

LIGHTING THE PATHS TO CHANGE: HOW ON-AWARD ACTIVITIES CAN HELP TO IMPROVE SCHOLARSHIP OUTCOMES

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Various international scholarship programs support leadership training, professional networking and community-based service during study, among other kinds of on-award enrichment activities. How such activities can improve scholarship outcomes, however, involves more than compiling an inventory of best practice.

It is important to differentiate among types of scholarship outcomes, consider which design features are most likely to enhance particular program objectives and review what we know about measurement and evaluation of results.

I. Scholarships and social change

Scholarships for individuals to pursue international education can lead to more equitable, sustainable, inclusive and prosperous communities (Dassin, Marsh and Mawer 2017). This statement sums up the continuing attraction of scholarships for both state and private sponsors, as well as their central paradox. While an attractive investment in individuals, the greatest return of scholarships lies in their broader social impact. Although difficult to prove empirically, this view has provided the dominant rationale for prestigious international scholarships since the Rhodes scholarships initiated support for "leaders for the world's future" in the early 1900s (The Rhodes Trust 2016, cited in Dassin, Marsh and Mawer: 305).

The linkage of individual scholarships to broader societal impacts takes many forms. For example, 'capacity building' – particularly for the public sector in developing countries – has long underpinned support for international study provided by both host and sending governments. Globalisation has placed an even greater premium on investments in human capital as a broadgauged strategy for economic growth.

Recognising the need for higher education, especially at high quality international universities, many developing countries have increased their investment in international scholarships for talented youth, especially for studies in science and technology, through large government scholarship programs such as Brazil's Scientific Mobility Program (Zahler and Menino 2017).

Globalisation has also placed a premium on intercultural competencies, foreign language acquisition (especially English), and other skills related to success in international business. In 2016/17, 18.6 per cent of the over 1 million international students in the United States selected business and management as their field of study, second only to engineering at 21.4 per cent (IIE 2017). This business-oriented rationale for international study – fuelled by economic models based in private sector-led economic growth exists alongside the traditional and enduring view of scholarships as a powerful tool for public diplomacy and improving international relations. A strong example of the latter is the Fulbright program, which has supported study, research and teaching scholarships for some 380,000 awardees. The words of Arkansas Senator Fulbright, who established the program in 1946, are still relevant today: "Educational exchange," he said in 1983, "can turn nations into people, contributing as no other form of communication can to the humanizing of international relations" (The Fulbright Program 2018).

The demand for international education has expanded rapidly. Despite tighter visa regulations in some host countries stemming from anti-immigration politics and policies, the number of globally mobile students more than doubled to 4.5 million students between 2000 and 2016 (OECD 2016). China is the dominant sending country, while new hubs in Asia and the Gulf states - although still outpaced by Europe and the United States - now attract a substantial proportion of international students. China is also investing heavily in its domestic universities, both to absorb growing internal demand and to attract increasing numbers of international students (OECD 2016).

Despite these trends, access to higher education in general and international higher education remains highly unequal. World Bank statistics show that participation in tertiary education ranges from 74 per cent of the relevant age cohort in high-income countries, as opposed to 8 per cent in lowincome countries (World Bank 2016). In 2014/15, only 5 per cent of globally mobile students received scholarships, including 1 per cent receiving funding from foreign or domestic governments (IIE 2016a).

Internationally mobile students comprise a minor subset of this population: in 2014, only 6 per cent of students enrolled in tertiary institutions in OECD countries were international students (OECD 2016). Most international students, moreover, are selffunded. In 2014/15, only 5 per cent of globally mobile students received scholarships, including 1 per cent receiving funding from foreign or domestic governments (IIE 2016a).

These disparities have led governments to direct scholarships to low-income countries in conjunction with other types of foreign assistance. For example, the UK Commonwealth Master's Scholarships, the Embassy of Ireland's Tanzania Fellowship Training Programme and the VLIR-UOS Training and Masters Scholarships for study in Flanders, Belgium, support students from low-income countries in Asia. Africa and Latin America. Other government scholarship programs, such as the Post-Graduate Scholarship Program for Indigenous People (El Programa de Becas de Posgrado para Indígenas-Probepi) in Mexico and US government scholarship programs for Native Americans and Native Alaskans, focus on social groups with limited access to higher education.

Privately funded programs such as the Gates Millennium Scholarships, the Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program (IFP), the Moshal Scholars Program (MSP) and the MasterCard Foundation Scholars Program have similar developmentrelated or social justice goals and also target disadvantaged groups. Depending on the context, these may include women, people from racial, ethnic and linguistic minorities, and those living in rural areas, urban settlements or other marginalised circumstances. Despite significant investment in these programs, demand far outstrips supply of available scholarships.

In this 'sellers market', governments and private donors have developed programs based on their economic, political and social objectives. These may include promoting gender parity in higher education, increasing educational access for members of marginalised communities, and building new cohorts of leaders in particular countries and regions.

Figure 1 illustrates the five principal pathways through which scholarships can lead to ripple effects that transcend individual beneficiaries.

FIGURE 1: PRINCIPAL PATHWAYS FOR SCHOLARSHIPS



CHANGE AGENT

The change agent pathway where individual recipients generate positive social change through personal action, ranging from professional activities such as teaching or practicing law to policymaking at the highest levels.



SOCIAL NETWORK

The social network pathway where networks of scholars and alumni promote change through collective action, such as joint research and development projects or political participation.



WIDENING ACCESS

The widening access pathway where scholarships benefit talented individuals from disadvantaged or marginalised communities, thereby spurring social mobility and reducing inequality.



ACADEMIC DIVERSITY

The academic diversity pathway where funding through scholarship programs provides an incentive for universities to accept non-traditional students, on a regular or conditional basis.



INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

The international understanding pathway whereby individual international study enhances intercultural and international communication, tolerance and cooperation (Dassin, Marsh and Mawer: 5).

II. On-award enhancements

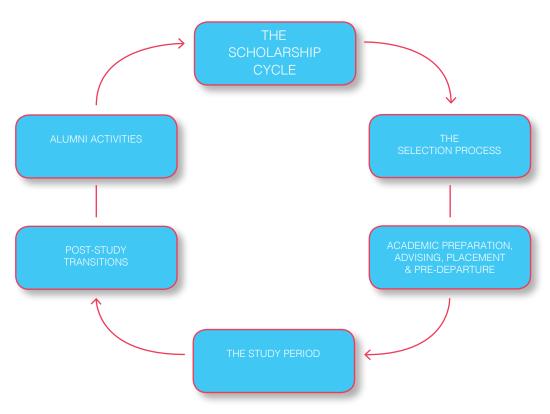
Ideally, on-award enhancements help guide grantees through the specific social change 'pathway' selected by the donor and/or implementing organisation. Although the pathways may converge in practice, the primary aims of the scholarship should determine the specific enhancement or set of enhancements to be adopted, with resources allocated accordingly.

Experience says that the most practical way to design enhancements is to consider the aims and objectives of each stage in the scholarship cycle. The scholarship cycle does not begin with the individual's study program. Rather, the cycle begins with the selection process, moves through academic preparation, placement and pre-departure activities, encompasses the actual study period, and then concludes with the transition to post-study and alumni activities, as indicated in Figure 2.

A. THE SELECTION PROCESS

Particularly for programs that aim to reach and recruit non-elites (Pathway 3), enhancements must be made to the conventional selection process. These shouldn't be seen as additions to individual awards; rather, they are program features such as intentional outreach to under-served communities based on identification of potential candidates. These candidates may live in remote rural areas, lack access to and familiarity with application materials and be sceptical that prestigious scholarships for international study are for 'people like them'. This was the case with scholarships for graduatelevel study through the Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program (IFP).

FIGURE 2: THE SCHOLARSHIP CYCLE



Ethnic minorities (e.g. Uyghurs and Tibetans in China, Indigenous and Afro-descendants in Latin America and rural-dwelling ethnic minorities in Asia) had to be convinced that the scholarships were not restricted to urban elites or individuals from dominant groups, who had attended higher quality universities and would have been more competitive in an 'open' competition. To rectify this perception, IFP staff not only made recruiting trips but also built long-term relationships with local institutions based in the targeted communities.

Other techniques included advertising in vernacular languages, using radio and other popular communications media, offering skills building workshops in essay writing, and other activities intended to 'level the playing field' for non-elite candidates. Similar outreach and recruitment techniques have been used by the Gates Millennium Scholars Program, which provides scholarships for undergraduate study to talented students from minority communities in the US.

The underlying assumption for these program enhancements is that equity and inclusion in scholarship programs – just as in any other social endeavor – is not automatic but must be identified as a priority and consciously implemented.

Support during personal interviews (usually a final stage in an awards competition) also pays dividends in terms of students feeling more comfortable in unfamiliar settings. This includes measures as simple as meeting candidates at the airport (if they're traveling to a city for the first time), logistical help in dealing with buses or metro systems, or providing all candidates with 'tips' on successful interview techniques.

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B. ACADEMIC PREPARATION

The experience of IFP and with international students from the Brandeis University Sustainable International Development Program (SID) has underscored the importance of academic preparedness among scholarship students. Particularly for scholarship programs aiming to promote social change through Pathways 3 (broadening access) and 4 (working with universities to accept non-traditional students), academic readiness is a threshold condition for subsequent academic success. Its importance in helping to offset the negative effects of poor prior schooling - and thereby break the cycle of educational disadvantage - cannot be overestimated. Lack of English (or another international language), weak computer skills, a low level of quantitative skills and lack of experience with current academic culture can be major hindrances to international students, interfering with their adaptation to the host university and preventing them from advancing to the accelerated learning they need to excel in their academic programs (particularly at the graduate level).

To compensate for these deficits, IFP provided up to one year of intensive English language training for Fellows, both in their home regions and at specialised institutes in the host country or at students' host universities. In a few cases, students received conditional admissions and pursued concurrent English training and their regular academic programs. SID and other international masters programs at the Brandeis Heller School for Social Policy and Management are currently designing an online academic preparation program for incoming students. Focusing on professional writing, computer skills, leadership and management training, and library and research skills, as well as on basic subject matter in several relevant disciplines (e.g. economics and statistics), the program will function as a pre-enrolment 'Summer Institute' and is intended to enhance the students' prospects for academic success during the regular academic year.

The widespread availability of online materials (including open source as well software packages already licensed by the university) makes this a particularly appealing investment. Once migrated to an online environment, materials will be curated on a regular basis but will not require major adjustments. Moreover, students will be able to revisit the material as needed, and there are no restrictions on the number of students who can participate.

C. ADVISING, PLACEMENT AND PRE-DEPARTURE

Practices vary but many international scholarship programs require prior admission to a graduate program. This may be difficult to obtain for students with weak English scores, for example, or for students who lack information about which programs are the best fit for their academic and professional interests. Similarly, students may have little idea about how their interests and passions - particularly for economic, political, social and environmental issues that spill across academic disciplines correspond to particular degree programs. In these cases, academic advising, coupled with placement assistance, is a critical feature for scholarship programs.

Scholarship programs also benefit from developing relationships with programs in specific fields - for example, international development or public policy. SID and several of its sister programs at the Heller School have this type of preferred placement arrangement with the Open Society Foundations (OSF) Civil Society Leadership Awards (CSLA) and the World Bank Joint Japan Scholarship Program (JJ/ WBSP). The final admissions decision rests with the individual academic program, but the scholarship organisation sends lists of candidates (finalists or awardees) directly to the university for consideration. This facilitates the admissions process for all parties concerned, not the least for candidates who may be in a remote location and lack knowledge about specific programs. Depending on start dates, many programs include pre-departure orientation for groups of grantees.

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This activity allows time for explaining practical details (e.g. financial procedures, including opening local bank accounts and managing transactions; health insurance; obtaining housing; scholarship policies), introduction to grantees' academic programs and networking among members of the departing cohort.

D. THE STUDY PERIOD

1. Individual professional development

The IFP awards included a Professional Development Fund that enabled Fellows to travel to conferences, present papers, undertake short-term training, publish articles, etc. while still enrolled in their study programs. To access the award, the Fellow was required to submit a proposal to the implementing organisation in his or her home country. Writing the proposal was useful practice for Fellows, who also benefited from the professional growth opportunity. This feature was directly related to the 'change agent' Pathway 1, where individual recipients generate positive social change through personal action. Enabling the Fellows to gain exposure in their academic fields and build international networks added to their professional qualifications beyond their degrees. Especially for Fellows from remote areas and/or minority groups, building a professional profile and making new contacts were often as empowering as earning the actual credential. Professional masters programs in the US typically provide career services and may require students to complete internships or practicum assignments. In this case, the scholarship program may not have to provide funds for these activities, since they are organised and (sometimes) funded by the host institutions.

2. In-person meetings and electronic networking platforms.

OSF scholarships include enhancements as an integral part of their support for the grantee or scholarship holder, accounting for 14 per cent of the 2016 scholarships budget (Brogden: 139). Enhancements for the OSF Civil Society Leadership Awards include a three-week long summer school. Subjects include social science, academic writing and debate classes. OSF also convenes regional conferences with up to 100 scholars and alumni based in a specific geographic region. For years, IFP convened Leadership for Social Justice (LSJ) Institutes, alternately grouping Fellows by language, region, study fields, common interests and the like. Anecdotally and in subsequent survey research, the Fellows rated the LSJ Institutes as among the highlights of their scholarship experience (Dassin, Enders and Kottmann 2014). The goal of this type of event is to "develop effective social networks with a like-minded yet diverse body of scholars" (Brogden: 140). Online platforms such as LinkedIn help grantees and alumni to build and maintain connections, but OSF still regards in-person meetings as "productive ways to share ideas, perspectives, triumphs, and challenges" (Brogden: 140).

The underlying theory of change for these activities relies on the power of networks to build social capital and spur momentum for social change. As online platforms become ever more ubiquitous, the temptation to forego in-person meetings - costly and labour intensive to organise - is likely to increase. However, just as with online courses (Lederman 2017), a mixed model of in-person meetings that maintains and develops connections through online platforms appears to be most effective for learning and networking. With either model, however, sustaining networks (whether of current grantees or alumni) remains a challenge. Experience shows that enthusiasm wanes quickly, especially for alumni from earlier cohorts. Nonetheless, bringing grantees together for training in crosscutting skills such as leadership and management or to design post-study joint projects are popular on-award enhancements. The power of networks to generate social change is palpable but difficult to harness.

3. Diversity, service learning and civic engagement

Substantial literature exists on the pedagogical value of experiences with diversity that "contribute to the development of attributes associated with civic engagement, such as an appreciation for diversity within communities and cultures and the ability to work effectively in international and multicultural contexts" (Denson and Zhang 2010; Marsh et al. 2016, cited in Baxter: 112). However, these attributes are not automatic; they require conscious cultivation. Academic programs that also emphasize the value of diversity, equity and inclusion (a common theme across the Heller School graduate programs, for example) help scholarship holders to nurture their personal commitment to becoming social change agents (Pathway 1).

Academic programs that incorporate service learning - based on a hybrid pedagogical model of community service and classroom instruction - further help students to cultivate their individual leadership capacity and commitment to social activism (Pascarella and Terenzini, cited in Baxter 2017). And finally, scholarship programs that enable recipients to observe and participate in civil society organisations, grassroots citizen movements and volunteer activities reinforce recipients' leadership skills by exposing them to "democratic governance, political processes, and philanthropy cultures" (Baxter: 113). 'Democratic' governance has a strong ideological cast, and indeed the US government supports the Humphrey Fellowship program and professional exchanges under the Fulbright program, such as those with the former Soviet republics, for the explicit purpose of promoting exposure to, and sympathy for, the US political system. Nonetheless, international students benefit directly from non-curricular volunteer work and participation in advocacy organisations, reinforcing their civic engagement and interest in developing robust civil societies at home (Marsh et al. 2016, cited in Baxter: 114).

4. Transitional support for post-study activities

This is perhaps the most critical category of enhancement beyond the actual scholarship. Martha Loerke pinpoints "the end of the academic study portion of the scholarship" as "the moment when the alignment of program goals and individual reality is thrown into particularly high relief" (Loerke: 187). Indeed, the individual's choices and the program's offerings may not align; in any case the outcome will have a decisive impact on whether the program achieves its overall mission.

Loerke presents three broad categories of scholarship programs, each with a distinct approach to the post-study dilemma. First are traditional Western programs, such as the Fulbright Program (US), the Commonwealth Scholarships and Fellowships (UK), and the Deutsche Akademische Austauschdienst awards (DAAD, Germany). Those and other (largely government supported) programs facilitate alumni networking to "mentor new applicants, connect to other alumni in their region, and share employment information" but assume "...that the 'what next?' question will be answered by individual beneficiaries independently" (Loerke: 193).

The second category of programs are those intended to build capacity and leadership in particular sectors, such as government and public policy, finance and business and the judiciary. Examples are the UK's Chevening Awards program, the Joint Japan/ World Bank Scholarship Program and the Muskie Program. These programs emphasise post-scholarship professional activities and employment, supported by mechanisms such as post-study internships and building peer-to-peer professional networks to strengthen particular sectors, such as public administration or education and teaching.

Loerke's third category of programs, including OSF's Civil Society Leadership Awards (CSLA), the Gates-Cambridge and Rhodes scholarship programs, along with Ford's IFP and the MasterCard Scholars Program, are the most explicit in "their goals to create social change leaders" (Loerke: 198). Various strategies emerge: skills and leadership workshops, grantee retreats, and internships during study programs to build students' interpersonal skills, expand their networks, and introduce them to mentors and provide work experience (Loerke: 199). Taken together, these experiences reinforce the students' commitment to their individual and collective social change goals, since academic content alone is insufficient to build recipients' leadership capacity and reinforce their self-identification as social change agents. These types of activities are logistically more feasible (and more economical) when program beneficiaries are clustered at a single institution, as is the case with the Gates/Cambridge or Rhodes Scholarships (at the University of Oxford). Alternatively, online meetings among regional peer groups are practical and cost effective. Apart from the specific mechanisms, Loerke makes an important point, that discussions about the 'what next' question should happen early and often during the scholarship period, especially for younger grantees (Loerke 2017).

The 'what next' question can also be addressed in group 're-integration' meetings, in which graduating recipients can share their plans (and anxieties) about future employment and their return more generally. This type of meeting can serve as a bridge to regular alumni activities and help to build linkages not only within but also across different cohorts. IFP partner organisations in India, Indonesia and Vietnam, among other sites, successfully conducted such 'reintegration' meetings, which played an important role in strengthening alumni associations overall.

Two key points should be added to this discussion about enhancements to post-study transitions. First, it begs the question about 'return' versus the 'returns' of international education. Brain drain – especially from small developing countries with high rates of skilled out-migration – remains a much-debated, persistent question. Many donors still equate success with physical return to one's home country after international study, despite evidence that global labour markets have a strong demand for well-trained graduates. <complex-block>

Government programs may require former beneficiaries to return home for a specified period or impose economic sanctions on those who fail to do so. Visa restrictions may also leave former recipients no choice except to leave the host country after a period of poststudy employment (Optional Practical Training or OPT in the US). It can also be argued that requiring scholarship holders to return home after graduation is counterproductive, even coercive, because it prevents them from exercising personal agency (Campbell 2017). An alternative approach is to provide graduates with continued access to the program's social networks, scholarly resources, professional training and poststudy project support regardless of their physical location, as long as their professional goals remain in alignment with the program's broader objectives.

Second, post-study support, especially in the form of financial remuneration for internships, entry-level professional positions or social action projects, runs the risk of creating a culture of dependency among a privileged group of grantees. Sheltered from market forces, they can become elites in their own right. A related issue is that the more enhancements that are added to the scholarship, the fewer resources (both funds and staff time) are likely to remain for incoming students. If not carefully balanced, this trade-off can undermine the program and undercut its larger purpose. IFP ran into this issue after supporting alumni-led social action projects in various countries.

While the projects themselves were largely successful, the idea that the support would promote professional independence while at the same time strengthening alumni networks, proved impractical. Somewhat reluctantly, the program concluded that even the most generous scholarship support had to terminate at some point.

III. Evaluating impact

Scholarship evaluation is in its infancy as a research field. Most evaluations are internal, conducted by programs themselves or by external consultants. The standard 'tracerstudies', such as those conducted by the World Bank about the Joint Japan World Bank Scholarships Program (JJ/WBSP), focus on short-term results and individual career advancement, and are based largely on self-reported data (World Bank Institute 2010). While strong evidence supports the frequent claim that international scholarships provide clear benefits to individual recipients, empirical evidence that individual scholarships play a direct role in affecting organisations and institutions, much less societies as a whole, is less robust (Mawer 2017).

Studies that specifically link on-award enhancements to specific outcomes are rare. Most relevant are studies about programs that provide comprehensive support for all aspects of the scholarship cycle. One example is the privately funded Moshal Scholars Program (MSP). Active in Israel, the Ukraine and South Africa, the MSP aims to help "individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds and their families to escape poverty" by providing scholarships for "good guality tertiary education" (Southern Hemisphere 2017). Completed in December 2017, the (unpublished) evaluation focused specifically on South Africa and asked "whether the package of support provided to those students selected to take part in the program is achieving a high return on investment, or whether the foundation could be putting more students through university with less support while still achieving similar outcomes" (Southern Hemisphere 2017).

Geared toward enabling previously disadvantaged students to gain high paying jobs in the private sector, MSP provides financial and academic support as well as psychosocial services and skills training to grantees. It places high school graduates in South Africa's leading universities in STEM fields and business; helps them to build strong networks with current and past students; and provides training in non-curricular areas such as stress and time management, study skills and financial literacy, along with job-related training in presentation and communications skills and career guidance.

The program's wrap-around approach is based on four pillars of support:

- Education
- Community
- · Soft Skills, and
- Values.

The psychosocial support, managed on a case-by-case basis, helps students to become "well rounded, emotionally developed people who are able to cope with and contribute to the labour market in the most productive way" (Southern Hemisphere 2017). Values including "perseverance, accountability, tolerance, integrity, community responsibility and a desire to 'pay it forward' to their families and communities" are communicated through various group activities (Southern Hemisphere 2017).

The evaluation concludes that although some of the services and training activities could be "streamlined" on indicators such as dropout rates, time to completion, time after graduation to obtain jobs and job quality, "MSP is achieving highly relative to other scholarship programs and certainly relative to those without any support" (Southern Hemisphere 2017). The evaluation states that "while all scholarship programs in South Africa contribute significantly to lowering the serious attrition rate, the MSP fares better than most, particularly given its focus on STEM subjects, and its selection criteria not being solely academic" (Southern Hemisphere 2017).

The IFP Alumni Tracking Study, launched by the Institute of International Education (IIE) after IFP concluded in 2013, provides another example. A 10-year mixed methods study to measure the program's social justice impacts, the tracking study's first publication (based on a 2015 survey of more than 4,300 Fellows), reports that 92 per cent felt that they had "greater opportunities to create social change"; 90 per cent "increased their commitment to social justice"; 88 per cent "feel empowered to confront issues of injustice" and 79 per cent "hold senior roles in grassroots organizations, national governments and international organizations " (IIE 2016b: 2). In addition, 96 per cent of the Fellows had completed the advanced degrees supported through the scholarships. It is difficult to ascribe these outcomes to any particular feature of the scholarships provided under IFP, but it is doubtful that the program's outcomes could have been achieved without a comprehensive support model. The results are especially compelling given that 79 per cent of the fellows were firstgeneration university students; 73 per cent had parental income below their countries' national average; 68 per cent were born in rural areas or small cities and towns; and 57 per cent had mothers who did not progress beyond primary school (IIE 2016b).

IV. Concluding remarks

There is a lack empirical research about on-award enhancements, especially using counterfactual methods that compare comprehensive support models to more bare bones scholarship programs that provide financial and (limited) academic support. Similarly, additional studies are needed to establish the types of on-award enhancements that are most valuable for particular scholarship outcomes, such as the MSP's effort to design skills training specifically for high paying, quality jobs in the South African labour market. However, even with current limitations, enough is known to establish the basic principles of how well targeted financial support for enhancement activities can generate positive outcomes throughout the scholarship cycle.

Even with current limitations, enough is known to establish the basic principles of how well targeted financial support for enhancement activities can generate positive outcomes throughout the scholarship cycle.

This is especially critical for programs that aim to catalyse social change that transcends their individual grantees.

These principles emerge from linking appropriate support directly to specific aspects of the scholarship cycle. Hence programs can improve diversity and equity if candidates from disadvantaged communities are encouraged to apply and supported throughout the selection process (without jeopardising fairness). Once selected, grantees can benefit from academic support offered prior to enrolment (including preparatory training, advising, placement assistance and pre-departure orientation). While on awards, grantees' success can be enhanced through participation in noncurricular activities such as training in leadership and 'soft skills' like team building and communications that carry a premium in the labour market. Academic programs that provide opportunities for service learning as well as volunteerism and civic engagement will reinforce these benefits.

Different forms of career and re-integration guidance, networking and skills training during and immediately after the scholarship help grantees to place themselves strategically for the next step in their lives and careers. Throughout the scholarship cycle, strategic support for in-person meetings and online platforms can harness the power of networks to build strength and solidarity within and across cohorts. Based on the government and privately supported programs examined in this paper, it is clear that a holistic approach is becoming increasingly common, and important, among donors and scholarship administrators.

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