

Faculty perceptions of success in cross-border university-to-university partnerships

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Abstract

In international development the strategy of cross-border university-to-university partnerships is drawing more attention. Funders such as U.S. Agency for International Development are offering large amounts of financial support for the development of university partnerships, networks, and consortiums. Despite the money that is going into university partnerships and networks, there is only limited research on whether this strategy is effective.

This study was conducted at Makerere University, the oldest university in East Africa. Makerere has been engaged with international partners in scores of partnerships, making it an ideal setting to look for perspective on the process and impact of university partnerships. Interviews were conducted with 38 faculty members and content analysis tied what faculty said back to a four-stage model based on literature on partnership development. The first stage of the model focuses on initiation, particularly leadership and motivation. The second stage looks at negotiation of context, the depth of understanding that partners have of where the partnership is based, including organizational structures and the physical and cultural environment. Trust in implementation is the third stage and the final stage is how faculty members evaluate the success of partnerships at their conclusion. In addition to testing the adequacy of the model, this study sought to identify distinctions between partnerships that were internally funded and those that were externally funded.

For the most part, the model proved to be a useful tool to represent the process of partnership. However, there were nuances identified, including the large degree to

which faculty are motivated by individual benefits; internal challenges at the university that hinder partnership development and impact; informal faculty mentorship that happens during partnerships; and reinforcement of dependence on external funding. These findings were used to offer revisions to the original partnership development model. In this study, all the partnerships that were described were externally funded; the faculty members who were interviewed provided no examples of successful, internally funded partnerships. Implications that the university participates in only externally funded partnerships may indicate that the partnership strategy does not hold promise for future sustainability.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Education has been identified as an effective means to build the human resource capacity needed for national development. It equips people with skills needed for participation in global interaction that spurs economic growth. However, many individuals in developing countries lack access to formal education. For the past several decades, the international development community has been supporting efforts to increase the access and quality of education for all (Barro, 1996; Bloom, Canning, & Chan, 2006). Over the past decade, cross-border partnership in higher education has increasingly been used with varying degrees of success to strengthen institutional capacity within national education systems. Changes in how education has been funded over the past several decades in Sub-Saharan Africa provide perspective on how higher education has become a top priority in international development and why partnership is a strategy being used.

Following the independence of many countries from their colonizers in the 1960s and 1970s, funding agencies stepped in to support education in Africa. Tools such as manpower analysis were used to identify “gaps” in skills needed in fledgling economies (Heyneman, 2006). Despite the changing skills needed in these countries and the high cost/benefit, vocational and technical education were the primary forms of education that received outside funding. In the 1980s, funding decisions were influenced most by Cold War politics between the United States (U.S.) and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.). Opportunities to complete higher education in the U.S. and U.S.S.R. were open to Africans as a means of influencing future African leaders to be loyal to the country that sponsored them.

By the end of the Cold War, funding agencies were using national growth models developed by Schultz and others to inform their decisions. According to these models, basic education was the most cost-effective way to build human capital (Heyneman, 2006; Lewis, 2009). Studies in the 1980s by the World Bank concluded that investments to basic education in low-income countries had the highest rate of return (World Bank, 1986). Consequently, the World Bank, UNESCO, UNICEF, and many other bilateral agencies prioritized the funding of basic education in Africa. International education development goals—including the Millennium Development Goals and Education for All—served to reinforce the urgency of funding primary and secondary education (Bloom et al., 2006; Heyneman, 2006; Psacharopoulos, 1982; Teferra & Altbach, 2004).

The strategy of prioritizing funding for primary and secondary education came under criticism. In 2000, a task force of education experts concluded that rate of return was not an appropriate tool to determine the cost-effectiveness of higher education and argued in support of higher education development funding (Task Force on Higher Education and Society, 2000). They pointed out that a workforce with more technical training and skills was needed in the global knowledge economy. The task force's report was influential in causing international donors and agencies to shift funding back into higher education. The World Bank, Asian Development Bank and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) funding strategies shifted to a catch up system to increase access to quality higher education (Bloom, Canning, & Chan, 2006).

Due in part to the emphasis on primary and secondary education over much of the last two decades, student demand for higher education has also increased. More

students are qualified for entrance into university systems. For example, in Uganda, a Sub-Saharan country where Universal Primary and Secondary Education have been highly promoted, primary school enrollment has increased from 2.5 to 7.7 million students and secondary school enrollment has grown from 85,000 to 500,000. University enrollment swelled from 5,000 to 108,000 between 1987 and 2007 (Johannesson & Nakos, 2006; Salerno & Beverwijk, 2007).

Worldwide, enrollment in higher education is increasing. Altbach, Reisberg, and Rumbley (2009) reported that there are more than 150 million students enrolled in higher education. Some funding for this higher education has been directed toward expanding infrastructure to accommodate the growing student population. Even as enrollments rise and physical capacity is challenged, universities are being pressured to update their curriculum to equip students with more technical skills and the ability to conduct research that will support national economic growth (Garrett & Verbik, 2003).

One strategy to improve the quality and applicability of higher education in developing countries is through cross-border university partnerships (Hauptman, 2006; Mamman & Saffu, 2000). Again, Uganda reflects this trend. At Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda, there are more than 90 partnerships listed between their university and others (Makerere University, 2010). Partnership is also an increasingly popular strategy supported by funding agencies (Asian Development Bank, 2008; Lederman, 2010; United States Agency for International Development, 2011; University of Minnesota College of Veterinary Medicine, 2009). It reflects ideals of collaboration and is believed to counter the dependency-based relationships that have developed in the past by allowing greater involvement of stakeholders in the decision-making

process. Additionally, there is a fundamental belief that partnership holds benefits for all project stakeholders. In partnerships, two or more institutions of higher education, often one from a majority world country and another from a minority world country join together through a formal agreement to collaborate on some instructional or programmatic aspect consistent with their organizational missions.

Some university partnership activities focus on faculty development in areas such as teaching pedagogy and information communication technology (The World Bank, 2009) while others are geared toward student learning through dual-degree programs and study-abroad (Michigan State University, 2011). Those who receive part of their education abroad in a developing country are expected to return to their countries with skills they can apply there. Other partnerships are intended to strengthen institutional capacities, such as research on-site (United States Agency for International Development, 2010). The range of international development activities that universities engage in is wide and some literature focuses on how they should be classified according to the participants involved and the different purposes of the programs (Beerkens, 2002; Knight, 2006a, 2006b).

Problem Statement

A considerable amount of literature has been produced on the expansion of higher education partnerships, but there are significant gaps that remain (Court, 2004; Jie, 2011; Kot, 2011; Sakamoto & Chapman, 2011). Much of the current literature is more descriptive than analytical of the partnership process. There are some reports of university-to-university capacity building projects, but many have been written by the organizations that funded them (Bradley, 2007). The more analytical pieces examine

the partnership process drawing on organizational theories (Amey, Eddy, & Ozaki, 2007; Chapman & Sakamoto, 2011) and models of change in which partnerships transition through a series of cycles and stages (Amey et al., 2007; Eddy, 2010b; Kotter & Cohen, 2002; Lacy & Kingsley, 1988; Shaw, 2006). These theories and models seek to explain how partnerships function. As a whole, this literature shows many levels of partnership and the complexity of their development. Five aspects of the partnership process emphasized repeatedly in higher education development literature are: motivation—what drives universities to enter into partnerships; leadership—leadership roles within the partnership; context—partners’ understanding of cultural context and available resources; trust—building trust between partners; and results—the outcomes of the partnership and how they relate to the set objectives.

On the matter of motivation, what drives universities to enter into partnerships can be different from what motivates donors to give their financial support (Eddy, 2010b; Samoff & Carrol, 2004). Motivations can be classified as socio-cultural to improve cultural understanding (Altbach et al., 2009), political to gain trust or loyalty (Samoff & Carrol, 2004), economic to increase revenues (Jie, 2010), academic to promote research (Vincent-Lancrin, 2011) or a mix of these depending on the stakeholder.

A second aspect that impacts the function of partnerships is leadership (Connolly, Jones, & Jones, 2007; Eddy, 2010b). Whether partnerships are initiated top-down, from an administrative level or bottom-up, initiated by faculty relationships and connections, or external, guided by the priorities of another organization in compliance with its direction seems to impact how partnerships develop.

Partners' understanding of cultural context and resources available through the partnership is a third element emphasized in partnership literature (Chapman & Sakamoto, 2011; Holm & Maleté, 2010; Tubbeh & Williams, 2010). Cross-border partnerships are often between universities with unequal resources and different operating structures. Although their mandates may both be to teach, conduct research, and do community outreach, the question of whether some partnerships are able to negotiate this process better than others needs to be explored.

A fourth aspect is trust between partners. Without trust, universities may lack the flexibility to overcome inherent risks of partnership. Building trust through joint decision-making over time and building for sustainable leadership by transferring decision-making to local leaders are themes that emerge in partnership literature (Connolly et al., 2007; Vangen & Huxham, 2003).

Fifth, the result of partnership may or may not be what is expected. The existing literature does not provide an adequate comparative perspective that indicates whether certain funding sources, for example, external or internal funding have been more successful than others in producing the desired outputs and outcomes of partnership.

There are indications that partnership is a risky strategy to invest in. Universities face risks including unmet goals, changes in partner motivations, loss of institutional status and high costs (Amey, 2010; Connolly et al., 2007; Cooper & Mitsunaga, 2010; Jensen, Hjortsø, Schipperijn, Nik, & Nilsson, 2007; Jie, 2011). Additional research on partnerships that have been successful could demonstrate how partners overcame the challenges they faced. This may contribute to better strategies in

addressing weak areas in the knowledge base about partnership such as how universities balance relationships with partners so that benefits are maximized.

Despite the large amount of literature on international university partnership, one aspect that has not been adequately addressed is that of faculty perceptions of the partnership process and how those perceptions may be influenced by the funder of the partnership. Although some studies have recorded the perceptions of faculty members who are often the implementers of these projects (Beerkens, 2002; Bradley, 2007; Cooper & Mitsunaga, 2010; Jie, 2011; Kot, 2011; Tedrow & Mabokela, 2007; van Wyk & Tedrow, 2004; Whitaker, 2004), faculty voices are still underrepresented, especially those faculty from African universities (Court, 2004; Kot, 2011).

The second aspect that lacks research is partnership impact. Due in part to financial constraints, there is minimal data that can be used to conduct analytical comparative studies of past partnerships (Court, 2004). Information about the outcome of many partnerships is not readily available. Although announcements of new university partnerships are available, follow-up on the negotiation, implementation and conclusion of many partnerships is not easily found. Evaluations of partnership projects that are readily available tend to have been conducted or funded by the agencies that financially supported them (Higher Education for Development, 2009; Parker, 2010).

The third gap is that literature on cross-border higher education partnerships has not provided enough studies of university-to-university partnership in Africa (Court, 2004; Morfit, Gore, & Akridge, 2008; Samoff & Carrol, 2004). This study may provide information that can assist decision makers at African universities and funding agencies in determining whether it is prudent to participate in certain types of partnerships.

Findings about the process of partnership as perceived by faculty may assist in setting policies within universities and funding agencies that improve chances of partnership success. Knowing about the impact that higher education partnerships have had may enable funders (for example: U.S. tax payers via USAID) to offer feedback to those who direct their funds. Heyneman (2006) recommended that more information be made available to the public about the results of development work. Rajiv Shah, administrator of USAID has also articulated his desire that USAID be more transparent with the results of the projects that have been financed by taxpayers (Bureau of International Information Programs, 2011).

Multilateral agencies like the World Bank, bilateral agencies including the U.S. Agency for International Development and foundations such as the Rockefeller Foundation have championed the idea of partnership, but some scholars have claimed that donor rhetoric does not always match reality (Brinkerhoff, 2002). Others have suggested that the use of the word “partnership” in foreign assistance documents is merely a linguistic shift and that partnership does not differ from technical assistance strategies used in the past (Samoff & Carrol, 2004; Vavrus & Seghers, 2010). More seriously, some have cautioned that the partnership strategy threatens to replicate patterns of dependency of the colonial era (Samoff & Carrol, 2004). This study examines the perceptions of faculty members in African universities who have participated in institutionally funded and third-party funded partnership projects.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to explore the context of African university faculty perceptions of cross-border university partnerships at their university. It

examined how faculty members viewed the development of partnerships and whether the partnership funder had an impact on the outcomes of partnership. Various elements emphasized in partnership literature, including: leadership, contextual understanding, communication between partners, degree of trust and the evaluation of outcomes were used in the examination of these faculty members' experiences and perceptions.

Research Questions

The study investigated the following questions about cross-border higher education development partnerships in Sub-Saharan Africa:

1. To what extent are internally and externally funded partnerships described as successful?
2. How do faculty members describe the development process of successful internally funded partnerships and successful externally funded ones? What aspects of the partnership process do faculty members emphasize?

Significance of Study

Given the dearth of literature on the development of cross-border university-to-university partnership and the underrepresentation of local stakeholder voices, this study makes a significant contribution to the field. It provides new insight on faculty motivation in partnership and challenges that faculty say impact sustainability. These are valuable insights for education policy makers, as well donors and international university partners. The study's focus on African faculty perceptions is fitting as Africa-oriented partnership projects are increasingly being funded. In this study, faculty confirmed important aspects of the partnership process discussed in other

international development literature; however, nuances were uncovered that previous studies have not explored.

As discussed above, this study compared faculty perceptions of cross-border university partnerships that they have been involved in at their institution that have been successful. Chapter 2 lays the theoretical groundwork for this study and concludes with a model of the partnership process and aspects identified in literature as important to the success of a partnership. This model was used in the research study to compare faculty perceptions of the partnership process. Chapter 3 describes the methodological approach and the qualitative research methods that were used to conduct the study. It includes the researcher's ethical considerations, participant selection and recruitment, strategies for data collection, interview plan, and the analysis procedures that were used to answer the research questions. Chapter 4 summarizes the results of the faculty interviews and Chapter 5 discusses the study's four primary findings and practical implications that can be drawn from them. A revised model of university partnership that incorporates faculty members' views and an additional model is also presented in conclusion.

Chapter 2: Literature Review & Setting of Research

A review of international higher education development literature provides background on what has motivated stakeholders to enter into partnership and aspects of the partnership development process that seem to have an impact on whether relationships are successful. International education development literature incorporates both organizational theory and international development issues as they apply to academic partnerships.

This chapter is divided into six sections. The first summarizes terms frequently used in international development education that are pertinent to this study. This is followed by a brief history of the funding of higher education partnerships for international development. Reported motivations and risks stakeholders associate with institutional partnership are summarized in the third section. The next section combines models that have been used to understand the partnership process. In the fifth section, important elements within the process of partnership are presented. The final section provides a synthesis model of the partnership process that highlights critical components in each of four stages. This is the model that was used in the research study to analyze faculty perceptions of successful partnerships.

Terminology

Operational definitions of a few key terms from the international education development discourse are provided to more clearly distinguish the partnerships that are the focus of this study. Unfortunately, many of these terms are used in slightly different ways from article to article. Therefore, this section will clarify how select terms are defined for purposes of this study.

Internationalization. This term has been linked to higher education since the 1980s (de Wit & Knight, 1995; Knight, 2004, 2006a). In literature by Knight (2003), internationalization is “the process of integrating international, intercultural, or global dimensions into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education” (p. 2). Altbach’s (2006) definition focuses on the institutionalization of internationalization such as the “specific policies and programs undertaken by governments, academic systems and institutions, and even individual departments to support student or faculty exchanges, encourage collaborative research overseas, set up joint teaching programs in other countries or a myriad of other initiatives” (p. 123). Zeleza (2005) brings in the idea of mobility of both students and faculty through collaborations between institutions and includes international themes in curriculum as part of internationalization. In this study, internationalization includes those activities that build institutional capacity to meet the human resource demands for technical skills and knowledge to interact in the global economic community. It is a backdrop to the expansion and institution building that is being accomplished through higher education partnerships.

Cross-border education. Cross-border education overlaps with the terms, “borderless,” and “transnational education” (Green, Eckel, Calderon, & Luu, 2007). The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2005) defines cross-border education in its *Guidelines for Quality Provision in Cross-border Education* as educational situations in which students, faculty, programs, or course materials from public or private universities cross political borders or are engaged in distance education aided by technology. Knight (2007) uses the term to describe the movement of faculty across political borders in order to conduct activities that are part

of university teaching, research or service. This includes international academic linkages and agreements, and international development/aid projects. This study focuses on collaborations between universities that are located in different countries and conduct research, develop or strengthen curriculum, improve teaching, and enhance universities' community outreach.

Instructional and non-instructional partnerships. Chapman and Sakamoto (2011) observe that the diversity of forms of cross-border collaboration in higher education inhibits the development of a dominant model that could be used to make generalizations. They group partnerships into two main categories: instructional and non-instructional. Instructional partnerships include student exchanges, joint degree programs, distance education, and curriculum development. Much literature discusses these partnerships which aim to internationalize campuses, strengthen institutional systems, and establish branch campuses (Garrett & Verbik, 2003; Heffernan & Poole, 2005; Knight, 2005; OECD, 2004; Samoff & Carrol, 2004).

The second category, non-instructional partnerships, is one that Sakamoto and Chapman (2011) say is less understood and potentially more complex than instructional partnerships (OECD, 2004). This includes activities such as joint research, faculty development, technology initiatives, strengthening of institutional management and accreditation (Chapman & Sakamoto, 2011). In this study, attention is given primarily to non-instructional partnerships.

Partnership. The term partnership is another with many associations and difficult to define (Biddle, Vamesu, & Lopes, 2004; Etling & McGirr, 2005; Samoff & Carrol, 2004). It has been applied across many fields of international development

including global health, environmental science, urban development, law and justice, finance, and education (Jensen & Schipperijn, 2006; Ouchi, 2004). Higher education partnerships can include non-university partners such as local, state or national governments, local or international corporations, communities, foreign investors, and transnational governmental organizations. Partnership usually implies horizontal rather than vertical relationships between institutions. Brinkerhoff (2002) notes that partnership should be mutually beneficial and preserves the identity of each institution.

Some forms of partnership emphasize collaborative equity between institutions that provide similar services and have the ability to strategically exchange and pool their financial and human resources (Beerrens, 2002). For others, partnership is an alternative form of providing aid and technical assistance (Samoff & Carrol, 2004). According to Samoff and Carrol (2004), the initial users of partnership language in development were Scandinavian aid agencies and the World Bank. This language represented a shift of ideology from the idea of foreign “aid” to “national ownership” and “country-led development” rather than external direction (Samoff & Carrol, 2004, p. 114). It has been observed by some, including Vavrus and Seghers (2010), that in reality, some partnerships are still not so different from forms of international assistance delivered in the past.

Other terms that overlap with partnership that carry over from organizational theory and are used in international development literature include: institutional or inter-institutional partnership; institutional linkage; alliance or strategic alliance and cooperation (Beerrens, 2002; Knight, 2004; Samoff & Carrol, 2004). Many partnerships are described as knowledge building, capacity building, organization

building or institutional building (Jones & Blunt, 1999). Partnership in higher education may range from small scale, between individual faculty members, to far reaching, across entire universities.

Samoff and Carrol (2004) characterize higher education partnership as beneficial, collaborative arrangements that empower institutions by building their capacity to influence the direction of the relationship while learning through the process. Twinning partnerships are one form of partnership used in higher education for development. They have been described as “mutually beneficial long-term cooperation between public or semi-public institutions that operate under similar mandates and within similar fields, but are situated in different regions, and hold different types of capacities” (Jensen & Schipperijn, 2006, p. 3). Other definitions of university partnership include the notions of equality, joint ownership, mutual benefit, democratic participation and shared responsibility (Samoff & Carrol, 2004).

Jensen et al. (2007) and Askvik (1999) acknowledge that the overlap in how partnerships are defined can be problematic and Samoff and Carrol (2004) caution against grouping all partnerships together and making sweeping generalizations. A report published by the Association for the Study of Higher Education (2010) emphasizes the importance of knowing what “partnership” means to each partner (Eddy, 2010, p. 10). Jensen et al. (2007) also note that partnerships are defined case by case in each context by individual observers. Samoff and Carrol (2004) note the lack of systematic, critical studies of types of academic partnership.

Knight (2005) notes that when the word “development” is added to international higher education partnerships it indicates that there is bilateral or multilateral support

behind the activities (p. 4). In this study, partnership will be described as an arrangement in which two or more institutions of higher education enter into a formal agreement to collaborate on some instructional or programmatic aspect consistent with their organizational mission.

Abbreviated History of University Partnership Funding

Financial support of cross-border university partnerships is not a new phenomenon. Partnerships have been bolstered by a variety of funders for decades (Altbach, 2006; Knight, 2004; Samoff & Carrol, 2004). Bilateral, multilateral, and private funding has been provided for the establishment of universities, post-graduate study abroad programs, faculty development opportunities, teacher education, construction of libraries, and other facilities. Multilateral funding agencies have included the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank (ADB), and the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Large bilateral funders include USAID, SIDA, Danida, DFID and the British Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas. Private foundations such as the Rockefeller, Ford, K. Kellogg, and Carnegie Corporation have also provided significant amounts of funding for higher education partnership.

During the 1960s, the U.S., Soviet Union, China and other former colonial European governments expanded their funding of higher education in Africa as an attempt to gain strategic political support and influence future African leaders (Samoff & Carrol, 2004). Many African students were sponsored by the U.S. and U.S.S.R. to complete their higher education abroad. Through USAID funding, the University of

Nigeria was established in partnership with Michigan State University (Samoff & Carrol, 2004).

In the 1970s and 80s, educational funding policy changed in response to the rate of return studies that indicated funding basic education was more cost-effective than funding other levels of education (Heyneman, 2006; Psacharopoulos, 1982). At the time, it was the World Bank believed that universities they had been supporting were producing graduates of low quality at a high cost (Samoff & Carrol, 2004).

Following the Task Force on Higher Education in 2000 led by a panel of higher education experts, the IMF and the World Bank shifted their funding policies in recognition of the value of higher education (Heyneman, 2006; Collins, 2011). The Task Force report argued that higher education is a necessary piece of education systems to build human capacity and provides skills in science and technology that are necessary in today's knowledge economy (Task Force on Higher Education and Society, 2000).

Over the past decade, the largest funding agencies have continued to increase their support for higher education. From 1990-2000, the total amount of higher education loans given by the World Bank was \$574.5 million (Asian Development Bank, 2008). USAID has also followed this trend. The Higher Education for Development Program alone received more than \$14 million in support from USAID for 86 higher education partnerships in 30 countries in 2010. Additional cost share increased the investment in this group of higher education partnerships an additional \$4 million (Higher Education for Development, 2010). Foundations including the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, Carnegie Corporation, Ford Foundation, John D. and Catherine

T. MacArthur Foundations, Kresge Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, William and Flora Hewlett Foundation and W.K. Kellogg Foundation, long-time supporters of higher education that have traditionally differed in which disciplines they support within higher education cooperatively funded technology infrastructure projects in Africa from 2000-2010 (Parker, 2010; Samoff & Carrol, 2004). This partnership, called the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa (PHEA), contributed \$440 million to 49 universities in nine countries (Parker, 2010).

Samoff and Carrol (2004) note that some African institutions have funded partnerships themselves by charging fees for exchange students, matching funds, and adding overheads. However, of the partnerships that they surveyed, only 34% were funded through institutions' own funds or as matching funds. There is a disparity between the amount of money that funders in countries outside of Africa are giving toward higher education and the level of financial support that is coming from organizations within Africa.

Motivations for Partnering

There are many reasons why partnership is a strategy funding agencies support and university leaders use. For one, it is highly flexible. It can facilitate a wide range of development goals that both funding agencies and universities have. Categories that have been used to classify motivations are: socio-cultural, political, economic, academic, or a mixture of any of these (de Wit, 2002; de Wit & Knight, 1995; Maltha & Boeren, 2005; Woodfield, Maltha & Boeren, 2005; Middlehurst, & Fielden, 2009). The partnership process incentivizes stakeholder participation (Beeby & Booth 2000; Connolly et al., 2007; Weiss, 1987). Rewards for involvement include political

advantage, monetary gain, fulfillment of legal mandates or requirements, and expansion of capacity for economic advancement (Connolly et al., 2007; Weiss, 1987). Personal challenge and research opportunities also have power to motivate faculty even when external inputs, such as funding are uncertain (Cooper & Mitsunaga, 2010).

Partnerships are built on the belief that all involved will benefit more than they will lose from their collaboration (Connolly et al., 2007; Eddy, 2010b; Jie, 2011; Sakamoto & Chapman, 2011; Vangen & Huxham, 2003). Participation supports the notion that people, as rational beings, try to maximize their rewards (Cooper & Mitsunaga, 2010; Tubbeh & Williams, 2010).

Government motivation. According to Chapman and Sakamoto (2011), governments are becoming more aware of the benefits of cross-border collaboration in promoting large agendas for national and economic development. Higher Education for Development (HED) reports claim that university partnerships provide numerous opportunities for positive public diplomacy at home and abroad; their partnerships support international institutions while increasing the visibility of international development on U.S. campuses (Higher Education for Development, 2009; Morfit, Gore, & Akridge, 2009). In their article on partnership in African higher education, Samoff and Carrol (2004) show how politicians have promoted partnerships to achieve national goals such as social equality. There are several reports of partnerships created to synch with U.S. policies and programs in response to the pressures of internationalization and globalization (Altbach, Reisberg, & Rumbley, 2009; Chamberlin & Plucker, 2008; Eddy, 2010b; Frierson-Campbell, 2003). However, the universities and governments in recipient countries have not demonstrated active

support of this strategy. Lewis (2009) pointed out that few governments have formally identified partnership as a strategy that they financially support as a part of their economic strategy.

Donor motivation. Donors, including bilateral and multilateral organizations, foundations, and philanthropic organizations have different objectives for funding cross-border university-to-university partnerships. In the past, their motivations have ranged from philanthropy, post-colonial guilt, and political diplomacy to poverty reduction. Samoff and Carrol (2004) say international partnership today demonstrates a shift away from giving out of philanthropy and social guilt connected to colonialism of the past.

Some funders view themselves as initiators; they expect their funding will attract more foreign investors in the long term. Agencies such as the World Bank value higher education as a means of increasing the ability of developing countries to participate in the knowledge-based global economy (Collins, 2011). The United Nations has promoted higher education as a means for development and poverty reduction. Higher education is depicted as the “engine” that will promote development (Collins, 2011). The Asian Development Bank (2008) also supports expansion of higher education and links research centers for scientific and technological innovation with expected national economic growth.

What motivates funders and what they expect from partnerships can be vague. A study of USAID-funded education project reports from 1990-2005 found that more emphasis was placed on project inputs than on the evaluation of project goal attainment. It was unclear if success was being measured by goal quality, goal achievement, or

sustainability of capacity built (Chapman & Quijada, 2009). USAID (2012) cited its long history of engagement with higher education when it announced a new, five-year, \$100 million initiative to support multi-disciplinary university consortium and partnerships. They believe that by leveraging universities' resources, money will be saved and development outcomes improved.

In the past, Venture (2009) said there has been a call for funders to support innovative structures for research; however, this proposal seems to go a step further in expressing a strong institutional commitment. It appears to be a reaction against the previous decades of development where universities were "ivory towers" and detached from the needs of people on the ground (Lewis, 2009). From the faculty perspective, participation in community projects needs to also include benefits for them personally. Without incentives for faculty, it is uncertain whether the partnership strategy will be successful. The vague guidelines of the USAID Request for Applications prevent universities from honing in on clear objectives against which they will be measured.

University motivation. In the literature on higher education partnerships, there are many reasons given for why universities enter into partnership. Frequently discussed motivations are the desire to gain status, increase revenue, enable greater innovation and research, internationalize, and improve cultural understanding.

To gain status. Partnerships can help universities compete in the "race to be internationally present" (Amey, 2010). Neave (1992) points out that partnership gives universities the opportunity to be perceived as more competitive institutions because of their collaboration. Partnerships can build a base for future advantage through extended cooperation. By projecting an image of interconnection, institutions increase their

visibility and competitiveness (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Cooper & Mitsunaga, 2010; Heffernan & Poole, 2005; Jie, 2010; Martin, 2007; OECD, 2004; Tubbeh & Williams, 2010). Connolly et al. (2007) show how it is possible for stakeholders in partnership to gain legitimacy within their university and the wider world. Holm and Malete (2010) note that universities often want to partner with universities of similar or higher quality so that their status is raised not lowered.

To increase revenue. Economic advancement in the form of increased revenue motivates other partnerships (Chapman & Sakamoto, 2011; Jie, 2011; McMurtrie & Wheeler, 2008). Universities expect to increase their resources by leveraging partnership resources with existing ones (Altbach et al., 2009; Eddy, 2010b). In Africa and elsewhere, funding from partnership offsets university expenses that are rising with growing student enrollments and deterioration of infrastructure (Hodson & Thomas, 2001; Holm & Malete, 2010; Labi, 2009; Schugurensky, 2003; Tubbeh & Williams, 2010).

To enable greater innovation and research. Promotion of academic innovation is another motivation of partnership (Jie, 2011; Maltha & Boeren, 2005; Martin, 2007; OECD, 2005). Organizational learning and capacity building provide a base for greater creativity (Jones & Blunt, 1999). Organizations including Danida support institutional partnerships for long-term capacity that have potential to reduce poverty through innovation and research (Jensen et al., 2007). In the RESPOND project, a university-based partnership funded by USAID, universities are collaborating to improve training on emerging pandemic diseases and to protect human health (RESPOND, 2010). In this case and others, both universities and funding agencies view partnership as a way to

expand their resources and enhance their research and knowledge capacity to address new challenges (Altbach et al., 2009; Chapman & Sakamoto, 2011; Cooper & Mitsunaga, 2010; Eddy, 2010b; Jie, 2010, 2011; Martin, 2007; OECD, 2004; van Wyk & Tedrow, 2004).

To internationalize. Partnership reacts to the increasing demand for global education that gives students skills that better match the present and future needs of society (Chapman & Austin, 2002; Heffernan & Poole, 2005; Jie, 2010, 2011; Kot, 2011; Martin, 2007; OECD, 2004; Sakamoto & Chapman, 2011; Tubbeh & Williams, 2010). The Bologna process, Lisbon strategy, and regional collaborations have encouraged collaboration on standardization and harmonization of higher education across political borders. Regional collaborators include those in the Latin American and the Caribbean area for higher education (ENLACES); African Network for Internationalisation of Education (ANIE); Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization Regional Centre for Higher Education and Development (SEAMEO RIHED) and Mediterranean region (Altbach et al., 2009). Regional networks have also been created in China, Singapore, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates (Altbach et al., 2009; Semela & Ayalew, 2008). Through cross-border partnership, students and faculty gain competencies that extend beyond borders (Eddy, 2010b; McMurtrie & Wheeler, 2008). Students can obtain higher quality, competitive degrees and qualifications (Altbach et al., 2009; Bologna Declaration, 1999). When countries have more capacity to offer higher education that matches international needs, students need not move to another country for their education, which reduces the risk of brain drain that has plagued many countries.

To improve cultural understanding. Although it is not mentioned frequently, increasing cultural understanding is another motivation for linking institutions (Altbach et al., 2009; Cooper & Mitsunaga, 2010; Eddy, 2010b; Jie, 2011; Martin, 2007; OECD, 2004). Faculty participants in a Danish-Malaysian twinning partnership reported a desire to gain international experience through their partnership involvement (Jensen et al., 2007).

Risks of partnering. Along with the lures of partnerships are risks on many levels. Some of the challenges that face universities include unmet goals, loss of status, and the high cost of partnership.

Unmet goals. Tensions between partners arise when there are differences in motivations (Connolly et al., 2007; Mooney, 2008; Ouchi, 2004). Using game theory to study three Sino-American university partnerships, Jie (2010) found that universities were motivated by profit, prestige, and opportunity for faculty development. At the beginning, universities reported higher congruence in desired program outcomes than they did later on in the partnership. When partners conflict they may make decisions in their self-interest rather than for institutional development (Jensen et al., 2007; Jones & Blunt, 1999). Partners may be self-seeking or driven by irrelevant scientific and scholarly agendas (Altbach et al., 2009; Sakamoto & Chapman, 2011). When commercial or financial gain is at stake, larger goals are jeopardized (Jensen et al., 2007; Jones & Blunt, 1999). At the extreme, national higher education policy objectives might not be achieved (Altbach et al., 2009; Knight, 2006b).

Entering into an unequal partnership or having an unsuitable partner are risks mentioned by many (Altbach et al., 2009; Jensen et al., 2007; Jones & Blunt, 1999;

Ouchi, 2004). When a more developed university partners with a less developed one, there is the risk that the more dominant university will control the agenda and derive more benefit from the partnership. Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff (2004) claim that multilateral agencies such as the World Bank, bilateral agencies like USAID, and other international donors struggle with managing the relationships between partners, and maintaining common vision, while not over-exerting their dominance as donors.

Loss of status. Entering into partnerships may have a negative impact on core university activities, accreditation, and program reviews because of differences in how institutions measure quality (Altbach et al., 2009; Amey, 2010; Jensen et al., 2007; Jones & Blunt, 1999; Mooney, 2008). Tubbeh and Williams (2010) relate the example of U21 Global when university affiliates withdrew due to lack of quality assurance and differences in educational standards. Maltha and Boeren (2005) note that universities are increasingly asked to justify how their involvement in international research is beneficial to their university's strategic mission and ranking.

High costs. In terms of the time and money required by cross-border partnerships, the investment is high and dividends uncertain (Connolly et al., 2007; Maltha & Boeren, 2005; Ouchi, 2004). When partners are located far from one another there are high transportation costs (ADB, 2008). Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff (2004) observe that partnerships require more internal evaluation, money, energy, administrative flexibility, and initial investment of time than other development strategies.

Brain drain is a potential cost that Neave (1992) warns universities to consider as they design their institution-building partnerships. A measurement of success in

HED partnership programs is for faculty members to return to their respective institutions following programs abroad (Higher Education for Development, 2009).

Models of Partnership

To understand how dynamics within higher education partnerships operate, many organizational theories and models have been proposed. The section below summarizes what higher education development literature has said about the partnership process and elements that are critical. Organizational theories are only briefly mentioned because many of the models and other higher education literature have already incorporated these theories into the observations they make.

Organizational theories. Theories used to explain core motivations in partnerships are many. Negotiated order theory (Strauss, 1978) has been used to explain the origins of who participates and what ends they seek. Partners may navigate through environments and conflict as they seek to gain some benefit. Interdisciplinary collaboration theory (Amey & Brown, 2004; Creamer, 2003; Lattuca, 2001) and game theory (Jie, 2010) have also been used to understand how the values and self-interests of partner universities affect how they interact with each other to achieve desired outcomes. Strategic positioning theory has been used to explain how institutions form alliances to become more competitive with other institutions (Child & Faulkner, 1998). Transaction cost theory has been used to show how collaborations are motivated by concern for efficiency and institutions participate if the cost is less than other modes (Child & Faulkner, 1998) and resource dependency theory has been used to explain institutions' need to acquire resources for survival (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2005).

Descriptions of models that incorporate these theories are provided in the paragraphs below. Some of these models emphasize the cycles and stages through which partnerships progress (Amey et al., 2007; Eddy, 2010b; Kotter & Cohen, 2002; Lacy & Kingsley, 1988; Shaw, 2006). Others show how congruence between partners' interests promotes the partnership process and institutional change (Jensen & Schipperijn, 2006; Sakamoto & Chapman, 2011). Tensions within partnerships are the basis of other models (Eddy, 2010b).

Life cycle model. Shaw's model (2006) compares research partnership to the life cycle—birth, childhood, adulthood and death. In the birth phase, research partners are identified and cultural differences between them are explored. When a problem to investigate has been chosen, the partnership enters its childhood. A working relationship is established and the project is designed to be mutually beneficial. Once the project has matured, research results are presented and partners decide whether to continue or end the collaboration.

Multi-staged models. Kotter and Cohen (2002), Lacey and Kingsley (1988), Amey, Eddy and Ozaki (2007), and Eddy (2010) depict partnerships as multi-stage processes that lead to institutional change. In Kotter and Cohen's (2002) model a coalition is built and held together by a shared vision. Communication and empowerment to act can lead to successes that encourage persistence and lasting change. Lacy and Kingsley's (1988) model emphasizes negotiation. Individuals gather to address a specific problem and plan how the partnership can solve it. When the problem is resolved, emphasis shifts to maintaining the partnership that had been created by the process. Amey, Eddy, and Ozaki (2007) depict partnership as

developmental process with feedback loops and strong emphasis on a champion who supports the process. Their model shows an interaction between context, motivations, and outcomes. When goals are satisfied, the partnership may or may not be sustained. Eddy's (2010b) model looks at the way social capital—which includes personal networks, access to resources, and personal knowledge—impacts the partnership process. At the beginning of partnerships, champions use social capital as leverage. However over time, as partners work together toward joint goals, partnership capital is built. Open lines of communication and feedback loops promote the development of trust. Growth of partnership capital decreases the partnership's dependence on social capital held by initial leaders of the partnership. According to Eddy's model, structures built into the partnership help to negotiate conflict and frame outcomes. Evaluation toward the end of the process allows the weight of leadership to transition from the original champion to those in the broader institution that have worked together.

Twinning model. Twinning is a model that emphasizes horizontal rather than vertical relationships between “twins,” or institutions that provide similar services and have the ability to strategically exchange and pool their financial and human resources (Beerkens, 2001). Twinning is a “flexible platform” on which long-standing relationships can be built (Jensen et al., 2007, p. 382). In these partnerships, institutions collaboratively build capacity and grow together (Jensen & Schipperijn, 2006). Twinning promotes local ownership by adapting the one twin's resources to fit the other twin's environment. It seeks to empower institutions rather than isolated individuals.

Functional model. Sakamoto and Chapman (2011) use a functional model to group factors that impact cross-border higher education institutions' decision to

participate in cross-border partnerships. The four main categories of factors are: organizational, financial, individual and contextual. This model implies that the likelihood of institutions partnering and the extent to which they are successful depends on how well they are matched in these four areas.

Push-and-pull model. Eddy (2010b) depicts partnership as a push-and-pull process. Partnerships operate between pairs of tensions including: conflict and trust; individual motivations and relationships; institutional loyalty and shared values; changed objectives and open communication; lack of resources and organizational resources; shift of key players and strong champion; and individual focus and partnership focus.

Elements Important in the Partnership Process

Other literature on higher education partnerships focuses on certain elements of partnership without building a specific model or framework. Eight areas that are repeatedly mentioned include: the importance of leadership, contextual understanding, communication between partners, building trust, power sharing, partners' perception of results, sustainability, and the need for project evaluation. This section describes this collection of elements that can be pulled together into a new conceptual framework for analyzing the dynamics of higher education partnership development.

Importance of leadership. Management is important for successful collaboration (Connolly et al., 2007). Lack of leadership can destroy a partnership or cause high levels of tension (Connolly et al., 2007; Eddy, 2010b). Leaders include those with administrative capacity, project managers, and faculty members who strategically position and facilitate partnership. Leaders can set the tone for how the

project stakeholders interact. Brinkerhoff (2002) notes that the success of partnerships is dependent on leaders' creativity, risk tolerance, political clout, and persistence in identifying and promoting the mechanisms and support systems necessary for partnership work. Tubbeh and Williams (2010) advise that partnership leaders with strong intercultural sensitivity and interpersonal skills be involved from the beginning. They say that the leadership role is "part diplomat, part attorney, part counselor, part soothsayer" (p. 10). Responsibilities of leaders include defining goals, setting systems for communication, and feedback (Eddy, 2010b). Leaders may use coercive, authoritative affiliative, democratic, pacesetting, or coaching methods (Eddy, 2010b). Amey and Brown's (2004) interdisciplinary collaboration model shows leaders shifting from director to facilitator to inclusive, a servant-oriented participant. The leadership structure of partnerships may take various forms.

Role of champions. Those individuals or groups that are primary to the implementation of a partnership are sometimes referred to as champions. Champions have access to information within and outside of partnerships that can position partnerships within organizations with greater sensitivity to existing culture and values than outsiders (Amey, 2010; Eddy, 2007; Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996; Fear, Creamer, Pirog, Block, & Redmond, 2004; Morgan, 1998; Tornatzky & Fleischer, 1990; Weick, 1995; Wolverton, 1998). Tubbeh and Williams (2010) say champions are "linchpins" in the partnership process (p. 13). Champions have also been depicted as the base of the partnership process (Amey et al., 2007). Sakamoto and Chapman (2011) note that the longevity of partnership programs is often connected to a faculty champion. Amey

(2010) notes that champions can facilitate even unconventional partnerships within university systems.

An Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE) report notes that champions are critical to the success of partnerships in terms of the social capital they bring into partnerships (Eddy, 2010b; Zakocs, Tiwari, Vehige, & DeJong, 2008). A champion's connections and credibility among partners provide leverage in the partnership (Vaughn, 2009). Personal relationships are key to program success (Sakamoto & Chapman 2011). Many partnerships originate from faculty with international experience, connections, and interests (Sakamoto & Chapman, 2011). When a champion has high social capital, it is easier to keep projects going even when funding decreases. A finding of Eddy's (2010a) study of an Irish partnership was that the social capital of an internal champion affected the formation and operation of the partnership. In this study, success depended on an internal champion with high social capital. This person had a significant impact in the planning and implementation phases, setting the tone of interactions, negotiating conflict, and arbitrating decision-making.

Opinions differ on the long-term importance of champions. Some contend that having more than one person or group driving a partnership protects partnerships from collapsing when key individuals leave the university. Amey (2010) gives an example of a partnership that did not fit within a traditional university supported system and when some of the staff members who were familiar with the system retired it was difficult to sustain the partnership (Amey, 2010). Baus and Ramsbottom (1999) also note the importance of continuity among partnership personnel.

A HED program impact evaluation report of completed university partnerships in Africa listed the necessity of gaining the support of more than one faculty member (Higher Education for Development, 2009; Morfit et al., 2009). They found that institutional-level partnerships are more successful when they are team-centered rather than led by, and dependent on, the expertise of one academic. A step that the 2009 HED report stressed was determining the level of collegial support there is beyond the principal investigator at each institution from the beginning.

Some suggest that champions may not be as important as they once were now that partnerships have become more diversified. One of Chapman and Sakamoto's (2011) eight crosscutting observations was that the role of faculty champion is moving towards integration within institutional leadership. They observe that faculty champions may initiate cross-border collaborations, but later others such as administrators may become more involved than in the past.

Role of university administrators. Participation of senior level leaders is critical because they influence strategic university goals and how partnership can work within these (Amey, 2010; Holland, 2010). Ouchi (2004) notes that without the support of those in high levels of administration, the impact of partnerships at the organizational level is diminished. In the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa (PHEA) evaluation, one recommendation was to get leaders to tackle large issues together, secure senior leadership by engaging them throughout the collaboration and delegate authority to program officers (Parker, 2010). When presidential leadership of PHEA universities shifted, faculty members who were involved questioned how much they should invest in a particular agenda since new presidents came in with their own

agendas. This challenged the viability of PHEA partnerships because university presidents and program staff had differing objectives (Parker, 2010). Though scholars recommend employing a point person to oversee collaboration (Jensen & Schipperijn, 2006), a lesson learned from the Holland (2010) case study was that support from many levels within the university was needed to facilitate political systems and negotiate with cultural sensitivity.

Although multi-leveled support can increase partnership sustainability, Beerkens (2001) and others point out that having fewer leaders is preferable (Holm & Maleté, 2010; Parker, 2010). Sharing leadership across a partnership can slow progress. This was the experience of those working on PHEA in which top-level leaders as well as large committees were engaged in decision-making (Parker, 2010). Holm and Maleté (2010), looking from the outside judged PHEA to be a success despite the large number of people involved.

Importance of understanding the context. The context, or environment in which a partnership operates includes the resources to which each university has access, organizational structures, language, and culture. In some cases, understanding the political situation in partners' countries is also critical (Holm & Maleté, 2010). Management of resources needed by partnerships causes tension (Chapman & Sakamoto, 2011; Jensen et al., 2007; Jones & Blunt, 1999; Kot, 2011). When one partner has more access to finances and control of the program, this may impede appropriate implementation of partnership activities (Altbach & Knight, 2007). Suspicion between partners can develop when it is unclear whether a partner is interested in aid or more motivated by financial gain (Melber & Tvedten, 2005).

Tubbeh and Williams (2010) emphasize the importance of understanding what resources are available and what contributions each partner will make. The type of resources and amount of funding needed to initiate and sustain projects beyond their funding cycle may discourage universities from even entering into a partnership (Sakamoto & Chapman, 2011). Limits in resources such as technological infrastructure may also decrease the feasibility of partnership (Connolly et al., 2007).

Building before knowing what already exists is a mistake that some partners have made. According to Holm and Malete (2010), outside scholars think they know what is best for universities in the developing world and move to implement it before examining what curriculum exists already in terms of programs and knowledge and skill levels of students. Partners are advised to assess their resources and determine how they can be augmented and shared in the initial stages of a partnership (Eddy, 2010b). Awareness of resource capacity helps partners to determine rules for engagement and to know what degree of flexibility they can expect of the other (Parker, 2010). Expectations of resources available are sometimes unrealistic. Eddy (2010b) states that there is more potential for inequity when there is collaboration between partners who are resource-poor and resource-rich. In the report of a university AIDS research collaboration, complaints were made that some partners had more access to resources and opportunities than others (Cohen, 2000). Funding and resources necessary to both implement and sustain programs is not always considered. Holm and Malete (2010) point out the challenge of finding a fair exchange of resources in such situations.

University partnerships necessitate commitment of human resources including faculty time. Sakamoto and Chapman (2011) raise the importance of assessing the

supply of interested and available faculty members as well as the capacity to compensate faculty for their time. Involvement in partnerships can require faculty members to do more work without compensation. Partnerships that lack of wide support may not be sustainable (Amey, 2010; Chapman & Sakamoto, 2011). In order to last, faculty members' interest and availability are crucial (Asian Development Bank, 2008).

Organizational structures. Institutional procedural differences can be another source of conflict (Connolly et al., 2007; Jones & Blunt, 1999). Dissimilarity in resource support, management issues, academic terms, tuition models, faculty responsibilities, workloads, reward structures, and legal frameworks can also be problematic (Amey, 2010; Chapman & Sakamoto, 2011; Croom, 2011; Jensen et al., 2007; Jones & Blunt, 1999; Neave, 1992). In their study of South African partnerships, van Wyk and Tedrow (2004) note that partners must consider ways they may need to adapt their institutional practices and policies to facilitate partnership (p. 167). Holm and Malete (2010) recommend that partners have “frank discussion” about conditions of their cooperation. The PHEA report also acknowledged there were challenges due to differences in organizational culture and that it took time for partners to understand each other's organizational constraints (Parker, 2010). Conversely, Neave (1992) points out the benefit of partnerships between similar universities that can simultaneously strengthen their administrative and academic structures.

Language and culture. Contextual factors including differences in language and culture are other noted challenges (Altbach et al., 2009; Connolly et al., 2007; International Institute for Educational Planning, 2007; Jones & Blunt, 1999; Mooney,

2008; Scarino, Crichton, & Woods, 2007). An example of this was a partnership that University of Warwick (UK) did not proceed with in Singapore because of cultural concerns (Asian Development Bank, 2008). A case study by Holland (2010) identified the value of cultural expertise in negotiation in and navigation through political systems. In a study of university collaboration in Ireland, external context was seen to influence outcomes (Eddy, 2010a). Partners' ability to be flexible despite differences in country context has been pointed to as a determinant of success (Ouchi, 2004). Although it has been criticized for its inability to scale up, African Virtual University acknowledges its ability to work across borders and language groups in Anglophone, Francophone and Lusophone Africa including areas in conflict and post-conflict zones as a key strength (African Virtual University, 2010).

Importance of communication between partners. Chapman and Sakamoto (2011) and others note that lack of effective communication among partners is often a key factor in contributing to program erosion and potential termination (Heffernan & Poole, 2005). Baus and Ramsbottom (1999) recommend that systematic communication between partners be a priority. Connolly, et al. (2007) also indicate that the ability to communicate determines how well collaboration works and point out that tensions arise from differences in language. Cooper and Mitsunaga (2010) include feedback as another important aspect of communication. In a social network analysis of a transnational educational partnership in a 10-year longitudinal study, Walton and Guarisco (2007) found that feedback was important in all directions in institutionalizing knowledge. Challenges mentioned in the PHEA evaluation included coordinating between foundations in a timely manner, learning to work between different

organizational cultures, communicating information efficiently, and agreeing on what it meant to “strengthen higher education in Africa (Parker, 2010).”

Many scholars emphasize the importance of communicating about motivations, benefits and costs as partnerships are established (Amey, 2010; Eddy, 2010b; Farrell & Seifert, 2007; Gray, 1989; Sakamoto & Chapman, 2011). Motivation connects to what partners expect of each other. Identifying values and acknowledging institutional loyalty can be a part of this process (Eddy, 2010b). Brinkerhoff (2003) comments on how many partners fail to reflect on what their relationship means and do not anticipate changes of behavior that may be necessary. Having common understanding of goals builds a form of social capital that can be used to negotiate through conflict later in the partnership. Building partnership capital is an ongoing and dynamic process (Amey, Eddy, Campbell, & Watson, 2008; Eddy, 2010b), High levels of partnership capital enable university partnerships to outlast their original members.

Importance of building trust. Trust building is a preventive measure against future failure (Eddy, 2010b). Holm and Malete (2010) point out that it takes time to develop relationships characterized by friendship, trust, and mutual respect. They acknowledge that the process of developing these relationships is demanding, but not impossible. In PHEA, trust developed between partners during the second phase of the project, after having worked together for a few years (Parker, 2010). Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff (2004) provide an example of distrust between partners in a USAID project that brought former competitors together as partners. In this situation, trust was not built as the “partners” competed against each other for additional projects outside the main project.

Heffernan and Poole (2005) and Jie (2010) emphasize how communication, cross-cultural awareness, and face-to-face interactions build trust and demonstrate commitment during partnership. Over time, both institutions and individuals learn who works together well. This could include following deadlines, keeping promises, and levels of productivity. Eddy (2010b) provides an example of how when partners created white papers together, they got to know each other and built trust. When partnerships fail, those memories can be hard to overcome (Eddy, 2010b). When administrators in a partnership change, trust needs to be rebuilt within the partnership (Jie, 2010). Partnerships must address challenges due to communication breakdowns and lack of trust (Heffernan & Poole, 2005; Tedrow & Mabokela, 2007; Tubbeh & Williams, 2010).

The way in which money is collected and distributed impacts trust. When donors are inflexible in the administrative structures they require, recipient partners get the message that the donor does not trust them. Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff (2004) provide an example of how the World Bank's administrative procedures, designed to protect their goals, do not demonstrate trust in the organizations with whom they partner. This highlights the tension between following rigid, burdensome internal practices while being flexible to development contexts. In PHEA, a small portion of the money was pooled which increased the flexibility and reduced the amount of time to distribute funds (Parker, 2010).

Importance of power sharing. In partnership there is tension between autonomy and accountability (Connolly et al., 2007). Some partnerships lack an authority structure while other disable institutions' ability to choose their own direction

(Connolly et al., 2007; Jensen et al., 2007; Jones & Blunt, 1999). Dictation by one partner or differences in perceived power can cripple partnership (Connolly et al., 2007; Samoff & Carrol, 2004). In their study of South African partnerships, van Wyk and Tedrow (2004) found that faculty members did not feel part of the decision-making process.

Unequal balance of power impedes trust. In listing what is necessary for partnership, Samoff and Carrol (2004) say partnership needs to be seen as a relationship between fundamental equals, whatever the differences in wealth, expertise, experience, and status. When a donor or partner holds more sway in decision making, partnerships resemble past colonial relationships which were oriented to imperialistic interests. Samoff and Carrol (2004) assert that conditioned donor support of partnerships in Africa “threaten[s] to reintroduce, in both explicit and subtle ways, the external direction of the earlier era (p. 68).” Others also warn against creation of dependency on donor priorities and motivations that are not beneficial to partners (Altbach et al., 2009; Neave, 1992; Ouchi, 2004; Vavrus & Seghers, 2010).

Dependence on external direction prevents local leaders from developing capacity. Recipients of aid become reactive rather than proactive within the partnership. How power can be balanced so that both partners can express disagreement is a challenge that needs to be addressed. Samoff and Carrol (2004) advise that all partners be enabled to contribute their ideas in the process of collaboration. The English language and Western paradigms of knowledge can be overemphasized and create elitism (Altbach et al., 2009). Relying only on the advice and knowledge of one’s partner is a risk in partnership acknowledged by the Asian

Development Bank and others (Asian Development Bank, 2008; Jensen et al., 2007; Jones & Blunt, 1999). Partnership promises to counter the drawbacks of other development strategies seen in 1980s and 90s by empowering institutions rather than isolated individuals (Jensen et al., 2007). However, many partnerships have not addressed issues of unequal resources or power bases (Amey et al., 2008).

In the area of foreign assistance, it remains to be seen whether donors' promotion of partnership is sincere or superficial (Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff, 2004). Commitment to sustainable change and working to meet partners' objectives in the long-term would indicate that donors are sincere in their support. Not paying attention to the relationship built between partners may result in short-term, superficial changes that are not lasting. Jointly setting the project agenda and sharing major and minor administrative roles in the partnership demonstrates the desire to share power. Ishumi (1992) provides a favorable report of how SIDA consults with countries on educational projects and decides together on aid packages that encourage sustainability. However, Cooper and Mitsunaga's (2010) study showed how faculty struggled to form and maintain equitable relationships that were mutually beneficial. Jensen et al. (2007) report that participants in a Malaysian-Danish partnership had low hopes for future cooperation because they had not built enough capacity. The North-South project administration had not been well balanced. This study agrees with Psaltis (2007) and Amey, Eddy, Ozaki (2007) on the importance of reciprocity between the collaborative partners, especially in North-South partnerships (Cooper & Mitsunaga, 2010; Maltha & Boeren, 2005; Proctor, 2000).

Importance of partners' perception of the results. There is much uncertainty in how to determine overall costs and gains of partnership (Amey, 2010; Jensen et al., 2007; Jones & Blunt, 1999). Part of this is due to the limitations in monitoring partnership (Altbach et al., 2009). Also, measures of success are defined differently. The PHEA evaluation considered the following as indicators of success: attraction of additional funding, improved administrative capacity, and advancement of technology (Parker, 2010). Criteria of success included in a report of a Danida funded educational twinning project were capacity building in partnering institutions, involvement of Danish resource base, strong local ownership, and long-term cooperation (Jensen et al., 2007). HED partnerships count cost-effectiveness as evidence that partnerships are successful. This includes the money saved when U.S. institutions rather than the project itself paid U.S. faculty members' salaries and the large amount of cost-sharing came from the universities. They also report that their partnerships promote sustainability by enabling faculty at partner institutions to build relationships that will yield additional collaboration in research and publication (Higher Education for Development, 2009). Morfit et al. (2008) conclude that HED partnerships have enabled African institutions to contribute to national economic development and poverty reduction. Cost-effectiveness and likelihood of continued cooperation following the end of project funding is a point the report of a Danida university twinning project also makes (Jensen et al., 2007).

Sustainability. Sustainability, or the ability to persist, is often cited as a measure of success in development projects. Chapman and Quijada (2009) note that sustainability can be measured by looking at whether structures remain after funding ends. Holm and Maleté (2010) point to the mistake of building infrastructure and

programs that are impossible for institutions to maintain after the funding ends and providing trainings in a format that is not effective for long-term learning.

The USAID-funded HED Africa Impact Report (Morfit et al., 2009) explains how HED builds sustainable capacity by: involving partner universities in choosing activities and determining outcomes, emphasizing faculty capacity building, building a broad base of faculty support, understanding cultural constraints, and having a clear reporting system for activities. Samoff and Carrol (2004) also emphasize the importance of local support to sustainability. Holm and Maleté note that partnerships often fail to be sustainable because they include local leaders too late in project development and involve too narrow of a group of people. The PHEA evaluation reported that projects controlled by top university figures were changed when these leaders left their post. Because the new leaders changed project goals, faculty members questioned their commitment to the partnership entirely which threatened to undermine sustainability (Parker, 2010).

Changing funding policies and leadership priorities also prevents sustainability. Conversely, careful decision making during the project including anticipation of funding changes, planning an exit strategy, and embedding projects within the institution promotes sustainable change. When projects build on something the university already provides, the potential for lasting change may increase (Amey, 2010; Amey et al., 2007; Parker, 2010). Samoff and Carrol (2004) caution those who seek third-party funding for partnerships against the “vagaries of foreign aid decisions” and encourage them to have alternative funding to replace aid that is unexpectedly withdrawn (p. 104).

Importance of project evaluation. Sakamoto and Chapman (2011) note that frequent monitoring helps to ensure the continued relevance of the partnership, level of faculty support, and financial viability. However, the evaluation of the HED partnership program in Africa from 1997-2007 remarks that evaluation of higher education partnerships is very limited and in fact, it was a need identified in the U.S. HELP Commission Report of 2007 (Morfit et al., 2009). Empirical support for what is and is not working in partnerships is needed. The same HED evaluation notes that previous documentation of long-term impacts of partnerships is limited because of USAID reporting requirements and calls for more comprehensive monitoring and evaluation assess higher education partnerships. According to Brinkerhoff (2002), there is recognition on the part of USAID that strategy development, program design, the results-driven nature of funding and congressional oversight have limited partnerships. Donors such as USAID are results-driven which encourages grant applicants to inflate objectives in order to win funding. There is a need for more realistic project objectives to be set (Chapman & Quijada, 2009). The recently updated USAID education development strategy promotes deeper and more long-term assessment of the impact of higher education partnerships and may represent a step in the “right” direction (United States Agency for International Development, 2011).

Because of the lack of readily available information on many partnerships in Africa, it is impossible to have a general understanding of what has and has not worked at African universities (Court, 2004). Dependency on outside resources is a known risk in international development and it is not clear whether university partnerships have been effective in providing African universities with the space that they need to be

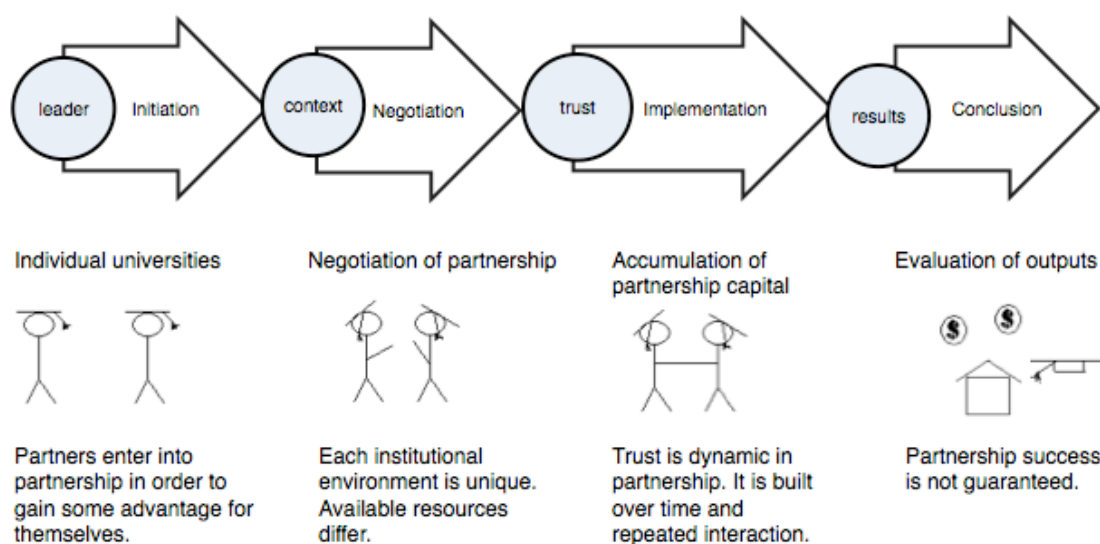
independent (Court, 2004; Samoff & Carrol, 2004). The viewpoints of African university partners are underrepresented.

Proposed Model and Research Questions

Figure 1 is a synthesis of the issues that have been identified as important across the stages of partnership in literature on higher education partnerships for development. It shows the role universities plays in the process and some of the dynamics that impact whether the partnership is successful.

Figure 1

Cross-border University-to-university Development Process Model



The issues in the model are set within a series of four stages: initiation, negotiation, implementation, and conclusion.

Initiation stage. The initiation stage encompasses issues related to motivation and the role of leaders in the beginning stages of partnerships. According to the literature, university motivations to partner are socio-cultural, political, economic, academic, or a mixture of these. Universities and those who fund the partnership may

have differing objectives since they each have their own institutional missions. It is unclear whether the mandates of some funding institutions are more compatible with higher education institutions than others.

University-to-university partnerships may spring out of relationships between faculty members. In this case, faculty champions may direct the project. Other partnerships may originate at government agencies as a strategy to promote their country's foreign policy. These top-down projects may focus on engaging leaders at higher levels within university administration. The levels of leadership and the number of stakeholders involved in defining objectives and setting systems in place for communication may position the partnership for success. Whether some funders involve university stakeholders more effectively in leadership is unclear.

Negotiation stage. In the second stage of the model, partners negotiate their relationship. They learn what collective resources are available and the channels they need to go through to have access to those resources. Some university partnerships have failed to look at what resources were available before starting their work. As a result, some project impacts have not been sustained. Organizational structures, language, and culture are other aspects of context that may facilitate or challenge the partnership process. Whether some partnerships are better able to understand context and adapt to it is another question to investigate.

Implementation stage. During implementation, the third stage of the model, it is important for partners to have effective systems to communicate their expectations. This is one way they demonstrate trust in their partners and share in responsibilities associated with the partnership. Since trust and partnership capital build over time and

repeated interaction, the amount of time partners spend with each other may impact perceptions of partnership success. Whether some funders engender more trust to accumulate between partners and are more inclined to share power is uncertain.

Conclusion stage. The conclusion stage of partnership may provide partners with the opportunity to critically reflect on the extent to which their partnership has been successful and choose whether or not to sustain their activities. Funders may look to see if their objectives were met and choose to continue their financial support based on partnership outputs and outcomes. It is not clear how partner universities perceive the monitoring and evaluation requirements of different funders.

From this model come two primary questions that this study will address:

1. To what extent are internally and externally funded partnerships described as successful?
2. How do faculty members describe the development process of successful internally funded partnerships and successful externally funded ones? What aspects of the partnership process do faculty members emphasize?

Setting of Research

Makerere University both an ideal and convenient location for this study of cross-border higher education partnership. Located in Kampala, Uganda, Makerere is the oldest, largest, and highest ranked public university in East Africa (Cybermetrics Lab, 2011). Some have referred it as the “Harvard” of East Africa (Theroux, 2006). Established in 1922 during British rule, Makerere was one of five African universities aligned with the Inter-University Council, and the University of London (Mazrui, 1975). After Uganda gained independence in 1962, Makerere and the other universities severed their formal affiliation with the British university system. Makerere and two other East African universities formed the University of East Africa and were together until 1970 when each of them became independent (Makerere University, 2009). Over the next two decades of political instability in Uganda, Makerere was unsupported and unmaintained. Its buildings deteriorated significantly and it lost faculty members through death and migration (Salerno & Beverwijk, 2007). Nevertheless, it survived.

In the mid-1980s when Uganda stabilized, the government viewed education as a means for modernization and economic growth. The international donor community played a role in advising the government on structural adjustments of the education system which included promotion of universal primary education, “Education for All” and “Millennium Development Goals” that increased the number of students academically prepared for higher education. With growing demand for higher education, Makerere expanded its enrollment. Originally, Makerere students were supported by the government but in the early 1990s students who could finance themselves to study were also allowed to study at Makerere. The increased demand for

education and changes in financing caused university enrollment in Uganda to swell from 5,000 to 50,603 between 1987 and 2004 (Johannesson & Nakos, 2006; Salerno & Beverwijk, 2007). At Makerere University alone, the enrollment has been hovering at about 35,000 students, but is growing (New Vision, 2011).

With this expansion, higher education capacity in Uganda was challenged. In addition to the establishment of more public and private universities and creating a council to monitor the quality of higher education, a capacity-building strategy that has gained increasing support in Uganda has been university-to-university partnership. Makerere has been involved in many of these partnerships that receive funding from multilateral, bilateral, and private sector agencies. Support to Makerere comes from many directions. The top five donors to institutional development support from 2000-2009 were the Swedish government (\$34.99 million), Norwegian government (\$30.02 million), Carnegie Corporation (\$14.65 million), Rockefeller Foundation (\$11.80 million), and World Bank (\$5.79 million) (Makerere University, 2009). Of this funding approximately 35% goes toward research and research infrastructure. On its website, Makerere lists 93 current partnerships. Of the partnerships listed, nearly a third of them are within the College of Health Sciences or Veterinary Science, which is where this study was located (Makerere University, 2010). Chapter 3 explains more about why Makerere faculty members in the College of Health Sciences and School of Veterinary Medicine were a fitting group of individuals to participate in this particular research study.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Design of Study

This was a naturalistic qualitative study of partnership conducted from June 2011 to March 2012. It was based on information collected through interviews with faculty members at Makerere in the College of Health Sciences and School of Veterinary Medicine in August 2011 by the researcher who had previously worked with faculty in these areas in July and August 2010 through her evaluation work on RESPOND, a project that University of Minnesota had with Makerere University's School of Public Health and School of Veterinary Medicine. Qualitative research design enabled face-to-face interaction with faculty members in their own environment and enabled greater insight into this specific partnership context. Notable researchers, including Lincoln and Guba (1998) and Cresswell (1998), recommend qualitative methods to gain more perspective on research participants and their environment. During the data collection, the researcher lived on the Makerere University campus in Kampala and this enabled greater flexibility in interaction with faculty and opportunity to receive more feedback from them. The aim of the faculty interviews was to gather information on partnerships financed by various international development funders including multilateral, bilateral, and private institutions and information on internally funded partnerships. These funding sources are the main types that development authors such as Heyneman (2006) have identified.

Interviews were conducted to clarify (a) what benefits motivated faculty to participate in partnerships, (b) what leadership responsibilities faculty assumed, (c)

what strategies faculty identified that enhance trust between partners, and (d) how faculty perceived the process of partnership projects that had been successful. The interviews were semi-structured in order to facilitate dialogue about the full partnership process. The interview questions were designed to elicit emic, or local views (Appendix A).

Sample

African university faculty members were the unit of analysis in this study because their critical perspective is not as well represented in higher education partnership literature as other stakeholders (Court, 2004). Their view in this context provided unique insight into the partnership process. Makerere faculty members were chosen because Makerere University has had so many partnerships and it would not be difficult to find faculty members who had had several partnership experiences they could describe.

Thirty-nine faculty members were selected in a manner that Patton (2002) would describe as purposive. Interviewees were chosen based on whether they were current faculty members in the College of Health Sciences or School of Veterinary Medicine and whether they had participated in more than one cross-border university-to-university partnerships in order to have had contrasting perspective on the partnership strategy. The College of Health Science and School of Veterinary Medicine currently consists of approximately 355 full-time academic staff members and these are faculties where a large number of partnerships at Makerere have been based (Makerere University, 2009).

Recruitment of interviewees was completed through nomination beginning with two faculty members who were involved on the USAID-funded RESPOND project that UMN had with the College of Health Sciences and the School of Veterinary Medicine. Makerere faculty currently participating in RESPOND were not interviewed to avoid conflict of interest, but were asked for referrals of faculty who they knew had had significant involvement in other partnerships. As interviews were conducted, interviewees were asked to suggest additional faculty members who they felt could provide additional perspectives on cross-border university-to-university partnerships.

Instrumentation

The institutional review board (IRB) at University of Minnesota (UMN), Makerere University, and the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) all approved this study (UMN Study Number: 1105E99912). Appendix A contains the interview protocol that was used. All interviews were conducted in English, which is the language of instruction at Makerere and one of the official languages of Uganda. Some faculty members were given a paper copy of an information sheet when their interviews were being scheduled (Appendix B) and others requested to receive an overview and information about the study by e-mail before the interview (Appendix C). On the day of the interview, information about the study was reiterated and faculty members were told, again that the information they shared was confidential, voluntary and not affiliated with any current Makerere partnerships, including those involving UMN. Interviews were recorded (with interviewees' permission) with a digital voice recorder. Each interviewee was assigned a number on the recording and in the notes taken by the researcher as a back up during the interview.

Digital files with interviewee identification were stored on a password protected computer and external hard drives. Interviews lasted between 40 and 70 minutes. The possibility of connecting with faculty via email with follow-up questions was left open at the end of each interview.

Data Analysis

Faculty interviews were transcribed and a qualitative data analysis software, HyperRESEARCH, was used to organize the interview data according to themes, including the ones listed on the partnership development model: motivation, leadership, context, resources, trust, power sharing, results, and funding. Patterns were found within those initial groupings and then secondary coding of the transcripts was done to identify and study several sub-themes. Having multiple faculty perspectives of some of the same partnerships served as a form of data triangulation which is recommendation made by Lincoln and Guba (1985). In the analysis process, key quotes were chosen to provide representation of the interviewees' individual and collective voices. Attention was paid to discrepant evidence, such as outlying comments about particular challenges faculty face in implementation of partnerships in order to draw a general picture of what happens in most partnerships. The code number of each interviewee was kept with each of the quotes used until the final stages of writing to ensure that the quotes did not come from only the minority of interviewees.

Researcher's Background

As Donmoyer (2001) has observed, researchers are always "present" in their study to some extent. From the research questions chosen, to the data collection, coding, analysis and interpretation that is done, the researcher's personal values and

past experiences are in the foreground and background. This observer-participant dichotomy was present in this study as the researcher's prior experience with university faculty in international partnerships informed much of this research. In September 2009, the researcher became involved on the USAID-funded partnership called RESPOND that involved a partnership between UMN and Makerere University, among other Central and Eastern African universities and South East Asia universities. The RESPOND project aimed to develop the capacity of animal and human health workers to identify and respond to zoonotic diseases that could become pandemics. Participation in weekly UMN RESPOND meetings, and quarterly monitoring and evaluation (M&E) team meetings with the project's contractor in Washington, D.C. gave the researcher an insider's perspective on the university partnership generally and partnership with Makerere University, specifically.

In summers 2010 and 2011, the researcher conducted interviews with faculty members at RESPOND project universities including Makerere as part of two different baseline studies of university networks. These experiences influenced the development of this study. From the first baseline study, one of the questions faculty members were asked was: "What are key ingredients to successful university partnerships?" Faculty responses to this question seemed to overlap with what development literature said, but time inhibited deeper investigation into faculty perspectives on partnership at that time.

A few months after the first RESPOND baseline study in Africa, the researcher designed and piloted a paper-based survey in an attempt to replicate the baseline study at UMN. On the survey, a similar question about components necessary to partnership success was asked as well as a question about faculty members' motivations for

involvement in cross-border partnerships. Again, the results of this small survey generally confirmed cross-border partnership literature and the findings from the summer baseline interviews, but time did not allow for follow-up interviews to investigate faculty members' perceptions further. This study design provided a means of gathering more indepth descriptions and opinions of partnership from a faculty perspective.

Chapter 4: Results

Demographics

Faculty characteristics. In August 2011, 38 faculty members out of the approximately 1,406 full-time academic staff at Makerere University were interviewed about their personal experiences in university-to-university partnership. Nineteen of the faculty members worked within the College of Health Sciences and 19 worked in the School of Veterinary Medicine. In terms of gender, 10 (26%) interviewees were females and 28 (74%) were males. This was a fairly accurate representation of the gender balance at Makerere. Across the university approximately 28% of the staff are female and 72% are male (European Union Association, 2010). The interviewees' gender and discipline are disaggregated in Figure 2.

Figure 2
Interviewees by Discipline and Gender

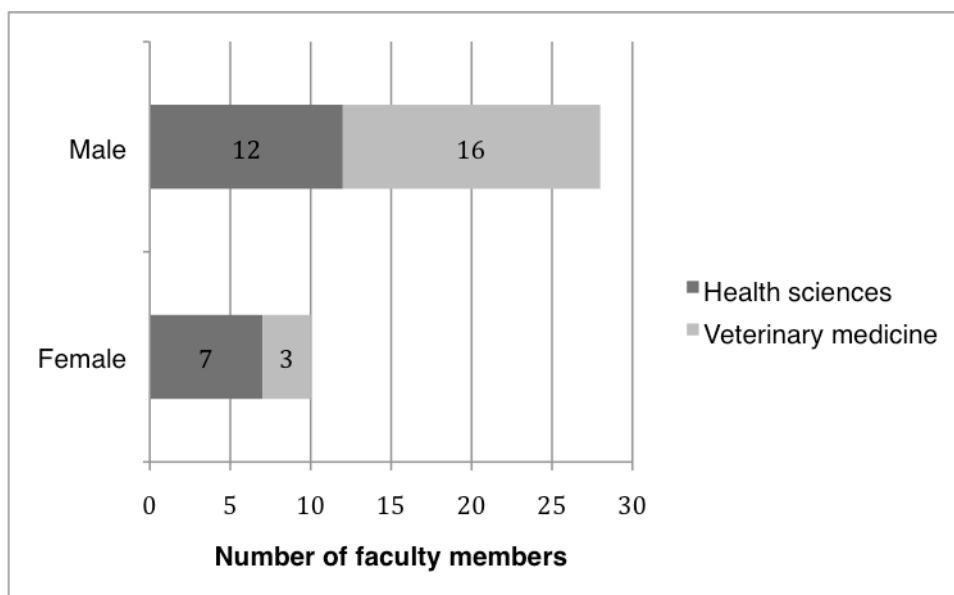
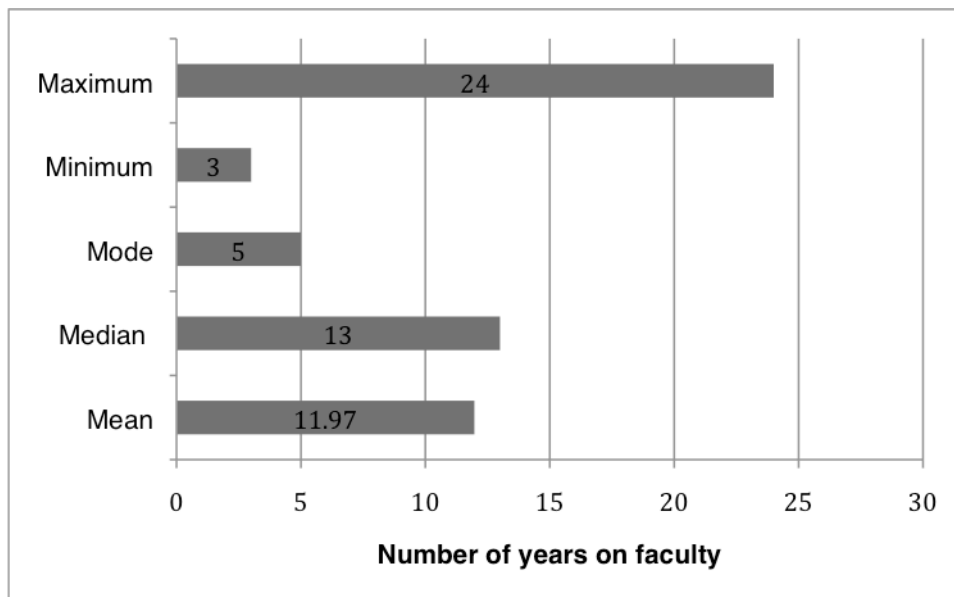


Figure 3 shows the breakdown of the number of years faculty members had worked at Makerere.

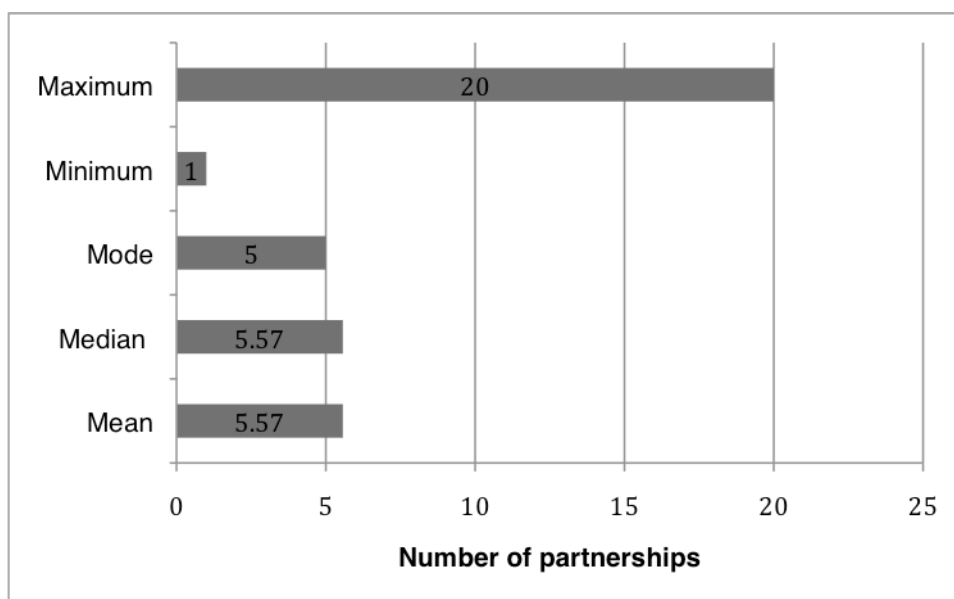
Figure 3
Interviewees by Number of Years on Faculty at Makerere University



As shown in Figure 3, the faculty members interviewed had worked at Makerere 12 years, on average. The range of years worked at Makerere was between three and 24 years. Only one person had worked there 24 years. The most common number of years faculty had worked was five. Seven faculty members had worked at Makerere that amount of time

Figure 4 indicates how many partnerships faculty members reported that they had been involved in during their time at Makerere.

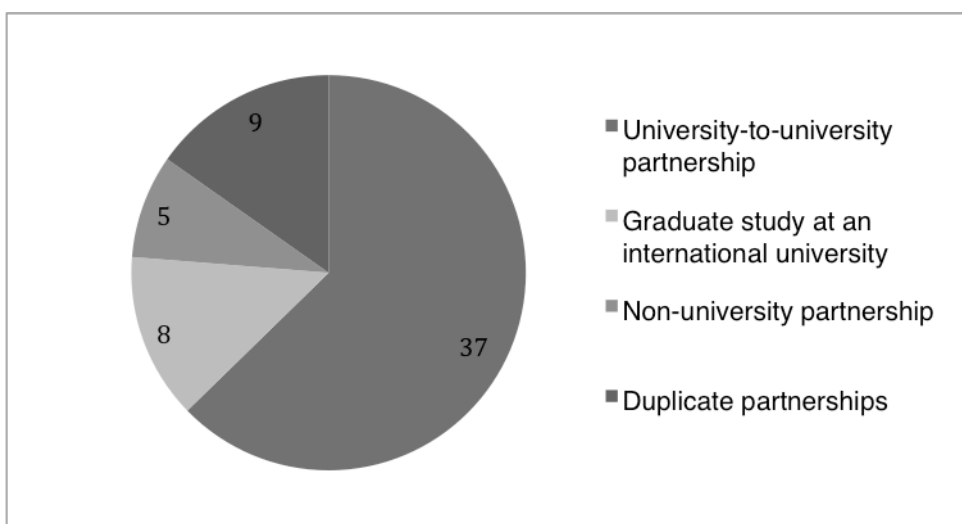
Figure 4
Interviewees by Number of Partnerships



On average, the number of partnerships faculty members had participated in was six and the most common number of partnerships they had participated in was five. Twenty of the interviewees had participated in five or more partnerships at Makerere University. Seven faculty members had been part of five partnerships. The number of partnerships faculty had participated in ranged from one to 20. Due to miscommunication, five interviewees said they had participated in only one, not two cross-border university-to-university partnerships. One person reported participation in 20. Figure 4 shows the range in number of partnerships in which faculty members had participated.

Type of partnerships. Figure 5 shows the breakdown of the 50 partnerships faculty members described.

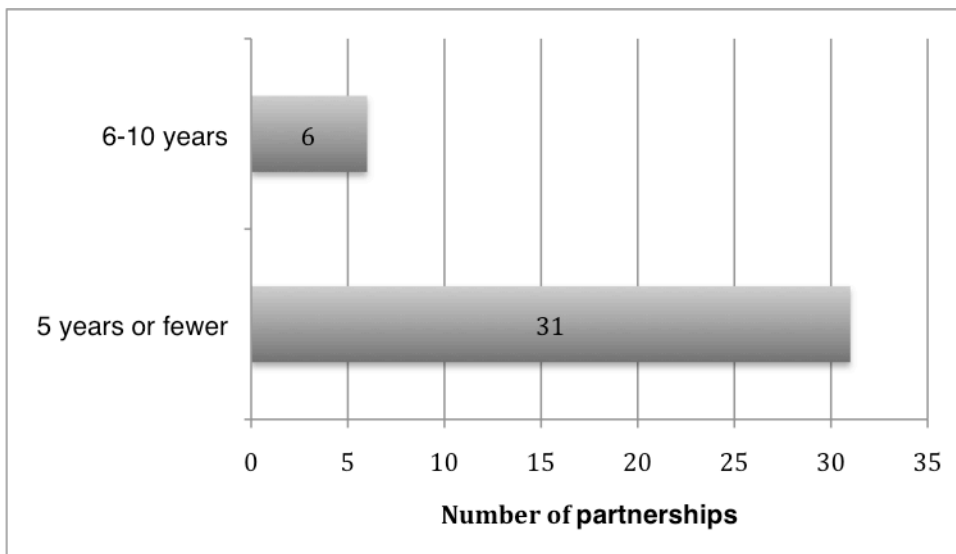
Figure 5
Types of Partnerships Described by Interviewees



Faculty members described 50 partnership experiences. Thirty-seven of these were university-to-university partnerships. Eight faculty members referred to their graduate study at an international university as partnerships, and five other faculty members described activities they had participated in with private companies as an international university partnership. However, these graduate exchanges and private partnerships were not considered as partnerships in the current study. Nine partnerships were described more than once.

Length of partnerships. Figure 6 shows the length of the partnerships they described.

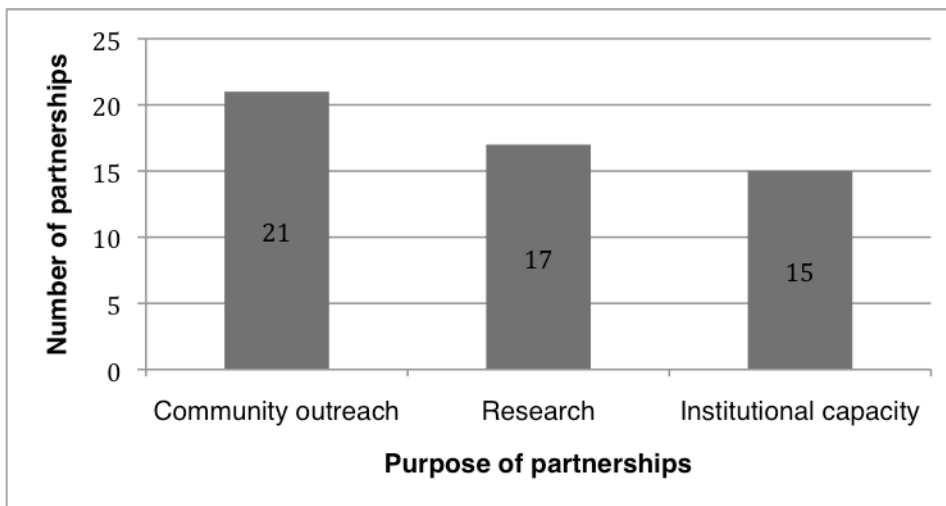
Figure 6
Length of Partnerships Described by Interviewees



Purpose of partnerships. Of the 37 university-to-university partnerships, 31 were five or fewer years long. The remaining six partnerships were between six and 10 years. Twelve of the partnerships that were described were in progress at the time of the interviews.

The purposes of the partnerships that faculty described are shown in Figure 7.

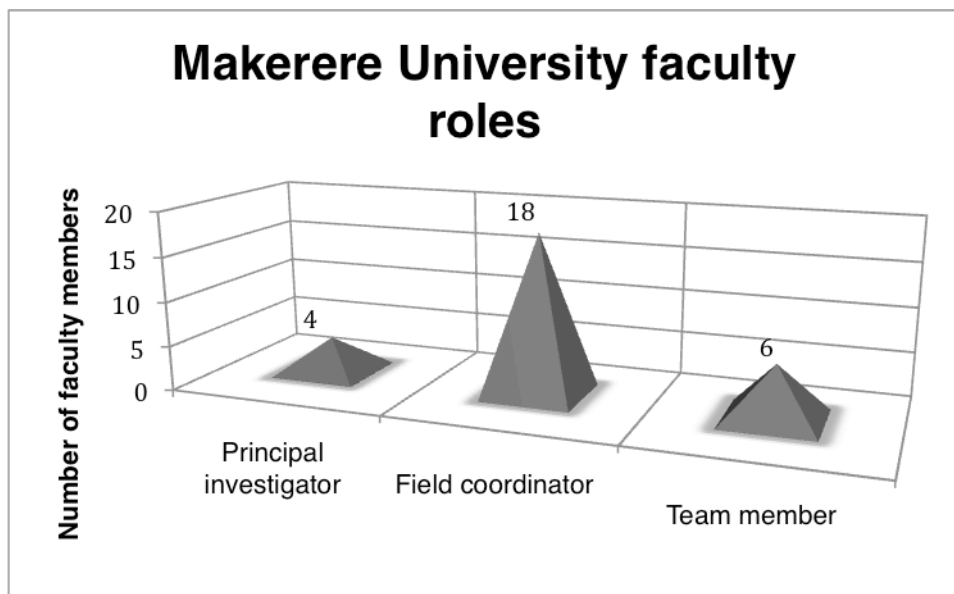
Figure 7
Purpose of Partnerships Described by Interviewees



The main purpose of the partnerships fit into three main categories: research; community outreach; and institutional capacity building. Because the sample group was composed of faculty members from the College of Health Sciences and School of Veterinary Medicine, most of the partnerships described connected to areas of human and animal health. Of the partnerships that were research studies, many were studies set within local communities and intended to benefit people in those communities. Other partnerships were intended to build institutional capacity at Makerere. This included partnerships in which infrastructure was built, such as labs and faculty were trained in skills connected to research, technology, and pedagogy. The breakdown of partnership purposes is shown in the figure below (Figure 7). Some partnerships had more than one purpose, for example, clinical trial partnerships where there was both a research and community service component.

Faculty members' role in partnership activities. Faculty reported that they played strong leadership roles in the partnerships they described. Figure 8 indicates the three groups into which those roles fit.

Figure 8
Makerere University Faculty Members' Official Roles in Partnerships



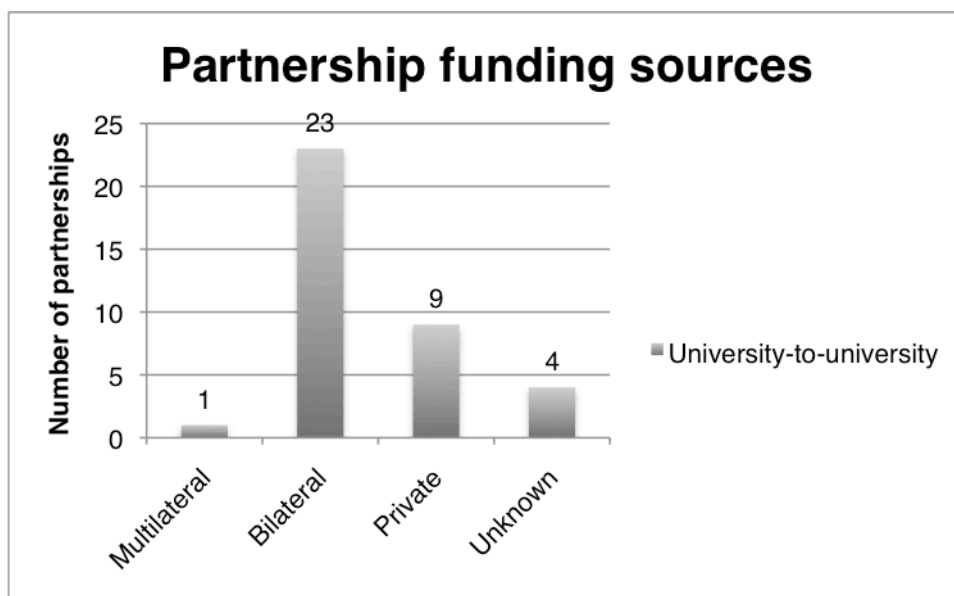
As shown in Figure 8, some faculty members were principal investigators or co-principal investigators. Others were the contact persons for Uganda and some were the leading specialist for a certain area of the partnership projects. Still others coordinated, implemented, and supervised activities. In other partnerships, faculty were team members and jointly designed tools and curriculum and helped to collect research data.

Research Question One

To what extent are internally and externally funded partnerships described as successful?

Faculty members were asked to describe two partnerships that they had participated in that they considered successful. Of the 37 university partnerships faculty members described, none of them were internally funded. Figure 9 shows from where the funding for the partnerships came.

Figure 9
Funding Sources of Partnerships Described by Interviewees



As shown in Figure 9, the majority of funding for the partnerships came from bilateral organizations such as United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Department for International Development (DFID), and Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA). Private funding came from companies, corporations, and

foundations such as Carnegie Foundation and The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

Only one partnership was funded by a multi-lateral organization.

Over the past several years, Makerere faculty members said that they have been participating in an increasing number of partnerships. According to one interviewee, partnership is “a phenomenon which came about the last 6 years.” Many faculty members said that participation in partnership is high because it is currently the best way to access donor funding. A faculty member summarized a common sentiment when he said: “I think the university looks at [partnership] as the way to survive and the way to move forward.” Faculty members said that donors and international universities see Makerere University as an attractive university with which to partner. They said that because Makerere is the oldest university in the region and has better trained faculty members than any other university in East Africa, it is an appealing university. As an interviewee framed it:

[B]eing the oldest university and formally used to be a member of the East African University, [Makerere]....has had competitive advantage in terms of partnerships because it's very well-known. Everybody, everywhere knows. Most of the guys in the region have trained, have usually trained here including several of the presidents in the region, so—and that gives it more advantage compared to these other new universities.

The physical environment of Uganda and the health problems that exist there have also positioned Makerere as a desirable university partner. International researchers are attracted to Uganda's rich ecological diversity that is easily accessible. Also, in the field of human health, the Ugandan government has long acknowledged that HIV is a

problem and this has opened the door wide for research on that disease. This situation is explained as follows:

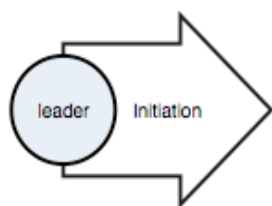
[T]here has been a lot of research here, which, partly because the country was the first one to kind of blow the scope of how big the problem is. So much of the early work on research was driven by “let’s go where it is nationally acknowledged the problem is there,” instead of going to say the University of Kenya where the government was saying “We don’t have a problem.” or in other places where they were very quiet. So because of that early kind of openness around this, so the early research, particularly HIV, epidemiology, programming, treatment and all that were done here and those were done through big partnerships. Mainly with the UK, Europe and the US. And since then, that research has generated second generation, third generation, even fourth generation partnership because they move from one question, solving that. Other questions come on board, and then they try to solve those. So for over 20 or so years these partnerships are going. And so when you look at the faculty of medicine and SPH, that put them kind of in the front running position and as relations are built, others come and build on top of that, build on that history. So there is some kind of historical dependent.

Evidence suggests that external, or third-party funding is the reason that Makerere agrees to partner. As one faculty member articulated it: “[I]n most cases you find many donors cannot fund a project where there are no partners. So if you sit down alone and write a project they won’t fund it.” The university is willing to contribute non-monetary support such as use of labs, vehicles, and faculty time, but faculty members said that there is no “hard cash” available to implement partnerships. The reason internally funded partnerships at Makerere are rare could be that the university does not have enough money to support partnership. However, the lack of internally funded partnerships calls into question the value that Makerere places on partnership relationships in and of themselves. This could indicate that those at Makerere believe partnership is not a cost-effective strategy for gaining the benefits they want.

Research Question Two

How do faculty members describe the development process of successful internally funded partnerships and successful externally funded ones? What aspects of the partnership process do faculty members emphasize?

There were no internally funded partnerships described by the interviewees, so the process through which that type of partnership develops is not presented. However, all the faculty members interviewed gave thorough descriptions of the development of partnerships they had participated in that had been externally funded. Their views of those partnership processes are ordered below in correspondence with each stage of the partnership development model synthesized from literature presented in Chapter 2. According to the model, partnerships pass through four main stages: leadership initiation; context negotiation; trust building during implementation; and evaluation at the conclusion (See Figure 1). The model posits that the partnership progression is linear and that relationships between university partners deepen over time. Along with faculty perspectives on this process, intermediate conclusions are provided that will be discussed more fully in Chapter 5. Each of the following sections describes interview results pertaining to the four stages.



Individual universities

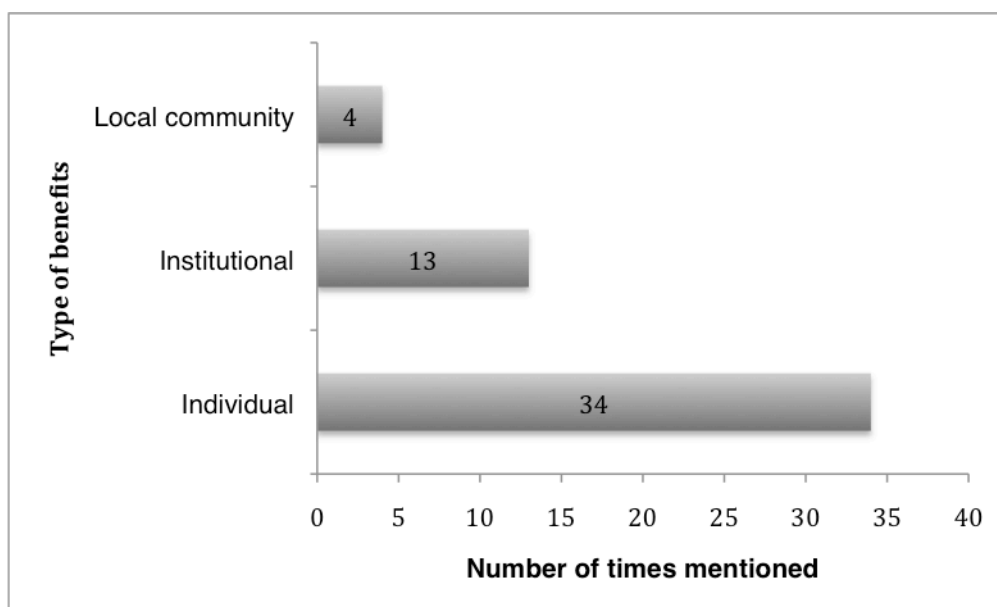


Partners enter into partnership in order to gain some advantage for themselves.

Leadership initiation stage. In the model, faculty motivation and leadership are key in the initiation of partnership. The model posits that expected gains motivate faculty to become involved and leaders of partnerships carry the vision for the partnership that enables participants to achieve their desired benefits.

Motivation. In this study, all the interviewees confirmed that it is anticipation of benefit that motivated them to join partnerships. Figure 10 shows the categories of benefits that motivated faculty to participate in the partnerships they described.

Figure 10
Benefits Interviewees Anticipated from Partnership



As shown in Figure 10, faculty members' main motivations were to benefit as individuals, benefit the institution of Makerere, and benefit the local Ugandan community. Some faculty members mentioned more than one motivation. The number of faculty members who mentioned each benefit is noted in Figure 10.

Individual benefit was mentioned most by faculty members; they desired to increase their skills and take advantage of partnership opportunities to conduct research that would result in publications. As one faculty member explained it: "Ok, when they come and are conducting research, am I going to get a publication out of this or because of this? Can this count toward my career development? My promotion?" Others

mentioned individual financial gain as a motivation: “If they come with money, we shall not refuse because right now, at this moment, I need money and if you tell me: “Let’s go in the field and work and I’m going to pay you this much,” I would go.”

Networking with international partners and building long-lasting relationships for future collaboration were other individual benefits that faculty mentioned. As one person explained their motivation to get that:

The first thing I needed to gain was have a deeper understanding of the subject, but also to be able to network and present our work at international and national fora, so presentation of the work. But also to develop further collaboration with people who had more experience in the field.

In general, the commitment of Makerere faculty members was not toward institution building. Obtaining infrastructure and community benefit were secondary motivations for faculty members in the initial stage of partnership. They were more interested in personal benefit.

Identification of short- and long-term benefit. When faculty were asked about short- and long-term benefits that partnerships had had, they also mentioned three main benefits. These are shown in Figure 11.

Figure 11
Benefits Gained in Partnership

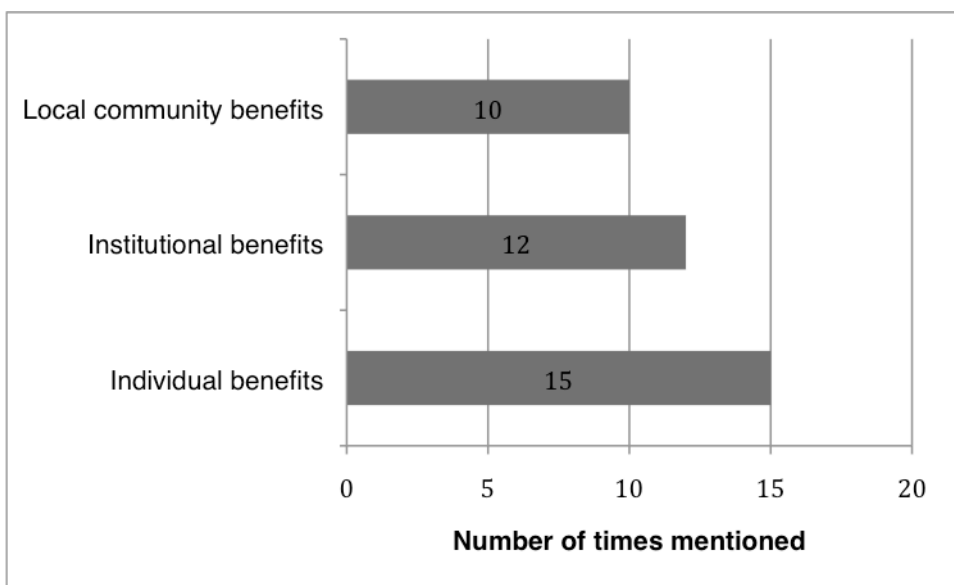


Figure 11 summarizes the benefits that faculty said partnerships had brought for 23 of the 37 partnerships described. Some interviewees mentioned more than one benefit per partnership. All but five faculty members who were interviewed said that they had gotten what they expected from the partnerships. Unrealized expectations mentioned included lack of funding for graduate degrees and less payment than they felt they deserved for the work they had done. As one interviewee explained: “When it comes to projects, they tell you...when you do a project, you have to bring it to the university to pay [you]. So, it’s a challenge in academic work.”

No specific benefits were mentioned for 14 of the partnerships described. Of these, three were partnerships that were in process at the time of the interviews. Individual benefits were the most commonly mentioned benefits, but local and institutional benefits were also mentioned frequently.

Faculty members' motivation for individual benefit. When they had been asked what initially motivated them to participate in a particular partnership, faculty members had talked far more about the personal benefit they wanted to receive than the institutional or community benefits their anticipated their participation would enable. However, when asked what the short- and long-term impacts their participation in partnerships had had, faculty talked less about the individual benefits they received and more about the positive institutional and community impacts. Interestingly, though few faculty members had explicitly said that earning money motivated them to become involved in partnerships, it was mentioned more often as a positive impact of their participation in partnership in retrospect. As one faculty member said: “[T]here was financial input into it which was also helping us to do the work without complaining because the effort time was being remunerated which was good.”

Motivation for institution strengthening. Faculty said that partnerships are something the university encourages: “Everyone has an objective that they feel they can achieve. Each other will...work together. Makerere may be interested in international exposure and bringing in dollars, for example.” Other institutional benefits faculty mentioned included curriculum that had been developed, infrastructure, such as labs that had been built, and internal relationships between faculty members that were strengthened. Faculty said that in the past Makerere looked at each benefit that a partnership would bring. As one faculty member explained it: “Capacity building is one [benefit]. Training of masters and PhDs [is another]. At the beginning, that is what we looked at. And then, we thought at the package that comes with it—which is equipment and facilities—especially laboratory facilities or research facilities.”

Although faculty members stated that Makerere is one of the strongest universities in Africa, they acknowledged that Makerere is largely dependent on external funding to conduct research and build new infrastructure. Donor-funded partnerships have influenced the course of research within the College of Health Sciences and School of Veterinary Medicine because the university has limited funding of their own with which to support research. As one faculty member explained the more important issues are not addressed if the funding available is for lower priority problems: “Uganda doesn’t have the money. It’s got a basket full of problems and among their priorities some of these research issues we’re talking about might be at the back. Not that they’ve not thought about it.”

Over the past few years, Makerere leaders have become more explicit in their desire to partner with international universities. As one faculty member said: “[T]he university puts a lot of emphasis on international visibility, internationalization of our university and obviously, the university promotes, you know building partnerships with the other universities. So, it’s a plus, it’s something the university encourages people to build.” In the College of Health Sciences, partnership is now listed as a pillar of the College’s institutional mission (Makerere University, 2010). The College’s strategic plan shifted the College from a model where individuals lead partnerships to one where the College leads. According to the Operational Plan, it will be the responsibility of the Principal of the College, his office, and the Deans of the Schools to develop policy guidelines for partnership identification and to initiate partnership relationships.

In addition to formal institutional strategy, faculty members said their personal beliefs also align with the strategy. One faculty member paraphrased Ecclesiastes 4:9-12 to summarize his reason for supporting partnership:

My understanding, the Bible, our Lord told us that two are better than one. When they work together, they get better results. And when they walk together, they don't get tired. When you walk around you get tired. And when they sleep together, they feel warm. And when one falls, another one picks him up. So that is a biblical principle behind partnership.

Faculty members said that partnerships are a way that universities can gain more together than they would separately. For example, joint curriculum development has allowed Makerere and partner universities to establish new degree programs. Also, infrastructure has been built at Makerere that allows researchers to collect and analyze data in Uganda. The infrastructure served the purpose of the partnership and equipment was left that has been used by faculty and students for other projects.

Community benefit as a motivation. Only a few faculty members mentioned community service or outreach as an initial motivation for their participation. This was surprising because this is one of Makerere's institutional mandates. However, when faculty listed the impact partnerships have had, 13 faculty members talked about community benefits more frequently. These included health care and improved livelihoods. They also remarked on how rewarding community-based partnerships have been for them.

So we presented to them our findings.... And what surprised me that people really followed what we are doing and they were asking much more questions asking us how we can help them to protect their harvest from...infestations. So I really felt that somehow we gave them information and we promised we'd go back and tell them the findings and way forward.

Some of the health research that has been conducted has been shared with the government and national health policies have been improved. A faculty member explained about one such program: “We did it as a pilot program. Then eventually it spun into a big program that has supported many, many projects, and has actually been taken up as policy.” Faculty comments made it difficult to know whether the government has always appreciated the work that Makerere has done in communities, though. One faculty member related the frustration a member of the ministry expressed when the university had gone to communities to collect information that the government had already collected. The person at the ministry reportedly asked:

Why [have] you wasted all this money, [on] so called research? If you [had] come to me, I would have given you all the information from my fingertips— [you] wouldn’t have gone to waste all of this money.

It is not clear whether this comment was sincere; an indication of lack of communication between researchers at Makerere and the ministry; or an expression of jealousy that the ministry had not been consulted about work that overlapped with the Ministry’s work.

Leadership. The initial leaders of the partnerships faculty members described did not necessarily continue to participate in partnership activities. Of the 34 faculty members who indicated how they became involved in partnerships, 26 reported that they had been requested or invited in by their dean, head of department, or another colleague. Although faculty said there is pressure from administrators such as deans and heads of department to find partnerships to participate in that will fund research, only eight faculty members said they had initiated their own involvement in the

partnerships they described. The faculty members who were requested by their seniors to participate did not see themselves as the drivers of the partnerships. As one faculty member explained:

You just participate as the dean assigns you. But you are not the driver.... You [have] just been seconded to participate.... I only participate when called upon, but others I would call, the driver of those initiatives.

Even though faculty related how partnerships responsibilities had been given to them, they said they accepted it without complaint because they knew there were potential benefits in their participation.

According to faculty members, those faculty members who have networks of colleagues across other international universities have had a greater ability to leverage their relationships and apply for funding together. These relationships may have begun in graduate school, at conferences, or during fact-finding trips where international faculty visit Makerere to see what interests, skills, and resources are available. Makerere alumni who are living and working at universities outside of Uganda have also initiated partnerships by reconnecting with faculty at Makerere when funding opportunities have arisen. Partnerships also began from previous partnership relationships. As one faculty member explained: “[Y]ou look out for colleagues, or friends that you think you can work with.... We know each other from long time...they’re our sisters and brothers. We meet quite frequently.” Junior faculty members are not positioned to initiate partnerships because they do not have extensive relationships or a reputation from working with other international partners.

Individuals who hold onto numerous partnerships. Some Makerere faculty noted that partnerships are usually tied to a small number of individuals. As one faculty

member said: “You might find that in one school, two people own 90% of the projects.”

This study did not confirm whether or not this percentage was accurate. However, in terms of participation in partnerships, nine of the faculty members (24%) interviewed said they had participated in 10 or more partnerships and 24 (63%) had participated in five or fewer. This could imply that there are not equal opportunities for faculty to participate in partnerships and full communication about what is available.

In the course of the partnerships described, approximately one-third of the partnerships had a change in leadership. Faculty members said that project activities were jeopardized while new leaders became oriented to projects and built relationships with partners.

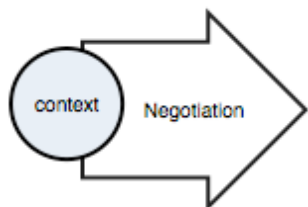
[Y]ou now have to start explaining everything from the very beginning. And of course, he being responsible does not just want to “ok” anything. So at some point, we would have to slow down a bit because he says he must understand what he sees “Before I put my name on...”

There appeared to be a growing desire for partnerships to be tied to the university rather than dependent on one person’s goals and plans.

[An] individual who gets partnership and keeps it to himself...ultimately, the performance will not be as good because you don’t get the benefit of...the others. But if you have somebody who opens up and it becomes an institutional issue, then it is better done and you find that the institution gains a name and not just an individual.

This desire to work collectively was also demonstrated in the recent development of the College of Health Sciences plan to incorporate partnership across the College. As one interviewee stated: “[W]e have more or less an objective as a college and a school to actually build especially those partnerships that would be essential to achieve school goals and objectives in our strategic plan and this comes up as one of the area.”

Nevertheless, the current dependence on individual leaders and strong emphasis on individual benefits has had implications for partnership development.



Negotiation of partnership



Each institutional environment is unique. Available resources differ.

Context negotiation stage. The second stage of the model, negotiation of context refers to the interaction partners have around the allocation of available resources such as money and equipment. Contextual challenges include navigation of procurement and institutional review boards processes as well as adherence to financial accountability standards of donors and partner universities.

Internal challenges. In this study, faculty did talk about internal, institutional structural issues between partnering universities, but they also went into detail about interpersonal aspects of partnerships with colleagues at Makerere that have affected partnership development. These internal challenges have hindered the development of strong international partnerships. Stories were told of how money brought in by partnerships has fueled internal politics and departments have jockeyed for leading positions. Across the university, schools have been combining into colleges. As part of these structural changes, some departments have been eliminated. This has increased the pressure within departments to demonstrate their worth.

Inter-school rivalry and mistrust between departments has hurt partnerships. The desire for financial benefit has resulted in dishonest behavior that has put Makerere's reputation at risk and delayed project objectives. One of such incident was retold in this way:

So some people...were participating [in the project] with a hidden agenda of hijacking it to their own advantage...it was battle.... We cannot have professors within the institution do this kind of thing and think the university is going to remain in a good image.

Other examples of internally motivated decision-making included the political selection of people to participate in partnership activities. In the past, people who did not have intrinsic interest in the partnership objectives were chosen. Once the funding ended, the people ceased their involvement in the activities. The inappropriate selection of participants to be trained in specialized skills was captured in this faculty member's explanation:

[I]f the individual is not qualified in that thing, or has no interest in it, that individual will just work because there is maybe money motivation.... It does not have an impact at the end. It collapses. [The research equipment] remains there like a white horse.

A pre-emptive solution to this situation that this interviewee suggested was having international partners specify criteria to use in the selection of partnership participants. "Specifically look, demand for people with what? With interest or the qualification in that. Because if there is nobody, then someone will be trained in it." There was no mention of whether this had been tried in the past.

Administrative corruption is another detriment internal issue in partnerships faculty mentioned exists at Makerere. Faculty members said that in the past, vehicles purchased for use on partnership projects have been unofficially commandeered by administrative units and not used for their intended purpose. In that situation: "[T]he student or other member of the partnership who were supposed to be benefiting from such, do not have priority." Faculty said that when international partners have been on

the ground and monitored the use of resources this has prevented the “wrong” people from taking what was meant for partnership activities.

Viewed together, the internal challenges that faculty described would not inspire trust in the mind of international partners. Faculty themselves mistrust the university’s systems. However, despite inefficiency and instances of corruption, there have been positive results of partnership. These are drawn out more in the section on the evaluation stage of the model and in Chapter 5.

Historical mistrust of foreigners carried into partnerships. When potential partners from international universities arrive, there has been suspicion among some faculty at Makerere. They have wondered what the international partners wanted to take and what, if anything, they would give back to Makerere. One faculty member explained their mistrust in this way:

We can go back [to] the history of slavery in Africa—we have seen the minerals plundered. Apart from the minerals, which are physical, we saw the human resource, which was taken trans-Atlantic. But now, we come here. We are seeing: has that method stopped? Yes, or no? I don’t know. It’s a question of bait. But it goes back even to these partnerships. Are their intentions good? They need to be analyzed.

Faculty members bemoaned partners who have had no care for Ugandan culture or the relationships that they developed with Makerere faculty.

[Y]ou don’t need to love everybody you work with, but let me tell you, if you’re going to do international collaboration, to link two intercontinental flights and your motivation is the data and the papers, it won’t be lasting relationship. It’s gonna be one of these small relationships that goes.

If there has not been a relationship developed, a few faculty members said the sustainability of the partnership is questionable. Faculty said they value partners who try to understand and appreciate Uganda. One faculty member described a partnership

where the principal investigators from partnering universities were brought together and spent a week developing cultural understanding and formulating the working culture they would have in the project they would be doing together. This example was raised as a model that fostered empathy and honesty before the objectives of the partnership were even determined. This situation indicated that some international partners have assumed that Makerere wants to have a relationship that is deeper than a short-term professional relationship. However, it was clear from the description of partnerships that the purpose of many partnerships at Makerere has not been simply to develop long-term relationships, but also to get short-term benefits.

Faculty members' ability to negotiate partnership agendas. Faculty members recognize that those who have money steer partnerships. Makerere faculty and international partners' behavior has reinforced this belief. When international partners have come, their money has been used as power in making decisions that affect the partnership. Makerere faculty said that they have been afraid to protest for fear of losing the funding that their partners bring. They acknowledged that Makerere and the Ugandan government does not have money to add to partnerships, which puts them at a disadvantage.

[W]hen people are poor, they don't have any negotiating power.... Sometimes they simply take it as it comes.... [T]hey have said: "Well, let's take it. These collaborators can come." But it is short-term, remember.... So if it is short-term, then you can go with that. But again, you are supposed to sort of think through what is the long-term for the benefit, betterment of humanity."

Many faculty said that the environmental setting they provide to their partners should be viewed more seriously as a form of currency. As one interviewee put it: "[S]ometimes people forget the facility for research which actually we have here. It is quite

enormous. We have this unique environment of Uganda...The animals, the weather, the lakes and the whatever we have here, just in plenty.”

While their university is unable to make any financial contribution to partnerships, Makerere faculty members want more involvement in selection of the topics on which they will focus. They expressed disappointment that some of the most important known health issues in Uganda have not been addressed by partnership projects and think that if partners conferred with Ugandans, the “right” problems will be addressed and solved. As one interviewee explained:

When you have not consulted people to know their own homegrown problems here, you’ll never ever solve those problems. What you are doing, it will be like a cycle—a cycle of poverty, a cycle of hunger, a cycle of ignorance.

However, faculty said they are willing to participate in partnerships that do not address needs in Uganda if there are possible benefits for their professional academic career through their participation such as learning leadership skills or how to conduct rigorous clinical trials. As another faculty member described:

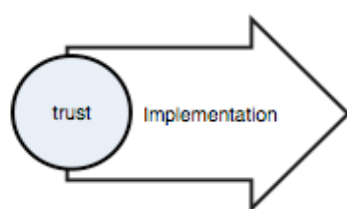
So it’s like when you go for a meal, you might go to a hotel and maybe for you, your first priority is having crab. But it may not be there. But you are hungry. They will tell you, they can offer you beef. So you take beef. Not because it is your preference but you have a need for it. It could be your third case and it is one the hotel offers.

Some faculty members think Makerere needs to be firmer in stating the agenda that they want. As one person articulated it: “[W]e need to develop a spine. And when they come and say: “We [will] do this and this.” If that is your interest and not...my interest, say: “no.”” Another faculty member advised Makerere faculty to “organize the house” so that when international donors and university partners come, partners do not fully control the partnership’s agenda. There did not appear to be a clear understanding

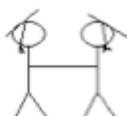
among faculty that funders are the ones that usually stipulate how their money will be used and international partner universities are also in a position in which they are unable to shift the area of focus to match their ideal agenda.

Despite the talk about focusing research agendas and the desire to determine the purpose of the partnership activities, faculty members did not articulate a clear mission around which they would rally. Besides referring briefly to the development of the College of Health Science strategic plan, no specific research agenda of any of the Schools was described by faculty members in these interviews. Their view of the role of partnerships at Makerere was generic: to support teaching, research, and community outreach.

Trust building during implementation stage



Accumulation of
partnership capital



Trust is dynamic in
partnership. It is built
over time and
repeated interaction.

According to partnership literature, the level of trust between partners rises based on experiences they have in the implementation of joint activities. In the model, trust between individuals and the social capital between them expands from individual to social capital into partnership capital over time. When there is trust among partners, it aids communication and can bridge conflict when it arises. However, when there is a lack of trust, benefits that partners seek are jeopardized. Makerere

faculty talked about formal and informal structures they rely on in the implementation of partnership activities.

Memoranda of understanding as symbols of trust, Makerere faculty members tend to put faith in structures such as memoranda of understanding (MOU) that they believe will protect the benefits they seek such as advancing their academic status, earning income, and maintaining partnerships that could lead to future funding. However, these structures have created layers of bureaucracy that faculty members said have not necessarily been effective in moving partnership activities forward.

In the past, international partners have come and collected data in Uganda and then flown the data back to their countries without including Makerere faculty in data analysis or publication of results. As one person reflected:

You partner with Makerere University to do a certain project. What you do is that you collect samples. You fly them. We don't know. We are here waiting. We don't know what you found out. We don't know what came out. You only report us. That is not an equal partnership. You are using us to advance your agenda.

As a result, both the university and faculty members are eager to have MOUs created that specify partner roles and detail how authorship of publications, ownership of data, and patents developed are shared by partners. Faculty members said that they carefully examine the language in MOUs and look for words that indicate that particular partnerships will be mutually beneficial.

Over the past several years, the university's legal department has become more active in assisting schools to develop these memoranda of understanding. Despite the increased administrative involvement, faculty members said they have not experienced much benefit from the additional bureaucracy. Also, the university-level guidelines for partnerships are not clear. As one interviewee said: "[I]t is possible that the university itself as a larger entity does have some guidelines that some of us have not been able to

see, so, but certainly there are a bit of gaps.” While they appreciate having a legal framework that protects their personal interests, faculty members do not think that the university does enough with the overhead that is taken from each partnership. In faculty members’ opinion, administrative offices should be improving the communication between partnerships at Makerere and monitoring the progress of the current projects and offering ways to support them.

Faculty members’ value of flexible financial structures. Faculty said clear, strict guidelines have been effective in keeping partnerships on course. One faculty member said most of his successful collaborations have been funded by an organization with “very strict, good guidelines [that] are able to steer you to the objectives they want you to achieve.” However, faculty members said they value flexibility when unanticipated circumstances cause delays and timelines and budgets no longer align with activities to be conducted. Faculty explained having to temporarily borrow money from Makerere’s administration or different units within their colleges until money from their international partners’ came. For the most part, faculty said that their partners have been responsive to needs at Makerere and have found money to cover unexpected expenses.

Faculty mentioned administrative challenges, including managing grants within their Schools and navigating the university’s procurement process. Many levels of administration are required to clear partnership inputs, such as research supplies. Because the system is arduous and can delay partnership activities, faculty members have purchased lower quality goods in order to avoid having to go through the process. Faculty members said that alternative units within the university have been established

to bypass some of the hoops of the procurement process. The initial assessment of faculty is that these units have been effective in obtaining needed partnership activity resources.

Delegation of partnership responsibilities. Faculty members said that Makerere administrators have not been explicit in what they expect of faculty participation in partnership. As a result, faculty members have been able to take on as many partnership opportunities as they have wanted. Although faculty said they have more work to do than time permits, they hesitate saying “no” to involvement in partnership. Sometimes, deans and heads of department have adjusted faculty members’ workload based on their level of involvement in partnership activities; however, faculty members said the amount of work they have to do in partnerships can be overwhelming. The time faculty reported spending on partnership work ranged from 10% to 60% of their time.

One faculty member underscored the amount of time he daily commits to work and the balance he must maintain to avoid family problems and a mental breakdown. His solution, like many other faculty members’ has been to delegate work to junior faculty members and capable graduate students.

I make sure that I have identified individuals whom I can assign responsibilities.... I find a way that I can utilize their skills for their benefit, as they build their careers.... the only way we can survive is to make sure at least we have someone we can mentor and use as a hand, otherwise, you can crush under your own weight.

Faculty said that those at partner universities sometime have not known the involvement of these others in partnership work. For example, senior faculty member may remain the face of the project even though they are not doing all of the work. Junior faculty

members reported that they have had a lower voice than their senior colleagues in partnerships in which they have been involved. Some have had to deal with problems that senior faculty choose not to solve. However, junior faculty members do not complain because they can advance their careers through these experiences. Often, there are opportunities to do PhD study, which is the first step they can take to raise their status and voice at Makerere.

Several faculty members told how they were assigned responsibilities in partnerships when they were junior faculty members. One of these faculty members reflected on how juniors can be treated by administrators when they given an opportunity to participate in a partnership: “[I]t is given to them like there are many who would have loved to have what you have, so you need to take this.” Now that some of these faculty members are senior faculty members, they delegate responsibilities and sometimes mentor junior faculty members or students in the process of partnerships. Some faculty members also work with junior faculty and students from international partner universities. One faculty member told how she sometimes finds herself acting as a mediator between Makerere University students and international partner students by drawing on her own experiences working across countries and cultures when she was a junior.

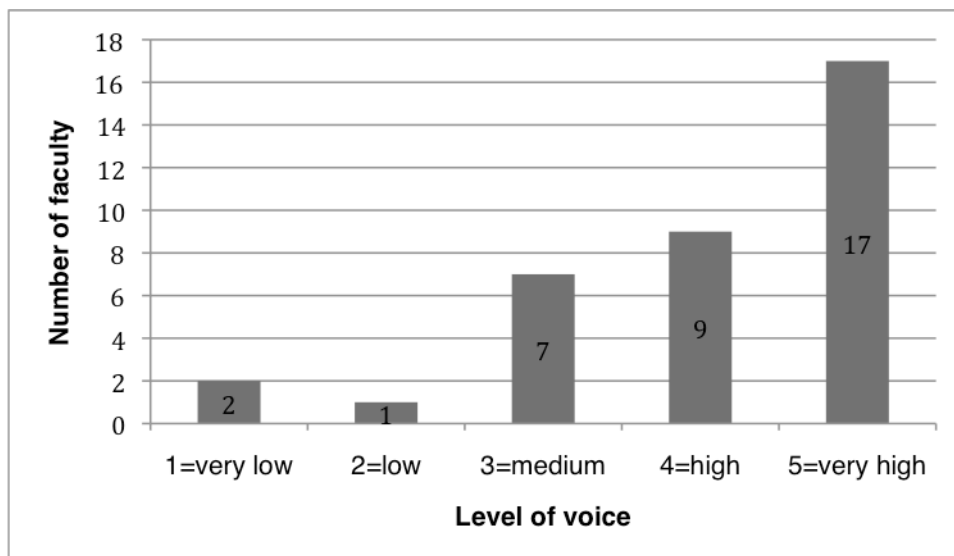
I would say this has worked very well because having been through a bit of that and then you’re working with this team and you’re guiding them and you expect that those kinds of things will happen at the beginning, and so when they happen, you are not surprised and you’re able to support other people, to go through it.

Efficacy level of faculty members. Faculty members were asked to rate the amount of voice they had in decision-making during the implementation of each

partnership they described. Voice was rated on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 being “very low” and 5 being “very high.” Figure 12 shows the range of voice that faculty members reported.

Figure 12

Level of Voice Interviewees Had in Partnerships They Described



As shown in Figure 12, in more than 72% of partnerships that were rated, faculty reported that they had “high” or “very high” level of voice. Although faculty members said they did not feel that they had much involvement in the establishment of partnerships, they felt that they played an important role and had high voice in the conduct of partnership activities.

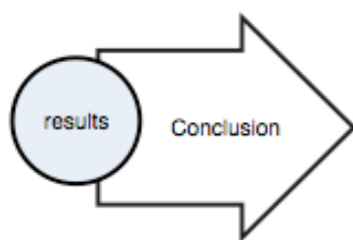
Cross-tabulation was used to look for relationships between voice and a number of characteristics, including gender, means of involvement (self-initiated involvement in partnership or involvement at the request of an administrator or colleague), number of years on faculty at Makerere, and number of partnerships in which faculty had participated. Tables that show these results are located in Appendix D.

From the cross-tabulation analysis, there was no indication that gender (Table 3) or means of involvement (Table 4) influenced faculty members' level of voice. More than 70% of both men (n= 27) and women (n =9) reported having a high voice in the partnerships they described. Seventy-five percent of the 18 faculty members who were requested or invited to participate in partnerships reported high voice and 69% of the six faculty members who initiated their own involvement reported having a high voice.

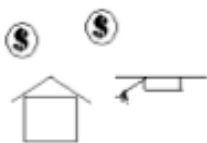
In contrast, faculty members reported higher levels of voice with increase in number of years on faculty at Makerere (Table 5). Three of the eleven faculty members who had been at Makerere five or fewer years reported low or very low voice while none of the 20 faculty who had been at Makerere between six and 24 years reported having a low voice.

Faculty reported higher levels of voice as number of partnerships they participated in increased (Table 6). Of faculty who had participated in one to three partnerships 15% reported having a low voice. Nine percent who had been involved in four to six partnerships had low voice while only one of the faculty members who had participated in seven or more partnerships reported having had a low voice in partnership.

Evaluation at the conclusion stage



Evaluation of outputs



Partnership success
is not guaranteed.

The final stage of the partnership model is evaluation of results, which can be tangible—such as infrastructure and income, or intangible—such as training. Partnerships may be judged as unsuccessful if desired outputs are not realized. Reflect on the partnership process may lead to the decision to end or maintain relationships that were established.

In the interviews, faculty members were asked to describe partnerships they felt had been successful.

In selecting which partnerships to talk about, faculty members made a choice. The partnerships they told about were ones that were successful in their opinion.

Administrators and donors may not have agreed that these particular partnerships had been successful. When there are multiple levels of stakeholders in partnerships, each with different expectations, evaluation of success can vary. Chapter 5 has more discussion on this point.

Faculty members interviewed listed positive impacts of the partnerships they described. Partnership results faculty members said they valued included: skills they gained that had advanced their careers; professional networks and relationships that had exposed them to additional opportunities; infrastructure that enabled them to conduct research; and additional money earned. One interviewee summarized some of these benefits she and others she worked with on a partnership gained:

We got promoted many different places, did further studies. Most of them, when they went, [went into] master's training, some into PhD. So it was like—what do they call it? Ripple—ripple effects. Not only for me, but also for the clients. So, it benefited lots of people—financially, and academically.

Faculty also mentioned institutional benefits that included: increased faculty capacity at Makerere; infrastructure built; and curriculum and programs added. As one faculty member noted, “Some equipment is remaining. There were some materials that remained around. Two of my students were able to depend on them for their research.” Country-level results that faculty described included: improved health of Ugandans and their animals. Of one project, a faculty member said: “At the end of it all, we shall wipe out sleeping sickness in that area and the community will be healthier.” Still other partnerships have generated information to share with ministries that have informed national health policy.

General evaluation of success. Faculty members were asked to reflect on their cumulative partnership experiences and describe what makes for successful partnerships. Several faculty members expressed how difficult this is. As one faculty member said: “The predictors [of success] are very hard to tease out.” Another faculty member said that if 300 partnerships were compiled, some individual factors of success might be identified, but there would be a lot of qualifications. Even then, he said: “I wouldn't qualitatively say: “Now, I have got the solution for all the problems.... Even if you get one, it will still have a lot of “ifs.” This will succeed if this and that.”

Figure 13 shows the key aspects that faculty said they associate with success.

Figure 13
Key Aspects of Partnership Success

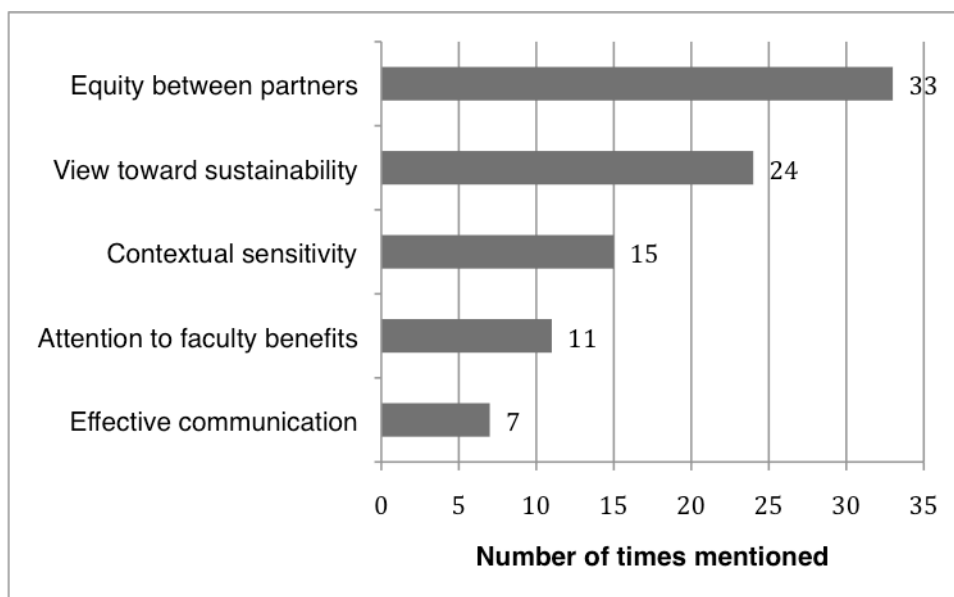


Figure 13 presents the frequency that each of the key aspects was mentioned, including equity between partners, view toward sustainability, contextual sensitivity, attention to individual faculty benefits, and effective communication. Faculty said that challenges to success are the inverse of these aspects: inequity; short-term decision-making; resistance to change; inadequate benefit to individuals; and lack of transparency in communication.

Equity between partners. Faculty members said that successful partnerships are ones that are equitable. One demonstration of equity is mutual respect, which includes equal voting rights from the beginning of a partnership. Practically speaking, faculty members said that partners' level of commitment is higher when working around a joint interest and when the contribution each partner is going to make is clear.

Partnerships that are designed as a business transaction rather than as a relationship are unsavory to faculty. They said they see them as inequitable

relationships. An example of this is when potential partners have “emerged” with funding proposals and there has not been enough time to develop relationships before committing to be partners. Some international partners come shortly before proposals are due and do not take time to listen to what Makerere faculty members have to say. Because of the rush, Makerere has sometimes ended up in a partnership that has not been beneficial to them. Makerere faculty said that these last-minute partnerships are often based on dreams of the international partner and have not been successful. One interviewee described the last minute haste of preparing funding applications for partnerships:

And when there is just one month and you want this document, that document, you send, send, send. Everything is sent, and then, before the night, you actually don't know what you have sent to the funder. And by the time the—if you're lucky to win it, then you are find that it is worthless.

Makerere faculty suggested that donor agencies give Makerere a greater role in selecting its partners and determining the agenda of partnerships in order to increase equity in partnerships. Other faculty members explained their desire for partnerships is to have more two-way sharing. Older faculty members said they have been insulted when international partners assumed their capacity was higher than Makerere faculty members' and that they had nothing to learn from the Makerere side. One faculty member summarized this common frustration:

There is no way of saying we shall learn from Makerere, their experience in teaching—ok, malnutrition, there might not be as much malnutrition of the type that we have in the U.S. so you might want to learn that. So there is no saying, we shall share experiences, we shall share lessons learnt. We shall teach you, but you'll also teach us.

Other inequitable partnerships faculty described were ones where credit was not given to Makerere faculty on research publications toward which they had contributed. Faculty members have been burned by partnerships where their international partner did not credit them on publications. Numerous people mentioned that they have resented being used by their international partners as data or sample collectors. Some faculty members said they know others who have withdrawn from active participation when partnerships have been unbalanced. One interviewee explained it this way:

[A]fter some time you feel some level of resentment and if you come back to want to start another project, they [Makerere faculty members] will probably not work with you again. Because sometime—they don't talk upfront—they will just say: "Oh, I'm so busy. I don't think I can take on a new project." So you might never get to know that the reason why they didn't want to work with you is because of the way you treated them.

View toward sustainability. Faculty said a view toward sustainability of the partnership is essential but that it is a challenge. They said that many activities have not built capacity and there has been overdependence on individual leaders. One interviewee gave this example:

We tried to be on precise teams with partners from that university and us here. But then my supervisor retired shortly after, so he was the one who was driving the collaboration. So for that reason, we couldn't continue anymore activity.

Also, there has been a lack of money to fund continuing activities. Faculty capacity building activities included supporting faculty training, such as advanced graduate study at international universities. It also included working side-by-side with other researchers as they analyzed data. Building infrastructure to conduct research was another frequently mentioned way to build faculty capacity. Faculty said that their

students can conduct additional research using equipment that is left behind after partnership activities finish.

Funding has been especially challenging for sustaining partnerships between African universities. Faculty told about partnerships they have had with other African universities where partners made a concerted effort to look for add-on funding. When opportunities were found, they worked together to put together a winning proposal.

We are just like brothers because of that partnership. So we have won a lot of other grants. When we have regional meetings, when they come over or when we go [there], we make sure we write a grant at night and leave after writing a grant. And we always win, by the way. We always win. So we use some of those resources available to gather more resources.

Flexibility. Contextual sensitivity is another characteristic that faculty mentioned is important for successful partnerships. This includes awareness of both the physical and institutional context in which Makerere faculty work. Faculty said that successful partnerships are those in which international partners have an appreciation for the unique environment in Uganda that makes it possible to conduct research on human and animal diseases. As one interviewee stated: “We are providing them with research facilities and such opportunities. So those kind of contributions should not be overlooked, it’s quite important. Like we have resources here that they don’t have in [their country].” Faculty members said that partners need to recognize the environmental challenges such as lack of money and facilitate obtaining needed resources. When international partners have questioned Makerere’s ability to conduct research, faculty said it has been insulting. One faculty member said:

I have heard these sentiments in meetings where people say: “I cannot believe in results from Africa. There is a lot of dust. There is what? There is—there must be a lab somewhere without dust to generate these, or authenticate them before they are delivered.” These are the arguments that have been advanced.

Even though faculty members recognize there are obstacles to research including dust that permeates their research labs, electricity that is not steady, and political instability that affects the entire country, faculty believe that Uganda and Makerere are productive locations for partnerships to carry out research. One interviewee added that those in public health are especially good group with which to partner because: “[I]n public health, you really have to engage with policy makers, you meet with communities, you engage with academicians. So, the profession itself prepares you to engage.”

Awareness of structural challenges is another aspect faculty mentioned. This includes expectation of delays due to bureaucratic challenges between Makerere and their partner universities in IRB processes and procurement of materials needed for partnerships. As one faculty member pointed out, the bureaucracy exists for a reason, namely, to prevent corruption:

Yes, corruption is the right word. It is our problem here. Normally, you know the procurement process in government almost encourages all this wastage, which I will call wasted through corruption.... As a consequence of it, this school here came up with a concept because we realized we could not also deal with the procurement, it is impossible. It almost makes you do nothing.

According to faculty, there needs to be a balance between accountability for money and trust. Because of funders’ regulations, there have been times when project money has not come through on time. One interviewee explained one such occasion: “[D]uring that time when we really had no money, the school, or the institute lent us money, lent money to the project so that when later we received the money from the funders, we

were able to pay back.” When partners of Makerere and funders allow Makerere faculty to have flexibility in receiving money and reporting back this has demonstrated to Makerere that they trust Makerere faculty. One faculty member explained how the autonomy she is given in one partnership has helped her to grow by: “I do it myself...insuring that I’m on schedule, record keeping, keeping those receipts and recording what activity has gone on. I think I have really improved on that.” When there is lack of flexibility, either on the part of the international partner, funder, or Makerere’s upper administration, and money transfers are delayed, partnerships activities are put at risk without funds.

Maintenance of individual benefits. Another area that faculty say impacts success is the amount of benefit that faculty receive from their participation. Again, these benefits include publications and career advancement, and also financial benefit. Interestingly, faculty said that the opportunity to earn additional income from their involvement in partnership has led them to accept opportunities that they knew would not provide publication opportunities or advance their careers. Their reasoning is explained in the quote below.

[W]e have very big families, so you are not going to say: “But how do you want me to participate in this?” All you see—you look at money, you go the field and they carry all the knowledge to the U.S. or Europe. All the samples, everything... [Y]ou get the small money. You can just go to your institution and wait for another project to come. I think that is not a fair partnership. Because it’s disempowering and it doesn’t give opportunities for the two partners to gain. I think, for me, the two partners should benefit 50/50. Let’s bring our strengths. Let them bring [their] strength and then we can develop partnerships.... [I]f they come with money, we shall not refuse because right now, at this moment, I need money and if you tell me: “Let’s go in the field and work and I’m going to pay you this much,” I would go.

Effective communication between partners. The final characteristic of successful partnerships that faculty emphasized was effective communication between partners. This included the presence of monitoring and evaluation throughout the partnerships to make changes to activities as needed and seeing first-hand what is happening on the ground. One interviewee provided an example of this:

[That] team, on a number of occasions came out to the field. They are not only remaining here in town or having presentations or conferences or reading through the reports. They actually came down to the field to actually see what's going on.

Sometimes these project changes relate to finances. For example, when the budget of a partnership is inadequate for the activities and partnerships need to find additional money, funders or partners have been alerted and have been able to cover the additional expenses. An interviewee said: "There was a time that we really did not have funds and there were huge activities to be done.... But our PI actually worked around the clock and managed to get extra money from other sources."

Even though communication was mentioned as important, faculty said that too much can be burdensome.

I think that [we] sometimes do too much. I've heard people complain. I've also complained at times. But I think it's very healthy that we do a lot of talking—email, of course and conference calls, and meetings...

Summary of Results

Based on the partnership experiences described and aspects of partnerships identified as critical to success, it appears that faculty members at Makerere have a high degree of interest in the personal benefits partnerships will bring them. In some cases, this precludes the institutional strengthening which donors expected to occur. Interview

data also suggests that Makerere does not see partnership as a cost-effective strategy for obtaining the benefits they want to gain. Makerere funded none of the partnerships that faculty members described. Most of the money that supported partnerships came from international governments. Faculty did not say whether donors considered the partnerships they supported to have been successful. It seems that donors and administrators may perceive “success” in different ways than faculty members. Even senior and junior faculty members differ in their expectations of partnership. Many senior faculty members delegate work to junior faculty members who have less voice in the initiation and implementation of partnership activities. Internal challenges between faculty, departments, schools, and administration indicates deep mistrust among these groups. Nevertheless many positive results of partnership were reported.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The Absence of Internally Funded Partnerships

This study on cross-border university-to-university partnerships was designed to answer the following two questions:

1. To what extent are internally and externally funded partnerships described as successful?
2. How do faculty members describe the development process of successful internally funded partnerships and successful externally funded ones? What aspects of the partnership process do faculty members emphasize?

It was expected that there would be many internally funded projects described by faculty members; however, in their narratives of 37 successful partnerships no internally funded partnerships were identified. The implications are that the university either prefers that other organizations provide funding, does not value the strategy of partnership, does not have the financial resources to support partnership, or some combination of these.

Although those at Makerere seem to value the outputs and outcomes of the partnership strategy, there was no evidence that university is willing to commit its own money to support the strategy. Other organizations provided the funding. Their involvement in partnerships was a response to these funding opportunities. If the university were convinced that partnership was an effective strategy, it seems that there would have been examples of Makerere reaching out to other universities to use the strategy using their own finances.

Faculty members expressed great pride in their university as a regional leader and good partner. Nevertheless, there were few examples given of Makerere partnering

with weaker regional universities. As a stronger university, those at Makerere may feel they have less to gain by partnering with weaker universities near them. Most of the partnerships faculty members described were with American or European universities.

If Makerere valued the strategy of partnership for building institutional capacity, it would also seem that they would institutionalize it. Currently, Makerere is not organized to gain full advantage from partnerships. Because individuals benefit from partnerships, it may not be to their advantage if partnerships were institutionalized. The College of Health Sciences has only recently attempted to formalize partnership across their college.

Interviewees repeatedly said that their university does not have financial resources to put toward partnerships. Consequently, the international partner university or a donor needs to provide funding for any partnership activities. Faculty members said what their university is able to provide is in-kind contributions such as faculty time and support in accessing locations in Uganda where issues in health and the environment can be researched. If third-party ceases to fund partnership in the future, Makerere may choose to accept whatever new strategy external funders put forward and the number of partnerships at Makerere may diminish.

Outstanding Issues in Development Process of Externally Funded Partnerships

Even though a comparison between internally and third-party funded partnerships cannot be made at Makerere, there is ample data that can be used to assess the partnership development process model and discuss the aspects that faculty emphasized. Four key points emerging from this study can help to better understand the process of partnership development from the viewpoint of Makerere University faculty.

These points provide a basis for critiquing and adjusting the partnership development model.

1. Faculty members' desire for individual benefit threatens to undercut institutional capacity building.

The most interesting finding is that throughout the partnership process, faculty members placed more importance on how they would personally benefit than how their institution or community would benefit. It was not surprising that faculty were motivated by academic and economic incentives. Sakamoto and Chapman (2011) and others have said this is the case. However, it was unexpected that there would be such a disproportional emphasis. Faculty members said that in part, attention to individual benefit is a reaction to past international partners who have not acknowledged the substantive work of Makerere faculty members in research.

Even though they expressed pride in the high ranking of Makerere compared to other African universities, institutional capacity building such as faculty training and expansion of degree offerings were less frequently mentioned as something that motivated them. According to faculty members, partnerships are maintained for the sake of continuing individual benefits and not necessarily for the maintenance of institutional ones.

Only a few faculty members said they participate in partnerships for the sake of benefits that community members will receive. Had administrators been interviewed at Makerere, it is possible that the motivation to strengthen institutional capacity and improve the university's image internationally through partnership would have been

expressed more frequently as Neave (1992) and other have said this is a common motivation for the administrative population.

To some degree individual benefits overlap institutional ones. For example, when faculty members conduct research, publish articles, and make presentations at conferences Makerere gains visibility and faculty can be invited into additional collaborations once more people know their work. Cybermetrics Lab, which produces a university ranking systems that lists Makerere, uses Internet presence as a factor in calculating university ranking. Faculty members' publications and involvement in activities that are posted on the Internet help increase Makerere's status, too.

On the other hand, as faculty members try to maximize their individual benefits, they could end up unintentionally harming the university and thus jeopardize their own good. Because limits on faculty involvement in partnership are not enforced, faculty members tend to be involved in as many partnerships as they feel they can manage. Because Makerere benefits from overhead that is charged to projects in which faculty are involved, this could diminish their incentive to limit the number of partnerships that faculty take on. When faculty are motivated by financial gain, this is a risky situation. Over-committed faculty members threaten to decrease the quality of teaching and reflect poorly on the university. However, this does not seem to stop faculty members from taking on more partnerships. As one faculty member acknowledged:

Of course, the disadvantage with the type of system we have, if you get involved in too much, then you may fail to achieve your objectives for what you're supposed to do under the collaboration and that may either lead to work that is not very good, that may also spoil the reputation of institution, so much as you're able to earn much more, you need to balance so that you're able to meet your teaching requirements, your supervision, and so your research obligations.

Findings suggest that partnerships may not be maintained when individual benefits do not match faculty members' expectations. For example, individual and institutional capacity may be built through partnership but the capacity may not be preserved without a means for individual benefit to continue. When a faculty member is funded to attend training on how to use certain equipment, he may not teach his colleagues unless there is funding for him to conduct the training.

2. Internal, institutional challenges at Makerere have stymied development of cross-border university-to-university partnerships.

From Connolly et al. (2007) and Jones and Blunt's (1999) observations about international partnership, it was anticipated that most of the faculty members would focus on differences between them and their international partners including available resources; institutional systems and structures; language; and culture. However, faculty mentioned that their own university is what primarily stands in the way and hinders their ability to be effective. Challenges they mentioned that exist at Makerere are an overly bureaucratic procurement process; the political selection of partnership participants; and inter-departmental rivalry over partnership ownership.

Being a government-supported university, faculty said they have complex bureaucracy. When equipment for partnerships arrives in Uganda, there is a lengthy process the equipment has to clear before it reaches Makerere. In this long process, there have been pockets of corruption, which have discouraged some donors from supporting purchase of equipment and building of infrastructure. The consequence of delayed receipt of materials has been that partnership activities have been held up. This

has been a problem with partnerships operating on tight timelines. One interviewee described how he was in the middle of clearing materials for a partnerships project:

The major concern has been on procurement and that has always, you may get this being told by several other people, because the procurement process is extremely tedious, extremely slow. The layers, it's multi-layered. So many layers. To some extent where some people are not taking interest in what they are supposed to do. I give you an example of these items you see here. I started processing last year in November, I think. It was November. I got other things, but these particular consignment had a problem and the reason, it did not arise from us. And there are some magic figures in our procurement process like when, if you're buying something below 2 million shillings, you can do something called micro procurement. You can buy it without going through a lot of trouble. Anything between about 2 million to 50 million, you have to go through a procurement process. And anything which is above 50 million, you see it go through the procurement process, but it has to be approved by the solicitor general at the end.

Interviewees said that two institutions within Makerere are trying to organize their own procurement process so that resources can be received more efficiently. It remains to be seen if these variations on organizational structure become trustworthy alternatives to funneling resources from international partners over the long-term.

Another internal challenge is that participants tend to be selected by administrators, senior faculty, and other champions in a way that is haphazard and some qualified and interested people are left out of the loop. One faculty member explained that when he hears of partnership opportunities, or is contacted by a potential international partner, he links those he knows have specialties that correspond to that partnership. Another faculty member said when he needs to find participants, he first thinks of his friends who might be interested and have time and could use the money from the partnership. Faculty members mentioned that it is not uncommon for

participants to be chosen through personal connections they have rather than through a public, competitive process.

Inter-departmental squabbling also prevents some partnerships from excelling as much as they could. Based on experiences of colleagues trying to gain control of certain partnerships for themselves or their department, there is mistrust between faculty. Faculty said that this tension is not unique to Makerere. They described regional partnerships where there also were internal conflicts between faculty members. An example of an internal conflict was given where a group of university administrators who had to facilitate meetings at their respective universities in order to bring uncooperative faculty together. Once the collaboration began to take shape and the faculty members coalesced the university administrators were able to fade back. They were no longer needed to hold the group together. In this example, administrators bought into the partnerships and this led them to force their faculty together and make the partnership work. This example is consistent with the strong influence Amey (2010) and others say administrators have in the partnership process. If they support partnerships, they can help launch and sustain partnerships. However, it also involves administrators' time and energy.

3. Internal power dynamics leave junior faculty members bearing the weight of partnership responsibilities.

When senior faculty members end up with more work than they can handle, they often delegate work to junior faculty members and graduate students. Junior faculty members did not express resentment of the work that has been delegated to them. They have gained experience, skills, and connections that have already led to benefits such as

further education and additional opportunities for employment. At the same time, senior faculty members benefit from remaining the face of the partnership. They can continue to build social capital and keep their names associated with strategic partnerships.

There are different levels of interaction that senior faculty have with those to whom they delegate work. Sometimes, junior faculty members are left on their own to manage activities. However, several faculty members who were interviewed described how they have been very deliberate in how they oversee the people who are assisting them on partnerships. Those who were mentored themselves as juniors carry these experiences over into how they mentor others today. Senior faculty frequently credited the experiences they had when they were junior faculty members for giving them the skills they use now.

Even though they value opportunities to be involved in partnerships, some junior faculty members said they have less leverage and voice when they raise concerns to senior faculty members. For example, one junior faculty member told how he was involved in a partnership, identified some problems, and raised them to his senior faculty mentors. They chose not to address the issues and he had to continue to deal with the issues and face the international partners though the problems were unresolved. Another faculty member said junior faculty members are in a difficult position. They are doing most of the work, but do not have as much voice as their seniors. Whether they do or do not speak up, they could damage the partnership.

I think the challenge is a challenge for junior faculty because the collaborations are maybe [between] senior faculty and the junior faculty end up doing most of the work. So that's—I don't know how that can be solved. Maybe it's all over the world [laughing]. So, I think that one, if it's not handled can blow up, because if you [as a junior faculty member] are not, like, pushy, you may end up stuck in a rut and you are being rude that can kill the development of that partnership.

In partnerships, not all partners may be aware of these internal dynamics. There can be a shadow operation that might not be evident unless donors and international university partners are looking carefully. A consequence of this lower and sometimes invisible hierarchy is that participants may not be oriented to the full purpose of the project and might not understand the expectations of donors. Messages from donors might not reach the ones who need to hear it.

4. The apparent dependence on external funding is being reinforced by cross-border university-to-university partnerships.

In agreement with many authors of international development literature, including Court (2004), Holm and Malete (2010), and Jones and Blunt (1999), partnerships are not yielding the sustainability that international donors desire. While international donors and university partners are trying to build sustainability and do not intend on funding partnerships indefinitely, Makerere faculty members' interest is to sustain the funding stream. As one faculty member said:

I always don't see it as a two-year program, I always see it as a down payment for an impossible long-term investment. ...if there are good seeds of those collaborations, it should be able to move on.... we are not interested in millions and millions. If \$150,000 comes consistently for 5-10 years, it will make a huge difference to me.

There is evidence that Makerere is building systems to better manage partnerships to strengthen institutional capacity, but there are concerns from faculty that the systems are not working, yet.

The intentions of some partners confuse faculty members. In their minds, international aid is one-way and not equivalent with partnership, which they think of as a two-way relationship. Faculty said that they accept external funding despite their philosophical misgivings because they are dependent on this extra money. According to Makerere (2009), the amount of donor funding has decreased; however, the university still finds itself in an environment that Pfeffer and Salancik (2005) would classify as one of scarce resources. When funding cycles of partnerships come to an end, faculty described how they search for funding necessary to continue activities that would otherwise end. According to Parker (2010), the quest to find more financial support is not atypical. If there is no money found to continue, partnerships become dormant until a new funding source appears.

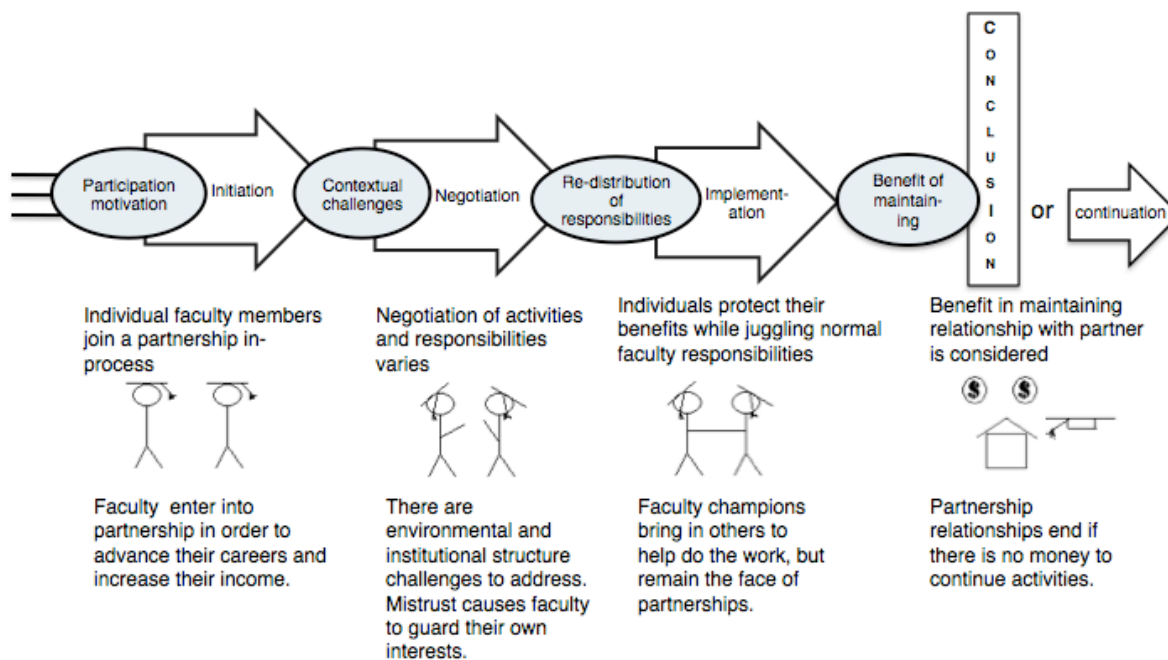
If donor agencies are aiming to support activities that are sustainable, partnership may not be the best strategy to use. As noted by Altbach et al (2009) and Neave (1992), the institutional and national impacts of many partnerships have been short-term. As Ouchi (2004) and Holm and Maleté (2010) have also pointed out, in the process of partnership there have been mismatches between solutions and the ability to sustain them. For example, Makerere faculty members told of solutions found through partnership research including treatments for diseases that were too expensive to maintain after partnership funding ended.

Revision of the Partnership Development Model

At a general level, the cross-border university-to-university development process model (Figure 1) contextualizes these findings and highlights important aspects of partnership development—from initiation to conclusion; however, from the faculty member perspective, some nuances are not captured. Figure 14 is a revision of the original cross-border university-to-university development process model.

Figure 14

Revised Cross-border University-to-university Partnership Process Model



This model reflects what Makerere faculty emphasized most in the process of partnerships they described. It specifies faculty members' perspective in partnership including their motivation to join partnerships, the challenges they face, the responsibilities that they hold, and decision of whether or not to continue the partnership when the funding cycle ends.

In the initiation stage, faculty members' involvement may begin after a partnership is already in motion. They may be brought in on partnerships at the request of a more senior colleague. In the context of partnership mistrust can fuel internal conflicts, like the ones mentioned by faculty at Makerere. There are not just physical challenges, but political challenges that are likely invisible to international university partners and funders. In the implementation stage, faculty members said that faculty members who did not establish the partnership could be implementing partnership activities. As one faculty member commented: "When they're negotiating the partnership. Somehow, the administration takes a heavy part of it... [W]hat they negotiate for the staff—there's a lot that's left to be desired." Geographic distance between partners makes it difficult for communication and transparency to be maintained during the implementation of activities. Thus, some of the players in a partnership and the benefits they are receiving may be hidden from international partners and funders' views. At the conclusion of partnerships, or when the funding for partnerships ends, the sustainability of partnerships seems to rely on remaining interest, leadership, and most importantly, additional money to support activities.

Faculty Members' Ideal Partnership

As international development agencies hone in on effective partnership strategies and give more direct funding to international universities to strengthen existing partnerships, there needs to be recognition of what faculty members are looking for in partnerships. Based on the interviews with Makerere faculty members, there is a desire for continuous funding of partnerships where there is mutual respect, a role for faculty in designing the partnership, flexibility in meeting funders' standards, protection

of personal benefit, and freedom during implementation of activities. The balance of these characteristics is illustrated in Figure 15.

Figure 15

Cross-border University-to-university Partnership Active Balance Model

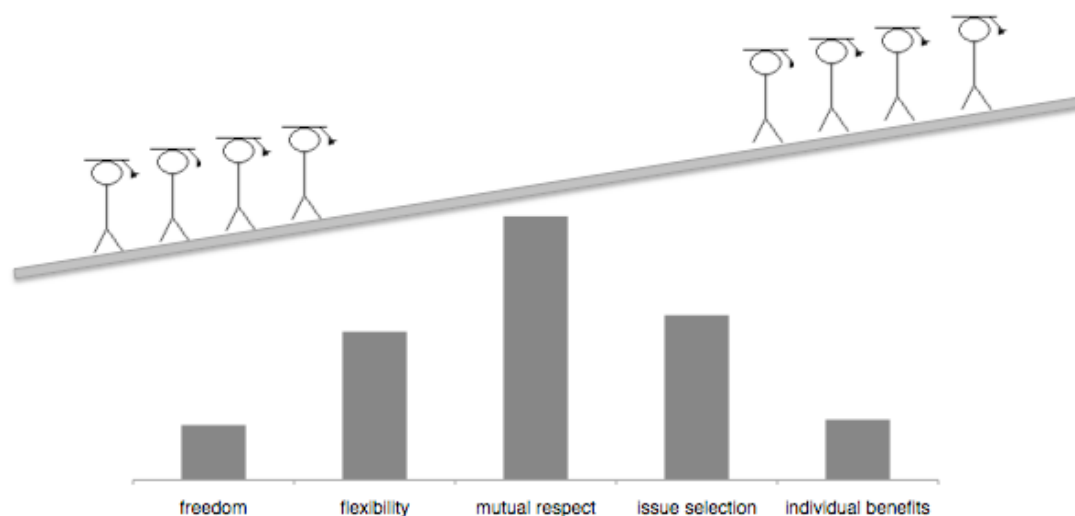


Figure 15 visualizes the balance of characteristics that faculty said matter most to them in university-to-university partnerships. Mutual respect was the aspect that faculty talked about most. The other characteristics, flexibility in timelines and outcomes, participation in partnership issue selection, attention to individual benefits, and freedom in implementation are displayed in proportion to the frequency they were mentioned.

Based on the interview findings, not all of these characteristics are realistic for faculty members to expect, however. There are organizational differences between donors and international universities, contextual challenges, and mistrust at many levels within partnerships that prevent the development of these idealized partnerships.

Mutual respect between partners. Makerere faculty members want partners to treat them as equal partners. They want to be respected and involved in the full development of partnerships. This includes having a strong influence on the focal issue that partnerships will address, such as a particular health topic that is important to people in Uganda and not just a curiosity of a donor or international university partner. Faculty members said that addressing issues that are important to Ugandans encourages sustainability of the partnership outputs after the funding ends. However, donor funding is usually tied to set topics and even international partner universities are unable to influence the selection of different issues. They said in most partnerships, the needs have already been chosen. As one interviewee explained the situation:

There are some people who come in and say [they] want to bring a partnership, but they've actually been working alone [laughing]... And then they surface and [say]: "This is what we want." You know, without giving you room to negotiate and that makes it very difficult because they may assume things will work this way when we on the ground know how best it should be done.

Faculty members also want to work with partners who are interested in them as individuals and the Ugandan culture. They have a desire to be known and not just be accessories to partnerships that require international universities to partner with a university in a country that faces certain challenges such as HIV.

Flexibility in timelines and outcomes. Faculty believe that when international partners know them, they will be more sensitive to the challenges they face and make accommodations when environmental challenges or institutional limitations, such as the ability to handle grants stand in the way of them meeting requirements in a set amount of time. Faculty members want to handle accountability on their own terms rather than having to struggle with their partners or the donors' accountability standards. A faculty

member described the frustration of having to adjust to the accountability standards required by different partnerships:

[E]ach partnership is different from the other. There are many that we've been working with where their demands for accountability are much different from these others... [T]hey want those fine, fine details and they keep bouncing back what you've sent and say: "No, this one, we don't accept this. We'll accept this." So you keep going back and forth. Going back and forth.

Examples were given of reporting requirements that were adjusted when the Makerere faculty petitioned their funders for lenience. Ironically, faculty did not provide examples of ways that they have tried to accommodate their international partners and made an attempt to sympathize with challenges in their contexts. Brinkerhoff (2003) noted that the expectation and willingness to adapt in partnership situations is essential for all involved in partnership.

Though the university is trying to improve its administration of partnerships, it also remains to be seen if these new structures will be effective in holding faculty members and administrators accountable to their commitments. Those who have misused resources and not acted for the common good may struggle against regulation. Since Makerere, one of the strongest universities in Africa is only now addressing issues of partnership management and strategy it is unlikely that other regional universities are ahead of Makerere in tightening up their structures to standardize aspects including leadership and administrative support of university partnerships.

Individual benefits. Some Makerere faculty members described their institution as run-down and in dire need of a steady stream of resources. Ideally, they want to receive stable funding from donors to help them regain the high level they were before the 1980s. They see faculty capacity and infrastructure as important areas donors

can support. At the same time, faculty members see partnerships as an immediate way to supplement the income they receive from the university. Skills they gain can also be used for private consultancies. In the long-term, faculty members see research opportunities as a way they can build their academic CV and look forward to an increase in salary when they are promoted.

Faculty said that they stop participating or turn down future partnership opportunities when they do not get the individual benefits or rewards that they expected to receive. When individuals disengage from participation in partnerships the institution loses its opportunity to be strengthened. However, when individual benefits are increased, faculty may give more attention to partnerships than their normal responsibilities and the quality of their work for Makerere may decline. Although individuals get benefits, in the long-term, the institution loses, again.

Freedom in implementation. Faculty members see close communication with partners as a non-negotiable aspect of cross-border partnerships. However, they do not want to be micro-managed. Instead, they want to be able to make decisions on the ground that they think are appropriate. When international partners come and give instructions that Makerere faculty members know will not work, Makerere faculty said they sometimes do what they want after the international partners leave.

[Y]ou're thinking: "That is not going to work." And everybody is looking around and saying: "If we do that, it's going to be a disaster." But then, they don't want to tell you, so sometimes they just say: "Ok, I don't know. Let's try it." And then sometimes, someone is thinking: "Ok, you are not going to stay here. When you go..."

Faculty members prefer working with partners who have a high level of expertise but give Makerere faculty autonomy in the implementation of project activities. However, if Makerere University partners are given more autonomy, it seems that there needs to be a more effective system for communication across the partnership. Since faculty members who have not been part of the initial orientation of partnerships are often involved in the implementation of partnership activities, it is likely that international partners communicate with the wrong people without realizing it.

Remarks

Although Makerere faculty members said they desire more respect, flexibility, individual benefit, and freedom in implementation of partnerships, there are internal and external power dynamics that make it difficult for these wishes to be realized. Changes within Makerere and at funding agencies and international universities could transform the partnership process so that partnerships at Makerere could be more sustainable and more beneficial to the multiple levels of stakeholders.

Currently, funding agencies put restrictions on the money they allocate for partnership and this binds universities to certain agendas. Even when international partner universities see the needs of Makerere, they might be unable to change the donor's agenda. If funders could offer more flexibility to Makerere, such as a greater role in the selection of topics and partner universities, this could improve the success of partnerships from the perspective of faculty participants. If faculty members feel their role is more equitable, this could increase engagement and the sustainability of partnership activities.

Throughout the process of cross-border university-to-university partnership there are unequal negotiation of power relationships. Third-party funders and international partner universities often have more control over goals and funding than Makerere faculty members do. Within Makerere, there is also a hierarchy of power relations. At the top are administrators, deans, heads of departments, and senior faculty members. Junior faculty members find themselves at the bottom of the hierarchy and often the ones who implement the activities envisioned by those above them. University-to-university partnership provides an opportunity to support and train the next generation of Makerere faculty members. Makerere would not be viewed as what one interviewed referred to as a “bottomless container,” through which faculty talent drains into other countries. However, power tensions throughout the partnership process threaten to prevent universities from becoming the international centers of innovation that some funders envision.

Although findings from this study were not intended to be generalizable to all of sub-Saharan Africa, they can serve as an illustration to other African universities of the opportunities and challenges of externally funded partnerships. Makerere has demonstrated how tremendous strides in educational development can be made in a short span of time. It is hoped that findings from this study will assist education decision-makers at government and university levels to foster greater levels of success in partnerships at Makerere and in other African university contexts.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Protocol

Warm up/interviewee background

- What is your area of specialty here at this college of human/animal health?
- How long have you been a faculty member here at Makerere?
- Approximately how many partnerships have you been involved in?

Partnerships at this university

1. What, if any expectations does this university have in terms of faculty involvement in partnerships?
2. How does this university differ from any other universities in this country on the issue of partnership? Can you please give any examples?
3. Of the various types of university partnerships you have participated in, which seem to be most successful? Why do you think this is?

Two successful partnerships

I'd like you to tell me a little bit about two past university-to-university partnerships you have been part of at this university that you consider very successful. I'll ask you about each partnership one-by-one.

4. For the first partnership:
 - a. What was the name of the project?
 - b. When did it occur?
 - c. How was it funded?
 - d. What was its main purpose?
5. Describe what led you to be involved this partnership.
 - a. How did you hear about the partnership?
 - b. What did you hope to gain from your participation?
 - c. Did you gain what you expected?
6. Please describe the role you played in the partnership.
 - a. What were your responsibilities?
 - b. How much of your time did it take?
7. Who were the champions [those who were the leaders and were decision-makers] in the project over time? (ex. administrative or faculty position)
 - a. At the beginning
 - b. In the middle
 - c. At the end

8. On a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 being “lowest” and 5 being “highest,” how much voice do you feel that you had in the partnership? Would you please give an example to support why you chose this number?
9. What, if any concerns or challenges did you have during this partnership?
 - a. What was the concerns/challenges?
 - b. Were they addressed?
 - c. How/Why not?
10. What was the impact of this partnership?
 - a. Short-term (Immediate)
 - b. Long-term (What has remained?)

Do you have any additional questions or comments?

Appendix B: Interviewee Information Sheet

A Study of Faculty Perceptions of Success in University-to-University Partnerships

You are being invited to participate in an interview that is part of a study looking at faculty experiences and perceptions of success in university-to-university partnerships they have participated in at Makerere University. This interview will take approximately 45-60 minutes.

Your participation is entirely voluntary, you are free not to answer any questions, and you can opt out of the interview at any time.

The results of the study of faculty perceptions will not identify you or any individuals whom the researcher has interviewed. Reports coming out of this study will be written in a way that does not identify any individuals.

With your permission, the interviewer would like to record the conversation in order to accurately capture your ideas. However, only the researcher will have access to the recordings. You may tell the interviewer if you do not want the conversation to be recorded.

Elisabeth Wilson, a PhD candidate at the University of Minnesota, is conducting this study as part of her dissertation research. Contact information for Ms. Wilson is provided below.

Ms. Elisabeth Wilson
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Appendix C: Interview Confirmation E-mail

Dear Professor,

Thanks for being willing to meet with me on Tuesday (August 9th) at your office to discuss cross-border, university-to-university partnership. This interview will take approximately 45-60 minutes.

Here's some information about the interview:

I will be asking you about distinguishing characteristics of successful partnerships you've been involved in here at Makerere. I would like to hear specifically about 2 cross-border, university-to-university partnerships you've been involved in that you'd consider very successful, including some of the short-term and long-term impact that those partnerships have had.

This interview is part of my dissertation study looking at faculty experiences and perceptions of success in university-to-university partnerships. Your participation is entirely voluntary, you are free not to answer any questions, and you can opt out of the interview at any time.

The results of the study of faculty perceptions will not identify you or any individuals whom I have interviewed. Reports coming out of this study will be written in a way that does not identify any individuals.

With your permission, I would like to record our conversation in order to accurately capture your ideas. However, only I will have access to the recordings. You may tell me if you do not want the conversation to be recorded.

Again, I am a PhD candidate at the University of Minnesota. My contact information is below:

Ms. Elisabeth Wilson
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Thank you very much for your time and willingness to share from your experiences!

Sincerely,

Lis

Appendix D: Cross-tabulation Analysis of Question 8

Question 8: *On a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 being “lowest” and 5 being “highest,” how much voice do you feel that you had in the partnership? Would you please give an example to support why you chose this number?*

Interviewees were asked this question in order to understand how much influence they felt that they had in decision making in the partnerships in which they had participated. It was thought that reported level of voice would be an indication of the amount of efficacy faculty members had in partnerships. Interviewees rated their level of voice for each of the partnerships (up to two partnerships) that they described.

Interviewee voice levels

Table 1
Faculty Voice in Partnership

Voice level ^a	Frequency
1	1
2	2
3	7
4	9
5	17

^a On a 1-5 scale, 1=very low voice; 2=low voice; 3=medium voice; 4=high voice; 5=very high voice.

Combined voice levels used in cross-tabulation

In order to see a stronger effect of voice in relationship to gender, number of years at Makerere, number of partnerships, and self-initiated or invited involvement, the five levels of voice were combined into three levels. Voice ratings 1 and 2 were combined. Voice ratings 4 and 5 were also combined before cross-tabulation analysis was done. Table 2 shows the frequencies with the combined levels of voice.

Table 2
Faculty Voice Levels Combined

Voice level ^b	Frequency
1	3
2	7
3	26

^b On a 1-3 scale, 1=very low to low voice; 2=medium voice; 3=high to very high voice.

Faculty voice and gender cross-tabulation

Table 3
Faculty Voice and Gender

	Voice	1	2	3	Total
Female	Count	1	1	7	9
	% within	11.10%	11.10%	77.80%	100.00%
	% within voice combined	33.30%	14.30%	26.90%	25.00%
	% of Total	2.80%	2.80%	19.40%	25.00%
Male	Count	2	6	19	27
	% within	7.40%	22.20%	70.40%	100.00%
	% within voice combined	66.70%	85.70%	73.10%	75.00%
	% of Total	5.60%	16.70%	52.80%	75.00%
Total	Count	3	7	26	36
	% within	8.30%	19.40%	72.20%	100.00%
	% within voice combined	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
	% of Total	8.30%	19.40%	72.20%	100.00%

Faculty voice and self-initiated vs. invited to be involved cross-tabulation

Table 4

Faculty Voice and Self-initiated vs. Invited to Be Involved in Partnership

Impetus for involvement	Voice	1	2	3	Total
Self-initiated	Count	1	1	6	8
	% within	12.50%	12.50%	75.00%	100.00%
	% within voice combined	33.30%	14.30%	25.00%	23.50%
	% of Total	2.90%	2.90%	17.60%	23.50%
Outside invitation or request	Count	2	6	18	26
	% within	7.70%	23.10%	69.20%	100.00%
	% within voice combined	66.70%	85.70%	75.00%	76.50%
	% of Total	5.90%	17.60%	52.90%	76.50%
Total	Count	3	7	24	34
	% within	8.80%	20.60%	70.60%	100.00%
	% within voice combined	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
	% of Total	8.80%	20.60%	70.60%	100.00%

Faculty voice and years on faculty at Makerere cross-tabulation

Table 5
Faculty Voice and Years on Faculty at Makerere

Years on faculty ^c	Voice	1	2	3	Total
3-5	Count	3	2	6	11
	% within	27.30%	18.20%	54.50%	100.00%
	% within voice combined	100.00%	28.60%	23.10%	30.60%
	% of Total	8.30%	5.60%	16.70%	30.60%
6-10	Count	0	1	5	6
	% within	0.00%	16.70%	83.30%	100.00%
	% within voice combined	0.00%	14.30%	19.20%	16.70%
	% of Total	0.00%	2.80%	13.90%	16.70%
11-15	Count	0	3	5	8
	% within	0.00%	37.50%	62.50%	100.00%
	% within voice combined	0.00%	42.90%	19.20%	22.20%
	% of Total	0.00%	8.30%	13.90%	22.20%

^c Number of years on faculty was combined into four categories in order to strengthen the cross-tabulation analysis (3-5 years on faculty; 6-10 years on faculty; 11-15 years on faculty; and 16-24 years on faculty).

Table 5
Faculty Voice and Years on Faculty at Makerere (continued)

Years on faculty	Voice	1	2	3	Total
16-24	Count	0	1	10	11
	% within	0.00%	9.10%	90.90%	100.00%
	% within voice combined	0.00%	14.30%	38.50%	30.60%
	% of Total	0.00%	2.80%	27.80%	30.60%
Total	Count	3	7	26	36
	% within	8.30%	19.40%	72.20%	100.00%
	% within voice combined	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
	% of Total	8.30%	19.40%	72.20%	100.00%

Faculty voice and number of partnerships cross-tabulation

Table 6
Faculty Voice and Number of Partnerships

Number of partnerships ^d	Voice	1	2	3	Total
1-3	Count	2	0	11	13
	% within	15.40%	0.00%	84.60%	100.00%
	% within voice combined	66.70%	0.00%	44.00%	37.10%
	% of Total	5.70%	0.00%	31.40%	37.10%
4-6	Count	1	3	7	11
	% within	9.10%	27.30%	63.60%	100.00%
	% within voice combined	33.30%	42.90%	28.00%	31.40%
	% of Total	2.90%	8.60%	20.00%	31.40%
7-10	Count	0	3	4	7
	% within	0.00%	42.90%	57.10%	100.00%
	% within voice combined	0.00%	42.90%	16.00%	20.00%
	% of Total	0.00%	8.60%	11.40%	20.00%

^d Number of partnerships faculty member had participated in was combined into four categories in order to strengthen the cross-tabulation analysis (1-3 partnerships; 4-6 partnerships; 7-10 partnerships; 11-20 partnerships).

Table 6
Faculty Voice and Number of Partnerships (continued)

Number of partnerships	Voice	1	2	3	Total
11-20	Count	0	1	3	4
	% within	0.00%	25.00%	75.00%	100.00%
	% within voice combined	0.00%	14.30%	12.00%	11.40%
	% of Total	0.00%	2.90%	8.60%	11.40%
Total	Count	3	7	25	35
	% within	8.60%	20.00%	71.40%	100.00%
	% within voice combined	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
	% of Total	8.60%	20.00%	71.40%	100.00%