field of higher education has borne a hierarchy of global academic forms which are ordered by their proximity to Western knowledge (Downey et al., 2022). Epistemic privilege of the West has resulted in a globalized deficit thinking towards knowledge sets and ways of knowing from the Global South. Nokkala and Baceric state that “knowledge claims are never objective or isolated from their social contexts” (2014, p. 701), underscoring the ongoing need to historically and spatially reconnect and resituate universal claims to their originating condition. These efforts can begin to disentangle the universal from the particular, disengaging from European universalism and acknowledging the need for a pluriverse of thought. Further research on westernization is undoubtedly needed; however, this work contributes to our current understanding and efforts towards its dismantling.

APPENDIX A  
SUPRANATIONAL DOCUMENTS

- World Bank
  - World Development Report, 1978
  - World Development Report, 1979
  - World Development Report, 1980
  - World Development Report, 1981
  - World Development Report, 1982
  - World Development Report, 1983
  - World Development Report, 1984
  - World Development Report, 1985
  - World Development Report, 1987
  - World Development Report, 1988
  - World Development Report, 1989
  - World Development Report, 1990
  - World Development Report, 1991
  - World Development Report, 1998-1999
  - World Development Report, 1999-2000
  - World Development Report, 2000-2001
  - World Development Report, 2001-2002
  - World Development Report, 2002
  - World Development Report, 2003
  - World Development Report, 2004
  - World Development Report, 2005
  - World Development Report, 2006
  - World Development Report, 2007
  - World Development Report, 2008
  - World Development Report, 2009
  - World Development Report, 2010
  - World Development Report, 2011
  - World Development Report, 2013
  - World Development Report, 2014
  - World Development Report, 2016
  - World Development Report, 2017

- World Development Report, 2018
- World Development Report, 2019
- World Development Report, 2020
- World Development Report, 2021
- Higher Education: Lessons of Experience (1994)
- Education Sector Strategy (1999)
- Higher Education in Developing Countries – Peril and Promise (2000)
- Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Education (2002)
- Learning for All: Investing in People’s Knowledge and Skills to Promote Development (2011)
- Steering Tertiary Education Toward Resilient Systems that Deliver for All (2021)
- World Trade Organization
  - General Agreement on Trade in Services
  - The Doha Round Texts and related documents (2009)
- UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization)
  - Global Education Monitoring Reports
  - Technology in education: a tool on whose terms? (2023)
  - Non-state actors in education (2021/22)
  - Inclusion and education: all means all (2020)
  - Migration, displacement & education: building bridges, not walls (2019)
  - Accountability in education: meeting our commitments (2017/18)
  - Education for people & planet: creating sustainable futures for all (2016)
  - High-level Political Forum Reports
  - Strengthening Peer Learning of Education Policies for SDG 4: The Role of Regional Organizations
  - Let’s work together: education has a key role in helping achieve the Sustainable Development Goals
  - Beyond commitments 2019: how countries implement SDG 4
  - Meeting commitments: are countries on track to achieve SDG 4
  - World Declaration on Higher Education for the Twenty-first Century: Vision and Action and Framework for Priority Action for Change and Development in Higher Education (1998)
  - Policy paper for change and development in higher education (1995)



- First Global Forum on International Quality Assurance, Accreditation and the Recognition of Qualifications in Higher Education – “Globalization and Higher Education” (2002)
- Higher Education in a Globalized Society (2004)
- Towards Knowledge Societies (2005)
- OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development)
  - Education at a Glance
  - Education at a Glance 2023
  - Education at a Glance 2022
  - Education at a Glance 2021
  - Education at a Glance 2020
  - Education at a Glance 2019
  - Education at a Glance 2018
  - Education at a Glance 2017
  - Education at a Glance 2016
  - Education at a Glance 2015
  - Education at a Glance 2014
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  - Education at a Glance 2003
  - Education at a Glance 2002
  - Education at a Glance 2001
  - Education at a Glance 2000
  - Education at a Glance 1998

- Guidelines for quality provision in cross-border higher education: where do we stand? (2012)
- Regional Documents - Comparative
  - European University Association (EUA)
    - EUA Annual Report
    - 2022
    - 2021
    - 2020
    - 2019
    - 2018
    - 2017
    - 2016
    - 2015
    - 2014
    - 2013
    - 2012
    - 2011
    - 2010
    - 2009
    - 2008
    - 2007
    - 2006
    - 2005
    - 2004
    - 2003
    - 2002
    - 2001
  - Association of African Universities (AAU)
    - AAU Annual Reports
    - 2014-2015
    - 2015-2016
    - 2016-2017

- 2017-2018
- 2018-2019
- 2019-2020
- 2020-2021
- Strategic Plans
- Our Journey to 2025: 2020 – 2025 Strategic Plan
- AAU Strategic Plan 2016 – 2020 (2016)
- The Future of Higher Education in Africa – AAU General Conference (2022)
- Making Great Impacts: Plan of Work (2022-2025)
- La Unión de Universidades de América Latina y el Caribe (UDUALC)
  - Archivos
  - Edificio de la UDUAL (1979)
  - Declaracion de Quito (1991)
  - Declaracion Montevideo (2006)
  - Declaracion AFEIDAL Guayaquil (2006)
  - Declaración UNESCO-IESALC (2011)
  - Declaracion Cuiaba LXXXV Reunion CE (2013)
  - Declaracion Quito LXXXVIII RCE (2014)
  - Declaracion Campinas LXXXIX RCE (2015)
  - Comunicado Córdoba (2018)
  - Declaración Autonomía universitaria (2019)
  - Declaración UAN (2020)
  - Declaración Bogotá (2022)

APPENDIX B  
MAGNITUDE CODING CHART

Magnitude + Meaning	Code-Symbol
Intensity: The amount of discursive force behind a statement based on the choice/use of wording	STR (Strongly)
	MOD (Moderately)
	WEA (Weakly)
	NO (No Opinion)
Frequency: The number of occurrences of an idea, statement, pattern, belief, value, or general phrasing	O (Often)
	S (Somewhat)
	N (Not at All)
Symbol – Direction: Description of process, mechanism, or event has a positive tone or a negative tone	→
	←
Symbol – Presence: The existence or occurrence of an idea, statement, pattern, belief, or value	∅
	+

APPENDIX C  
ORGANIZATIONS AND MEMBER STATES

## World Bank

- Albania, Oct 15, 1991
- Algeria, Sep 26, 1963
- Angola, Sep 19, 1989
- Antigua and Barbuda, Sep 22, 1983
- Argentina, Sep 20, 1956
- Armenia, Sep 16, 1992
- Austria, Aug 27, 1948
- Bahamas, The Aug 21, 1973
- Barbados, Sep 12, 1974
- Belarus, Jul 10, 1992
- Belgium, Dec 27, 1945
- Belize, Mar 19, 1982
- Bolivia, Dec 27, 1945
- Bosnia and Herzegovina, Feb 25, 1993
- Botswana, Jul 24, 1968
- Brazil, Jan 14, 1946
- Bulgaria, Sep 25, 1990
- Burkina Faso, May 2, 1963
- Burundi, Sep 28, 1963
- Cabo Verde, Nov 20, 1978
- Cameroon, Jul 10, 1963
- Central African Republic, Jul 10, 1963
- Chad, Jul 10, 1963
- Chile, Dec 31, 1945
- Colombia, Dec 24, 1946
- Comoros, Oct 28, 1976
- Congo, Democratic Republic of, Sep 28, 1963
- Congo, Republic of, Jul 10, 1963
- Costa Rica, Jan 8, 1946
- Cote d'Ivoire, Mar 11, 1963
- Croatia, Feb 25, 1993
- Czech Republic, Jan 1, 1993
- Denmark, Mar 30, 1946
- Djibouti, Oct 1, 1980
- Dominica, Sep 29, 1980
- Dominican Republic, Sep 18, 1961
- Ecuador, Dec 28, 1945
- Egypt, Arab Republic of, Dec 27, 1945
- El Salvador, Mar 14, 1946
- Equatorial Guinea, Jul 1, 1970
- Eritrea, Jul 6, 1994
- Estonia, Jun 23, 1992
- Eswatini, Sep 22, 1969
- Ethiopia, Dec 27, 1945
- Finland, Jan 14, 1948
- France, Dec 27, 1945
- Gabon, Sep 10, 1963
- Gambia, The, Oct 18, 1967
- Georgia, Aug 7, 1992
- Germany, Aug 14, 1952
- Ghana, Sep 20, 1957
- Greece, Dec 27, 1945
- Grenada, Aug 27, 1975
- Guatemala, Dec 28, 1945
- Guinea, Sep 28, 1963
- Guinea-Bissau, Mar 24, 1977
- Guyana, Sep 26, 1966
- Haiti, Sep 8, 1953
- Honduras, Dec 27, 1945
- Hungary, Jul 7, 1982

- Iceland, Dec 27, 1945
- Ireland, Aug 8, 1957
- Italy, Mar 27, 1947
- Jamaica, Feb 21, 1963
- Kenya, Feb 3, 1964
- Kosovo, Jun 29, 2009
- Latvia, Aug 11, 1992
- Lesotho, Jul 25, 1968
- Liberia, Mar 28, 1962
- Libya, Sep 17, 1958
- Lithuania, Jul 6, 1992
- Luxembourg, Dec 27, 1945
- Madagascar, Sep 25, 1963
- Malawi, Jul 19, 1965
- Mali, Sep 27, 1963
- Malta, Sep 26, 1983
- Mauritania, Sep 10, 1963
- Mauritius, Sep 23, 1968
- Mexico, Dec 31, 1945
- Moldova, Aug 12, 1992
- Montenegro, Jan 18, 2007
- Morocco, Apr 25, 1958
- Mozambique, Sep 24, 1984
- Namibia, Sep 25, 1990
- Netherlands, Dec 27, 1945
- Nicaragua, Mar 14, 1946
- Niger, Apr 24, 1963
- Nigeria, Mar 30, 1961
- North Macedonia, Feb 25, 1993
- Norway, Dec 27, 1945
- Panama, Mar 14, 1946
- Papua New Guinea, Oct 9, 1975
- Paraguay, Dec 28, 1945
- Peru, Dec 31, 1945
- Poland, Jun 27, 1986
- Portugal, Mar 29, 1961
- Romania, Dec 15, 1972
- Russian Federation, Jun 16, 1992
- Rwanda, Sep 30, 1963
- San Marino, Sep 21, 2000
- Sao Tome and Principe, Sep 30, 1977
- Senegal, Aug 31, 1962
- Serbia, Feb 25, 1993
- Seychelles, Sep 29, 1980
- Sierra Leone, Sep 10, 1962
- Slovak Republic, Jan 1, 1993
- Slovenia, Feb 25, 1993
- Somalia, Aug 31, 1962
- South Africa, Dec 27, 1945
- South Sudan, Apr 18, 2012
- Spain, Sep 15, 1958
- St. Kitts and Nevis, Aug 15, 1984
- St. Lucia, Jun 27, 1980
- St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Aug 31, 1982
- Sudan, Sep 5, 1957
- Suriname, Jun 27, 1978
- Sweden, Aug 31, 1951
- Switzerland, May 29, 1992
- Tanzania, Sep 10, 1962
- Togo, Aug 1, 1962
- Trinidad and Tobago, Sep 16, 1963



- Uganda, Sep 27, 1963
- Ukraine, Sep 3, 1992
- United Kingdom, Dec 27, 1945
- Uruguay, Mar 11, 1946
- Venezuela, Republica Bolivariana de, Dec 30, 1946
- Zambia, Sep 23, 1965
- Zimbabwe, Sep 29, 1980

#### Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)

- *Member States and Date of Entry*

- Austria (1961)
- Belgium (1961)
- Chile (2010)
- Colombia (2020)
- Costa Rica (2021)
- Czechia (1995)
- Denmark (1961)
- Estonia (2010)
- Finland (1969)
- France (1961)
- Germany (1961)
- Greece (1961)
- Hungary (1996)
- Iceland (1961)
- Ireland (1961)
- Italy (1962)
- Latvia (2016)
- Lithuania (2018)
- Luxembourg (1961)
- Mexico (1994)
- Netherlands (1961)
- Norway (1961)
- Poland (1996)
- Portugal (1961)
- Slovak Republic (2000)
- Slovenia (2010)
- Spain (1961)
- Sweden (1961)
- Switzerland (1961)
- United Kingdom (1961)

- *OECD Development Centre*

“The **OECD Development Centre**, which includes countries from Africa, Asia and Latin America, facilitates policy dialogue for and with developing and emerging economies. The Centre contributes expert analysis to the debate on development policy. The objective is to help decision makers find policy solutions to stimulate growth and improve living conditions in developing and emerging economies. We also host the **Sahel and West Africa Club (SWAC)**, an international platform aimed at promoting regional policies that will improve the economic and social well-being of people in the Sahel and West Africa.”

- *Regional Initiatives*

“We collaborate across countries at a regional level, notably through **regional initiatives**, spanning Africa, Eurasia, the Middle East and North Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Southeast Asia and South East Europe. Regional initiatives help facilitate policy benchmarking and the exchange of good practices between countries in a specific

geographical area within and across regions. They also help guide countries towards globally recognised standards and ambitious reform agendas to unlock greater prosperity and well-being for citizens, including at a local and city level. Non-member countries and economies may also be invited to participate in OECD meetings through different levels of partnerships, as well as **Global Fora**.”

UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization): Member States and Date of Entry

- Albania (1958)
- Algeria (1962)
- Andorra (1993)
- Angola (1977)
- Antigua and Barbuda (1982)
- Argentina (1948)
- Armenia (1992)
- Austria (1948)
- Bahamas (1981)
- Barbados (1968)
- Belarus (1954)
- Belgium (1946)
- Belize (1982)
- Benin (1960)
- Bolivia (1946)
- Bosnia and Herzegovina (1993)
- Brazil (1946)
- Bulgaria (1956)
- Burkina Faso (1960)
- Burundi (1962)
- Cabo Verde (1978)
- Cameroon (1960)
- Central African Republic (1960)
- Chad (1960)
- Chile (1953)
- Colombia (1947)
- Comoros (1977)
- Congo (1960)
- Cook Islands (1989)
- Costa Rica (1950)
- Côte d’Ivoire (1960)
- Croatia (1992)
- Cuba (1947)
- Czechia (1993)
- Democratic Republic of the Congo (1960)
- Denmark (1946)
- Djibouti (1989)
- Dominica (1979)
- Dominican Republic (1946)
- Ecuador (1947)
- Egypt (1946)
- El Salvador (1948)
- Equatorial Guinea (1979)
- Eritrea (1993)
- Estonia (1991)
- Eswatini (1978)
- Ethiopia (1955)
- Finland (1956)
- France (1946)
- Gabon (1960)
- Gambia (1973)
- Georgia (1992)
- Germany (1951)
- Ghana (1958)
- Greece (1946)
- Grenada (1975)
- Guatemala (1950)
- Guinea (1960)
- Guinea Bissau (1974)
- Guyana (1967)
- Haiti (1946)
- Honduras (1947)
- Hungary (1948)
- Iceland (1964)
- Ireland (1961)
- Italy (1948)
- Jamaica (1962)
- Kenya (1964)
- Latvia (1991)
- Lesotho (1967)
- Liberia (1947)
- Libya (1953)
- Lithuania (1991)
- Luxembourg (1947)

- Madagascar (1960)
- Malawi (1964)
- Mali (1960)
- Malta (1965)
- Mauritania (1962)
- Mauritius (1968)
- Mexico (1946)
- Monaco (1949)
- Montenegro (2007)
- Morocco (1956)
- Mozambique (1976)
- Namibia (1978)
- Netherlands (1947)
- Nicaragua (1952)
- Niger (1960)
- Nigeria (1960)
- North Macedonia (1993)
- Norway (1946)
- Panama (1950)
- Paraguay (1955)
- Peru (1946)
- Poland (1946)
- Portugal (1974)
- Moldova (1992)
- Romania (1956)
- Russian Federation (1954)
- Rwanda (1962)
- St. Kitts and Nevis (1983)
- St. Lucia (1980)
- Saint Vincent and the Grenadines (1983)
- San Marino (1974)
- São Tomé and Príncipe (1980)
- Senegal (1960)
- Serbia (2000)
- Seychelles (1976)
- Sierra Leone (1962)
- Slovakia (1993)
- Slovenia (1992)
- Somalia (1960)
- South Africa (1994)
- South Sudan (2011)
- Spain (1953)
- Sudan (1956)
- Suriname (1976)
- Sweden (1950)
- Switzerland (1949)
- Togo (1960)
- Trinidad and Tobago (1962)
- Uganda (1962)
- Ukraine (1954)
- United Kingdom (1997)
- Tanzania (1962)
- Uruguay (1947)
- Venezuela (1946)
- Zambia (1964)
- Zimbabwe (1980)

#### World Trade Organization: Member States and Date of Entry

- Albania (2010)
- Antigua and Barbuda (1995)
- Argentina (1995)
- Armenia (2003)
- Austria (1995)
- Barbados (1995)
- Belgium (1995)
- Belize (1995)
- Bolivia (1995)
- Botswana (1995)
- Brazil (1995)
- Bulgaria (1996)
- Burkina Faso (1995)
- Burundi (1995)
- Cabo Verde (2008)
- Cameroon (1995)
- Central African Republic (1995)
- Chad (1996)
- Chile (1995)
- Colombia (1995)
- Congo (1997)
- Costa Rica (1995)
- Côte d'Ivoire (1995)
- Croatia (2000)

- Cuba (1995)
- Czechia (1995)
- Denmark (1995)
- Djibouti (1995)
- Dominican Republic (1995)
- Ecuador (1996)
- Egypt (1995)
- El Salvador (1995)
- Estonia (1999)
- Eswatini (1995)
- Finland (1995)
- France (1995)
- Gabon (1995)
- Gambia (1996)
- Georgia (2000)
- Germany (1995)
- Ghana (1995)
- Greece (1995)
- Grenada (1996)
- Guatemala (1995)
- Guinea (1995)
- Guyana (1995)
- Haiti (1996)
- Honduras (1995)
- Hungary (1995)
- Iceland (1995)
- Ireland (1995)
- Italy (1995)
- Jamaica (1995)
- Kenya (1995)
- Latvia (1999)
- Lesotho (1995)
- Liberia (2016)
- Liechtenstein (1995)
- Lithuania (2001)
- Luxembourg (1995)
- Madagascar (1995)
- Malawi (1995)
- Mali (1995)
- Malta (1995)
- Mauritania (1995)
- Mauritius (1995)
- Mexico (1995)
- Moldova (2001)
- Montenegro (2012)
- Morocco (1995)
- Mozambique (1995)
- Namibia (1995)
- Netherlands (1995)
- Nicaragua (1995)
- Niger (1996)
- Nigeria (1995)
- North Macedonia (2003)
- Norway (1995)
- Panama (1997)
- Paraguay (1995)
- Peru (1995)
- Poland (1995)
- Portugal (1995)
- Romania (1995)
- Russian Federation (2012)
- Rwanda (1996)
- Saint Kitts and Nevis (1996)
- Saint Lucia (1995)
- Saint Vincent and the Grenadines (1995)
- Senegal (1995)
- Seychelles (1995)
- Sierra Leone (1995)
- Slovak Republic (1995)
- Slovenia (1995)
- South Africa (1995)
- Spain (1995)
- Suriname (1995)
- Sweden (1995)
- Switzerland (1995)
- Tanzania (1995)
- Togo (1995)
- Trinidad and Tobago (1995)
- Tunisia (1995)
- Uganda (1995)
- Ukraine (2008)
- United Kingdom (1995)
- Uruguay (1995)
- Venezuela (1995)
- Zambia (1995)
- Zimbabwe (1995)

APPENDIX D  
INITIAL CODING

Word/Phrase	Location	Code(s)
<b>Wallerstein - World Systems</b>		
"...constant spatial expansion."	Wallerstein, 1993, p. 3	Accumulation
"...the great disillusionment with developmentalism in the Third World."	Wallerstein, 1993, p. 4	Developmentalism
"...structural pressures to accumulate capital and to accumulate it endlessly."	Wallerstein, 1995, p. 3	Accumulation
"Understrata...upper strata..."	Wallerstein, 1995, p. 4	Stratification
"...commodification; the multiplicity of modes of labor control; commodity chains; unequal exchange between core and periphery; and the group of monopolizing non-specialized capitalists functioning as the anti-market."	Wallerstein, 1995, p. 4	Commodification; Unequal Exchange
"Commodification means that activities that involve production, exchange, saving, or borrowing are monetized and thus become market operations."	Wallerstein, 1995, p. 4	Commodification; competition
"...monopolizing capitalists repeatedly encourage the search for new niches to commodify."	Wallerstein, 1995, p. 5	Commodification; Accumulation
"A system that maintains multiple modes of labor control (and therefore of labor remuneration) creates inbuilt mechanisms by which the demands of workers for increased compensation can be restrained."	Wallerstein, 1995, p. 5	Control; Manipulation; Coercion; Redistribution
"(vertical integration of production)"	Wallerstein, 1995, p. 7	Stratification
"...in which hegemonic powers periodically and temporarily create regimes of interstate order that seek to maximize the possibilities of the endless accumulation of capital."	Wallerstein, 1995, p. 10	Accumulation; Manipulation
"...creates a political structure capable of advancing their interests in the world-system."	Wallerstein, 1995, p. 10	Unequal Exchange
"Furthermore, strong states in the core can work to ensure that states in the periphery do not become strong enough to interfere with the process of the worldwide accumulation of capital."	Wallerstein, 1995, p. 10	Control; Manipulation; Coercion
"...active agents of resistance."	Wallerstein, 1995, p. 10	Resistance; Counter-hegemonic movements
"The construction of the geoculture involved legitimating the dominant political ideology in the structures of knowledge."	Wallerstein, 1995, p. 14	Legitimation; European Universalism
"...revival of the world university system..."	Wallerstein, 1995, p. 14	Global Equivalency; Universalism
"...accumulation."	Wallerstein, 2000, p. 249	Accumulation
"...a deception imposed upon us by powerful groups and an even worse one we have imposed upon ourselves, despairingly."	Wallerstein, 2000, p. 250	Coercion
"What determines the real wage level? Quite clearly, the answer is the rapport de forces between the labor force in a given zone and sector of the world-economy and the employers of such labor. This rapport de forces is a function primarily of the political strength of the two groups in what we call the class struggle."	Wallerstein, 2000, p. 258	Control; Manipulation; Coercion; Redistribution

<b>Word/Phrase</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Code(s)</b>
"...ensuring relative political stability in response to growing discontent of the lower strata..."	Wallerstein, 2000, p. 261	Control; Manipulation; Coercion
"...accumulation of capital."	Wallerstein, 2000, p. 262	Accumulation
"...persuade the mass of the population to be relatively patient. The major argument for patience has been the inevitability of reform. Things will get better - if not immediately, then for one's children and grandchildren. A more prosperous, more egalitarian world is on the horizon."	Wallerstein, 2000, p. 262	Control; Manipulation; Coercion
"...those who wish to retain the privileges of the existing inegalitarian system... They will assert that they are modernizers, new democrats, advocates of freedom and progressive."	Wallerstein, 2000, p. 265	Control; Manipulation; Coercion; Deficit Perspective
"...freedom and unfreedom... defining characteristic of a capitalist world-economy."	Wallerstein, 2010, p. 172	Unequal Exchange
"...system of unequal distribution..."	Wallerstein, 2010, p. 175	Unequal Exchange
<b>Meyer - World Society</b>		
"...worldwide models constructed and propagated through global cultural and associated processes."	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 144-145	Universalism; Cultural Scripts
"These models and the purposes they reflect (e.g., equality, socioeconomic progress, human development) are highly rationalized, articulated, and often surprisingly consensual."	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 145	Rationality; Consent
"...domains of rationalized social life..."	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 145	Rationality
"...educating and advising..."	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 146	Knowledgeable Others; Expertise
"...culturally constructed and embedded..."	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 147	Cultural Scripts; Values
"...constructed in world culture;"	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 148	Transcending Culture
"...the world level of social reality is culturally transcendent and causally important..."	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 148	Transcending Culture; Cosmopolitanism
"...routinely organize and legitimate themselves in terms of universalistic (world) models like citizenship, socioeconomic development, and rationalized justice."	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 148	Universalism; Cultural Scripts; Rational; Values
"The correct modern forms are highly developed and articulated, with elaborate rationalized justifications. Particularistic or local models find it difficult to compete with these legitimations."	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 148-149	Modernization; Reproduction; Universalism
"...the functionalism of world culture is inscribed in commonsense descriptions and social-scientific theories of "the way things work"..."	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 149	Universalism; Rationality
"...enactors of script rather more than they are self-directed actors."	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 150	Reproduction
"...world culture is highly rationalized and universalistic..."	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 153	Universalism
"...basic goals of collective and individual progress."	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 153	Values; Cultural Scripts

Word/Phrase	Location	Code(s)
"...these models are organized as cultural principles and visions not strongly anchored in local circumstances..."	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 156	
"...the construction of identity and purpose, systemic maintenance of actor identity, and legitimation of the actorhood of subnational units as individuals and organized interests."	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 157	Values; Agency; Cultural Scripts
"The external recognition and construction of sovereign statehood has been a crucial dimension of the Western system for centuries, with new claimants especially dependent on obtaining formal recognition from dominant powers."	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 158	Knowledgeable Others; Cultural Scripts
"Thus, through both selection and adaptation, the system has expanded to something close to universality of the nation-state form."	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 158	Universalism; Reproduction; Diffusion
"...worldwide models of the rationalized nation-state actor define appropriate constitutions, goals, data systems, organization charts, ministry structures, and policies."	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 158	Cultural Scripts; Universalism
"...prescribed institutions of modernity."	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 159	Modernization; Cultural Scripts
"...enactments of conventionalized scripts..."	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 159	Cultural scripts
"...modifying its traditions in the direction of world-cultural forms."	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 159	Transcending Culture; Values
"...the modern actor is a worldwide cultural construction whose identity and interpretations derive directly from exogenous meanings..."	Meyer et al., 1997, p. 162-163	Diffusion; Values;
"Modern culture depicts society as made up of "actors"..."	Meyer & Jepperson, 2000, p. 100	Autonomy; Agency
"The modern social system at present is imagined to operate via fully realized and unfettered actors pursuing their goals."	Meyer & Jepperson, 2000, p. 100	Autonomy; Agency
"...agency..."	Meyer & Jepperson, 2000, p. 101	Autonomy; Agency
"...enact in their identities substantial agency for broad collective purposes."	Meyer & Jepperson, 2000, p. 101	Autonomy; Agency
"...progressive society..."	Meyer & Jepperson, 2000, p. 103	Modernization; Codmopolitanism
"...common and universal principles..."	Meyer & Jepperson, 2000, p. 105	Universalism; Values
"The status of the individual as responsible creature and carrier of purpose..."	Meyer & Jepperson, 2000, p. 105	Autonomy; Agency
"Third, and most recently, the various formal "others" of this system - collectives representing sciences, professions, and rationalized world associations - explicitly deploy the expanded standards and putative truths as a collective culture for the world, with substantial influence."	Meyer & Jepperson, 2000, p. 106	Knowledgeable others; Universalism
"...standardization and scripting..."	Meyer & Jepperson, 2000, p. 106	Standardization; Cultural Scripts
"...participate in complete good faith as advisors and consultants..."	Meyer & Jepperson, 2000, p. 107	Knowledgeable others

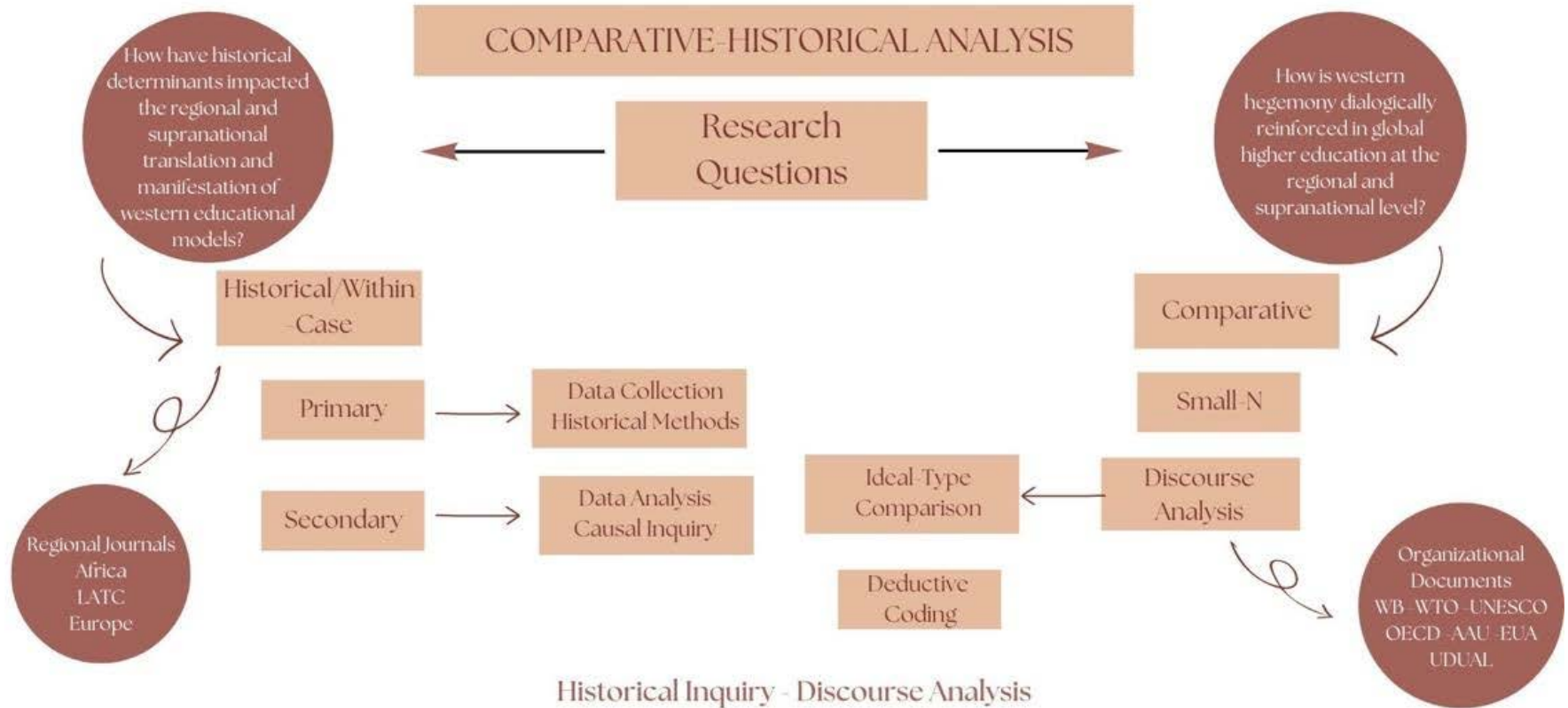


<b>Word/Phrase</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Code(s)</b>
“The authoritative voice of the sciences and professions stems from the posture of pure otherhood: that is, from their claim to speak for wider truths and standards, beyond any local situation or interests.”	Meyer & Jepperson, 2000, p. 108	Knowledgeable others
“...employing the latest cultural recipes...”	Meyer & Jepperson, 2000, p. 109	Cultural scripts
“Modern actors enact highly standardizing models for agency and scripts for activity...”	Meyer & Jepperson, 2000, p. 111	Reproduction; Cultural scripts: Diffusion
“...they rather instruct and advise actors on how to be better actors in light of general principles.”	Meyer, 2010, p. 7	Knowledgeable others
“The scriptwriting Others of the world prescribe agentic actorhood for individual persons.”	Meyer, 2010, p. 9	Knowledgeable others
“Actorhood means the enhanced standing of the entities involved and their empowered comprehension of the scientized and rationalized environment in which they are to act.”	Meyer, 2010, p. 9	Rationality; Competent; Agency
“One element is the diffusion of scientific and social scientific thought and method far beyond their traditional foci, constructing social action as more universal, standardized, and orderly.”	Meyer & Bromley, 2013, p. 370	Knowledgeable others; Universalism
“The transformation of persons into empowered but standardized actors...”	Meyer & Bromley, 2013, p. 371	Standardization; Rationality; Agency; Values

APPENDIX E  
METHODOLOGY

# Westernization as Lingua Franca:

Historical and Discursive Patterns of Hegemony in Global Higher Education

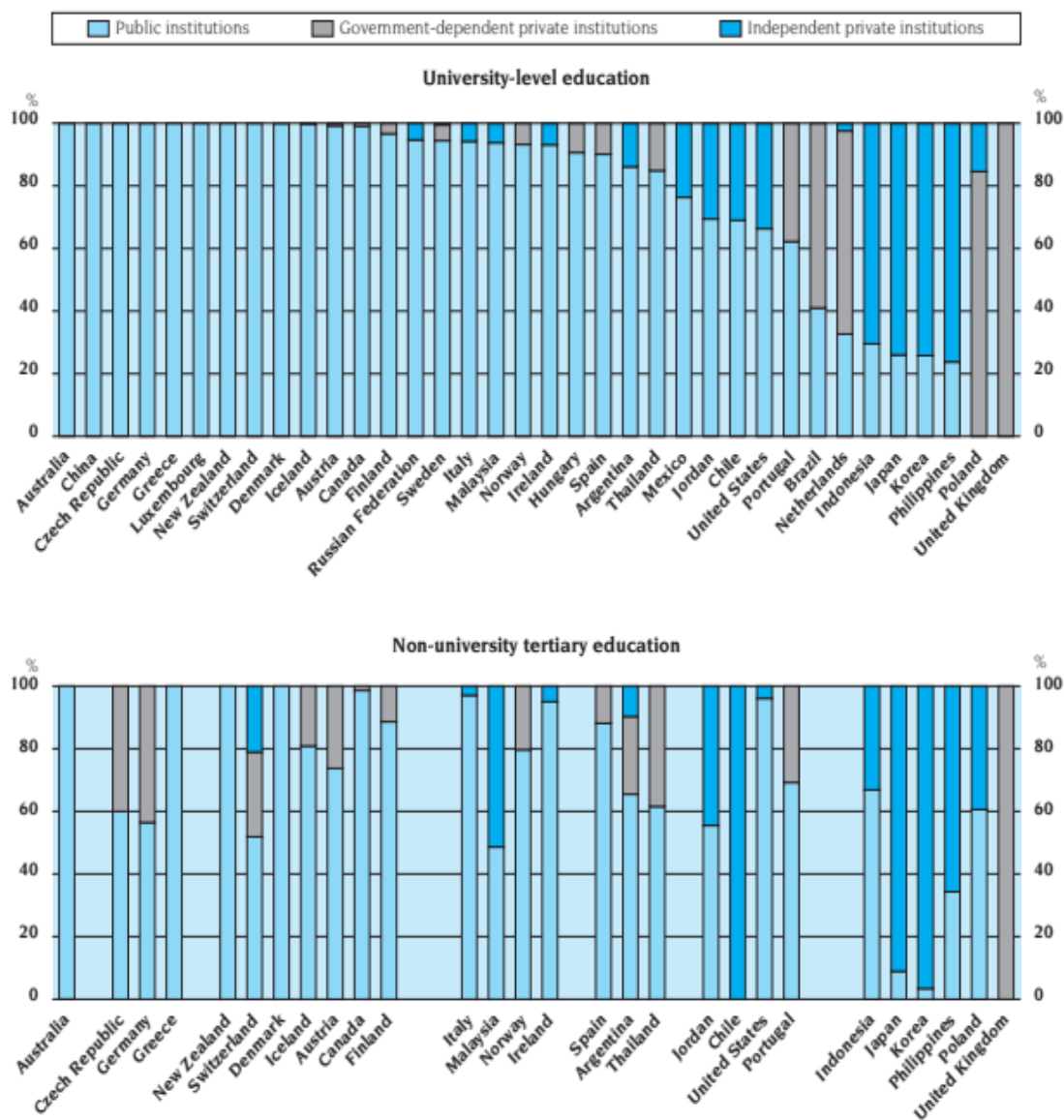


APPENDIX F  
OECD EDUCATION AT A GLANCE MATRICES

	(1) Education and learning outputs and outcomes	(2) Policy levers and contexts shaping educational outcomes	(3) Antecedents or constraints that contextualise policy
(I) Individual participants in education and learning	(1.I) The quality and distribution of individual educational outcomes	(2.I) Individual attitudes, engagement, and behaviour	(3.I) Background characteristics of the individual learners
(II) Instructional settings	(1.II) The quality of instructional delivery	(2.II) Pedagogy and learning practices and classroom climate	(3.II) Student learning conditions and teacher working conditions
(III) Providers of educational services	(1.III) The output of educational institutions and institutional performance	(2.III) School environment and organisation	(3.III) Characteristics of the service providers and their communities
(IV) The education system as a whole	(1.IV) The overall performance of the education system	(2.IV) System-wide institutional settings, resource allocations, and policies	(3.IV) The national educational, social, economic, and demographic contexts

Source: OECD (2004), *Education at a Glance 2004: OECD Indicators*, OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/eag-2004-en>.

Chart C3.5. **Distribution of tertiary students enrolled by type of institution**  
(head counts, 1996)



Countries are ranked in descending order of the percentage of students in public institutions in university-level education.

Source: OECD

Source: OECD (1999), *Education at a Glance 1998: OECD Indicators*, OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/eag-1998-en>.

**Table 1. OECD data to measure progress towards the education SDG targets**

Education SDG targets*	Data the OECD can offer and help to develop
<p><b>4.1</b> By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education, leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Enrolment and completion rate data from administrative sources and INES data collections</li> <li>■ Reading and maths performance data for 15-year-olds in PISA</li> <li>■ Learning outcome assessments need to be developed for the end of primary school</li> <li>■ PISA for Development will improve methodologies for estimating the out-of-school populations</li> </ul>
<p><b>4.2</b> By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care and pre-primary education so that they are ready for primary education</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Administrative data collected through the INES surveys on enrolment in early childhood development and pre-primary education</li> <li>■ An Early Learning Outcomes assessment project is under development and will generate data on the development of young children's cognitive, social and emotional skills</li> </ul>
<p><b>4.3</b> By 2030, ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Enrolment rates from the INES data collections for tertiary education and upper secondary vocational education programmes, by gender</li> <li>■ Participation in formal and non-formal adult education from the Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC)</li> </ul>
<p><b>4.4</b> By 2030, substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Data on proficiency in digital problem-solving skills among 16-65 year-olds from the Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC)</li> <li>■ Data on proficiency in literacy and numeracy among 16-65 year-olds from the Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC)</li> </ul>
<p><b>4.5</b> By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Enrolment, graduation and attainment data for all ISCED levels from the INES data collections, by gender</li> <li>■ Educational attainment data for ISCED levels 3 and higher, by gender, immigrant background, parents' educational attainment, language spoken at home, from the Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC)</li> <li>■ Data on public and private financial investments in education from the INES data collections</li> <li>■ Data on equity policies related to access and funding for disadvantaged populations from the country studies in the OECD project on Efficient Resource Allocation in Education</li> <li>■ Data on aid to education compiled by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD</li> </ul>
<p><b>4.6</b> By 2030, ensure that all youth and a substantial proportion of adults, both men and women, achieve proficiency in literacy and numeracy</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Literacy and numeracy proficiency data from the Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC), by age and gender</li> <li>■ Participation in basic skills training activities from the Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC)</li> </ul>
<p><b>4.7</b> By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Global competence proficiency data from the 2018 PISA cycle</li> <li>■ Science proficiency and environmental awareness data from the 2015 PISA cycle</li> <li>■ Data on interpersonal trust and various other social outcomes from the Survey of Adult Skills (PIAAC)</li> <li>■ INES/NESLI surveys on curricula, subject fields and learning time in schools</li> </ul>
<p><b>4.a</b> Build and upgrade education facilities that are child-, disability- and gender-sensitive, and provide safe, nonviolent, inclusive and effective learning environments for all</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>■ Data on learning environments, resources and equipment (including ICT and connectivity) from PISA surveys</li> <li>■ School-climate indicators, including violence and disruptive behaviour by students, from the Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS)</li> </ul>

Source: OECD (2016), *Education at a Glance 2016: OECD Indicators*, OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/eag-2016-en>.

**Table A. Indicators including an analysis of tertiary education in *Education at a Glance 2019***

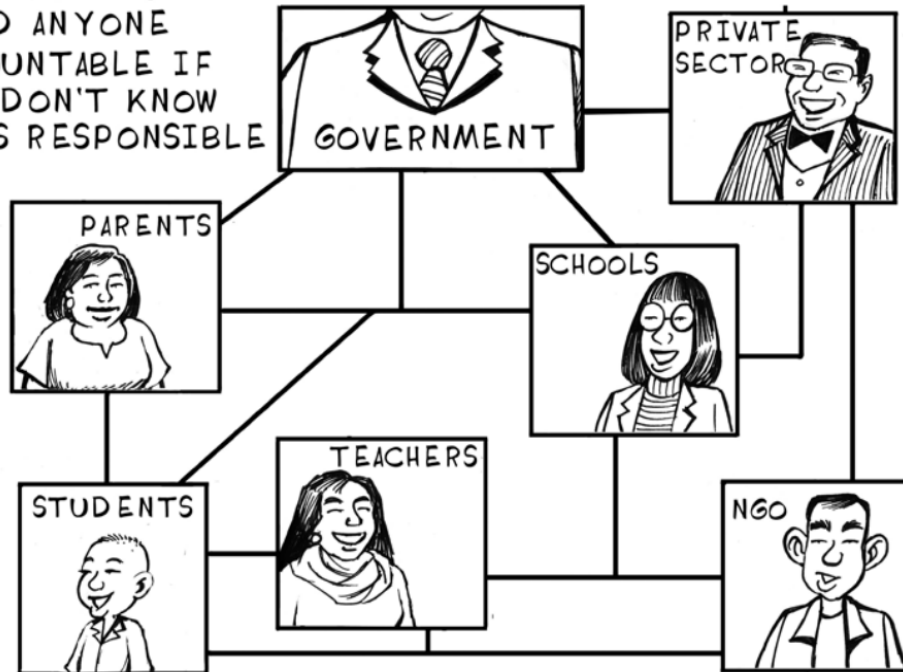
Chapter	Indicator number	Indicator	Tertiary education content
<b>Chapter A:</b> The output of educational institutions and the impact of learning	A1	To what level have adults studied?	X
	A2	Transition from education to work: Where are today's youth?	X
	A3	How does educational attainment affect participation in the labour market?	X
	A4	What are the earnings advantages from education?	X
	A5	What are the financial incentives to invest in education?	X
	A6	How are social outcomes related to education?	X
	A7	To what extent do adults participate equally in education and learning?	X
<b>Chapter B:</b> Access to education, participation and progression	B1	Who participates in education?	X
	B2	How do early childhood education systems differ around the world?	
	B3	Who is expected to graduate from upper secondary education?	
	B4	Who is expected to enter tertiary education?	X
	B5	Who is expected to complete tertiary education?	X
	B6	What is the profile of internationally mobile students?	X
	B7	What are the characteristics and outcomes of doctoral graduates?	X
<b>Chapter C:</b> Financial resources invested in education	C1	How much is spent per student on educational institutions?	X
	C2	What proportion of national wealth is spent on educational institutions?	X
	C3	How much public and private investment in educational institutions is there?	X
	C4	What is the total public spending on education?	X
	C5	How much do tertiary students pay and what public support do they receive?	X
	C6	On what resources and services is education funding spent?	X
	C7	Which factors influence teachers' salary cost?	
<b>Chapter D:</b> Teachers, the learning environment and the organisation of schools	D1	How much time do students spend in the classroom?	
	D2	What is the student-teacher ratio and how big are classes?	X
	D3	How much are teachers and school heads paid?	X
	D4	How much time do teachers spend teaching?	
	D5	Who are the teachers?	X
	D6	What are the admission systems for tertiary education?	X

Source: OECD (2019), *Education at a Glance 2019: OECD Indicators*, OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/f8d7880d-en>.



APPENDIX G  
UNESCO VISUALS

IT'S HARD TO HOLD ANYONE ACCOUNTABLE IF YOU DON'T KNOW WHO'S RESPONSIBLE



Source: UNESCO, Global Education Monitoring Report Summary: Accountability in Education 2017 p. 14



Source: UNESCO, Global Education Monitoring Report: Accountability in Education 2017 p. 28



Source: UNESCO Global Monitoring Report: Accountability in Education 2017 p. 9, How All Actors in Education are Currently Held to Account

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