INTERNATIONAL & DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

Leadership for Social Justice in Higher Education

The Legacy of the Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program

Edited by
Terance W. Bigalke
and Mary S. Zurbuchen

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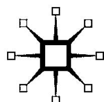

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Institute for International Education-Latin America

MOZAMBIQUE
Africa-America Institute

NIGERIA
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PALESTINE
America-Mideast Educational and Training Services

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Association for the Advancement of Higher Education and Development

VIETNAM
Center for Educational Exchange with Vietnam

Introduction: Breaking New Ground, Opening New Pathways

Mary S. Zurbuchen

The sun sets behind the mountains,
The Yellow River flows into the sea.
If you want to see the endless panorama
You must climb another flight of stairs.[1]

This volume marks the culmination of one of the most significant private higher education initiatives of the early twenty-first century and documents some of its important innovations and achievements. The Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program (IFP) was launched in 2000 and and concluded operations in 2013, having provided some 4,300 postgraduate[2] fellowships for talented men and women from underrepresented social groups in 22 countries and territories around the world. Backed by the Ford Foundation's unprecedented commitment of philanthropic resources, IFP had an ambitious goal: to identify thousands of exceptional and socially committed individuals from communities that typically lack access to higher education and support their success in postgraduate degree programs in fields of the Fellows' choice at selective universities around the world.

When the program began, no models were at hand for implementing such an operation at a global scale. IFP therefore shaped a framework of policies and practices through an experimental process that emphasized flexibility and partnership among varied sets of actors. We, as part of IFP, continuously sought to balance local knowledge, contextual realities, and personal circumstances within the parameters of IFP's global mandate. We were acutely mindful of the bold objectives and inherent risks in attempting something markedly different from more conventional

fellowship practice. In the allusion of the Chinese poet cited above, we needed to reach higher to accomplish something we could not fully envision at the start of the program.

IFP operated during a period characterized by dynamic change and new debates in the global higher education arena, particularly the enhanced focus on processes of "internationalization." The past decade has indeed seen both greater mobility of student populations and heightened competition over market share among receiving countries, as larger numbers of college-age people seek higher education opportunities abroad. At the same time, institutional collaborations across borders are expanding rapidly as universities establish overseas satellites, degree equivalencies, and joint ventures of various kinds.[3] The most ambitious attempts at internationalizing higher education posit a transformation of traditional campuses into "global network universities,"[4] whereby a typical university degree would require some period of study in another part of the world on an affiliated campus.

Other signs of internationalization are evident in the race to develop technology-based learning platforms such as MOOCs (Massive Open Online Courses), a type of "disruptive innovation" prompting widespread commentary on pedagogy and the inherent values of university learning across the world of higher education.[5] MOOCs and other approaches to distance learning seek to broaden participation in and access to college-level instruction across national boundaries; instead of sending students to foreign countries, MOOCs propose to offer synchronous learning opportunities to large numbers across multiple regions. Still, the manifest and rapid expansion of international student numbers—as with the dramatic spike in the number of Chinese students coming to the United States[6]—means that issues of mobility remain paramount. Here, the dilemmas for many universities and national governments involve admissions standards,[7] business models and ethical issues in international student recruitment,[8] the growing impact of foreign student tuition in helping balance university budgets, and immigration policies affecting student visas.[9] In the traditional "sending" and "receiving" countries, debates about "brain drain" and "brain gain" remain salient, while at the same time countries like Spain and Australia have emerged as new competitors in the ranks of destination countries offering international opportunities.

All of the above-mentioned factors influenced our thinking as IFP was designed and began its selections in Asia, Russia, Latin America, and Africa/Middle East. Our challenges differed from those of many higher education programs, however, as IFP's starting point and overarching orientation was toward social justice issues. We tried to align

our objectives—enabling members of less advantaged groups within their own societies to access quality postgraduate learning—with the changing paradigms of globalization of knowledge. This entailed questioning some fundamental assumptions and basic tenets of advanced academic training.

For instance, IFP focused on how internationalization in higher education could bring new opportunities for less advantaged populations in developing societies. Was growing mobility actually opening doors for groups beyond the top layers of better-prepared and well-resourced individuals? Could we make a significant investment in social justice in the developing world by identifying talented individuals who are committed to addressing their societies' major problems, and who would benefit by postgraduate degree study? Could we link these individuals with academic training that would meet their needs? And could we make a case that advanced educational opportunity can be linked to building leadership for social justice and not only to social mobility for individuals?

IFP found that to deliver a meaningful study opportunity to nontraditional populations meant a retooling of certain basic features of typical scholarship programs. Given the wide variation in our potential applicant pool across the globe, we determined early on that decentralized implementation and local decision-making would be the drivers of credible, transparent, and responsive selection processes. Instead of establishing a universal definition of "disadvantage" to identify the program's target group, we worked with local organizations in each IFP country to "translate" IFP's global philosophy into terms that fit local realities. Overall goals of inclusion meant that novel methods of recruiting candidates for IFP fellowships had to be devised, and standard criteria (such as age, foreign-language fluency, or capacity to submit applications online) had to be modified. In addition to recruiting applicants from underserved social groups (as locally defined), IFP required that selection processes assess applicants' academic talent, social commitment, and leadership potential. This was a different logic of "merit" than assessment systems that reward grade point averages and test scores alone.

Assuming that IFP's international partner network was successful in selecting the most competent and appropriate candidates from the designated target groups, our task would still be daunting. These diverse individuals came from difficult and marginal backgrounds, and lacked the financial and social capital of more privileged members of their societies. IFP needed to shape the "enabling conditions" that would assist Fellows to cross national and cultural boundaries and succeed in demanding and unfamiliar academic and social settings. Regardless of IFP's groundbreaking effort in identifying talented individuals from

marginalized populations, the program would not have been deemed a success had Fellows not attained their academic goals.

Over a decade and more, IFP Fellows enrolled at some 615 universities in 49 countries. While Fellows had discretion in deciding where to study, within a few years IFP had identified key universities that shared the program's vision for expanding access and equity. These institutions were especially qualified to partner with IFP, attracting larger numbers of Fellows by virtue of their flexible admissions processes, strong academic mentoring and support systems, and responsive international student services. Partner universities were creative in supporting Fellows with unconventional academic backgrounds and in identifying ways to engage their intellectual talents and enrich academic environments with their contributions. Fellows benefited from the IFP university partnerships in many ways, including more focused student services, special bridging and tutoring programs, and the invaluable support of an on-campus network of IFP Fellows.

Host Universities
IFP Fellows studied in 615 different universities.
The following institutions hosted 30 or more Fellows:

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, US (166)
Brandeis University, US (155)
University of Birmingham, UK (145)
University of Sussex at Brighton, UK (95)
University of Manchester, UK (82)
Asian Institute of Technology, Thailand (80)
Clark University, US (77)
Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, Brazil (75)
University of Leeds, UK (75)
University of London, UK (75)
Tulane University, US (71)
Wageningen University, the Netherlands (69)
Columbia University, US (68)
Universidad de Chile, Chile (64)
University of Texas, Austin, US (62)
Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, Spain (61)
School of International Training Graduate Institute, US (59)
Institute of Social Studies, the Netherlands (55)
University of East Anglia, UK (52)
Moscow State University, Russia (50)
Universidad Iberoamericana Ciudad de México, Mexico (47)
New York University, US (47)
Mahidol University, Thailand (41)
Centro Agronómico Tropical de Investigación y Enseñanza, Costa Rica (40)

Ohio University, US (40)
Hawai'i Pacific University, US (31)
University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa (30)

Source: Linking Higher Education with Social Change, Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program 2013, 28.

As the program consolidated, IFP found it important to have conversations about the program's vision with partner universities. University faculty, advisors, and international student services specialists were observing and interacting with IFP Fellows in ways that were different from those of program administrators or mentors back in home countries. In 2012, IFP decided to convene a meeting of key actors from a subset of more than two dozen universities that had hosted at least 30 Fellows over the course of the program. The IFP University Symposium participants represented nine of the ten countries around the world where at least 100 Fellows had studied, including the United States, United Kingdom, Spain, the Netherlands, Mexico, Russia, Thailand, South Africa, and Chile. Designed and organized by the East West Center (EWC) in Hawai'i,[10] working with IFP staff, the symposium brought together 23 presenters for three days of interaction and exchange.

The symposium was framed as an opportunity to explore some of the impacts and experiences—both academic and institutional—of IFP's university partners as they engaged with the program's social justice ethic and the distinct profile of IFP Fellows, who are "seasoned by their lives on the socioeconomic margins, by the career experience engaged around issues of poverty and injustice, by their commitment to return home and apply what they have learned to make a difference in their communities and countries," in the language of the meeting prospectus. We wanted to develop a better understanding of university perspectives on the program and gather major lessons from university partners regarding IFP's influences and impacts, with all their implications for future policy and practice in the higher education field.

Although IFP had previously convened dozens of face-to-face meetings of international partners in our three major regions, the symposium offered a chance for direct dialogue among receiving institutions themselves. Participation was global, with universities in Asia, Latin America, and Africa joining those in the United States, Europe, and the United Kingdom to foster conversations across cultures and education systems. We sought participants from institutions representing both international and local destinations, reflecting IFP's policy of giving Fellows the option to study in a major international region or at a university in their own or a neighboring country. We intentionally sought participants from different sectors of the campus community, including faculty, administrators, and

international officers. Participants were encouraged to write papers, to join discussion panels focused on particular themes, or to share their experiences in less formal sessions. Participants subsequently refined their presentations into submissions for this volume, which includes most of the Symposium contributors.

This volume is organized to reflect major Symposium themes, beginning in Part I with a review of the IFP model in the broader context of international higher education. Chapter 1 (Dassin, Enders, and Kottmann) anchors the book with a presentation of IFP's overall goals and program architecture, and analyzes outcomes measured by a set of evaluation instruments. In Chapter 2, Schröder views IFP's characteristics and innovations through the prism of international development and bilateral aid norms. In Part II, we find four perspectives on policies and practices that aim to enhance access and enable academic success for students from underserved communities. Chapter 3 (Zahler and Bertin) and Chapter 4 (Small, Gali Reyes, and de Vette) provide close-up views of how IFP's partner institutions—both universities and international exchange organizations—developed successful strategies for the admissions, academic monitoring, and specialized support for IFP Fellows in North America and continental Europe, respectively. Chapter 5 (Devés and Mora-Curriao) offers the experiences of the University of Chile as that institution sought to broaden access among minority and poor communities; Chapter 6 (Albrecht) illustrates cross-campus learning and institutional impacts at the University of Texas-Austin as a result of the presence of IFP Fellows. Part III, in turn, focuses on the academic cultures and educational environments into which IFP Fellows were inserted. Chapter 7 (Schmelkes) analyzes the academic and social influences of groups of indigenous students in a major university setting in Mexico, while Chapter 8 (Small) presents a spectrum of viewpoints from University of Hawai'i faculty and supervisors on the classroom experiences of the large number of IFP Fellows who enrolled in various degree programs there. Shifting to a key partner institution in Asia, Kusakabe (Chapter 9) looks at how IFP Fellows from several Asian countries developed new capacities as researchers and analysts in the Gender Studies Program at the Asian Institute of Technology in Bangkok, Thailand.

Part IV sets IFP in educational contexts with major emphasis on helping students to become more effective social change and social justice actors. Chapter 10 (Jackson) offers an overview of how a substantial group of IFP Fellows hailing from more than a dozen countries was integrated within the International Development Department at the University of Birmingham. Simon's presentation in Chapter 11 reflects on why a particular academic unit within a larger campus community (Brandeis

University) was well-positioned as a host for IFP Fellows, while Fisher (Chapter 12) points to the congruencies between Fellows' academic needs and Clark University's International Development, Community, and Environment Department. Finally, stepping back to a larger national policy framework, Chapter 13 (Africa) reflects on the emergence of IFP within South Africa's changing higher education landscape in the post-apartheid era.

Each of the contributions featured here represents a unique coloration and a particular strand in the intricate pattern of IFP's global fabric. The authors' national origins, educational experiences, disciplinary backgrounds, and professional roles vary, and their vantage points on IFP differ according to the positions they occupied interacting with IFP's Fellows and program operations. Nonetheless, their chapters—in line with discussions at the symposium in Hawai'i—illustrate certain convergences and symmetries. In what follows I will highlight some of the messages, thematic echoes, dilemmas, and discoveries suggested by the authors' presentations and arguments.

First, these chapters and the IFP program itself all bear traces of the Ford Foundation's long history of support for individual "human achievement," in the words of its mission statement. Ever since it launched international work in the 1950s, higher education training has been a hallmark of Ford's philanthropy. Whether building capacity through support for institutions, faculty development, and research or investing in expansion of entire sectors of knowledge on an international scale, the foundation has consistently employed training and scholarships for individuals in its strategic approaches to development. Yet with IFP, Ford's board of trustees was not making a commitment to higher education or faculty development per se, as it had often done before. The foundation saw IFP as an investment in human potential for social justice ends, working through the processes of advanced learning. IFP was not a project of the foundation's education program, but rather a crosscutting initiative involving all major program sectors.

The legacy of Ford's involvement with higher education—and in this case, through its field offices—meant that in countries around the world, a fellowship program using foundation funds could be readily understood and could draw upon the foundation's considerable social capital of institutional and grantee networks. A strong international presence through its field offices made it easier to communicate the message of IFP that the usual practices of looking for the "best and brightest" as measured by traditional criteria would not, in this case, be Ford's priorities. Thus the history of prior international work, with addition of a focus on selection of talented individuals from marginalized communities, became the distinctive

"Ford DNA" that infused IFP, which in turn defined the program for its university partners.

One of the messages heard in the chapters collected here is that IFP offers a fundamentally different program model within the international education field. Dassin, Enders, and Kottmann carefully show us the underlying, evolving systems characterizing IFP, and explain how its innovative approaches succeeded as demonstrated by data from a series of evaluations. At the level of a single institution, Devés and Mora-Curraio share the University of Chile's adoption of systemic change, incorporating IFP influences, in response to challenges of inclusion and cultural diversity. Yet in Chapters 3 and 4 the authors argue that IFP was just as centrally involved with customization and tailoring to meet individual needs and objectives, and that a "fellow-centered ethos" was at the core of successful program practices. Implementing IFP involved continuous balancing of these two principal modes: systemic coherence, and individual experiences.

An important lesson related to the fellow-centered program emphasis is that selecting the right men and women as IFP Fellows entailed a consequential commitment to creating optimal conditions for their success. Many higher education institutions readily agree that recruiting less privileged students is an important goal. But how willing are these same institutions to change accepted practices to achieve that goal? The chapters by Albrecht (Chapter 6) and Small, Gali Reyes, and de Vette (Chapter 4) show how a new vision for student support can evolve as academic pathways are explored and negotiated from within, to the benefit of non-traditional students. Among the important discoveries along the way was, for example, the effectiveness of delegating on-campus point persons to facilitate IFP Fellows at all stages from application onward. Other findings related to creating effective strategies for addressing academic gaps through bridging program support (for training in foreign language, computer skills, and research methods) both at home and at host institutions. IFP generally used the term "Pre-Academic Training" (PAT) for these courses, which were customized based on local conditions in home countries, or negotiated with host universities as part of the admissions process.[11] The program's investment in PAT not only paid sizable returns through enabling Fellows to gain admission to chosen universities, but because in-country PAT was designed and overseen by local partners, it also helped build close ties between Fellows and partner organizations and increase accountability at all points in the IFP network.

Such support systems brought rewards not only for the Fellows, it turns out, but also for the host universities themselves. In the chapters by Jackson (Chapter 10) and by Small (Chapter 8), we hear the voices of university faculty assessing the contributions of Fellows in their classrooms. As Fisher explains in Chapter 12, effective training in international development

depends on real-world content for interdisciplinary, problem based learning models. With their local knowledge of social change issues and community based development as well as experiences leading organizations or working as social change advocates, IFP Fellows embodied the grounded experience that institutions valued highly. Yet without the support to close gaps in academic backgrounds or clear hurdles in complex admissions processes, many IFP Fellows would not have been able to set foot on selective campuses such as those represented here. For this substantial number of Fellows, the difference between "talking the talk" and "walking the walk" on the part of the IFP program and its partners could not be clearer.

Another theme of the Symposium was how the IFP experience leads to intellectual as well as personal transformations. Participants reflected on the enhanced capabilities and academic achievements of IFP Fellows; in Chapter 9, Kusakabe argues that Fellows gained confidence by leaving their "comfort zones" and acquiring new perspectives on themselves and their societies through their cultural and intellectual journeys. In Barcelona (as described by Gali Reyes in Chapter 4), Fellows initially resistant to studying Catalan gained insights into minority language issues; in Mexico City, indigenous students began to value their inherited cultural knowledge differently (Schmelkes, Chapter 7) after studying alongside more privileged counterparts. The challenging and often difficult experience of "otherness" could take place in home country as well as international university settings, of course; this was another valuable finding from IFP across the globe. Just about half of IFP's South African Fellows studied in home country universities, as Africa explains (Chapter 13); for these individuals, postgraduate education involved crossing social and institutional barriers that only recently began to be lifted. There were many paths to academic success, IFP learned; what was important was to engage Fellows in shaping their own study objectives and selecting the most appropriate host university, whether at home or abroad.

The results of CHEPS research (Chapter 1) clearly show that Alumni feel the fellowship enabled them to strengthen their capacities across a broad range of measures from "building cultural competencies" to "strengthening my commitment to social justice." Yet Symposium participants were just as revealing in discussions of how they and their colleagues had been changed by engagement with the program. In the words of one national selection committee member from Vietnam, "IFP [is] an opportunity for transformation for members of disadvantaged communities as well as for privileged educators like us."[12] As a counterpoint to the theme of Fellow transformation, both educators and administrators involved with IFP needed to revisit tacit assumptions about qualifications, excellence, academic assessment, objectivity, and other concepts. As Schmelkes (Chapter 7) illustrates in her granular analysis of classroom

experiences at Universidad Iberoamericana in Mexico City, faculty discovered they could not assume certain kinds of acronyms or terminology were "naturally" part of indigenous students' knowledge base. In Symposium discussions, one participant shared a moment of realization—analyzing the lack of minority students in her institution—that her long-prized "academic neutrality" was perhaps not the ideal stance she had assumed it was. Similar issues were raised during discussions of "critical thinking" as a measure of academic progress and competency; who sets the bar of what thinking is critical enough? Some IFP Fellows came from cultures where family or community powerfully shape individual awareness, and were never taught to think independently or question more knowledgeable teachers.

It will require further in-depth research to answer some of the key questions regarding academic experiences of IFP Fellows. What kinds of programs provided optimal opportunity for Fellows to be challenged and to grow? What are the "knowledge-building" skills taken home by program Alumni and now being applied in local settings and institutions? This is not to overlook the genuine dilemmas encountered by a very small number of Fellows who had poor understanding of academic ethics, for instance, or whose first degree did not adequately prepare them for international study at the postgraduate level. Despite IFP's extensive support system, not all Fellows could complete their programs. Yet most of these individual cases (less than 3 percent of the total) involved non-academic reasons for suspending or terminating the fellowship, such as family situations back home, illness, or adjustment issues in unfamiliar environments.

IFP often involved a process of defamiliarization; as partners around the world looked for potential applicants and communicated the program's vision, it became clear that many of IFP's features did not fit neatly alongside standard scholarship models. For example, we had no age limit for applicants, nor were Fellows required to study in pre-determined host countries or subject areas. There are other examples of received wisdom and biased practices that have been challenged through IFP, such as the dominance of "famous names" in preferences for international study destinations, or the use of scores on foreign language tests as a proxy for talent.

In addition, many of IFP's local partners sought to counter the tendency of development specialists to look at poor communities as passive recipients of donor aid, including scholarships. In the IFP context, they argued, potential Fellows are those people with exceptional knowledge and experiences who can become even more effective social change actors when equipped with advanced education. These partners helped us see Fellows as people with assets rather than deficits, as leaders to be empowered

rather than people from weak educational backgrounds with low scores on TOEFL tests.

The writers of these chapters mirror the general awareness of IFP's partner institutions that the program is part of a much larger realm of knowledge-building for development and for addressing major societal issues. In the shifting world of international donor assistance, as Schröder explains (Chapter 2), attention to issues of inclusion may be growing; less certain is the extent to which bilateral or multilateral aid projects are changing practices to enable non-traditional students to access the education opportunities they fund. Policy-makers may look at the IFP program as an interesting experiment without seeing its approaches as necessary for their own national goals. For many, higher education ought to enrich the "knowledge sector" in ways that can feed information and recommendations directly from technocrats and professors to policy-makers. They are unsure whether investing in community leaders or local agents of change helps them meet and measure national development goals. In many world regions, university leaders and officials are competing to achieve quantitative outputs that raise their universities' rankings in international surveys. At the same time, increasing privatization of higher education mean there is less state support, and an erosion of a more humanistic vision of education as a "public good."

This book can only begin to elaborate the many ways in which IFP's special partnerships with universities contributed to overall program success. First of all, university partnerships were a key element of IFP's feedback and learning system, enabling the program to adapt to realities on the ground as Fellows took up their fellowships in rapidly growing numbers. Second, the partnerships revealed positive outcomes of an intentional "clustering" strategy that emphasized selected institutions as Fellows made their study choices. Working more closely with institutions enabled the IFP vision to be embraced throughout the system, as we identified on-campus advocates for the program's unique model. And finally, as the authors here demonstrate, IFP has led to lasting impacts on institutions recognizing the power of opening doors for exceptional students whose commitment to their communities and future impacts are likely to be significant.

IFP can bring many lasting lessons to the fore in making the argument that social cohesion, democratic participation, and development can all be enhanced by placing priority on access and equity in education. We hope the breakthroughs of IFP will continue to be studied and shared in days ahead, and that the experiences articulated by the writers gathered here can serve as important signposts on the road to even greater endeavors to build higher education systems serving the needs of all.

Notes

1. Thanks to Keith Clemenger for sharing this poem from Wang Zhihuan (688–742) in an internal evaluation report on the IFP program in China.
2. While the terms “graduate degree” or “graduate program” are used in North America for education beyond the first or bachelor’s degree, we will follow general international practice and use “postgraduate” in this volume.
3. Examples include Yale and the University of Singapore’s Yale-NUS College, a liberal arts residential college in Singapore, which welcomed its inaugural class in June 2013. Many institutions from the US and UK are seeking partnerships in China; see “Campus Collaboration,” *Economist*, January 5, 2013: 33.
4. See Elizabeth Redden, “NYU Establishes Campuses and Sites Around the Globe,” *Inside Higher Ed*, March 11, 2013. Available online at: http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2013/03/11/nyu-establishes-campuses-and-sites-around-globe.
5. See “Learning New Lessons,” *Economist* December 22, 2012: 101–102, and Ry Rivard, “No-Bid MOOCs,” *Inside Higher Ed*, July 17, 2013. Available online at: http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2013/07/17/moocs-spread-quickly-aided-no-bid-deals-public-universities#ixzz2ZIqdbXXu.
6. The number of Chinese student undergraduates in the US tripled between 2008 and 2011; see Tom Bartlett and Karin Fischer, “Culture Shock,” *New York Times* (“Education Life” section), November 6, 2011: 24–27, for discussion of some of the impacts of this surge.
7. Scott Jaschik, “Admissions Leaders and Legal Experts Debate How to Define Merit,” *Inside Higher Ed*, January 18, 2013. Available online at: http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2013/01/18/admissions-leaders-and-legal-experts-debate-how-define-merit.
8. Discussed in Bartlett and Fischer, op. cit.
9. Recent controversies in the UK over student visas followed policy changes of the UK Border Agency; see Elizabeth Redden, “British Higher Education Faces Tension Over Foreign Student Immigration,” *Inside Higher Ed*, September 6, 2012. Available online at: http://www.insidehighered.com/print/news/2012/09/06/british-higher-education-faces-tension.
10. EWC played an important role as an IFP partner, facilitating admissions and student support for the largest group at any university, the 166 Fellows who enrolled at the University of Hawaiʻi.
11. Approximately 93 percent of 4,312 Fellows received in-country pre-academic training for periods ranging from a few weeks to nine months, and 35 percent (1,493) received some type of training at host universities for periods averaging three months. Host university pre-academic or bridging programs were provided for some 52 percent of the Fellows selected from Asia and Russia; 28 percent of Africa and Middle East Fellows; and 11 percent of Latin American Fellows (source: IFP Secretariat).
12. Comment shared during symposium by Minh Kauffman, Director of the Center for Educational Exchange with Vietnam (CEEVN), IFP’s partner organization in Vietnam.

Part I

International Fellowships Program (IFP) in Comparative Perspective