Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies

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AIMS OF THE JOURNAL

The *MJES* is a biannual refereed international journal with a regional focus. It features educational research carried out in Mediterranean countries, as well as educational studies related to the diaspora of Mediterranean people world-wide. The journal offers a forum for theoretical debate, historical and comparative studies, research and project reports, thus facilitating dialogue in a region which has strong and varied educational traditions. There is a strong international dimension to this dialogue, given the profile of the Mediterranean in the configuration of the new world order, and the presence of Mediterranean peoples in Europe, North America and elsewhere. The *MJES* is of interest to scholars, researchers and practitioners in the following fields: comparative education, foundation disciplines in education, education policy analysis, Mediterranean studies, cultural and post-colonial studies, Southern European and area studies, intercultural education, peace education, and migrant studies.

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Editors:
Sarah Guri-Rosenblit and Ronald G. Sultana

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EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION

SARAH GURI–ROSENBLIT
RONALD G. SULTANA

This special issue has a long history behind it: friendships formed at the memorable 1995 Salzburg Seminar (Session 323) dedicated to the theme *Higher Education: Institutional Structures for the Twenty-First Century*, consolidated one year later at a University of Malta workshop on the management of change and quality assurance in higher education in the Mediterranean (jointly sponsored by the European Union and the Coimbra Group), and several discussions – mostly by e-mail – in order to plan themes, develop papers, solicit reports, edit drafts, and co–ordinate efforts and ideas.

The project of producing a special issue of the *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies* dedicated to higher education – and particularly to universities – has been an exciting one for several reasons. In the first place, we constantly had the feeling that we were attempting something that had not yet been done before. Comparative education projects in this region, where differences catch one's attention more readily than do similarities, are rare, and to our knowledge, non-existent when it comes to the tertiary level sector. In the second place, we also felt that, despite this lack of tradition in carrying out collaborative work in regional educational scholarship, we were tapping an ancient and dramatic history of humanity's search for knowledge and 'truth'. Plato's academy was, after all, born in the Mediterranean, as were the first medieval universities.

Nowadays, as both Sultana's overview article and the different country contributions show, the Mediterranean basin reflects a colorful plethora of higher education systems that vary dramatically: from very large to very small, from very old to newly born establishments, operating in nations that range from highly developed to less developed, and based on a rich texture of academic traditions and cultures. Despite their noticeable divergences, all of the Mediterranean higher education systems have been confronted in the last two decades by growing pressures to expand their boundaries, to respond to an array of societal demands and to become more accountable both to the state and the public. Some of the challenges that confront Mediterranean countries reflect international trends, whereas others portray unique national contexts and even regional dimensions.

This special journal issue sets out to provide a balanced representation and a reflective and critical account of the ongoing changes that characterise higher education systems in the Mediterranean. Several themes emerge from the different contributions that feature here. It is impossible to consider the region without highlighting the three 'Abrahamic' religions that were born and still co-exist in the Mediterranean, and the impact of these faiths on academic institutions and traditions of higher learning, with the former sometimes stimulating, at other times frustrating the latter. The question of religion is tied up intimately with that of identity, and with the unavoidable conflict between trends in globalisation and internationalisation on the one hand, and national identity formation and consolidation on the other. Many of the articles and reports in this issue highlight this tension, which plays itself out in a most fascinating manner in the Mediterranean, and which is either non-existent or marginal as a dilemma in the 'western' world. Sabour's short, but critically important piece on higher education in Arab countries, together with that of Persianis on the interplay between the search for identity in post-colonial Cyprus and the attempt to connect with the international academic community, powerfully highlight aspects of the dilemma faced by several states in the region.

This tension in the interaction between national and international, local and global is heightened by the rapid change that higher education systems in the Mediterranean – and elsewhere – are undergoing. As practically all the papers and reports show, all systems of higher learning in the region are in flux, with the pace of change being particularly accelerated during the last two decades, and with the tempo likely to be kept up, if not increased, in the forseeable future. The ongoing changes alter both the external and internal boundaries of the various higher education systems, a theme developed in Guri-Rosenblit's article. The external boundaries define the kind of institutions that consist part of each system, and thus influence greatly its size. The internal boundaries reflect the institutional texture of each system and relate to the shifting balance between: university and non–university sectors; undergraduate and graduate studies; teaching, professional training and research; and different academic fields of study. Definitions of external and internal boundaries vary greatly from one country to another, and the essence of what is entitled as a 'university', a 'college' or any other type of a higher education institution is immensely diverse. It follows that the relative magnitude and depth of changes depends heavily on the prevalent academic culture and on the socio/political conditions in each national setting.

Changes have many dimensions. First of all, there is the enormous demand for, and consequently expansion of, higher education systems. Many institutions of higher learning in the region are new, and the rate of growth is occasionally staggering, as Simsek's paper about Turkey shows. There is an expansion not only in the number of institutions, but also in the numbers of students that institutions have to handle. The international phenomenon of massification of tertiary level studies is prevalent in the Mediterranean region, with the familiar problems and challenges that it brings along with it, including dearth of resources, overcrowded lecture halls, diluting and dropping of standards of teaching, research and scholarship, and so on. Whether one refers to Italy, as does Todeschini in his revealing and acerbic insider's view of a static country that seems to be permanently talking of reform, or whether one refers to Algeria, as does Boubekeur in his carefully researched piece on graduates' criticisms of their *alma mater*, it is evident that the problems are there, and that they are serious.

Change, expansion, diversification, the management of tensions between tradition and modernity – all bring into play what is often, in the Mediterranean, a Leviathan State. The relationship between the university and the state in the region is of critical importance. Sharing a common centralist tradition, most of the Mediterranean states' apparatus is typically top–heavy, an omnipresent bureaucracy, inimical to both free and open thought, and to the development of sharp, pertinent reactions to the riddles that confront humanity today. Saitis' paper, in particular, presents us with a blow-by-blow account of the maddeningly tedious operations of the Greek higher education bureaucracy, an account that leaves us gasping for the fresh breath of change. The state, however, can be even more of an obstacle to the fulfilment of the university's vocation, when it silences or co–opts the intellectual, playing on the centuries-old Mediterranean tradition of patronage that ensures loyalty to 'friends', rather than to the quest for 'truth' – a point that Sultana develops in his contribution, and which is applicable to most states in the region, even if the dynamics of such patronage differ from country to country. And yet, the state needs the university, if only to increase its legitimacy, as the case of Cyprus suggests.

Asked to cede more academic and administrative autonomy to universities, Mediterranean states nevertheless and generally speaking, still have to carry much of the burgeoning burden of financing an expensive tertiary education system, in a situation where the primary and secondary education sectors are far from operating at optimum levels. The demand for resources from what are, in some instances, bankrupt states, can generate new tensions and dynamics. If the report by Hashweh and Hashweh on the status of higher education in Palestine perhaps paints the most dramatic picture in this regard, it is not confined solely to that context. Gines–Mora's paper on Spain and Cabrito's report on Portugal, for instance, indicate clearly how financial pressures lead a state down the road of privatisation, the transfer of costs of higher education onto citizens, and the adoption of market policies in an area which has hitherto been regarded as the realm of 'public good'. Some states remain generous, going beyond their means to subsidise costs, and even, as in the case of Malta, covered here by Baldacchino's report, providing a stipend to students. This in itself raises other issues, such as the extent to which state financial transfers to the tertiary education sector starve the primary and secondary ones, the morality of using scarce funds to support students who, more often than not, come from privileged social backgrounds (see the contributions by Sultana, Todeschini and Baldacchino), and the link between financial largesse on the part of the state, and the resultant strength of the same state in setting the agenda, for it is well known that it is the one who pays the piper who calls the tune.

The dynamics brought about by the confluence of factors that include finance and state intervention are noteworthy. Universities everywhere, and not just in the Mediterranean, are being called upon to make a more solid contribution to the society which supports them. This goes beyond the issue of ensuring the production and circulation of scientific knowledge; it also involves the attempt to get a good 'fit' between the skills and profiles of graduates, and the 'needs' of the labour market. Baldacchino, Boubekeur, Guri-Rosenblit, Meziani, Sabour, Sultana, – all indicate the problems in achieving this match between supply and demand, particularly given the phenomenon of the inordinate 'pull' of social over pure science faculties in universities in the region generally, and in Middle East and North African countries more specifically.

Financial and political considerations have a reach that goes beyond the intra–state dimension. The issue of globalisation signals not only the inevitable insertion of the Mediterranean university in the world–system – a process facilitated by the new communication technologies and the mobility of students – but also what can be referred to as the 'new circuits of imperialism', where knowledge transfer from the north to the south, even when it takes place under the appealing aura of aid, carries with it hegemonic – not to mention 'predatory' – overtones. Kuitunen's article on Euro-Mediterranean cooperation in research and higher education raises some of these issues, which are generally absent from analyses that prefer to remain diplomatically technicist and anodyne. In particular, Kuitunen reminds us that what is considered to constitute a 'problem' is in itself political, since there is an assumption that the referent is necessarily the western-style university.

These are only some of the main themes that are addressed in this rich – and we dare say unique – collection of papers. Key words and issues that arise in most of them include: massification, diversification, globalisation, autonomy, accountability, quality assurance, management, privatisation, cost-sharing, communication technologies, language and medium of instruction, standards, research and scholarship, the role of the state, marketisation and corporatisation, resources, the role of the intelligentsia, the link between higher education and the labour market, student mobility and brain drain, technology and knowledge transfer, the politics of international links in academia, the process of reform, credentialism and the 'diploma disease', differential access to higher learning on the basis of gender and social attributes. Several of these themes overlap with those that have been identified in the western, 'developed' world, although these concerns might here be experienced differently, with variable degrees of intensity, and with cultural overtones that add shades of new meaning to what might appear to be, on first sight, similar problems or challenges. Other themes – 'secularisation' immediately springs to mind – are more specific to the Mediterranean region.

This is not to say that the collection is 'complete' in any sense. Some Mediterranean countries – notably Jordan, Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Syria – are not covered, except in the comparative papers by Sultana and by Kuitunen, and the synthesis report by Sabour. In addition, the amount of documentation and the available data on different higher education systems varies greatly. Thus, some of the analyses are thicker and more detailed whereas others are slimmer in scope and perspective. The presence of both full length articles and shorter reports should also be noted, with the latter being embryonic projects that will, eventually, be developed into fuller accounts in a book that is being planned as a follow-up to this initial and exploratory venture. Despite these limitations, we are convinced that the present volume makes a worthwhile contribution to an area that has been both neglected and under–researched, and helps give voice to countries and concerns that have not surfaced to the extent that they should have in international literature on higher education systems. We trust that readers will share that conviction, and that they will feel that our aspirations have, however partially, been fulfilled.

THE EURO-MEDITERRANEAN REGION AND ITS UNIVERSITIES: AN OVERVIEW OF TRENDS, CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

RONALD G. SULTANA

Abstract - *This paper argues that despite the very real differences between the various sub-regions of the Mediterranean, a shared political history and a common state of peripheralisation to the global economy make the comparison of the university systems of the region possible. The paper first outlines the context in some detail, in order to then generate a set of testable propositions that throw light on trends that have marked the region over the past years. These include (a) the prioritisation of the University sector, (b) a broadening of access, (c) a diaspora of Mediterranean students, (d) privatisation (e) the increasing legitimisation of the entrepreneurial university, (f) a greater degree of autonomous management, (g) secularisation, (h) an 'innovative accommodation' in resolving the issue of choice of language of instruction, and (i) the use of interactive pedagogies. It is argued that this set of propositions, while grounded in data, could constitute an initial agenda for further qualitative and quantitative research in order to put comparative Mediterranean higher education studies on a firmer footing.*

Introduction

The Mediterranean heritage of higher learning

The Mediterranean region has some of the oldest, as well as some of the most recently established Universities in the world, a reflection of the particularities of development of the scientific community in this region throughout the ages. The 'old world's'[1] first university is to be found in Fez in Morocco, where Qaraouiyine University was established in AD859. Almost as ancient is Al-Azhar University, founded in Egypt in AD970. European universities appeared later - and when they did, it was in Bologna (1088) and Paris (1160), major cities of Mediterranean powers. In the 8th and 9th centuries, at a time when northern Europe was steeped in its 'dark ages', the Abbasid Caliphate scholars were busily translating and teaching major foreign works - mainly Greek, Persian, and Hindi (Benhamida, 1990) - and transmitting that classical knowledge through the nerve-centres of learning in Cairo, Kairouan, Fez, Toledo and throughout Andalusia. Later on, University students and teachers flocked to Moorish Spain to learn from the foremost intellectuals of the time, prefiguring the modern secular pilgrimages that are organised through 'academic mobility and exchange' programmes and schemes. The production and circulation of knowledge around the Mediterranean basin has a rich history behind it, with different indigenous and exogenous actors dominating the scene depending on the fluctuations of political, economic, religious and cultural fortunes. The power house of ideas that still forms the backbone of much of what we call our cultural heritage today,[2] lay initially in the hands of the Greek philosophers, re-vitalised and transmitted onwards by Arabo-Muslim scholars (Vernet, 1985), with 'Europe' having the (for some, dubious) honour of heralding in the Enlightenment and modernity. An overview of the state of universities in the Mediterranean must necessarily connect with and acknowledge – even if briefly – such a rich history of inquiry and pursuit of knowledge and 'truth', if anything because it is only in appreciating such a legacy that the significance of what today appear as 'trends', 'challenges', and 'prospects' can be grasped.

Universities of the Mediterranean

There are about 200 Universities in the non-EU Mediterranean countries, with close to 250,000 teachers and researchers, and more than 3 million students.[3] The community of students and scholars increases dramatically in size if we add the EU Mediterranean states of Portugal, Spain, France, Italy and Greece to the list. The figures given are undoubtedly conservative. As we will have occasion to note further on, the University sector in the Mediterranean countries is in flux,with new institutions being established every year, barely keeping up with the explosion of students banging at the doors of further education. If we take the case of Turkey, for instance, *The World of Learning* (1999) refers to 30 universities. Simsek (1999) however informs us that the number is 68. The statistics given for Jordan include 5 universities and 55645 students, but Zughoul's (2000a) count for 1999 is 19 universities, catering for 103001 students in all. The exercise of tallying numbers obviously depends on what it is we are actually counting, and on what Guri-Rosenblit (1999) refers to as the 'internal' and 'external' boundaries of higher education. As in Europe and the rest of the world, this sector has, in the Mediterranean, become diversified, so that over and above universities we also find versions of community colleges, higher vocational education institutions, and so on. That in itself constitutes a problem in gathering statistics from a variety of sources, as these do not necessarily adopt the same definition of what constitutes 'higher education', nor do they necessarily give details regarding the differential make-up of the sector. It is therefore important to establish that, for the purpose of this article, the focus is solely on universities.

The Mediterranean region

The comparativist setting out to write about 'trends' in university education in the Mediterranean faces a number of challenges, empirical and conceptual in nature. Empirical because, as has just been intimated, data is not readily available, and is often dated and/or unreliable,[4] both due to the fact that many 'southern' countries have a limited capacity for the collection, organisation and reporting of statistics (Puryear, 1995; Cook, 1998), and also because this particular 'rim' has not, until very recently, been the subject of comparative education studies (see Sultana, 1996, 1998). The conceptual challenges are many, not least because the definition of what this 'Mediterranean region' in fact is - or whether it 'exists' at all in the first place - is subject to contestation. What are we referring to when we speak about 'the Mediterranean', and to what extent can the geographical and climatic unity most famously celebrated by Braudel (1949, 1992), and most recently by Matvejevitch (1992), also signal other forms of unity, or at least 'affinities' or *ressemblances*, if that is at all necessary to carry out regional, comparative studies?[5] It is not a coincidence that much of the literature on the Mediterranean refers to the region as a 'constructed' space, one that needs to be defended, re/invented, imagined (Balta, 1992; Ravenel, 1995; Maalouf, 1998).

For our purposes, a state is said to be Mediterranean if it has access to the basin's coastline and – as in the case of Portugal and Jordan) its hinterland. On that basis, delineation and definitions become straightforward: there are 22 such states, representing an overall population of over 416 million which can be repartitioned in the following manner: 176 million in the EU Mediterranean states; 26 million in the Balkans; 146 million in the Eastern Mediterranean; and 68 million in the Maghreb countries. In this particular article, the focus will be on the 'Euro-Mediterranean', namely the 12 countries that have a close partnership with the European Union. These are: Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Malta, Morocco, the Palestinian Territories, Syria, Tunisia, and Turkey. Libya is also included in our purview.[6]

Unities and diversities

This partitioning of the Mediterranean into sub-regions is symptomatic of the real differences that exist, and which deserve to be highlighted, for while some characteristics are shared between universities to the 'north', 'south' and 'east' of the Mediterranean, the divergences are equally important. Economically, politically, and culturally, it is obviously reasonable to group Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Greece together as a Southern European bloc. France, over and above being a continental European and Atlantic, is also a Mediterranean power, belongs to this so-called 'Latin arc', and indeed dominates it through its superiority in economic, political and military terms. If by 'region' we refer to a group of states whose pattern of co-operative (or conflictual) relations or interactions exhibit a particular degree of regularity and intensity, then the enactment of the Single European Act in 1986, the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty in 1993, and the intensification of the process of European integration and enlargement (1973, 1981, 1986, and 1995) have consolidated the intergovernmental and trans-national relations between the northern states of the Mediterranean and Western Europe (Calleya, 1997: 89, 91). Malta and Cyprus are often included in that bloc, both because of their aspirations for membership in the European Union and their attempts to measure up to the EU's *acquis communitaire*, and also because of their deeply ingrained cultural, historical and religious affiliations to the old continent. Turkey too is sometimes associated with this sub-region in some of the 'Southern European studies' literature - despite the cold shoulder it has consistently been shown by the EU for both political and economic reasons,[7] and the increasing permeability and influence of political Islam in defiance of Ataturk's secular legacy.

The countries of North Africa (i.e. the Maghreb and Mashrek), as well as those of the Levant, form, for our purposes, another discrete bloc in the Mediterranean. Among their key unifying factors one can underline the Arabic language, the history of the Islamic Empire, the Muslim religion and (often but not always) economic under-development.[8] In addition to this, there is what can be referred to as the 'transnational political force of Islam' (Buzan, 1991), which 'effectively challenges secular European nationalism which dominates an area that was Islamic for well over a millennium' (Calleya, 1997: 95). Israel's mis/fortunes are very much part and parcel of the historical and political development of this sub-region, but its economic status differs from that of its neighbours, and indeed, several of the challenges that apply to Mediterranean universities and that are identified in this article are only of marginal significance to that country. The North African and Eastern Mediterranean sub-regional grouping differs from the north-western, European 'bloc' because while the latter's regionalism has co-operative, transnational and intergovernmental dimensions (Calleya, 1997: 93), in the former case 'most of the states have been too preoccupied with distinct domestic or regional subgrouping security issues to attempt nurturing a complex network of relations with all the states in the region. Indeed, one could say that here, centrifugal forces have superceded centripetal forces as the majority of states in the Maghreb see their future in securing market access to Western Europe' (Calleya, 1997: 97, 99). This despite the attempts at co-operation between Arab states in areas such as security and energy (the Arab League, the Gulf Co-Operation Council, the Arab Maghreb Union), as well as education (ALECSO, ISESCO).

The North-Eastern Mediterranean sub-region, comprising Albania and what previously constituted Yugoslavia are also, according to our definition, 'Mediterranean', and indeed their older history inscribes them in the economy of exchange that was facilitated - indeed made possible - by the Sea. Nevertheless, the dynamics in this sub-region are more properly 'Balkan' than Mediterranean, in the sense that their present systems and institutions - educational or otherwise - have been deeply marked by the Cold War, and the economic, political, and cultural upheavals that have come with its demise. The subsequent crises in ex-Yugoslavia have generated regional dynamics which have a more direct impact on European relations than those of the Mediterranean. However, it is not insignificant that it had to be a Croat intellectual, Predrag Matvejevitch (1987, 1992), who wrote the most moving testament to the Mediterranean this side of the century. For the purpose of this article, occasional reference will be made to the Balkans, but claims as to the convergence of higher education trends with those proposed for the rest of the Mediterranean region remain even more tentative and exploratory in nature.

The distinctions between these different sub-groupings in the region are far from insignificant. Indeed, they are critical if we are to avoid the temptation of ignoring major differences in the present attempt to consider the higher education sector in regionally integrative terms. Thus, the countries to the economic 'North' of the Mediterranean stand in stark contrast to those due 'South' when the commonly used indicators of development are taken into consideration. Starting with the economy, the annual per capita income is less than $US1000 in the southern and eastern Mediterranean, while that of the north Mediterranean is at least 10 times as much. The gap is expected to widen from1:10 to 1:20 by the year 2010 (Regnault, 1992). There is a huge negative balance of payments between the north and southern shores: Two-thirds of the Maghreb's commerce is with the EU (mainly France, Italy and Spain), but the region represents only 3% of the external commerce of the Union. Indeed, the EU ran a trade surplus of 12.1 billion ECU in 1993, and 9.3 billion ECU in 1994 with Mediterranean countries (Calleya, 1995). Imports by the EU from the Mediterranean fell from 41 billion to 31 billion écus from 1980 to 1993 (Labaki, 1997). While between 1960 and 1985, GDP per capita in Middle East and North African (MENA) countries grew by close to 4% per year - a growth that outperformed every other region except East Asia, the next decade saw that growth fell precipitously: from about 4.5% per year to 0.5% per year in Egypt; from 2.2% to 1.0% in Morocco, from 2% to -2% in Algeria, from 1% to -4% in Jordan, and 4% to 2.5% in Tunisia (Heyneman, 1997: 449). The north-bound flow of migrants over the past three decades (Liauzu, 1996), while mitigating the problem of unemployment, and occasionally having a positive boomerang effect in terms of financial, scientific and technology transfer,[9] nevertheless represents a veritable hemorrhage that further exacerbates the weak economic position of the south (Sabour, 1993).

There are other significant differences between the northern and southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean. The Latin arc is characterised by a low birth rate regime, with a fertility ratio of 1.2 for Spain and 1.3 for Italy for instance. In contrast, the south is a demographic time bomb of another sort, with birth rates of over 3.1 for all Maghreb and Machrek states (with the exception of Tunisia), topped by Libya where the fertility ratio is 6.4. Algeria and Morocco have doubled their populations since the French retreat, and Egypt will double its population in 25 years (Regnault, 1992). Significantly for education, the percentage of working women in the Mediterranean EU countries is 37.6, while that of the Maghreb is 6.7.

Education

A focus on education also reflects similarities and discontinuities in the region. The 'north' of the basin has seen major educational development and expansion of services following the achievement of democratic rule, with systems now approximating closely - in reach and achievements - those to be found in longer established democracies. By contrast, the south Mediterranean - despite the progress that marks the post-independence era - has still a large number of fundamental problems and challenges to come to terms with. Despite the fact that public expenditure on education as a percentage of GNP is - at 5.5% - higher in the Arab world than anywhere else in the developing world, up to 34% of students in the southern Mediterranean are still not receiving a primary education. The average Arab state spent approximately US$267 per student in 1990, while OECD countries spent about five times that amount, i.e. US$1,327 (UNESCO, 1995). We find high illiteracy rates for several Maghreb and Machrek countries such as Morocco (50.5%), Tunisia (34.7%) (Gizard, 1992), Algeria (43%), and Egypt (48%) (Nucho, 1998), and generally speaking, the quality of education in MENA countries is lower by a factor of seven when compared to that in OECD countries along an index that combines three characteristics, namely expenditures, student flow, and classroom contact time (Heyneman, 1997: 456). The eastern Mediterranean fares better, with rates of 20% illiteracy reported for Jordan and Lebanon (ibid., 1998). The atrocities of war in ex-Yuogoslavia have left their usual mark on the educational infrastructure and services. In Croatia, for instance, the number of pupils in primary school classes has had to be increased by 20%, with schools being burdened by lack of space, teaching aids, and a chronic shortage of teachers - 2,121 were lacking in 1995 (IBE, 1998). The refugee situation in the Balkans is nothing short of tragic, with the obvious repercussions this has for education: the count for refugees and displaced persons is 404,066 for Croatia alone. The situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is even worse, as the stark picture painted by Benedek (1997) shows with reference to various sectors of society - higher education included.

University education in the Mediterranean

Given the differences, it may therefore appear a foolhardy enterprise to speak about the Mediterranean as a unit of analysis, and to try to compare higher education systems in the region. As has been noted, the region has several discontinuities and fractures, where, to use Cowen's (1998: 69) useful phrasing, the economic, political, cultural and educational 'genealogies' or 'codings' of different states and groups of states reflect and occupy different 'sociological times'. And yet, there are unities which are worth highlighting in this 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1982) that is the Mediterranean. Maalouf (1998) has made the point that this region has been quite capable of constructing its 'mythologies of difference', particularly those based on ethnicity and religion.[10] In the face of this, the Mediterranean should mine its rich history of exchange when, under the sway of a variety of constellations of power, it displayed forms of economic, cultural, and political harmony - in order to rise to the political and cultural challenge of building an inclusive 'mythology of unity'.[11] As has been argued elsewhere (Sultana, 1995a, 1998), the purposeful construction of regional identity is not the prerogative of the European Union - particularly if, as in the case of the Mediterranean but increasingly less of what, from the perspective of the South, increasingly appears as a 'fortress Europe', that construction is centred around inclusive values, ones that bring together the developed and developing worlds, the 'North' and the 'South', the 'East' and the 'West', the different faiths of Christianity, Islam and Judaism.

Comparative studies, therefore, contribute directly to the process of identity construction, and may indeed constitute what in the jargon of international relations is referred to as a 'confidence-building mechanism'. Given the process of globalisation, comparative study of Mediterranean higher education systems is, in this context, particularly promising.

Globalisation and the University

If, as the introduction to a series of books collectively entitled *Enciclopedia del Mediterraneo*[12] suggests, the development of Mediterranean regional studies is 'a wager', then a focus on higher education systems is certainly a very good place to place one's bets. Of society's institutions, universities are among the most permeable to the influence of globalisation. Most, if not all, have regional and international networking as a declared goal in their charter. That networking takes very particular and substantial forms in the Mediterranean, with several scholars gaining their higher degrees in metropole countries (Sultana and Ebejer, 1997). Much of modern science – including information technology – is accessible through the medium of English and (to a lesser extent) French languages, and science and technology are never shorn of sets of values - as those with an ultra-orthodox and fundamentalist persuasion who see a dualism between the knowledge paradigms of modernity and of tradition, and who would reject 'western knowledge', are so keenly aware.[13] Universities have their own structured rituals to ensure that interaction between similar institutions world-wide does take place – and that includes publications and attendance at conferences, seminars, round tables, workshops, bi-lateral and multi-lateral co-operation agreements, and so on.[14] The search for scarce research (and travel) funds in the 'South' ensures that scholars seek to enter University networks in the 'North', while Europeans and Americans are not unhappy to accommodate, genuine academic interest and commitment to aid often going hand-in-hand with the titillation of exoticism.

In an age of globalisation, therefore, it is not unlikely that institutions such as universities – often privileged in having not only the highest concentration of open-minded and outward-looking individuals, but a relatively highly developed infrastructure for international networking as well - display common elements and enter into the general stream of trends that govern higher education elsewhere, despite the fact that economically, politically, and even culturally the countries in which they are located are out of synchrony with 'the centre'. It is not irrelevant to point out, in this regard, that practically all Universities in the Mediterranean - with the exception of Syrian and Libyan ones - generally have access to the internet, and that if, for many citizens who are lucky to have running water, let alone a computer in their home, the concept of the 'global village' is still a pipe dream, it nevertheless does tend to be a firm reality for many university academics and students, whose participation in a virtual, scholarly community is facilitated by the new technology of communication.

In addition to the issue of permeability to globalisation, a comparative study of education systems in the Mediterranean seems to me to be possible because practically all the states bordering on the basin share a common political history of domination and economic peripheralisation. All the states of the Mediterranean - with the exception of France - have only recently emerged from decades - and in some cases, centuries - of either colonial domination, or dictatorial rule. Cyprus, Malta, Jordan, Egypt, Palestine were all colonies or 'protectorates' of Britain, while Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Lebanon fell under French rule or mandate. Libya fell under the sway of Mussolini's Italy at a time when it was 'fashionable' for European states to have Empire. The tardy establishment of democratic government in Portugal (1974), Spain (1975), and Greece (1974) means that in these countries as well, memories of totalitarian regimes are still fresh, as are those of Albania (1990), Croatia (1990), Slovenia (1991), Macedonia (1991), and Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992). As part of the semi-periphery of the world economy, therefore, the Mediterranean 'rim' plays a specific role in the international division of labour and capital accumulation.[15] A consideration of a global economic regime using, for instance, a world-systems approach (Wallerstein, 1984; Santos, 1990) helps us distinguish between processes in the education sector that are common to 'central' countries and those that are 'semi-peripheral'. While the former are generally 'policy-making' countries, the latter are often 'policy-taking' ones.

This shared history of permeability to globalisation forces, of domination and peripheralisation is therefore bound to have had an impact on the form, pace, and direction of the region's educational development, and it is certainly worth considering in a manner that does justice to the linkages between what appear to be, at first glance, very different situations. Indeed, even if comparative Mediterranean studies are articulated in a tentative, almost eschatological form of discourse that gropes towards the identification of patterns, and reasons for those patterns - often on the basis of flimsy, scarce, and not entirely reliable data - enough material can nevertheless be brought to bear on the subject of higher education to hazard a number of propositions regarding common 'trends' which could, in turn, become the focus of further and more systematically grounded research that contributes towards the development of the field.

Clearly, different Mediterranean states are at different phases of development, and there is no claim that there is some form of ineluctable and linear historical force or 'logic' that necessarily leads higher education systems in the direction indicated. The argument will nevertheless be made that there is evidence of a movement in the same direction, despite the very real differences that characterise the countries in the region, and that we have taken pains to identify. While, as has been noted earlier, the focus will be on the Euro-Mediterranean countries (including Libya), reference will, from time to time, be made to Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Greece, because their location on the semi-periphery of advanced capitalism does inscribe them within the logic of at least some of the forces of development – and hence trends – that are outlined below. References to the Balkan Mediterranean states will be limited, and very tentative in nature.

Trend 1: Prioritisation of the University sector

In most countries of the southern and eastern Mediterranean, education suffered under colonial or dictatorial rule. The British and French, in their own different ways, were mainly interested in education as long as this provided for the training of clerks and functionaries for the administrative service. Compulsory education at the primary and secondary levels was introduced very late in the day - often a century after those services had become available in Europe. University education was available only to the élite, either at what was often a solitary institution in the country's capital city, or in the metropole country. One report notes that in Morocco, for instance, in 1943 - i.e. 31 years after the establishment of the French Protectorate - only 23 Moroccans held a first university degree, the *licence* (Nucho, 1999: 640). In some cases, education fared worse under occupation than before it: such is the case of Algeria where, from the start of French dominion in 1830 till independence in 1962, the literacy rate actually declined (ibid.: 14).

A look at the development of higher-level institutions in such countries suggests that the establishment of a university represented a key dimension of a national strategy to assert identity and nationhood - either on the road to, or in celebration of independence. Such is the case of Egypt, for instance, when Britain's educational policy, solely interested as it was in training manpower to satisfy the needs of the administrative apparatus and in co-opting élites, was met with opposition. This led, in 1908, to the establishment of the first secular Egyptian university – later to be known as Cairo University – by prominent Egyptian nationalists (Nucho, 1998: 200). Under different circumstances but for similar reasons, Cyprus finally achieved its goal of establishing its University in 1989 (teaching started in 1992), an aspiration that it had harboured for over half a century but which, according to Koyzis (1993; 1997) and Persianis (1999) had become vitally important in order to ensure the State's legitimacy in the international arena, particularly after the invasion of the island by Turkey in 1974, and the subsequent drawing up of the infamous 'Green Line'. In Palestine, universities became a symbol of national identity and of resistance to Israeli occupation. They also became a breeding ground for young political leaders, and the fact that they were frequently closed down by Israeli troops is a clear witness of the national role played by universities under occupation.[16]

While the setting up of universities in the Mediterranean has often been couched within a discourse of national economic revival, a closer reading of the situation reveals that the semi-peripheral State, in its search for legitimation, adopts Western-style discourse and models, often at the expense of neglecting the needs of its own specific situation. This has led several Mediterranean countries to invest in the more visible higher education sector, without addressing more carefully the massive problems in the compulsory education sector.

Several MENA countries spend much more on their higher education students than on those in basic education -- 8 times more in Tunisia, 15 times more in Jordan, and 15 times more in Morocco (Lewin, 1995, cited by Heyneman, 1997: 454). The fact that university studies are more expensive than compulsory education could be considered to be normal, but it is pertinent to point out that in OECD countries, the state spends only twice as much on students in the former sector than it does on those in the latter.

The importance attributed to university education in Mediterranean countries following independence or despotic rule is obviously not just a reflection of the need to assert identity and legitimacy - it is also the result of a very real popular demand for further studies. This demand can be said to have been caused by a number of factors. One obvious reason is the fact that invariably, and for both ideological and economic reasons, newly independent states, or those which had succeeded in overthrowing authoritarian rule, put education at the forefront of their policies. Despite the uneven success achieved, the fact remains that, in these countries, several more students reached the levels normally required for entrance to university-level studies - indeed, the numbers became so large that, as we shall see below, states have had to resort to a variety of strategies to cope with, and ultimately manage, control, and even reduce the flow. If we take the Arab states of the Mediterranean as an example, we find that several governments have generally placed great emphasis on the expansion of schooling as the primary cornerstone of nation building. The increasing number of secondary school graduates knocking at the doors of tertiary institutions far outstrips demand. In 1989 in Jordan, for instance, 26,180 students had passed the *tawjihi* examinations which theoretically gave access to University – however, only 33.9% of these could be absorbed (Nucho, 1998: 342).

States were also partly responsible for triggering off the upsurge in higher education provision: consonant with prevalent political ideology, educational access to further studies was widened to avoid a situation of dependence on the 'North' for science and technology. Also, a belief in human capital theory encouraged many states to see a direct relationship between investment in human resources and economic development. In many cases, however, opportunities for such development did not occur in areas that required highly qualified personnel, but in the low or medium skilled areas such as the textile industry and tourism.[17]

Trend 2: Broadening of access

The massification of the higher education sector which, in Europe and the United States had already commenced by the middle of the 20th century,[18] took off in earnest in the Mediterranean countries from 1970s onwards. Indeed, it is estimated that more than half of the universities in Arab countries were established after 1970 (Shaw, 1997), with the student enrollment figures increasing fivefold in most countries over the last two decades, and even more in Algeria (increased by 13 times), Morocco (16 times), and Jordan (by 20 times). Such an exponential increase is also true for Malta, with a fivefold increase in the student population between 1988 and 1995 (Sultana, 1995b). In Turkey, there was a 42% enrollment increase in formal tertiary education between 1983 to 1992, and within one academic year (1992-93), the capacity was increased by another 33% (Simsek, 1999, drawing on Guruz, et al., 1994). Between 1994/95 and 1997/98, Palestine saw a 78% increase in the number of its university students (Hashweh and Hashweh, 1999). The first EuroMed Civil Forum (Institut Català de la Mediterrània, 1996: 162) noted that between 1979 and 1995, the number of university students had multiplied ten-fold in almost all the countries of the Southern Mediterranean.[19]

There are important class and gender dimensions to the widening of access to higher education. In terms of social structuration, available data[20] coincides with that of many other countries world-wide, namely that those from middle and upper classes are most highly represented in universities. With regards to gender, the subordinate role of women in intellectual and educational life in several Mediterranean states has been well documented (Fergany, 1994; Dore-Audibert and Bessis, 1995; Sabour, 1996; Belarbi, 1996; Morsly, 1998). The World Bank's higher education report (1994) notes, for instance, that women constitute only 36% of the total enrollment in that sector in MENA countries, with wide divergences being recorded for the different Arab countries.

Despite this, it is undeniable that the percentage of female students has increased steadily in several fields of studies (Beirut Declaration, 1998). The Libyan report to the IBE World Data Bank on Education (1998) notes that the country was moving away from policies that went against the interests of women, including the idea that university and advanced studies or fields of studies were unsuitable for women (see also al-Harari et al., 1994). The same report notes that for 1995-6, 40% of the 160,000 students enrolled in universities were female - a substantial increase from the 21% in 1980-81.[21] In Malta, 50.5% of graduates in 1997 were women, compared to only 24.6% in 1980 (IBE, 1998).

It is however important to highlight the fact that women tend to be found congregated in specific areas of studies (Chabchoub and Haddiya, 1995). This

Table 1: *Third Level Education: Students and Graduates by broad field of Study, 1995 (Source:* 'World Education Report'. *France: Unesco, 1998).*

	Percentage of students (and graduates) by field of study					**Percentage of female students in each field of study**						
	Education	**Humanities**	**Law & Social Sc.**	**Nat. Sci., Engin & Agric.**	**Medical Sciences**	**All fields**	**Education**	**Humanities**	**Law & Social Sci.**	**Nat. Sci., Engin & Agric.**	**Medical Sciences**	**Gender seg. Index (%)**
Algeria	◆0 (1)	13 (16)	23 (25)	52 (52)	10 (6)	43	27	62	45	35	52	8
Egypt	◆17 (24)	18 (17)	40 (32)	15 (15)	8 (10)	39	52	51	33	27	42	9
Libya	... (...)	... (...)	... (...)	... (...)	... (...)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Morocco	0 (0)	30 (33)	37 (28)	29 (33)	3 (3)	41	31	51	42	28	49	7
Tunisia	3 (9)	25 (17)	39 (36)	24 (25)	9 (10)	44	46	58	42	28	54	9
Cyprus	14 (9)	6 (3)	50 (59)	19 (22)	11 (17)	59	93	76	56	28	74	15
Israel	41 (25)	./. (./.)	25 (35)	27 (30)	6 (10)	51	61	./.	50	32	69	11
Jordan	10 (14)	17 (20)	32 (28)	28 (24)	12 (11)	46	64	65	37	35	54	12
Lebanon	0 (1)	26 (23)	52 (52)	17 (18)	3 (6)	49	38	54	50	37	53	4
Turkey	9 (13)	5 (6)	53 (32)	21 (30)	10 (18)	38	43	47	37	28	61	7
Albania	30 (25)	16 (12)	21 (12)	24 (37)	7 (11)	53	66	63	47	40	52	10
Croatia	#10 (10)	8 (5)	30 (27)	38 (44)	7 (12)	49	80	68	63	27	69	20
France	4 (14)	25 (16)	29 (36)	24 (31)	11 (3)	55	74	71	58	30	63	13
Greece	#17 (26)	4 (4)	35 (25)	30 (26)	11 (16)	49	73	51	54	27	60	13
Italy	3 (2)	15 (10)	41 (24)	28 (16)	9 (15)	52	89	78	53	33	53	11
Malta	19 (23)	23 (17)	24 (37)	13 (11)	18 (11)	48	64	52	44	21	56	10
Portugal	13 (22)	8 (13)	41 (31)	30 (20)	6 (11)	57	78	72	59	38	73	11
Slovenia	13 (11)	8 (6)	40 (38)	30 (32)	6 (9)	57	80	71	63	31	77	16
Yugoslavia	#6 (14)	14 (10)	26 (21)	44 (42)	10 (12)	53	70	76	62	37	67	15
Pal. W/B *	9 (15)	30 (26)	27 (26)	28 (19)	6 (12)	54	69	63	48	43	72	10
Pal.G/str.	28 (20)	29 (11)	15 (10)	19 (8)	5 (8)	37	43	38	31	38	39	5

- **Expressed as a percentage of the total enrollment at the third level – figures in ( ) refer to Graduates ~ * education includes humanities ~ + humanities includes social science**
- **Percentage of female students in each field of study, expressed as a percentage of the total enrollment in the field specified.**
- **Gender Segregation Index: percentage of all persons enrolled in 3rd level who'd need to change their field if gender ratio were to be the same in all fields.**

◆ data refer to universities only # data do not include students at ISCED level 7, for which registration is not required becomes evident when we consider the data presented in Table 1, which provides a picture of the percentage of students (and graduates) by field of study, the percentage of female students in field of study, and the gender segregation index in the different countries of the Mediterranean, at least as these were reported, country by country, in the *World Education Report* (Unesco, 1998). Drawing on Hatem (1995), Mazawi (1999a) argues convincingly that gender-specific enrollment policies enable 'entrenched élites to redraw the distribution of social and political power and enhance regime legitimacy', providing women with sheltered educational and occupational trajectories, which lessen competition with men, enabling women 'to carve out their own professional and occupational spaces in gender-based occupations', such as medicine and education. One could also raise the question as to whether the availability of women on the highly-qualified job market serves to counter-balance the tendency for higher wage claims in that sector.[22]

It would not be remiss to point out that one finds several attempts on the part of governments of Mediterranean states to direct or control the surge for higher education, to 'ensure' a better fit between supply and demand, to preempt problems related to armies of disaffected unemployed or under-employed youth, and to create conditions which improve quality educational provision. These strategies have included the arbitrary raising of the pass mark at pre-university level examinations, the setting up of provincial universities, the off-loading of responsibilities for training and research onto private institutions, the diversification of the higher education through the establishment of community colleges which absorb potential university applicants, and the increase of post-secondary vocational institutions and tracks. Egypt is a case in point, with the number of students entering universities in 1989 being 68,000 - a 26% decrease from the number that entered in 1981 (Nucho, 1998: 200). Libya too has, since 1990, raised its university entrance requirements, channelling lower achieving students towards higher training institutes and vocational training centres (IBE, 1998). Some of these issues will be considered in other sections in this article.

Trend 3: A diaspora of Mediterranean students

Another strategy adopted by different Mediterranean states in an attempt to manage the demand for higher education has been the provision of scholarships and other forms of incentives and aid so that students carry out their studies overseas. Target universities have generally been those in metropole countries, though increasingly the USA has become the preferred destination for study, given the perception that it offers a superior education in such fields as engineering, mathematics, computer science, business and management - particularly at the post-graduate level. Zikopoulos (1991) reports, for instance, that in 1989-90, 311 Algerians were studying at US institutions. In a survey of academic educational scholarship in the Mediterranean carried out by Sultana and Ebejer (1997), it became clear that of the 262 respondents from 17 Mediterranean countries who filled in a network form set out in English and French, 102 had carried out their studies at foreign universities. Of these, 52 had obtained their doctorates from USA institutions, and 23 from UK ones.

This is not to say that the flow of Mediterranean students has only been in the direction of the 'north': Jordanian students, for instance, used to go mostly to other Arab countries - particularly Syria, Egypt and Iraq - for their university studies (Zughoul, 2000a). Before the war broke out in 1975, Lebanon - and Beirut Arab University in particular - was the preferred destination for students from elsewhere in the Arab world, Africa, and Asia (Nucho, 1998: 545). Of the total 45,786 BAU graduates through 1990, only 18.3% held Lebanese citizenship (ibid.: 550). In the seventies, the majority of Palestinian students carried out their higher level studies in other Arab countries, mainly Jordan, Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon.[23]

The number of Mediterranean students studying abroad has reached staggering proportions, and was particularly impressive in the seventies, before declining economies and strained international relations took their toll (Za'rour, 1988: 21). The Jordanian government, for instance, estimates that 40,000 students are carrying out their studies overseas, largely due to lack of space in home universities (Nucho, 1998: 342). 25,000 go abroad to foreign universities each year (Burke and Al-Waked, 1997). For Egypt, the number is about 10,000 (ibid.: 212). As many as 12,000 Cypriot students were studying abroad in 1988 (Persianis, 1999), with the number going slightly down to 9,067 in 1994 (IBE, 1998).[24] Students from the Maghreb have, in the past, flocked to France where university studies were heavily subsidised. A total of 55,830 students from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia carried out their higher education studies abroad in 1983, with 78% of these going to France (Za'rour, 1988: 21). Among the Latin arc countries, Greece has more university level students studying abroad than does any other European nation (Eliou, 1988, 1992; Saitis, 1993).

The downside of this transfer of knowledge 'southwards' is that what starts of as temporary migration becomes permanent - Odysseus does not necessarily always return to Ithaca![25] Irrespective of whether degrees are earned at home or foreign institutions, the temptation for graduates to seek their fortunes in the more lucrative 'north' has taken an enormous toll on human resource development in the region. Gizard (1992) reports, for instance, that an estimated 250,000 graduates have emigrated northwards and eastwards from the Maghreb alone in the last twenty five years, representing an average of 10,000 graduates per year.

For Algeria alone, and with reference to 1996/97, the Minister of Education is quoted as saying that 1200 university lecturers had left the country.[26]

A more recent trend noted by Al-Nouri (1995) is a growing disenchantment with college degrees, especially those earned in Western Universities. Similarly, Coffman (1996: 17) reports that less Arabic students are going to the 'west', and that partly as a result, the latter - and particularly the United States - has moved to Arab states, with several American universities setting up programmes in Arab countries. Harvard University and the University of California at Davis, for instance, will be overseeing the academic aspects of the newly established and private Middle East University in Cairo (Nucho, 1998: 212). In Palestine, an Arab American University is to be opened in Jenin, to the north of the West Bank, with support from the University of California.[27] U.K. universities as well - having allowed themselves to be thoroughly colonised by market ideology - are making the best of their erstwhile contacts in the Mediterranean to establish 'outpost campuses' or 'foreign university extensions' to offer degrees, cashing in on the escalating aspirations of young people, in a context of decreasing financial resources. This is the case with *Intercollege* in Cyprus, while Henley College, Oxford Brookes University, and Maastricht University are actively engaged in prospecting candidates in Malta. A recent amendment to the Higher Education Law in Israel has facilitated the creation of a 'transnational system of tertiary education suppliers', largely controlled by the U.S.A. and the U.K., and in response to an ever growing demand for higher studies (Gottlieb and Yakir, 1998). The Civil Forum held in tandem with the Barcelona Conference in 1995, noting the American university presence in the region, formally proposed the 'introduction of European universities in the Mediterranean' (Institut Català de la Mediterrània,1996: 168) in order to enhance co-operation and influence (ibid.: 164).

Trend 4: Privatisation of the university sector

One of the strategies adopted by several countries in the developed world in order to cope with expanding higher education systems and contracting capital has been the systematic stimulation of non-public sources of higher education finance. This, until recently, had not been the case in Mediterranean countries, where legislation generally prohibits private universities from being established or from operating an outreach campus on their territory. Increasingly, however, the situation is changing. There are many reasons for this shift: one of these has already been extensively referred to, namely the impossibility for the State to cater for the ever-burgeoning number of students wanting to further their studies.

Another reason is the cost associated with providing higher education free of charge or at highly subsidised rates, catering for grants, scholarships, food, medical and accommodation subsidies and so on. In this regard, the World Bank (1994: 17) has noted the inability of governments in MENA countries to keep up with their initial investment in higher education, with average public expenditure per student declining from $3,200 to $1,900 in less than a decade. Only Israel seems to have maintained its high levels of investment in higher education, putting1.7% of its GDP into the sector, thus ranking second, after the U.S.A., in international comparisons with developed countries (Limor, 1999).

That privatisation of universities has responded to a real demand can be seen from the fact that once such an enterprise became a legal possibility in a number of Mediterranean countries, several such institutions were set up in a short space of time. In 1986, the Jordanian Ministry of Higher Education, in response to a request by expatriates, authorised the establishment of the private Applied Science University, which opened its doors to students in 1990. Within eight years, eleven other private universities had been set up, with an enrollment approximating 25% of the total student population in Jordan's universities in 1994-95 (Burke and Al-Waked, 1997; Zughoul, 2000a).

Turkey approved the establishment of private universities in 1984. Seven were founded in quick succession, with as many being granted permission to start operating in the near future (Simsek, 1999). Egypt legalised private universities in 1992, with two such institutions being established immediately after (Nucho, 1998: 200, 212). Indeed, it has been reported that as part of an overall strategy to stimulate business, the French - and specifically the bank *Société Générale*, the tourist company *Accor* and the telephone company *Alcatel*, have invested capital and plan to launch a University in Cairo in the year 2001 (Murris, 1999). In Morocco, private higher education schools have been operational since 1985, and by 1999, 79 such institutions had opened, with a reform in the pipeline which intends to group these schools into universities, which will remain private (Meziani, 1999). A private University was opened in 1993: an anglophone institution built on the anglo-saxon model, the university is named after the late King Hassan II, and is based in Ifrane. A new reform under discussion forsees two different kinds of universities other than public institutions: private, and semi-public, i.e. financed by student fees and state subsidy. In Israel, Gottlieb and Yakir (1998) note that the first step towards privatisation of higher education has been paved with the amendment of the Higher Education Law, which now licences foreign universities to offer degree courses, within the framework of specific guidelines, and in response to a demand for higher education qualification that the State could not accommodate.

Politically useful though privatisation may be in that it decreases some of the pressure on the State, it is nevertheless viewed with suspicion and ambivalence in several Arab states as it represents a threat to government control over standards, curricula, and recruitment of personnel (Za'rour, 1988). Zughoul's (2000a) detailed account of the development of the private university sector in Jordan is a timely reminder of the dangers of unbridled and unregulated private involvement in education, where 'profiteering' takes over the traditional mission: the quest for excellence. Despite the fact that there is little evidence to support claims that private involvement in universities lead to cultural imperialism and a lowering of standards, Gottlieb and Wakir (1998) note that in Israel as well, foreign university extensions have attracted considerable criticism from the ranks of traditional academe. Furthermore, while privatisation may reduce economic pressure on the state, it can ultimately contribute towards the increase of social pressure, since it is likely to reinforce and augment unequal access to the university.[28]

Trend 5: The entrepeneurial University

Within the same ideological terrain of privatisation is the reconceptualisation of the University as an entrepreneurial organisation (Clark, 1998). The argument behind the development of this model is that full public funding of universities can only be sustained in a situation where only a small percentage of each age cohort aspired for and entered the higher education sector. With the burgeoning of numbers, that kind of investment on the part of the State could not be maintained, and it is now up to the University to attract funds by entering into collaborative projects with the productive sector. In the more developed countries, industrialisation forced the universities to reconsider their inward-looking attitudes that protected their traditions, and began instead to participate in the process of development, establishing new research institutions, new curricula, and eventually new relationships with the productive sector of society. In peripheral and semi-peripheral states, where the economy was and remained largely agrarian, the University was not challenged to severe the umbilical ties it had with the structural and cultural forms it had inherited from the Middle Ages. Indeed, social commentators from such peripheral countries, who saw educational development as a means of industrial development, were often frustrated by the backward-looking gaze of these élitist institutions. In 19th century Malta, for instance, Wallace (1842: 7) exorted the University to seize 'the pruning knife', judiciously severing 'from the tree of knowledge the leaves of Cicero and Demosthenes and graft in their stead enlarged branches of scientific...knowledge'. University lecturers were castigated for their narcissistic fascination with the classics, literature, metaphysics and theology, and were urged to shed 'vain illusions and motives of self-conceit...[and to reduce] the empty phantoms of imagination to the realities of a productive and fruitful active life' so that 'a solid alliance, constant and unshakable in its hereditary usages, be formed between scientific theory and practical labour' (ibid.: 8).[29]

Such a transformation, in the case of many Mediterranean universities, did not happen until relatively recently, and at least partly explains why such higher education institutions have tended to be dominated by Faculties providing traditional professions such as doctors, lawyers, pharmacists, architects, and religious specialists (Boissevain, 1982).[30] Increasingly, however, and under the influence of globalisation, the pressure of student numbers, and the decline of public resources, the model of the 'entrepreneurial university' has begun to gain legitimacy. Sings of this trend are more evident in the non-Arabic Mediterranean universities, particularly in those countries that have strong linkages with the European Union. In Malta, for instance, the University established its commercial arm, the Malta University Services, which attempts to generate supplementary funding for the institution and its employees, and to promote faculty skills, research and products among the business community (Serracino Inglott, 1993: 11). This is partly due to the hegemonic pull of market and corporate models of financial management, which have become firmly entrenched in Europe.[31]

Trend 6: Greater autonomous management

The Napoleonic tradition of centralised government has deep roots in the Mediterranean countries, where State authority - often coupled, as will be noted in another section below, with varying degrees of religious control - holds sway over large arenas of social life.

Reasons that could be given to explain this trend in the different sub-regions of the Mediterranean include: (a) political histories of colonialism or indigenous autocratic regimes, where a strong State apparatus had to keep a tight control over the production of ideas and identities; (b) industrial underdevelopment and delayed modernisation, where the lack of an indigenous entrepreneurial class and the dynamics of the international division of labour led the State to take centre-stage in several dimensions of the country's life, including investment in human resources;[32] (c) the influence of the ideology of centralised planning which, in the 50s and 60s, was common to most developing countries, and which led States to undertake manpower planning exercises and to plan and manage educational structures and services in view of pre-established economic goals.

One major stumbling block to autonomy in Mediterranean universities is financial: as long as it is the State which carries the major share of the burden of costs, it will feel justified in maintaining power over the institution: as always, it is the one who pays the piper who calls the tune. As Sabour (1996: 79) notes, in State financed universities, faculty members are employed as civil servants, so that 'the hierarchy of organisation, the process of decision-making and academic policy-making is under the strict centralised control and supervision of the state' (Sabour, 1996: 79). Thus, the Arab academic 'is still in many respects dependent on this bureaucratic power which functions as a gate-keeper of the state market, which constitutes the main space where he [*sic*] can invest his knowledge and capital' (Sabour, 1991: 226).

In a sense, therefore, the trend towards privatisation that has already been noted signals not only a devolution of aspects of responsibilities that previously belonged solely to the State, but also - and concomitantly - a weakening of centralised administrative regimes, where cost-sharing necessarily leads to power-sharing. Indeed, practically every country report on higher education that was perused to write this article notes a trend towards decentralisation - though of course, nothing less that empirical and grounded research can indicate the extent to which such declarations represent a sop to what have become – in addition to 'privatisation' and the 'free market' – aspects of a fundamentalist 'world ideology', adherence to which signals modernity, progress and efficiency.[33] The European Union's commitment to decentralisation and subsidiarity has been an important influence, not only with the Mediterranean members states, but also with those who look towards Europe for inspiration in reforming their educational systems (see Sultana, 1995a). With his characteristic sharpness, Weiler (1999;20) notes that the trend towards devolution of power to the university on the part of the state is not innocent: at least part of the motivation has been the serious shrinking of public resources available for expanding systems of higher education. 'In this situation', comments Weiler wryly, 'it is very tempting for governments to transfer to the universities the increasingly unpleasant (and politically onerous) task of administering scarcity'.

Another obstacle to university autonomy is 'patronage', much in evidence in Mediterranean societies (see Boissevain, 1974; Gellner and Waterbury, 1977). The more 'advanced' a society, the more differentiation there is, with less of a reliance on kinship systems and on patronage and more of a reliance on institutions that operate with a bureaucratic rationality. Developing states are characterised by an absence or weakness of rational bureaucracies, with the result that recruitment (and promotion) of personnel - even at higher education levels, is often subject to feudal patronage ties rather than to formal qualifications of skills and proven ability. In Jordan, for instance, such *wasta* or 'influence' can determine the percentage of a budget that a particular university obtains from public monies (see Burke and Al-Waked, 1997). Across the Middle East, Shaw (1997: 214) reports that leading families are allocated their domain in the state apparatus, 'so that it is not unknown for the university to be a personal fief of a notable'. These and other practices lead Shaw (1997: 206) to conclude that in the Middle East 'higher education and the intellectuals are controlled and managed by the power holders', that they are 'in many respects incorporated into government and bought off by government employment' (ibid., 211), and that the only alternative to this predicament is either retaliation by the influential families, groups and rulers, silence, cunning or exile (Keddie 1972: 56). Bursalioglu's (1995) brave account - and confrontation - of the excesses of both the Turkish state and its minions within the higher education sector might well be an eye-opener, given the revealing details of ministerial meddling, favouritism and autocratic decision-making - but it will hardly be news to Mediterranean readers who have suffered (or enjoyed!) first-hand such practices in areas that include the granting of tenure, promotion, relatively lucrative administrative posts, and research grants. For many academics in the region, a change in government can spell fortune or disaster, depending on who's side one is - or perceived to be - on!

It is only in Israel, it seems, where the higher education law grants the sector 'total' academic and administrative independence, making the situation unique. Limor (1999: 28), the director general of the Council for Higher Education of Israel - the buffer body between government and academia - states that 'no similar law exists, in any other known country, that grants such a vast degree of academic and administrative freedom to institutions of higher education'.

It would however be true to say that a definite trend towards greater autonomy in university affairs can be perceived across the Mediterranean basin. A few examples will help flesh out this development. Italy's 51 universities now enjoy more autonomy in the management of funds and personnel, in the determination of fees and contributions, and in the evaluation of their own activities. In Albania, where up to the collapse of its totalitarian regime school and University curricula were strictly controlled because of the fear of the penetration of foreign ideology, new laws have been passed (1994, 1999) which guarantee the autonomy of universities and all higher education level institutions. Higher education is now based on self-assessment under the supervision of the State, with syllabi being developed by each lecturer or group of lecturers (Musai, 2000). In Algeria, despite the fact that the educational system remains highly centralised, with the Ministry of National Education and that of Higher Education and Scientific Research determining the curricula for various educational levels, Regional Academies of higher education have been established so that deans and directors of *grandes* *écoles* participate in taking responsibility for the academic administration of higher education in their respective regions (Nucho, 1998: 15).

Trend 7: Secularisation of universities

One important aspect in regard to the autonomy of universities in the Mediterranean region is the relationship between educational institutions and religious, besides secular ones. As the birthplace of the three Abrahamic religions, the faiths can be said to have historically both initiated and stultified educational development in the region. Islam is a case in point. As al-Otaibi and Rashid (1997: 2) note, 'from its inception, the religion of Islam honored education and strongly encouraged Muslims to study and learn'. Such a commitment to learning, as we have already had occasion to note, led to the development of universities in Islamic countries, before they made their appearance in the West.

The issue of secular higher education in the Mediterranean is a complex one, and the direction of change is not entirely clear given that the struggle to establish a hegemonic position by either of the two 'camps' - i.e. the secularists and the religious - is still in balance. While in Europe it is the influence of Islamic fundamentalists that is given most - if not exclusive - coverage, it should be noted that what could be called 'aggressive conservatism' is also a feature of Catholicism and Judaism, and that all three religious groups have developed strategies to influence the form and direction of education, sometimes at the tertiary level as well.

Such an influence can take various forms. The character and sometimes very charter of the University can reflect the fact that they were founded by religious orders of one kind or other. Malta's only university started out as a *Collegium Melitense* in 1592, under the leadership of Jesuits.[34] Graduation ceremonies, senate and council meetings, the opening of a new academic year - one and all are accompanied by religious rituals, prayers, and in some cases, mass. The order of the Jesuit fathers was also responsible for the establishment of what would later become St. Joseph University, in Lebanon in 1881. Egypt's oldest university, Al-Azhar, specialised in Qur'anic studies, as did that of Morocco, which started off as Qaraouiyine University Mosque. Al-Janan University in Tropoli, Lebanon (est. 1993), is an Islamic institution affiliated with the Muslim brotherhood (*ikhwaan al-muslimiin*), while in the same country, Balamand University (est. 1988) operates under the auspices of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch and All the East (Greek Orthodox), and Holy Spirit University (est. 1949) under that of the Maronite (Catholic) Order. While Jewish ultra-orthodox groups tend to keep away from the higher education scene in Israel,[35] it is pertinent to point out that Bar Ilan University is in fact a religious institution.

The power of religious groups can be felt much more directly, particularly when alliances are made with the State. In Malta, for instance, a secular socialist government had closed down the Faculty of Theology at the island's only university in 1978. A subsequent government of christian democrat persuasion reinstated that Faculty, and established a binding agreement with the Catholic authorities whereby staff selected to teach Theology at the University had to first be approved by the Archbishop before a definite appointment was made by Council. The Rector hand-picked by the same government to lead the newly 're-founded' University was a priest, with the University council not having any say at all in his appointment.

Hladnik (2000) describes how at the very beginning of the transition of Slovenian society to democracy in 1991, the Catholic Church attempted to claim back its traditional, political, economical, and above all educational role in society - roles that, for the previous forty five years, had been limited to liturgical rites by the communist regime. Hladnik in fact notes that the educational agenda is confronted with two opposing visions: on the one hand there is modernity, human rights, individualism and secularism, while on the other there is traditionalism, corporatism, Christian values and anti-secularism. Attempts at educational reform in the former direction through the publication of a White Paper in 1996 have met with a fierce opposition of the Slovenian archbishop and the clergy, who vowed that they would never accept the reform, and that they would fight it, even if it took for 'five, ten or fifty years to destroy it' (quoted in Hladnik, 2000).

But perhaps it is in Arab universities that we see the most developed form of influence by religious - specifically Islamic - groups. There is a long history to this, for it was precisely the inability of the Arab scholar to prise a free space between the 'church' and the 'state' that led to the withering of the idea of the university as a separate body of masters or fellows, and rang the death knell of muslim academic leadership. As Clark (1987: 264) perceptively notes, institutions of higher learning in Islamic countries became organised around specific forms and associated cultures that became static. 'Notably,' Clark proposes, 'they concentrated exclusively on legal and religious studies, becoming in effect colleges of religious law. They did not themselves develop corporate legal personalities, even though often endowed, but remained closely bounded by larger religious structures and tenets...The individual teacher or student remained closely constrained, and the college as a whole was restrained from moving into new areas of inquiry and professional practice'. In Europe, the organisational culture that was developed in universities led guild-like units to work relatively autonomously, and particularly after the Renaissance, the stress on rational inquiry rather than tradition enabled a dynamic interaction that not only altered old forms of knowledge, but developed new ones as well. While both the islamic *madrasa* and the christian *university* were threatened by the same sclerosis of thought and ossification into orthodoxy, Europe managed to emerge thanks to three movements that were absent from Islam. These Khôi (1998: 33) identifies as a critical spirit in theology that was made possible thanks to the rivalry between Pope and Emperor, and which led to the Reformation; humanism, that is an individualism which also opposed itself to the Pope's authority; and printing, which islam refused till the 18th century.

Fundamentalism is, in essence, contradicted by the spirit of open quest that is of the essence of universities - a quest that permits doubt, multiplicity, and scepticism. As Fabre (1998: 10) claims, fundamentalisms, be they Islamic, Jewish, Orthodox or Catholic, are a 'product of modernity, and specifically of intense urbanisation - but they do not convey modernity. They suffocate culture and creativity under the black veil of religious ideology, because they consider them to be illicit... Only the One prevails, in its dangerous purity, the Multiple having no right to abode. A sovereign monologue of all these fundamentalisms, which meet each other in a concerted movement that drowns, with a vengeance, the polyphony that is the Mediterranean.'

It was earlier noted that, of all social institutions, universities tend to be among the most permeable to foreign influence. It is precisely that which makes them the object of criticism of religious movements that cannot tolerate difference. Modelled on French or English institutions, and increasingly on American-style programmes, credit-system and all (Coffman 1996: 17), with curricula that are increasingly dependent on knowledge produced in the Western world, couched in language that is of the West, Arab universities are prime targets for fundamentalists. It is no wonder that, given the mounting concerns regarding the perversion of spiritual values and ideas, the exploding Algerian fundamentalist movement made Arabicisation of the university its primary demand in 1989.[36] Abu-l-As'ad (1994) notes that while at the turn of the century, Egyptian teachers had been considered to be the cream of the modernist lobby, the *avant garde* troops representing 'progress' because of their adherence to, and communication of modern secular ideas, the situation has today changed drastically. Teachers are increasingly co-opted by the islamic movement, with many of them being active members of such groups.[37]

Arab state leaders have had to make their own uneasy peace with Islamic movements, which tend to see higher education as a filter through which Western technologies are introduced into society. Many Arabic universities clearly state in their mission statement that one of their goals is the maintenance of Arabic-Islamic values and the adaptation of the modernisation process. Islamist student groups have attempted to dominate several University campuses in North Africa, and Coffman (1996: 16) reports that governments have taken 'strong measures to repress, or at least defuse, such activity. A large and visible police presence on campuses, as well as an effective network of student informers, has kept fundamentalist activities under control'. In Syria, Islamic zealotry within the confines of higher education has been neutralised - with some degree of violence, we are told (Shaw, 1997: 209) - by the 'socialist' element of Baathist ideology. Nevertheless, as a cursory look at some recent publications on the matter show, the goal of 'islamising' all levels of education in the Arab world, if perhaps kept in check, is still very much alive (see Sultan, 1995, 1997; Bajunid, 1989).[38] In a short but valuable contribution on the impact of globalisation on higher education in MENA countries, Sabour (1999) notes the increasing attraction of religious extremism among university student who, having jumped through all kinds of social, economic, cultural and symbolic hoops and hurdles, end up unemployed or underemployed. In this case, fundamentalism signals a disenchantment with the secular, western dream of credentialling and progress, vehicled as it has been by globalisation. The disenchantment with socialism and left-wing radicalism and the shift to other all-embracing ideologies such as that provided by religion can perhaps best be seen in Palestine. In the 1980s, Birzeit University was the bastion of the radical left, and that was reflected in both student and faculty union elections. Now, the most powerful political group is the Islamic Hamas and Jihad, followed by Fatah (pro-Arafat). The left has almost disappeared at the student level, and has been drastically weakened at the faculty level.[39]

Trend 8: 'Innovative accommodation' in the choice of the language of instruction

Echoes of the religious question - which is also, and predominantly, a question of identity - can be found in another major issue that confronts Mediterranean universities - the language of instruction. Language, as sociolinguists such as Trudgill (1995) and Moatassime (1992) have pointed out, is intimately linked to national identity, and acts as a symbolic resource to project feelings and ideologies of nationhood, and the position of the post-colonial State in the region and world. The language of instruction has both politico-cultural and political-economic components: the first related to identity formation on gaining political independence, the second conjuring up the problems related to the dearth of resources which limits the production of required textbooks, as well as the marketing strategies used by international publishers from core countries.

For Arabic countries especially, language represents a major symbolic issue over which countless ideological battles have been fought. An account of the herculean efforts on the part of Arab states towards Arabicisation (maximising the use of Arabic) – including the setting up of a Bureau for Coordination of Arabicisation in the Arab World, established in 1961 by ALECSO, is provided by Zughoul (2000b). Arabicisation of higher education has been on the cards for at least three decades, and comprehensive use of Arabic was supposed to have been achieved by the year 2000 (Barkho, 1984). But there are serious doubts as to the extent that the movement has succeeded in getting close to this goal, as Zughoul (2000b) points out. With perhaps the exception of Syrian universities, where all subjects are taught in Arabic (de Leeuw, 1996), university instruction in science, technology, and business in the Arab world is still generally conducted in French or English. This to the extent that students have experienced a compulsory school system that teaches through Arabic - have to spend a whole year at University improving their language proficiency before embarking on their course of studies. It is increasingly being found that one year does not suffice (Massialas and Jarrar, 1991: 99-107). A similar situation exists in Malta, where university students are often requested to follow remedial courses in English to be in a better position to profit from the courses they follow.

Most Arab countries do not appear to be unduly perturbed by the situation, showing a greater degree of openness towards linguistic plurality within the university than in the immediate post-independence years. Zughoul (2000b) notes what is possibly a major trend - what he refers to as 'innovative accommodation' - with lecturers and students code-switching between Arabic and English (or French) in order to get their points across. Anybody who has interacted with Maghrebin scholars knows the extent to which this code-switching is not only frequent, but almost instinctive, producing an effortless and seamless flow of language that is comprehensible and acceptable within the academic community.[40] This 'innovative accommodation' has also been the subject of research in Jordan (Zughoul and Hussein, 1985) and in Malta (Schembri, 1999), where empirical data exists on the code-switching behaviour of lecturers in a number of faculties. It is certainly an aspect of the problem that deserves further investigation.

Other countries are, however, less tolerant of the situation, even if - as always with language policies - legislation cannot control the linguistic habits of interlocutors. In Algeria in particular, there has been much controversy over the language of instruction, with a law being passed in 1991 requiring that education and training in all sectors at all educational levels, in all specialisations bar foreign language teaching, be in Arabic (Nucho, 1998: 15). Despite such legislation, French continues to be the language of instruction in applied sciences, technology, architecture, medicine, veterinary medicine, planning and statistics, physical education and demography (ibid.: 31). Even when presented with a choice between Arabic and French, students will tend to opt for the latter medium, particularly since Francophone lecturers tend to have a higher degree of expertise in their area of studies, given their studies in France.[41] Increasingly, English seems to be displacing French across North Africa, as unpublished British Council reports, cited by Zughoul (2000b), indicate. Sometimes, this shift is encouraged by government policy – in Algeria, for instance, and as from 1993, students were allowed to choose English instead of French as a second language from the fourth year of primary schooling onwards.

The earlier reference to the situation in Malta highlights the fact that the language question at universities is not limited to the Arabic world. There are other places in the Mediterranean where the dual role of universities in affirming a nation's identity, while at the same time opening doors to the outside world, constitutes something of a dilemma. In Cyprus, for instance, Cypriot nationalists and Greek politicians and scholars bitterly opposed the use of English as one of the languages of instruction, a proposition that had received unanimous support in the House of Representatives when the matter was raised in 1981 (Persianis, 1999). Instead, Greek and Turkish were adopted. One could also refer to the Spanish situation, where there is constant code-switching, in some universities, between Catalan and Spanish.

Trend 9: Interactive pedagogies

The evolution of universities from élite to mass institutions has had a major repercussion not only on the identity of the institution, but also on the pedagogic interaction between teacher and taught. In the guild-like set-up of the medieval university, the student was apprenticed to the 'master' or 'doctor', and initiated into realms of knowledge and tools of inquiry. That relationship is today only possible in those few privileged and generously funded research institutions (which sometimes, as in France, are in fact not universities, and which tend to export the formal teaching component to universities), and in the context of dissertation supervision. Mass lectures with hundreds of students has generally had a deleterious effect on the quality of teaching in higher education everywhere, and the response to this has been positive, to some extent, as academics have begun to make their own teaching the subject of sustained reflection and research, and to integrate the new technology in their repertoire of instructional strategies.[42]

As we have already noted, massification of higher education is also a feature of the Mediterranean region. In addition to the challenge that numbers have for the development of interactive and effective teaching methods, there is another aspect of Mediterranean culture that has a negative impact on pedagogy. The authoritarian relationships that have tended to prevail in Mediterranean societies, and the magisterial modes of teaching that are common at the compulsory education level reinforce instructional over educative concerns in most Arab universities (Za'rour, 1988: 13-14; Benrabah, 1999: 149ff.; Boubekeur, 1999; Beirut Declaration, 1998) and in many others across the rest of the Mediterranean (Boissevain, 1982, 1990). Shaw (1997: 215), writing about universities in the Middle East, notes that after schooling 'the survivors often arrive at higher education socialized to transmissive teaching and dependency on the text'. Benrabah (1999: 149), drawing on Boudalia Greffou (1989) and Rebah (1991), refers to what he terms 'pavlovian pedagogy' in an Algeria under the grips of an islamist onslaught. Boubekeur (1999), reporting on research carried out at Algeria's University of Constantine, notes a general dissatisfaction among students with the standard of teaching, even when this refers to the theoretical elements of the courses they follow, which is supposed to be the University's traditional strength. Reports from several Arab (Za'rour, 1988; Bubtana, 1992; Benrabah, 1999; Boubekeur, 1999; Hashweh and Hashweh, 1999) and other Mediterranean countries (Baldacchino, 1995; Bursalioglu, 1995; Bertoldi, 1999; Ledic et al., 1999), suggest that the formal lecture method, memorisation of notes and textbooks, and examination-oriented teaching are the norm, with students having little opportunity for discussion, questioning, or meeting professors.

In Jordan (Heyneman, 1997: 454) and Malta (Baldacchino, 1995), to mention only two examples, students tend to do least well in precisely those areas where strength is required in modern economies, namely problem-solving in new and unanticipated circumstances. The fact that there are very high faculty-student ratios in most subjects - and especially so in the humanities - does not facilitate instructional styles that lead to critical interrogation of set curricula. Neither does the fact that in several subjects teaching takes place in English or French (see Salmi, 1987). In Albania, the totalitarian regime in place since the Second World War led to the imposition of a rigid, totalitarian pedagogy (Musai, 2000).

Studies such as these at least serve to signal the beginning of an important shift - namely, that university staff are beginning to study and research their own practice and effectiveness within the institution. Several initiatives have been reported indicating that quality auditing measures – including staff evaluation by students – is on the agenda in the Mediterranean (Sultana, 1997). An Arab Network for Staff Development has, for instance, been set up to encourage a shift in the learning process from passive absorption of knowledge to active participation (Al Hares, 1994).

Conclusions

Clearly, the nine trends that have been identified in this article are not the only ones that apply to the Mediterranean context; other trends can, I am certain, be identified, particularly when the propositions advanced here are subjected to further reality checks, and when data are collected in a more grounded fashion from the different national contexts. Neither, it must be added, are these trends unique to the Mediterranean region. Connections between the problems and challenges in the higher education systems of the Mediterranean and other semi-peripheral and peripheral states can easily be established, and parallels noted, by perusing the work of Ziderman and Albrecht (1995) for instance, or of Brock-Utne (1999) or Abagi (1997). Caught up as they are in the process of globalisation (see Brock-Utne, 1996), universities of the South seem to be struggling to shape themselves according to the mould of the corresponding institutions in the North. The trends towards privatisation, entrepreneurship, massification, and so on echo the footsteps trodden earlier by the universities of the more economically and industrially developed nations. Indeed, we can use Pampanini's (1999) useful image, suggesting that '*Medi-terranea*' lies not only betwixt and between geographical terrains, but economic ones as well. Compared to the situation in black Africa, for instance, Mediterranean states are the 'middle class' of this world, despite the scarcity of resources reported by the likes of Palestine (Hashweh and Hashweh, 1999), for instance, or the serious deficiencies in standards in places such as Algeria (Benrabah, 1999). It would be easy - if perhaps slightly simplistic - to argue that a continuum exists whereby a number of the different trends outlined above apply, with various degrees of intensity, to universities internationally, whether we are speaking of the more or of the less developed worlds.

This should not lead, however, to the kind of theory of mimetism that argues that poorer individuals/groups/nations are psychologically disposed – 'driven' even – to emulate the echelons above them, and to 'catch up' with them. The challenges facing Mediterranean universities, while coinciding with those that have had to be faced earlier by the North, have their own specificity. Certainly, universities of the Mediterranean will have to find ways of better managing themselves as mass institutions without succumbing to the temptations of élitism or mediocrity, how to find alternative sources of funding without losing their 'soul' in the process, how to distance themselves from the political and élite class without alienating them as sources of support. Mediterranean universities have to rise to the challenge of maintaining their identity - linguistic and cultural - without disengaging from the universal mission that is at the heart of their institutional ethos; of affirming the religious and ethical principles that are often so much part and parcel of their heritage of scholarship, without denying alternative view points, closing the doors to an 'open society', or succumbing into what Arkoun terms (1977: 22) – with particular reference to Islam, but which is here used to refer to the different religions of the region – 'an idealized and constricted vision' of orthodoxy, 'forged under the defensive imperatives of a community threatened from within and without'. Certainly, universities of the Mediterranean - like those of the more developed and wealthier regions of the world - have to find the right balance between quality teaching and generative research, in their search for relevance in a complex and fast-changing world. They have to do this in contexts of scarcity that would alarm any scholar from the first world, who takes the availability of a modicum of resources for granted.[43] But they have to do it nevertheless. The alternative is too unpalatable to consider, even though many institutions may be hovering over the brink and staring that particular phantom in the face, sucked as they are into a situation where what matters is screening and certification, rather than knowledge transmission and creation.

That process of transmission and creation has to have a critical edge about it. Scholars of the Mediterranean must, while learning from the North, maintain their grounded-ness in pertinent issues and problems, and apply knowledge to solve the most pressing questions that have to do with securing the dignity of all citizens. Rather than uncritically adopting dominant paradigms from western countries, straight-jacketing local data to fit fashionable accounts in order to gain legitimacy and currency in the international circulation of ideas (Bonal, 1995; Brock-Utne, 1996), scholars need to engage in useful research that empowers and speaks to the *locale*, providing the conceptual, analytic, empirical and operacy tools that are required to generate a fruitful and productive dialogue both internally and in interactions with the international community.

Notes

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1. This is a Euro-centric view, of course. Lê Thành Khôi (1995: 212 ff.) speaks of 'universities' when referring to the centres of higher learning in India and the Far East, developed under the influence of Hindu and Buddhist monasteries. He specifically refers to the university of Nalanda, founded in the first century, and which in its heydey had 1500 teachers catering for 8500 students from Tibet, China, Korea, Japan, Sri Lanka, Tokhara and Mongolia. In a sense, it all boils down to our definition of a 'university', which in the west is generally taken to be an institution which fulfils two criteria, that of a Papal or imperial charter, and a juridical personality which finds expression in the *studium generale* or the approved course of studies backed by the pertinent guilds. When commenting on this definition, Farrugia (1993: 41) points out that Byzantine scholars refer to the University of Constantinople, which was founded by Theodosius II in 425 A.D., even though it only fulfilled the first of these two criteria. Others would claim that the first institution of higher learning was Plato's Academy, founded in about 387 B.C. Definitions are not merely pedantic and petty academic squabbles: the way we define what a university 'is' or 'should be' determines what we consider to be 'normal' and what we judge to be 'problematic' (see Kuitunen, 1999).

2. Alfred North Whitehead has famously asserted that 'the safest general characterisation' of Western thought is that 'it consists of a series of footnotes to Plato' (Honderich 1995: 284). Newman noted in one of his lectures 'Looking, then, at the countries which surround the Mediterranean Sea as a whole, I see them to be, from time immemorial, the seat of an association of intellect and mind, such as to deserve to be called the Intellect and the Mind of Human Kind. Starting as it does and advancing from certain centres, till their respective influences intersect and conflict, and then at length intermingle and combine, a common Thought has been generated, and a common Civilisation defined and established. Egypt is one such starting point, Syria another, Greece a third, Italy a fourth, and North Africa a fifth - and afterwards France and Spain. As time goes on, and as colonisation and conquest work their changes, we see a great association of nations formed, of which the Roman empire is the maturity and most intelligible expression; an association, however, not political, but mental, based on the same intellectual ideas, and advancing by common intellectual methods' (quoted in Serracino Inglott 1992: ix).

3. To my knowledge, none of the major organisations that provide educational statistics - such as OECD, the World Bank, and Unesco – identify 'the Mediterranean' as a category for the aggregate presentation of information: the researcher interested in this region must collate data on a country-by-country basis, and extirpate information from groups of countries that have been bundled together under a different - perhaps more immediately apparent - logic. 'Europe', 'Middle East and North Africa', 'Balkan', 'Arab' are some of the categories with wider purchase and legitimacy in comparative studies. It must be noted, however, that the OECD did have a *Mediterranean Regional Project* in the sixties.

4. Bursalioglu (1995: 175) provides one example of how educational statistics are manipulated by the state - in this case, Turkey - in order to curry favour with international funding agencies.

5. One could claim that comparative education should be at least as interested in identifying differences as commonalities, particularly where they are least expected to be found.

6. Despite more than a 1000 kilometres of Mediterranean coast-line, Libya has been, for several reasons, distant from the Euro-Mediterranean partnership project. It has been reported, however, that

the constituent session of the Euro-Mediterranean parliamentary forum, held in Brussels on October 27-28 1998, adopted a final declaration recommending the participation of Libya (and Mauritania) in the Mediterranean process launched in Barcelona (*Arabic News.com*, 29.10.98).

7. The political issues revolve around Turkey's human rights record in relation to the Cypriot and the Kurdish questions, while the economic concern is Turkey's level of underdevelopment requires a level of aid that would drain the EU's reserves and funds. Turkish ambivalent attitudes towards their own westward-looking identity is caught brilliantly by the ironic comment of the novelist Orhan Pamuk, who, with more than a pinch of sarcasm notes that the Mediterranean represents, for the Turks, a necessary myth to encourage the many attempts that, over the past two centuries and not always with great success, they have launched in order to westernise their country. Pamuk (1998: 46) argues that 'it seems that to aspire to be Mediterranean is like winning a second class ticket to the West. The image of the Mediterranean is neither totally western, nor totally oriental: it is an acceptable, middle-of-the-road identity, easy and accessible' (*my translation from the French*). I would personally build on Pamuk's insight in more positive terms: for many in this region, identification with a Mediterranean identity represents a creative way of taking a position against forms of fundamentalist implosions that mark their national context, without necessarily metamorphosing into 'Europeans' and losing deeply cherished values and world views - and a sense of one's own dignity in the process.

8. Within the Arab world there is a gap between the 'north' which, with the exception of Algeria and Iraq, groups the nine oil-producing countries with small populations, and the 'south', which groups the remaining twelve Arab nations. Calleya (1997: 99), drawing on Hitti (1994: 90), notes that while the GDP of the former group was $US300 billion in 1990, that of the latter group was only $US119 billion.

9. In this regard, Meyer and Brown (1999) have argued that the new phenomenon of networked scientific communities (e.g. the Tunisian Scientific Consortium) has the potential of transforming the 'brain drain' into a 'brain gain' phenomenon, with knowledge transfer being facilitated not only by the 'return' option, but also by the 'diaspora' option.

10. It is worth noting, for instance, that historically, the wars and conflicts between christians outnumber those between christians and muslims.

11. This is not the place to rehearse the way in which the Mediterranean basin has evolved as a region, with leading actors continuously challenging one another's authority in the area. That task has been addressed by historians (Rose, 1933; Braudel, 1949), anthropologists (*inter alia* Pitt-Rivers, 1963; Peristiany, 1965, 1976a, b; Gellner and Waterbury, 1977), economists (Amin and Yachir, 1988; Yachir, 1989; Baeck, 1994), international relations specialists (Gillespie, 1994; Calleya, 1997), with education comparativists making a rather belated appearance on the scene (Sultana, 1996, 1998, 2000; Pampanini, 1999; Cowen, 1998).

12. This is one of the rare and exemplary co-operative ventures in publishing in the region. It is a co-production by the Tunisian Academy of Science, Humanities and Arts, and the Italian Embassy, in collaboration with French and North African publishing houses. Each book appears in Italian, French, Spanish and Arabic. The publications appear under the *Jaca Book* imprint.

13. Al-Faruqi (1988: 16), for instance, chides Muslim scholars who add new subjects to curricula in Islamic schools without realising that such imports contain 'alien values', 'facets of an integral view of reality, of life and the world, and of a history that is equally alien to that of Islam'. Meyer (1984), on her part, provides a useful discussion of the problem posed by modernity to the traditional structure of knowledge in Islam.

14. With specific reference to the Mediterranean region, one could refer to the EU-funded Med-Campus scheme which encouraged interaction and knowledge transfer between Universities of the 'North' with those of the 'South'. The Med-Campus programme by itself has promoted the setting up of more than a hundred Euro-Mediterranean networks concerned with a great variety of scientific disciplines. These have led to the participation of around 10,000 students and more than 1,000 academics from 300 universities from the Euro-Mediterranean countries (Institut Català de la Mediterrània, 1996: 165). More rarely, we find 'horizontal' interaction schemes between Mediterranean universities. These have tended to be led by NGOs, such as Italy's *Community of Mediterranean Universities* (located in Bari), the *Laboratorio Mediterraneo* (located in Naples), and *UniMed* (located in Rome).

15. In this sense, therefore, the Caribbean is the American 'Medi-terranean', while the space between Indochina, South China, the Philippines, and Indonesia constitutes an Asiatic 'Medi-terranean' (Lacoste, 1993: 1000).

16. I am indebted to Maher Hashweh for this information.

17. I am indebted to Abdel-Jalil Akkari for this point. In this regard, Xavier Bonal also comments (personal communication) that the more peripheral and semi-peripheral countries receive foreign high technology companies, the more the rates of return for highly qualified jobs.

18. In Western Europe, about 2% of each age cohort went to the University at the end of the 19th century. By the 1960s, the proportion had gone up to 10%, while today it is 35% and climbing (Halsey, 1991). Hobsbawm (1996) notes that the massive growth of higher education was, together with the loss of peasantry, one of the worldwide changes that marked the 'social revolution' of the post-World War II era.

19. Most Mediterranean countries lag behind European levels of university enrollment. To reach those levels, Turkey would have to multiply its capacity for admittance by 3.5, Morocco and Algeria by 5, Tunisia by 6, and Egypt by 3 (Institut Català de la Mediterrània, 1996: 162).

20. See, for instance, Papas and Psacharopoulos (1987) for Greece; Sultana (1995b) for Malta; Sabour (1996) for Morocco; Viera da Fonseca (1996) and Cabrito (1999) for Portugal; Bertoldi (1999) for Italy.

21. It is possible that the fact that Libyan families have supported coeducation in universities has encouraged this trend (Al-Nouri, 1995: 137).

22. I am indebted to Xavier Bonal for this point (personal communication).

23. According to Maher Hashweh (personal communication).

24. These were repartitioned as follows: Greece 39.9%; U.K. 27.4%; U.S.A. 20.2%, Germany 2.6%, and other countries 9.9%.

25. For some countries, the brain drain takes on another dimension, given the intolerance shown intellectuals in the country of origin. Such is the case of Algeria, for instance, where thousands of academics and artists had to flee for their lives given the systematic carnage addressed against them. As a result of this, 75% of University teachers are at the 'assistant' or 'maître-assistant' level (Benrabah, 1999: 172). Schmid (1998), in a series of interviews, captures the thoughts and feelings of such intellectuals in exile.

26. As reported to the author by Mohamed Miliani.

27. Information provided to the author by Maher Hashweh.

28. I am indebted to Xavier Bonal for this point.

29. For the very same reasons, Napoleon closed down the University of Malta during the eventful two years of French occupation of the islands (1798-1800) after centuries of rule by the Order of the Knights of St John. In its stead, Bonaparte promoted the establishment of more vocationally-oriented institutions that could generate wealth among the miserably poor population.

30. Other reasons as to why degrees in the arts and humanities have, until quite recently, been more heavily subscribed than science and technology include (a) the fact that contrary to western societies, higher education preceded industrialisation, with the State being the only or main employer of graduates. Employment opportunities were available in the state bureaucracy, rather than in industry; (b) Universities have tended to impose artificial barriers (e.g. raising of entry qualifications) to such courses as medicine, engineering, and technology - rather than social sciences, humanities and the arts. The reasons for that include the higher cost per student for these kinds of courses, the perceived necessity to preserve and improve quality provision, and the strength of some professions, relative to others, to exercise occupational closure.

31. See Mora (1999) for an account of the development of such a model in Spain.

32. As authors such as Bonal and Rambla (1996), Gomes (1996) and Kanakis (1996) have noted, the problem of centralisation is the result of a mismatch between production and social consumption - i.e. while consumption and social rights patterns and expectations were repressed under autocratic indigenous or colonial rule, a new-found liberty leads to incessant demands that are at a level which is closer to central capitalist countries than is development of production. As a result, the State is continuously forced to face a situation where the demand for new social rights (e.g. to widen access to higher education) is not accompanied by capital accumulation. The State is obliged to spread out its regulatory action into a very wide arena, in order to be in a better position to act as arbitrator, and ends up playing a central role in social and economic regulation, even though its direct role in production or in service provision is very limited.

33. Some of the problems with these assumptions are explored by Green (1997). The devolvement of the State from its responsibilities as the guardian of education as a 'public good' raises issues as to what happens to entitlement and equity.

34. Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, had planned to open a college in Malta, an island he had identified as ideally situated to open the doors for missionary activity among the Islamic communities of North Africa (Sauvé, 1993).

35. Information provided by Yaacov Iram.

36. In a personal communication with the author, Mohamed Miliani noted that there are often reports that 'too much preaching and not enough teaching' goes on in a number of Universities in Algeria.

37. In this regard, however, it is useful to consider Herrera's (1998) warning, namely that while private Islamic schools have indeed increased in number in Egypt, we need to be careful not to think of them as if they were all characterised by the same qualities - such as entrenchment in tradition, priority to religious ritual, subordinate place to women, etc. She in fact criticises the way the West

writes about 'Islamist movements' as if they were the same, and focuses on Caliph Oman Islamic Language School to show hybrid identity in what is increasingly being referred to 'post-Islamism' (see Bayat, 1996; Roy, 1998). In a critically important review of comparative education studies of Arab states, Mazawi (1999b) also makes the point that there is a need to focus on processes at the classroom, school and community level rather than simply on macro and structural-functionalist approaches, if we are to understand educational dynamics, and how it is not only society that produces education, but also how education produces society.

38. Bajunid quotes from documents published by the *International Institute of Islamic Thought*, which compares the contemporary goal of Islamising modern knowledge to the task of the early Muslims who succeeded in Islamising Greek, Persian and Indian knowledge: 'The modern Muslim scholar', is the injunction of the Institute, 'must Islamize the international legacy of modern knowledge to reform its methodologies and establish systematic and scientific approaches in all fields of social and human sciences and other fields of studies from an Islamic point of view' (1989: 3). That mission was reasserted at the Sixth International Conference on Islamic Education, held in Cape Town, South Africa, 20-25 September 1996 (see Saqeb, 1997 for a report).

39. I am indebted to Maher Hashweh for this information.

40. In this regard, Benrabah (1999: 177) notes how in Algeria, despite the official policy of enforcing the Arabic language as a means of communication, linguistic interaction takes on a life of its own, marked by a 'conviviality and tolerance between all the extant languages: Algerian arabic, Berber and French. On the streets of Oran, Algiers or elsewhere, the Algerian uses occasionally one, or the other, or a mixture of two or three idioms'. [my translation].

41. Information shared by Mohamed Miliani (personal communication).

42. Fine examples are to be found in the issues of the journal *Teaching in Higher Education*, recently launched by Len Barton and his colleagues (first issue, 1996).

43. Several Mediterranean countries report a situation where academics find themselves obliged to supplement their regular salaries by taking on additional employment, to the detriment of excellence in teaching and research. This is true of Egypt (Klausner, 1986), Greece (Eliou, 1992), Malta (Shattock, 1990), and Turkey (Bursalioglu, 1995) among others. In the more developed world, the swelling of student numbers and the drying up of resources has also led to the whittling down of the advantages that used to be enjoyed by the academic cadre. In particular, a 'reserve army of academic labour' has been created, with conditions characterised by marginality and insecurity (Collins, 1999). These are, however, nowhere near the deprivations that have to be faced by scholars in the intermediately developed and developing world.

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HIGHER EDUCATION AND STATE LEGITIMATION IN CYPRUS

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Abstract – *This paper will investigate the state's utilisation of higher education policy as 'compensatory legitimation' within the Cypriot context in the late 1980s. It argues that not only the establishment of the University of Cyprus in 1989 - after thirty years of strong nationalist opposition during the British colonial administration and another thirty years of state hesitation and postponement during political independence - but also the character of the established University (state-based and linked to the international community of scholarship) can be explained mainly as the result of the state's decision to utilise higher education in order to make up for its serious deficit in legitimacy. It also maintains that the state used the policy strategy of expertise and to a lesser extent the policy strategy of participation in order to legitimate the process that determined the character of both the University and the knowledge that it was expected to produce.*

Introduction

In a number of articles Hans Weiler cogently showed how the concept of state legitimacy and, in particular, the theoretical construct of 'compensatory legitimation' as a determinant of educational policy strategies, can be a very useful tool for the comparative analysis of educational policy in advanced capitalist societies (Weiler, 1983, 1988, 1989, 1990). By using instances of educational policy strategies in the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, and France, he demonstrated how the modern state, which today faces a rather serious problem of credibility and acceptability among its citizens, tries hard to make up for as much of this legitimacy deficit as possible by adopting educational policy strategies well suited for a compensatory purpose. Weiler identified three such policy strategies that seem to be particularly conspicuous in the policy behaviour of modern states. These are: (a) the 'legalisation' or 'judicialisation' of educational policy in terms of the increased invocation of legal norms and institutions; (b) the utilisation of scientific expertise in the policy making process, especially through such devices as experimentation and planning; and (c) the development and stipulation of client participation in the policy process.

This paper is an attempt to apply the theoretical construct of 'compensatory legitimation' in an effort to explore the political dynamics of the policy process regarding the establishment of the University of Cyprus. It will argue that this theoretical approach can provide a satisfactory answer to the two central questions related to the case of the University of Cyprus, namely:

(a) what was the legitimacy for the establishment of a University which was fiercely opposed by the nationalist faction for sixty years, and how were their objections to the establishment of a University finally satisfied? and

(b) what was the justification for the state's decision to encourage the new University to establish strong links with the international community of scholarship from the very beginning?

A research project was designed to answer these two questions and the findings will both contribute to the ongoing discourse on this issue and widen the understanding of the dialectics between state and higher education in a country for which this experience is very new.

The paper comprises three sections. The first section analyses the specific characteristics of the Cypriot context which compelled the state to search for compensatory legitimation; the second is an interpretation of the strategies employed by the state to promote the establishment of a University for the first time in Cyprus; and the third is an interpretation of the strategies employed by the state to secure legitimacy for the character of the University, the knowledge it was expected to produce, and the decision-making process itself. The last two sections also provide an answer to the two major questions put forward above.

The specific Cypriot context

Offe (1972) and Habermas (1975) have elaborated on the problem of governability of the modern state and the resultant spiral of increasing legitimacy needs. The state of Cyprus is no different from any modern state in this respect. It can be even argued that there are three features particular to the Cypriot context which make the precariousness of the state legitimacy deficit much more serious than in other cases. These are the following:

(a) the problematic nature of the Cypriot state and the divisive provisions of the 1960 Constitution;

(b) the contradictory demands for state legitimation after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974; and

(c) the pressure of uncertainty and apprehension over the future of Cyprus.

The Cypriot state has been plagued by a serious inherent problem of legitimacy from the very first moment of its establishment. With independence in 1960 Cyprus is not a true nation-state, but rather a political construct of partnership between two ethnic communities, imposed by international treaties (the 1959 London-Zurich Agreements) on the Greek and Turkish communities of the island and guaranteed by the three guarantor powers (Greece, Turkey and the UK). The people of Cyprus were given a Constitution but were not given any right to abolish or modify it. The Greek community has always expressed its dissatisfaction and disapproval of the Constitution, and especially of the privileges afforded to the Turkish community (a veto right to the Turkish Vice-President, 30 percent representation in the civil service and 40 percent in the police and the army, compared to its 18 percent share in the population). Until 1974 the ill-feeling was so strong that a part of the Greek community (mainly the nationalists who had fought against the British rule (1955-59) for the cause of political Union of Cyprus with Greece) held the Cyprus flag in contempt and openly demanded the abolition of the state.

The first two decades of independence were marked by events which aggravated rather than solved the legitimacy crisis: the inter-communal strife in the 1960s, the *coup d'état* by forces of the Greek junta against President Makarios, and finally, the subsequent Turkish invasion in 1974 which led to a *de facto* division of the island into the northern Turkish part and the southern Greek part. Since 1974, the Greek Cypriot government of the south (which is internationally recognised as the only lawful government of Cyprus) has been torn between two contradictory legitimacy needs: the need to fight effectively for the interests of the 200,000 displaced Greek Cypriots, and the need to reunite the country and support the interests of the Turkish Cypriots despite the fact that the latter have occupied the displaced persons' houses and property. The lawful government believes that its support for the Greek Cypriots is an act of justice while its care for the Turkish Cypriot interests is an obligation stemming from its internationally recognised capacity as the only lawful administration of the state.

The blatant refusal of Turkey to withdraw its troops and the repeated failure of the inter-communal talks held under the auspices of the UN to reach an agreement have created sincere fears for the survival of both the state and the Greek Cypriots as a national community and have aggravated the state's legitimacy crisis. The general feeling is that the state is extremely fragile and can little sustain internal strife. This feeling of weakness forced the government to utilise material gratification as its main strategy for compensatory legitimation for a very long time. Thus, practically every demand for salary increase by employees in the civil service and the semi-governmental sector was met. This, however, proved insufficient to shore up the state's legitimacy deficits and every time the inter-communal talks failed, the legitimacy crisis reached a new climax.

A severe blow to the legitimacy of the Cyprus state was the constitutional provision (articles 86-111) which deprived the state of any power over education and instead delegated it to the two Communal Chambers (Greek and Turkish) that were established under the same provision. This meant that the power to determine the curricula and the syllabi continued to remain in the hands of the two communities, as was practically the case during both the Turkish (1570-1878) and the British (1878-1960) rules of the island.

In 1965 the Greek community abolished the Greek Communal Chamber under an emergency act and established a ministry of education which, nonetheless, continued to have authority over Greek education only.

The Constitution contained no stipulation regarding higher education, which left open the possibility for the state to establish either a communal University solely for the Greek community or a bi-communal University that would bring the two communities together by educating their future intellectual and political leaders. In 1976 an Interministerial Committee was appointed by the Council of Ministers to advise the government over this very acute dilemma. However, in view of the constitutional subtlety of the issue and because the Greek Cypriots wanted to uphold the constitution which safeguarded the state's international recognition, the Committee was forced to proceed very cautiously (Interministerial Committee, 1976). The failure in 1986 of the international talks and the establishment of three universities (two of them international) by Turkish Cypriots and foreign entrepreneurs in the north (Athanasiades, 1998) resulted in a new legitimacy crisis for the Cypriot state. The thought of the minority establishing three universities and the majority being unable to establish one was unbearable.[1]

Politically, the latter development was highly significant in promoting the establishment of the University of Cyprus. Additionally, and at the same time, the Greek community strongly desired international prestige and recognition through locally producing knowledge of international status. A university was not particularly needed in Cyprus, either for professional training or for reasons of equal opportunity (Matsis, 1997). The great number of Greek Cypriots studying abroad (approximately 12,000 in 1988) and in the private schools of higher education in Cyprus (approximately 3500 in 1988) (Statistics of Education, 1995-6)[2] more than covered the professional needs of the island (there are currently about 8,000 unemployed university graduates) (Phileleftheros, 20 Dec. 1998, p.B4).

On the other hand, the generous offer of scholarships for undergraduate and graduate studies from various foreign agencies such as the American Fulbright Program, the Commonwealth Scholarship Scheme, and European governments, especially the then Soviet Union and the former communist countries (Scholarship

Board's Report) provided ample opportunities for able secondary school leavers with limited financial means to pursue university studies. It is noteworthy that even the very strong communist party of Cyprus (about 33 percent of the electorate) was, until the early 1970s, against the establishment of a university in Cyprus, arguing that the improvement of primary and secondary education was a priority over a university (Persianis, 1981).

After 1974, however, under the threat of Turkish expansionism and the urgent need for international moral support, the belief in a university in Cyprus which would produce knowledge of international status became politically recommendable, as it would gain international status and recognition and bring much needed moral support to the state. For the first time there was a general consensus on the project of establishing a university.

In sum, it can be said that as a result of features particular to the Cyprus context during the first three decades of independence, the state was plagued by problems of governability, insecurity and a precarious legitimacy. As it will be explained in the next section, the establishment of a university was regarded as a suitable policy for the administration to retrieve much needed legitimacy.

The establishment of the University as an act of state compensatory legitimation

Greek Cypriots have traditionally cherished a very strong respect for education. Illiteracy has been considered both an individual and a national disgrace in Cyprus (Persianis, 1978) and education has been regarded as indispensable for individual economic and social-mobility and national development (Persianis, 1981). They have considered national intelligence as 'the most valuable national resource' (Persianis, 1981). At the same time, the great number of Greek Cypriot scholars and researchers abroad has encouraged Cypriots and empowered them to compete intellectually with more advanced nations.

This belief has been reflected in the economic policy of the independent state throughout the thirty eight years of its existence. It has never refused to increase spending for education (and national health care) even during times of economic stringency and the 1990s moratorium on public spending.

There has also been a deep respect for foreign expertise which can be traced to some degree in the Greek Cypriots' need to identify with Europe during the era of Turkish rule. Desire for identification with Europe was reflected in the foreign languages curriculum at secondary schools (English, French, sometimes Italian, but no Turkish) (Persianis, 1978, 1981) and in the importation of expertise from abroad (Persianis, 1994).

Despite all these, the efforts to establish a university failed for thirty years before Independence, and for another thirty years after, because of internal opposition. In 1989, however, all political parties – right, left and centre – voted unanimously for the establishment of a university (Law 144/1989).

There is no doubt that this decision reveals a deep change in both societal structures and processes and the politics of education in the island. Cowen focused on the impact of societal changes on education. Elaborating specifically on the issue of the dialectical connection between a society and its form(s) of educational knowledge, Cowen argued that 'the legitimations of forms of educational knowledge stand in reciprocal relationship to the society in which the educational knowledge is located: such legitimations reflect certain major characteristics of the society and the educational knowledge creates nationally differentiated, and in certain circumstances, subnationally differentiated, reality definitions among educands' (quoted by Welch, 1991: 515-516).

Cyprus experienced drastic societal changes during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. A major change was the modernisation of the society as this was reflected in urbanisation (the number of inhabitants in urban areas increased from 205,983 in 1960 to 351,600 in 1988 while those of rural areas decreased from 367,583 to 193,000) (Census, 1960, 1973; Social Statistics,1992). There were also other important changes: a shift in the economy base from agriculture to industry and the services, especially tourism (the people working in farming decreased from 94,800 in 1960 to 35,800 in 1988 while the manpower in industry and the services increased from 49,300 and 64,400 to 70,600 and 130,200 respectively) (Social Statistics, 1992); expansion of the civil service (from 9,730 in 1960 to 22,753 in 1988); expansion of literacy (from 82 percent in 1960 to 94 percent in 1988); and the large increase in the number of university students abroad (from about 2,000 in 1960 to about 12,000 in 1988) (Statistics of Education, 1992).

The Greek Cypriot community also underwent a dramatic change with regard to ideology. The political ideal of Union of Cyprus with Greece was sustained for some time after Independence in 1960, but it was virtually destroyed by the 1974 Turkish invasion. The worst blow, however, came from the 1974 *coup d'état* by Greek armed forces stationed in Cyprus. The fact that the coup led Turkey to invade Cyprus tremendously affected for some time Greek Cypriots' loyalty towards Greece. This legitimised the government's decision to follow an independent educational policy with no fear of recrimination for de-emphasising ties with the Greek motherland.

This change in ideology was strengthened by the rapidly increasing number of Greek Cypriot students in non-Greek universities (about 5,000 students in 1988 compared with 600 in 1960) (Statistics of Education, 1992). The flow of Greek Cypriot students to European and American Universities can be attributed to two factors, namely (a) the higher status and the greater employability of their graduates compared to Greek university graduates, and (b) the improved financial situation of parents that allowed for the required increased expenditure for these universities.

The increase in European and American university graduates led to the formation of an assertive group in Cyprus that questioned the nationalist politics followed until 1974 and supported a more moderate policy. Among the group's members were many young communists (i.e. Greek Cypriots who had studied in great numbers in the Soviet Union and other countries of the Soviet Block). This new group of American and European university graduates questioned the validity of knowledge prevalent in Cyprus and supported a new kind of knowledge that would put more emphasis on scientific and technological rationality (Koyzis, 1997a, 1997b).

The determination to join the European Union also strengthened the move for change. The process towards the European Union began in 1972 with the signing of the Association Agreement, and continued in 1988 with the signing of the Protocol for a Customs Union (Republic of Cyprus, *Cyprus: The Way to Full EC Membership*, 1991: 18-19). These agreements underlined the importance for Cyprus of developing local expertise to prepare for the competitive relations of the international economy in which it was entering.

All these factors caused both a shift in power and a change in the legitimation of knowledge. More dramatically, it caused a deep change in what Dale has called 'politics of education', that is the processes and structures through which macro-societal expectations of education as an institution are identified and interpreted and constituted as an agenda for the education system (Dale, 1994). As could be expected, this change in knowledge legitimation changed the way the social and educational problems were constructed and interpreted and thus affected the popular stand towards the idea of establishing a university. A number of progressivists, liberals and communists formed a group under the name of 'Friends of the University' and campaigned to convince the general public of the need for a university. The group was spearheaded by the then minister of education (1976-1980) who convinced the ministerial council in 1978 to decide for the establishment of a university. Although the decision was made in principle only and was not supported with the earmarking of any money in the budget, psychologically it was a major step towards preparing the public. From then on the administration was increasingly pressured to proceed with the project.

It however took ten more years, and the determination and the skill of a new progressive administration, to take the steps required to implement this project. The initiative came from a private entrepreneur who, as an independent candidate for the 1988 presidential elections, campaigned for 'a new era' and used the symbolism of 'change' and 'innovation' to compensate for his lack of experience in the political arena. He promised the utilisation of the 'hundreds of competent new scientists who never had the opportunity or the possibility to offer their services and their knowledge for the common good', the establishment of a 'Scientific and Industrial Research Council' and the foundation of 'High Technology Units' as the means through which he wanted to give an outlet to 'the industriousness and entrepreneurship of the Cypriots'. The most important element in this symbolism of change, however, was 'the establishment and operation of an independent, autonomous and high-level university' which would contribute to 'the intellectual and economic development of Cyprus and would create free and reflective people' (Vasiliou, 1988: 2, 11, 17, 21, 33).

From the factors and context surrounding the decision to establish a university it can be inferred that this decision was not based on an incremental change in policy or ideology - it marked a major break from the past. There is only one possible explanation for such a major development: the importance such a project had for the state in its effort to cope with the increasing deficit of its legitimacy.

This notion coincided with the sense that all the strategies the state had used until then to shore up its legitimacy claims had failed. During the 1960s and especially after the 1964 inter-communal troubles, President Makarios subtly attempted to revive the old ideal of Union between Cyprus and Greece (Persianis, 1994/95). After the tragedy of 1974 the economic ideal won priority over the nationalist one with the administration promoting rapid economic development - it spoke of an economic miracle. It utilised also the expansion of social services (education and health) and material gratification. However, as a result of the repeated failures of inter-communal talks, especially their dramatic collapse in 1986, and the ensuing feeling of political in security, the state legitimacy deficit reached critical levels. This was especially painful for those politicians whose political advantage depended entirely on their long experience with the Cyprus problem. Material gratification as a strategy of legitimation also lost its force and there was a growing sense of anger among the tax-paying people towards policies of public overspending.

Under these circumstances new sources of legitimacy were sought; one of them was the establishment of a university. That the establishment of a university was used as a means for compensatory legitimation can be also inferred from the fact that the state preferred a state-based bi-communal to a communal university, despite the fact that the Turkish Cypriots' initiative to establish their own communal universities made the establishment of a bi-communal university redundant to a certain degree.

The importance of the University for state compensatory legitimation can also be gathered from the great flexibility the state showed with regard to the problem of the language of instruction at the University. In 1981 the House of Representatives unanimously voted for English as one of the languages of instruction. This provoked a bitter attack by both the nationalists in Cyprus and politicians and scholars from Greece (Persianis, 1994/5). That is why in 1989 the administration, in a smart move to avoid more conflict and further delay, made no provision for the language issue in the draft bill it submitted for the University. The administration justified this omission by arguing that such a provision was redundant since the two official languages of the island (Greek and Turkish) were inferred from the constitutional provision (Philippou, 1997). Nonetheless, the House of Representatives added an article stating specifically that the languages of instruction would be Greek and Turkish.

It is obvious that in its strong will to proceed with the establishment of a University the administration considered these problems as only minor and would not allow them to hinder procedures. They considered the international status and the high standards of the University to be the significant issues. Of course, the exclusion of the English language was a great contradiction since it largely limited the international character of the University by virtually excluding non-Greek speaking faculty and students. However, because a significant number of Greek and Greek Cypriot academics were already affiliated with foreign universities, the potential for the new University to participate in the international knowledge network was great. The administration was confident that the foreign affiliations of the academic staff to be appointed would pave the way for international networks and connect both the University and Cyprus to the Community of Europe.

The character of the University and the nature of the decision-making process as acts of compensatory legitimation

In the previous section it was argued that the act of establishing the University of Cyprus resulted primarily from the state's need to cope with its legitimacy deficit. In this section it will be argued that both the character of the University and the decision-making process itself are also due to the state's pursuit of legitimacy.

The University which has finally been established is very different from the universities of Greece. The majority of Greek universities offer professional training, and therefore most do not have graduate schools nor do they emphasise research (Frangos, 1978; Pesmazoglu, 1994; Rokos, 1991). The University of Cyprus, on the other hand, emphasises academic education and research. According to the University Prospectus (University of Cyprus, 1996-97: 109),

> 'The primary goals of the University are the promotion of scholarship through teaching and research and enhancement of the social and economic development of Cyprus. It is generally agreed that the quality of research at an educational institution will determine its place in the international academic community. It is also the primary means of enhancing scholarship. The University of Cyprus is committed to this vision and has significantly extended its research activity, in spite of its being a very new university. This strategy has resulted in a number of research programmes which cover a wide range of fields and which correspond to the current specialisations and University departments'.

The Chairman of the University Council also stressed the great importance of research:

> 'Research will help the University maintain a standard as high as that of similar international universities. This will attract good professors to come and work at the University of Cyprus. If the standard is lowered, the good professors will probably leave. Research is also directly linked with the students' education and the faculty professional development' (Triantafyllides, quoted in Eleftherotypia, 28 May 1995).

Although primary and secondary education has been modelled on Greek schools for almost two hundred years, the administration that came to power in 1988 believed that Cyprus needed a university of international status and high standards rather than a communal university which would essentially be a peripheral Greek university. A university after the Greek model would in fact be almost redundant, as Greek Cypriots could easily - and at no great expense - attend universities in Greece. In 1988 there were seven thousand Greek Cypriot students in Greek universities (Statistics of Education, 1992). The administration was confident that Cyprus needed a University of high reputation which would ensure internal and external recognition and attract top talent to both the faculty and the student bodies, resulting in more resources and more power for the University.

To achieve its objective of high standards the administration offered competitive salaries to prospective faculty; in so doing it hoped to attract professors from prestigious universities world-wide. Moreover, in the law about the University the state made a provision stipulating that the electoral committees include three scholars from universities representing three different foreign countries. The objectives of the administration were threefold: (a) to make the University internationally known; (b) to safeguard high standards; and (c) to safeguard the autonomy of the University by having foreign professors act as a kind of buffer zone against any local interference, favouritism or nepotism.

The administration assumed that the surest way to ensure high standards was to enact laws and regulations concerning the governance of the University. Thus, the law on the University made no provision for any type of assessment or evaluation in contrast to private schools of higher education which were required to have external assessment and accreditation (Law, 1/1987).

A university of international status and high standards implied that knowledge produced would be of international standard. It was thought that such a university would automatically serve the Cypriot society. Papamichael, the University Vice-Rector, echoed general sentiment when he asserted that Cypriot society could be served by both applied and pure research. Applied research has been already undertaken in co-operation with the Ministry of Health, the Planning Bureau, and Banks; pure research is reflected in publications in international scientific journals and contributes to raising the prestige of Cyprus among the international scientific community (Papamichael, quoted in Phileleftheros, 24 June 1997).

Another benefit for the Cyprus state can be seen in the development of a new academic discourse and a new communication code at the University. As one faculty member stressed,

> 'Our future partners in Europe will definitely not be willing to lower their own communication code... Consequently, we must acquire the economic, versatile, cold and aggressive language of science, which functions not unidimensionally but at multiple levels of high and very subtle shades of intellectual meanings' (Spanos, 1996).

The statement implied that the knowledge to be produced at the University must be different from that produced prior to its establishment. Until then there was only one public research centre, the 'Centre for Scientific Studies', which produced knowledge mainly in the fields of Cypriot history, archaeology and language. These studies essentially aimed to highlight the Greek Cypriot past as a way of proving the 'Greekness' of the island (Persianis, 1996). Although some of these studies were of very high standard, their narrow scope prevented them from acquiring international recognition.

The progressive administration which came in power in 1988 did not think highly of this kind of knowledge - not because of their communist affiliations or limited enthusiasm for Greece and Greek models, as they have been accused (Simerini, 19 July 1996) but because this kind of knowledge tended to secure legitimacy for the Greek community rather than the state. And because the administration wanted an institution that would help the state retrieve legitimacy, it preferred a university that would produce scientific knowledge through empirical research. This would promote a scientific and technological rationality that would help Cyprus leave behind its nationally-orientated, rather monolithic, knowledge, and tragic past, and move forward into a new era.

The administration also expected that a prevalence of this type of knowledge would contribute to or cause a change in the hierarchy of knowledge and in the balance of power on the island. As long as the community-orientated knowledge had the hegemony, the dominant and politically influential groups were Church leaders, nationalists, and the graduates of Greek universities, all of whom had prevented the establishment of a university for so long. Emphasis on scientific and technological knowledge on the other hand could encourage the internationally-orientated group to claim the upper hand and could lead to substantial changes in the political life of Cyprus.

To achieve the desired character of the University the administration utilised to a great degree the strategy of expertise. Twelve Greek professors affiliated with recognised foreign universities were appointed to form a Preparatory Committee (PC); their task was to make specific proposals regarding the character of the University and the processes to be followed to ensure it (Philippou, 1997).

Careful analysis of the strategy followed reveals two specific characteristics in the utilisation of the strategy of expertise as it applies to the University of Cyprus: the conscious political decision to promote expertise as a strategy: and the coupling of expertise with both participation and an emotional dimension. During the first thirty years of Cyprus' independent existence, government officials most often used foreign expertise in order to forestall crisis and manage opposition. They invited foreign experts to submit reports on important issues, and subsequently shelved any report long enough for it to lose its relevance and usefulness.

In the case of the University, however, the initiative came from a new politician who not only put forward the establishment of a university as an election pledge but who also realised that his successful election depended very much on keeping that pledge. Thus, he could not permit any delaying tactics of bureaucratic interference.[3]

The second characteristic is the unique coupling of expertise with two other strategies, those of participation and an emotional dimension. The 12 members of the PC represented a wide participation, and this naturally made the validity of their advice much stronger. Furthermore, their participation comprised a strong emotional dimension: it was an opportunity for the state to express its appreciation to Greek Cypriots who had distinguished themselves and honoured their motherland abroad in the noble field of science and scholarship; and it was a chance for those scholars to offer their services to their small country.

The strategy proved a great success. The PC's proposal had tremendous political potential. The proposal formed the basis for the drafting of the bill for the establishment of the University. Only one member of Parliament questioned some of the proposals of the PC, while all the others welcomed the proposals as the outcome of scientific expertise which they were grateful to have (Minutes of the House of Representatives, 13 July 1989: 2961-3039).

The same strategy was used also for legitimating the decision-making process. The fact that the administration asked its legal department to draft the bill on the basis of the PC's proposals signified that the establishment of a university was something unique which required expert knowledge. The appeal to the scientific paradigm was again meant to give the impression that the administration was acting both democratically and also in a very modern way, appropriate to the present technocratic era. The administration made no secret of its preferred model for the University (Philippou, 1997). By using the strategy of expertise, however, it managed to promote its favourite model and at the same time secure legitimacy for the state and its decision-making process.

They achieved this through careful selection of the professors appointed as members of the PC, who were for the most part professors of natural science and engineering. In a way, this was certainly representative of the kind of expertise Greek Cypriot professors have in foreign universities. There are very few professors of social and political sciences; the majority represent the so-called neutral, value-free sciences. On the other hand, the fact that they were selected because they were internationally known meant that they represented the international rather than the national knowledge network. The administration knew in advance that the selected professors were seriously committed to the hegemony of scientific knowledge, and this determined their selection. This was also a decisive factor in the recommendations they made.

The utilisation of the strategy of expertise is easily understood in a country torn by internal conflict and held in check due to lack of consensus. By appealing to the scientific paradigm with regard to both the character of the University and the decision-making process, the administration was able not only to manage the conflict but also to achieve unanimity in the implementation of the project. Scientific expertise was used to lend credibility to both the decision and the decision-making process. At the same time the administration described the character of the University as a synthesis of elements from American, British and Irish universities, taking into consideration the special features of Cyprus (Philippou, 1997), thus giving the impression that the decision was essentially technical and based on value-free, scientific criteria.

To sum up, it can be said that in the establishment of the University of Cyprus the state utilised the strategy of expertise by entrusting the framing of policy options to experts. This strategy not only secured legitimacy for the state but also institutionalised a new kind of knowledge.

Conclusion

Analysis of the circumstances, procedures and motivation behind establishing the University in Cyprus reveals a state initiative of major political and social significance. Three important features in this initiative stand out:

(a) it was a venture in a project in higher education, which was completely new for Cyprus;

(b) it was a venture touching a constitutionally very sensitive area in a country bound with an unchangeable constitution;

(c) it was a venture in a field which had generated enormous political conflict for sixty years.

The paper has argued that such a bold state initiative can only be explained as the state's effort to secure compensatory legitimation. And in the case of the Cypriot state it has been shown that there were specific reasons that made legitimacy both extremely difficult and highly crucial.

Up to that time the state had used material gratification and legalisation to cope with its legitimacy crisis. In the case of the University, however, it utilised the strategy of expertise. This strategy secured for the state three advantages:

(a) it could legitimate the character it wanted to give to the University as the outcome of an objective, scientific, value-free, expert, recommendation;

(b) it could legitimate the very delicate and nationally precarious decision of preferring a state-based university linked to the international community of scholarship to a community-based one which would be a replica of Greek universities;

(c) it secured additional legitimacy for itself by presenting the processes as both democratic and scientific, and as an initiative designed to pay tribute and offer recognition to Greek Cypriots who had distinguished themselves abroad in the noble area of intellectual activity.

There is no doubt that the legitimation of the character of the University and especially its differences from the Greek universities was rendered easier by the already existing surplus of professionally trained people in Cyprus. This situation allowed the state to emphasise academic knowledge and research as University priorities as opposed to professional training which Greek universities offered. On the other hand, there is no doubt either that the impression which the 1989 administration tried to give that the decision of the character of the University was based on the recommendations of experts and therefore was value-free, scientific and objective, is completely inaccurate and misleading. Moreover, it in no way reflects the very complex nature of the problem, as it excludes the wider perspective for understanding the dialectics between the state and education.

The normative implications of that policy decision have been enormous for Cyprus as can be seen more clearly today. A group of nationalist intellectuals under the name of 'University Initiative Group' are invoking several constitutional, cultural and intellectual reasons to change the state character of the University or establish additionally a second Greek communal university (University Initiative Group, 1996). The intellectual and social dynamics created by the University, however, are such that even if the new administration which came in power in 1993 had wanted to abolish the University, it would have been impossible. Such a move would incur an enormous political cost to the state, both nationally and internationally.

In fact the intellectual and social dynamics currently act in exactly the opposite way. The initial decision about the University provided for only ten departments, (Greek studies, Philosophy and History, Education, Foreign Languages and Literatures, Social and Political Sciences, Turkish Studies, Mathematics and Statistics, Natural Sciences, Computer Science, Economics, and Public and Business Administration), mainly due to limited financial resources and the envisaged professional training needs of the country.[4] However, only two years after the opening of the University, political and other expedience led to the approval of two more departments and today there are popular demands for engineering, medicine, and law schools, which are claimed to be justified for economic, scientific and national reasons (ETEK, 1997; Theocharous, 1997; Angelides, 1997; SEM, 1997).

All this implies that the decision of the state to establish the University of Cyprus has been catalytic not only in the intellectual but also in the social and political fields. The establishment of a University in Cyprus represents much more than the establishment of a simple educational institution. It represents the institutionalisation of scientific and objective knowledge and the determination to produce new knowledge in Cyprus, and it has been the cause for a change in the knowledge hierarchy, the balance of social and political power in Cyprus and the politics of education. The dialectic relationships of the University with the society are also expected to act as catalysts in the societal development of the island.

Notes

1. In the academic year 1998-9 the number of universities in the north increased to six and the number of students to 19,185 (Athanasiades, 1998).

2. Their number in the academic year 1997-8 was 5,491 (Statistics of Education).

3. A Greek Cypriot professor at the University of Southern California reported a very interesting experience during a visit to the Minister of Education. He related that the Director General availed himself of a short absence of the Minister to stress to him that it is the D.Gs who decide and not the ministers. Today, when the University of Cyprus is producing new knowledge, government officials resent any criticism from the University with respect to the quality and the standards of their work and for the most part have been defensive and hostile rather than co-operative. Some very illustrative examples are the Ministry of Education's reactions (a) to the criticism in the case of the low performance of Greek Cypriot children in mathematics and science in the international IEA's Survey (TIMSS) (Cyprus Mail, 18 Dec. 1996), (b) to the criticism made by the Chairman of the University Department of Education (Phileleftheros, 13 July 1997) for the backwardness of Greek Cypriot secondary education, and (c) to the criticism made in the Unesco Appraisal Study of the Cyprus education system (Unesco, 1997; Phileleftheros, 25 May 1997). The government officials are still unwilling to concede to academics and experts any part of the hegemonic power they have enjoyed for so long.

4. In March 1998 the faculty of the University consisted of 19 professors, 46 associate professors, 52 assistant professors and 40 lecturers (University Senate Minutes, 6 May 1998). The number of students in the same academic year were 2217. Of them 2161 came from Cyprus, 55 from Greece and 1 from another country. Undergraduate students pay no fees, while graduates pay 2000 Cyprus pounds yearly (about US$ 4,000). The University Budget for the year 1998 was CY£19,123,749 (about US$ 38,500,000).

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MANAGEMENT IN THE GREEK SYSTEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION

CHRISTOS SAITIS

Abstract – *This article aims to outline the relationship between the Ministry of Education and the institutions of higher education in Greece. The co-ordination of this relationship is an issue vital for both the academic institutions - which require a degree of administrative independence to do their work on behalf of society; and for the State - which wishes to assure itself that the institutions of higher education are serving adequately the needs of society. The article concludes by arguing that the Ministry of Education exercises its control in the higher education sector through laws and regulations and intervenes in the day-to-day administrative work of the academic institutions. The institutions in higher education are entirely subordinate to the State and have a limited voice in the decisions affecting their future development. Therefore, ministerial supervision may be considered as a case of 'bureaucratic overcentralisation' rather than as 'guidance' of the State.*

Introduction

In this study we focus on the organisation and management practice of Greek academic institutions and their relationship with the State, aspects of higher education which are becoming increasingly significant in many democratic countries. The co-ordination of the relationship between the State and institutes of higher education (IHE) is as old as the institutions themselves and is an issue vital for both. In the first place, institutions require a degree of independence to do their work justly and properly, on behalf of society; and in the second place the State wants to be assured that the IHE are adequately serving the needs of society, providing an efficient and comprehensive system.

The problem of integrating and co-ordinating institutions of university learning into a coherent system of higher education occurs in every country because in today's world the IHE perform an indispensable public service. The provision of such a service is increasingly expensive, however, and is made so by the number of students and faculties involved and by the cost of expensive facilities such as library resources and laboratory equipment. In some countries costs are mainly carried by the private sector, while in Greece, almost all funds are provided by the State, and that of course implies that the relationship between higher education and the state is critically important.

The current scene of higher education in Greece

Higher education is offered at a variety of educational institutions, which can be divided into two main sectors: University-level education and the non-University level education. These institutions are financed and supervised by the State and are organised in line with specific laws which deal with their operations.

University-level education

Historical development

Greece has a long tradition in the fields of philosophical and scientific thinking and education, initiated by the famous philosophical schools of the classical period such as the Academy of Plato and the Lyceum of Aristotle. It is therefore not surprising that soon after the constitution of the new free Greek State, the first university institution, the University of Athens, was founded (in 1837). The university was established according to the German pattern (Dimaras, 1978) and included four faculities: theology, law, medicine and philosophy.

The Greek system of higher education developed rather slowly in the beginning (Saitis, 1988). Two other institutions, the National Technical University and the School of Fine Arts, were founded in Athens almost simultaneously with the University of Athens; the former was only granted university status in 1914, and the latter in 1930.

In 1920 two new institutions of higher education were added to the list of full universities. These were: (a) the Athens School of Economics and Business Sciences (now the Athens University of Economics and Business) and (b) the Agricultural College of Athens (now the Agricultural University of Athens). By 1920 Greece had four IHE - all of them with their seats in Athens. This leads to the conclusion that the elementary strategy relative to the full development of the country as a whole was ignored.

The first Greek university outside the capital, the University of Thessaloniki, was founded in Northern Greece in 1925. Unlike the university of Athens, the new university placed an emphasis on certain distinct features of higher learning. For specialisation purposes, each faculty was subdivided into several departments, many of which were totally new to the Greek academic community (Margaritis, 1976).

Eleven years later another IHE, the Panteios School of Political Sciences, (now the Panteios University of Social and Political Sciences) was established, again in Athens. By 1958, two Schools of industrial studies in Piraeus (now

University of Piraeus) and Thessaloniki (now Macedonian University of Economics and Social Sciences) had received charters.[1] These institutions are an outgrowth of the Free Schools of Industrial Studies which were founded in 1938 and 1948 respectively.

Thus, in the 1950s, the Greek system of university education includes three universities and six university-level schools, all of which were located in urban centres either in the capital, in Piraeus, or in Thessaloniki. This fact has led many Greek peasants, who place a high value on educating their children, to see these cities as the best place to live in, so that the exodus of the population from the rural areas to the above cities, between 1950 and 1960, can be partially ascribed to the centralisation of the universities as well as other government services in the three big cities.

In the 1960s the second phase in the development of Greek higher education started. In fact, the social pressure for greater access to higher education, the need for further economic and cultural development (especially in outlying areas) and the demand to modernise the structure and organisation of the Greek universities led to a sequence of decisions. The main developments during this phase, which is still in progress, are the creation of a series of new universities in the regions and attempts at further modernisation of the structure and organisation of the Greek universities. From 1964 to 1992, ten new universities – the University of Patras (1964), the University of Ioannina (1970), the University of Thrace (1973), the University of Crete (1973), the Technical University of Crete (1977), the University of the Aegean (1984), the Ionian University (1984), the University of Thessaly (1984), the Charokopeio University (1990) and the Open University (1992) in Patras – were established, bringing the number of higher education institutions in Greece to a total of nineteen (see Table 1).

From the above description it is clear that in the last thirty years higher education in Greece has received special attention and assistance by the State. This is indicated by the founding of new universities in the regions as well as by a number of legislative measures (e.g. Law 815 /1978, Law 1268 /1982, Law 2083 /1992) aiming to match the Greek higher education system more closely to the ever-growing scientific technological and social demands of the country. Associated with this growth are a number of problems that the Greek government has to face. Among the most important of these are (a) the concentration of students in Athens, Piraeus and Thessaloniki, which between them absorb 76.9% of all the student population in the higher education sector (see Table 1); (b) the problem of student emigration;[2] and (c) the problem of the highly centralised, highly bureaucratised politico-administrative system within which education operates (OECD, 1997: 191).

TABLE 1: Teaching Staff and Student Population in Greek Universities

Institution /Faculty-Department	Academic Year 1997-1998		
	Students*	All Teaching Staff**	Staff /Student Ratio
1. UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS			
Faculty of Theology	1708	41	1 /41.6
Faculty of Law, Economic and Political Sciences	6041	189	1 /32.0
Faculty of Arts	7239	231	1 /31.3
Faculty of Sciences	4051	407	1 /10.0
Faculty of Health Science	3578	836	1 /4.2
Independent Departments			
Dept of Sciences Physical Education and Sports	1885	82	1 /23.0
Dept of Primary Education	1431	33	1 /43.3
Dept of Pre–school Education	1861	17	1 /109.4
Dept of Communication and Mass Media	499	15	1 /33.2
Dept of Music Studies	164	10	1 /16.4
Dept of Theatre Studies	288	11	1 /26.1
Dept of Philosophy and History of Science	147	14	1 /10.5
2. NATIONAL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS			
Dept of Civil Engineering	1024	65	1 /15.7
Dept of Electrical and Computer Engineering	1150	74	1 /15.5
Dept of Architecture	693	104	1 /6.6
Dept of Chemical Engineering	829	76	1 /10.9
Dept of Mechanical and Mineral Engineering	324	34	1 /9.5
Dept of Mechanical Engineering	895	42	1 /21.3
Dept of Rural and Surveying Engineering	618	35	1 /17.6
Dept of Naval Architecture and Marine Engineering	279	16	1 /17.4
General Department	-	116	-
3. ARISTITELE UNIVERSITY OF THESSALONIKI			
Faculty of Theology	1882	52	1 /36.2
Faculty of Law and Economic	4309	114	1 /37.8

Faculty of Arts	5037	225	1 /22.3
Faculty of Sciences	4282	346	1 /12.3
Faculty of Health Sciences	3292	602	1 /5.4
Faculty of Geotechnical Sciences	2438	254	1 /9.5
Faculty of Engineering	5036	303	1 /16.6
Faculty of Fine Arts	788	35	1 /22.5
Faculty of Pedagogical Studies	1020	56	1 /18.2
Independent Departments			
Dept of Science of Physical Education and Sports	1712	87	1 /19.6
Dept of Journalism and Mass Media Studies	180	5	1 /36.0
Branch of Primary and Pre-school Education (in Florina).	315	14	1 /22.5
4. ATHENS UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS AND BUSINESS			
Dept of Economics	854	23	1 /37.1
Dept of Business Administration	1261	23	1 /54.8
Dept of Statistics	275	14	1 /19.6
Dept of International and European Economic Studies	427	15	1 /28.4
Dept of Management Science and Marketing	351	11	1 /31.9
Dept of Applied Informatics	427	21	1 /20.3
5. AGRICULTURAL UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS			
Dept of Agriculture	498	31	1 /16.0
Dept of Animal Production	185	17	1 /10.8
Dept of Agricultural Biology and Biotechnology	170	20	1 /8.5
Dept of Agricultural Economics	237	16	1 /14.8
Dept of Agricultural Industries	259	24	1 /10.7
Dept of Land Reclamation and Agriculture Engineering	204	13	1 /15.6
General Department	-	23	-
6. SCHOOL OF FINE ARTS			
Dept of Pictorial Arts	770	44	1 /17.5
7. PANTEIO UNIVERSITY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES			
Dept of Political Sciences and History	946	20	1 /47.3
Dept of International and European Relations	1893	25	1 /75.7
Dept of Communication and Mass Media Studies	409	12	1 /34.0

Dept of Public Administration	1995	29	1 /68.7
Dept of Economic and Regional Development	1641	24	1 /68.3
Dept of Sociology	1848	22	1 /84.0
Dept of Social Policy and Social Anthropology	576	14	1 /41.1
Dept of Psychology	330	11	1 /30.0
General Department of Law	-	23	-
8. UNIVERSITY OF PIRAEUS			
Dept of Economics	1196	18	1 /66.4
Dept of Business Administration	1031	28	1 /36.8
Dept of Statistics and Insurance Science	780	11	1 /70.9
Dept of Banking and Financial Management	419	8	1 /52.3
Dept of Industrial Management	340	9	1 /37.7
Dept of Maritime Studies	560	15	1 /37.3
Dept of Informatics	323	12	1 /26.9
9. MACEDONIA UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES			
Dept of Economics	749	23	1 /32.5
Dept of Business Administration	877	17	1 /51.5
Dept of International and European Economics and Social Sciences	368	10	1 /36.8
Dept of Accounting and Finance	402	9	1 /44.6
Dept of Applied Informatics	364	19	1 /19.1
Dept of Educational and Social Politics	50	-	-
10. UNIVERSITY OF PATRAS			
Faculty of Science	2276	202	1 /11.2
Faculty of Health Science	871	130	1 /6.7
Faculty of Engineering	3025	156	1 /19.3
Faculty of Humanics and Social Sciences	736	45	1 /16.3
Independent Departments			
Dept of Economics (in Agrinio)	417	10	1 /41.7
11. UNIVERSITY OF IOANNINA			
Faculty of Arts	2211	98	1 /22.5
Faculty of Science	1602	144	1 /11.1
Faculty of Education	851	26	1 /32.7
Independent Departments			
Dept of Headicine	665	111	1 /5.9
12. DEMOCRITOS UNIVERSITY OF THRACE			

Faculty of Engineering	1239	87	1 /14.2
Independent Departments			
Dept of Law	1749	45	1 /38.8
Dept of Medicine	419	63	1 /6.6
Dept of Science of Physical Education and Sports	726	18	1 /40.3
Dept of Primary Education	245	18	1 /13.6
Dept of Nursery Education	270	9	1 /30.0
Dept of History and Ethnology	256	15	1 /17.0
Dept of Greek Literature	187	2	1 /93.5
Dept of Social Administration	113	-	-
13. UNIVERSITY OF CRETE			
Faculty of Arts	876	58	1 /15.1
Faculty of Science	1427	113	1 /12.6
Faculty of Health Science	509	92	1 /5.5
Faculty of Social Sciences	657	24	1 /27.3
Faculty of Education	664	35	1 /18.9
14. TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY OF CRETE			
Dept of Electronic and Computer Engineering	169	12	1 /14.1
Dept of Production and Management Engineering	272	11	1 /24.7
Dept of Mineral Resources Engineering	142	12	1 /11.8
General Department	-	13	-
15. UNIVERSITY OF AEGEAN			
Faculty of Social Studies	447	30	1 /14.9
Faculty of Administrative Studies	411	12	1 /34.2
Faculty of Science	289	11	1 /26.2
Faculty of Greek and Mediterranean Studies	604	17	1 /35.5
16. IONIAN UNIVERSITY			
Dept of Foreign Languages Translation and Interpreting	266	11	1 /24.1
Dept of Music Studies	145	3	1 /48.3
Dept of History	228	13	1 /17.5
Dept of Archieve and Library Sciences	137	5	1 /27.4
17. UNIVERSITY OF THESSALY			
Faculty of Humanities	300	12	1 /25.0
Faculty of Technological Sciences	580	38	1 /15.2
Faculty of Health Science	323	17	1 /19.0

Independent Departments			
Dept of Science Physical Education and Sports	122	3	1 /40.6
18. CHAROKOPIO UNIVERSITY OF HOME ECONOMICS			
Dept of Home Economics	125	4	1 /31.2
Dept of Dietics	125	5	1 /25.0
Total	**114,778**	**7,189**	**1 /15.6**

Notes:* "inactive" students are not included (viz. student that have remained at University much longer than the minimum period of time to complete their studies).

** It includes special teaching staff (E.E.P.).

Source: MNERA, Athens, 1997.

Academic structure

The institutions of university education are composed of faculties. The faculties are divided into departments which constitute the basic academic unit. The syllabus of a department leads to a uniform degree. Responsibility for formulating teaching and research policy in connection with the subject areas for which degrees are awarded now lies with the departments. The sections are responsible for implementing the basic policy decisions taken by their respective departments. Each department is run by a general council which formulates teaching research policy and exercises control over all of the department's affairs.

The teaching and research staff consists of full professors, associate professors, assistant professors and lecturers. Full professors and associate professors have tenure.

Administrative structure

The organisation, structure and management system of Greek universities are similar. According to Law No 1268 /1982, the highest governing body is the Senate. It has principal authority in academic and financial matters and consists of the Rector, the two Vice-Rectors, the Deans of the Faculties and representatives of the teaching and special administrative staff as well as of the students of the institution. The Rectorial Council, responsible for the implementation of relevant decisions of the Senate, consists of the Rector, two Vice Rectors, one representative of the students and one representative of the administrative staff as an adviser.

At the level of Faculty and Department, there are the following bodies: the General Assembly of Faculty, the Deanship, the General Assembly of the Department, and the Board of the Department. These bodies consist of members of teaching staff, special administrative staff and students of the Faculty or Department. The Dean of Faculty is elected by the members of Faculty for a three-year term. The Head of the Department and the Director of the Sector are elected by the members of department and sector, respectively. Finally, the Head of the Secretarial office is elected by the Senate, for a three-year term. It should be noted that all the above officers and members of university bodies are appointed by the Minister of Education on the nomination of the Senate.

In conclusion we can say that firstly, the university officers of each level have limited powers – compared to those of some other public organisations – in the sense that the power lies with a decision-making body comprising either the whole staff of the unit or at least representatives of each group. Secondly, the collective bodies of Greek universities do not include members outside the university and so one might say that policy and power lies in the hands of academics and students. Finally, the existing structure of university bodies lead to a 'serious' fragmentation of university work. Particularly, the university organs constitute a 'chain' which place responsibility for final decisions in the hands of upper level committees, Senate or Rectorial Council. There is no doubt about the democratisation of the decision-making process within the field of university government. The problem, however, is the efficiency of university management because as we shall see below, the administrative apparatuses outside the academic sector (e.g. Ministry of Education, Ministry of Finance, Council of the State, etc.) raise questions about the efficiency of Greek universities.

Non-university level education

The Institutes of Technological Education (TEI) belong, together with the Universities, to the higher level of education. The TEI are self-governed legal entities subject to public law and receive financial support from the State. In other words, as in the case of universities, there is no private provision of TEIs in Greece.

Historical development

Until 1970, most higher technical schools were in private hands. The exceptions were three State Higher Schools for sub-engineers in Athens and Thessaloniki. The demands for higher technical and vocational education were chiefly met by various private schools and these three state schools. The ever increasing number of young people in higher education and the growing demands of the labour market for highly trained personnel in the 1960s made it unavoidable for the State to take the necessary steps towards organising the non-university higher technical education on a realistic and systematic basis. The outcome was the law for higher technical education of 1970, which established the legal frame for a modern system of technical training.

Act 652 /1970 provided for the creation of State-operated Centres of Higher Technical Education (KATEE in Greek) with many branches of specialisation, which gradually became the main institutions for non-university tertiary technical training. The objective of these Centres is 'to provide its students with the necessary theoretical and practical knowledge, so that they may become higher level technical specialists, able to assist in the development of the national economy'. In 1983 Act No 1404 reorganised the Institutions of Higher Technological Education. By this Act the hitherto controversial KATEEs were abolished and replaced by Technological Educational Institutions, known as TEI. Greece currently has 14 TEIs (see Table 2).

Despite the rapid development of regional TEIs in the last two decades, the student population of these institutions is relatively small and their contribution to technological higher education rather limited in this respect. In the academic year 1996-97 there were approximately 70,384 students at the TEIs; 50% of them were concentrated in the Athens/Piraeus and Thessaloniki urban centres, where only three TEIs are located. The remaining 50% are divided among the other eleven TEIs (see Table 2).

Academic and administrative structure

The TEIs are distinguished from universities, in term of their purpose, function, staff qualification and hierarchy, the length of programmes, and the level of studies they offer. However, their organisation and operation is similar to those of the universities. Each TEI comprises at least two faculties and each faculty at least two departments. Each department is subdivided into different classes. Each class corresponds to a specific academic and technological level. Freedom of academic teaching is guaranteed within the framework of the curriculum, scientific research and the communication of ideas in the TEI.

The permanent teaching staff are grouped according to three scales: laboratory professors, assistant professors and professors. Within the framework laid down in Educational Act 1404 /1983, the existing administrative structure of TEIs is the following: Assembly of TEI, TEI Council, President and Vice-President. At the level of Faculty and Department, there are the following bodies and officers: General Assembly of Faculty, Director of Faculty, General Assembly of Department, Head of Department. The governing bodies of the TEI are elected by all members of teaching staff, representatives of the administrative staff and the students.

TABLE 2: Teaching Staff and Student Population in Greek T.E.I.s.

Technical Educational Institutions	Academic Year 1996-1997		
	Students*	All Teaching Staff**	Staff/Student Ratio
1. TEI of Athens	16619	1469	1/11.3
2. TEI of Thessaloniki	10240	1001	1/10.2
3. TEI of Patra	5009	438	1/11.4
4. TEI of Larissa	6427	533	1/12.0
5. TEI of Heraklio	4895	678	1/7.2
6. TEI of Kozani	3556	230	1/15.4
7. TEI of Messologi	1721	177	1/9.7
8. TEI of Piraeus	8392	632	1/13.2
9. TEI of Kavala	2627	227	1/11.5
10. TEI of Serres	3089	281	1/11.0
11. TEI of Chalkida	3011	242	1/12.4
12. TEI of Kalamata	1649	104	1/15.8
13. TEI of Hepeiros	1316	229	1/5.7
14. TEI of Lamia	1833	261	1/7.0
Total	**70,384**	**6,502**	**1/10.8**

Notes: * (1) temporary data
(2) "inactive" students are not included

** It includes nonpermanent teaching staff (62.4 percent).

Source: MNERA, Athens, 1997

However democratic the structure might seem, there are some doubts about the effectiveness of the management within the TEI in the sense that: (a) most of TEI decisions need ministerial approval (see below), and (b) the members of governing bodies (mainly the President, the Vice-President and the Heads of Departments) are not elected according to their administrative ability but according to criteria foreign to their experience and skills.

Central administration: the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs (MNERA)

Mission and role

The central education authority in Greece is the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs (MNERA). It is the role and mission of MNERA to develop and lead educational policy (Law No. 175/1973), and it is therefore the state which carries the responsibility for ensuring the provision of knowledge and national identity to all children and young people of Greece through schools and universities.

This ministry is a 'productive' public agent because education is, without any doubt, the most important and efficient enterprise on which the substructure of a nation is based. It increases the flow of skills and assists people to acquire new technologies. Education, therefore, helps to strengthen the economy, for it is an investment in human power (Kokkotas, 1978; Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1985; Cohn, 1979). However, quantity of education by itself is not enough. It must be geared to the needs of the people and prepare them for life and change.

The function of the Ministry is defined by law as the promotion and dissemination of education and religion. In the field of education the Ministry is responsible for the integrated planning and coordination for the development of improvement of educational services at different levels and in different areas. It also provides guidance and advice to regional education authorities, and operates a number of educational establishments, such as the Institutions of Higher Education. Finally, it assumes various responsibilities relating to the administration and management of these establishments.

Organisation structure and staffing

The MNERA is the highest administrative unit of education and it is directly under the jurisdiction of government. Its task is to execute the policy of the government, report to government on educational developments and work at all levels of education. Supreme responsibility for the function performed by the Ministry falls upon the Minister who is usually of Cabinet rank. He or she is appointed by the President of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Prime Minister and is therefore responsible to Parliament, to Government and to public opinion for the decisions of the civil service in the Ministry. The undersecretary Ministry and the Secretary-General are politically appointed and are the Minister's chief assistants. The Minister and the chief assistants are assisted by a small civil service staff organised in what is known as the Private Offices.

The Minister, Undersecretary and Secretary General are assisted in their work by the Heads of General Divisions, each of whom is concerned with certain aspects of the Ministry's work. Following Presidential Decree No, 147 /1976, the General divisions of the Ministry are divided up into divisions and each division into departments, each of which deals with a clearly defined block of work and is usually under the charge of the head of division. There are also 'independent' divisions and departments, such as the Inspectorate, the Library division, and so on. These perform duties which, in one way or another, concern all the other departments. Close contacts are maintained between the departments on all matters of common concern and this principle is followed throughout the central administration of the MNERA.

Today the Central Service of the MNERA consists of 6 General Divisions, 35 divisions and about 115 Departments; in 1995 it had a total staff of about 947. An analytic breakdown of the composition of staff in the Central Service of the MNERA shows that:

- 245 are graduates of university-level institutions.
- 52 are graduates of technological education institutions.
- 255 are graduates of secondary schools.
- 46 are graduates of primary schools.
- 350 are teachers who have been detached from their schools to undertake various educational and occasionally administrative task in the MNERA.

From the above description it is evident that:

(a) The administrative structure of the MNERA is horizontal. All Divisions are under the Secretary-General, while further up the structure, and depending on their role and function, they fall under the authority of the respective Deputy Ministers and/or the Minister himself. The Minister nevertheless remains responsible for all activities. This type of organisation leads to the over-concentration of important administrative responsibilities under the jurisdiction of the Secretary-General and the Ministers – in spite of considerable delegation of power to the heads of divisions and departments.

(b) While the nature of the composition of the staff of the central services of MNERA may be sufficient for the day-to day executive process, it does not induce one to believe that employees can contribute very much to the promotion of educational development strategies. This is because in the first place, they spend nearly all their time in fulfilling executive functions (e.g. in considering appointments and the promotion of teaching and administrative The administrative structure of the MNERA is horizontal. All Divisions are under the Secretary-General, while further up the structure, and depending on their role and function, they fall under the authority of the respective Deputy Ministers and/or the Minister himself. The Minister nevertheless remains responsible for all activities. This type of orstaff), and secondly, the employees are not qualified to carry out research on educational matters, or to make suggestions for the formulation of educational policies.

(c) There is not a rational distribution of employees among the divisions and departments, with some having one or two, others two or three, and some more than five employees.

Today, it is increasingly being recognised that there is a need to reorganise the Central Service of the MNERA so that greater efficiency and delegation of work can be achieved (Exoysia, 1996).

However, this awareness has not led to reform, as public administration has remained impervious to changes for the past decades, despite the severe criticism that has been addressed in its direction (Makrydimitris, 1996). Restoration plans have had to be shelved and it is doubtful whether they will find their way to Parliament. Consequently, more of the aims of reorganisation can be attained since the Greek Government does not seem to try hard enough (Kathimerini, 1996).

Relationship between the MNERA and the IHE

Statement of the administrative sectors

Our concern in this study lies in the analysis of the administrative activities connected with the MNERA and the IHE. These activities belong to the following sectors:

- Organisation and established of the IHE.
- Personnel (Appointed according to qualifications).
- Financial Budgeting and Expenditure.
- Students (Admission to the IHE and scholarships).

- Arrangements for international and national conferences or meeting of teaching staff.

What a country needs is a contemporary administrative system in order to correspond with the current public needs. Therefore, good management can act as an instrument that helps formulate policy under political direction, establish how to achieve aims, get the parts working together, and see how well the operation is doing and identify any necessary modification (Garrett, 1980).

How the administrative work is carried out

Example from the financial sector: budgeting in the IHE

Almost all the activities of an IHE involve the expenditure of money. The financial sector, therefore, can be considered as the most important area of a university's organisation. The main function of this sector is the drawing up and the approval of a Budget. In the broadest sense the 'Budget' itemises the organisation's sources of income and describes how the income will be spent over a specific period of time. The period covered by a budget is usually a year, referred to as a financial or fiscal year.

Like other public units of public administration, the Greek Institutions of Higher Education are, in budgeting terms, firmly tied to a comprehensive system of government resource allocation and expenditure control. This means academic institutions are bound by the Central Government budget. The procedure for preparation and approving the IHE budgets follows the stages given below:

Stage A: Activities within the IHE

- Decisions of Faculties about expenditure for the next financial year;
- Sending budget documents to the Financial Division of University or TEI administration for the formation of a budget;
- Preparation of the Institution's budget by the appropriate Division and then sent to Senate or TEI's Council for approval;
- Senate's or TEI's Council approval obtained it is sent for typing and then to MNERA.

Stage B: MNERA's activities

- Registration of the budget by the MNERA;
- Referral to the appropriate section of the financial management of MNERA;
- Estimation and classification of expenditure checked;

- Ministerial decision drawn up and signed by the Minister;
- Forwarded to the Ministry of Finance.

Stage C: Activities in the Ministry of Finance

- Receipt of the budget by the appropriate Division and Section;
- Ministerial decision about the approval or otherwise of the budget drawn up;
- Final decision made and Minister's signature obtained;
- Notification of decision to the MNERA and to the IHE.

Stage D: Activities in the IHE

Once the size of the Ministry of Finance's grant is known the IHE can put into operation its budget according to their instruction. At first glance, the above-mentioned procedure may be considered short. The main problem, however, is in the utilisation of particular accounting methods in the exploitation of the public money. For example, a special service of the Ministry of Finance in the MNERA checks and controls all university and TEI spending. Our experience suggests that for the same university matter (e.g. filling of an academic vacancy) the Ministry of Finance checks and controls it at least four times (Saitis, 1985).

While, clearly, the Ministry of Finance is the centre of the government machine and it is its Minister who is responsible for overall financial policy, it is nevertheless important to note that:

- the IHE do not receive their money in equal monthly installments but they may receive the first 15% of the total amount and then the 25% and so on. As a result, IHE do not receive all the money approved by the government;
- transposition of the appropriations from one code number to another code number is forbidden, since it has not been approved by Parliament. In such a case, special procedures have to be taken to secure the Ministry of Finance's approval. Transposition of university, or TEI funds thus requires a new bureaucratic process similar to that for the approval of the Budget.

It is obvious then, that Greek IHE are not free to manage their own money as they wish to do, and the existing budgeting system is overcentralised and inflexible. Centralised financing means more centralised control and indicates the direct intervention of politicians in the various aspects of public administration in contrast to other countries (e.g. Great Britain) where universities are autonomous self-governing corporations (Saitis, 1986: 237-242) which are, in budgetary terms, firmly tied to a comprehensive system of government resource allocation and expenditure control.

Example from the Personnel Sector: request for leave of a member of the teaching staff for educational reasons

Here our example will be the request for leave by a member of the teaching staff of the TEI for educational reasons. According to the law (No 1404 /1983 article 20) a member of the teaching staff must submit his/her application and all necessary documents to the MNERA through the appropriate department and the TEI's Council. More particularly this administrative work requires the following procedure:

Stage A: Activities within the TEI

- Teaching Staff Member's application registered with the appropriate Department;
- Chairman of Department/appropriate clerk/studies all the data and then writes his suggestion for the general Assembly of the Department;
- General Assembly of the Department decides about teacher's application;
- Minutes ratified by the appropriate clerk, and a document drawn up for the central administration of TEI;
- Document goes through the departmental hierarchy for Chairman's signature;
- Document sent to the Central Administration (for the council of TEI);
- General Secretary forwards document to relevant section;
- A suggestion is made regarding the request for teacher's leave, and this is sent to the Council of TEI;
- The Council meets to issue a decision;
- Minutes are ratified, and a clerk draws up a document for the MNERA.
- Chairman's signature is obtained;
- Registrar of TEI sends it to the MNERA.

Stage B: Activities within the MNERA

- Register of the MNERA/clerk.
- Appropriate department.
- Appropriate clerk/checking all documents/drawing up a document-decision about teacher's leave for educational reasons.
- Hierarchy/General Secretary's signature.
- Typing of document/Sending it to the appropriate TEI.

Stage C: Activities within the TEI

- Register of the TEI/ General Secretary.
- Appropriate clerk notifies the Ministerial approval to appropriate teacher/ Department.

When we consider this procedure in an analytic manner, we note that there are 19 bureaucratic interventions, involving approximately 70 people over a period of four months. The question which arises is, naturally: Is such a procedure necessary? At first sight, the Minister's approval could be considered as a necessity in the sense that the MNERA is responsible for the national education policy and so it has to control and coordinate all the activities of IHE. The implication here is that institutional management is controlled and influenced by the Ministry of Education, while the relations between MNERA and IHE are characterised by day-to-day activities and routine matters.

However, one could imagine a different state of affairs, where the decision is arrived at by the appropriate TEI's Council. In this way the procedure would be shorter, with the TEI's administration taking responsibility for its own activities. An added advantage would be that it is this council which knows the needs of its own institution, and presumably understands them more than those in the top-management positions in the Central administration of the MNERA.

On the basis of what has been said, one could conclude that, from a managerial point of view, some of the Ministerial approvals can be considered as needless work in the sense that the MNERA is a primary, self-existent unit of the State, and as such should engage more in staff tasks (e.g. developing educational policies), and less in day-to-day bureaucratic activities. As things stand, the present methods of administration entail over-staffing at the centre, without providing adequately the services required by the country. The characteristic features of the Greek administrative system could be therefore said to be centralisation, over-staffing, complexity and traditional methods of work. As a result, there is very little difference between the system as it is now, and the way it was in the past (Saitis, 1986: 277-289).

Towards greater efficiency in the system of higher education

From the above analysis we realise that the Greek IHE are not organised or managed in a way which has enabled them to cope with the problems of modern society. We therefore propose a series of changes in the structure of the IHE's administrative system. A programme of reform should include administrative decentralisation, a change in financial regulations, an internal reorganisation of the IHE, and a restructuring of MNERA. It is to a consideration of these aspects that we now turn.

Administrative decentralisation

Within the field of IHE, the phrase 'administrative decentralisation' means that the decisions about the university problems and affairs should be taken by the Senate or TEI's Councils, or management of the IHE. Actually, according to the Greek Constitution, the IHE are self-governed organisations supervised and financed by the state. It implies that the IHE should have their charters and function as 'self-governing' public institutions while the 'supervision' of MNERA should have been confined to the control of the legality of IHE's acts. In our view, the day-to-day administrative control of MNERA over the IHE's activities is a strong bureaucratic expression rather than constitutional 'supervision' because, as the examples outlined earlier made clear, the MNERA does not scrutinise the legality of IHE's activities but carries them out. Thus, we believe that by administrative decentralisation the IHE can be justified as an efficient provider of public services in ways which the MNERA cannot match. There is the argument that Higher Education Institutions' authorities will know and understand their needs and wants far better than central administration, and can also respond to changes in these far more effectively than could the centre. Moreover, it is efficient because it is democratic and expresses the IHE's opinion, it cuts down routine and loss of time and bureaucratic action, and it overcomes the physical inability of central administration to deal with detailed problems up and down the IHE.

To give, therefore, the Greek IHE real self-administration it is necessary for the parliament to pass a new law which would include:

(a) First, the devolution of power from the MNERA to the IHE. At this point it is very important that the legislator defines exactly the authority of IHE because authority is the basis for accountability. Accountability here means that the IHE's body concerned shall render an account of its action to secure higher authority (viz. MNERA) and that this authority, if dissatisfied, shall take radical steps to put matters right. This suggests that the IHE have to run exactly on the lines laid down by their charter and may not go outside these powers.

(b) Secondly, such a law would provide for an effective control system, as control is one of the basic managerial functions and involves the definition of what people and units are to do, the establishment of criteria against which performance of their activities is to be assessed, and a feedback of information as to what has taken place. In other words, it is useless to try to make management accountable if responsibilities are not clearly defined, because it is impossible to decide whether tasks have been performed in the way required and, if not, who is responsible. Given that (a) the Greek IHE functions with public money, and (b) the constitutional doctrine on which parliamentary oversight of administration rests on ministerial responsibility, then 'responsibility' in the IHE means not only responsiveness to public opinion but also accountability to the organ of government which confers legitimacy on the decisions and actions of the executive. But it does not mean that the Minister of MNERA must involve himself in day-to-day administration of IHE. The ministerial supervision and responsibility must be confined in the educational policy and control the legitimacy of IHE's activities at the end of the financial or academic year. Thus, a clarification of methods of controlling university activities through, for example, inspectors to scrutiny the budget, recruitment, and so on will be a useful instrument to protect the public from the abuse of IHE authority.

Improvement of financial law

Today the Greek IHE function as departments or divisions of the MNERA. This conclusion comes from the fact that all their activities are carried out through the management of the MNERA. But if we accept that: first every administrative act has its financial implications, and secondly the IHE are self-governed public institutions, then we can say that they must spend their money according to their budgets and the state can check their accounts at the end of the financial or academic year. In this way, universities and TEIs will have the opportunity to perform without the governmental intervention while the MNERA, responsible for the efficiency of IHE, will have the right to scrutinize their activities. This innovation demands a change in the financial law, given that the existing one requires exactly the opposite, i.e. first there is the proposal of IHE, then there is the control of central administration, and finally the procedure for the university or TEI to act.

Internal reorgranisation of IHE

The above-mentioned innovations are not enough to increase the efficiency of IHE. In addition, these innovations, are based on some presuppositions. We cannot, for example, decentralise duties and responsibilities to IHE when their Senates and TEI's Councils act under traditional managerial methods, nor can we change the financial law when the university and TEI financial managers lack knowledge and experience in managing the financial affairs of IHE. Given that the Greek IHE remain too traditional in form and function, then it is evident that some internal arrangements in the administrative structure of the IHE's are a necessity.

Reorganisation of MNERA

Decentralisation of administrative power from the MNERA to IHE does not mean only organisational arrangements in the IHE services, but reorgranisation of the MNERA, too. More particularly the reform should provide:

- changes in the internal organisational structure of the MNERA and the replacement of traditional work methods;
- the creation of policy planning units and ministerial 'Cabinets' (one for each educational level) of specialist advisers, to facilitate the rational examination of policy options and plans under the direction of the Minister. The members should be appointed by the Minister, after nomination of the authorities to which the members belong and for an adequate period of time;
- the creation of a team of administrative 'watchdogs' who will scrutinize the administrative and financial activities of Higher Education.

Summary

The study of management has mainly been conducted on the basis that, by analysing past experience, it should be possible to determine theories and methods about the way IHE work now, and how they can be made to work better in the future. These ideas should be tested in practice. Although managers often express doubts over the applications of theory to their problems, it must be recognised that good ideas can take their place within the developing body of management principles. In this way, the study and practice of management should serve to promote administrative health, in much the same way as the study of medicine is designed to promote physical health.

In the sphere of Greek reality there are several problems of management in the civil service that need more consideration. Among these are over-centralisation, personnel management, audit, review and control, and so on. Over-centralisation of administrative power in the centre, for example, is the most characteristic phenomenon in the Greek public administration. Students of management, therefore, might usefully analyse such activities and processes, so as to warn ministers and central officials of the difficulties and costs implicit in over-centralised planning.

This study has been concerned with presenting the state of our present knowledge about the common phases of management work devoted to the effort of achieving effective performance of the Greek IHE. But efficiency is not some mechanical goal or an intrinsic end-value. Effective performance means more than this. It means satisfactory service, responsible performance and efficient management.

The effective functioning of IHE in Greece is an absolute necessity for the country's national survival. This conclusion is warranted on two grounds: first, because the higher education is a fundamental factor for socio-economic-political development of a country, and secondly, because history teaches us that the idea of higher education is Greek and from Greece we must start again in order to make a successful higher educational system.

Notes

1. About the foundation of the Industrial Schools in Piraeus and Thessaloniki, see: Law, No 3876/1958.

2. For example, the number of Students who were studying at foreign universities, was 29,213 in 1994. See: O.E.C.D. (1997: 62).

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CHANGING BOUNDARIES IN ISRAELI HIGHER EDUCATION

SARAH GURI-ROSENBLIT

Abstract - *This paper analyses the main changes that took place in the Israeli higher education system in the last decades, and accounts for the reconstruction of its external and internal boundaries. It also provides a conceptual framework for comparing national higher education systems from a comparative perspective. The paper examines the developments that characterise the restructuring of the Israeli higher education from an international comparative outlook, and relates to the following parameters: (a) expansion in size; (b) diversification of the higher education institutions; (c) the emergence of new academic fields of study; (d) the upgrade of many professions and occupations to an academic status; (e) the redefinition of graduate degrees; (f) the impact of the new information technologies on shaping academic environments; and (g) the influence of the globalisation and internationalisation trends on the development of national higher education systems.*

Introduction

Higher education systems have both external and internal boundaries. The external boundaries define the kind of institutions that consist part of each higher education system, and thus influence greatly the size of the system. In the USA, for example, most tertiary level institutions, including the two-year colleges, are considered as an integral part of the American higher education system. The same is also the case in Canada and in Australia. In many other countries, including Israel, only institutions that grant academic degrees (from bachelor degrees on) are defined as part of the higher education system. All other post-secondary establishments, such as teacher training colleges, professional schools for practical engineers, many para-medical institutions, Yeshivas (religious higher learning institutions for Judaic studies), operate outside the higher education boundaries. The definition of external boundaries is not merely an arbitrary one. It reflects the underlying assumptions as to what constitutes a university or another type of a higher education institute. The accreditation procedures between institutions are heavily influenced by the legal and official status of each institution. Given the fact that the two-year colleges in the USA are an integral part of the higher education system, it follows quite naturally that there are special

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arrangements and contracts that enable their graduates to enter universities, and get an academic accreditation for their previous learning. In California, for instance, the Higher Education Plan enables a percentage of able graduates of two-year colleges to continue their third year studies at a university, even at prestigious universities, such as the University of California at Berkeley (Rothblatt, 1992). Such an arrangement is unthinkable in the context of the Israeli academia.

There are also internal boundaries which have an impact on the definition of the status of various types of higher education institutions, the relations between what is considered as undergraduate versus graduate studies, the prestige of different disciplinary areas and fields of study, the status of professional schools within and outside universities, etc. In some systems there are clear-cut boundaries between universities and the non-university sector, as compared to other systems in which these boundaries are quite blurred. There are systems in which most academic professional schools, such as law, medicine, engineering, business administration, are integrated into a comprehensive university structure, whereas in other countries most professional training is conducted in schools, institutes and academies outside the classical universities. In some systems all higher education institutions are entitled to grant all types of academic degrees from bachelor to doctoral levels, as compared to countries which limit the non-university institutions to award only first degrees. There are systems in which the private institutions are most respectable and influential, while in other systems the private sector is either non existent or peripheral to the mainstream universities. And the nature of 'first' and 'advanced' degrees varies greatly in different national contexts.

Throughout their long history, universities in various locations have changed gradually, some even drastically, adapting themselves to new societal conditions and demands. The changes that took place in the last century were the most impressive ones. The dominant élitist nature of most universities throughout the world moved towards a mass-orientated approach (Trow, 1974). Many reasons account for the change of both the external and internal boundaries in higher education systems in the last three decades: a greater demand for higher education and a huge increase of students; the creation of new types of higher education institutions and the diversification of the systems; the development of new fields of study, mainly in the social sciences; the upgrade of many professions and occupations to an academic status; market demands; the emergence of new social ideals, such as the life-long learning philosophy; the growing impact of the new information technologies on all spheres of life; influential trends of globalisation and internationalisation.

Israel has a relatively 'young' higher education system, as compared to the nearly 900 years of history of the first medieval universities in Italy, France and

England. Its first higher education institutions were established in the 1920s, a quarter of a century before the foundation of the state of Israel. Both the Technion in Haifa (which was established in 1924) and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (which was established in 1925), were shaped on the basis of the German Humboldtian university ideal of unity of research and teaching (Ben-David, 1986; Guri-Rosenblit, 1993, 1996). The other five university-level institutions (the Weizmann Institute, Tel-Aviv University, Bar-Ilan University, Haifa University, Ben-Gurion University) that were established between 1934 and 1965 tended to follow the model of the two veteran institutions. The research orientation features very highly in the Israeli universities. Until the mid-1970s the Israeli higher education system was quite homogeneous in its nature and its underlying operating characteristics. In 1974 the Open University of Israel was established, which by its very nature differs from the comprehensive research universities. It has been based on the model of the British Open University, and adopted an open admission policy enabling anyone to register for academic studies without any entry requirements. In the same year of 1974, a first non-university institute was authorised to grant academic degrees, the Rubin Academy of Music and Dance in Jerusalem. Since then, the Israeli higher education system has been confronted by many challenges and has changed drastically both in its size and composition (Gottlieb and Chen, 1995; Guri-Rosenblit, 1993, 1996; Svirsky and Svirsky, 1997). The last decade, in particular, was characterised by a rapid pace of change that has shaken the relatively stable and conservative foundations of the Israeli higher education. The changes were reflected by: a tremendous growth in the percentage of the relevant age cohorts participating in higher education; a fast expanding non-university sector; the initiation of private institutions; the 'import' of many extensions of foreign universities; and significant changes of some internal boundaries within universities, relating to academic curricula, the nature of graduate degrees, accreditation procedures, collaborative ventures and the integration of new technologies. This paper analyses the main changes that took place in Israeli higher education in the last decades, and have altered its external and internal boundaries.

Expansion

The Israeli higher education system has expanded immensely since the establishment of the State of Israel both in its absolute and its relative size. In 1948 about 1,635 students were enrolled at the Hebrew University and the Technion (Herskovic, 1992), and they constituted less than 3% of the relevant age cohort (21-24 in Israeli statistics), as compared to 163,725 students studying in higher education institutions in 1997 (Herskovic, 1997; Mendelzweig, 1998) that constituted nearly 30% of an average age cohort. If we add to these numbers students in tertiary level institutions that do not grant academic degrees, the percentage of the age cohort participating in post-secondary institutions rises to 56.6% (*ibid.*).

The expansion of the external boundaries of the Israeli higher education system was influenced by five major trends: immigration; a significant increase of the number of matriculants in high schools; the upgrade of several tertiary level institutions to an academic status; a consistent growing demand for higher education; and the initiation of new types of higher education institutions.

Israel by its very nature is an immigration society, serving as a melting pot for a most heterogeneous and diverse population, originating from dozens of countries and plural cultures. When the State of Israel was established in 1948 its total population was around 800,00 - four-fifths were Jews, and one fifth were Arabs of Muslim, Christian and Druze religions (Mazawi, 1994). In its first decade of existence its population nearly tripled. Its population in 1999 counted 6.1 million inhabitants, of which 79% were Jews, and 21% non-Jews (mainly Arabs) (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1999). Each wave of immigration expanded the society, and the number of students in higher education. Some immigrations, like that of the previous Soviet Union Jewry, since the early 1990s, imported to Israel a highly-educated human capital, among which 40% of the working manpower were academics (Guri-Rosenblit, 1993). The participation rate of 'dominant' and 'subordinate' social groups in Israeli higher education is dealt with further on.

The primary source of undergraduate students in Israeli higher education institutions are graduates of high schools, holding a 'Bagrut' diploma, which is the Israeli matriculation certificate, equivalent to the German 'Abitur' or French 'Baccalauréat'. Until the late 1960s the Israeli high school system was highly selective, enrolling around 30% of the 15-18 age group and granting the 'Bagrut' to less than 17% of the 18-year-olds (Maagan, 1999). Since the early 1970s, secondary education became more accessible, and composed of a large heterogeneous student body. In 1997 nearly 80% of the 17-year-olds studied in twelfth grade classes (the last grade of the high school), and 41% of this relevant age group got the 'Bagrut' certificate *(ibid.)*. The absolute number of the matriculants increased in the last decade by over 95%, from approximately 23,000 in 1984/5 to 45,000 in 1995/6 (Herskovic, 1992, 1997).

The upgrade of some tertiary level institutions to an academic status, entitling them to grant first degrees, constituted an additional important factor in the expansion of the external boundaries of the Israeli higher education system. The non-university sector expanded most dramatically mainly in the last decade. In 1982 only 2,027 students studied in the non-university sector; in 1985 their number rose to 2,881; in 1995 - to 19,402, and they amounted to 41,108 in 1997/8 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1998). Most of the non-university sector institutions are former training and vocational colleges. Since the 1980s many of the teacher training colleges were authorised to grant a B.Ed degree. In 1997/8 - 17,735 students studied in teacher training colleges that were upgraded to a status of academic institutions, as compared to 8,141 students in non-academic teacher training colleges (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1998). Some other institutions that were upgraded to an academic status include practical engineering colleges, nursing and para-medical schools, art design institutes, business and administration training schools. A more detailed portrayal of the non-university sector is provided further on.

The demand for higher education in Israel, as in many other places around the globe, is in a consistent growth. Many non-traditional groups of applicants, other than high school graduates, are willing to pursue higher education studies nowadays. University studies are not considered anymore as the privilege of the élite sectors. The Open University of Israel, for example, was initiated in 1974 to provide an opportunity for willing and able adults, lacking the 'Bagrut' diploma, or the appropriate conditions to study at a conventional university, to pursue academic studies wherever they live and at their own convenient pace. The open admission policy however is combined with stringent quality control mechanisms in the study process and high level graduation requirements. In 1997/8 it enrolled around 32,000 (President's Report, 1998). Its students are by and large older than the traditional age cohorts entering conventional universities (21-24 in Israel, due to the three-year military service). Older students are also entering traditional campus universities aiming to achieve various goals: to study for graduate degrees, enrich their knowledge in fields other than their working expertise, get professional upgrade or refresher courses through short postgraduate diplomas, and just study to improve themselves. It is not only the older bracket of students that constitute new recruits to the university; younger students are doing so as well, taking up concurrent studies at a high school and at a university. Over 1,500 high school students were enrolled at the Open University in 1997/8 (President's Report, 1998), and also some other institutions, such as the Technion in Haifa, the Weizmann Institute in Rehovot, and Tel Aviv University offer special tracks of study for high school students.

The emergence of new types of higher education institutions, mainly private colleges from the mid-1980s, introduced into the Israeli higher education system a growing element of competition, and account as well for the broadening of its external boundaries. Some of the new institutions were initiated by internal groups of academics and financial entrepreneurs, and some were imported as extensions of mainly British and American universities. The extensions are not considered today as part of the Israeli higher education system. A recent decision of the Israeli Government from October 1999 suggested to limit the degrees of freedom of the nearly 50 extensions, and authorise their operation only under the guidelines of the Israeli Higher Education Council, as applied to Israeli higher education institutes (Haaretz, 1999). The leaders of these extensions, as well as some Israeli interest groups, declared that they are determined to fight against this decision. At the end of this struggle, it will be decided to what extent the foreign extensions constitute an integral part of the Israeli higher education system.

While relating to the expansion of the Israeli higher education system, it is important to examine the gaps between the representation of various social groups pursuing academic studies. The data of the Central Bureau of Statistics and the Council for Higher Education refer traditionally to three distinct groups distinguished by demographic characteristics of sex, continent of origin and religion. Detailed demographic information on the continent of origin exists only for the universities, and is available only up to 1993/94 (Herskovic, 1997). It was decided to discontinue the collection and publication of such data, on the grounds of possible social discrimination.

Women are currently represented in the student population of higher education institutions above their share in the total population (which was 51% in 1997). Women constituted 43.3% of the total student body in 1970. Their percentage grew to 46.2% in 1980; 50.8% in 1990 and 56.3% in 1997 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1998). The percentage of female students rose at all degree levels in the last decades. In 1997/8 they constituted 56% of the first degree graduates, 57.2% of master degree students (as compared to 26.1% in 1970), and 49.2% of doctoral students (as compared to 19.3% in 1970) (Herskovic, 1997; Central Bureau of Statistics, 1999). Also, the percentage of the female Arab students among Arab students in Israeli higher education grew from 10.3% in 1967/8 to 20.2% in 1976/6, and to 36.4% in 1989/90 (Mazawi, 1995).

The proportion of Jewish students of African/Asian origin in high school and in higher education has been throughout the years lower than their percentage in Israeli society. However, over the last two decades there has been a recognisable improvement in the proportion of students of African/Asian origin among matriculants relative to their proportion in the 18-year-olds population, and among students at universities and other higher education institutions. In 1986/7 the students of African/Asian origin constituted 53% of the total population of the 18-year-olds cohort, but just 36.8% of the high school matriculats (Herskovic, 1997). Only 28.3% of the 18-year-olds in this social group got a matriculation certificate in 1986/7, as compared to 58.8% in the group of the 18-year-olds of Israeli origin (whose father was born in Israel); and 51.1% in the group of European-American origin *(ibid)*. In 1995/6 the percentage of the matriculants among students of 18-

year-olds of African/Asian origin grew to 33.1%, as compared 50.6% of students of Israeli origin and 46.7% of students of European/American origin. In addition, it is important to mention that the relative size of these three ethnographic groups is changing constantly, as more students join the group of those whose father was born in Israel. Furthermore, immigration from African/Asian countries slowed down significantly in the last decades, as compared to a huge wave of immigration from the former Soviet Union in the early 1990s. In the universities, the proportion of the students of African/Asian origin in the total student population rose from 21.3% in 1980/1 to 26.1% in 1993/4 (Herskovic, 1992,1997). As was mentioned earlier, information on the distribution of students according to countries of origin is not available anymore.

The non-Jewish population is composed mainly of Muslim, Christian and Druze Arabs. There are significant inequalities in high school graduation and in university enrollment rates between Arabs and Jews, as well as between the different religious groups within the Arab population. In 1985, only 14.9% of the non-Jewish 18-year-olds obtained a 'Bagrut' certificate, and in 1995 their percentage rose to 18.3% (Herskovic, 1997), as compared to 31.1% and 40.3% respectively in the Jewish population. The situation in higher education is even grimmer. In the mid-1960s Arab students constituted just 1.3% of the total student body in Israeli universities, and their proportion grew to 5.8% in 1989/90. However, these figures portray a distorted picture, since they do not include students who studied and study outside Israel, either in Arab universities in the West Bank, Jordan and other Arab countries, as well as in Eastern and Western Europe and in the USA. Mazawi highlighted the fact that significant differences exist in the participation rates of Muslims, Christians and Druzes (Mazawi, 1995). In 1986, for instance, 5.7% of the male Christians in the 25-29-year-olds group were enrolled at Israeli universities, as compared to 3.8% of Muslims and 2.5% of Druzes.

Diversification

The diversification of higher education systems all over the world is a natural outcome of massification trends. The continuous and tremendous increase in the number of students entering higher education constitutes the most noticeable development in many higher education systems since the 1960s. The massification of higher education systems first took place in developed countries, and since the early 1980s it also characterises the development of most higher education systems in the developing world; and is clearly reflected in most Mediterranean states. Many more students means also different types of students.

Not only is it impossible to provide élite-type education on a mass basis due to financial constraints, it is also inappropriate to offer a restricted and confined model of higher education to heterogeneous clienteles, characterised by diverse demands and abilities. The proliferation of new types of universities, colleges, academies, higher schools, and other types of higher education institutions occurred in direct response to the growing numbers and growing heterogeneity of student populations in many countries around the globe.

The diversification of the Israeli higher education system started slowly in the mid-1970s, and constituted a sharp break with the prevalent and dominant academic culture. Unlike countries that have had diverse higher education institutions from their very start, the Israeli higher education system was composed of only research oriented universities and institutes, and adopted piously the German research university idea more than any other country in the world, including Germany itself (Ben-David, 1986). No other model of university or college, such as a collegiate university, a federal university, liberal arts colleges, developed in Israel for fifty years. The supremacy of research dominates the academic culture of Israeli universities to this date. Israeli universities account for almost all basic research done in Israel. In addition to their basic research activities, the universities supply R&D services to various sectors of the economy, such as industry, agriculture, education, defense, and construction. Articles in refereed scientific journals provide an important channel for both the exchange of scientific work with colleagues all over the world and for academic promotion. All other types of higher education institutes in Israel are looked down as somehow inferior in status, and have to justify their academic credibility and respectability on the basis of the yardstick of academic standards defined and guarded by the research universities.

The university sector is composed of eight institutes: five comprehensive research universities; the Technion (Israel Institute of Technology) that resembles the model of a German 'technical university', and offers tracks of study in engineering, natural and physical sciences, mathematics and computer science, and in medicine; the Weizmann Institute of Sciences, which is by and large a research institute, teaches only towards graduate M.Sc and Ph.D degrees; and the Open University of Israel that in many respects is considered as a 'stepchild' in the university sector by the veteran research institutions. Most of the first degree students in Israel study at the universities. In 1997, the total number of first degree students accounted to 100,715 (not including the 28,500 Open University students). Around 64% of the first degree students were enrolled at the universities and the Technion (Mendelzweig, 1998).

The non-university sector is much more diverse in its texture as compared to the university sector, and was composed in 1997 of fifty institutions of at least six different types: (1) specialised professional colleges which confer specific first degrees in music, arts, agriculture, technology, textile and fashion, law, optics, insurance, business administration; (2) teacher training colleges which grant B.Ed or B.Ed.Tech degrees; (3) technological colleges which award B.Tech degrees to practical engineers; (4) private general colleges and academic centers that focus mainly on highly demanded fields of study, such as - business administration, law, computer science, accounting, etc.; (5) full-fledged regional colleges that offer general studies in a wide array of subjects; (6) regional colleges that operate under the auspices of the research universities (students study there for the first two years and the third year is completed at the 'mother' university).

As was mentioned earlier, the immense expansion of the non-university sector took place in the last decade. In 1985/6 only 11.6% out of the undergraduates studied at colleges and other non-university academic institutions, as compared to nearly over 36% in 1997 (Herskovic, 1997; Mendelzweig, 1998). Between 1986 to 1997, the average annual growth of students in the non-university sector was 16.1% as compared to 4.2% at the university sector (*ibid.*). The forecast of the Council for Higher Education projects that in the next decade, first degree students will be evenly distributed between the universities and the non-university sector.

Furthermore, it is important to emphasise that the figures cited neither include thousands of students enrolled at extensions of foreign universities, nor students in post-secondary institutions that do not award academic degrees. The students in Yeshivas, which are religious higher learning institutions for Judaic studies, are not included in the statistics of the Council for Higher Education of post-secondary institutions, whereas in some other countries, including several Mediterranean ones, comparable institutions are considered as part of the higher education system, and some are even entitled as universities (*vide* Sultana, 1999 – in this issue).

New academic fields of study

For centuries teaching at most universities over the world was mainly based on the delivery of discipline-directed learning as a way of inducing students into the accumulated knowledge in sciences and humanities. However, there is no resemblance left between the academic curricula of the medieval universities, either based on *Septem Artes Liberales* subjects or on professional training in law, theology and medicine, and current academic programmes and tracks of study at modern universities. Not only have the traditional disciplines of humanities and sciences changed, but also many new fields of study gradually penetrated into the universities' curricula.

In the last century two distinct shifts characterise the change of internal boundaries between academic fields of study at universities and other higher education institutions: the emergence of social science disciplines as leading and highly demanded fields of study in many higher education systems all over the world; and the growing importance and respectability of professional schools (such as - medicine, engineering, computer science, business administration) in academia. Clearly, the emergence of new fields of study and the strengthening of status of professional schools, change the internal boundaries both within higher education institutions and between different higher education establishments.

Information on curricular emphases and the nature of academic degrees and diplomas in various national settings is quite scarce and is rarely provided in macro-level portrayals of national higher education systems. But differences between academic curricula, and academic tracks of study in various states do exist, and sometimes the differences are vast. What is considered as a mainstream academic curriculum in one context, can be totally peripheral in another one. Study programmes, study requirements, length of studies of various degrees vary greatly between countries, between institutions, and within institutions. The academic curriculum of any given university or other type of higher education institution can be strongly research-oriented or directed towards vocational or professional training; programmes can be based on disciplinary lines or on inter- and trans-disciplinary principles, they can be short (of a two-year duration) and very long (last for five to eight years), etc.

One of the most conspicuous phenomenon in the Israeli higher education in the last decade relates to the growing demand of social science subjects, as compared to humanities and sciences. Table 1 presents the number of candidates per enrolled student in selected subjects between 1991-1996.

Table 1 shows clearly that the number of applicants to universities in the 1990s remained quite stable (around 30 thousands per year), and so is the average enrollment ratio. Approximately one out of two applicants to universities were admitted. But there are immense differences between the demand patterns for various disciplines and subjects of study. The most unbalanced demand took place in 1993. Only one out of 8.1 applicants was admitted to business administration, as compared to a ratio of 1:1.5 in history, and 1:1.8 in mathematics. Since universities are free to safeguard the relative size of each department and faculty, they have not responded to the growing demand for social science subjects and law by expanding the size of these departments. On the contrary, they have posed different and higher entry requirements in the highly demanded fields of study, not necessarily justified on the basis of the intellectual demands in the relevant fields, in order to keep the existing balance between the different faculties, i.e. - they refused to change the internal disciplinary boundaries within the universities.

*TABLE 1: Candidates for Undergraduate Studies per Student in Selected Subjects: 1991-1996**

	1991 **n=25,985**	**1993** **n=29,495**	**1995** **n=32,112**	**1996** **n=32,421**
Business Admin.	4.5	8.1	5.4	4.7
Economics	2.2	2.6	2.2	2.0
Accounting	2.6	3.4	2.8	2.7
Law	3.8	4.9	2.7	2.4
Computer Science	1.8	2.0	2.1	2.2
Psychology	2.6	2.6	2.4	2.2
Education	2.1	2.3	1.8	1.9
History	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.6
Mathematics	1.6	1.8	1.8	1.9
Total	**2.1**	**2.4**	**2.0**	**1.9**

* Based on Herskovic, 1997, Table 2.10

The fact that since 1995 the relative number of applicants to universities in the popular fields decreased is a result of the initiation of several private colleges that identified the growing demand and the reluctance of the universities to respond to it, and offered tracks of study exactly in these fields of growing popularity. Most of the new colleges, as well as the international extensions, offer studies in business administration, marketing, communication, education, law and computer sciences. This development shows clearly how the emergence of new academic fields can alter both the external boundaries (by adding more and different types of students), and the internal boundaries of a higher education system (by the emergence of new types of higher education institutions, and by the gradual change of status of various departments and faculties within universities).

Upgrade of professions

The training of many professions and occupations, that for centuries was conducted in schools and institutes outside the academic world, was upgraded in the last decades to an academic status in many national settings. Some of the training institutions got an autonomous academic standing, and many others have been merged into comprehensive universities. In addition, one of the dominant trends in the last decade has been the growing linkage between the promotion ladders in a rich variety of occupations and academic credentials, be it full undergraduate or graduate degrees, or short diploma studies. Salary increases and various professional bonuses are rewarded today on the basis of academic diplomas. As a result, many students all around the world are willing to study at universities and colleges for professional upgrade purposes.

One of the consequences of such a development was the initiation of many professional study tracks, targeted for student clienteles, that already possess a first degree, but are re-entering the universities in order to refresh and upgrade their professional knowledge, or alternatively in order to get a diploma that entitles them for financial rewards at their working places. The proportion of postgraduate students studying in short diploma courses or aiming at getting a professional master degree, is growing steadily in many higher education systems. This development changes the internal balance between the percentage of undergraduate versus graduate students, and between the number of students studying for a degree, and those enrolled in a variety of postgraduate short diploma study tracks.

As presented earlier, many tertiary level professional schools in Israel were accredited since the 1970s as academic institutions, entitled to award first degrees. The 41,108 students that were enrolled in non-university institutions for higher education in 1997 were distributed between the following professional fields: 17,736 were studying in teacher training colleges; 6,231 in technology colleges; 6,134 in economic and business administration fields; 2,501in arts design and architecture; 3,808 in law; 1,236 in communication; and 3,463 in social sciences (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1998). Nursing and para-medical schools are not included in these statistics, since their academic upgrade was performed through a collaborative venture with the universities. The professional and clinical training is performed at the professional schools, and the theoretic studies are conduced at nursing departments in three universities.

The growing demand for postgraduate professional studies has significantly increased the proportional number of master degree students in Israeli universities, and prompted the establishment of the international extensions, as is explained in detail in the next topic, dealing with the redefinition of graduate degrees in Israel. The highly demanded fields at master level studies in the extensions are education and business administration. Teachers, police and army officers, nurses, and many more employees, mainly in the public sector, are getting generous rewards on the completion of their academic studies. The recent government's decision, from October 1999, purporting to limit the operation of the international extensions, has very little to do with trying to preserve academic quality, and was prompted in an attempt to cut prospective high expenses on rewarding thousands of employees, that are currently enrolled in these extensions. The government's intervention provides an illuminating example of the current close links between higher education, the labour market and the state, and the constant shifting balance between these actors.

Redefinition of graduate degrees

Degree and diploma requirements in different countries show great variety and variation. Even specific terms, such as a 'first degree' or 'diploma', have different meanings in different national settings (Jablonka-Skinder and Teichler, 1992). To complete a first two-year cycle in a French University differs significantly from a four-year first degree in the USA, and the long first degree of five-year duration, in most European countries, both Western and Eastern, is in fact equivalent to a second degree in Anglo-Saxon countries. The length of the studies towards a degree, the accumulation of credits, accreditation of prior learning and the content of programmes, have an immense effect both on access and completion rates in different countries. Yet, such information is rarely provided explicitly in national reviews of higher education systems, and thus access and attrition statistics when used in comparative studies might be quite misleading.

The development of the second degree in Israel provides an illuminating example of how the combination of two different academic cultures might sometimes create a distorted entity. As mentioned earlier, the Israeli higher education system was greatly influenced by the German academic tradition. Thus, the Hebrew University and the Technion have adopted the model of a five-year first degree, that is equivalent to a masters level degree in Britain and in the USA. In the 1950s, some powerful academics in the Hebrew University, including its President, who were socialised in the American academic culture, were determined to change the degree structure in Israel, and divide the long five-year degree into two degrees, as is the case in the Anglo-Saxon world. At the end, the long five-year degree was divided into two: a three-year bachelor degree; and a two-year master degree. But unlike the situation in the USA, where the first degree is mostly a wide liberal arts degree, and the master degree is a specialised one, and constitutes also an integral part of the graduate studies towards a Ph.D, no clear differentiation has been made between the nature of the first and second degrees in Israeli universities. Both degrees are focused in specialised disciplinary areas, and quite often third year undergraduate students are studying in the same seminars with first year master-level students.

Throughout the years, in order to provide the second degree a special and unique status, high research requirements were attached to it, and the demands of a master thesis are somehow comparable in many fields to those of a Ph.D. dissertation in American universities. The stringent study and research requirements towards a master degree resulted in a slow progression of studies and in a high dropout rate (Herskovic, 1997). The standard length of studies for a master's degree in most fields in Israeli universities is two years. If we add an extra year for completing the research thesis, students are expected to receive their master degree within three years from commencing their graduate studies. But in reality, only 12-13% of those beginning master's degree students in any given year manage to obtain their degrees within a three-year period. After an average period of six years of studies only around 50% of the master students are entitled to get the degree, and more than 40% drop-out in the study process (*ibid.*).

The growing popularity of social studies in universities, and market demands of the public and private sectors, increased the demand for master level studies most remarkably in the last decade. The number of master level students at the research universities grew from 10,050 in 1979/80 to 28,720 in 1997/8 (an increase of 185%); as compared to a growth of 80% in the number of first degree students in the corresponding period (from 54,480 in 1979/80 to 72,640 in 1997/8) (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1998). The more applied nature of many social science subjects and the high attrition rates of master level students, mainly at the stage of preparing their theses, has prompted many university departments to offer a master degree without a thesis requirement. These special tracks require the students to obtain more credits, as compared to the thesis tracks, and they are also 'terminal' in academic terms, since they do not enable their graduates to pursue doctoral studies. In spite of this severe limitation, many more students chose in the last decade the no-thesis tracks, and they currently outnumber the students in the master thesis tracks. In 1998 - 59% of the master degree recipients had completed a no-thesis master, as compared to 27% in 1991. This constitutes a dramatic shift in the pattern of second degree studies, pointing to the fact, that many graduate studies are currently oriented towards professional upgrading, mainly in social science fields.

The upsurge in the demand for second degree studies was only partially answered by the universities; and this growing imbalance between demand and supply of master level studies in highly demanded fields of study resulted in the establishment of the international extensions (Kadosh, 1999). Since the non-university sector institutions were prohibited by law to offer graduate level studies beyond the first degree, the international establishments undertook the challenge, particularly for profit reasons. Currently, nearly 50 such extensions do exist in Israel, and they offer mainly master degree programmes to an estimated number of 15,000 students. Their tuition fees are tremendously high (sometimes three or four times more than the tuition fee at an Israeli university); but they enable their students to complete their studies within a year or two. Many of the extensions are criticised by Israeli academics as responsible for lowering the academic study standards, and for 'selling' diplomas.

These developments led the Council for Higher Education to initiate in 1998 a breakthrough in graduate degree granting regulations in Israel. It has been decided that from 1999 onwards, colleges possessing the appropriate academic infrastructure will be entitled to teach towards 'taught master' degrees (masters with no research theses), mainly in highly demanded professional fields. Such a decision was a sharp departure from a very strong convention of the Israeli higher education, namely - only universities can teach towards graduate degrees. This decision was encountered by a strong opposition from all universities' heads, and generated a vigorous debate in all media channels, and academic circles. It has been decided meanwhile, to postpone the implementation of this decision to 2001, in order to enable the potential colleges to build an appropriate infrastructure and prepare carefully their master programmes. In addition, a strong campaign against the low standards of most extensions was launched. An amendment to the Law of the Council for Higher Education that passed in the Knesset (the Israeli Parliament) in February 1998 empowered the Council for Higher Education to supervise the operation of the extensions, and to ensure that the programmes they offer are comparable in their content and requirements to those of the 'mother university'. However, the Council is not authorised to intervene in matters related to the quality of the academic curricula. As mentioned earlier, the Israeli government lately took action in trying to limit the operation of the international extensions. The last word has not been said yet on this issue. Evidently, the changing balance between the proportion of graduate versus undergraduate students, the authorisation of some non-university institutions to award master degrees, and the operation of the extensions, have changed drastically some internal boundaries in the Israeli higher education.

Information technologies

It is evident that we are living in a period of transition between an industrial society and an information society. New information technologies affect many spheres of life, both in developed and developing countries. As industrial societies become information societies, conventional communication systems are becoming information systems. From depending on transport systems to get people and paper to places where business is done and education is performed, society depends more on telecommunications to move information to where it is needed (Tifflin and Rajasingham, 1995). The Internet is nowadays a world-embracing enterprise, affecting education, research, politics, trade, commerce and communication; and in many domains it is transcending national borders and institutional boundaries. No university can allow itself today to ignore its existence. Nevertheless, the harnessing of the new information technologies by various higher education institutions all around the globe is still at various experimenting phases (Trow, 1999). There are still more questions than definite answers as to the efficacy, relevance, costs and functions of the various technologies in academic research and teaching.

In Israel, as in many other countries, universities, together with other higher education institutions, are today experimenting with a variety of technologies in different domains. All of the university libraries utilise various computer search engines. A handful of courses in various fields of study are offered as 'virtual classes', in which the students converse with the professors via e-mail and computer chat groups. In many departments and faculties, an introductory course on the relevant computer applications has become a compulsory requirement. Some large lectures are delivered via satellites. Bar-Ilan University, for instance, transmits some of the lectures to its students in northern regional colleges through a satellite. Ben-Gurion University delivered some experimental lectures in the framework of an international virtual class over the last two years, with students which were scattered in Israel, France and the Gaza strip. Clearly, the new information technologies make it possible to ignore national borders. In this sense, they enable higher education systems to expand their external boundaries in many creative and flexible ways. The Open University of Israel, for example, currently teaches Judaic studies to more than 5,000 students, scattered in over two hundred cities of the former Soviet Union (President's Report, 1998). In addition to sending them study materials translated into Russian, it also delivers them lectures from Israel through a satellite. The Open University also teaches thousands of teachers and many of its 'regular' students through dozens of satellite programmes (entitled as 'Ofek', which means 'horizon' in Hebrew). The Open University has plans to expand its activities in the future in Jewish communities around the world, as well as in the surrounding Arab world. This future agenda will be greatly facilitated by interactive technologies, through satellites and computer communication networks.

Aside from enabling the higher education systems to expand their external boundaries, the new technologies challenge the organisation of academic life and might have a crucial impact on altering the nature of the teaching/learning processes in universities. Interactive technologies already affect, and will definitely affect to a greater extent in the future, the relations between students and faculty. They change the nature and essence of academic curricula and alter the ways in which knowledge is both acquired and generated. A scarce number of academic courses in Israeli higher education institutions are currently based around dynamic data bases made up of bibliographies, case studies, full texts of books and articles, and an ongoing access to Internet locations. The number of such courses is likely to grow in the very near future. The Open University of Israel, for instance, plans to put most of its courses on the computer in the coming decade, and this will facilitate their ongoing update, and enable an interactive communication between the 'distant' students with tutors and faculty.

The new technologies have an impact on the redefinition of the faculty roles in higher education. Faculty members in the future will be expected to lead teleconferencing sessions via computer or video and audio channels, design computer software, become more expert in desktop publishing, put their lectures on a the World Wide Web, and so on. Tel-Aviv University established in 1998 a special centre designed to improve the level and quality of its faculty teaching, offering special courses on effective teaching strategies, as well as new teaching methods through technological devices. Also the status and roles of students are in a continuous process of change. The new information technologies enable students to build more flexible curricula: to study concurrently in several institutions; to combine a mixed-mode style, studying part of the courses through distance teaching methods and most others in a conventional classroom setting; to be active in generating and retrieving relevant knowledge in any taught course, rather than being a passive recipient of information transferred by the expert professor; to participate in international chat groups in fields of interest, etc. Evidently, the new information technologies have set many challenges to the academic world, which are only at infancy stages of exploration.

Internationalisation trends

'Internationalisation' and 'globalisation' have become the dominant slogans for characterising the economic, political and educational development in the last decade all around the world. Unquestionably, the global economy and politics have a sweeping impact on the operation of higher education institutions. Many universities today engage in enrolling international students, becoming partners in international schemes and pushing forward the drive towards globalisation, both in their research and teaching practices (Skillbeck, 1997). Students, academic staff and curricula are transferred and exchanged between institutions; accreditation agencies ensure promptness in accrediting previous learning in different national academic institutes; and governments append their signatures to cooperative projects in higher education (Guri-Rosenblit, 1999). European Community networks and organisations anticipate the emergence of mobile professionals, who will move through different countries, and study in diverse national environments. In the international market, individual students are, and will be even more so in the future, able to approach any university whose access policy encourages and extends to international students. Strengthening agreements between academic institutions within a particular country and across national borders will be particularly central to the mobility of adult students.

As a matter of fact, Israeli academics have been strongly oriented towards international collaboration and participation in international research projects and conferences, from the very initial stages of formulating the Israeli academia. Some mechanisms have been built into the career ladders of the senior academic faculty that encourage them strongly to go on sabbaticals, initiate cooperative research projects, participate in international forums and symposia, and publish their work in international journals. The strong international orientation is also reflected in the promotion procedures to a higher academic rank. The evaluation process is usually long and stringent, and the assessment of one's works by colleagues from abroad constitutes an essential part of this process. The higher the academic rank, the more external scholars are involved in the evaluation procedures. The international orientation is clearly manifested in the higher prestige of publications published in international referred journals as compared to those published in Hebrew journals.

However, the strong international orientation in the research domain has been scarcely manifested in teaching and in academic curricula planning in Israeli higher education. When the 'War of Languages' took place in the 1920s, it was decided that the language of instruction in Technion will be only Hebrew, and not German, as some of the professors wanted. The language of instruction in academia constitutes a most delicate issue in states which are in the process of building and safeguarding their national identity, and is clearly reflected in the policies of many Mediterranean states. No general rules can be applied to such decisions. For example, while Cyprus has decided that the languages of instruction at its only national university will be Greek and Turkish (Persianis, 1999), Turkey has established recently several universities that are teaching in English (Simsek, 1999). The dominant language of instruction in Israeli higher education is Hebrew, though some lectures are also delivered in English, mainly to international students (such as medicine students participating in a collaborative programme between Tel-Aviv University and New York University). The Open University enables to carry on some of its tutorials in Arabic, and also Arab students are permitted in some courses to submit their assignments in Arabic. Occasionally, guest lectures of academics from abroad are also delivered in English to Israeli students. English, which is obviously the dominant international language in academic world, is widely used in the teaching process of most courses in Israeli universities. A proficiency exam in English constitutes an obligatory requirement of all first degree students, and actually they are not permitted to continue their second year studies without completing the English proficiency requirement. The majority of textbooks and readers used across various disciplines are in English.

The last decade has witnessed a growing tendency of Israeli universities and colleges to initiate collaborative study programmes with universities abroad. One such programme was designed in the mid-1990s by the School of Business Administration at Tel-Aviv University and Northwestern University in the USA, and is offered as a highly prestigious master programme to executives in the public and private sector. Another comparable programme was initiated by Ben-Gurion University and Boston University, and for different reasons has been lately discontinued. Many colleges have engaged in the last decade in collaborative programmes with external universities, in order to enable their students to continue directly towards a master degree, after completing their first degree in a college. This policy was one of the background factors that prompted the entrance of the British and American extensions into the market of the Israeli higher education.

In addition, as mentioned earlier, the new information technologies will accelerate and facilitate international collaboration in the very near future: many more students living in various parts of the world, both Israeli and of other nations, will be able to enroll at Israeli higher education institutions, and vice versa – more Israelis will enroll in universities outside Israel, without leaving the country. Currently, several thousands of students, mainly Israelis, residing in nearly 40 different countries, study at the Open University of Israel (President's Report, 1998).

It is most likely that in the next decade more collaborative ventures will be formed between Israeli universities and colleges and institutions of other countries in designing interdisciplinary programmes, planning software, and interchanging students and faculty. There are currently some limited relations between Israeli academics and colleagues in universities of Arab neighbouring countries, as well as most limited student exchange initiatives. Several prominent research institutes in Israeli universities are dedicated to the study of Arab and Mediterranean countries, from various disciplinary and interdisciplinary perspectives. The acceleration of the peace process is likely to bring to a growing normalisation of the interrelations between Israel and the Arab world, and lead to a growing collaboration between their academics, both in research and in teaching/learning domains – a collaboration that has a great potential to benefit all participating parties.

Concluding remarks

This paper had a twofold purpose. First, it intended to depict the major trends that characterise the development of the Israeli higher education system in the last two decades, and explain the expansion of its external boundaries and the change of its internal composition. Second, it purported to provide a conceptual framework for comparing national higher education systems from a macro-level perspective. All higher education systems around the world have external and internal boundaries, the definitions of which might vary greatly from one system to another. Some higher education systems include all tertiary level institutions, whereas others confine the borders to only degree granting institutes; and the nature of what is entitled as a 'university', a 'college' or any other type of higher education establishment is immensely diverse. No matter how the boundaries of each national system are defined, they seem to be in a continuous process of change, that has particularly been accelerated in the last two decades.

The seven parameters that were chosen to examine the change of boundaries in the Israeli higher education system apply equally to other national settings, including all of the Mediterranean countries under scrutiny in this special issue of the *Mediterranean Journal of Education Studies*, ranging from most developed to underdeveloped countries, from very large to very small states, and from having very old to newly born higher education systems. All of the examined higher education systems expanded in the last decades in their absolute and relative size; most systems became more diversified and have integrated both new academic institutes and a more heterogeneous student constituency; new subjects and fields of study have penetrated their academic and professional curricula; in many of them the training of some professions and occupations, that had been traditionally outside the boundaries of higher education, was upgraded to an academic status; and promotion criteria in the labour market, both in private and public sectors, are based nowadays to a greater extent on academic credentials; the balance between undergraduate versus graduate degrees and between degree and diploma tracks of study is shifting constantly; most higher education systems are experimenting to some degree with harnessing advanced information technologies into their teaching/learning practices; and most of the Mediterranean countries are attempting to find the optimal balance between safeguarding their national identity and the sweeping globalisation and internationalisation trends.

As to the future developments of the Israeli higher education system, it seems quite clear that both its external and internal boundaries will continue to shift and change in the future. It will enroll many more students, the majority of whom will be absorbed in the relatively new and fast growing non-university sector. It is likely that additional professional and vocational schools, operating currently in the non-academic tertiary level sector, will be upgraded to an academic status. New colleges and new types of higher education establishments, such as multidisciplinary centers, consortia-type institutes and virtual universities and colleges, will be probably initiated in the coming decade. A recent interesting initiative of the Council for Higher Education relates to the ultra-orthodox religious sector. The education system of this sector, from nursery level up to higher learning Yeshivas, has been traditionally separated from the mainstream education of the state apparatus. The Council for Higher Education declared recently that it intends to establish two new colleges (focused mainly on the training for high tech professions) for this special clientele, in the framework of which women and men are not allowed to study together. An additional strategy purporting to encourage this population to pursue studies in universities and colleges, centers on defining accreditation criteria that will enable to accredit part of the studies at Yeshivas as academic studies, by developing a mechanism of validating procedures and special examinations.

The external boundaries of the Israeli higher education system will also be influenced by a growing trend of forming collaborative ventures between Israeli and external universities. The long tradition of international orientation that characterises the research in Israeli academia from its very initial setting, will extend also to the domains of programme planning, developing sophisticated software and teaching/learning practices. Furthermore, it is likely that in the foreseeable future many more students will be able to enroll in Israeli universities and colleges through the mediation of the interactive information technologies.

The uncertain and shaky status of the foreign extensions will be stabilised. Some of the extensions of the foreign universities have already submitted requests to be considered as Israeli higher education institutions and asked to undergo the stringent approval procedures applied by the Israeli Council for Higher Education for Israeli universities and colleges. Some are likely to get approval, and some will be denied. The official joining of some extensions to the Israeli higher education will naturally diversify its institutional fabric.

The greatest and deepest future changes in Israeli higher education apply mainly to its internal boundaries. As portrayed in this paper, the non-university sector grew immensely in the last decade, and this phenomenon encountered criticism emanating from the universities. The resistance against the emergence and expansion of the non-university sector, as expressed by many university leaders and academics, is quite natural. Universities in Israel enjoyed a total monopoly of higher education teaching for more than fifty years, which tempted them to believe that their supremacy will last forever. The emergence of the non-university institutions and their fast expansion have seriously shaken the underlying premises of the universities operating practices. It is likely that the non-university sector will continue to grow in the future. As forecasted by the Council for Higher Education, within a decade undergraduate students will be evenly distributed between universities and non-university institutions. A growing population of master level students, mainly in professional areas of study, will also study at colleges. Such a development will force the research universities to redefine their priorities in relation to teaching and research, examine their logistic planning, devote more resources for marketing and competing for able students both at undergraduate and graduate levels. Students are going to be the main beneficiaries of such a future competition between universities and colleges, and between universities and themselves. Since demand always superseded supply in the Israeli universities, the needs and preferences of students were rarely dealt with and catered for until recently.

Some additional shifts of internal boundaries in the Israeli higher education will relate to the change of balance between undergraduates and graduates (mainly in universities) in the favour of the latter. Not only the number of master degree students will grow in the very near future, but also the nature of the graduate degrees will change most significantly. The research master will gradually disappear, and in most sciences and humanities disciplines a direct track towards doctoral degrees will be offered to students who wish to continue towards an academic research career. In social sciences - taught masters will be offered in many popular and highly demanded fields of study, such as business administration, accounting, communication, education, and so on.

The emergence of new fields of study will constitute an additional shift of the internal boundaries between departments and faculties in universities and colleges. Many of the new study programmes are likely to be more interdisciplinary in nature, more applied to real needs of the industry and society at large, and carried on through collaborative ventures between the universities and the business and industry sectors. Unquestionably the volume of collaboration between higher education in Israel, between Israeli institutes and international ones, and between universities and the labour market is likely to grow in the future. Throughout their long history universities have been wary of extensive cooperation with other institutions, and always sought to maintain their specific and unique identity. This trend is likely to change dramatically in the future, not only in Israel, but in most higher education systems around the world. The global economy and the internationalisation trends are already forcing universities to engage in a wide-ranging dialogue with the society, and the leading sectors within it, to ensure and secure their future development and relevance.

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CHANGES AND CHALLENGES IN SPANISH HIGHER EDUCATION

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Abstract - *Significant political and sociological changes have occurred in Spain in the last two decades. These changes have considerably affected the higher education system. While the results may be considered positive in general, many aspects still could and should be improved. Higher education in Spain currently has to cope with new challenges in order to place the system at the desirable level of quality. The main changes that have occurred in the Spanish higher education system, and its current challenges, are discussed in this paper.*

Introduction

During the last two decades, Spain experienced a period of profound changes affecting its social and economic systems. The most noteworthy transformations have been the consolidation of democratic institutions, the shifting towards an urban, service-based economy, and a remarkable increase in the average educational attainment of the population. Political and economic changes have considerably affected the higher education system. Universities, which were completely controlled by the central government, are currently autonomous. They have moved from depending on central government to depending on autonomous regional governments. They have changed from an hierarchical internal structure where all university officials were appointed by the government, to an extremely democratic way of behaving. Curricula, which were the same in all universities, are now distinct in each university.

The organisation of the curriculum, which had a rigid structure, is now modular. Higher education financing, research funding, and funds for student aid programmes have been greatly increased in recent years. All these changes took place in a very short period of time, during which the number of students increased dramatically as well. These events have motivated a very dynamic process of change that has not yet ended. While the results may be considered positive in general, many aspects could and should be improved. Higher education in Spain currently has to cope with new challenges in order to place the system at the desirable level of quality. The main changes that have occurred in the system in recent years, and the challenges that should be coped with by Spanish universities, are discussed in this paper.

Access to higher education

Compulsory education lasts 10 years in Spain, from 6 to 16 years of age. After finishing these compulsory levels, students can follow two additional years of upper secondary education. After finishing secondary education, students have to pass an *entrance exam* to enter higher education. The main goal of this entrance exam is controlling standards of educational achievement in the secondary schools, public and private. A high percentage of students pass this exam, and those who pass it receive a total score (*selectivity score*) that is the mean of the score obtained in the entrance exam, and the average score obtained in the last year of secondary education. The *selectivity score* is used to assign students to programmes depending on their preferences and the availability of places. Generally speaking, access to higher education in Spain is quite open. The percentage of new entrants to higher education among youths at the theoretical starting age, reached 43.3 per cent in 1992 (OECD, 1995). Nevertheless, the rigidity of the access system causes a considerable mismatch between the wishes of the students and the programmes which they are eventually enrolled in.

Higher education institutions

Higher education in Spain consists almost exclusively of universities. There are forty-five public universities, and twelve private ones. Two of them are Distance Universities. One third of the universities are less than a decade old, and only twelve are more than thirty years old, but among these twelve, nine were founded in the Middle Ages. These figures give a clear indication of the relevance of recent changes in the higher education system. There is also an incipient vocational post-secondary education outside the university system. Most students enrol in public universities, although the increasing number of private universities enrolled roughly 4 per cent of higher education students. There are three basic types of university programmes: short-cycle programmes, which are more vocationally oriented, and last three years; long-cycle programmes, which last five or six years; and doctoral programmes, which add two years of course work and require the preparation of a research-oriented thesis after a long-cycle degree. Doctoral programmes are primarily pursued by students interested in an academic career.

Although there are three universities specifically focused on Engineering, most universities have a broad range of programmes, from Engineering to Humanities. There is no significant diversity among universities, though some newer universities, many of which were created by the segregation of campuses of older ones - and normally located in smaller cities - are more focused on short-cycle programmes.

A relevant characteristic of the Spanish public universities is the average size of the institutions, very big when international standards are taken into account: the average number of students is over thirty thousand. Only ten universities have less than ten thousand students, eight have more than fifty thousand, and two, the National Distance University and the University Complutense of Madrid, exceed one hundred thousand students.

The legal framework of higher education

The current structure of higher education was established in 1983 by the *University Reform Act* (Ley de Reforma Universitaria, LRU). This brought great changes to the legal framework of Spanish universities, which until then had been wholly regulated by the central authorities of the Ministry of Education. The LRU formed the basis for the process of emancipation of higher education from the control of the State. The main changes introduced by LRU were:

a) Universities became autonomous entities.
b) The direct responsibility over universities was transferred from the central government to autonomous regions.
c) The establishment of private universities became a possibility.

Under the new legal structure, power over the universities is shared by:

a) Central government. General and legal issues concerning staff (most of them tenured civil servants) and basic legal rules for governing universities depend on this level.
b) Regional governments. Responsibility for financing public universities and planning higher education in the region lies at this level.
c) Universities. Internal organisation, detailed curricula of programmes, selection of staff (restricted by the general rules for civil servants), organisation of research, and internal budgeting decisions are made by universities.

The Council of Universities was established as a co-ordinating body for these three groups which share power over universities. The Council of Universities is composed of all the rectors of the universities, one representative of each Regional Government, and several members of the Ministry of Education. Aspects related to basic guidelines for curricula, rules on students' access, and the quality assessment programme are co-ordinated by this buffer body.

The LRU initiated democratisation of the internal structure of universities. The power over big decisions was transferred to collegiate bodies where non-academic staff and students are present in a considerable proportion (roughly, one third of the members). The University Senate has considerable power, including the election of the rector. Boards with large numbers of members make the decisions in faculties and departments, and elect deans and heads of departments. The Social Council (patterned after boards of trustees in other university systems) was also established as an external body representing the wide interests of society in the University. Nevertheless, the real influence of this body is quite low, due to a lack of tradition and to an unclear legal definition of its role.

Higher education students

As in other countries, the growth in the population of students in higher education in the last decades has been dramatic. As can be observed in Table 1, since the 1960's the expansion of the higher education system has been continuous, almost duplicating each decade. However, the increase has slowed down in the last years, and a stabilisation (if not a decrease) in the number of students is foreseen to take place very soon due to the remarkable decrease in the size of the cohort of youths reaching the age for entering higher education.

TABLE 1: Growth of university students

	Total (thousands)
1950-51	151
1960-61	178
1970-71	357
1980-81	649
1990-91	1,140
1991-92	1,208
1992-93	1,291
1993-94	1,378
1994-95	1,440
1995-96	1,498
1996-97	1,534

Source: Consejo de Universidades (1996)

The proportion of women in the higher education population has surpassed the proportion of men during the last decade, although the biggest jump for women occurred earlier. In 1970, the proportion of women was just 26 per cent, but by 1980 had reached 44 per cent. In 1986 the proportion reached 50 per cent and continued increasing since then, currently reaching 54% of the higher education population.

The distribution of students by fields is presented in Table 2. Social Sciences (where Economics and Business are the most popular disciplines) and Law account for more than half of the students. This field has had major growth in the last thirty years, shifting from less than 25 per cent in 1962 to the current 52 per cent. Two reasons explain the expansion of this field: (a) the perception that graduates of this field have higher possibilities for employment and flexibility in the labour market; and (b) the no-restrictions policy for entering this field, due to the lower cost that these programmes require. Traditionally, Engineering has been in high demand, but the number of places offered has been scarce and the level of difficulty for students very high. Recently, the establishment of new programmes, especially short-cycle programmes, and the increasing participation of women have increased the share of Engineering students, reaching 23 per cent.

TABLE 2: Distribution of students by field (percentages)

	1996-97
Humanities	10
Experimental Sciences	8
Health Sciences	7
Social Sciences & Law	52
Engineering	23

Source: Consejo de Universidades (1996)

To have a more accurate picture of the Spanish university system, it is important to note that students spend considerably more time finishing their studies than is formally required. Therefore, the number of students graduating each year is relatively low, despite the large numbers of people enrolled in universities. This is explained by the high number of drops-out and students who fall behind. For instance, in the academic year 1992-93, 22 per cent of the students who enrolled in the first year were repeating their studies, and only 32 per cent of the students in the fifth year had entered the programme five years before.

The socio-economic background of university students

Table 3 presents the distribution by the educational level of the parents of university students in different fields and types of programmes. We can appreciate how the educational family background is determinant for the choice between long and short-cycle programmes, in such a way that children from more educated families have a clear preference for long-cycle programmes. The parents' educational level is less influential on the choice of field of study. Nevertheless, the most prestigious fields which lead to the most appreciated careers, like Health Sciences and Engineering, are also preferred more by children whose parents have a higher education degree.

TABLE 3: Students of different fields by the educational level of the father (columns add 100)

	Total	Long-C.	Short-C.	Human.	Soc. Sc.	Exp. Sc.	Health	Eng.
Illiterates	8	7	10	9	8	8	6	7
Primary	37	33	45	41	38	36	33	34
Secondary	28	28	27	26	28	29	26	29
Higher education	28	33	17	24	27	28	35	30

Source: Elaborated from data of the *Consejo de Universidades* (1996)

In Table 4, we present the socio-economic category of the main householder in families with children who have entered higher education. As reference, we also present in the first column the proportion of each category in the entire population. We may observe that:

- Although families whose main householder is a manager or director, are only 10.5 per cent of the population, their children represent 25 per cent of the young entering higher education.
- On the other hand, children of agricultural workers and unskilled workers, who represent 10.9 per cent of the population, make up only 3.6 per cent of the higher education population.
- The young people in families in which the main householder is a skilled worker either in the industrial or in the service sector, have a reasonable representation in higher education. Together, children from these families (53.7 per cent of the population) account for 46.3 per cent of the higher education population.

- On the whole, one half of the higher education population comes from families which are classified as workers, either skilled or not, while the other half belongs to families which main householder is an owner, employer or manager, despite this group representing only one third of the considered population.

TABLE 4: Socio-economic background of the young population by job of the main householder (columns add to 100)

	Total	Youths in Higher Ed.
Agriculture workers	8.0	2.0
Unskilled workers	2.9	1.6
Skilled industrial workers	32.3	21.2
Service-sector workers	21.4	25.1
Agriculture employers	7.9	5.5
Professionals and employers	17.0	19.7
Managers and directors	10.5	25.0

Source: Mora (1997a)

TABLE 5: Socio-economic background of the young population by deciles of family income per household member (columns add to 100)

	Total	Youths in Higher Ed.
1 Decile	9.5	2.9
2 Decile	10.6	5.8
3 Decile	10.8	7.5
4 Decile	11.4	9.3
5 Decile	11.6	10.8
6 Decile	11.8	13.2
7 Decile	10.8	13.0
8 Decile	9.8	13.2
9 Decile	8.2	12.8
10 Decile	5.6	11.5

Source: Mora (1997a)

In the second part of the table we present data on the family income per household member. The distribution of higher education population per decile is closer to the distribution population (obviously 10 per cent in each decile). However, the proportion of higher education population in the first three deciles is clearly below 10 per cent. We could conclude that approximately 30 per cent of the population with fewer economic resources are under-represented in Spanish higher education. Nevertheless, starting from the fourth decile, the distribution of higher education population is relatively uniform. We could conclude that in spite of the improvement in equity, less privileged groups are still under-represented in the higher education population. Low educational levels, low-skilled jobs, and low family incomes decrease the opportunity for children to enter higher education.

The financial system

Before the LRU, universities were directly financed by the central government. The LRU represented the beginning of a profound financial change. In the current financial model, regional governments grant funds to universities as a lump sum which they freely allocate internally. However, the main items of the expenditure budget (costs of personnel) and of the income budget (appropriations from regional governments and tuition fees) are fixed externally.

Not only did the financial system change, but also total funds devoted to universities increased enormously after the LRU. The total higher education expenditure in Spain reached 0.99 per cent of the GDP in 1994 (Table 6). This percentage is still below the average in developed countries, but considerably higher than the same figure in Spain ten years before: in 1985 the total expenditure in higher education was only 0.54 per cent of the GDP. Although this dramatic increase in the last decade is unique among developed countries, none of them had such a poor level of financing for higher education. Increasing the financial resources was an indispensable requirement for modernising universities and implementing reforms. Thus, this noteworthy increase could be considered as a national necessity for improving the access and quality of higher education, and bringing it up to international standards. Nevertheless, while public funds increased, allocation models based on explicit and rational criteria were not implemented to assign public funds among universities.

Unlike other European countries, Spanish universities have always charged tuition fees. Tuition fees accounted for about 20% of the university budget at the beginning of the 1980s. Private participation in higher education financing is 0.17 per cent of the GDP. Most of this comes from fees to public and private universities. Participation of enterprises in university financing is still incipient. In the last decade, the increase of public funds to higher education has been higher than the growth of private funds, also a peculiarity of Spain in the recent development of higher education financing among developed countries.

TABLE 6: Higher education expenditure (as percentage of the GDP)

	1985	**1990**	**1994**
Expenditure of public universities	0.47	0.72	0.88
Student aid	0.04	0.08	0.09
Total public expenditure in HE	0.43	0.70	0.82
Total private expenditure in HE	0.10	0.12	0.17
Total expenditure in HE	0.54	0.82	0.99

Source: MH (several years), Consejo de Universidades (1996), Ministry of Education (unpublished data)

Some regional governments and experts became conscious at the beginning of the 1990s of the necessity to change the financing system. They recommended setting up criteria to finance universities and to allocate public funds. This would at the same time stimulate quality and competitiveness among the institutions. The Council of Universities drafted the Report on Financing of the University (Consejo de Universidades, 1995; Mora and Villarreal, 1996) that proposed changes in the financial system to regional governments, introducing criteria based on inputs, outputs, and performance. The *Report* recommended that though a major part of the financing of universities should remain public in the future, self-financing in universities (fees and external contracts) should be increased, and some part of the public funds given to universities should be based on competitive criteria to promote quality. Nevertheless, three years after the publication of the *Report*, no actions have been implemented to carry out its recommendations.

Tuition fees and student aid

Tuition fees, that vary slightly in different regions and programmes, are approximately between 400 and 600 dollars per year, and do not represent a substantial obstacle in access to higher education. Middle and upper class families can afford to send their children to universities with little difficulty. As most students commute, few of them have to face housing costs. On the other hand, in a situation of high unemployment among young people, opportunity costs are also scarcely significant.

In Spain, and perhaps in other Mediterranean countries, the economic support for higher education students is socially considered as a private matter and, consequently, student expenditure is almost exclusively supported by the families. Student aid programmes are not as well developed as in other countries. Though student aid programmes have grown considerably in the last decade (Table 6), currently they only represent 0.09 per cent of the GDP. Student aid programmes are composed exclusively of grants. Academic performance and economic level are the major factors determining the receipt of a grant. The percentage of beneficiaries of any type of grant is about 16 per cent of the higher education students. This percentage is insufficient to offset social inequalities. Increasing total funds to promote equality in access to higher education, and the mobility of students, should be an objective for the development of higher education.

As a consequence of the poor student aid system, albeit for cultural reasons, geographical mobility is very low. Few people study in a university out of the region where their families live, and most students live with their parents. On the other hand, in most cases students do not have a job, not even a temporary or seasonal one. Thus, they are extremely dependent on their families.

Graduate labour market

As a consequence of the rapid increase in schooling, the educational composition of the population has changed noticeably during the decade, as we can appreciate in Table 7. In just ten years, for instance, the percentage of people with secondary or higher education has shifted from 34 to 49 per cent, and the percentage of people with a higher education degree multiplied by 2.3.

TABLE 7: Distribution of the adult population by educational level

Educational level	1977	1996
Illiteracy	8.9%	4.2%
Primary	70.7%	46.7%
Secondary	16.2%	39.5%
Higher education	4.2%	9.6%

The other face of the recent and fast educational development is unemployment. As can be seen in Table 8, unemployment is very high in Spain, though it decreases with the age groups and educational levels. In the case of higher education graduates, unemployment rates are very high for the younger groups but decrease dramatically for older groups. Women's unemployment is always higher than men's. This fact explains the massive incorporation of women in higher education, and why they are surpassing men in educational achievement at every level. For women, accumulating human capital is the best alternative they have to cope with a complex labour market.

Why is the labour market so difficult for young higher education graduates in Spain? Table 8 gives us a historical perspective of this phenomenon. In this table we can observe the development of the total number of individuals and of the unemployment rates, for both the whole population and higher education graduates. The growth in the number of graduates has been impressive. It has been multiplied by five. Nevertheless, the growth in the number of employed graduates has been slower, in such a way that the unemployment of graduates has increased steadily since 1975. In short, during this period, the Spanish economy has been able to create 1.6 millions of new jobs for graduates. The problem is that it has not been able to create the almost 1.8 million jobs that would be necessary to avoid unemployment.

TABLE 8: Population (16 years and over) and higher education graduates

Year	Total ('000)		Unemployment rate	
	Population	H. Ed. Grad.	Population	H. Ed. Grad.
1964	23,179	572	2.1%	0.9%
1970	24,850	775	1.2%	0.8%
1975	26,174	1,001	4.0%	2.8%
1980	27,031	1,335	11.7%	9.9%
1985	28,583	1,732	21.6%	16.4%
1990	30,334	2,316	16.2%	11.9%
1995	31,784	2,894	22.9%	16.2%

Source: Elaborated with data the Labour Force Survey (1964 to 1995)

Several reasons explain this lack of jobs for graduates:

a) Demography. People between 20 and 30 years of age are the baby-boomers in Spain.

b) Educational growth. The young generation is not only the most numerous but also the most educated.

c) Economy. The Spanish economy is not focused enough on developed technology, and does not have the capacity to generate enough jobs for graduates.

d) Finally, the higher education system in Spain, as in other Mediterranean countries (namely France and Italy), is focused on professional education. The educational system has been historically based on the transmission of knowledge and professional skills needed for occupations. When the type of occupations and competencies for jobs change very fast, this system is too rigid to adapt to the changing labour market. Consequently, competencies that students learn in the Spanish higher education system are not the most useful to cope with new situations.

Curricular changes

The traditional organisation of coursework in Spanish universities was a consequence of the centralised system which existed before the LRU. Curricula were closed, almost identical in every university, and had a very limited proportion of optional courses. Besides, courses were strongly focused on theoretical aspects of knowledge, leaving out the practical aspects. Courses were very long and extended over the entire academic year. The rigidity of this system was evident. Adaptability to society's needs, to students' curricular demands, and to the variability of labour market demands, required a substantial reform in the curriculum. This process of reform began several years ago when the Council of Universities fixed basic criteria for fulfilling new curricula for the programmes. Universities had extensive freedom for elaborating the detailed curricula of programmes according to their own objectives. The development of new curricula was carried out in each university in *ad hoc* committees for each programme. In these committees, a conflict arose between what was in the interest of academics, and the suitability of adapting curricula to the consumer and labour markets. How this conflict was resolved differed in each university and programme, but overall, the interests of academics were favoured too greatly.

The new curricula have a modular structure, the courses are delivered in semesters, the proportion of optional courses is high and the practical approach has been enhanced in every course. This new organisation of teaching has introduced a pedagogic revolution into Spanish universities, and has enhaced a trend towards a market-driven policy, since it tries to respond to the variable demands and needs of both students and eomployers. Nevertheless, very few years after the implementation of the new structure, it is evident that these goals are not going to be met. On one hand, teachers were not trained and motivated to introduce significant changes in the way they teach (traditionally lectures with limited interaction between teacher and students and among students). On the other hand, the still scarce financial resources in Spanish universities are incompatible with the growing proportion of optional courses and emphasis on practical concerns in most courses. At this moment, a counter-reform is taking place limiting the number of courses offered and reducing the teaching hours to avoid overloading students.

Accountability and assessment

The traditional higher education system, monopolised and completely regulated by the State, obviously did not concern itself with accountability. However, the more autonomous the system becomes, the more necessary accountability is. Accountability and assessment are two basic tools to inform society of how higher education institutions are functioning. In Spain, higher education accountability and assessment are quite recent; but over the last decade it has become a very-rapidly developing area. Research started to be evaluated in 1986 as a prerequisite step for receiving special funds for projects, but generalised assessment of individuals and institutions began only in the 1990s. In trying to develop accountability and quality in universities, the Council of Universities implemented an Experimental Programme for the Evaluation of the Quality of the University System (García *et al.*, 1995) in 1992, adapting the usual means for institutional evaluation to Spanish universities. This pilot programme evaluated teaching, research and management in several universities. The process ended in 1994 and the success of the project encouraged the Council of Universities to establish the National Programme for Assessment of Quality in Universities (Mora, 1997b; Consejo de Universidades, 1997; Mora and Vidal, 1998). This is a general evaluation process that is currently underway. Both promoting quality in the institutions, and developing accountability, particularly to their main clients (students) and those responsible for finance (regional governments), are the goals of this process.

The structure of power in the universities

Legal and structural changes have produced a change in the structure of power in universities. They have begun to loosen from the State control. Nevertheless, these changes do not necessarily mean that universities are moving quickly towards the market, in Clark's (1983) use of that term. Strong attractive forces from the State and from the academics are slowing down the approach to a more extensive influence of the market.

In spite of autonomy, the power that central and regional government have over universities remains strong, due to:

- The substantial economic dependence of public universities on the financial resources from the regional governments (for basic financing) and from the central government (for research funding).
- Governments still play a role in university management because they regulate tuition fees and staff salaries, both academic and non-academic. The equalisation of the earnings of staff in different universities or programmes, along with a rather generalised aversion Spaniards have towards geographical mobility, severely limits the ability of institutions to bid for the best staff. On the other hand, uniformity of tuition fees avoids sending market signs to potential clients on the value or the quality of the services that universities are offering.
- Regionalisation has increased the relative political value of universities and regional governments frequently demonstrate the desire to exert an internal influence (Neave, 1994).

On the other hand, the power that academics have over the higher education system is too strong, due to:

- The almost exclusive influence of academics on governing and managing universities. The democratic development of the Spanish university at the beginning of the 1980s was necessary to break down old structures and reduce dependence on the State. Nevertheless, the risk exists that the academic oligarchy will become the only dominant force in the higher education system.
- The small influence of community as a whole on the governing of universities due to the limited power of the Social Council.
- The lack of tradition in the Spanish university in considering itself as a service to community. Consequently, the lack of mechanisms for assessment and accountability, as a tool for informing society.

Challenges to be coped with

The development of the Spanish higher education system in recent years could be considered as very positive. The increasing autonomy with the corresponding structural changes, the amount of resources, both financial and human, aimed at higher education, and the shift to a mass higher education system, have dramatically transformed the higher education system which could be considered significantly better now than it was two decades ago. Nevertheless, the higher education system is now facing a change which has developed gradually throughout the last thirty years: the stabilisation of the number of students, and the slowing down in the increase of resources given to higher education. Universities are entering a new situation of stability where quality is the most important challenge to be coped with. It is generally assumed that it is necessary to introduce legal and organisational changes in universities in order to confront this challenge with success. The deficiencies that have come up during the last period of fruitful transformation should be eliminated to improve the overall quality of universities.

Recent changes have moved the Spanish higher education system from the category 'State', in the well known scheme of Clark (1983), to another position closer to the category 'academic oligarchy'. Although market forces are gaining influence in Spanish higher education, the system is still too far from the 'market' (Mora, 1997c). In our opinion, market forces should be incremented in order to develop competitiveness and increasing diversification among institutions, with the aim of giving better service to students and employers.

In recent times, the main impetus for the reform was the modernisation and democratisation of universities, along with the adaptation of the higher education system to the socio-economic needs of an industrialised country. Now, it is time to introduce market forces in higher education. Bearing in mind that this is a general trend elsewhere, it is presumed that market influences will eventually become an important co-ordinating factor in Spanish higher education. It is unlikely that the market will ever reach the preponderous influence it has achieved in other countries, but it is quite likely that the Spanish higher education system will move towards an equilibrium point in which the State (as the surrogate for all of the community), academia (as the experts in the production process), and the market (as the best means for satisfying the needs of students and employers), will act harmoniously.

From our point of view, the introduction of market forces in Spanish higher education requires some structural changes. They should be the key factors which will allow for further actions in improving quality in the near future. At least, the following three aspects of the current structure of the higher education system could be considered as key factors for further advancements: new financial arrangements, student mobility, and new governing structures for institutions. Each of these is considered in turn.

New financial arrangements

The current financial system has two aspects that should be changed: (a) the allocation system of public funds; and (b) the capacity of institutions to control their own financial resources. The need for these changes is not specific to Spain. There is a general trend in other countries recommending action on these same aspects (OECD, 1990; Eicher and Chevaillier, 1993).

There are different mechanisms for introducing performance and quality-related funding. The objective of an allocation system should be to stimulate quality and diversification in university services. When funds are linked to specific objectives, the result should be a stimulus on the innovation and quality of universities. Some of these mechanisms were proposed in the Report mentioned above (Mora and Villarreal, 1996).

Another important transformation that should be implemented is giving universities a greater control over their own resources. Universities should have more freedom to determine tuition fees. They should be set according to the regional governments but depending on the demand and quality of services offered by each university or by each programme.

Mobility of students

Before the LRU, all universities offered the same curricula, and degrees were granted by the State, not by universities. The country was divided in sectors with each one having one university. Students living in a sector were allocated to this university if the programme in which they wished to enrol in was available. This system changed, and now students may apply at other universities. Nevertheless, most students still choose the university nearest to their homes. Although universities are diversifying, potential students do not perceive differences in goals or quality, mainly because it is only recently that universities began to give indications about their unique qualities. Financial reasons also prevent students from attending universities in other regions. It is difficult for young students to obtain funds from a part-time job. This, coupled with the strong fondness that most Spaniards feel for their local area, makes university students prefer to live at home with their parents.

The mobility of students, and the possibility of selecting programmes among a wide number of universities, either Spanish or European, should be a key factor in moving the Spanish university system to be more market-driven. Although it is difficult to change aspects firmly rooted in the traditional culture, an effective programme for grants and loans should have an important effect on the selection that students have to make on the institution. The availability of resources of their own would allow students to select programmes and universities based on the quality of the institution. At the same time, they would be more involved in their work as students during their stay at a higher education institution. This financial mechanism would help students turn into partners in the educational process, and not be mere consumers of education (Phillips, 1989).

New governing structure of institutions

As we have mentioned before, the governing structure of universities changed dramatically during the eighties transforming them into institutions with a high level of internal democracy. This change has had a very positive effect on the renewal and management of higher education institutions. Nevertheless, what was adequate for the change and the growth of the system is not so for the new situation in which institutions have to compete for resources and students, and where quality is now the main goal. The need for changing the governing structure of universities in order to make them more entrepreneurial and more efficient, is a general feeling among experts and analysts of higher education.

It is considered among experts that the main change to be introduced is the method for electing the rector, and in the whole way of running universities. The current election system by staff and students should be changed and replaced by a new system in which community has greater, if not total influence. A Board, composed of representatives from community as a whole, should be the body in charge of universities, and responsible for the appointment of rectors. They should be appointed according to their managerial abilities for running big companies, because big corporations are precisely what universities are currently becoming. A new type of rector should also introduce new managerial styles in running universities, taking part of the strong power that professors currently have. The university autonomy should be seen as the capacity that institutions and academics have for freely teaching and researching, but not as an exclusive right for the management of institutions by academics themselves.

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THE TURKISH HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM IN THE 1990s

HASAN SIMSEK

Abstract - *This paper attempts to document the challenges facing the Turkish higher education system. Our analysis suggests that the nature of these problems and issues resonate closely with those that have sparked major reform initiatives in other parts of the world. Among the most important of these are the demand for enrollment expansion in the face of declining public resources; inadequate levels of teaching staff of high quality; inefficiencies exacerbated by shrinking public funding; the need for alternative ways of diversifying revenue sources; the problem of extremely tight governmental regulations and bureaucracies in the organisation and administration of higher education; and the deterioration of quality in many areas.*

Introduction

Higher education systems have been characterised by a dramatic worldwide restructuring since the early 1980s. This restructuring was sparked off by a series of events and developments, with the Oil Embargo of 1973 being the last kick by which industrialised countries sensed the need to develop new perspectives for their economies. Soon after, by the early years of 1980s, the political scene in these countries changed and parties advocating new liberal tones began to hold power (U.S., Britain, Germany, Australia). Consistent with the essence of their economic policies, they also raised doubts about public establishments, education, health and others based on efficiency and accountability measures. Drastic restructuring efforts followed in many nations in elementary and secondary education. Higher education was no exception.

In a series of articles titled 'Towers of Babble: Whatever Happened to Universities?' *The Economist* issued a critical evaluation of the modern university: Knowledge production activities are increasingly running out of the academe to non-academic research institutions, life-long learning is becoming important (and universities are apparently not ready to respond to this need), governments are more critical today about financing higher education and they make them accountable. In conclusion to such an analysis, the claim is made that what is needed is the 'Re-invention of the University' (*The Economist*, December 25, 1993-January 7, 1994).

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In other words, for many national higher education systems in the world, the 1990s have been years of reflection and reform. The theme of accountability, for instance, is running strong in the American public higher education sector. Many contend that the 'golden years' of the 1960s which were characterised by unlimited growth with abundant finance capacity is no longer the case (Simsek and Heydinger, 1994). Over and above accountability, the restructuring of the American higher education sector has focused on the following five areas:

1. Restoring quality - given that during the years of growth and expansion, various aspects of quality (such as teaching, advising and orientation, services, campus facilities, etc.) eroded to such an extent that it could be said that American higher education became mediocre.
2. Accountability - in that legislatures and the public are more stringent on the unaccountable use of public monies, and they are more ready to raise questions about the direction and flow of public resources (Kerr, 1990: 9; Altbach and Finkelstein, 1996: 2).
3. The increasing deficits of Ph.Ds - in that 'demand for new faculty will rise faster than supply as faculty members employed in the 1960s began to retire and as enrollment start to rise again' (Kerr, 1990: 13).
4. Restoring the sense of community which has declined over the years due to competing interests and extreme professional specialisation.
5. Restoring the role of the university in the state's and nation's economic development and industrial competitiveness, a role which has now appeared under the name of 'partnership university' (Stauffer, 1990).

This state of flux is also symptomatic of many European national higher education systems, who either have gone through or are going through major reforms. In Germany, for example, the higher education system must cope with the difficulty of an ever-increasing student population demanding higher education. The scenario of expansion is not expected to be matched, however, by a corresponding level of resources allocated to higher education. We therefore have a situation where the number of students has almost doubled from 1975 to 1991, but where the number of teaching staff has increased only by 20%. This fact alone has serious implications for several aspects of higher education, including administration, organisation, curriculum, staffing, teaching, and research (Mitter and Weiss, 1993).

In the Netherlands, the Dutch government initiated a number of restructuring projects in 1985 to make the higher education system more efficient and effective, diversified, flexible, and adaptive. The first thing that was done to achieve this goal was to lift stringent government regulations and extensive control mechanisms on higher education institutions, thus giving greater autonomy to institutions and encouraging diversification for the national system (Maassen and Potman, 1990).

Similar patterns of reform are observed in other traditionally centralised and bureaucratic higher education systems. The governments of Sweden, Austria and France developed plans to decentralise their higher education systems to make them more flexible, responsive, accountable and diversified. In all three systems, there is an apparent move away from the classical collegial system to a diversified market system (Brandstrom and Franke-Wikberg, 1992; Langer, 1990; *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, June 15, 1993).

Similar reform initiatives can also be observed in higher education in the Arab World, where education at all levels is highly centralised, with ministries maintaining tight control over curriculum, admission and recruitment. To remedy this, many Arab governments consider deregulation of the higher education system, and privatisation is increasingly on the agenda. Along with the strategy of privatisation, some Arab governments have freed up regulations in order to allow foreign universities to offer degree programmes either in collaboration with national institutions or through distance education mechanisms (Coffman, 1996).

The World Bank and UNESCO have recently conducted studies on general trends in world higher education systems. The 1994 World Bank document titled '*Higher Education: The Lesson of Experience*' diagnosed the problems of higher education in the following areas: *low quality* stemming from expansion in enrollment with limited resources; *inefficiency* in terms of waste of public resources, programme duplications and high drop-out rates; *inequity* in terms of higher public subsidies in favor of higher education compared to primary and secondary education; and, *management and institutional leadership* in higher education (Kent, 1996: 3). The UNESCO document, on its part, tracks out three important trends in the world's higher education systems, namely enormous quantitative expansion, inadequate diversification of institutions and academic programmes, and financial constraints for an ever expanding system (Kent, 1996: 3).

All in all, there are various common themes running across reform efforts in individual national higher education systems as we reported above. Some of these common themes can be summarised as follows:

1. *Quality vs. Quantity:* While many higher education systems are facing an increasing demand for higher education services, systems also are struggling to maintain quality.
2. *Centralisation vs. Decentralisation:* In traditionally centralised systems where there have always been stringent government regulations and control, there is a consistent worldwide trend towards a more decentralised, flexible and

autonomous configuration. This trend can be characterised as a move from classical bureaucratic/collegial structures to a market orientation. In some systems that have traditionally been identified with a loosely coupled, market orientation, there are signs of increasing government interventions in terms of imposing more accountability measures and standards, as is the case with the American higher education system.

3. *Monopolisation vs. Diversification:* In many countries where the higher education system has traditionally been dominated by public institutions, there are signs of reform either in the form of privatising public education or developing incentives for private and non-governmental organisations to enter into the higher education sector, in some instances, even inviting foreign institutions.
4. *Specialist vs. Interdisciplinary orientation:* Traditional academic specialisation is giving way to interdisciplinary approaches in research and teaching. This eventually will have an enormous impact on the internal organisation and processes in higher education institutions. It is reasonable to expect that such structures and processes must be diversified and decentralised to allow more interchange and collaboration among the faculty members in different fields.
5. *Public funding vs. Cost sharing:* Government subsidies for higher education are no longer abundant anywhere. In developing countries in particular - where access to higher education is limited and where only the well prepared can get through - there is a widespread belief that public subsidies for higher education are covertly channelled to the wealthy. Cost-sharing, as a means of supplementing limited public resources, is therefore appearing on the agenda of many countries which had never considered such mechanisms before.

The Turkish higher education system: an overview

It is important to provide a brief overview of the development of Turkey's higher education system before making connections between the trends outlined in the previous section, and the present state of the Turkish university sector. In Turkey, Turgut Ozal came to power in 1983 following two years of military rule. He was quick and successful in implementing his right wing, liberal policies, focusing in particular on the economy, and banking, telecommunications, transportation and other services. Within less than a decade, the face of the country was dramatically transformed, much to the surprise of many foreign agencies and individuals. However, in contrast to his counterparts in other nations, education and higher education were not high on the priority list of Ozal's reform agenda, except in terms of several loan agreements with the World Bank concerning tertiary education and the establishment of the Council of Higher Education to coordinate activities of higher education institutions in the country. Although higher education does not have a long history of change, the need is apparent and voiced by various circles of reform minded individuals and establishments since the early 1990s.

According to Guruz et al. (1994, 151), when the Turkish Republic was founded in 1923, the Turkish higher education system and its institutions (with the exception of the Istanbul Technical University) had not evolved 'naturally' as it had done in Europe, namely on the foundation of institutions that had evolved over centuries as a result of experience and of struggles. Many institutions were merely transplanted from the European system by the Revolution's reformist leaders.

The period of formation (1773-1946)

We do not find a strong tradition of higher education in the Ottoman Empire. The first higher education establishment was founded in 1773 as a military institution in engineering for the Navy right after the defeat of the Ottoman Navy at the hands of the Russians. Several years later, a higher section of this institution was founded, and following the Revolution this became the Istanbul Technical University. The foundation year of this single establishment proves that Ottomans lagged 800 years behind Europe, considering the fact that prototypes of modern European higher education institutions were founded in the 11th and 12th centuries (University of Bologna in 1088 and University of Paris in 1160) (Guruz, et al., 1994: 151).

Numerous unsuccessful attempts were made to establish institutions of higher education between 1827 and 1900. The Ottoman University was founded in 1900, offering programmes in law, medicine, religion, literature and biology. This institution was to be later reorganised under the name of Istanbul University after the Revolution.

Robert College was founded by the American missionary Cyrus Hamlin in 1863 in Istanbul. It was first opened as a liberal arts college under the ordinance of the State of New York. In 1912, engineering departments were added to the College's academic programmes. In 1971, Bosphorus University was founded in 1971 on the original campus of Robert College,

As Guruz et al. state, the emergence of the modern Turkish higher education system coincides with the War of Independence, which was followed by the proclamation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. Until this date, all higher education establishments were located in Istanbul, and there was no single higher education institution in the rest of the country. After Ataturk's designation of Ankara as the capital city of the Republic, the School of Law (now the Faculty of Law at Ankara University), the Gazi Institute of Education (now Gazi Faculty of Education at Ankara University), and the School of Agriculture (now the Faculty of Agriculture at Ankara University) were established in 1924, 1926, and 1930, respectively.

An incident deserves attention here because of its importance as a turning point in the Turkish higher education system. A Swiss professor, Albert Malche, was invited to Turkey to evaluate the status of Istanbul University in 1932. Professor Malche raised awareness of the need for a body that would be responsible for the University. He also pointed out that the University was distant and isolated from society. Following the evaluation of this report, Law 2252 was legislated in parliament in 1933 in order to reform the higher education system in a number of ways. Among the aspects that were focused on, one could mention organisational and administrative structures, teaching, research, academic programmes, and operations. Some new terms - such as 'rector' (president), 'dean' and 'faculty' - were used for the first time (Kisakurek, 1976, 18-19). Due to these and other developments, it could truly be said that 'The 1933 reform is indeed the beginning of the history of modern university in Turkey' (Guruz et al., 1994: 153).

Between 1933 and 1946, three new faculties were founded in Ankara, namely the Faculty of Language, History and Geography (1937), the Faculty of Science (1943) and the Faculty of Medicine (1945).

The period of growth (1946-1973)

The year 1946 is considered another turning point in the history of Turkish higher education. Law 4936 which was promulgated in that year granted Universities autonomy in governance, including the authority to elect rectors and deans.

After the 1950 elections, the new government opened new universities on the American Land Grant model, with the belief that the high-quality technical personnel that were needed by the country would be better educated within the framework of this model. These universities - the Egean University (1955), the Black Sea Technical University (1955), the Middle East Technical University (1956), and Ataturk University (1957) were designed to be campus universities. However, except for the Middle East Technical University, the other three universities later evolved much like other typical Turkish universities due to the fact that they were placed under the governance of the Ministry of Education. In addition to that, they were supervised and supported in the foundation years by the academic personnel of Istanbul and Ankara Universities, who were traditional and conservative in their approach. Only the Middle East Technical

University has successfully evolved in a manner that is consistent with the original foundational idea, and it is now one of the several prestigious universities in the country (Higher Education Council 1996: 3). Until 1976, it was governed by a Board of Trustees.

Law 1750 was promulgated in 1973, setting up, for the first time, a Higher Education Council to coordinate and plan the higher education system. The Law did not focus on funding and internal administrative structures of universities, which were in fact quite archaic. Its main purpose was to regulate the higher education system in terms of administration, coordination, control and planning at the national level.

The period of unregulated growth (1973-1981)

Law 1750 was however largely ineffective for a number of different reasons. University personnel tended to see the coordination and planning function of the Higher Education Council as a threat to academic freedom, and a strong resistance to interference was put up. As a result, between 1973 and 1981 the system continued to grow in an unplanned manner. For example, ten new universities were opened outside of three big metropolitan cities (Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir), with each university administering its own admission procedures. The increasing number of universities in different provinces of the country, together with variations in admission criteria and procedures, became a serious problem for students. They had to travel from university to university, from province to province to apply for admission and to sit for examinations. To solve this, a Student Selection and Placement Center was established in 1974.

Over the years, this uncontrolled growth created a serious problem for the higher education system containing various kinds of institutions of higher learning with different goals, duration and status. Four major categories of institutions were observed in this period (Guruz et al.1994: 156):

1. Four-year undergraduate programmes provided by faculties in universities;
2. Four-year undergraduate programmes provided by Academies of Engineering and Architecture, of Economics and Commerce, and of Art (these were independent establishments which had no relation with universities);
3. Two-year higher vocational institutions and four-year academies of sports supervised by various ministries and by the Ministry of Education;
4. Three-year teacher training institutions run by the Ministry of Education.

There was clearly a need to regulate and consolidate the system, a task that was embarked upon in 1981.

The period of regulation and consolidation (1981-1995)

The higher education enrollment rate out of the relevant cohort age was only 5.9% in the academic year of 1980-81, far behind many developing countries comparable to Turkey. For instance, the higher education enrollment rate during that same year was 37.7% in South Korea, 27% in Greece and 17.8% in Syria. In addition to that, only 17 out of every 100 university students were able to complete their university education. 10% of all first year students were dropping out at the end of the their first academic year, while 33% of all entering students were dropping out in their second, third and fourth years of study. It was widely recognised that universities were not using their full capacity, that there was a serious unequal distribution of academic staff among the universities, and that universities were functioning without any clear visions for the future needs of the country, besides being detached from each other (Higher Education Council 1991: 1). The need for regulation was clear. This time, partly due to the 1980 military takeover, the academics could not muster enough strength to block reform initiatives as they had done in the past, on the basis of arguments in favour of academic freedom and autonomy. In 1981, The Higher Education Law 2547 was put into effect.

This Law came to be considered as one of the most comprehensive higher education provisions since the 1933 reform. It related to many domains of higher education, including the revitalisation of the Higher Education Council as an intermediary body to regulate and coordinate the system, the creation of a number of new concepts (such as graduate schools, a department-based academic organisation, academic promotions based on international publications), and the introduction of such structural changes as the consolidation of 166 different higher education establishments under 9 new universities, and transforming teacher training institutions into faculties offering four-year programmes within a university setting. As the Turkish Higher Education Council has recently noted,

> 'With the reform, a unified system of higher education was introduced and a coherent and interrelated pattern of institutional diversity created. All the academies, teacher training institutes and vocational schools were reorganised; while some of them were, where viable and convenient, amalgamated to form new universities, some were transformed into new faculties and affiliated to the universities in their own regions. Thus, with the establishment of nine more state universities in 1982 and one foundation university in 1984, the total number of universities rose

> from 19 to 28. In 1992, 24 new state universities were established in different regions of the country. At present, there are 61 universities altogether in the country, four of which are private' (Turkish Higher Education Council, 1996b: 2).

Since the publication of this report, seven new private universities were established - all in Istanbul, bringing the total number of Turkish universities to 68.

Within a decade, i.e. between 1981 to 1991, the number of students enrolled in four-year university programmes increased five times, from 41,574 to 199,571. Enrollment rates increased from 5.9% to 9.6%. The number of teaching staff increased by 65% from 20,917 to 34,469. The number of assistant, associate and full professors went up from 4905 to 11,070, an increase of 126%. At the same time, the reform had a positive impact on the quality of higher education in terms of number of students per teaching staff and the graduation rate. The number of students per teaching staff was 84 in 1978, 46 in 1981, and despite a substantial increase in enrollment, the number of students per teaching staff dropped to 39 in 1991. The graduation rate increased from 50% to 80% in science and engineering, and from 70% to 90% in health sciences.

The Turkish higher education system in the 1990s: issues and constraints

The issues that the Turkish higher education system must address in the late nineties can be categorised under the following headings: (1) Pressure for further expansion and inefficient distribution of enrollment in various kinds of post-secondary institutions; (2) demand for qualified teaching staff in adequate numbers; (3) shrinking public resources, inefficiency and diversification of funding for higher education; (4) organisational and management issues including institutional diversification, and (5) quality. Each of these will be tackled in turn in the sections below.

Pressure for further expansion and inefficient distribution of enrollment in various kinds of post-secondary institutions

Although enrollment rates in Turkish tertiary-level institutions have increased exponentially, there is still an increasing demand for higher education. According to the Student Selection and Placement Center data, the number of applicants for higher education increased from 361,158 to 1,389,776 within the fourteen years from 1983 to 1996. This figure shows that the total number of university applicants has increased almost four times. The number of students actually enrolled in higher education programmes, including those enrolled in the Faculty of Distance Teaching, increased from 105,246 to 384,885 between 1983 and 1996. Although the capacity of higher education expanded 2.5 times for formal (full-time, institution-based programmes) and 10 times for non-formal education (primarily through distance teaching), the gross age-cohort enrollment rate is still 12.2% for formal education and 21% overall (i.e. including non-formal education). In this sense, Dundar and Lewis (1996: 11) are correct when they note that 'Turkey has one of the lowest higher education participation rates among comparable developing and OECD countries'.

The problem of demand for higher education will be exacerbated due to the expected increase in enrollment rates at the secondary education level. These were 32% in 1985-86, but increased to 48% in the academic year of 1994-95. It is projected that this trend will continue over the next years. In sum, as the Higher Education Council notes, given that Turkey has a low enrollment rate in higher education, and given that the trend of increasing participation in secondary schooling is expected to continue, 'the Turkish higher education must inevitably grow without sacrificing quality' (Higher Education Council, 1996a: 15).

There are a number of possible ways to address the potential for growth: increasing the number of higher education institutions, both state and private; increasing the capacity of current higher education institutions; increasing the capacity of non-formal education; and increasing the number of two-year programmes, including two-year post-secondary vocational and technical schools (Dundar and Lewis, 1996, 3).

With regards to the creation of new universities, the number of institutions increased from 19 to 28 (including the first private university in the country) in 1984. Twenty four new state universities and seven private universities were established in 1992 and in 1996 respectively, so that, as noted earlier, the total number of universities in Turkey is now 68. Establishing new universities is far from remedying the problem because of the inherent problems with 'supply side policies'. For example, as Dundar and Lewis (1996) have pointed out, such policies cause internal inefficiencies given that most of the newly established universities in the country have higher costs of instruction as well as higher unit costs per student than the older universities. Moreover, 'although the number of institutions and students have more than tripled in the decade between 1970 and 1996, the amount of recurring public resources allocated to higher education has only increased in real terms by about 15% to 20%' (Dundar and Lewis 1996: 5). Thus, dividing a little pie into even further pieces ends up detracting from the relatively high quality instruction offered by older institutions.

Concerning the capacity increase in current higher education institutions, Guruz, et al. (1994: 168) report that from 1983 to 1992, there was a 42% enrollment increase in formal education, and within one academic year (1992-93), the capacity was increased by another 33%. The authors state that 'the Turkish higher education system has already exceeded the optimal capacity at the four-year, undergraduate level' (Guruz et al. 1994: 168). This is to say that any further push for capacity increase in formal higher education will undoubtedly damage quality. One could argue that the diversification of higher education through increasing the share of private and non-governmental institutions should be seriously considered. Today, the share of these institutions in the total higher education enrollment is about 2%. However, since these institutions currently aspire to play an élite role, a sudden and significant increase in their enrollment figures is not expected in the foreseeable future. So, the burden for capacity increase will substantially be on the public sector of the higher education in the near future.

Expanding the capacity for non-formal education can be another alternative for increasing enrollment in higher education. Non-formal education has grown phenomenally since the 1981 reform. For example, from 1983 to 1993, the number of students admitted to higher education programmes increased from 105,246 to 324,402. The share of non-formal education in the same period jumped from 14.2% to 47.8%. That is, about half of the total enrolled students in post-secondary education is composed of enrollment in the Faculty of Distance Teaching. The increase in the period of 1983-93 is 934%, a tenfold difference. Moreover, the share of non-formal education in post-secondary enrollment has always been very high in Turkey, and it ranks second after Thailand (50%) in world national systems (Guruz et al. 1994: 168; Higher Education Council 1996a: 21). In this sense, rather than further increasing the enrollment in non-formal education, it needs to be substantially reduced considering the fact that demand for non-formal education is in decline (whereas there were 575,220 places available for admission, only 167,933 registered in non-formal education programmes).

The last alternative that could be explored to broaden the capacity of the higher education sector is to increase the number of two-year post-secondary vocational and technical schools. The number of students attending two-year vocational-technical post-secondary institutions was 126,347 in the 1995-96 academic year. The share of this sector in the total higher education enrollment is 13%, which is one of the lowest rates compared to other comparable national systems. For example, this ratio is 22% in South Korea and 63% in Singapore (Higher Education Council 1996a: 20-21). Many observers of the Turkish higher education sector generally agree that a substantial increase in the share of the two-year vocational and technical post-secondary enrollment is the only viable solution to expand the capacity in formal higher education (Guruz et al., 1994; Dundar and Lewis, 1996).

Demand for qualified teaching staff in adequate numbers

Since the 1981 reform, there has been considerable success in increasing the number of teaching staff in the Turkish higher education system. The number of total teaching staff increased from 19,757 to 50,259 between 1983 and 1995, a 154% increase. Excluding research assistants, instructors and other full time teaching personnel, the number of academic personnel (full, associate and assistant professors) rose from 6,826 to 16,317 in the period of 1984-1995, a 139% increase in academic staff with Ph.D.s (Higher Education Council, 1996a: 28-29; Guruz, et al., 1994: 181-82).

Despite these dramatic improvements in the number of teaching staff, student/faculty ratios as a better indicator of quality in higher education need to be examined. Concerning this, student/faculty ratio was 25 in formal education in 1980, and 24 in 1994, a slight decrease. This is still alarming considering the fact that Turkey again scores second after Thailand (the ratio is 29) in terms of student/faculty ratio. This ratio, for example, is 12 in Brazil, 18 in France, 15 in the United States, 10 in the UK, and 7 in Japan (Guruz, et al., 1994: 183; Dundar and Lewis, 1996: 19).

Two other points deserve attention at this stage. Besides a faculty shortage in general, the problem is even more urgent in some fields such as education, economics, management, electronics, biotechnology, molecular biology, informatics, fotonics, robotics, ceramics and composite materials (Guruz, et al., 1994: 188).

Three strategies can be used to solve the problem of faculty shortage: joint graduate programmes between advanced and newly established universities, providing scholarships for following degree courses abroad, and changing the mission of some high ranking universities into élite research institutions.

As to joint graduate programmes between advanced and newly established universities, the Higher Education Council amended a regulation in 1983 to make the higher education system more flexible to allow inter-university degrees and programmes. Under this regulation, research assistants, especially those working at newly established universities, are allowed to enroll in the graduate programmes of more advanced universities. Only 723 individuals benefited from this regulation since 1983. The policy has not been as successful as expected due to several reasons: first is the lack of the necessary material conditions, since there is no support mechanism designed for students' residence in host universities. Given that all advanced universities are located in the largest metropoles of

Turkey, it is very costly for students to pay high rents. Second, there is no financial aid offered to students to cover expenses incurred in the preparation of their thesis. In addition to this, instruction in two of these advanced and most sought-after universities (i.e. the Middle East and the Bosphorus Universities) is in English and students need to reach the required level of English proficiency. The regulation does not specify who has to pay for the tuition in English. Third, there are no manadatory provisions in the regulation. As a result, in many newly established universities, research assistants are assigned courses to teach and administrators are reluctant to provide such an opportunity to their research assistants.

Concerning the scholarships for degrees abroad, it has widely been documented that graduate education has always been weak in Turkish higher education institutions. For example, the number of total graduates of Ph.D. programmes increased form 805 to 1,352 in 1985 which was much lower than the increase in undergraduate enrollment. So, it was obvious that domestic institutions were unable to solve the problem of faculty shortage. To remedy this problem, the Higher Education Council initiated a policy in 1987 to provide scholarships for Masters and Doctoral degrees for research assistants working at universities. Since 1987, the number of total students sent abroad for graduate degrees increased gradually. By 1995, this number was 3,090. However, the approximate monthly cost of a student studying abroad is about $US1,800 (the cost is about one fourth of this in a good Turkish university), which equals to an annual cost of $US42 million (Higher Education Council, 1996a: 39). This is, no doubt, a very high cost, and the Higher Education Council is now considering utilising a number of high ranking local institutions by providing them with institutional incentives such as a reduction in intake of undergraduate students, and extra funds for research and graduate education. There is also a serious proposal to create a two-tier higher education system in which there will be some élite research universities (currently no more than 4 or 5) and, the rest will be composed of mass teaching institutions. This issue is elaborated further in the discussion of organisational and management issues that the Turkish higher education system has to confront.

Shrinking public resources for higher education funding and the need to reform a public funding scheme of higher education

Although the Higher Education Council was established at the end of 1981 and started operating fully thereafter, it was only in 1983 that the higher education budget was separated from the general budget of the Ministry of National Education and that the Higher Education Council has become an autonomous authority responsible for coordinating university budgets.

The main source of income for the universities and their affiliated institutions is the State subsidy allocated for each fiscal year by Parliament. This sum is based on the budget proposals which the Higher Education Council submits through the Council of Ministers, and which is arrived at by taking into consideration the individual budget proposals of the universities themselves. The budget thus allocated for each university mainly consists of two parts, infrastructure investments and recurrent expenditures. Infrastructure investments are coordinated by the State Planning Organisation, and it is upon the initial approval of this agency that allocations are made for infrastructure investments (Higher Education Council, 1996b: 20). It is evident that the system of financing of higher education in Turkey is inefficient, based as it is on negotiated, incremental line-item budgeting. It hardly provides opportunities for wise and efficient use of resources, and greatly reduces accountability. For example, in 1993, in a typical institution's budget, 62% went to personnel salaries, 10% to other recurrent expenditures, 23% to investments, and 5% to transfers (Guruz et al., 1994: 201). The prescription is quite clear: developing a different funding scheme by which institutions are allowed to use resources flexibly, and, in turn, would be held accountable.

In Turkey, public spending per person in education reached the highest level ever in the history of the modern Republic of $US114 in 1993, then dropped to $68 in 1996. In the same period, appropriation for education from the national budget decreased from 22% to 9.8%. The ratio of appropriation for education to GNP dropped from 4% to 3%. The higher education's share of the national budget was 4.1% in 1993, and 2.6% in 1996. By the same token, the ratio of higher education appropriation to GNP decreased from 0.9% to 0.8% in the same period (Higher Education Council, 1996a: 53).

Public spending per student in formal education stayed almost constant from 1981 to 1990 ($US2,100), and dropped sharply since 1993 ($US1,509 in 1996). This clearly indicates that the public financing capacity for higher education has not kept up with the enrollment increase especially in recent years. As Dundar and Lewis (1996) observed, this funding problem has seriously weakened the quality of higher education in many respects.

To tackle this problem, policy-makers have considered diversification of funding primarily through cost-sharing with students. 'About 97.5% of all the funding for higher education in Turkey currently comes from public funds and these funds consume about one-quarter of all public outlays in education. Even as a majority of all students in higher education have historically come from middle- and high-income families, there has been little success in cost-recovery through tuition. Higher education is essentially no-to-low cost and almost totally financed by the central government in Turkey' (Dundar and Lewis, 1996: 16). According to 1995 Higher Education Council data, the share of student tuition in total university budgets constitutes only 3.5%. 'Although a national tuition policy was introduced through legislation in 1984 and such fees could be generated from undergraduate students for up to 25% of recurrent expenditures of the university, this policy was never implemented' (Dundar and Lewis, 1996: 17).

What is even more striking is that the 3.5% income collected through tuition fees is primarily spent in subsidising student services rather than for instructional purposes. For example, 50% of this income was spent for nutrition, 18% for health, 4% for sport, 4% for housing, 4% for cultural activities, and 4% for other social services in 1995 (Higher Education Council, 1996b: 57). On top of this small amount of tuition, almost 40% of all students receive interest-free loans for their payments, 40% receive interest-free credit for personal expenses, and 30% live in highly subsidised units. As a result, private rates of return to higher education in Turkey are estimated to be very high, much higher than in many developing countries (Dundar and Lewis, 1996: 17). The picture is quite clear, and cost recovery schemes must be implemented through higher tuition and fees which should be close to 20% to 25% of recurrent expenditures as stated in the 1984 legislation. This becomes even more critical considering the fact that students' share of total recurrent expenditures is much higher in other countries comparable to Turkey. For example, it was 26% in Chile, 25% in Indonesia, 23% in South Korea, 20% in Spain and Israel, 15% in the Philippines, 9% in Taiwan, and 5% in India in 1992 (Guruz et al., 1994: 246).

As has already been intimated earlier, the funding mechanism for public higher education (negotiated, incremental line-item budgeting) in Turkey has to be changed to make the system more efficient and accountable. The findings of the Dundar and Lewis study (1996) based on an extensive analysis of the system indicate that the Turkish higher education is highly inefficient. Guruz et al. (1996) suggest that the Turkish higher education system must get away from a highly inefficient funding scheme of negotiated, incremental line-item budgeting. Instead they propose that university budgets should be simplified by omitting unnecessary details through a 'lump sum' appropriation scheme. Through this, they state, university administrators will become the owners of their budgets, and this would lead to a much wiser use of resources, under some accountability measures supervised by an intermediary body, such as the Higher Education Council.

Organisational and management issues including institutional diversification

An organigram of the Turkish higher education hierarchy would show the Higher Education Council at the very top. The Council is made up of 24 members, including the president. This also constitutes the Higher Education Council

General Assembly which is the main decision and policy-making body. Among the 23 members, 8 are selected for the Executive Committee that ensures the execution of policies adopted, and implementation of resolutions passed by the General Assembly. Moreover, in order to maintain close cooperation and collaboration with the universities, an Inter-university Board and a Rectors' Committee function for the coordination and planning of higher education policies. Since its inception as the coordinating and supervising body of higher education in 1981, the Higher Education Council has always been an issue of debate in academic and public as well as political circles.

In the 1960 Constitution, a purely collegial approach was accepted for universities, where the appointment of rectors and deans was made on the basis of elections. Some refer to this organisational pattern as 'an academic oligarchy' (Clark, 1983). Especially between 1973 and 1980, universities did not effectively respond to changes in society, and they became introverted, isolated, and inert. The 1981 reform accepted the principle of the appointment of rectors and deans, and did away with elections. As can be expected, the 1981 reform provisions concerning such structural changes promoted by the Higher Education Council were met with a strong resistance by a sizeable portion of faculty in universities.

The financing pattern of higher education, as outlined above, involves a heavy State involvement in institutional and college-level operations. This, in turn, explains another aspect of the Turkish higher education which is dominated by State authority – what Clark (1983) refers to as a 'bureaucratic model.' Drawing on Clark's typologies, Guruz et al. (1994) conclude that the Turkish higher education system is one which is controlled both by State authority (hence, the 'bureaucratic model') and an academic oligarchy. Taking their cue from Clark's 'coordination triangle', whereby a third dimension is market or society (the entrepreneurial university), the same authors propose that the Turkish higher education system should move in the direction of the market, and adopt the entrepreneurial university model.

As reported earlier, many national higher education systems which were traditionally dominated by both state authority and academic oligarchy (such as France, Sweden, Austria, Italy, and several institutions in Arab countries) have adopted reforms in the direction of decentralisation and institutional diversification, thus hoping to make their university systems more aligned with market forces. There are several points that almost all similar reform initiatives uniformly accept. First, primarily through flexible funding patterns, universities are given more autonomy in institutional and financial operations. Second, while shifting a great deal of decision-making to institutional levels, intermediary bodies are created to make the institutions more accountable to society by various coordinating, supervision, planning and control strategies. Third, to weaken the classical public dominance (which has led to inefficiencies) in higher education, institutional diversification is strongly sought either through privatisation or permitting the private and non-governmental institutions to enter into the higher education sector.

All these three provisions are seriously considered in Turkey today. First, there are legislative proposals to make the Turkish higher education institutions more autonomous in spending the appropriated public funds as well as to have them diversify their income sources. Second, the Higher Education Council will function as an intermediary body to develop performance and accountability measures and to oversee the system based on social priorities. This requires redefinition of the role of the Higher Education Council which is currently associated with unnecessary bureaucratic matters. Third, institutional diversification is also on the move. The Turkish Parliament has recently legislated the establishment of seven private universities, with several other requests for permits to set up other such institutions waiting in line.

As to the institutional diversification, there are also proposals to diversify the public higher education by creating a two-tier system out of the current public and private institutions. One of the tiers will consist of élite research institutions, and the other will be mass teaching institutions. The need has arisen from various trends and developments in the Turkish higher education system. On the one hand, it is commonly believed that to rely primarily on degrees abroad is not a feasible way to solve the critical faculty shortage in universities. Part of the reasons are its enormous monetary cost, and the difficulty of finding qualified people who have necessary language skills to study abroad. On the other hand, an important source of inefficiency in the Turkish higher education system originates from newly established public institutions (Dundar and Lewis, 1996). Furthermore, since all universities are treated equally in appropriations of public funds (sometimes newly established institutions are indeed favoured over the older ones because of their substantial needs for infrastructure), advanced and highly developed institutions lose their highly qualified faculty and research potential.

As Dundar and Lewis stated (1996), all universities (newer or older ones) in Turkey uniformly aspire to the role of teaching and research at the same time. However, research, for instance, requires a critical mass of qualified faculty with less teaching load and high expenditures for laboratory and other materials. In order to reduce inefficiencies and to respond to the problems stated above, Guruz et al. proposed that some older and internationally recognised universities should be made 'centers of excellence' with different funding and administrative schemes. They also identified five universities that could carry out this function successfully: the Middle East Technical University, Bosphorus University, Hacettepe University (primarily in medicine and health sciences), Istanbul

Technical University, and Bilkent University. Except for Bilkent University, the other four universities are public institutions (Guruz et al., 1994: 238).

Quality

Observers of the Turkish higher education system generally agree that enrollment growth between 1980 and 1995 has resulted in a substantial decline in quality in many respects: quality of instruction, quality of both undergraduate and graduate programmes, quality of faculty, quality of research and publication, quality of student services and educational materials, and the quality of physical facilities. Dundar and Lewis report the following in this respect:

> 'We found, for example, that the average rate of faculty research and publication has declined as faculty have been added to the expanding number of institutions. We also found that almost all faculties have assumed a joint undergraduate and graduate education mission and that many of the new programs and faculties have had very low graduate enrollments. In several cases, the new schools barely had senior academic faculty to staff their undergraduate programs to say nothing about staffing their graduate programs, Indeed, it does appear that quality has been diminished in many institutions... The quality of faculty and staff has also declined as a result of 'poor quality' graduate programs, lack of faculty development, and limited opportunities for international experience and exchange' (Dundar and Lewis, 1996: 18).

Part of the reason for a decline in quality is the unplanned growth of public higher education in recent years, with as many as 24 new universities being established in the early 1990s. On top of declining public funding for higher education, there exists a serious waste in the system. For example, there is great deal of programme duplication among the universities geographically located in close proximity. All institutions assume the mission of both undergraduate and graduate programmes, as well as teaching and research. As Dundar and Lewis (1996) note, resources devoted to administrative and support services exceed the resources spared for academic purposes in some institutions (in many institutions, the number of administrative and support personnel is higher than the teaching staff).

These quality issues can be partially solved by developing strategies to make the system more efficient. For this, some radical strategies should be developed to streamline and channel the resources towards some specified strategic priorities. A restructuring effort in a public institution is instructive in this respect.

The Middle East Technical University, under the leadership of its new president, initiated a plan to realign the priorities of the university. Priorities of the university were defined to strengthen graduate programmes, to increase the quality of research and publications by some objective indicators that would, in turn, be used for faculty promotion, to increase the quality of instruction through some measurable performance indicators. As part of the plan, some seemingly inefficient and small undergraduate departments were closed or merged with other programmes. A substantial cut in the population of undergraduate students is planned until the year 2000. For wiser use of resources, objective resource allocation patterns were developed within the framework of possibilities permitted by the present legal structure, and university revolving funds were channelled to prespecified areas of research, library, and communications infrastructure (Simsek and Aytemiz, 1998). Similar institutional reform efforts need to be encouraged and disseminated within other institutions the system.

Summary and conclusions

No higher education system is an island, an entity in a vacuum. All higher education systems are influenced by national as well as international trends and developments. Internationally, new ideas, practices and policies are quickly disseminated from one system to another, so that higher education has more learning opportunities in today's world than in past decades when national boundaries were much more rigidly defined. Besides this international spread of trends, each higher education system has also the capacity to produce reform ideas by carefully analyzing the anomalies which are developed by country specific forces, trends and changes. In other words, both internal and external dynamics shape the future of higher education. Interestingly enough, similar sorts of anomalies have led to similar sorts of prescriptions in the reform efforts of many higher education systems in the 1990s.

In this paper, we attempted to document the challenges facing the Turkish higher education system. Our analysis suggests that the nature of these problems and issues resonate closely with those that have sparked major reform initiatives in other parts of the world. Among the most important of these are the demand for enrollment expansion in the face of declining public resources; inadequate levels of teaching staff of high quality; inefficiencies exacerbated by shrinking public funding; the need for alternative ways of diversifying revenue sources; the problem of extremely tight governmental regulations and bureaucracies in the organisation and administration of higher education; and the deterioration of quality in many areas.

Policies and strategies to meet these challenges resemble closely those adopted in other countries which have faced similar sorts of problems. The general pattern of reform moves in the following direction: to strengthen quality without sacrificing the demand for quantitative expansion, any further expansion of formal four-year university programmes must be curtailed, and excess quotas, as some argue, should be channelled to two-year vocational and technical post-secondary programmes. Moreover, to strengthen quality, measures must necessarily be developed to change the public funding scheme for higher education. Financial responsibility must be shifted to institutional levels, intermediary bodies should be created to maintain system-wide efficiency and accountability, and the national higher education system should be streamlined to overcome duplication. Critical faculty shortage can be solved by both utilising degrees abroad programmes and expanding the capacity and increasing the quality of graduate programmes especially in advanced older universities. Declining public resources for higher education can be compensated through cost sharing or cost recovery mechanisms (that is, higher tuition rates and fees) as well as easing the regulations to allow institutions to aggressively seek external funding.

To sum up, the worldwide trends in higher education that were outlined in this article are generally valid for the present state of higher education in Turkey. It is evident that there is a move from quantity to quality, from centralisation to decentralisation, from public monopoly to institutional diversification, and from public subsidy to cost recovery.

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TOWARDS AN INNOVATIVE UNIVERSITY IN THE SOUTH? INSTITUTIONALISING EURO-MEDITERRANEAN CO-OPERATION IN RESEARCH, TECHNOLOGY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

JORMA KUITUNEN

Abstract – *This article deals with the strategies of institutionalising scientific, technological and educational co-operation in the context of recent Euro-Mediterranean relations. In order to understand the process of creating a new kind of Euro-Mediterranean cooperation policy in those areas of activity, it is necessary to have a broad view of the social contexts that determine that same process. The newest phase of socio-economic modernisation, what is often referred to as the 'information era', is responsible for changing both the concept and the institutional structures of international cooperation between universities and in the science and technology sectors. One of the key aims of the renewal of the co-operation policy before and after the ministerial conference held in Barcelona 1995 is the promotion of the vision of the innovative university in the southern and eastern Mediterranean countries, one that actively responds to the needs of the new political economy and new strategies of scientific, technological and educational cooperation in the Euro-Mediterranean region. This article critically addresses this ideal for the southern university, taking into account the fundamental issue of socio-cultural sensitivity, as this is manifest or absent in the Barcelona framework. It is argued that the broad consensus that was present among the various European and non-European participants of the working groups at the Fórum Civil Euromed - a consensus that emphasised the gap in the southern Mediterranean countries with respect to technology and university-based research - could be said to be the direct result of the way in which these 'fora' were organised. It is claimed that different voices might emerge, and therefore the conceptual basis of cooperation broadened, if participants from other sectors of civil society were to be involved.*

Introduction

Scientific, technological and educational interaction between Europe and the southern and eastern Mediterranean world has been extensive throughout the long colonial period as well as during the first decades following the achievement of independence of states in the region. This interaction has been mainly marked by asymmetrical relations, with European ideas about science and education being used as a modernising strategy by colonies or nation states.

The focus on asymmetrical patterns of interaction, together with the conceptualisations that underlie such relations, are, however, too limited in scope when one considers the situation over a longer historical perspective. We may, for instance, refer to the golden era of philosophy and science in the Arabo-islamic world during the Middle Ages. The translations and comments of classic Hellenistic science made by such figures like Ibn Sina (Avicenna) were passed on to European researchers. The impact of the Arabic-speaking world on the birth of modern empirical science and scientific-technological culture at large has been crucial (Goichon, 1969; Lindberg, 1978). Moreover, as noted also by Sultana (1999) in his article in this issue, the institutional history of higher learning is generally much longer along the southern rather than the northern shore of the Mediterranean. The transfer of knowledge, in this perspective, followed rather more a south-north rather than a north-south trajectory.

The eurocentric view of the history of 'Western' science and technology lacks cultural sensitivity towards the early institutionalisation of higher education and scientific studies in the Arabo-islamic or, more widely, in the oriental world. The issue of socio-cultural awareness in scientific, technological and educational co-operation between European and Arabo-islamic Mediterranean states has a long history, and one can indeed tease out continuities between that tradition and the contemporary world. Such continuities can be postulated despite the rapid changes brought about by the globalising economy and its effects on the international system. At the same time, though, we have to have an open mind in order to discern the relevant changes in the structures and patterns of interaction and co-operation between the north and the south. It is necessary to keep in mind such complexities if we are to understand the state and the nature of co-operative relations in the areas of research, technology and education (hereafter referred to as RTE) and the challenges that have to be faced in the present-day Euro-Mediterranean context.

My focus will be specifically on the more recent developments in the co-operative structures of RTE in the Euro-Mediterranean region. In doing that, I will attempt not to lose sight of the continuity that marks scientific interaction in the region, despite the fact that the concern is with changing structures. Operationally this will mean a moderately critical stance towards current eurocentrism and the ahistorical ways in which RTE co-operation is both conceptualised and institutionalised. Such an epistemological starting point will also keep at bay an unreflective and sceptical attitude towards new possibilities for socio-culturally sensitive and sustainable institutionalisation of RTE co-operation.

If we are to understand how a new kind of Euro-Mediterranean RTE cooperation policy can be developed and implemented, it is essential to keep a broad outlook on the changing international scene. The newest phase of socio-economic modernisation - what is often referred to as the information era - is changing both the concept and the institutional structures of the major institutions of higher learning. Indeed, one could argue that the ministerial conference held in Barcelona in 1995, when focusing on RTE co-operation policies, had the innovative managerial, financial and pedagogical structures of the universities in the Mediterranean Arab countries keenly in mind. Obviously, this begs the question regarding the extent to which such RTE co-operation policies are marked by socio-cultural awareness, and whether the ideals projected for the university as an idea are congruent with different socio-cultural realities.

A road to a multilateral co-operation concept

As has been noted in several discussions and publications (e.g. Melasuo, 1995; Turunen, 1996), the Barcelona meeting has been regarded as an important turning point in the history of political, economic and (perhaps also) cultural relations between the European Union and the twelve non-member countries in the Southern and South-Eastern Mediterranean. Specifically, the meeting brought to a head the process of change in the EU's Mediterranean policy, a change that had commenced in the latter part of the 1980s. One of the most important challenges in that process has been the end of Cold War, since it made possible the strengthening of EU integration with Eastern Europe and gave a new strategic meaning to North Africa and the Middle East as a 'neighbourhood' area for an expanding EU macro region (Lorca and Nunez, 1993; Smith and Lahteenmaki, 1998).

The Barcelona declaration and its preparatory EU documents show us that the European Union as well as its partner countries acknowledge the crucial importance of RTE co-operation in the Barcelona process (Kuitunen, 1997). The partnership programme aims at launching a new generation of co-operation programmes under the comprehensive policy of Euro-Mediterranean relationships. This has facilitated the birth and growth of many other activities outside the immediate patronage of the EU administration.

Despite many encouraging initiatives, the launching of new co-operative activities in the fields of RTE seem to be more difficult than was thought. Simultaneously, the pressure towards realising concrete positive results is increasing. This fact is evident in the Euro-Mediterranean partnership at large. The basic question is how to create new forms of co-operation despite the many obstacles that exist, many of which are directly related to momentous political, economic and cultural issues - such as the complex matter of the Middle East peace process.

This overall situation renders the institutionalisation of co-operation - together with the sensitivity towards the socio-cultural context on which such co-operation is based - major areas of concern for the future of the Barcelona process. This clearly is relevant to the area of RTE co-operation as well. For example, it can be suggested that the science policy dimension of the Euro-Mediterranean co-operation policy has been strongly based on the general lines of the science and technology policy of the EU. If this is the case, then the crucial question is how to build co-operation practices which are socio-culturally more in tune with the specific contexts of the Mediterranean region - in other words, the challenge is how to construct a specific Euro-Mediterranean policy of research and education co-operation that is organic to the prevailing situation. In fact this tendency towards a regional co-operation concept has gradually increased in the short history of RTE cooperation between the European Community and the Mediterranean South.

The bilateral system of financial and technical aid, - one that involves scientific and technological components as well - has, since 1978, been the main framework throughout which the EU regulated its relations with developing countries (European Commission, 1994). The special focus on scientific and technological development cooperation took off when the Science and Technology for Development (STD) programme was started. In the STD programmes (1982-1994), the Mediterranean region was just one geographical area among many, with co-operation agreements reflecting a more general policy that had no regional specifications apart from some flexibility in country by country agreements. An important step towards a region-specific system of cooperation was taken when the ICS (International Scientific Cooperation) programme was established in 1984. It focused geographically on the newly industrialised developing countries in Asia, Latin America and the Mediterranean region. The European Union has strengthened the economic interaction and development co-operation with those areas and scientific and technological interaction has been one aspect of this general trend.

During the 1990s, a multilateral and regional approach to Euro-Mediterranean co-operation has been introduced in parallel to, and supporting, the dimension of bilateral structures. The development of a regional approach and the multilateral MED-programmes reflecting this - programmes such as Med-Invest, Med-Urbs, Med-Media, Med-Campus, Med-Avicenne - have led up to the Barcelona framework, where key elements have been a focused approach to the southern and eastern Mediterranean countries as a whole, and regional integration inside the area.

The turn towards a regional approach to Mediterranean co-operation could be said to have started formally in 1992, as a result of several transformations in the working environment of the international community. In point of fact, the process towards a 'New Mediterranean policy' and even towards Euro-Mediterranean partnership goes back to the latter part of the 1980s, soon after the northern Mediterranean states of Spain, Greece and Portugal joined the Community. According to the guidelines of EU's Ministerial Council at the end of 1985, the priority areas of the reform process were to be the promotion of local food production as well as the widening of industrial, scientific and technological co-operation, which were to also include the mutual integration of southern Mediterranean countries (Niblock, 1997: 122-123).

Scientific and technological co-operation has therefore been regarded as one of the principal strategies in promoting socio-economic development in southern and eastern Mediterranean countries and making the Mediterranean co-operation policy more efficient. The pressure for policy reform has increased after the poor economic performance of many Arab countries in the mid- and late 1980s, as well as due to the radical geopolitical transformations taking place at that time. Both economic and security aspects as well as poor results of the former Mediterranean policy gave evidence of the great need for reform. By launching Med-programmes, including those focusing on university networking (Med-Campus) and research and technology (Med-Avicenne), the EU wanted to construct a new kind of cooperative structure and to test its implementative instruments in practice before confirming a major reform of the overall framework. The gradual shift towards a more comprehensive politicisation of socio-economic relations in the Euro-Mediterranean region, and the increasing importance given by Europe towards the development of a Mediterranean policy, can be seen as a general trend behind the process of this renewal (see Lahteenmaki and Smith, 1998; Linjakumpu, 1995).

Mediterranean university co-operation within the framework of Med-Campus was divided into four thematic areas. These included (1) regional, social and economic development, (2) management in private and public enterprises, (3) environmental management, and (4) cultural exchange. There were a number of conditions which had to be fulfilled in order for a country to benefit from financial support. Joint projects were only possible, for instance, in countries which had adopted liberal market politics, and in situations which were marked by institutional stability. There had to be ongoing development projects which could benefit from the new expertise offered by the co-operation agreement. Such conditionalities clearly indicate that university and higher education co-operation was closely linked to a policy of structural adjustment. Such a conclusion is also warranted because the university courses that were generated focused on themes which generally have direct or indirect effects on the development of modern socio-economic infrastructures. Due to the direct relevance of co-operation in the science and technology areas in promoting development, the programme Med-Avicenne had an even more rigorous connection to the aforementioned goal of structural adjustment.

We may therefore conclude that the decentralised Med-programmes foreshadowed the spirit of the Barcelona process. The strengthening of the science and education policy dimension has been one strategic element of that process. Due to administrative problems, however, many of these programmes were terminated soon after the Barcelona meeting. After a long delay, Med-Campus was given a new lease of life in 1998. Med-Avicenne disappeared from the scene in 1994, when it was merged with a new programme of international scientific and technological co-operation between EU and third countries (INCO).

Following the Barcelona conference, the INCO programme was established in order to co-ordinate all the EU's scientific and technological co-operation with third countries, one section of which is developing countries (INCO-DC). INCO belongs to the EU's framework programme of research and technological development. As with co-operation in terms of the framework programme in general, the INCO-DC is based on a multilateral system. In other words, the joint projects are not organised in terms of bilateral governmental agreements but in a more flexible way between university departments or research institutes and enterprises from three or more partner countries. The national priority areas are, however, agreed upon in negotiations with developing countries.

The thematic focus of INCO-DC has been on four areas: sustainable management of renewable natural resources, improvement of agricultural and agro-industrial production, health issues, and other areas of mutual interest. The last part has increasingly been directed to co-operation in information and communication technology, but non-nuclear energy, biotechnologies as well as material and production technologies have also been supported.

Despite the growing differences between third world countries, INCO-DC has not been specified geographically to the southern Mediterranean or any other developing regions. The Monitoring Committee of Euro-Mediterranean RTD co-operation has considered this to hinder efficient co-operation. As a result, a special INCO-MED programme has been launched in the fifth framework programme.

More important than INCO's operational modes is, naturally, the overall co-operation policy and politics behind its implementative structures. As a whole, INCO is clearly determined by the EU's RTD co-operation policy in general, the aim of which is to strengthen the European scientific and technological base and, through it, to promote industrial competitiveness in a global economy. INCO is structured around the idea that international scientific and technological co-operation is an increasingly important condition for economic vitality and, moreover, that the increasing co-operation between the EU countries is not sufficient for that purpose.

Information technology has become one of the main areas of co-operation between the EU and developing countries. As explained in the five year assessment of the INCO programme, the aim is to integrate developing countries - and especially the rising economies of the newly industrialised ones - into the global information society by increasing their information technology expertise, productive capacity and regional networking (European Commission, 1997). This policy of co-operation can be seen as useful both for local employment and development aims and for European information technology corporations. It is assumed that co-operation will increase understanding of the socio-economic, political and institutional environment in developing societies and the conditions of technology transfer to them. In addition to this, a greater awareness and understanding of the global information society contributes to a deeper commitment to technology on the part of key actors in a developing country. This line of argument may, at first sight, appear to be merely rhetorical, with the intent being to encourage European enterprises to invest in the possibilities of multilateral co-operation. But the logic behind the argument also reflects deeper changes in the interaction patterns of science and technology on the global scene.

Science, technology and developing countries in the era of global changes

Global enterprises have not only brought their production to newly industrialised countries but also dispersed some of their RTD activities in them. The opening markets for high technology products in the developing world presuppose sufficient local knowledge about technology as well as a consciousness of the economic and societal functions of research and of the need for the development of appropriately qualified human resources. The globalisation of RTD is one aspect of a more general shift towards the vision of a global information society, expectations of profit connected to it, and new kinds of co-operation activities between North and South. It is evident that the EU countries do not want to 'lose' these trends if their aim is to promote the development of their industrial base and to help launch new useful modes of co-operation. According to the prevalent ideology in this regard, this is also what the developing countries need if they want to lessen their economic and social problems and to benefit from global trends.

The INCO programme, like the EU's other RTD programmes, is essentially the result of these kind of trends. The RTD co-operation system of the EU is adapting itself to the restructuring of the international political and economic order after the cold war. The increasing differentiation of the third world is one result of such radical changes. Many of the developing countries and newly industrialised states have increasingly integrated themselves into the global economy by transforming their economic policy from import substitution and strong public governance to export oriented free trade and privatisation of state functions. As mentioned by Shinn *et al.* (1997: 18), this turn towards a new paradigm of development is closely connected to globally oriented techno-economic frontiers of telecommunication, microelectronics, informatics, new materials, and biotechnology.

Many countries in Latin America and in South-Eastern Asia ('Asian tigers' as well as China and India) have, since the 1970s, systematically developed their scientific and technological equipment, as well as their scientific staff and their policy for science and technology. This trend has followed the lines of 'science and technology for development' thinking and can to some degree also be discerned in Arab countries. In the process of global transformations, the expansion of higher education and progress in scientific capacity have appeared to be an important usable resource. Through the globalisation of norms in research and education policy as well as through giving space for other institutional renewal, the developing countries can essentially better their chances to integrate themselves in the global economy (Shinn *et al.*, 1997). However, in the case of Arab countries, many experts of science policy have seen structural problems which have been detrimental to the prerequisites for scientific and technological capacity and its efficient use in societal development (Al-Hassan, 1979; Zahlan, 1980; Khasawnih, 1986; Daghestani, 1993; Qasem, 1996, 1998a, 1999; cf. also Workshop, 1996). Many of these evaluations are not very up-to-date and significant changes are possible. For example, the rapid privatisation of the Jordanian university sector during the last few years is one instance of the opening up to structural change (with its positive or negative results for the various segments of society).

The preconditions for taking part in the global economy, which are increasingly and evidently dividing the third world countries into developing and declining ones, are increasingly seen to be dependent on scientific and technological capacity and ability to adapt research and education systems to the new demands of the global environment. For example, it has been regarded crucial that developing countries have the ability and willingness to adopt a new conception of technological innovation and new kinds of institutional interactions between academic research community, public governance and private enterprises (in the studies of science and technology policy this has often been called 'triple helix' - see, for instance, Etzkowitz and Leydesdorf, 1995). A few developing countries with strong scientific capacity have shown this kind of will and ability. This seems to be closely connected to the early institutionalisation of strong research centres, science policy organs as well as to the establishment of a research community of science policy studies and educational degrees in science and technology management (Shinn *et al.*, 1997). Unlike some countries with either a Muslim majority or a significant Muslim minority in the Far East, Arab countries seem to have been slow to give strong political priority to science policy or institutional support to systematic studies of science policy as a complex phenomenon, despite the fact that science policy organs were the subject of institutionalisation relatively early.

From the overview above, we can draw the conclusion that there is a common political consensus about the new structure of co-operative activities between developed and dynamic developing countries. They use a common language about science and technology as a precondition for economic success and integration in the global economic space. This will provide new possibilities for international scientific and technological co-operation as compared to the policy of self-reliant development and demand for structural reformation towards a more just world which was inspired by dependency thinking and its tendency towards political criticism. It is important to note that referring to those new possibilities is not a normative commitment to the trend as such but is rather an analytic remark. In order to make a normative evaluation in terms of democratic principles one could ask, for example, (1) how comprehensive the political consensus is in the society at large? (2) What are the short and long-term effects of the new policy on large segments of ordinary people? and (3) To what degree has a working balance between global and local been found?

The new consensus of science policy and partnership between North and South is strongly accompanied by a general change of the development thinking in international and national fora. The common vocabulary of development co-operation is neither modernisation in its conventional mode nor dependency tenets. Instead, it is closely connected to a normative construction of a global information technology-based society and a neoliberal politico-economic philosophy underpinning it. The neoliberalistic turn has given rise to a new interpretation of relevant societal facts, purposes and practices in almost all sectors of society and the international community (Rothenberg, 1984). What is most important, neoliberalism is an effective ingredient in the change of political and economic climate in which the capitalist system has reacted to the world-wide economic crisis since the first part of the 1970s and gradually rejected the combination of Keynesian macro economic policy and compensative social policy typical to the welfare state. In other words, neoliberalism has offered political legitimacy for societal change away from the mass production system of the welfare state, towards the information society and its different conception of the state. The new policy of information society has given more space to the logic of market forces on the local, national, macro regional and global level.

The neoliberal turn is also evident in North-South relations and in the role of developing countries therein. Changing conceptions of economy and government in society as well as in international community have been legitimated by referring to changing realities and to new interpretations of such essentially normative concepts as freedom, rights, justice, and democracy (Boréus, 1997). Accordingly, the explanations for the uneven global development have changed radically. Unlike the propositions of both modernisation theories on the one hand, and dependency theories on the other - both of which put emphasis on the aid coming from international community to the developing countries - neoliberal thinking focuses on the internal structures of a poor country. According to the neoliberal programme, financial aid should be conditional to institutional modernisation in which privatisation of the state sector, opening the markets for foreign trade and development of needed infrastructure for foreign investments should be realised. Societal reforms concerning the productive sector, together with those concerning many purely government-driven social sectors like health and education, are to be realised with the support of the dynamic private sector rather than through public planning and finance. These are basically the same prescriptions which are generally meted out to economies in the developed world.

It has become evident enough that neoliberal development philosophy is closely connected to changes towards the information society and its innovation-based economy. The analysis proposed by van Audenhove and his colleagues (1999) about Africa's Information Society Initiative adopted by the UN Economic Commission for Africa in 1996, refers strongly to the conclusion that the Western information society paradigm has shifted to developing countries without sufficiently problematising its institutional presuppositions and societal relevance. The same argumentative strategy about the positive effects of privatisation of the communication sector in society and investments in the telecommunication infrastructure is used as in Western countries. Moreover, powerful international organisations and multinational enterprises have many possibilities to realise their policies according to the logic of this kind of argument. I agree with the authors that the capability and need of socio-cultural evaluation of the role of information technology in the national policy of a developing country will become a crucial issue.

In dealing with that issue, it is important to note that information technology is not just a sector among technological innovation activities but a very compelling techno-economic and socio-cultural paradigm. As Manuel Castells (1996) has shown in his broad analysis of changes towards global informational society, the information paradigm has led to the rising global network economy on which the competitiveness of local, national and macro regional economies are increasingly seen to depend. That is why this paradigm has so strong a normative and political appeal. It is comparable to the Fordist model of mass industrialism which was the dominant techno-economic paradigm of the welfare state period.

Thus far, I have attempted to give an account of global changes and their effects on North-South relations in scientific, technological and (to a lesser degree) educational co-operation. It is crucial for the purposes of this paper to see how the trends that have been identified will help us understand the science policy dimension of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership framework. The role of science and technology in the globalisation processes and changes in the international political economy are major determinants of RTE co-operation policy in the Mediterranean basin as well. In trying to demonstrate this I will turn, in the following sections, to the analysis of the co-operative policy of various sectors of civil society in the Euro-Mediterranean area.

The co-operative thinking of Euro-Mediterranean civil society actors

A major new aspect of Mediterranean policy in the Euro-Mediterranean partnership framework was that civil society was regarded as essential to the promotion of the Barcelona process. This represents a qualitative change from the past. As former vice- president of the European Commission Manuel Marin said in 1996, this shift basically reflected a concern with the question of legitimacy. It became clear that the institutionalisation of widening Euro-Mediterranean co-operation could not be sustained unless it received the support of - and was actually implemented by - a wide range of representatives from partner societies.

The civil society conference has been a visible counterpart of the ministerial meeting in Barcelona as well as of the follow up conferences in Malta (1997) and Stuttgart (1999). Several other Euro-Mediterranean meetings have also seen the active participation of civil society actors. In this context I will concentrate on the important meeting of Fórum Civil Euromed (hereafter 'Civil forum') which was organised immediately after the ministerial conference in Barcelona. The meeting was sponsored by the European Commission, Spain's foreign ministry, and UNESCO. Operational preparation and management was carried out by a Spanish institute dealing with Euro-Mediterranean interaction (Institut Catalá del la Mediterrània d'Estudis i Cooperació).

The Civil forum gathered together about 1200 representatives from business, universities, trade unions, arts and other sectors of society. The meeting was held in the 'high spirit of Barcelona' in which strong optimism about opening a new era in the Euro-Mediterranean relations was typical. The Civil forum organised the discussion on ways to promote Euro-Mediterranean partnership around eleven thematic sessions ('working fora') extensively reflecting social, economic and cultural dimensions of co-operation. Many fora addressed issues related to research, technology and higher education. The working groups that focused most directly on these issues were the ones dedicated to 'Technology and co-operation' as well as 'Universities and research'. In addition, the forum on 'Investments' spoke much about educational development and co-operation. Due to limited space and many similarities between the fora, I shall only give an account of, and attempt to analyse, the discussions that developed in the first two fora. The overall aim behind this is to unravel the way Euro-Mediterranean RTE co-operation was conceptualised and, moreover, to understand such a process as a region-specific version of more general trends.

From the methodological point of view it is important to highlight the fact that the sessions of the Civil forum represented different actors and interests of significant segments of civil society in the Northern and South-Eastern Mediterranean. Actors from, say, the business or university world, have specific and often contrasting ways of conceptualising and articulating phenomena, that is to say, they have their own ways of 'seeing' and interpreting meaningful facts about the world, and represent norms according to the way they are accustomed to organise their own professional activities.

It is important to delve a little deeper into this methodological point by focusing on the forum dedicated to 'Universities and research'. This workshop gathered together representatives from the academic world in the region. Of 91 participants, an overwhelming majority came from European universities, with only about ten coming from North African or Middle Eastern universities and research institutes. There were also experts from the European Commission and key personnel from the Mediterranean university networks (the Community of Mediterranean Universities and the University of the Mediterranean) as well as a few Med-Campus co-ordinators from a number of European universities. This forum, therefore, was made up of very experienced people reflecting a high level of expertise in Mediterranean research and university co-operation. Compared to the official rhetoric of the Barcelona declaration, the focus on what actors have to say about the concept of co-operation can lead to a more concrete analysis of the promise and pitfalls of co-operation in the region.

The report of the Civil forum meeting in Barcelona (Fórum Civil Euromed 1996), which is used as a source (and to which I shall refer only by page numbers), is comprehensive and written with care. It is clear, however, that the report could not possibly mirror every voice that was raised during the discussions at the fora. Rather, it reflects the organisational logic that underpinned the meeting, as well as the thematic and procedural choices and interpretations made by the co-ordinators and secretaries in relation to the discussions as well as to the conclusions of each session. As with any other well-organised meeting, the Civil forum and its report were produced in a specific way, and such a production cannot be strictly separated from the official results of the conference.

Technological cooperation

> 'The Mediterranean must plot a path towards tomorrow's information society - that takes into account the realities and necessities of the region - as the rest of the world is doing. Geographic proximity will only be converted into vital cultural and economic proximity when there are communications structures and infrastructures that make it possible, and society has integrated this technology into its culture.' (Fórum Civil Euromed, 1996: 119)
>
> 'Intensification of Euro-Mediterranean exchanges and access to the nascent information society will be facilitated by more efficient information and communication infrastructures.' (Work programme of the Barcelona declaration)

As the above quotations suggest, the point of departure in the technology forum is the importance of new information and communication technology in a process of transformation towards the knowledge and information society. Like the Barcelona declaration and its work programme, the forum takes this socio-economic and cultural scenario as a common challenge for the Euro-Mediterranean region. Moving to a more operational level, the forum emphasises that the success of supranational co-operation will depend on the will and ability of partners to agree on specified common targets for co-operation activities (p.120). Those targets and suggestions of concrete projects were produced mainly by actor-specific views of businesses in telecommunication and health technology. Of 97 participants, 15 came from Arab partner countries.

In specifying the crucial role of telecommunications in the Euro-Mediterranean transformation towards the information society and ways to institutionalise co-operation in that frontier of new technology, the forum refers to the same priority areas as those highlighted in the Barcelona declaration: regulation and standardisation of telecommunication networks, regional infrastructures and their connections to European networks, and access to services in the most important fields of application (p.122). This similarity demonstrates the fact that, concerning information technology co-operation, the forum and the Barcelona framework represent the same agents or at least a common frame of thoughts. However, the Civil forum discussions permits us to get a much more comprehensive view on that frame.

The specific proposals for developing the Euro-Mediterranean infrastructure in telecommunications arose from two basic issues: the highly uneven development of the infrastructure and ways to promote joint activities among all relevant actors. The key question was the latter one – namely the efficient institutionalisation of co-operation. It was the topic in which the technology forum made both sophisticated conceptualisations and relevant concrete recommendations.

> 'Through the proposals for concrete action the forum aims at creating co-operation mechanisms which will ensure continuity, systematic evaluation, and realisation of long-term objectives. This was the idea in suggesting, among other things, the development of Mediterranean telecommunication partnership and preliminary platforms for co-operation which could make proposals for common technical standards, the interoperability of networks, and co-operation in research and technical development strategy or, on the other hand, deal with broader conditions of co-operation like liberalisation of markets' (p.125).

For the technology forum, the institutionalisation of Mediterranean co-operation is a long-term and gradual process (pp.129-130). At first, it is necessary to have personal contacts which will help to build up mutual understanding and confidence between the participants and future associates (as the technology forum remarks, the Fórum Civil Euromed had this very function). The next step is to identify areas of common activity and acquire detailed information on the partners as well as the competitive advantages of each of them. Only on this basis is it possible 'to establish the goals of co-operation, in order to work cooperatively in the definition, realisation and evaluation of the project' (p.130).

Concerning services and applications, the thoughts of the technology forum were focused primarily on human resource development and its essential role in the development of an information society in the southern and eastern Mediterranean. In addition to that, the issue of socio-cultural responsiveness was regarded as an important one. The forum felt that the heterogeneity of the Euro-Mediterranean region (i.e. the technological development gap) should not only mean the simple needs of technology transfer but a much broader reflection process and evaluation of differences which would enable the creation of genuine networking of people and organisations. In developing education and training in information technology, it was vital, according to the forum, to take into account the specialties and experiences of all partners and encourage multi-disciplinary and multi-institutional association projects (e.g. between universities and technological innovation centres). The forum also made (pp.126-128) many concrete proposals concerning the use of information technology in education and training at all educational levels, hence promoting a broad societal basis for understanding technological innovation.

The technology forum emphasised that technological systems cannot be transferred to different socio-cultural environments without adequate cultural awareness and expertise. By highlighting this point, the forum underscored its agreement with the criticisms that have often been made regarding technical development aid. Several instances have shown the extent to which Western expertise has failed to bring about long-term development in social, economic and technical infrastructure unless there was a strong collaboration with local actors, and unless the latters' cultural knowledge was respected. Such an approach is very much in line with the perspectives adopted by structural dependency theory, which states that technology transfer carries with it the transfer of the socio-cultural codes that underpin it (Morehouse, 1978/79; Rahman, 1978/79). If this is not taken into account, the friction of different socio-cultural frames will destroy or lessen the continuity of co-operation and its overall results.

This wisdom was constitutive of the proposals of the technology forum concerning co-operation in health technology (pp.134-135, 138). The use of (European) knowledge and expertise in the development of medical services in the South presupposes the close participation of local officials. According to the forum, it is not enough to transfer medical technology and models of evaluation of medical services. Rather, it is also necessary to promote the relevant cultural values that go along with them. This was operationalised through a proposal which aimed at organising exchange of experts and training for medical service officials in the South.

Despite the thoughtful manner in which the institutionalisation of co-operation was conceptualised at the forum, it can still be said that the model adopted betrayed cultural asymmetry. Socio-cultural responsiveness and partnership with local actors is needed not only to enable the transfer of technology as such, but also to adapt its necessary cultural frame to local environment. The best agents of this acculturation process are not the Western consultants but the local people themselves. They can be encouraged to conceptualise the conditions of co-operation in a socio-culturally reflective way and, thus, promote long-term structural institutionalisation and continuity of co-operation.

The structural acculturation and institutionalisation of partnership is a highly critical issue for the success of the Barcelona process. For the technology forum the previously implicit aim has now been made explicit - it is the scientific and technological culture and the efficient institutions that support such a culture that must be transferred, and not merely their products. The development of RTE capacity and a new kind of comprehensive culture of innovation is a principal instrument in the society that is oriented towards information, and which is in a process of transformation towards a neoliberal framework. In the end, however, we could ask: how has this scenario of meaningful reality been chosen and are there any alternatives in realising it?

University and research cooperation

The highly academic university forum is self-interested enough to underline the essential role of universities in the social and economic development of a knowledge society. But under the surface there seems to be some uncertainty about the identity of universities in the increasingly demanding environment they have to operate in. As we know, universities have traditionally been seen as autonomous and self-organised communities of scholars in which teachers and researchers have great freedom to focus on seeking new knowledge without outside demands of immediate practical applications. Up to the recent past, it was sufficient for society and state - as major patrons of universities - to believe that academic learning and scientific knowledge were useful in the long run. Although this image of the university does not reflect the actual situation and is – as a reflection of reality - rather more of a myth, it is not wise to deny its effects on the thinking of academics. Neither is its normative relevance and continuity to be underestimated.

In raising this issue I want to highlight the actual challenges and difficulties that must be faced to find a well-functioning balance between traditional elements and the modernisation tendencies that surround universities. The uneasy transformation from the more or less traditional university concept to an innovative and entrepreneurial one is a global trend and it was the major frame of thought at the Civil forum as well. The basic question of the university forum was: how does one institutionalise an innovative university in the Mediterranean south and, additionally, how does one organise co-operation policies and practices that promote this aim? This is a special case of a more widespread need to find a balance between traditional university structures and new demands between the local and the global.

As with the technology forum, the problems of the southern university institutions and research work as well their backwardness in relation to the current European norms was a main issue behind the co-operative thinking of the university forum. How these problems were interpreted has a crucial meaning for the conceptualisations of Euro-Mediterranean co-operation of higher education and research. Thus, it is reasonable to focus first on this issue and then move to the second part of analysis concerning the forum's thinking about institutionalisation of university and research partnerships.

Before dealing with that, it would be useful to clarify the issue of the 'europeanisation' of the concepts of university co-operation. Although a relatively small minority of participants came from Arab countries, we cannot claim that the thinking of the forum was totally organised by European perspectives - that would be tantamount to saying that the Arab participants did not have had any significant impact on the ways problems and proposals were interpreted and articulated. On the contrary, it is my belief that Arab perspectives did have a constitutive effect on the conclusions of the forum, particularly by virtue of their first-hand experience and knowledge of academic structures and cultures in the South. However, this does not deny the importance of the European and global trends in the discussions at the forum. It was clear that the referent and basis for an interpretative consensus during the discussion was the idea of the modernising university, one steeped in a culture of global innovation. As such, the academic forum worked completely in the spirit of neoliberal structural modernisation typical of all the Barcelona framework. Therefore, when speaking about the modes of decentralised co-operation in research and higher learning, the forum states:

> 'All these actions should be conducted with the objective of modernising the economic and social structures of the southern Mediterranean countries, increasing their capacity for innovation and their competitiveness and improving their possibilities of adaptation to the conditions of the world market.' (p.166)

The modern innovative university – or rather, a visionary construction of it produced by recent discussion about reform of higher education – worked as a frame of reference of the university forum reflecting mainly the consensus of those of 'us' in the North. The conceptualisation of the problems of 'them' in the South can bee seen as the other side of the coin. Those features in the southern universities which will not suit 'our' norms are easily interpreted as 'problems'. It is then possible that the problems are not conceptualised in relation to the socio-cultural environment from which they hail. Rather, the difference as such may sometimes give a sufficient reason to the specification of what is, indeed, a 'problem'. This tendency has been referred to as 'otherness' in certain discussions of the relations between European and Arabic-Islamic cultures.

From the modernisation perspective adopted at the forum on universities, the strict dualism between northern and southern universities appears as essential and constitutive of the discourse. Although the northern universities (i.e. 'our' institutions) evidently have a long way to go in developing their practices towards an innovative university culture, the critical eyes of the forum looked at the failings of the southern university institutes alone:

- Their structures of action have not been sufficiently modernised.
- Their resources are still poor.
- They are too closed in relation to their own societies as well as to universities abroad.
- They have been obliged to fight problems produced by a one-sided policy of democratisation and massive expansion.
- Their quantitative explosion has happened mostly without clarified and internationally up-to-date picture of the mission of higher education in society
- The performance of their research activities has been low, the research has not given enough support to teaching and, moreover, the studies has been oriented thematically too much to the internal issues of their societies or culture at large especially in the social sciences.
- They have worked without a co-ordinated research policy and, as a result, the research work has not focused on societally relevant topics.

This interpretation of the problems in universities and higher education policies of the South is used as a basis for legitimating the forum's thinking about co-operation, and the strategy for institutionalising it. We may tentatively ask how informative this summary of problems could be. The picture of the problems is supported by the evidence of those reasonably rare (English) research reports which have been made concerning Arab research and science policy or higher education. They have regularly produced very similar conclusions about the rapid expansion of university sector, the lack of societal relevance, the inefficient use of the academic labour force, and so on (El-Sanabary, 1992; Massialas and Jarrar, 1983, 1987, 1991; Talbani, 1996; Tibawi, 1972; Salmi, 1992). On the other hand, the list of problems does not illustrate apparent successes in the educational policy of many Mediterranean Arab partner countries. For example, the democratisation and expansion policy of higher education in Jordan has worked very successfully for many years, when the surplus of educated people found jobs in the oil-producing neighbouring countries (Roy and Williams, 1992).

All in all, the massive quantitative expansion of universities in the Arab countries is, despite its shortages, a result of conscious efforts to ease access to higher learning. Without such a policy, scientific, technological and educational capacity would be much lower today. As Antoine Zahlan, the prominent researcher of Arab science and research policy, had already strongly emphasised in 1980, the main problem is not the lack of scientific capacity in Arab societies but, rather, more complex problems concerning the societal roles of science in them (Zahlan, 1980). If the massive growth of the university sector in Arab states (Qasem, 1995) before and after 1980 has not been used enough for the benefit of those societies, this is not only an issue of structures of higher education or science policy but, to repeat, a larger societal question. The participants of the university forum surely knew it, but this point of view was not presented clearly enough in the forum's report. That is why it can easily give the reader an overly one-sided picture of the Arab university sector.

Like the forum 'Technology and co-operation', the forum 'Universities and research' presented a highly developed strategy for institutionalising the Euro-Mediterranean co-operation in its actor-specific fields of operation. The first part of the strategy dealt with higher education and the second one primarily with university research and policy of research.

In the task of programming higher education co-operation, the forum basically expressed the view that the duty of the European partners is to serve the southern universities in modernising their organisation and curriculum, and in developing educational systems which are able to follow (and promote) current economic and social changes. The following proposals have been presented as concrete ways to realise cooperative interventions (pp.168-169):

- Establishing European universities in the Mediterranean region.
- Offering aid to start specialised studies in the most relevant disciplines.
- Increasing the admission capacity of European universities to Ph.D. students and young teachers from the southern Mediterranean.
- Co-operation in the design of professional training structures that suit the needs of their businesses.
- Helping southern countries to share their educational resources by increasing mobility of students and professors in South-South and North-South direction and by recognition of diplomas and curricula.
- Creating centres of excellence for the best students of the Euro-Mediterranean region.
- Stimulating distance learning and information gathering of the teaching in each countries in the South.

As with the forum 'Investments', the institutionalisation of co-operation in higher learning is conceptualised as an issue of structural harmonisation in keeping with the newest trends towards a more occupationally-oriented policy. Although the norms of this policy emerge from ongoing discussions on university reform in the developed world and, hence, have been produced in certain economic and socio-cultural contexts, the shift of contexts in moving from North to the Mediterranean South does not seem to be the subject of serious reflection (despite some notes on a need for that). As a result, the forum's policy of co-operation appears to be quite eurocentric and globalistic.

It may be argued that the structure of the forum, made up as it was of mainly European and pro-modernisation élite representatives of Arab universities, can partly explain the consensus in the forum about the relevant facts, concepts and norms of co-operation. This is not to deny the relevance of the structure and the validity of the forum's knowledge base as such. Rather, it is an effort to understand why this interpretative consensus was possible and why other, different opinions and 'truths' failed to emerge. In other words, the actual aim is not to deny the value or legitimacy of the modernisation stance but to ask if there could be other kinds of thoughts which are also important for the institutionalisation of co-operation. This remark may be applied to the research policy dimension as well.

It is evident that a country's science policy, together with the financial backup committed to it, can have a significant effect on the research that is carried out, including the topics that are chosen as a focus and the development of the infrastructure that is necessary to support scientific activities. This is the reason why the science policy dimension has been considered to be fundamental for the institutionalisation of co-operative structures in the context of European Union and in the Mediterranean region as well. The quote below will summarise the university forum's conception of the institutionalisation process and the role of research policy in it:

> 'To participate in the development of research on the southern shore also implies increasing European means in the region. This could be achieved, as is being demonstrated at the present, thanks to the setting-up of Euro-Mediterranean networks. However, as the debate reflected, trans-Mediterranean scientific research should be institutionalised in order to assure co-operation and in this way achieve overall continuity and coherence, so necessary in the field of the accumulation of knowledge.
>
> Moreover, this institutionalisation effort could favour a beginning of a scientific policy in the southern countries. This means the implementation of a group of coherent projects in the fields that approach social problems, such as...' (p.170)

The forum's proposals concerning research policy aimed, among other things, at widening the thematic and geographical perspectives of studies and deepening the theoretical level of basic research. More specifically, the forum underlined the fact that studies in southern societies should go beyond the description of those societies and develop conceptual tools whose validity went beyond the geographical area they referred to. The forum also thought that Euro-Mediterranean networks could encourage the researchers of the South to take up the whole Euro-Mediterranean region as an object of research. Moreover, the Euro-Mediterranean networks of fundamental research and the favouring of their localisation in the southern countries also suggested ways to develop the scientific capacity towards international standards and to prevent brain drain (pp. 170-171). As the forum itself puts it, '...in this way co-operation in research matters could advance towards the sharing of research objectives, methods and means within the most varied ambits of the applied and fundamental sciences'. In other words, this was to be a strategy to expand the contact area of researchers through giving more emphasis to the horizons of the common Euro-Mediterranean scientific space.

As it has been repeatedly stated, the recommended ways to promote co-operation between Euro-Mediterranean universities and scientists are basically, and rightly one might add, focused on the institutionalisation of partnership. 'Institutionalisation' has a specific meaning in this context. It refers to the aim to create sustainable modes of co-operation through which the suitable infrastructure and culture of higher education and research work in the South can be developed as a long-term process. What is important to note is that the policy is not to set up unwieldy formal structures but rather to create a flexible co-operative network management with capability for co-ordinated activities and with enough continuity. The opposite would be *ad hoc* projects without a systematic policy of co-ordination and without taking long-term objectives and results seriously. In the latter case, co-operative projects tend to only bloom during a period of financial support, with very little tending to happen after that.

It is very easy to agree with the university and technology fora that flexible institutionalisation is the basic condition for successful co-operation and that it is necessary if the overall targets, whatever these may be, are to be effectively reached. Moreover, the awareness of - and sensitivity to - the socio-cultural realities of the local environment is evidently one of the crucial presuppositions for long-term partnership between North and South. It is noteworthy that the 'technocratic' technology forum as well as the forum on 'Investments' led by representatives from the business sector took this last issue more seriously than the university forum did, despite the fact that the latter represented what it itself referred to in its final report as the 'humanistic' tradition. Despite some differences, all three fora clearly recognised both managerial efficiency and socio-cultural responsiveness as key institutionalisation strategies leading to mutual benefits of co-operation in research, technology and higher education. There remains, however, one critical issue: the nature of and the basis for this consensus.

Conclusions

Certain theoretical aspects have been essential in writing this article about the institutionalisation strategies of scientific, technological and educational co-operation in the context of recent Euro-Mediterranean relations. For example, I chose to review ongoing changes towards a real and normative vision of the global information society as well as changing RTE interaction patterns between North and South. The new generation of the EU's multilateral RTE cooperation essentially reflects those general trends. The institutionalisation strategies have been strongly based on the information society oriented vision of transformation towards a global economy and society.

Despite the usefulness of explicating linkages of Euro-Mediterranean RTE cooperation and more general trends, this may not be a significant result as such. Otherwise the conceptualisations and institutionalisation strategies of Euro-Mediterranean partnership programme and participants of Fórum Civil Euromed, would not be well-informed about the changing structures of contemporary world - which is naturally not the case. What I would like to summarise and discuss a little further in this last section is the essence and nature of socio-cultural responsiveness in the institutionalisation strategies of RTE partnership.

It is clear enough that the Euro-Mediterranean cooperation framework reflects a sophisticated cooperation policy. Instead of transferring technology and giving financial aid as such, the aim is to transfer efficient infrastructures as well as a culture and policy of science, technology and higher education. In this framework, RTE cooperation inevitably needs a basis of broad socio-cultural understanding and, hence, more genuine co-operative partnership with local actors. Giving more space for local expertise and actors representing various civil society segments is really an essential strategy (and not only a rhetorical one) for the effective institutionalisation of partnership.

Concerning the nature of RTE partnership and the informative consensus behind it, the question arises as to how broad a letigimation basis exists among civil society actors in the Arab countries. We may ask, for example, what is a concept of an Arab society in this case. As we know, these societies have often strong internal divisions of opinion. The discussion about RTE cooperation could also be widened to include more traditional aspects of civil society - such as the university and science community - which may be critical of Western ideas about science and education and which may not be so eager to follow the newest trends (e.g. intellectual discourse about islamisation of knowledge and science). Despite probable differences between frames used, there could also be the space to strengthen the legitimacy and knowledge basis of co-operative strategies.

Widening the scope of civil society partnership may be highly important for the purposes of the institutionalisation process, and mutually beneficial in the long run. In that case the policy could move to a deeper and even more conscious level of structural modernisation by seeking sustainable solutions to the classic tensions between the modern and the traditional, as well as between the global and the local. Cooperation is therefore not necessarily conceptualised as a process of modernisation of southern universities, which are supposed to diminish their development gap according to universalised norms of global trends. Instead of that, the policy of institutional modernisation would go beyond the old historic model of normative acculturation, which has mostly happened without deep consciousness of the nature of the structural asymmetry they represent (Tibi, 1988). In this position, institutional modernisation will neither be realised as an imitation of European (global) norms nor as an uncritical rejection of them. This would mean, for example, the need for more comprehensive knowledge about the traditional structures of science higher education in Arab countries and in their societal relations (cf. Gottstein, 1986).

As we have seen, the notion of an innovative university in the Mediterranean South is generally in congruence with more general trends concerning a globalising world and changing patterns of scientific, technological and educational interaction. In that sense, the innovative university may be a relevant aim both from the European and the local socio-economic perspective. However, a heavy orientation towards eurocentric or globalistic frameworks can be counterproductive. Broad and genuine civil society support and regionalism, which are not solely organised according to current global trends, may help to go beyond an 'uncritical dualism' and find a balanced way to facilitate co-operation in the spirit of mutual partnership. One of the major contributions which 'innovative universities' can make in to the development of cooperation policies in both the North and in the South is to cultivate their traditional responsibility for acquiring a broad knowledge basis for 'truths' in society and – what may be an even more demanding and sensitive issue for scholars – about themselves as 'mirrors of society'.

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SPECIAL ISSUE REPORTS

DES DIPLÔMÉS ALGÉRIENS PARLENT DE LA FORMATION UNIVERSITAIRE

FARID BOUBEKEUR

Introduction

Nous présentons ici, une contribution relative à l'évaluation de la formation universitaire en Algérie. Ce travail continue une recherche réalisée dans le cadre du programme de recherche sur les politiques et gestion de l'enseignement supérieur en Afrique avec le concours de l'Association des Universités Africaines.

L'objectif est de mettre en exergue les lacunes et les insuffisances de la formation que dispense l'Université. Dans ce travail, nous avons opté pour une approche qualitative où il s'agissait de recueillir grâce à des entretiens libres avec quelques diplômés un vécu universitaire.

Les points de vue, les avis et les jugements des diplômés sont intéressants et dignes d'intérêt car la qualité de leur insertion professionnelle constituent un indicateur de la réalisation d'un des objectifs principaux de la formation universitaire qui est l'efficacité.

Généralement en Algérie, l'évaluation de la formation ou d'une institution de formation repose sur des critères quantitatifs internes (taux de réussite, taux d'échec, taux d'encadrement, taux d'abandon, etc.) et, non pas sur des critères externes. Nous avons pour notre part donné la parole aux personnes qui ont subi le processus de formation. En leur demandant au produit de l'Université de donner son point de vue sur son propre processus de fabrication, nous soumettons l'Université à une sanction externe. Il s'agit donc d'une évaluation rétrospective, qui se fait avec des critères externes, l'insertion et l'efficacité des diplômés.

Echantillon

Nous avons interrogé huit diplômés issus des différents instituts de l'Université de Constantine. Des instituts scientifiques comme génie climatique, Architecture, Informatique et des instituts des Sciences Humaines (comme Sciences Economiques, Droit, bibliothéconomie, Psychologie et Sociologie). Les diplômés interrogés appartiennent à des promotions anciennes et récentes, de 1977 à 1996. Des diplômés qui ont étudié en français et des diplômés qui ont

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étudié en langue arabe et, enfin des hommes et des femmes. Nous avons interrogé un ingénieur en génie-climatique qui exerce en privé, une architecte qui travaille dans une direction de la jeunesse et des sports, un technicien supérieur en Informatique chargé de la PAO de la revue de l'Université, un économiste et un sociologue qui exercent dans un organisme public de statistique, une psychologue dans une clinique spécialisée, une archiviste/documentaliste dans les archives de la wilaya et un juriste dans une l'administration universitaire.

Cette diversité des cas et des trajectoires devra nous assurer dans une certaine mesure une diversité des points de vue et par-là même une diversité des problèmes de la formation.

Pour s'assurer de la sincérité des points de vue et de l'objectivité des informations, nous avons mené des entretiens avec des diplômés parmi notre entourage.

Signalons la difficulté que nous avons rencontré pour recueillir des récits de vie. Il était au départ question de laisser les diplômés raconter très librement leur passage à l'Université comme une tranche de vie et, de soumettre les contenus des récits à une analyse du discours.

Les diplômés étaient très peu loquaces et, il a fallu poser des questions précises sur des aspects précis de la formation qu'ils ont reçue pour recueillir des opinions et des avis. Ceci nous a conduit à uniformiser un guide d'entretien pour les huit diplômés, et, d'envisager une analyse de contenu thématique.

Analyse des entretiens

Nous analysons les entretiens selon la démarche classique de l'analyse de contenu. Question après question, nous ressortons les thèmes, les éléments du processus de formation et, les problèmes posés.

L'efficacité de la formation

L'analyse de la première question relative à la réalisation des objectifs de la formation laisse apparaître une unanimité des interrogés. Tous affirment que lors de leur recrutement ils n'étaient pas opérationnels. Dans le meilleur des cas, la psychologue et le juriste estiment leur efficacité respectivement à 20 et 30%. Pour tous les autres, cet objectif de la formation n'est pas du tout atteint.

Tous affirment avoir exercé plusieurs années après la formation avant d'être efficaces et productifs.

Cette inefficacité de la formation universitaire s'explique selon les diplômés interrogés par diverses causes qui sont:

- La première cause, qui est avancée avec un large consensus est celle relative au caractère théorique de la formation universitaire. Le contenu des programmes est théorique disent-ils et, la formation pratique est quasiment inexistante.
- La deuxième cause est relative à la faiblesse de la formation. Les connaissances théoriques transmises sont superficielles et manquent de cohérences.
- La troisième cause qui se dégage est l'inadéquation entre le profil de la formation et le profil de l'emploi. C'est le cas de la formation des ingénieurs en génie climatique qui porte sur la conception des appareils, alors que les emplois qui sont proposés aux ingénieurs consistent à installer et à réparer les appareils existants. C'est le cas des études de psychologie qui présentent cette discipline en tant que science académique (son objet, ses domaines, ses théories, ses instruments et ses techniques de recherche), alors que la compétence attendue du psychologue dans les institutions est celle du praticien psychothérapeute. Ce problème d'inadéquation entre le profil de la formation et le profil professionnel se pose pour toutes les formations universitaires.
- La langue des études, l'arabe a constitué pour deux cas, un handicap majeur dans l'insertion dans les administrations qui fonctionnent en français.

Il ressort des réponses que l'Université ne transmet pas aux étudiants les compétences professionnelles que réclame la société, mais une culture générale dans un domaine donné. Cette culture ne permet pas aux diplômés de s'insérer facilement dans la vie active.

Les points faibles du processus de formation

Les points faibles du processus de la formation sont envisagés dans les entretiens en termes de lacunes, manques et défaillances.

Les diplômés interrogés sont invités à approfondir l'analyses des causes de l'inefficacité de la formation en tant que processus. De l'examen des réponses nous dégageons les catégories suivantes.

1. L'absence de la formation pratique est due à la non-utilisation par les enseignants des moyens matériels et des équipements existants (appareils, instruments, matériel didactique).
2. Les connaissances prévues durant le cursus sont insuffisantes. Beaucoup de notions utiles dans la vie professionnelle ne sont pas enseignées. C'est le cas par exemple des notions de psychanalyse pour la Psychologie, des notions d'électricité en génie climatique, des techniques comptables en sciences financières.
3. Les connaissances transmises sont dépassées voire obsolètes. En Informatique, les programmes n'ont pas changé depuis plus d'une décennie. Ils sont remis en cause par les nouveaux systèmes et par la micro informatique.

4. L'insuffisance du volume horaire qui se rétrécie en raison des grèves.
5. Le désintérêt des enseignants qui se traduit par leur désengagement.
6. L'absence de méthodes chez les enseignants, fait qu'ils enseignent de manière empirique, sans pédagogie et sans psychologie.
7. Les examens continus consistaient à reproduire le cours tel qu'il a été dicté par l'enseignant. Et, tous les interrogés insistent sur l'injustice relative à la subjectivité de la notation.
8. L'insuffisance de la documentation rend le travail personnel de recherche impossible.
9. L'absence de stages en milieu professionnel pour s'imprégner de la réalité professionnelle.

Ce constat est général chez tous les interviewés; femmes ou hommes, arabophones ou francophones, de promotion ancienne ou récente, de formation d'ingénieurs ou de licenciés en sciences humaines.

Selon eux la qualité des études universitaires ne s'améliore pas et, pire, elle se dégrade au lieu de s'améliorer. Cette dégradation touche pratiquement tous les aspects du système de formation.

Les points forts de la formation

Par points forts nous entendons, les qualités et les aspects positifs de la formation qu'ils ont reçue.

Comme sur cette question les diplômés ont été très peu loquaces, nous présentons quelques citations représentatives.

1. 'Je ne vois pas de qualité ou de points forts dans la formation que j'ai reçue'.
2. 'Ce qui est positif à l'Université est la possibilité d'apprendre seul, sans pour autant dépendre de l'enseignant'.
3. 'La qualité de la formation universitaire est l'acquisition d'une méthode de travail'.
4. 'La qualité de la formation universitaire est l'interdisciplinarité'.
5. 'Le milieu universitaire est en lui-même stimulant'.
6. 'Les enseignants économistes qui exercent parallèlement dans des cabinets privés de comptabilité, nous ont transmis certains éléments techniques et pratiques qui nous manquaient'.
7. 'Ce qui est positif à l'Université est la liberté d'apprendre. C'est la possibilité de choisir un sujet de recherche et de l'exposer'.
8. 'Ce qui est positif à l'Université est la possibilité de critiquer et de discuter'.
9. 'Le milieu universitaire en soi est très positif'.

Nous remarquons que les points de vue cités comme étant des aspects positifs ne portent pas en général sur le processus de formation lui-même. Il est toujours considéré comme défaillant. Le seul aspect positif qui concerne les enseignants est évoqué par le diplômé en Economie qui déclare que les enseignants qui exercent parallèlement une autre activité professionnelle sont d'un apport pratique et technique.

La majorité des points de vue favorables concerne l'univers universitaire. Ce qui est mis en exergue, c'est la liberté d'apprendre, de chercher, de critiquer.

Les événements marquants durant la formation

A la question posée : quel est l'événement qui vous a marqué pendant vos études à l'Université ? Nous avons recueilli les réponses suivantes:

Les événements marquants d'ordre négatifs sont légions.

1. La désorientation, qui est le fait de se retrouver affecter vers des études non envisagées et non désirées.
2. L'évaluation du travail des étudiants. Le mode d'évaluation et de notation est injuste. Certains enseignants donnent la note dix à tous et, font réussir tous les étudiants. Ceci découragent et démotivent ceux qui travaillent.
3. La mauvaise qualité des relations entre enseignants et étudiants.
4. La bureaucratisation des rapports entre l'administration et les étudiants.
5. Le peu de sérieux de la part de l'administration de l'institut dans l'organisation des stages et l'encadrement des mémoires de fin des études.

Enfin, un événement marquant positif.

6. Les comités pédagogiques constituent un moment de synergie.

Il ressort de l'évocation de ces événements que les diplômés ont gardés de beaucoup plus des mauvais que de bons souvenirs de l'Université. Les mauvais souvenirs concernent surtout la nature des relations que leur imposent les enseignants et la manière de servir de l'administration.

L'incident majeur dans la vie active

Les diplômés relatent ici un problème majeur auquel ils ont fait face dès l'insertion professionnelle.

1. L'ingénieur: 'Je me suis trouvé face à la résolution de problèmes électriques que je ne maîtrise pas'.
2. Un sociologue sous employé: 'Du fait que je réalise les fonctions d'un agent, je n'ai pas rencontré de difficultés majeures'.

3. L'architecte: 'La difficulté majeure est d'une part, le fait de travailler dans le domaine de l'architecture sportive et, d'autre part, dans le domaine de la gestion et de la communication. On n'est pas préparé à communiquer et à gérer une équipe de travail'.
4. L'informaticien: 'Les rapports avec la hiérarchie'.
5. La bibliothécaire: 'La crainte de ne pas être à la hauteur des tâches confiées'.
6. La psychologue: 'L'incapacité à répondre à la demande des patients'.

Les réponses des interrogés valident les résultats de la première question. Les diplômés de l'Université attestent tous avoir rencontré des situations - problèmes auxquelles la formation ne les a pas préparés. En plus des difficultés liées à la spécialité, ils éprouvent des difficultés sur le plan des relations humaines. C'est un autre volet de la formation, totalement.

Conclusion

Ce qui ressort des propos des diplômés interrogés, c'est que les insuffisances et les lacunes la formation universitaire perdurent depuis le début des années 80. Et, touchent pratiquement toutes les disciplines.

Le problème principal, nous semble être l'inadéquation de la formation avec l'emploi. Les profils de formation de nature théorique et académique ne correspondent pas aux profils professionnels qui font appel à la conception, la réalisation et l'application.

Les diplômés en exercice signalent en plus beaucoup d'insuffisances et de lacunes à tous les niveaux du processus de formation (contenu, pédagogie, enseignants, administration).

C'est un diagnostic assez sévère qui est fait avec les diplômés. Il traduit en fait leur insatisfaction de la formation reçue.

L'amélioration de la qualité des enseignements nécessite une rénovation pédagogique. Mais, avant cela, tous les aspects du processus de formation doivent être soumis à l'évaluation.

Comme aussi, l'amélioration de la qualité de la formation en vue d'une efficacité externe n'est pas l'apanage des universitaires. Elle nécessite à notre avis une implication des recruteurs et des employeurs des diplômés. Avec eux une adéquation entre la formation et l'emploi doit être recherchée.

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THE UNIVERSITY IN ITALY: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND CHANGING TRENDS

MARCO TODESCHINI

Introduction

I have known Italian universities from the 'inside' for forty years, first when starting out as a student in 1959, and then through direct experience as an academic, both through teaching but also through a focus on comparative education research. I have been privileged in working in universities in several countries. That heightens my awareness of the challenging task of effectively and accurately describing the strange, contradictory, and complex reality that Italian higher education represents, and of minimising the risks of perpetrating misunderstandings which, in this area of study, are particularly plentiful.

To write a full and sound analysis of higher education in Italy today would require analysing a large amount of contradictory documentation, relating to a process of transformation that has been on for at least a decade, a process which has not produced a comprehensive and coherent pattern of reform, even if it has introduced a few innovations. The latter, infused into a traditional and virtually unchangeable context, have elicited a variety of confused – and confusing – contradictory reactions.

A foreigner coming to Italy aiming at understanding its university system would face a very hard task and would be easily disconcerted. That was indeed the case when twenty years ago, Burton Clark, in his ponderous study *Academic Power in Italy*, made the brilliant 'discovery' that the university in Italy is based on guilds and on what he calls 'the Guild System'. This raises at least two questions, namely: (1) how could one possibly announce such a 'discovery', when the notion is universal and conventional wisdom in Italy? And (2) How could one support the thesis this aspect of universities is a specific and differential feature, as if it is not characteristic of other universities world-wide, the United States included? A much more useful, if challenging, exercise would have been to try and explain why the University as an institution is so resistant to change and why at the tertiary level there is virtually nothing left outside it. That well-known adage that 'Those who ignore history will be condemned to live it again' is very relevant here. How could we possibly understand the contemporary situation without looking backwards?

The nature and function of the university

Some words are tricky and misleading: and among these is the word 'university'. Many would have us think that the word has to do with the 'universality' of knowledge. If this is true for the Greek name of the institution (*Panepistimion*), it does not hold true for the Latin name, whose original meaning was 'Guild' (and in fact the structural pattern of the guilds of craftsmen was the model of the original institution, the oldest of which started in Italy in the 11th century), when the name of the institution was *Studium*.

Along with the name (that soon, from *Universitas Studiorum…Bononiensis, Parisiensis, Oxoniensis…*, became University of…), the structure changed and what is now left of the medieval origins is possibly just the titles of its degrees: *Baccalaureus*/Bachelor, *Magister*/Master, Doctor.

What makes comparative education a worthwhile exercise is the detection and the interpretation of differences rather than similarities. However, as experience suggests, there must be some difficulty in preventing oneself (virtually anyone) from projecting, if implicitly, one's view of the world (as well as one's empirical experience) upon foreign realities. This is particularly frequent *vis-à-vis* socio-political customs, rules, and institutions. Among societal institutions, those dealing with formal education are considered, only too often, to have a sort of 'objective' nature and are expected to share some common and universal features… which they actually do, if at all, only to a very limited extent. It should be clear that the exercise of detecting differences, overt or covert, can be more important than simply appreciating analogies. Failure to recognise this could result, as it often does, in misunderstanding and equivocation.

Aware of the problem, and knowing how plentiful the peculiarities of Italy are, it might be appropriate to give some background information before sketching changes currently under discussion.

This strange 'animal' we call 'university'

We all know that centaurs and sirens - mixes of human and animal - do not exist in the real world and belong to mythology. 'Chimera', another mythical animal, has become a synonym of illusion, or something that has no concrete existence. Yet we may encounter among living animals very strange mixes, like the Australian duckbilled platypus (watermole, duck-mole), whose scholarly name has the peculiar Greek form of *ornitorhynchus* (bird's beak).

As a metaphor, that peculiar animal has been chosen by somebody having a strong and profound experience of what a University is - indeed of what universities around the world are - to define the University in Italy.

> 'A he-goat-stag (*hircocervus*, Lat., *tragelaphos*, Gr.). A centaur. A hippogriff. In a word, a monster. A jigsaw puzzle of different species, just like his[1] *ornithorinchus*. This is what is, for Umberto Eco, the Italian University. A massive and mass-oriented big-bellied body with an élite heart, with impervious lectures open to everybody, overcrowded lecture halls, Rwanda-like flights and a scanty vanguard of excellent graduates. A sterile *ornitorynchus* therefore, laying valuable eggs with a dropping tube.'

These are the opening lines of one of a recent series of interviews with eminent scholars and professionals first hosted by a leading Italian newspaper, and then reprinted as a book carrying the ambitious title and subtitle *Surfers of knowledge: Ten proposals for the year 2000.*[2]

It would be interesting to explore Eco's analysis and proposals, but it would take us further than we can go in this short article. Suffice it to remark that the metaphor is a quite effective synthesis/diagnosis of the current situation of higher education in Italy. We are referring here to the whole of HE rather than the University alone, given that in Italy the two notions are virtually synonymous. Why is this so? To understand it we cannot confine ourselves to the present and we need to look backwards, to find explanations in history.

The past as a mirror to the present

Saying that Italy is an old country may sound a truism - hence a waste of time. Yet truisms - by and through their triviality - may be of help, arresting one's attention: 'Sounds obvious. But... is it really so?' Saying that Italy is an ancient land would raise no perplexity. But now, is it true that 'Italy is an old country'?

Yes and no. It is not and old country because it only knows its beginning as a nation-state since the second half of the 19th century, when, after a millennium, Italy regained unity and political independence. In that sense, it is much younger than the US – the eponym for 'young country' – let alone, therefore, when compared to France or Spain.

And yet Italy *is* an old country. And this is where we come to the tricky point, one that is easy to make, but all but easy to explain in a satisfactory manner. If Italy, as a nation, is lively, active, fast-changing, and can be labelled 'modern' and/or 'young', as a state it is not. 'Italians do it better', but the institutions of Italy are ossified. After 85 years of monarchy, Italy has been a republic for more than fifty years. Though the change implied a new constitution, modernisation and the innovation of the legal system (laws, byelaws, rules, regulations, circulars... and so on), the country did not, in fact, change in any really significant manner.

Now coming to educational structures and policies. The backbone of the formal education structure, from primary through university, is older than the nation-state itself. What is constantly referred to as *Legge Casati* was issued in 1859 as an act of the Kingdom of Sardinia, the official name of the Savoy kingdom that had set in motion the process of political unification of the land and whose king, Victor Emmanuel II, became the first monarch of Italy (even though it was not yet a a fully unified Italy then). The same *Legge Casati* was extended to all the regions that were later incorporated in the Kingdom.

If in 1859 the Act was modern and - relatively speaking - progressive,[3] it cannot but reflect the social structure of the time, when the idea of universal education, if at all present, was limited to the three Rs, i.e. to the primary school.

For centuries the *raison d'être* of secular higher education had been to educate the upper class and essentially to open the way to liberal professions. Apart from military schools, all secular HE at the time was within the University. More than half the articles of the very lengthy *Legge Casati* concern the universities of the Kingdom of Sardinia and their rules were later expanded to include the whole of Italy.

Not that since 1859 there has been no legislation at all concerning HE/university in Italy: far from that! Legislative bodies in Italy are inordinately over-productive. Yet the skeleton of post-secondary education did not know significant changes for more than a century, ignoring social change and the consequent state of siege to élitist institutions resulting from social pressure put on them.

In most countries, the response to increasing social pressure has been diversification. Far from throwing élitist institutions away, new institutions were set up alongside older ones in order to host an increasingly wider section of the population - and opening the way to what has eloquently been christened in some countries as 'the credential society' (an issue that cannot obviously be dealt with here). To quote just an example, think of the evolution in the UK from Oxbridge through the Red Brick universities, through the polytechnics, to a virtually general universitisation of HE.

Massification, 'democratisation', and access

This has not been the case in Italy. Figures are revealing: while during the 1950s the overall enrolment in all Italian universities was around 250,000, i.e. 0.5% of the total population, it had reached 500,000 in the sixties - one among the many profound consequences of the industrial boom that has been referred to as the 'economic miracle'. Italy knew its 1968 as well, and the sudden explosion in student numbers contributes to an understanding of that phenomenon. Until quite recently, however, while the overall matriculation rate (i.e. the % of students entering the HE system on the overall population) had increased by more than 5 times, no radical reform was initiated.

In the absence of structural change, an act was voted in 1969 by which the doors of universities were opened wide to let virtually everybody in. A unique feature of the Italian case is that, while, as everywhere else in the world, a formal certificate (of a post-compulsory long - quinquennial - school) is required to give access to a third level institution, the same is also (with minor exceptions) considered a sufficient condition. Rules and criteria may vary, but everywhere in the world access is regulated: that the number of places made available be related to existing facilities is a minimum condition that nobody would ever think of objecting to - with the exception of Italy! Quality-wise, detailed specifications for access may result in tough and very selective competitions. This is, once again, not the case with Italy, where anybody holding an upper secondary school certificate (*maturità*, the equivalent of *Baccalaureat* or *Abitur*) is entitled to claim entry to any course programme of the university of his/her choice, in any university, irrespective of the number of applicants, let alone of available resources.

The overall result of such a distorted idea of 'democratisation', with a rash policy of uncontrolled access, is essentially twofold: monstrous overcrowding of less than ten mega-universities, while other institutions are underutilised; and less than one third of students who start a course actually finish it successfully and obtain their degree.

This is a well known and scandalous pathology of Italian universities that raises, among others, the issue of regulating access to HE in general and to individual institutions in particular, as it is common practice the world over.

Certification

Rules that govern access and formal accreditation should be connected: outside Italy, those institutions whose degrees are granted legal recognition and accreditation set very selective access criteria; entrance competitions are so challenging that it may be more difficult to get in than to complete the course, as is often the case in French *Grandes Écoles*. In spite of the stubborn persistence of the fetish, the really important credentials have less and less to do with formal degrees: the same degree issued by two different institutions - both public – may differ in weight. In terms of future income, social prestige, and job-placement after studies, some Italian institutions have a standing that has nothing to do with formal certification: if a Nobel-prize factory (from Enrico Fermi to Carlo Rubbia) has ever existed in Italy, that is the *Scuola Normale Superiore* of Pisa, whose graduates hold degrees (granted by the University of Pisa) that are entirely equivalent to those of other students leaving 'standard' universities.

Yet this issue of regulating access leaves another structural peculiarity that deserves more attention: namely that kind of articulation that one could refer to as 'horizontal', where progress towards a particular goal is attained through the following of a set of clearly defined steps. Access to the liberal professions, or to academic and scholarly activities, has always required everywhere the highest academic degrees, what can be referred to as 'postgraduate' (UK) or 'graduate' (US) studies. If the Casati university was meant to prepare for such social functions, producing graduates in medicine, engineering, architecture, law and so on, it focused primarily on the postgraduate/graduate track, totally ignoring the undergraduate level. This can be seen clearly when one considers that all those who reach the academic degree called *laurea* are entitled to be called - as they are indeed called - *Dottore.*

It would be reasonable to suppose that if the higher education path was structured in a modular fashion, i.e. in tiers, with each tier leading to a formal certification, then a significant number of those 75% of matriculated students who drop out along the way would have obtained a formal qualification - thus reducing individual frustration and social waste. The lack of this tiered structure has led to a number of bizarre situations. Thus, when individual universities established postgraduate courses in such areas as management, they made no effort to find a suitable name for the degree they conferred, and called it, in Italian (!), *Master in...*(for instance) *gestione aziendale* (i.e. management), given that the Master's degree in the English speaking countries is a second level degree. But this is confusing, since *Laurea* is – wrongly – considered to be a first level degree solely because the first cycle does not presently exist in Italian universities. In Rome located pontifical universities such as the Gregoriana, for instance, there is the Baccalaureate before the Licence, the latter being equivalent to the Italian *laurea.*[4]

The winds of change?

As a starting point of the difficult and slow process of changing tertiary education in Italy we can take the Act/*Legge* 168/1989, through which the competence regarding university affairs was taken away from the Ministry of Education (MPI - *Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*) and transferred to that of research, thus creating the Ministry of University and Research on Science and Technology (or MURST - *Ministero dell'Università e della Ricerca Scientifica e Tecnologica*). A first step in the direction of autonomy was made by those articles concerning new statutes that individual institutions were invited to produce and implement. No institution introduced revolutionary innovations in its statutes. If the main reason was the highly conservative attitude of the powerful oligarchy of full professors, attention should be also paid to the rigidity of the overall structure, stating autonomy on the one side but keeping national compulsory *Tabelle* (what at primary and secondary level would be called 'syllabi') on the other. In this perspective, Burton Clark had a point when he perceived Italian public universities as local articulations of a single national structure; at the secondary level there are thousands of individual schools, but they can altogether be considered as a body.

An effort aimed at changing the architecture of the University was made by an Act of 1990 (*Legge* 341/90, *Ordinamenti didattici*). While the doctorate in the full sense of most countries ('Ph.D.' in the English-speaking countries) had been formalised in 1980, leading to the title of *Dottore di ricerca*, the explicit formalisation of three cycles/steps (roughly equivalent to BA/BSc, MA/MSc, and Doctorate of the Anglo-Saxon structures) came only with that act and the three final certificates are *Diploma Universitario*, *Laurea*, and *Dottorato di Ricerca.*

To recapitulate, the university proper (state, or 'recognised' non-state, i.e. following rules and guidelines of the National Ministry for University and Research), after Act 341 of 1990 (*Ordinamenti didattici*) thus far makes provision for the following:

- courses leading to *diploma universitario* (three years);
- courses leading to *laurea* (four years in most cases, five for some lines, six years for medical studies);
- programmes leading to *dottorato di ricerca* (inter-university programmes, three years, entrance by competitive selection);
- schools of specialisation (postgraduate, parallel to doctorate, certificate not equivalent to doctorate, two to five years, according to the sector; mostly in the field of medicine);
- the university sector comprises, so far, the intermediate sector of the 'para-university schools', with a variety of courses of the average duration of two years, most of which should become diploma courses.

University structures

50 odd towns host 70-odd institutions (some of which have more than one location: UCSC, *Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore*, for instance, has four). 93% of the universities (all but ten) are state universities. The only American-style university with an autonomous campus, situated in a suburban or extra-urban location, and residential for students and teaching staff, is the *Università della*

Calabria, outside Cosenza (see below: G. Berto). A few others (some of the oldest) are located in very small towns (e.g. Urbino, Camerino) where they become a sort of pivot of social and economic life of the town. Most are located within the urban texture, which raises a number of problems in terms of housing and other services for non-resident students.

With University students totalling some 1,570,000, each institution should have an average student population of around 22,000, which most countries would consider as large universities. But the figure is misleading: free access policy results in such an irrational distribution that the total number of registered students at the first State University of Rome (La Sapienza) is 157,000 as against the 18,000 of the second (Tor Vergata); Bologna has 91,000, while Ferrara, 30 miles away, has 14,000 (data from the statistical service of the Ministry, July 1999). Half the student population comes from outside the *provincia* ('county') where the university is located. This is a national average but the figure can rise to 80%. There are several reasons to that: free access, together with a severe lack of information and guidance leads would-be students to make their choice on their own. Mobility is made necessary to same extent because not all universities have the same structure of schools and faculties. None offers in full the entire range of *corsi di laurea* (programmes) which are officially recognised. It should be noted that, despite the alleged autonomy of universities, programmes have to be authorised by the Ministry: presently they amount to 88, together with another 79 *corsi di diploma universitario.*

Virtually all attempts at regulating the intake and flow of students in and through individual institutions have been countered by verdicts of the courts – generally on the ground of lack of national legislation on the matter. This leads to the institution being obliged to enrol those whom it would have left out on the basis of qualitative selection. The high level of centralisation makes organisational patterns and output profiles so homogeneous, that the Italian university can be seen as a single, large multi-plant enterprise. While crucial decision-making takes place at two different levels – Ministry, and individual universities - such decisions, at whichever level they are made, fail to take into account indicators of need or of product.

Resources

The burgeoning enrollment rates of some universities would suggest a parallel growth of physical facilities (lecture rooms, laboratories, libraries, staff rooms, etc.). Far from that: in most cases, the intake of students has been faster than physical growth. The obvious consequence is overcrowding, which would be infinitely more horrendous had the majority of registered students to attend in a full-time capacity. Many students, however, take on part-time jobs to support themselves, and others simply take examinations and do not attend lectures and other activities, not because they do not want to, but rather because it would be physically impossible for them to do otherwise.

The main features outlined so far (rigidity, lack of articulation with societal needs, no regulation of access resulting in overcrowding and shortage of all sorts of facilities in the bigger universities, and under-utilisation in the smaller ones), combine together to give a very low rate of productivity, as seen earlier, although the total number of graduates has increased over the past five years, reaching 40% at the *laurea* level (long programme), and 75% at the diploma level (short programme).

Who's afraid of academic autonomy?

There is plenty of evidence that artists can have a deeper insight than academic researchers (let alone politicians). Possibly some of the most effective keys to understanding contemporary Italy are to be found in the literary works of writers. Topping the list, in my view, are three Sicilian authors, Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa, Leonardo Sciascia, and Andrea Camilleri. Probably better known worldwide (thanks to movies) is another contemporary journalist author most effectively interpreting postwar rural Italy, Giovannino Guareschi, of the Don Camillo and Peppone fame. Another novelist, Giuseppe Berto, writing around the end of the sixties, gave his reflections on Italy through a series of perceptive articles later collected in a small book carrying the ironical title *Conversations with my Dog*. The third of these articles is titled 'The Calabrian university'. Here - in a dialogue with his dog Cocai - Berto comments about the recent governmental decision to create a university in Calabria, the southernmost Italian region on the continent, opposite Sicily. That new university had been conceived in a form that would have been strongly innovative: suburban campus, fully residential for both student and teaching staff, with regulated and limited access and other features that would have been a revolutionary change from the prevailing pattern of traditional universities. At one point he writes:

> 'The Italian university is maggoty, and the Calabrian university will be an Italian university; when one links a living thing to a corpse, it is generally the living thing that loses. A remedy could be: make the Calabrian university a non-Italian one. To avoid misunderstanding, what this means is to give it the largest degree of autonomy, leaving it as much as possible free from the bureaucratic apparatus of national education and of the political forces standing

> on it. My god, then the terrible problem will be that of finding - and daring to engage (from outside the university environment perhaps) – those capable of running a new university; but this would be a minor problem compared to the crucial one – that of autonomy.'

Try and find anybody in Italy (as most probably in any other country) who would explicitly object to the principle of autonomy. Looking closer you realise that it is virtually always a sort of liturgical lip service shrewdly used as a shield against one (the dark one, probably...) of the two faces of autonomy, namely accountability.

In recent years significant steps have been taken in that direction. The government has been engaged in a tightrope walking act: dismantling the heavy and ever-prevalent bureaucratic mentality - one that allows no local initiative without prior scrutiny by the ministry and its *entourage*, and at the same time keenly avoiding the risk of a centrifugal dispersion of a myriad initiatives falling outside the purview of 'objective' evaluation.

What is really new and starts to show interesting consequences is the concrete implementation of an autonomy which, in the Italian case, has given rise to a puzzling anomaly, where it is oft asserted but not practiced.

If most countries - including those whose institutional structure is strongly centralist (France, Spain until 1975, and so on) - show a high level of real autonomy for the academic body as a whole, and for individual universities and their units, this is not the case with Italian universities, where until quite recently no critical decision could be made unless it had the nod from the Ministry. The lack of substantial autonomy has long been justified as a consequence of the need to guarantee the *valore legale* (accreditation by the law, government control) of degrees.

A more than nominal autonomy appears to be only possible when third level institutions enter into competition with one another, especially if a substantial portion of their resources is submitted to social evaluation and quality assessment (by governmental structures, of course - as in the case of the French Committee for academic evaluation - but more importantly by professional and scientific associations, unions, and so on).

In a comparative perspective the crucial point comes out clearly. As long as academic degrees are expected to carry a legal value,[5] with a public support, backing and guarantee, their 'autonomy' is constrained into very narrow guidelines. If and when the social and market value of a certificate is linked to the public prestige of the issuing body or institution, these should be in full mastery of their own procedures. A paradigmatic case is that of Belgium, with job-oriented (short) higher education institutions acting within the guidelines set by national ministries, and universities with a high level of autonomy concerning all matters. Access to professions is subject – everywhere – to selective assessments. Academic degrees may be (or may even not be) necessary conditions but they are not sufficient by themselves. Professions (in the English sense) may well be socially controlled, but they would not be considered professions, were they not self-regulated: is the academic profession fully a profession?

In a 'simpler' country, the goal of true autonomy for each individual university would have been attained if the legislative and administrative bodies would have taken the straight-forward way of producing a single comprehensive framework act and the relevant set of rules and regulations needed to support its implementation (interesting comparative examples could be the British Education Acts, one of which – that of 1944 – has lived almost fifty years, or the French *Loi d'Orientation* of 1968, or the Spanish LOGSE), giving to individual institutions the necessary amount of responsibilities and accountabilities. This has not been the case in Italy. The legislative production has been complex and some of the rules affecting academic institutions were formulated within budgetary laws, within much broader acts aimed to bring about deep bureaucratic reforms. Such is the case of the Bassanini laws, a series of Acts that are known by the name of the minister of the *Funzione pubblica/*civil service, charged with the Herculean task of modernising Italian red-tape.

Reforming Italian universities

The coming academic years 1999-2000 and 2000-2001 may well lead to a real turning point in Italian higher education as a result of the funambolic and often contradictory governmental exercises.

1999-2000: Going corporate

A brand new phenomenon which became visible during the summer of 1999 is the invasion of elaborate advertisements - placed by individual, mostly state universities - in the press and the internet.

This is a visible result of new rules of what is called 'autonomy' and should be more appropriately referred to as 'going corporate', since they are related rather more to the financial than the scholarly side of autonomy. It is worth looking a little bit closer at this aspect.

In comparative terms, the amount of public resources invested in HE is lower than the average in EC countries. In spite of that, due to severe difficulties of public finances, a significant increase of resources is unlikely to come from the (central) state through the Treasury. If two-thirds of students do not attain their degree, the cost per graduate - despite a relatively low cost per enrolled student - is high. The Italian university as an industry mobilises an amount of resources that is disproportionate to the results attained, particularly if one considers instructional services. Moreover, international comparison clearly shows that one of the main anomalies of our system - in spite of relatively low fees - is to put most of the overall burden (i.e. the costs of living) on students. Lack of productivity of the system can reasonably be attributed, to some extent, to this peculiarity. An objection however can be made to an increase of public resources: individual benefits accruing from higher education militate against the principle of offering (virtually) free instructional services. This effectively means that the state gives a bonus to each student - irrespective of his or her income or financial standing. The regressive effect is clear: taxpayers, whose average socio-economic distribution is lower-middle class, pay instructional costs to students, whose average condition is still upper-middle class. The government is acting in fact as a counter-Robin Hood: drawing fiscal resources from the less well-off to finance the education of the more well-to-do.

An increased cost-effectiveness of available resources could only come through their functional reallocation.

As a matter of fact, the first step of a concrete implementation of the principle of autonomy has been on financial matters. Instead of earmarked streams of contribution to each one of the many items of a rigid budget, the Ministry allocates a lump sum to each individual institution according to size and a set of assessment criteria. This implies that fees paid by students, if almost nominal (far as they are from actual costs), are an essential part of the income of universities. Students' fees in actual fact contribute nearly 15% of expenses; contributions differ among universities: matriculation and registration fees - determined by the government - are common all over the country and are almost nominal; tuition fees can be defined locally by Administrative councils and vary according to institution, programme, and family income level.

The issue of costs vs. prices calls for a remark. Vocally appealing to an undefined 'right to study', there are frequent protests among students about tuition fees. The most radical advocate an unrestricted right to absolutely free studies: free of charge, free of obligations, free of assessment... Meanwhile private providers of auxiliary services flourish, promising accurate and effective support in preparing examinations in planning, organising and writing final dissertations, and son on. These are not philanthropic institutions, of course. Quite the opposite! These are strong and flourishing businesses and they charge for one single exam (to be taken in public universities, of course) the same amount that universities charge - on average and for all services - for a full academic year. Overseas businesses - such as a fancifully named 'New Yorker University' - pay for advertising spots on TV claiming to offer 'Bachelor, Master, and Doctoral degrees (a title that they can be used , even though it is not recognised in Italy) in six months'. Unbelievable, yet unfortunately true.

1999-2000: Walking the tightrope between autonomy and national guidelines

The general architecture of university programmes is about to face radical changes after the formal reorganisation planned by Act 341 of 1990 (*diploma universitario, laurea, dottorato di ricerca; diploma di specialità*):

- The universe of programmes, based so far on the traditional structure of centuries-old and/or more recent faculties, each one hosting a variable number of degree lines (*corsi di laurea*) shall be reorganised in five broad areas (humanities, health, engineering and architecture, social and political sciences and law, science and technology).
- Access will be filtered: immediate for students coming from a secondary school stream that is matching the university area chosen, subject to entrance examinations in case of mismatch.
- The path of HE will be structured in three steps for all, (according to the organisation set up in 1990, a newly matriculated student chooses at the entrance point either the three years diploma programme, or the *laurea* programme, which lasts four to six years: the two types of programme did not necessarily fit into a sequence).

The wording of an official ministerial paper (*Schema di Regolamento in Materia di Autonomia Didattica degli Atenei*, submitted on 19/3/99 to the National University Council to solicit evaluation) is bureau-baroque-byzantine, and therefore much in the spirit of what Italy has been accustomed to, and which will takes ages to change. The result is somewhat puzzling. While the structure has three layers, or steps, plus postgraduate specialities that are a parallel alternative to doctorate (3+2+3), the text reads on as follows:[6]

1. Universities deliver first and second level degrees. The first level university degree is the *laurea* diploma (DL). Second level university degree is the doctorate diploma (DD).
2. Universities also deliver a specialist diploma (DS) and the diploma of research doctorate (DR)

Doesn't sound consistent, does it?

Be it as it may, the significant innovation is to let the first cycle of HE eventually emerge explicitly as it has long been in most countries. So far, so good.

What raises perplexities and some skepticism is the a-critical adoption of a mythicised and misunderstood 'credit system', here formulated in a bureau-baroque-byzantine way by which academic paths will be arithmetised (or rather kabbalized, alas!): 60 credit per academic year, each credit 25hrs student work, totalling 1500 work hours per year...

Another word that has become trendy and keeps hitting the headlines these months is 'flexibility'. When opposed to 'rigidity' it is all right, of course. But does the proposed way to implement the – quite reasonable – principle of accreditation really show flexibility? The rationale as declared by decision-makers should be to facilitate and promote transferability. In this connection it is nothing new, as Germany has known for at least three centuries a very high level of mobility across universities without arithmetising. Italian universities have always had procedures to allow transfer through accreditation of previous work, and the mythicised North American 'credit system' has never been mechanical and unrestricted. The name is a transparent metaphor. Anybody holding an account in a bank is entitled to close it, opening a new one elsewhere, and there will be no loss of money in transfer except technical charges. Now, even the various campuses of the biggest public universities in the US (like SUNY or the University of California) have such a level of autonomy that they do not guarantee *full* recognition of previous work in case of transfer. One may well suspect that such a ridiculous mimickry of engineering, or the transfer of a secondary school pattern to the tertiary level, is an indirect way to implicitly suggest that a fair assessment, evaluation and grading is to be considered impossible in other ways.

These legislative changes are about to set in motion an unprecedented reform process. Far from eliciting all expected results, however, the process may further entangle the situation. How much of the old structure will survive, and how far will the new deal be successful, is still unclear.

Not a reformist country, Italy is used to living great protest movements and simultaneously to endure, beyond any reasonable limit, the immobility of the political guild, lacking any experience of how to manage reform processes. The recent history of the Italian university is a history of legislative stagnation on the one side, and of violent (sometimes 'explosive') students' movements (1966, 1968, 1977, 1989) on the other. It is therefore extremely difficult to anticipate whether these reforms will remain on paper or will succeed.

It is not easy to identify the actors performing on the stage of higher education policy, nor to follow a debate that is all but lively and hot. Multiple subjects and parties are involved in this cycle of change: students, teaching staff, rectors and their Permanent Conference, unions, political parties, the National University Council (CUN). Public debates, however, have looked so far like brilliant monologues by ministers, all other actors appearing as dummies. There are many reasons to that, some of which due to the difficulty of setting a process of change in motion. Students are promised a better instructional offer; at the same time they are being asked to submit themselves to more efficient controlling procedures: and that is what the student body seems to perceive most of all. Students cannot become an effective negotiable counterpart to the government, untrained as they are to set up and manage effective unions. In other words, they are unable to express their voice within the institutional debate. As a result, either government proposals are approved without even recording student opinion, or are hindered by the explosion of movements (as in 1989-90). The teaching staff, though obviously involved, is neither threatened by heavier obligations, nor solicited by new incentives. Despite the possibility of facing an increase in their responsibilities in administrative and instructional tasks, a change in the salary structure is not foreseen.

Consultative and self-governing bodies – particularly the *Conferenza Permanente dei Rettori* and the *Consiglio Universitario Nazionale*, almost entirely composed of full professors – did not take clear and overt positions. These bodies (whose competencies are limited, anyway) are more inclined to preserve the traditional caste order of the academy than supporting change. Unions, traditionally active when university policy is affecting salary and careers of their members, have been neutralised by the decision not to change the status of teaching and non-teaching staff. It should be remarked that staff has been the only sector concerned by the limited innovations introduced in the university system during the seventies and eighties.

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Notes

1. The hint refers to *Umberto Eco, Kant e l'Ornitorinco*. Milano, Bompiani, 1997, especially to 2.5 and 4.5

2. 'Umberto Eco. Ornitorinchi laureati', in Riccardo Chiaberge *Navigatori del sapere. Dieci proposte per il 2000*. Milano, Raffaello Cortina Editore, 1999, first published as 'ECO, l'università? E' un ornitorinco' in *Corriere della Sera* 11/3/1998.

3. The minister of education of the Savoy cabinet, Casati, who had flown to Turin after the repression of insurgence in Milan, March 1848, had been deeply influenced by the Austrian school organization.

4. A remark in passing can be useful: the average quality of information about education and training at all levels is in Italy quite poor. No periodical comparable to the British *Times Educational Supplement* and *Times Higher Education Supplement* or the French *Le Monde de l'Education*, delivering qualified information to the general public, can be found in Italy. But also academic and/ or professional journals do not seem to care much about accuracy: the epitomizing example is the universal statement that school leaving age is in Italy set at 14, while since 1962 it had been raised from 14 to 15. The minister himself, when referring to a recent parliamentary decision by which the number of years of compulsory schooling has been increased from 8 to 9, says in public and writes that the leaving age has now reached 15.

5. Whatever that may mean: the printed statement on a banknote that it is legal tender does not protect it from inflation ad therefore gives no guarantee as to its real value.

6. This structural change is often said to be a consequence of the so-called *Sorbonne Declaration* of 25 May 1998 by which ministers of education of four European countries agreed to 'harmonise' the architecture of the European HE system. What, then, about the so much beloved and praised 'Autonomy' of HE institutions? That statement is in fact the result of widespread misinformation and confusion reaching 'experts' and decision-makers, among others. In a working paper prepared for a Conference on the issue held in Bologna on 16 June 1999, entitled 'Project Report. Trends in Learning Structures in Higher Education', (a project supported by the EU Commission and undertaken by the Confederation of European Union Rectors' Conferences and the Association of European Universities) an appendix signed by Guy Haug ('The Sorbonne Declaration: What it does say, what it doesn't') discusses the issue and at point 2 ('The controversial proposal for a European-wide pattern of qualifications after 3,5,8 years in higher education'), Haug remarks that: 'The main confusion surrounding the Sorbonne Declaration stems from the nearly simultaneous release in May 1998, in the same city of Paris, of the Sorbonne Declaration and the Attali report. This report sets out a series of recommendations for key changes in the higher education system in FRANCE, but bears a surprising title ('For a European model of higher education'), one not warranted by its content – but maybe by the context in which it was chosen. This led to confusion between the two documents, which seems to be amalgamated in the mind of many players in the higher education community (...).' The Attali report, in spite of its title, should therefore be seen for what it is: a national report addressing national issues, within a perceived European and international context. Its pertinence and relevance for policy setting in France are clearly an issue that is totally outside of the scope of this paper. The main aspects relevant to the debate concerning post-Sorbonne developments are two: (a) the 3-5-8 'model' on which the recommendations are based is far from an established common feature, even though it is important to locate and measure convergence trends in Europe; (b) reactions, mainly negative ones, have affected the perception of the Sorbonne Declaration, albeit it does not even mention the 3-5-8 pattern. What the Sorbonne Declaration *does* mention is the need to have first cycle degrees which are 'internationally recognised' as ' an appropriate level of qualification', and a graduate cycle 'with a shorter master's degree and a longer doctor's degree' with possibilities to transfer from one to the other'. It also says that such a two-cycle system 'seems to emerge' and 'should be recognised for international comparison and equivalence'.

Appendix

STUDENT ENROLMENT (*LAUREA* PROGRAMMES)

Year	total enrolment	change	Academic staff	student/ staff	*Fuori corso**	change
	number	%	number	ratio	number	%
1992-93	1518874	4.6	54570	27.8	479399	31.6
1993-94	1575358	3.7	56789	27.7	481508	30.6
1994-95	1601873	1.7	57445	27.8	526706	32.9
1995-96	1617140	1.0	58111	27.8	555460	34.3

* Students that have gone through the legal duration of the programme (4 to 6 years according to areas) but did not complete the required exams and final dissertation can enrol until completion of all requirements.

MATRICULATION (1ST YEAR) IN UNIVERSITY PROGRAMMES

Academic	Laurea (Long)	Degree	Diploma (Short)	Degree	Total		% on 19
Year	number	change	number	change	number	change	Yrs
1993-94	336967	.8%	18069	8.9%	355036	1.2%	40.6
1994-95	317030	-5.9%	19465	7.7%	336495	-5.2%	40.9
1995-96	310890	-1.9%	24232	24.5%	335122	-0.4%	43.3
1996-97	304238	-2.1%	27980	15.5%	332218	-0.9%	45.1
1997-98	289724	-4.8%	30692	9.7%	320416	-3.6%	45.1
1998-99	275216	-5.0%	34828	13.5%	310044	-3.2%	43.7

ACADEMIC YEAR 1998-99

Students Enrolled and Gratuated	*(Laurea)*	%
Fuori Corso*	607844	38.6
1st Year	275216	–
Total of Regular Years	965208	61.4
Total Number (R+FC)	1573052	100.0
Graduates	129169	–
Of Which *Fuori Corso*	114244	88.4

* Students that have gone through the legal duration of the programme (4 to 6 years according to areas) but did not complete the required exams and final dissertation can enrol until completion of all requirements.

GRADUATIONS IN ALL UNIVERSITIES

Year	*Laurea*	(long)	Degree	Diploma	(short)	Degree	Total	
	Number	increase	of age range	number	increase	of age range	number	increase
1993	92057	2.7%	10.0%	6422	6.3%	0.7%	98961	2.9%
1994	98057	6.0%	10.5%	6897	7.1%	0.8%	104936	6.0%
1995	104877	7.0%	11.2%	7511	9.2%	0.8%	112388	7.1%
1996	115024	9.7%	12.3%	9433	25.6%	1.1%	124457	10.7%
1997	121785	5.9%	13.3%	10202	8.2%	1.2%	131987	6.1%
1998	129167	6.1%	13.8%	10959	7.4%	1.3%	140128	6.2%

Sources: MURST statistical service, ISTAT, CENSIS (from ISTAT)

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN MALTA

GODFREY BALDACCHINO

The legacy

> *'[The] shared history of permeability to globalisation forces, of domination and peripheralisation is therefore bound to have had an impact on the form, pace, and direction of the region's educational development...' (Sultana, 1999:15).*

Development in the peripheral island state of Malta is a clear case study of the persistent impact of external agents and the subservient role of local institutions as 'policy-takers' in the wake of exogenous initiatives. A country with hardly any commercially exploitable resources and without presenting any physical obstacle to sea-based invasions, Malta and its people have had no geographical, economic or cultural hinterland to which to retreat and from which to entertain notions of self-reliance and national identity (Busuttil, 1973; Spiteri, 1997). Colonial penetration has been deep, total and millennial: the Maltese cannot envisage a time when they were not located within the economic and political circuitry of a larger, regional power. Benevolent dictatorship or fiscal sponsorship has been typically preferred in relation to the dangerous risks of 'going it alone'. Indeed, the island's economic psyche as a rentier state revolves perennially - and nervously - around the injection of outside finance - foreign direct investment; tourist currency; and, more recently, the titillating promise of European Union Structure and Cohesion Funds (Vella, 1994; Baldacchino, 1998).

The demographic basis for such a condition is not difficult to consider. Malta today is the second most densely populated state in the world, beaten only by Singapore. Almost 400,000 citizens seek to survive on a semi-desert rock formation of just 315 square kilometres which is bereft of natural water supplies, has a poor topsoil and equally poor contiguous fishing grounds. That the Maltese survive, and survive rather well, bears testimony to their ingrained, historically learnt ability to tap the external. The external agent, in turn, has been able - at times willingly, at other times begrudgingly - to somehow meet these expectations.

Malta's economic and political history for many centuries has been a question of extracting value from foreign sources for local use and consumption. The building of its Baroque capital city, Valletta, from scratch with European funds after 1566 - an antecedent to the EU Structural Policy? - was a wise move capitalising on an upbeat Christian Europe thankful to Malta for halting and

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defeating a massive Turkish invasion force. The Knights of St John - in their own way, a medieval, theocratic version of the European Union - transferred largesse from their European lands, and from their own, or delegated, corsairing sprees, to Malta for two and a half centuries (Mallia Milanes, 1992: 125). Britain, the last colonising power, was soon obliged to purchase the loyalty of the Maltese by effectively subsidising the local economy, from the 1830s to 1979 (Baldacchino, 1988). It has been essentially big government, playing host to foreign investment in manufacturing and the deployment of tourism industry, along with mass emigration, which have collectively enabled the Maltese to propel their externally dependent fortress economy into a 'post cold war' era where strategic location can no longer be cashed in.

Impact on education

The relationship between this legacy and educational development is an intimate one. The very foundation of what is today the University of Malta in 1592 - the oldest tertiary education institution in the British Commonwealth outside Britain - is to be understood as part of the building of Valletta and the attraction of foreign funding for this noble cause (Maxwell, 1980). Schooling under the British was mainly in the interest of co-optative acculturation, as well as a means of recruiting literate workers into the lower echelons of the burgeoning civil service (Pirotta, 1997). The initiative to develop adult literacy skills has been very closely tied to the acceptability of the Maltese as settlers to countries which had been targeted as potential destinations for Maltese emigrants (Zammit Marmarà, 1997; Vancell, 1997). The bitter and long drawn out 'language question' - concerning the supremacy of either the Italian or the English language - was a front for the attempted ascendancy of a particular, new economic middle class over a traditional, clerico-professional bourgeoisie (Frendo, 1979; Pirotta, 1997). And the emergence of technical, vocational education in the early 1970s was also closely matched to the perceived exigencies of the foreign manufacturing investor (Sultana, 1992). Note that, in all these debates, the arguments for or against anything local were not a priority and any gains for Maltese identity and language were typically unintended or secondary consequences.

Another effect of these developments is that education has become widely recognised as a key instrument for occupational, if not also social, mobility in Malta. One reason for this is because the quantity and quality of certification has become a legitimate instrument for sifting job applicants, even where the aptitude being certified may not be even remotely related to the job in question.[1] A second, less obvious, explanation is because the interaction with fellow students and other peers may - in a small social universe where it is fairly easy for people to know each other or to know someone else who does - foster those social networks which may eventually translate into informants, contacts, gatekeepers and patrons - all useful tools for landing a desirable job.[2]

Focus on the university

Higher education in Malta is almost the exclusive responsibility of the University of Malta. Apart from a vocational Institute for Tourism Studies,[3] all tertiary and various post-secondary education programmes,4 not to mention other initiatives,[5] operate under the aegis of the *Alma Mater*. This is a situation which has come about rather abruptly over the last decade and represents a sea change in the role which the University of Malta has been expected to play in the national context.

Where a university is financed by public funds, it must always somehow justify its funding through its contribution to the economic, social and cultural life of the nation. All the more so in a small jurisdiction where the University enjoys a practical monopoly in higher education and where the institution can easily tower head and shoulders as much in political prioritisation as in social prestige.

Compulsory primary education was only introduced in Malta in 1946; secondary education was extended to all as from 1970. State education was free, being paid for by indirect taxation, and this exemption from fees was extended to the University of Malta as from 1970.

The 16-year spell of a Labour Government propelled a series of radical reforms which sought to orient the educational institution more closely to the needs of the economic infrastructure. Tertiary education was envisaged as requiring a rupture beyond the high status, traditional professions, solidly protected and reproduced on campus; and more explicitly vocational courses were launched, with new faculties of education, health care, dentistry, engineering and business established.

Reforms and counter-reforms

Most notable of these reforms was the so-called 'student-worker scheme' at University, and its equivalent 'pupil-worker' scheme at post-secondary level. Both of these entailed a system of $5^1/_2$ months of study and $5^1/_2$ months of work during each year of full-time tertiary education. Students were sponsored by their employer - entry to University was also conditional on clinching such a 'patron'

- and received a salary, thus ensuring that no one would dismiss tertiary education because of financial hardship. In return, undergraduates entered into a contract to work for their sponsor for a set number of years after their graduation. This sponsorship system was meant to ensure the availability of jobs to graduates, dispelling the spectre of graduate unemployment, while obliging all undergraduates to spend time at work, thus discouraging elitism and fostering a respect for all types of work, manual or otherwise.

Parallel to these reforms, a Technician Apprenticeship Scheme (TAS) was also piloted in 1981. The idea was to extend the education-work partnership to vocational, post-secondary education. A combination of theory-oriented learning and hands-on practice over a number of years was meant to produce a crop of technically qualified journeymen.[6] An Extended Skills Training Scheme (ESTS) followed suit in 1990, providing a similar arrangement but at a lower, craft level of academic and technical competence.

The student worker and pupil worker schemes met vicious criticism: they clamped down savagely on access to University education reduced the academic content of courses; introduced a rigid and mechanical form of graduate manpower planning which was difficult to work in any context, let alone in a small and open labour market which depends to a large measure on flexibility. Postgraduate degrees were effectively embargoed; entry to other courses was restricted by means of a *numerus clausus*; the Faculty of Theology was forcefully privatised and the non-vocational Faculties of Science and the Humanities were closed down. An ebb of just 1,680 students enrolled at University was reached in 1984. This represented an abysmally low rate of participation by the 18-24 age cohort in tertiary education in Malta, compared to other countries.[7]

Nevertheless, these reforms did usher in a change of perspective - and perhaps of culture - which survived the re-foundation of the University by the Nationalist Government when this returned to power in 1987. The concept of 'waged students' and the financial independence which it generated amongst a growing cohort of post-16-year-olds was also politically and economically difficult to contain. The end result is that, the student-worker and pupil-worker sponsorship scheme became, after 1987, a stipend. The fiscal handout remained while the obligations to rope in an eventual employer and work for part of the year with the same were summarily dispensed with. The stipend was transformed from a payment for labour into an incentive to encourage post-secondary and tertiary education.

The incentive appears to have worked: along with the lifting of the *numerus clausus*; the re-foundation and re-integration of the Faculties of Science, Humanities and Theology; the number of students enrolling for tertiary education shot up dramatically.[8] The options available for further study also increased: over

60 different degree and diploma courses are now being offered, from 10 Faculties and 18 other Institutes and Centres ; the student population had grown to 6,500 by 1996. While there were only 250 graduating students in 1988, there were 1,250 in 1995.

Of course, the increase in the student population has also meant that the number of stipend beneficiaries has expanded to suit, with significant strains on the public purse. Successive governments have sought to somehow manage this issue, while fully cognisant that the stipend was also a form of national investment in human capital, a social benefit and an instrument of financial independence for youth.[9]

Implications of expansion

The very rapid increase in student enrolment in higher education carries a series of other implications. The first effects have already been felt on the campus itself. The lack of lecturing space, limited library facilities and resources, the demand for more lecturing staff, the expansion of curricula ... these have already met with some response in terms of recruitment, new and upgraded facilities and classrooms, new departments and institutes to cater for new disciplinary and interdisciplinary areas of knowledge and research.

A second, more serious, wave of effects are now being felt by the world of work. The student boom is now being translated into a boom of graduate labour supply. The change in the quantity and quality of the graduate 'product' has been having significant effects on the small local labour market. Herewith are the most salient ones, as emergent from empirical research:[10]

The spectre of graduate un- and under-employment. Whereas there was not a single unemployed graduate in summer 1993, more recent years have seen a few scores of graduates registering for work. The issue is a complex one, since graduates would tend to be looking for job opportunities which match fairly closely to their education, especially if they have pursued vocational courses such as education, management, accountancy or law. Furthermore, various graduates - particularly from Engineering and Science courses - who do land jobs nevertheless complain that their current duties are essentially routine and/or administrative and therefore unchallenging, even frustrating and de-skilling. In reaction to these complaints, employers are quick to point out that graduates tend to have entertain unrealistic and grossly inflated expectations about the nature and content of work. Essentially, employers argue, it is up to the graduate employees to prove their salt by adding value to their existing employment and increasing the element of enterprise and challenge therein.

Conflicting interpretations of the importance of being a graduate. Indeed, employers consistently insist that simply having a degree is no automatic passport to a good job and a good salary. While graduates may assign a lot of discretionary value to their paper certificate *per se,* employers are more on the look out for such attributes as motivation, experience, leadership, flexibility, discipline, perseverance, and the ability to deploy analytic, social and communicative skills. When graduates are employed, it is either because there is no choice - as in the case of warrant holding posts - or else because their qualification is taken to represent a command of the essentially non-academic criteria outlined above.

Some graduates are more equal than others. The increase in the nation's graduate stock has not been distributed equally. In spite of policies enacted to render the route to tertiary education blind to internal societal differentiation, there remains evidence that the equalisation of tertiary education opportunities has not occurred.[11] First of all, the fashionable, upper middle class areas of Attard, Balzan and Lija have the highest relative concentration of graduates in the population; in sharp contrast, the declining working class towns along the southern rim of the Grand Harbour, traditional sites for port services and ship-repair, enjoy a graduate density which is a staggering 20 times less. Turning to gender, the male to female student ratio has now stabilised at a rough 1:1; but female students remain concentrated in the faculties of education, arts and health care; and various female graduates claim that their gender has been an obstacle towards the pursuit of desirable jobs. Finally, a distinct inter-generational transfer exists in relation to certain graduate professionals, as is the case with graduates from the Faculty of Laws. One third of sampled Law graduates have at least one parent or one elder sibling who is already in the profession. Access to higher education, it seems, is clinched not only on the basis of achieved but also ascribed criteria.

The relative disregard for self-employment. In certain courses, such as Law, Dentistry, Pharmacy, Accountancy and Medicine, it has been fairly common to find graduates taking up private practice as self-employed individuals or as members of some partnership. Apparently, the attraction of such an employment status may be dwindling, given the greater competition in the job market which reduces the likelihood of sustainable self-employment. This in turn, increases the pressure on major employers, particularly the state, to open up employment opportunities for graduates. It is a pity that the percentage of self-employed graduates is much less than that for the whole Maltese working population, suggesting that higher education is stifling, rather than fostering, those entrepreneurship skills which become even more crucial in an open and liberalising economy. Sampled graduate workers from all faculties complain that the University of Malta's weakest contribution to their occupational competence has been in the area of the development of creativity and initiative.

Merit versus seniority. A much larger number of graduates seeking employment increases the likelihood that such graduates land super-ordinate jobs; this means that non-graduates who would have otherwise gone up the ranks and obtained promotion mainly on the basis of competence plus seniority have suddenly found their career paths thwarted, or at least challenged, by typically younger and less experienced but more qualified individuals. So far, the tension has not escalated, because many of those who have to decide the balance between these two criteria of selectivity are themselves not graduates. Once those responsible for selection and recruitment become themselves graduates, they are likely to assign a different, higher weighting to academic credentials.

More hands-on education. Sampled graduate workers claim that their own independent work while at University - assignments, dissertations, research work and seminar presentations - proved to have their greatest contribution to their working lives. Lectures, lecture notes, tests and examinations scored least. Such statements indicate the value of practical oriented learning and confirms the importance of such pragmatic pursuits as practicums, placements, extra-curricular credits, site visits and case studies in one's university education. The value of such activities increases when one notes the fiercer competition for jobs in the graduate labour market and how the lack of work experience translates as the major obstacle to young graduates seeking employment.

Conclusion

The magnitude and the rapidity of the shifts and changes undergone recently in the field of higher education in Malta, laid out over the smorgasbord of a small and sensitive labour market, carry crucial implications for those involved, whether on the demand or supply side. Clearly, the number, nature and profile of jobs in the local Maltese economy is substantially a techno-economic given and not an issue at the discretion of local policy makers. This enhances the importance of a generalist educational programme which postpones, as much as possible, the early channelling of individuals into hard-and-fast, specialist, narrow, job-related competences. It also highlights the importance of flexibility as a key component for a survival strategy.

The opening up of Central and Eastern European economies to foreign investment is attracting foreign capital which could have otherwise considered Malta for its manufacturing location. Furthermore, the need to rein in the state's burgeoning budget deficit to sustainable levels, the liberalisation of the hitherto protected domestic market and the streamlining of the public and parastatal sectors via the privatisation of management and/or of assets, are collectively likely to usher in a period of high structural unemployment. Ironically, it may be to selective emigration and/or to self-employment that the Maltese labour force may have to turn in the near future as a response to these consequences of painful restructuring. Higher education, then, must bear a major responsibility to equip individuals with the skills and cultural orientations necessary to take up such options and manage them successfully.

Notes

1. This relates to the phenomenon of 'qualification inflation' (Mallia, 1994; also Cachia, 1994), whereby 'individuals may be asked to attain qualifications which are above the demands made by the task' (Rizzo, 1994).

2. See Baldacchino (1993). The importance of education for occupational mobility in Malta was empirically deduced by Boswell (1982).

3. The University of Malta *did* attempt to take over the ITS in the early 1990s, but without success. Nevertheless, ITS does not grant degrees and its students have to proceed to the University of Malta for a topping up final year course to qualify for a University of Malta degree.

4. Other exceptions here relate to higher degrees awarded by foreign universities like Maastricht (The Netherlands) or Henley (Brunel University, UK) and which are run by private educational organisations, often in collusion with University of Malta staff!

5. These include the National Swimming Pool Complex, a score of research centres and institutes, a subsidiary University of the Third Age -U3A- and, for some time, the building of a massive hospital.

6. Yes, many of those who benefit from these schemes are men. The very low relative number of females who follow vocational courses in Malta - unless they are related to either health care, pre-school education or secretarial work - remains a moot issue. Female participation in the Technician Apprenticeship Scheme amounted to less than 4% of the total participation in 1994/1995 (Ramboll Report, 1996- Main Report, Table 6.7 & Annex IV, p.5).

7. According to the 1985 National Census, only 3,500 Maltese had a University degree or better (COS, 1986, p.79). This amounts to a paltry 1% of the Maltese population.

8. The number of graduates had shot up to 19,000 by 1995 (Abela, 1998: 52) and is still rising. The University of Malta has projected a student population of 8,000 in 1999/2000 and of 8,285 in 2000/2001.

9. The short-lived Labour Government (1996-1998) cut down on the value of stipends, introduced a fixed value irrespective of the course or year being followed, and introduced a loan scheme supported by the local banks; the re-elected Nationalist Government (elected in 1998) extended the stipend to all post-secondary and tertiary students, but maintained the fixed nature of the stipend. The Student Stipend Scheme Commission (1999) has also recommended that stipends would *not* be revised in line with inflation for at least 5 years and has hinted at the introduction of fees, even if notional ones. Government has not as yet committed itself on these sore points.

10. The research consisted in two sets of semi-structured, fact-to-face interviews held in summer 1993. The first was with a stratified random sample of workers who had graduated from the University of Malta between 1986 and 1992. The second was with the respective employers, personnel managers and/or heads of department of the sampled graduates. For full details of the survey results and the methodology deployed, consult Baldacchino *et al.* (1997).

11. Sultana (1995) argues that some 25% of University students come from what may be broadly defined as working class backgrounds, even though that sector represents some 56% of the total Maltese occupational cluster.

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THE SYSTEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN MOROCCO: A BRIEF INTRODUCTORY REPORT

AHMED MEZIANI

Introduction

Since its independence in 1956, Morocco has understood that its economic and social progress depends very largely on the knowledge and skills of its people. This is why it has put so much emphasis on education and training. For that purpose, it set itself four objectives: (1) the arabisation of the school and administration sectors, (2) the moroccanisation of the personnel, especially in teaching and public administration, (3) the unification of the school systems, and (4) the generalisation of schooling to all school age children.

While moroccanisation and unification have so far been largely satisfied, the other two objectives still lag far behind. Concerning higher education - which was supposed to pave the way to these objectives - there was not a single University in the country in 1956. There was, of course, the Quarawiyine University in Fes, which is one of the oldest in the world. But this institution provided (and still does) traditional education such as religious studies, Islamic law, Islamic tradition, Arabic language and culture. There were, however, a few institutions of higher education which were part and parcel of the French University in Bordeaux. This is why just one year after independence, the first modern University was created in Rabat with just the two faculties of letters and law. Other institutions were created later in the early sixties, viz. medicine, engineering, and public administration.

The main aim of higher education in Morocco was then to provide the country with citizens with specialised skills. At first, this work force was to replace the French personnel in administration and teaching, as well as to provide qualified manpower for the various agricultural and industrial fields. In line with its major planning priority of increasing the output of persons with specialised skills at all levels, the Government established in 1964 the *Sous-Secretariat d'Etat pour l'Enseignement Technique, la Formation Professionnelle et la Formation des Cadres.* In the late eighties the Ministry of Education was split into the *Ministre de l'Education Nationale,* responsible for primary and secondary education, and the *Ministre de l'Enseignement Suprieur de la Formation des Cadres et de la Rechrche Scientifique.* It is against this background that the system of higher education in Morocco will now be presented.

Higher education in Morocco

Higher education in Morocco, which has developed quite rapidly owing to a fast growing population and to the system of free education for all, is catered for by three types of post-secondary institutions. These are: (1) the public university system, (2) the public non-university system, and (3) the private system.

The public university system

From independence and up to the late 70s, the University in Rabat was the only institution for higher education in the country, catering for about 62,000 students in 1978. From this date and up to the year 1990, twelve other universities were created resulting in a student body of 243,000 in 1997-1998. Of these, 227,920were pursuing their education at the University level, 9,100 in institutes of higher education, and the remainder in pedagogical schools. Table 1 gives details of the repartitioning of this population according to the institution attended.

In the sixties however, the higher education system was still very small providing place for less than 1% of the school age group. In 1963-1964 for example, there were just over 8000 Moroccan students pursuing higher education, of whom 7,000 were studying in Morocco, and the remainder abroad, mainly in France and Belgium. At that time, nearly half the students were studying law, economics, and social and political sciences. A further fifth were studying Arts, while just over one fifth were studying agriculture, engineering, and other scientific and technical subjects. A further 8% were following courses of study and training to become secondary school teachers. During the academic year 1994-1995, the picture has changed a little: 28.8% were studying Letters and Social Sciences, 36.6% were studying Law and Economics, 27.2% Sciences and Science and Technology, 3.3% Medicine and Pharmacy, and the remainder were studying other subjects like Islamic Studies, Engineering, Translation, Business and Marketing.

Non-university public higher education

This type of education is provided by 36 schools and institutions of training which operate under the umbrella of various ministries, e.g. agriculture, mining, fisheries, architecture, health, tourism, transport, etc. Usually, the number of students in these schools is limited because access to them is via exams or necessitates a (very) high average in the high school *Baccaleaureat* exam.

However, even if these schools are supposed to form a skilled personnel to work within their respective ministries, many graduates find work in other

TABLE 1: Repartition of undergraduate students by University for the accademic year 1997-1998

University	Moroccans		Foreigners		Total	
	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women
Rabat-Souissi	13915	6510	239	74	14154	6584
Rabat-Agdal	23643	11362	301	96	23944	11438
Fes 1	26510	10304	191	24	26701	10328
Fes-Quarawihin	5939	2057	29	–	5968	2057
Oujda	19062	8400	184	32	19246	8432
Marrakesh	32207	11928	207	27	32414	11985
Casa 1	28823	14404	379	119	29202	14526
Casa 2	16246	7955	66	12	16321	7967
Tetouan	9837	4658	92	25	9929	4683
Meknes	21917	8405	86	7	22003	8412
Agadir	11120	3962	85	20	11205	3982
El Jadida	7761	3552	35	10	7796	3562
Settat	3089	1268	46	10	3135	1278
Total	**227922**	**98419**	**1982**	**403**	**229904**	**98882**

Source: Annuare Statistique du Maroc – 1998

departments. This tendency has been on the increase recently, resulting in an internal brain drain.

In 1997-1998, the total number of students registered in these institutions was 9,043 of whom 5,850 were pursuing their studies in science and technology dominated subjects, and the remainder were studying other subjects such as economics, law, literature and Arts in general.

Private higher education

The private sector of higher education has been able to function only since 1985-1986. Thirteen years later, the number of private schools reached 79. The total number of graduates from these schools reached 8,500 in 1998, excluding

Al Akhawayn University. The latter is a private anglophone institution built on the Anglo-Saxon model. It opened for the first time in Ifrane in 1993 with a student body of 500.

This type of schooling is open to only a small category of the student population, owing to the fact that they have to pay tuition fees, which at times are quite high. Courses offered at these institutions usually centre around computer science, marketing, business and finance and the like. In general, this type of education seems to favour the practical and applied side of the courses chosen. The language of teaching is French with some rare exceptions. In fact, there is only one University (Al Akhawayn in Ifrane) and two institutes where the teaching is done in English. A new reform to take place shortly, projects to group the various private institutions in Universities which will remain private.

The Moroccan university: a state institution

Autonomy

Moroccan Universities are public organisations governed by the Ministry of Higher Education. They are created and controlled by law like any other public institution in the country. The type and length of study, as well as that of exams are instituted by government decree. The Ministry of Higher Education elaborates and oversees the carrying out of the official policy concerning higher education. It signs and oversees all agreements between national and international universities.

Each University is presided over by a Rector who, like all faculty deans, is appointed by royal decree after a proposition of the Minister of Higher Education. The Rector makes sure that the Government decisions concerning Higher Education are carried out. He is, in theory, helped by a University Council, but the latter has mere consulting power.

Financing

The University financing is supplied by the State which controls all expenditure. The Ministry of Economy and Finance decides on the yearly budget to allocate to each University. The budget of the Ministry of Higher Education is about 10% of the National budget. A large part of this budget, however, goes to the salaries of the teaching staff. The Ministry also gives scholarships to students and subsidises very highly their accommodation and meals. During the academic year 1997-1998, it did so for 35,000 students and 6,300,000 meals.

Teaching Staff

University teachers, like all its other staff, are government employees and are therefore paid a monthly salary by the Ministry of Economy and Finance. In 1997-1998, there were 9,667 teachers of whom one fourth were women. Of these, 1 634 were full professors (Professeurs de l'Enseignement Suprieur), 1,357 were associate professors (Professeurs Habilits), and the remainder Assistant professors and Assistants. The larger number of the latter group testifies to the relatively young staff of the Universities, especially of those recently created. A cursory look at the development of the number of the teaching staff during the last five years is presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2: Development of teacher population in higher education

	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98
University	7566	7927	8620	9418	9627
Women	1698	1818	1991	2201	2274
Non University	1106	1113	1124	1271	1229

Source: *Annuaire Statistique du Maroc, 1998*

Concluding remarks

This report has tried to give an objective and clear - albeit brief - picture of the Moroccan system of higher education. Obviously, many areas had to be left out for obvious reasons. The alert reader, however, will forsee the presence of several problems resulting from such a system. Let us ask just one question to make the point. Can this centralised system, at the dawn of the 21st century and in the age of globalisation, produce the necessary wo/man- and brain-power to launch the economic and social development of the country, or will it continue in its rigid structure to produce citizens with higher degrees that do not fit the job market as is the case now?

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HIGHER EDUCATION IN PALESTINE: CURRENT STATUS AND RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

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Background

Palestine, located at the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, was, as part of greater Syria, under Ottoman rule for about 400 years. After World War I, Palestine fell under British mandate. Subsequent to, or concurrent with, the creation of the State of Israel on the majority of the historic land of Palestine in 1948, Palestinians stayed in two areas in Palestine, while the rest became refugees in other countries. The area of the West Bank is 5,860 square kilometers and the area of the Gaza Strip is 380 square kilometers. In 1967 both areas were occupied by Israel, and in 1994 the Palestinians were granted some autonomy that included control of the educational system in these areas.

The population of the West Bank, including Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip, in 1997 was 2.68 million inhabitants, in comparison with the population of the previous year, which was 2.53, with an increase of 5.9 percent. The Palestinian society is a young society; the percentage of people younger than 15 years old ranges from 40.2 percent in the Jerusalem district to 50.3 percent in the Gaza Strip districts.

The modern educational system in Palestine was established during the British Mandate period. The West Bank became part of Jordan after 1948; consequently, schools were integrated into the Jordanian educational system. Egypt administered the Gaza Strip, and schools adopted the Egyptian educational system. After 1967, the educational system in these two areas continued to use the Egyptian and Jordanian curricula with some modifications that were introduced by the Israeli military 'Civil Administration' which directed the educational system. In 1994, the Palestinians took control of a system of pre-tertiary education that was governed by the British, Jordanians, Egyptians, and finally the Israelis; prior to that, therefore, Palestinians had never controlled the system.

When the Palestinian Ministry of Education assumed control in 1994, the system was in a state of neglect. The Palestinians' priorities focused on building new schools and repairing existing ones, and they set low priority to improving the quality of education, postponing the tackling of this issue to a later stage. However, with the very high population growth among Palestinians (the student population in schools is around 815,000 students in the year 1999/2000 and grows at about six percent annually) they are forced - after almost five years of taking control of the educational system - to grapple with the quantitative problem of providing education for all rather than improving the quality of education. Examination of recent reports about the status of school education in Palestine (World Bank, 1994, Palestinian Ministry of Education, 1995) indicates that the most important problem facing the system of per-tertiary education is still one of quality; schools emphasise knowledge transmission and rote learning, and neglect teaching the skills, knowledge and attitudes needed for the twenty-first century.

At the tertiary level, two-year colleges existed since the fifties. These institutes, which focused on teacher training, technical educational or liberal arts, were private, governmental or belonging to the UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Work Agency). In the early seventies three universities that granted bachelor degrees were established. Most existing institutes of higher education came into being under occupation with the secret help of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which was illegal at the time. These institutes were part of individual and collective efforts to preserve the Palestinian identity and to provide young Palestinians with the opportunity to pursue higher education after it became increasingly difficult for them to pursue it abroad. Prior to the Gulf War, about 60 percent of the community colleges and all the universities were funded with contributions from Arab countries. After the Oslo II Agreement, international donor organizations fund the major share of the costs of higher education in Palestine.

Current status

Universities

There are eight Palestinian universities and four university colleges that offer Bachelor degrees. Most of these institutions are public, with only two that are directly supervised by the Palestinian Authority, and two supervised by the UNRWA. The total number of students registered at the Palestinian universities and university colleges is about 52,000, with males constituting 56.4 percent of the total. The largest proportion of students is enrolled in the faculties of education (23.9%), while the smallest proportion of students is enrolled in the faculty of medical professions (0.05%). The proportion of students enrolled in science faculties or science-based professional schools is less than 25 percent.

There are large differences between one university and the other in numbers of students, and in indices of quality of education, such as qualifications of faculty members, and extent of facilities and resources such as books and scientific equipment. The average ratio of students to teachers in the different universities and colleges is 36, ranging from 74 to 11.

The total number of teaching staff is 1726 individuals, 86.3 percent of whom are males, while Ph.D. holders constitute 46.2 percent, ranging from 0.0 percent to 67.3 percent. The average ratio of books to students among universities is 11, ranging from 2 to 99.

Colleges

There are 16 Palestinians colleges that offer programmes leading to a Diploma. There are four governmental colleges supervised by the Ministry of Higher Education, three colleges supervised by the UNRWA, and nine private colleges. There are 4299 students registered in Palestinian colleges, 45.3 percent of whom are males. The largest percentage of students (34.5%) can be found in the field of business and finance. The smallest percentage (1.1%) is in the field of social work. The average ratio of students per teacher is 16, ranging from 26 to 5. The number of teaching staff is 366 teachers; of these, 71.3 percent are males. Ph.D. holders constitute only 4.9 percent of the teaching staff, while Bachelor degree holders constitute 57.9 percent. The average ratio of books to students is 39, ranging from 214 to 4.

Recent developments

While there have been a number of reports issues recently which provide detailed analyses of the tertiary educational system in Palestine (Hashweh, 1998; Ministry of Higher Education, 1997; MAS and World Bank,1997), in the context of this short report we can only focuson the most important challenges facing the system. We are categorising these under three headings: policies, programmes, and finance. We will deal with each of these in turn.

Policies

There are indications that the newly-established Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE) is facing difficulties in implementing policies and regulations in a situation characterised by lack of proper administration, planning and policy-setting in most of the institutes of higher education. The situation is made more challenging because there is an absence of legislation, (since the draft Law of Higher Education has not been adopted by the Palestinian Legislative Council yet). As an example, not all universities adhere to set admission criteria. In the Fall of 1996, Al-Azhar University, situated in Gaza, had a very high student to faculty ratio (48:1), but in order to improve this ratio in the direction of the set guidelines, and considering the low ratio of library books per student, the university was asked not to admit more than 1,000 students. The University, however, admitted over 2,000 students, as a result of a political decision to respond to the closure imposed by Israel on the Gaza Strip, and the inaccessibility of Gaza students to West Bank institutions. In 1997/98, the student to faculty ratio has jumped to 74:1. Table 1 shows the total numbers of students in universities and two-year colleges four the last four years.

TABLE 1: Number of students in Institutes of Higher Education in Palestine between 1994/95 and 1997/98

Type of Institute	Academic Year			
	1994/95	1995/96	1996/97	1997/98
Community College	4110	3822	4599	4299
Universities	29380	37094	46176	52427
Total	33490	40916	50775	56726

Source: MOHE, 1998; PCBS, 1997

The Table shows that the enrollment in universities is increasing at a rate that is seriously threatening the quality of higher education in Palestine: it is clear that the Palestinians do not have the material and human resources necessary to sustain such a development. On the other hand, despite the various calls for the expansion of technical education, the enrollment in these two-year institutes has remained relatively stable.

Another example is that although guidelines to limit duplication in professional schools were issued, the CHE did not have the political or executive authority to implement such polities. Thus, there are engineering schools at three universities: Birzeit, Najah and Gaza Islamic; two pharmacy schools, one at Al-Azhar and another at Najah; two law schools, at Al-Quds and Najah (with a third one being contemplated); and two schools of agriculture, at Najah and Hebron.

The institutes of higher education are usually governed by boards of directors. There are problems with the selection process of the board members, the qualifications of the members, and the definition of rights and duties of the boards. There are, also, serious management problems at the universities, where qualified senior staff are difficult to find, especially at the salary scale available. Few, if any, training programmes are available for potential staff at the middle or senior management levels. Again, it is not clear how much power the MOHE has to enforce its regulations and directives on existing universities. The possible interference of the political structure has, in the past, complicated matters, and continues to be used as a pretext to violate regulations and procedures. However, the MOHE is now in the final stages of introducing a new policy that makes a distinction between the licensing of institutions of higher education, and accreditation at the programme level.

Programmes

Examining the programmes at the Palestinian universities and colleges reveals problems in the efficiency, relevance and quality of higher education in Palestine. According to a recent report by the Ministry of Higher Education (MOHE, 1997), there are several departments in the social and natural sciences which are duplicated at every university and whose graduates find difficulties in employment. Continuing education programmes initiated by universities and colleges seem to manifest a very high degree of duplication; and they do not fit within any coordinated plan, with clear and measurable objectives. Many university-level programmes which are currently offered are irrelevant to societal and market needs. The present curricula at the community college level tend to be abstract and theoretical, and are not in tune with rapid technological change. On the other hand, there is no mechanism for continuous curricular development and adjustment which could incorporate input from employers in the private sector. The programmes were designed, delivered and assessed without quality assurance mechanisms that could ensure competency.

As to the quality of education, the same MOHE report asserts that 'in the absence of a detailed micro-analysis of the quality of programs, the prevailing perception is that the overall quality of the output of the university-level academic training is low: both in terms of providing relevant skills to be used locally, as well as providing a solid academic grounding to allow the graduate to compete successfully, regionally and internationally.' (MOHE, 1997: 57).

The report continues to point out that research activities, where they are carried out, tend to be isolated from the teaching activity, and that the present structure at the universities presents the students with a compartmentalised and unreal approach to human knowledge. Finally, the report points out to the weakness of the graduates in language and communication skills.

Recently, some universities have started re-evaluating their programmes. However, the greatest developments are occurring in the technical colleges, where a new modular competency-based curriculum is being developed, and some programmes leading to a Bachelor of Technology in high technology areas are being designed.

Finance

Since the Gulf War, a high degree of dependency on external funding developed, with the European Union being the main contributor. Efforts are being made by the MOHE in order to diversify the sources of funding. However, there is no concerted effort by the institutions themselves. A recent report by the World Bank (1997) asserts that the financing of the post-secondary level has still to be rationalized.

The MOHE recently reported that, given the prevailing economic situation, it could not support a policy whereby tuition fees were raised substantially in order to generate sufficient resources for the different institutions. Such a policy would also be generally resisted, given that there is a strong belief that access to higher education is a right, and that costs should be subsidised to a very large extent.

Other problems include the fact that the resources and facilities at universities and colleges - such as libraries, laboratory equipment, and so on - are not used to their fullest capacity after class hours. This decreased their cost-effectiveness. There are no noticeable serious attempts by most universities at developing income-generating activities as a means of increasing their revenue base. Universities do not exercise a serious budgeting process, which separates between operating and developmental needs. On the other hand, there is a rapid and uncontrolled expansion of course programmes, without any serious cost analysis and examination of their sustainability. Finally, there is no sustained, graduated government subsidising, or regular budget allocations, although the MOHE has presented a proposal to the Palestinian National Authority for revenues through service and consumer taxes. One can understand, therefore, why currently there is a serious public debate within the Palestinian Government and the Legislative Council regarding the financing of higher education.

Conclusion

We have painted a somewhat gloomy picture of the state of higher education in Palestine, a picture indicating that we have reached a situation where a system that used to be the pride of the Palestinians a few years ago - especially in the light of its contribution to the steadfastness of the Palestinians under occupation and to the preservation of national culture and identity - is now seriously on the verge of collapse. The system is characterised by poor governance and planning, by lack of an adequate finance structure, by a rapid and at the same time often unjustifiable expansion of study programmes, and by indications of a deterioration in the quality of education. However, there are some important signs of hope. Chief among these is the fact that our most important resource for painting this picture was a report by the Palestinian MOHE that also includes a rationalisation plan to improve the situation. In addition, designs of new study programmes (and particularly in the technical colleges), serious efforts to enforce new policies by the MOHE, and public debate about the crises of higher education – all these provide indicators that, at the public and official levels, efforts to confront the crises are under way.

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RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PORTUGUESE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

BELMIRO CABRITO

In the past decades the Portuguese higher education system has gone through some important developments. Following in the footsteps of trends that have been evident in western European countries, Portugal's tertiary education level has been marked by three main trends, namely democratisation, diversification, and privatisation. Each of these is considered briefly in this short report.

The democratisation of the system

As in most other developed countries, the social demand for higher education in Portugal has grown exponentially, and at a very rapid pace, over the last thirty years. Up to the sixties, the higher education system was an élite one, frequented mostly by the higher classes. University attendance in a sense provided a guarantee to the political and powerful classes that social reproduction would go on unhindered. Besides university studies, there was also the possibility of attending post-secondary schools in engineering and accounting. These post-secondary schools, only to be found in Lisbon, Coimbra and Oporto, were relatively small institutions, attended by some middle class students and a small number of students from working class backgrounds.

The democratisation of the political regime in the seventies led to the transformation of Portugal's higher education system from an enclave of the élite to one that allowed mass access. However, it would be correct to say that truly radical changes in this educational sector only came about in the late eighties. Student numbers exploded from 24149 in 1960/1961, to 344 868, in 1997/1998 (see Table 1).

At the same time that the number of students enrolled in higher education increased, one can also note a widening of representation of students from different social backgrounds, indicating a trend towards democratisation in access to higher education. Indeed, this tendency becomes quite obvious when one compares the background of higher university students nowadays, with that of thirty years ago (see Table 2).

This tendency in the democratisation of access can also be observed when we compare the academic background of students' fathers over the years (see Table 3).

TABLE 1: Number of students enrolled on higher education

Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number
1960/61	24149	1987/88	124444	1993/94	270022
1965/66	33972	1988/89	136563	1994/95	290353
1970/71	49461	1989/90	157869	1995/96	313495
1975/76	70912	1990/91	186780	1996/97	334125
1980/81	82428	1991/92	218317	1997/98	344868
1986/87	116291	1992/93	242082		

Source: Ministry of Education, Department of Statistics

TABLE 2: Academic level of resident population (in % of total Portuguese population)

Academic level	1960	1990
4 years of school attendance	83.9	61.5
Higher education attendance	0.9	6.3
Others	15.2	32.2

Source: INE – National Institute of Statistics

TABLE 3: Academic level of higher education student fathers (in %)

Academic level	1963/64	1994/1995
4 years of school attendance	35.3	40.2
Higher education attendance	36.2	26.2
Others	28.5	33.6

Source: 1963/1964: Vieira, M. (1995) 'Transformação recente no campo do ensino superior', *Análise Social,* 30 (131-132).

1994/1995: Data from a survey carried out by Cabrito in 1995, with a national sample of the students enrolled in Portuguese universities.

As with most western European countries (see, inter alia, Williams, 1996; Neave, 1996), the present Portuguese higher education system can be said to be characterised by a massive demand on the part of students from both wealthy and less wealthy classes. However, this is not to say that equity in access and equal representation of students from different social backgrounds - across the board and in different types of courses - has been achieved. That is in fact far from being the case. Had we to compare the social structure of the Portuguese population and that of the social backgrounds of higher education students, it would be possible to argue that the Portuguese higher education system is still marked by élitism, despite the recent tendency towards democratisation (see Table 4).

TABLE 4: Social Structure of Portuguese population, in 1991, and social structure of students enrolled in universities, in 1994

Class	Portuguese population	University students
Lower classes	38.0	12.5
Middle classes	52.2	69.9
Higher classes	9.8	17.6

Source: Portuguese Population – National Institute of Statistics. University students: data from a survey by Cabrito, carried out in 1995, with a national sample of the students enrolled on Portuguese universities.

Diversification of the system

The answer of the tertiary level education sector to the increasing social demand for studies at that level has been to diversify the supply of higher education. Such diversification occurs, firstly, in the higher education system itself. From the mid-eighties we have seen the one track system being replaced by a dual higher education one. The old system offered only one path, the university one. Here, most courses took five years to complete - with the exception of medical degrees which took six or seven years - and all led to good jobs, in state departments, banks or firms.

Over the past decade, a non-university sector of higher education has been created – the Polytechnics System. This track offers three years courses in such vocational subjects as engineering, accounting, business and administration, as well as basic teacher education. It is a higher education system that is linked more closely to the job market. This system, placed between secondary and university.

studies, nevertheless leads to a bachelor's degree, and is expected to produce higher qualified workers, particularly for the sectors of industry and services.

The diversification of the higher education system is also related to another important feature: decentralisation. Prior to the mid-eighties, there were only four universities in three cities, namely the University of Coimbra, that of Oporto, and of Lisbon. There was also a Technical University in the capital city. By the late eighties, the number of public universities had grown to ten. These were located in eight different cities, and each institution having very high student enrollment rates.

At the very same time, Polytechnics sprung up all over the country, in order to attempt to cater for students who did not succeed in their attempt to enter the Universities. In the academic year 1998/99, more then 25% of applicants to the higher education are to be found on the polytechnic track.

Privatisation of the system

As has happened in most countries - where some quasi-markets appeared in order to satisfy the social demand for such public services as education, housing, social assistance or health (see *inter alia* Le Grand et al., 1993; Whitty et al., 1998) - the higher education sector in Portugal has, since the mid-eighties, been marked by a tendency towards privatisation.

This tendency can be observed at two levels: in the provision of higher education, given that a number of private universities were established; and, in the funding of public higher education, given that students must pay a fee to attend tertiary level institutions.

Up to the last decade, higher education was almost exclusively supplied by the State. In line with the European tradition, and following the democratic Revolution of 1974, higher education has been considered by the Portuguese state as a 'public good'. The fee that students had to pay to attend state universities during the seventies was very low. In addition to this, there was only one non-state institution at this level, namely the Catholic University. The latter offered some courses in social sciences, law and business and administration.

Despite the diversification of the higher education system noted earlier, state institutions did not succeed in satisfying the increasing demand for education that marked the eighties and nineties. In other words, public supply (of university and polytechnic places) did not match social demand. Given the policy of liberalism that has marked the last decade, the state has allowed private entrepreneurs to offer higher education, both with regards to the university and the polytechnic paths (see Table 5).

TABLE 5: Access to higher education

Academic Year	Applicants to public education	Admission in public education	Admission in private education	Total admission
1986/87	31873	15266	6407	21673
1990/91	58867	24446	20475	44921
1994/95	66871	31891	25007	56898
1995/96	80576	33473	29617	63090
1996/97	68798	32873	26750	59623
1997/98	54950	35452	21614	57066

Source: Ministry of Education, Higher Education Department

Initially, private higher education supplied courses in social sciences, law and business and administration. Technical and laboratory-based studies, which require more financial investment, were supplied only by the State. This situation is now changing, albeit gradually. Over the past decade, then, the number of universities and polytechnic institutions established by private firms and investors has greatly increased, to the extent that today, more then one third of higher education students are to be found in the private sector (see Table 6).

TABLE 6: Students enrolled on higher education

Academic Year	Public education	Private education	Total
1986/87	94652	21639	116291
1990/91	135350	51430	186780
1994/95	186291	104062	290353
1995/96	198775	114720	313495
1996/97	212726	121399	334125
1997/98	224091	120777	344868

Source: Ministry of Education, Higher Education Department

At the same time, the State budget suffered 'cuts' or did not grow in proportion to the social needs of the population. Consequently, government faces the challenge of having to meet the ever-increasing social needs of a more educated and better informed citizenry, with a limited budget. In a context where different social services have to compete for scarce State budget resources (Ray et al., 1988; Farchy et al., 1994), the Portuguese government has ended up having to justify the 'user pays' system.

This has happened in the tertiary education sector, where institutions could no longer offer free tuition. As in several other European countries (Williams, 1990), students are now obliged to pay a fee to attend public institutions. In 1998/99, the total amount of fees paid by students to public universities and polytechnics constituted up to 10% of the global budget of these institutions.

Additionally, public higher education institutions are directed to get funds from other sources than the students and the State, namely by selling services to the community, researching in co-operation with state and private research institutions and/or by getting firm subsides. In this way, diversification of sources of funding has accompanied the tendency towards privatisation. It must be said, however, that the State still contributes more than 80% of the total current budget of public higher education.

It should also be noted that the fee that students pay for attending state tertiary level institutions is the same, irrespective of the branch of study followed, the institution attended, or the financial capacity of the students. In accordance with the Law 113/97, that annual fee is equal to the minimum wage of Portuguese workers, which is established annually by government.

In the private higher education sector, fees vary from institution to institution; the state, however, establishes the maximum ceiling that can be charged. That ceiling is very high, and is generally equivalent to between five to ten times what students pay in public institutions.

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THE IMPACT OF CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC GLOBALISATION ON THE PLANNING AND FUNCTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN NORTH AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

M'HAMMED SABOUR

The Middle East and North Africa (the Arab Countries) did have since the 8th century their higher institutions of learning (e.g. Al-Azhar in Egypt and Al-Qarawiyine in Morocco). During the Golden ages of the Islamic-Arab civilisation, these institutions were the centre of encounter for students and scholars representing various cultures and social backgrounds, from Asia to Europe. These institutions, in their own way, were promoters of cosmopolitanism, internationalism and cultural exchange (Sabour, 1994).

When the Arab Countries fell under the domination of European powers, the Western educational systems were introduced in this area. While traditional universities have kept a part of their prestige in the field of theology, juridical and human sciences, they have lost ground in the other fields. The foundation of modern universities has maintained close contact with the metropolitan institutions (e.g. teaching, exchange of students) in the West. These universities were also integrated into the global academic system. Aimed at producing a highly educated and trained intelligentsia, they are under the strict control of the State and are expected to help in the process of nation-building and to enhance the legitimacy of State power.

These universities, whose vocation is to teach global values like freedom, human rights, peace, international knowledge and skills, find themselves in contradiction with the political and ideological paradigms practiced by the ruling élite (Sabour, 1988, 1991, 1993a; Ade Ajayi, 1996). During the last decade, under the influence of globalisation (e.g. 'Ideascapes' in the term of Appadurai, 1990) and the increase in demands for more democratisation, the universities have become a force of opposition and challenge to the dominant ideology. In other words, thanks to students' and teachers' awareness of the global values referred to above, the universities became one of the most socially sensitive fields in society.

The impact of globalisation on the university in the Arab World has different dimensions. The positive influence is concretised in the openness of the university to the world and its involvement in global intellectual and scientific activity and culture. It can, therefore, fertilise and enrich its national culture and knowledge.

But globalisation is also seen in academia as tantamount to westernisation and subsequently as a source of domination and imperialism.

In this respect, globalisation is considered by Islamic activists as a danger and threat to islamic values. One of the most visible instances for observing the rejection of globalisation is the rise of so-called 'religious fundamentalism'. Universities in the Arab World are a fertile domain for this fundamentalism (Tibi, 1995; Marfleet, 1998). In addition to challenging the ruling élite, this group is rejecting the globalisation vehicled by Western values. It promotes and endorses simultaneously an ideology of 'Islamic globalism' (Turner, 1994). One of the paradoxical aspects in Islamic ideology is that it wants the know-how and technology of the West but not its cultural values. A thing which is paradoxical because culture is always inherent in any scientific and technological creativity, problem-solving and use.

Their contention is that globalisation's main goal is the interference in the Arab states' decision-making, and the submission of their economic planning and social development to the influence of neo-liberal market economy and trans-national corporatism. Among the sectors which could be endangered by this policy is academia and education in general.

The suspicion toward the goals of the logic of globalisation can be also explained, according to Tibi (1990), by other factors. He contends that globalisation is seen as a conveyor of Western moral, cultural and political symbols (e.g. sexual freedom, women's liberation, western democracy) which eventually undermine the Islamist conception, whose ideological aim is the de-Westernisation of Arab societies. This conception is often based on rigid conservatism and authoritative philosophy. In other words, this perception is supported by the so-called 'Neo-Third Worldist' assumption which '... sees the latest wave of the Islamic resurgence not as the consequence of Islam's pecularities but rather as a combination of economic deprivation, social alienation, and political disfranchisement' (Hunter, 1998: 73).

If the policy of the entrepreneurial university is in vogue in the Western world, most universities in the Arab countries are still under the cupola of the State and managed accordingly. The ideology of entrepreneurship is still at its embryonic stage but gaining momentum. In fact, in some countries there is a commencement of a retreat of the State from its obligation and responsibility as guardian of the 'common good', in the benefit of privatisation policy and liberal economy. This policy is seen as a menace to the right for education and social equality.

As argued by Appadurai (1990) the new 'ethnoscape' created and stimulated by the process of globalisation has encouraged people movement and 'cultural and intellectual nomadity'. One of the most striking phenomenon, as far as the Arab Countries are concerned, is the brain drain. Due to the lack of job prospects, to the economic uncertainty and the dearth of logistic and research resources and support, the Arab World represents one of the hot spots for brain expatriation (Yassine, 1984). This immigration, which has become part of the global reality, has beneficial aspects. Many of the expatriated transfer to their countries of origin economic capital, scientific knowledge and know-how, and an invisible conception and a set of world-views and symbols (e.g. principles of democracy, human rights awareness, Western rationality). But it has also considerable negative consequences on these countries when their best brains find refuge in Western academic institutions, research centres and industrial firms (Sabour, 1993b).

As mentioned above, the globalisation of economy has a deep impact on the Arab World. In fact, due to the burden of foreign debts, the continuous political instability, the weak capacity to compete on the global market, many of these countries (with the exception of some oil-producing countries) are freezing or cutting the budget of the higher education. This provokes the decline in the quality of teaching and research (Haddad, 1997). Moreover, because of massive student enrollment, the university has become a producer of *diplômés-chômeurs* (unemployed graduates). Many of them are ill-educated, bearers of bookish-knowledge who lack the required abilities and skills for meeting the increasing exigencies and demands of the local and international labour market. Due to the weakness of the private sectors, the State bureaucracy and apparatus remains the main employer of this large armada of graduates. Because of unemployment, an important segment of them accept underpaid and undervalued work, a fact which underpins the prestige of the university studies (especially in the field of social sciences, humanities, economics, etc.) and reinforces the spread of the so-called 'diploma disease' (see Dore, 1976). In this regard, the grip of the multinational firms and World Bank on most of Arab Countries' economy does not only impoverish their social change and make them more dependent than ever, but also undermine their capacity for providing efficient formal culture, education and proper qualification for facing the demands of a globalising society (McGinn, 1997).

This global negative impact on education is also reinforced by an ill-organised national academic policy. This policy, which is often carried out in an authoritative and anti-intellectual atmosphere, deprives the university from its autonomy and its genuine vocation of providing independent knowledge, and creative academic activities. The State, as the main sponsor of the university, imposes its will and aims on it and shapes its policy. This implicates the consideration of the political aspect of globalisation. Because of the sensitiveness of the university toward political and social issues, it is always seen with caution and suspicion by the ruling élite and therefore lives under the rapacious eyes of its academic police and army. The policy of the ruling élite aims at the preservation of its monopoly of power, on the one hand, and attempts to seduce and convince possible foreign investors and international firms regarding the stability of society, on the other. Often these are some of the direct or indirect conditions stipulated by the global market forces for providing development aids and sponsorships.

Apart from that, the students are stuck 'between the devil and the deep blue sea.' Having invested in higher education (reaching the level of university is an achievement of the happy few: from the primary school to the university the drop-out is relatively around 60% and 85%), and after having managed to overcome all sorts of social, economic, cultural and symbolic hurdles, the student is confronted with job uncertainty. It is not surprising that the ideology of religious extremism is flourishing in most Arab campuses. It is partly a reaction against Western globalisation.

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CONFERENCE REPORT

THE FIRST SELMUN SEMINAR: JUNE 1999 'INNOVATIVE STRATEGIES IN MEETING COMMON EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN'

Declared Goal of the Selmun Seminar

The Mediterranean Education Project initiatives share the same goal, namely: *"To develop South-South and North-South dialogue in the field of education, and through this, to enhance the possibility of mutual understanding and co-operation among the people of the Mediterranean in the various spheres of life".*

The Selmun Seminar, on its part, is an annual, high profile event, creating a distinctive and distinguished forum by bringing together education scholars of international repute as representatives of each Mediterranean country. The scholars present state-of-the-art reviews of educational development in their respective systems, as well as propose and pursue collaborative educational research projects on topics judged to be of regional concern. The Selmun Seminar therefore contributes directly to the strengthening of the links between countries of the South, facilitating mutual understanding, co-operation, and the transfer of knowledge.

The 1999 Selmun Seminar

The June 1999 Selmun Seminar was the first of these annual meetings. The vision that was established for the Seminar, namely (1) the presentation of rigorous, high quality academic papers, (2) an intimate, friendly atmosphere conducive to frank interchange, (3) social activities that enrich the interaction among the group, leading to personal and academic growth - were all achieved. Participants from 17 different Mediterranean countries met each other for six days in order to present case studies of educational innovation in their respective states. The Seminar led the participants to tease out commonalities in the region, and more specifically to embark on the construction of a discourse around the idea of the 'Mediterranean'. What is the Mediterranean? How can one describe it in economic, political, cultural, religious, educational terms? This was the leitmotif that underscored the whole Seminar, as participants discussed case after case, noting similarities and differences, attempting to come up with analytical frameworks that could make sense of complex, often conflictual situations.

Evaluation of the Selmun Seminar '99

Participants were clearly touched by the vision for the Selmun Seminar, showing an enthusiasm and commitment that exceeded my expectations as its organiser. Indeed, the feedback has been so encouraging as to persuade me that this attempt to forge an educational identity for/in the Mediterranean is critically required and timely. It is revealing to quote some of the more relevant and striking excerpts from the evaluation forms that participants filled in:

About the location:

'Perfect setting...'; 'An excellent place...'; 'Nice view and service...'; 'Beautiful and inspiring location'; 'A pleasure!...'; 'Superb environment...'

About the organisation:

'Excellent... every single little detail was taken care of, and participants were made very welcome from the start'; 'The number of participants made interaction possible'; 'Exemplary organisation, well-designed and perfectly executed'; 'I have never attended a conference or seminar organised in such a perfect way'; 'Thanks to you, we felt we were in our own country'; 'Efficient time-management, and a high level of seriousness - the Seminar was demanding, but good organisation made the demands possible'; 'A lot of work, and it showed: our every need was anticipated and catered for'; 'Outstanding...'; 'Couldn't have been better...'

About the papers:

'Great intellectual stimulation'; 'I have never been to a conference that left such an impact on me'; 'Most of the papers were very good, and we learned from presenters'; 'Wise selection of academics'; 'Thought-provoking papers'; 'Stimulating papers, raising issues which are serious, significant, and worth investigating... The intellectual challenge of the Seminar has been well attested in so many heated discussions'; 'The papers were delivered with passion...'; 'Discussions were subtle, exploring, of an extremely high level...'; 'An excellent intellectual and social experience'; 'The work on the papers and the discussions were really something extraordinary... We must keep this spirit'; 'Excellent papers and even better debates and interaction... Actually, this is the most exciting intellectual experience I ever had!'

About the social programme:

'More than excellent...'; 'Rich, diverse, and relaxing'; 'Very good, very hospitable'; 'Couldn't have been better... in itself, the programme was educational - *paideia*'.

Follow-up to the Selmun Seminar '99

There was agreement that the Selmun Seminar experience should not stop there. While other Selmun Seminars will be organised, if funds are available, the 1999 Selmun Fellows decided to build on the community spirit that had been developed, and to meet again in 2000 to explore further themes related to education in the Mediterranean. In particular, the group felt that the journey towards the discovery of the regional identity in educational matters had just begun, and that further intellectual work had to be done in order to develop frameworks of understanding in the construction of insights related to the Mediterranean in an age marked by globalisation. The Selmun Fellows adopted the appellation 'Ithaca', with reference to the famous Greek poem that speaks about a journey where the process of discovery, as much and perhaps even more than the actual destination reached after travail/travel, is of value.

As to the papers presented, Selmun Fellows felt the need to revise the first drafts on the basis of the Seminar experience itself, and in reaction to feedback received throughout the discussion. The papers will most likely be published as a special issue of the *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies*, in collaboration with, and thanks to supportive funding from IBE. A number of case studies will be summarised and presented for inclusion in the IBE INNODATA data base.

The Selmun Seminar 2000

Encouraged by the response to the Selmun Seminar '99, the remaining funds from the Unesco grant, together with supplementary funding to be sought from other organisations, will be utilised for the organisation of a second Seminar, this time dedicated to the theme: 'Teacher Education in the Mediterranean:

Trends, Challenges, and Prospects'. It is hoped that each annual meeting will create an ever-widening circle or ripple of Selmun Fellows who share the spirit that has marked this event: intellectual stimulation, friendship, conviviality, and learning the lesson of tolerance in a region plagued by rifts and marked by divisions.

Ronald G. Sultana
Selmun Seminar Co-Ordinator

* * *

The Selmun Seminar 1999: Reminiscences of a Selmun Fellow

"The term is about to start. New students are crowding the corridors, tanned colleagues are flying passed, the photocopier never stops working, the phone never stops ringing, course timetables are being distributed, course syllabi are being printed - an orderly chaos.

There is a vase of flowers on my desk - visitors smile meaningfully (who brought them to you?) I smile back mysteriously (lots of secret lovers in stall!). The flower shopkeeper smiles more than any of us (she knows that I regularly get flowers to ornate my desk - and it is the beginning of term for God's sake, we have new, very young students who come and knock timidly on the door, never hear your reply, when they finally do, they get in the office hesitantly accompanied by their mother (!), flowers cheer them up a bit.

We are all happy!

In the rare moments of peace I look at myself smiling behind the flower vase on a very special frame placed on my desk. I am embracing Xavier (a Spanish colleague), I am supported by Mirjiam (a Slovenian colleague), behind me stands in a great pose Hasan (a Turkish colleague) and next to him a smiling Muhammad (an Algerian colleague) hands on his sides. Smiling faces all around on a warm quick tour of the Mediterranean, each smile a different country! All the Mediterranean embraced in one endless smile under the blazing sunshine. Behind us the powerful stone wall of the Selmun Castle warmed up from the Maltese sunlight. Seventeen smiling faces, seventeen different countries, seventeen Selmun Fellows.

When I received the special invitation to participate at the Selmun Seminar a few months back I groaned! Not another presentation! Not another paper! I was heavily pregnant with my second child, right in the middle of a teaching term, full of teaching, research administrative and other commitments. But the invitation looked very serious, the seminar well thought through and intellectually promising, a visit to Malta in June sounded like a good idea as I tried to project myself a few months later, the baby having been born, the work having found its regular rhythm again, the house move complete, the office move done with, me needing a break from all this!

What did I expect?

Another conference, the delivery of my paper, some discussion, listening to some other papers (would they be interesting?) a quick visit to Malta, nothing long lasting. I accepted.

In the months that followed the organisers were very persistent, the demands with abstract and paper delivery very high, the response very prompt, the keeping of deadlines very important, the information update very fast. I kept Selmun Seminar at the back of my mind as sweeping changes were taking place in my personal and professional life. I made sure I was professional in my response to queries from Malta as professional was the organisation of the whole affair and I felt obliged not to let the organisers down. I prepared and e-mailed my paper on time, and I got on with life.

When the time came for departure I was hesitant. The baby was just five months old. I was still breastfeeding. A pile of boxes waited for me to tidy them up at home following our house move. Another pile was waiting for me in the office following our office move. Was this really a time for me to be away? Did I really need this break? Would the family cope without me? Was it fair on them?

The organiser's statement was clear:

'If you undertake this commitment be sure that you will follow it to the end.'

'You will be here representing your country. If you are not here your country will not be represented.'

Did I want to let him down? No! Did I want to let my country down?

I did not. I made emergency arrangements at home and left for Malta.

• I expected to have to find my own way to the hotel.	• At the airport I was greeted by a friendly student who spoke perfect English!
• I expected a regular hotel.	• I was faced by a five star treatment.
• I expected a very formal first meeting with the organiser.	• As I was exploring the castle on arrival I bumped into a busy bee who gave me a very warm welcome. Hu turned out to be the organizer!
• I expected the other delegates to look as badly serious as their pictures had looked.	• 'You don't at all like your picture!' were my greeting words to Hassan. He didn't!

• I expected a - same as any other - all bright, all boring new, conference hall.	• I found myself amidst the walls of a medieval castle reeking with history.
• I expected to hear endless papers of little interest dealing with this that and the other half asleep on my chair.	• The papers turned out to be so stimulating that I was falling off my chair asking for permission to speak.
• I expected the discussion to be - as usual - turning around topics we all knew and had long debates about.	• The conversation shot off in a million of different directions, all of us making new academic, historical, cultural connections.
• I expected to come away knowing a bit more about Education.	• I went away enriched in educational, political, historical, cultural and religious Mediterranean knowledge and experience.
• I expected delegates to clap politely at the end of my talk.	• I found colleagues, friends, anxious to know what I am going to do next!
• I expected a reserved tour of some Maltese historical sights.	• I found myself somehow right in the middle of the Maltese history and making a multitude of comparisons with Cypriot history and people, rediscovering Cyprus by comparing it to Malta.
• I expected that at the end of it we would all shake hands and wish each other well.	• At the end of it (and even before that) we were furiously planning our next meeting, adoring it with novel ideas such as national cooking.
• I expected that it was possible to meet up with the other delegates some time in the future if we happened to attend another conference together.	• We kept in touch all summer through e-mail, sharing news about babies and feelings about anniversaries, concern about bad news from each other's countries, holiday memories, and through the post sharing photos and papers, designing symposia and special issues and exchanging news on future conferences.

In short...

...Nothing in the Selmun Seminar was as I expected it to be, for the simple reason that the Selmun Seminar was unlike any other conference I had ever attended in my many years of academic activity. No other had such a profound impact on my thinking, no other had such a lasting effect on me intellectually and emotionally, no other gave me such a profound new sense of mission and vision in the re-discovery of my geography, history and culture, and, most importantly, no other seminar ever gave me such a close and powerful circle of friends that connect me with each corner of the Mediterranean basin. Never before in a conference I learned so much about mine and others' history, and never before did I get the feeling on departure that if any questions arise I can call on Marco or Gertrudes, or Muhammad or Devorah and they will connect me to the relevant people in Italy or Portugal, or Jordan or Israel to answer my questions.

It is for this reason that I would like to grow old with these people. I would like to see Andreas become a grand-father, and I would like to follow the educational changes in Albania through the eyes of Bardhyl, and I would like to see how Ronald's thinking develops on the Mediterranean issue, and I would like Nagwa to come and tell me that the Long Distance Education Programme has found an amazing response among Egyptian women. And - of course - I would like to share with them my personal struggle about special education in Cyprus and the development of a new University and a young family. I would like to follow their cognitive development and to help develop my personal academic thinking. And I would like to brag to them about the first tooth of my baby daughter and the first school day of my toddler son.

Is this too much to ask of an academic seminar?

Not of the Selmun Seminar!

But you will not know it until you participate in it. So if you have the luck to be among the chosen few, don't think for one second. If you are asked to participate, just answer:

YES, PLEASE!

And then you will find out for yourself..."

Helen Phtiaka
University of Cyprus

BOOK REVIEWS

Peter McLaren, *Schooling as a Ritual Performance* (3rd edition), Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, Boulder, New York, (USA), Oxford (UK), 430 pp., 1999, ISBN 0-8476-9196-9 ~ $US22.95 (pbk); 0-8476-9195-0 ~ $US60.00 (hbk).

Peter McLaren's book *Schooling as a Ritual Performance*, a highly original and disturbing work when it was first published in 1986, is now in its third edition by Rowman and Littlefield - Maryland (1999). The book is a classic in its area, having been written by one of North America's leading sociologists of education, and having received strong endorsements by Henry Giroux, Stanley Aronowitz, Stephen Ball, David Purpel, and Michael Apple. It continues to have a powerful message 13 years after its highly acclaimed first publication. It is a strong voice for individual and institutional freedom coming from the US at a time of the global tyranny of the one superpower and of the forceful destruction of human rights - in the very name of human rights!

In this new edition, McLaren has included a lengthy new introduction, something of a manifesto on critical ethnography. The new introduction is a strong indictment of many forms of postmodernist critique. The author advocates a new position that strongly endorses historical materialism and a re-engagement with Marx.

Educational hegemony stems from political hegemony, as McLaren makes clear in this book. The motives behind massive recent educational changes worldwide can be understood and explained perfectly well if one accepts McLaren's view that 'rituals symbolically transmit societal and cultural ideologies', and that 'it is possible to know how ideologies do their 'work' by examining the key symbols and root paradigms of the ritual system' (p.3).

In this work McLaren 'seeks the limits of our present methods of interpreting the schooling process' (p.11) in an attempt partly to 'alert the educator to adjust his or her perceptions to include the symbolic dimensions of classroom activities' and partly to 'explore the way rituals serve as seedbeds for social change'. Both are acutely important and useful tasks at a time when - more than ever it seems - education is internationally a target for modifications with few open and expressed and many hidden goals aiming to reduce teachers to pawns of an all powerful centrally placed decision making body, namely the government.

Work like this is vitally important at the initial teacher training in order to prepare and protect young teachers to be from what is coming. It is equally crucial during in-service training to awaken and alert the naive among us who, dedicating uncritically ourselves to our work ad we do, consider that we are serving the human race and preparing a better future.

For a Mediterranean audience McLaren's work is particularly important because it illustrates the functions of its 'other self' across the Atlantic (the school uses a sample of largely Portuguese population which seems to share a number of features with other Mediterranean cultures). For a Balkan audience, or indeed any other sensitive area audience in the world game of politics who has been very concerned by recent declarations that 'this is the way it is going to be from now on' (Madeleine Allbright, April 1999), the book is a reassuring voice that America is not just the State Department and the will of the strongest; a viable alternative to Star TREK and to *Pax Americana.*

For Catholics (and non-Catholics) around the world, the book vividly illustrates the symbolic and ritualistic nature of everyday school activities, bringing to the fore the philosophies which underlie them.

For the area of inclusive education which is my particular interest, McLaren's work is extremely useful. It illustrates with vivid ethnographic examples from the mainstream sector what we have almost tired of arguing in special/inclusive education for the last 10 to 15 years: that education has to be one and united because one and united - albeit multi-faceted - is our culture and our society. Every division into mainstream and special is unproductive and meaningless. Unproductive because it has proved to work against the principles it declares (Barnes 1994; Ware 1994) or at best to fail to address them (Phtiaka, 1997), and meaningless because all individual needs are special needs and all have to be addressed in the education system. It also exemplifies our belief that segregatory education only serves a segregatory society at times when we need to be striving together through an inclusive education for an inclusive society. Barton (1999: 140) puts it very succinctly when he writes: 'Inclusion is concerned with openness, engaging with difference in dignified ways and necessarily raises questions about current conceptions of what schools are for and whose needs schools serve.'

McLaren's expositions can help us identify and neutralise the school mechanisms which serve these external interests and thus helps us in our 'relentless and serious commitment to the task of identifying, challenging and contributing to the removal of injustices' and arriving at a 'socially just school' (Barton 1999: 140). Barton's words meet those of McLaren: 'Not only must we dream a better world, but we must master the civic courage which requires us to act 'as if' we are living in a democratic society' (p.259) in a common effort to modify schooling for a broader social change. Reaching out across disciplines and other unnecessary divisions to inform and awaken the educator and to challenge the educational status quo, is McLaren's strong point.

The book is difficult, witty and optimistic. It is difficult because it is highly theoretical at times, written in a rich language which will be enjoyed by many but will not enthuse the scholar with a limited use of English. It is witty because our every day life in school *is* witty, and McLaren is extremely skillful in capturing this atmosphere. And it is optimistic because it concludes with the message that there is a viable alternative to the hegemony of 'effective schooling'.

McLaren states that his 'study seeks to illustrate rather than make grandiose proclamations' (p.12). Yet, his whole effort is a proclamation illustrating as it does very clearly for us aspects of schooling that traditional ethnographic work has left untouched for decades.

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Godfrey Baldacchino and Peter Mayo (eds.) (1997). *Beyond Schooling: Adult Education in Malta,* Malta, Mireva Publications, pp. 531, ISBN 1-870579- 55-0 (pbk).

What is adult education? It encompasses an immense sphere of activities that are virtually innumerable, extremely variegated, and aimed at achieving different, and sometimes incompatible, goals. It has also become a field of scholarly inquiry that cuts across traditional disciplinary boundaries, attracting the attention of academic intellectuals and professional researchers from such diverse areas of expertise as cultural analysis, sociology, policy studies, anthropology, industrial relations, gerontology, communications, as well as, of course, education and pedagogy. No simple definition or concise description, then, can adequately convey the diversity and complexity of the manifold phenomena, activities, and institutions that together constitute the field of adult education.

The title of this volume, *Beyond Schooling*, is intentionally ambiguous. What lies beyond schooling? In many instances, more schooling. There are many adults who voluntarily or, more often, out of necessity enroll in courses or programmes of study that differ only marginally, if at all, from those we normally associate with secondary and tertiary formal education. An adult who aspires to master a foreign language will find herself or himself in a classroom setting and will receive the kind of instruction that will surely bring to mind his/her days as a high school student. The same is true of those adults who are compelled to 're-train' in order to meet the ever-changing exigencies of industry and stave off unemployment. Similarly, numerous individuals seeking to enhance their income and social status by moving to better-paying jobs or more prestigious posts willingly (though not always happily) subject themselves to the rigors and the tedium of formal schooling. The holy grail of the majority (though by no means all) of these grown-up students is a diploma, a certification-something to show to a prospective employer and to append to one's surname in the telephone directory and other listings. Should this be called education? Is it not better described as instruction or training?

Beyond schooling, however, there are also many other forms of what one could call continuing education that are not reducible to 'more schooling.' Professional organizations of all kinds organize conventions, symposia, and seminars to enable their members to exchange information about new developments or discoveries in their fields. Trade unions, citizen groups, non-governmental organizations, the church, and other entities in civil society offer a plethora of conferences, classes, and lectures not just to provide instruction and disseminate knowledge but also to raise awareness about certain social and political issues and to generate public, informed discussion on problems and questions of interest to society at large, or to specific sectors and interest groups. Though formal or quasi-formal in character, these initiatives, more often than not, have little in common with formal schooling. The relationships among the participants, their motivations, the milieu in which they gather - they bespeak a kind of educational activity that is, in many respects, instructive, and yet quite distinct from training and traditional instruction.

For the most part, however, the continuing education of adults takes place outside any formal setting. Newspapers, books, periodicals, radio, television, the internet: these are some of the means through which adults acquire information, elaborate their world view, formulate opinions, and so on. Visiting museums, using the public libraries, going to the theater, watching films, attending concerts, traveling-these, too, are forms of education.

Providing a more or less comprehensive picture of everything that falls under the capacious rubric of adult education is tantamount to drawing a map of civil society. Godfrey Baldacchino and Peter Mayo set out to capture, within the covers of this large volume, 'the amorphous nature of the field [of higher education]'; as a result, they produced a rich, multifaceted portrait of civil society in Malta. That is not, however, their greatest achievement. They offer something much more valuable than a survey or an overview; they present the reader with a critical viewpoint, a provocative set of questions with which to approach the study of the phenomenon of adult education in general and in Malta in particular. The editors' lucid introduction, together with John Baldacchino's concluding essay 'Imposing Freedom: The Cultural Game of 'Adult Education'', raises provocative questions about the character and the putative goals of adult education; questions that should compel all but the most indifferent of readers to adopt a critical stance *vis-à-vis* the specific phenomena and activities discussed in the individual chapters.

If this book were used as a text book in a course on Maltese society, or on adult education in Malta, it would be as much a stimulus to debate as a rich source of information. And that is as it should be, for as Baldacchino and Mayo (who are strongly inspired by the ideas of Paulo Freire) point out, what should distinguish adult education from conventional schooling is precisely engagement, participation, debate, critique as opposed to passive receptivity, the unquestioned reproduction and dissemination of *idées reçues*. 'Adult education,' they write, 'is not only about certificates and job acquisition . . . but also about socio-political activism, generally guided by an overarching 'modernist' vision of collective human emancipation.' John Baldacchino reiterates this observation even more poignantly: 'unless adult education proceeds to reject taught learning it could never achieve what it propounds to stand for [i.e. the acquisition of autonomy].'

The opening and concluding essays in this volume deal with a number of fundamental theoretical issues; yet, their authors never stray into pure abstraction.

Godfrey Baldacchino and Peter Mayo, no less than John Baldacchino, keep directing their readers' attention towards the specific, concrete situation in Malta, prodding them to reflect on some very disquieting issues. A good instance of this is found in the introduction: 'Would Malta yet experience a social revolution were adult education practices of the emancipatory type to gather momentum?' In a similar vein, John Baldacchino draws attention to the debilitating conformism that has generally characterized Maltese education and, indeed, Maltese culture in general, by bringing into relief the 'false cultural uniformity fancied by a dominant intelligentsia who could not accept difference in Maltese society.'

The body of the book is divided into four sections, each one of which is prefaced by a relatively brief introductory comment. The first section is devoted to 'The Historical Context' of adult education in Malta. Two of the essays in this section - Desmond Zammit-Marmarà's 'Manuel Dimech's Search for Enlightenment' and Ronald Sultana's 'Adult Education and the Politics of Knowledge: The Relevance of Malta's Dun Gorg Preca' - chronicle some of the earliest efforts to provide adults from the less privileged classes with an opportunity to educate themselves. They also remind us of the stiff resistance put up by the secular powers as well as the ecclesiastical hierarchy, both of which dreaded the challenges to entrenched privilege and established authority that an educated populace would predictably pose. Dimech and Preca, so utterly dissimilar, both experienced first-hand the horror with which the upper echelons of Maltese society regarded any educational initiative aimed at democratizing knowledge and empowering subaltern social groups. Less controversial aspects of the early stages of adult education at the popular level are treated in Paul Pace's balanced assessment of 'Adult Education in the Maltese Church', and in the transcript of Joseph Vancell's illuminating interview with Captain Paul Bugeja on the latter's efforts in the post-war period to address Malta's massive illiteracy problem by means of night schools (also commonly referred to as evening classes). Reading this section one cannot help bemoaning the negative role played by the upper bourgeoisie in Malta in the field of education-besides retarding the progressive forces of modernization from penetrating the island, they also left the populace ill-prepared to deal with the profound transformative effects of modernity.

Until relatively recently, the fortress mentality that characterizes much of Malta's history extended to realm of culture. The governing class and the intellectual elite sought to stave off by all means possible the introduction and dissemination of ideas and practices that posed a challenge to established, and highly stratified, social, political and religious order. Well into the 1960s, the mainstream press and Redifusion was still supplying the population with massive doses of moralistic commentary and belletristic fluff, while censorship ensured that no 'dangerous' or 'corrupting' materials sullied the eyes and minds of the dutiful citizen. The circulation of ideas, however, cannot be suppressed indefinitely. Rapid developments in mass communication, higher levels of education, a heightened awareness of political and aesthetic currents in Western Europe, and the significant rise in the number of Maltese who spent extended periods of time abroad-all of these factors contributed to the breaching of the cultural fortress that was Malta. To be sure, no radical transformation has taken place, but significant change ensued. Many of the important effects wrought by the influx of new ideas and the activities they inspired or influenced are examined in the second section of this volume. The essays gathered under the title 'Adult Education Practice: Alternatives to Chalk and Talk' deal with a wide range of topics: radio, television, and the theater, among other things. Especially noteworthy are Christopher Bezzina's essay on 'Adult Education for Peace', Anthony Schembri's account of the development and current status of 'Programmes for the Education of the Elderly', and Godfrey Baldacchino's contribution on 'Co-operative Learning' which are indicative of the different directions in which the reach, no less than the content, of adult education in Malta has grown.

As its title indicates ('Worker Education: Developing Worker Resourcefulness'), the third section of this volume has a more specific focus, and yet it brings to the fore most poignantly the profound differences that separate the views of education espoused by industry on the one hand and by workers and labour movements on the other. Antoinette Caruana's essay, 'Developing Workers on the Job', offers valuable insights into the basically humane but, nonetheless, market oriented and profit driven approach of the corporate world towards education. The ultimate goal of workers' education by and for business is to produce a more efficient (i.e. productive) workforce. The worker, on the other hand, has different needs and goals. Contrary to the well-worn dictum: What's good for General Motors is not necessarily good for its employees! The education of workers, its goals, and its massive implication for society as a whole are explored from diverse perspectives by Peter Mayo in his chapter on 'Workers' Education and Democracy', David Caruana in 'The Labour Movement and Adult Education', and Godfrey Baldacchino in 'The Information Age: Implications for Trade Unions and Worker Education.'

Since the middle of the nineteenth century workers' parties and trade unions have been among the most powerful and successful agents of social transformation. More recently, however, new movements have arisen which have played an impressive role in eradicating widespread forms of injustice, championed the cause of the marginalized and subordinated sectors of society, and challenged the indiscriminate exploitation and private expropriation of natural resources. Of these new movements none have had a greater impact than those concerned with the status of women in society and with the increasing degradation on a global scale of the natural environment. One of the very best essays in this volume deals, precisely, with Women's Studies. In her lucid, illuminating contribution on 'Women's' Studies in Adult Education'. Mary Darmanin poignantly observes how 'common to Women's Studies and Adult Education is the desire to get close to the life experience of people/subjects, and to think of education as a project for liberation.' She provides an exemplary instance of a form of education that is the polar opposite of the passive absorption of knowledge and the routine transmission of unexamined values that generally takes place in formal schooling. The other essays in the final section of this volume, 'Adult Education as a Change Agent' are likewise devoted to the question-or, better, to the ideal-of 'education as a project for liberation'. Anne Marie Callus offers 'Some Considerations on Raising Environmental Awareness Through Adult Education'; Saviour Rizzo contrasts the tendencies towards socialization and mobilization in adult political education; in analogous fashion Anthony Azzopardi reflects on the difference between the adult learners who remain passive students and those who become engaged in the re-fashioning of society; Carmel Borg, Jennifer Camilleri and Peter Mayo examine the subaltern status of Maltese emigrants; and Charles Mizzi writes on the special educational and creative needs of senior citizens.

In *Beyond Schooling*, Peter Mayo and Godfrey Baldacchino have done their best to go beyond merely presenting a more or less comprehensive picture of the state of adult education in Malta. With this volume they have, in effect, issued a public invitation for a vigorous critical discussion on the state of civil society in Malta.

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Michel Chossudovsky, *The Globalization of Poverty: Impacts of IMF and World Bank Reforms.*, Zed Books and Third World Network, London, New Jersey & Penang, 280pp, ISBN 1 85649 401 2 (hb).

At the time of writing this review, the Argentinean Minister of Labour, upon his regular visit to the Washington-based International Monetary Fund (IMF), remarked to the media that 'if Argentina was not indebted to the IMF, it would certainly question having to explain its policies to an international organization', and lamented that an indebted country had no choice. The external debt of developing countries, which has reached two trillion dollars, constitutes a crucial element in explaining the process of economic restructuring imposed by international creditors on these countries during the last two decades. This is precisely Chossudovsky's task.

In a period when globalization is glorified daily in the media as the expression of progress, freedom and democracy, when governments all around the world embrace the neoliberal policy agenda, and when mainstream economists proclaim the indisputable success of laissez-faire models, Chossudovsky's book provides a much needed critical perspective on the detrimental effects of current economic reforms on both human societies and the environment. The analysis is insightful and well-documented, and the author succeeds in developing clear explanations of complex issues for readers who are not necessarily familiar with the economic jargon. He shows, with lucid explanations and plenty of empirical evidence, that the new economic order that began in the 1980s is creating both growing inequalities among and within nations, and the conditions for its own crisis. In the context of unprecedented levels of overproduction and capital mobility, the crisis arises from two contradictory dynamics: the consolidation of a cheap-labour economy, and the search for new markets. Hence, the author argues, IMF-sponsored reforms seeking to minimize labor costs lead to a decline of consumer demand, eventually undermining the expansion of capital itself.

The text is organized in two main parts. The first provides the general framework and the historical context necessary to interpret the underlying logic of the internationalization of macro-economic reform. This part is very useful because Chossudovsky presents a good analysis of economic globalization, with a focus on the role of international financial institutions. But for those readers unfamiliar with these issues (arguably the intended audience of the book) it can be a frustrating experience: since sections are so concise and brief (usually ranging form one paragraph to one page), the reader often has to take the author's criticisms at face value. For example, one section entitled *'Good Governance': Promoting Bogus Parliamentary Institutions*, consists of the following three sentences:

> 'Democratization' has become the motto of the free market. So-called 'governance' and the holding of multi-party elections are added as conditionalities to the loan agreements. The nature of economic reforms, however, prevents a genuine democratization' (p.67).

Unfortunately for the reader, this paragraph is free-floating: it neither continues a discussion from the previous section, nor is expanded in the next section. Organizing the text in semi-autonomous sections allows readers to access the book at any page without the need to read the preceding pages in order to understand it. This journalistic style makes the information more appealing and accessible, but at the same time hinders the development of an in-depth argument. Despite this limitation, the author provides a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of global concentration of capital and the effects of structural adjustment programs on income distribution and the provision of public services. It makes clear that the 'free market' rhetoric is contradicted daily by a new regulatory framework that imposes strict conditionalities on indebted countries and shifts power from South to North and from labor to capital.

The second part explores the implementation of neoliberal policies in twelve developing countries from four regions: Sub-Saharan Africa (Somalia and Rwanda); South and South-East Asia (India, Bangladesh and Vietnam); Latin America (Brazil, Peru and Bolivia); and the former Soviet Union and the Balkans (the Russian Federation and the former Yugoslavia). These national case studies illustrate the negative impact of IMF World Bank interventions on the self-sufficiency of national economies and on the quality and coverage of public services in many developing countries. They describe the submission of elected officials of supposedly sovereign states to the demands of international bankers and creditors. They illustrate how World Bank programs, instead of eliminating poverty, are eliminating the poor. They identify relationships between macro economic policy and the laundering of money by criminal mafias. They show the connections between structural adjustment programs and collapsing public services, unemployment, deterioration of labor conditions, famine, social polarization, environmental degradation and even civil war. Country by country, references to education recurrently depict draconian budget cuts, privatizations, and increasing attrition and segmentation. In these case studies, which reflects a deep and laborious field work, Chossudovsky reminds us that in the globalization game Washington and Dhaka are not equal partners, and that dependency and unfair trade policies still persist. These cases provide valuable information on the bridges between global geopolitics and national settings, however the author does not explain why the he selected these countries and not others. I submit, for instance, that this volume would have benefited by including the cases of Chile or New Zealand, which are relevant because they have been used as showcases by international agencies and received mostly favorable reviews in terms of the success of their neoliberal policies.

Regrettably, the book lacks a concluding chapter, which would have been helpful to summarize the main arguments and raise issues for future research agendas and social action. The only hint at this appears at the end of the introduction, where the author argues that only social struggle and international solidarity could reverse the massive concentration of economic and political power. However, one question still remains unanswered: Is it possible to have both globalization and equity? If Chossudovsky's answer is yes, the issue is how to shift away from the current model of neoliberal globalization and build an alternative one. If the answer is no, it may have been appropriate to discuss the relative feasibility of returning to policies that may restrain globalization trends, such as protectionism and trade barriers.

As the book was in print, The World Bank began to review the impact of its structural adjustment programs with nongovernmental organizations and civil society, and launched the Structural Adjustment Participation Review Initiative. This initiative is part of the so called 'Second Generation Reforms,' through which the Bank attempts to redress the impact of the macro-economic reforms and structural adjustment programs on income inequality and poverty increase. This Second Generation agenda, aiming at garnering political support (particularly among the poor) for the sustainability of First Generation Reforms, is not explicitly discussed by Chossudovsky, probably due to timing. However, he criticizes the poverty alleviation programs implemented by the Bank for being mainly a public relations strategy to resemble a commitment to social change that do not oppose neither the unjust social foundations of the global market system nor the neoliberal policy prescriptions that protect it.

Overall, this is a valuable contribution to the emerging literature on the dark side of neoliberal reforms. Neoliberalism claims that its formula is based on 'short-term pain for long-term gain.' After two decades of implementation, an evaluation of results – measured not in terms of macroeconomic indicators, but in the quality of life of real human beings- is a necessary endeavor. The 'theoretical' part of this book, which skillfully unveils the mechanics of global domination, is well complemented by the evidence provided in the country chapters. In my view, this is a commendable text. Its accessibility and direct style, insightful analysis, clear tables, additional footnotes and extensive bibliography will satisfy a wide array of readers. Its critical analysis reminds us that there is nothing given or inevitable about current trends, and that poverty alleviation programs are not likely to succeed as long as existing power structures remain unchallenged.

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Paolo Federighi (guest editor), *Convergence, Vol. XXX, Nos. 2/3, Special issue on the Transnational Dimension of Adult Education*, pp.160 , Toronto, International Council for Adult Education, 1997, ISSN. 0010-8146.

For several years, adult education has had a transnational dimension, but the 'adult education world' chose to be more or less absent from this reality. The military, media and financial powers were involved while 'adult education' structures were more or less absent. Why?

I think that it was a hot issue and the West and East superpowers were also controlling educational affairs, leaving the South powerless. Today, the persons involved in the adult education structures, comprising research, policy making and training, are afraid to contest the 'unidimensional way' of thinking.

I do not know why the *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies* invited me to provide an appraisal of this issue of *Convergence*. Maybe I guess because I am still a 'critical animal'. When in 1985 I wrote *Lifelong Education and International Relations* (Croom Helm), few adult educators made reference to this book because, I think, I raised the issue of the manipulation of adult education organisations (national and international, governmental and non governmental). Make no mistake, the manipulation is still there.

In this review of the special issue of *Convergence*, I shall stress both its weaknesses and positive aspects. Its first positive aspect is that of underlining the importance of the transnational dimension of adult education, and the negative aspect here is that of not providing an analysis of the ambiguity of the concepts of 'civil' and 'civic' society. Another positive aspect is that of examining the growing need to integrate general and vocational education and training, while the negative aspect here is that of not exploring carefully the conditions under which such an integration can take place. Another excellent idea is that of being concerned with the relationship between adult education and democracy, but there is no analysis of the manipulative use of adult education to 'teach democracy', when the process generally involved is that of 'one way democracy.'

The paper titled 'The Tao of Mangoes, Adult Education and Freire: The Continuing Challenges and Dilemmas' provides us with an excellent approach. The dilemmas and challenges which are proposed render this piece very stimulating and the issues raised are relevant to adult education movements and to such organisations as the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE). '...can the mango farmer be the resource person at the local agricultural college instead of the foreign trained professor or expert?' (p. 24) This question provides food for thought.

The references to Paulo Freire are very pertinent but are adult educators incapable of discovering other 'Paulo Freires' in the Southern part of the world and quoting them in their articles? If one looks at the bibliographies in this issue of *Convergence*, one finds only Northern authors or references to institutional documents, and this in an issue devoted to the 'international dimension of adult education'!

The social class dimension is more or less absent in those articles concerning 'Citizenship', 'Popular Education', the 'Third Age' and 'Women in Academia'. The one notable exception here is the article that deals with 'Life Affirming Work, Raising Children and Education', where it is noted that 'social exploitation and self-oppression are highly intertwined.'

Very high targets are set for this particular issue: 'Here we identify criteria that enable us to evaluate the sense of the theories and policies that are proposed or imposed in the transnational sphere.' And yet the criteria in question are not listed. This notwithstanding, we are still provided with a valuable issue of *Convergence*.

Let us live 'political games' in adult education and engage with political economy and political theory. Adult Education policies and activities require both. Let us explore all the ambiguities of the much used concepts of 'civil' and 'civic' society and, at the same time, analyse the positive and negative aspects of the State's involvement in adult education. How about some engagement with the question of dialectics and adult education? These concerns strike me as being germane to a discussion focusing on adult education in its international dimension.

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Panayiotis K. Persianis, ***History of Education of Girls in Cyprus: A study of social and educational modernization of Cyprus*** **(in Greek), Ministry of Education and Culture of Cyprus Nicosia, 319p., 1998, ISBN 9963-8116-1-2.**

The book comprises four parts and twenty chapters, a catalogue of tables, a foreword, an introduction, a conclusion, an epilogue, a bibliography and finally an Appendix. In this study, the history of education of girls in Cyprus is connected with the social and educational modernization of Cyprus and offers a very interesting historical, social and educational approach to the subject.

In his introduction, the writer underlines the significance of the history of education of girls in general, refers to the purpose of the book and points out his theoretical framework, his sources (documents, official papers and laws, teaching materials, newspapers etc.) and also explains the contents of the whole book

Part A, which is entitled 'The social position of woman in Cyprus during 19th century and at he beginnings of 20th and the influences on the education of girls', comprises two chapters; the first chapter 'The social position of woman during the end of 19th century and at the beginnings of the 20th' refers to the three basic elements that characterized the society of Cyprus in the 19th and 20th centuries and which directly influenced the position of women: a patriarchal society, an agrarian economy and the negative attitudes displayed towards women concerning their inferiority in the economic and social life; the second chapter of this Part focuses on 'The influences on the education of girls' due to the previous mentioned social characteristics of the society in Cyprus during that period. These influences had to do with their participation in the educational system, with the goals and the content of the kind of education provided and with the 'formation of their character'.

Part B of the book presents aspects of the process of social modernization in Cyprus and its consequences with respect to the education of girls. The third chapter in particular describes the factors of social modernization in Cyprus that have to do with the changes in socio-economic life. It provides analyses of some of the ideologies and values related to these factors (European Enlightenment, influences of English colonization, tensions caused by europeanization, humanism, the ideologies of liberalism, socialism and communism, ideology of human rights and feminism, new 'mental states' and institutions that influenced the social, economic and education position of woman and social life); in the fourth chapter, the author explains the characteristics of the social modernization in Cyprus related to the disadvantages suffered by women, in comparison with men, with respect to the modernization process. He also writes about the acceptance of new europeanisation technologies and about the role of some 'foreign paradigms'. In the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth chapters, the author analyzes the effects of social modernization on the education of girls and refers to the social discourse concerning the social position of women, the educational demand concerning girls' formation, the provision of education for girls, and finally, the dynamic interaction between social and education modernization in Cyprus.

Part C focuses on the approach to educational modernization; the author refers to quantitative and qualitative developments. So, in the ninth chapter, the author analyzes the difficulties and problems concerning the education of girls in Cyprus. In the tenth chapter, he presents and comments on quantitative data concerning the primary education of girls in comparison with that of boys during the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of 20th. In the eleventh and twelfth chapters, the author describes the provision of secondary and tertiary education for girls. Also, in the thirteenth chapter, he refers to the existing educational discourse concerning the education of girls. In the fourteenth chapter, he analyzes the factors that contributed to the development of the content of this type of education. In fifteenth chapter, the author approaches the development of the content of girls' primary schooling in Cyprus. In the sixteenth chapter, he refers to the development of the content of girls' secondary education. Finally, in the seventeenth chapter, he describes the whole ambiance surrounding the schooling of girls during that period of their life (school life, hidden curriculum, etc.).

Part D of the book deals with the female teachers and their role in the process of social and educational modernization in Cyprus. The eighteenth chapter presents the image of female teachers and their contribution to the education of girls on the island. The nineteenth chapter refers to the formation of female teachers in Cyprus and finally, the twentieth chapter includes some representative abstracts of speeches of four distinguished female teachers in Cyprus.

The author uses various documents and sources. He provides important new critical approaches to the history of education of girls in Cyprus and attempts to bring research to bear on this fascinating analysis of the education of girls within the context of educational modernization. The book not only makes possible a new understanding of education and society, but also raises critical new concerns about this subject. It is a book that certainly deserves to be read by the researchers of the history of education, by teachers, by future teachers and by all those who are interested in studying the socio-cultural aspects of life in Cyprus via the history of education of girls.

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Agnieszka Bron, John Field and Eva Kurantowitcz (eds), *Adult Education and Democratic Citizenship II*. Impuls Publisher, Krakow, pp. 233, 1988, ISBN 83-86994-86-X (pb).

Without doubt, this volume represents an important contribution to the current debate about the role of education in our rapidly changing society. Indeed, some of the papers (Strain, Shanahan) leave no doubt that the shape of the 21st century society will be, among other factors, crucially influenced precisely by this relationship. This is an obvious truism noted already by numerous volumes produced on this topic by supranational agencies such as the OECD, the World Bank, and most recently by the European Union, and many others.

This apparent agreement among some notably neoliberal oriented agencies and this collection of papers, most of which come from a critical-humanist perspective, pinpoints the culprit responsible for our societal inability to reach a consensus on the way human affairs, including educational issues, should or ought to be looked at - namely, the global and predominantly neoliberal macro-economic interests show a remarkable reluctance to consider the impact of their own policies on the individual lives of the growing number of those excluded from the core-worker society, while the cultural critics concentrate on building up a local resistance, which draws on spontaneity, sentiment, and the defiance of the logic of globalism, as Michael Strain argues in this volume.

In consequence, the macro and micro levels of social action fail to meet. Yet, as Harvey (1993: 24) pointedly argues, the local opposition might be able to dominate the local space, but the power of capital still coordinates the total economic activity across universal fragmented space, which, in the final analysis, tends to decide what can be marginally achieved within the local space.

Thus, on the one hand, we have 'bad guys', who promote the logic of global-system integration. Among them are those who directly represent the interest of global capital, but also the supranational agencies such as the OECD, the executive arms of most national governments and numerous technocrats working at multiple international levels of what really approximates some form of global governance. In this scenario, the global fiscal and exchange relations are here to stay, and, more importantly, are to remain private and out of reach for public interest. Everything else, including the nation-state politics, has to adapt. Even the intentionally progressive Delors Commission, *Education for the Twenty-first Century* (1996), takes the global condition as its starting point. Of course, globalization itself need not be necessarily unfriendly to public interest, as the present volume also argues (e.g., Field).

The solution to the problem of globalism might, perhaps, depend on our ability to bring lifeworld interests into the sphere of global policy-making. The issue is thus really about discourse ethics - who should be making the global decisions which effectively constrain the local policy-making and thus the survival of the local in the long run and how? Paradoxically, even the economic-system-dedicated OECD has conceded as early as 1995 that the Conservative government policies, over the last 16 years, when combined with the fiscal austerity measures, proved to be socially dangerous especially in the area of education and training. No doubt, in this case, the OECD was critical of the industrial trainers programmes contained, among others, in its own educational manifesto, *Education and the Economy in a Changing Society* (1989). This document argued very strongly in favour of labour-market relevance of skill-development in post-compulsory education and training. The view presented is an overtly economist vision of society, with a strong emphasis on vocationalism, socialisation, and social control. What is missing in this perspective is what Michael Strain, in this volume, refers to as sociality, or the resilience of the local. The question, however, remains: Can the global and the local meet outside the shopping-malls? Which, in turn, brings me to the 'good guys'.

In opposition to the pure system integration *à la* Durkheim, this volume argues for a revision of the concept of adult-education. In this respect, Peter Shanahan identifies four tendencies in adult education, as practised today: academic or theoretical, training and vocational, professional education, and empowerment. I would add that in many respects these categories broadly correspond to Habermas' categories of knowledge interests: technical, practical and emancipatory. Now the implication here is, and I believe a correct one, that the current global discourse about education and training, which tends to be rather exclusionary in the sense of who is admitted as a legitimate stakeholder and which ideological perspective may be brought to the round-table debates, tends to be dominated almost if not entirely by vocational training and practical-manipulative skills issues.

That the type of academic knowledge, which fails in the promise of immediate profitable usefulness, even though its expulsion from the universities will inescapably carry a loss of our socially reflexive intelligence, has presently lost its currency is supported, for example, by Stockley (1993) and Pannu et al. (1994), who argue that the Australian and Canadian universities have now been virtually driven to become self-sustaining accumulating units, increasingly dependent on marketing programmes concerned chiefly with developing practical skills for their corporate clients.

As for emancipatory concerns in the sense Habermas or Shanahan discuss them, I believe we all bear witness to their salient absence in most basic schooling and adult education classes. By and large, this volume emphatically advocates the integration of the above mentioned tendencies in adult education. But such demand would put the onus on the providers of adult education classes to rephrase the social purpose of education so that it would include the wider spheres of people's lifeworld. In particular its content would be formed around the notion of citizenship (Aittola: 117).

Aittola's claim thus inadvertently constitutes a pivotal focus in the research interest of this volume. Some of the key questions asked include: should learning be organised? Where does learning take place? Who attends adult education classes, and why are many discouraged from attending? The themes include problems of identity formation, the role of social capital, the clear dissonance between schools' teaching practice, concrete needs and perceptions of young people, and the rhetorical claims about participation, democracy, autonomy and so on, globalism and the controversial role of mass media, historical studies of voluntary organisations, study circles, the role women play in de-industrialised regions, and adult education experiences in various parts of Europe. In total, this collection of papers can be very useful as a resource book for faculties of adult education.

I will now proceed to address what I consider the volume's major advances in the problematic of adult learning. The key concern of the volume is the relationship between the practices and institutions of adult learning and their ability to enhance civic engagement in the general population. The appropriate starting point then is the concept of citizenship - how do we define it, and how could we understand the relationship between a competent citizenry and a competent society? There are two theoretical sources which inform the volume's understanding of this problematic - T.H.Marshall (1981), and the British Commission on Citizenship (1990). Citizenship is thus understood in terms of civil, social and political rights, with an implicit addition of economic and cultural rights (cf. Turner, 1990; Kymlicka, 1992).

In more general terms, Benn and Fieldhouse offer a summary definition: 'A reasonably representative definition of citizenship can be taken as how the individual activates him or herself to be able to consciously influence their own situation and the situation of others in a democratic society' (p. 44).

Drawing on Habermas' theory of communicative action, and in opposition to system-linked rationality, Larson introduces into the debate the conditions of social action oriented towards understanding. Here I would suggest that this section would be helped by noting also Habermas' conditions of validity claims pertaining to the universal discourse ethics. This is an important point, especially in relation to identity formation in the context of Study Circles, the context which specifically frames Larson's argument. In this sense, adult educators need to consider individual pre-theoretical knowledge (or foreknowledge) of the participants in discourse. In other words, the question is not only the relevance of the educational programme to the individual student needs, but also what sort of personal and ideological baggage do participants bring into adult education classes.

In this respect, I believe there is some tension between what Larson calls a new grammar of study circles, which defines learning experience in terms of participants' control of the study agenda, on the one hand, and their ability to view their own social construction of reality critically, on the other. It is precisely here that the conditions of validity claims are so vital.

If we apply the principles of the new grammar of learning to adult education in general, it becomes obvious that the teaching strategies and the actual role of the teacher also have to be modified. The teacher's role should change from that of a 'provider/programme organiser and administrator of adult education centres and classes to that of facilitator/counsellor/designer of learning resource' (p. 96). It is at this moment that the individual lifeworlds would enter the study agenda.

Yet here an extreme care should be given to the learning stage and style of the learner. Let us remember that our task as educators is to help students liberate and enlighten themselves, or to use Paulo Freire's language, to develop critical consciousness, not to embellish their subjective biases.

The new teacher then needs to be highly sensitive towards student needs, which are now defined more with respect to problem solving, coping with everyday life, helping those within their immediate circle, and securing both material goods and meaning in their lives. Clearly, and I believe most appropriately, the indication here is that adult education should move towards restoring a balance between the economic/administrative system demands and the lifeworld interests of the learner. In this respect, it should also be most strongly noted that the financial and organisational support from the state is of a crucial importance. In the present environment of fiscal austerity this condition will clearly represent one of the biggest challenges to the restructuring of adult education.

The pedagogical strategy of progressing from a dependent learning style and a subjective learning perspective (cf. Grow, 1991; Heidbrink, 1996) towards becoming an autonomous learner and developing a social or deep-structure perspective is mostly indebted to the tradition of critical pedagogy. Larson, for example, identifies six key factors relevant to critical learning: developing a genuine interest, focusing on the use value rather than on the exchange value, developing a learning and cooperative community, promoting self-esteem, encouraging learning oriented towards a lifeworld-relevant social change, and the informality of the interaction in opposition to formal emphasis on examination and certification.

The implicit assumption is that not only in theory, but also in practice it is possible to develop an educational system dedicated to the promotion of citizenship competencies. On the other hand, what is, perhaps, missing is a clearly established relationship between the type of political environment within which educational institutions have to work, the hegemonic economic regime, and the connecting (i.e., political) mechanisms determining the shape of educational provision. In other words, what is absent is a clear sociological relevance of what is essentially a humanist stance centred largely around the notion of social movements, understood here as a vehicle for some form of individual and collective self-realisation.

The phenomenon of social capital, for example, cannot be understood as something that can be manipulated or altered at will, in any case, not without major restructuring of social relations of production. My question then is: Is it at all possible to develop a critical and usable approach towards adult education without an analytical understanding of the actual economic and political constraints imposed on educational institutions by the post-Fordist and the post-Keynesian regimes?

Fixing up the flaws of the system from within is certainly valid. On the other hand, it is also valid to question the system's political will to take seriously the radical-humanist critique. Jessop's (1983) analysis conceptualising the notion of the margin for manoeuvre within the context of hegemonic regimes, Leborgne and Lipietz's (1992) analysis of competing developmental models, or Philip Wexler's (1987) critique of the New Sociology of Education are relevant here.

Nevertheless, as argued above, the individual papers do make important contributions especially at a micro and meso levels of analysis. Still, the volume's purpose would be better served by way of providing a general theoretical introduction, which could tie up individual arguments in a more meaningful whole.

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CONFERENCE ANNOUNCEMENTS

'Good neighbours and faraway friends: regional dimensions of international education'

11th Annual Conference of the European Association for International Education, 2-4 December 1999, Maastricht, the Netherlands. E-mail: j.dovermann@fb.unimaas.nl

'Xénophilie/Xénophobie et diffusion des langues'

15-18 décembre 1999. Informations: Claudette Soum, ÉNS Fontenay / Saint Cloud, 2 avenue Pozzo-di-Borgo, 92211 Saint-Cloud. Tel. 33 1 41 12 35 61; Fax: 33 1 41 12 85 07; e-mail: soum@ens-fcl.fr

'The state, teacher education and policy development: control and the politics of possibility'

Rutland Hotel Conference Centre, Glossop Road, Sheffield, UK. January 4-6 2000. E-mail v.a.stokes@sheffield.ac.uk

'Powerful teacher educators leading in the 21st century'

ATE 80th Annual meeting, February 13-17, Orlando, Florida. Contact ATE, 1900 Association Drive, Reston, VA 20191-1502.

'Facing the 21st Century: what do we know? What can we contribute"

CIES annual conference, March 8-12 2000. Venue: Menger Hotel, San Antonio, Texas. Conference URL: http://www.indiana.edu/~comped/

'Higher education, organizational transformation, and student learning'

4th North American Conference on the Learning Paradigm, March 15-18 2000. E-mail inquiries learncon@palomar.edu. Further details: www. palomar.edu/ learn.

'Leading educational management in learning societies: research, policy and practice.'

British Educational Management & Administration Society (BEMAS), March 29-31 2000. Venue: Robinson College, Cambridge. E-mail inquiries: BEMAS@open.ac.uk. URL: http://www.shu.ac.uk/bemas

'Biennale internationale des chercheurs et des prcacticiens de l'education et de la formation'

Organised by APRIEF, April 12-15, 2000, Paris. E-mail: biennale @wanadoo.fr Further information from http://www.inrp.fr

'Educational assessment in a multi-cultural society'

International Assessment and Evaluation Association, May 14-19 2000, Jerusalem. E-mail yoav@nite.org.il

'Emerging democracies and human rights education'

CIDREE, June18-21, Enschede, Netherlands. E-mail inquiries: Mr. Jeroen Bron, j.bron@slo.nl

'Education for social democracies: changing forms and sites'

International conference, Culture, Communication & Societies Group, Institute of Education, University of London, 3-6 July 2000. Further information from: Dr Paul Dowling: p.dowling@ioe.ac.uk. Website: www.ioe.uk/ccs/conference 2000

'Children's spirituality'

International Conference, July 9-12 2000, to be held at Chichester Institute of Higher Education, Chichester, West Sussex, UK. E-mail: ota@mistral.co.uk

'Including the excluded'

International Special Education Congress (ISEC 2000), 24-28 July 2000, University of Manchester, School of Education, Centre for Educational Needs, Oxford Road, Manchester M19 9PL, U.K. Fax: 00 44 161 275 3548; e-mail: ISEC@man.ac.uk; Website: http://www.isec2000.org.uk

'Teacher education and global co-operation: a way of life for life-long learning'

25th Annual ATEE Conference, 28 August - 2 September 2000, University of Barcelona (UB). Further information from ULTRAMAR Express, Diputació, 238 3r, 08007 Barcelona, Spain. E-mail: amanach@uex.es

'Knowledge society: from *clerici vagantes* to the internet'

19th European Congress of Comparative Education, September 3-7 2000, University of Bologna. E-mail: cese-org@scform.unibo.it. URL: http:// www.unibo.it/CESE-conference.

‘Bringing the outside inside: experiential learning as the mainstream of the third millennium’

7th International Conference on Experiential Learning (ICEL), December 2000. Further information from Nena Benton, ICEL 2000, c/o Centre for Maori Studies and Research, University of Waikato, New Zealand, Private Bag 3105. E-mail: nena.benton@waikato.ac.nz

ABSTRACTS

UNIVERSITIES AND THE EURO-MEDITERRANEAN REGION: AN OVERVIEW OF TRENDS, CHALLENGES, AND PROSPECTS

RONALD G. SULTANA

Cet article démontre que malgré les différences bien réelles entres les diverses sous-régions de la Méditerranée, une histoire politique partagée et un état commun de périphéralisation à l'économie globale rendent la comparaison des systèmes universitaires de la région possible. L'article présente le contexte de façon détaillée afin de générer ensuite un ensemble de proposition pouvant être testées empiriquement, qui mettent en lumière certaine tendances, certain défis, et perspectives liés à l'enseignement supérieur en Méditerranée. Les transformations qui sont identifiées dans la région incluent des tendances vers (a) la prioritisation du secteur universitaire (b) un élargissement de l'acès (c) une diaspora des étudiants méditerranéens (d) une privatisation du secteur universitaire (e) un plus grand degré de gestion autonome (f) une sécularisation (g) un accomodation innovatif pour résoudre le problème du choix de la langue d'enseignement (h) l'utilisation de pédagogie interactives (i) et la légitimation croissante de l'université-entrepreneur. L'article soutient que cet ensemble de propositions basé sur des données pourrait constituer un programme de recherche quantitative et qualitative afin de placer les études d'éducation méditerranéene comparées sur un pien plus ferme.

Dan l-artiklu jipprova juri kif, minkejja d-differenzi li jeżistu bejn is-sotto reġjuni differenti tal-Mediterran, il-fatt li dawn għandhom storja politika simili u qagħda komuni fuq il-periferijia ta' l-ekonomija globali jippermetti analiżi komparattiva tas-sistemi universitarji tar-reġjun. F'dan l-artiklu, l-ewwel hemm deskrizzjoni dettaljata tal-kuntest, li għab-bażi tiegħu jiġu ġġenerati sett ta' propożizzjonijiet li wieħed jista' jeżamina b'mod empiriku u li jitfgħu dawl fuq uħud mix-xejriet, sfidi u prospetti ta' l-edukazzjoni għolja fil-Mediterran. Il-bidliet jinkludu (a) il-prijoritizzazzjoni tas-settur universitarju; (b) it-twessigħ ta' l-aċċess; (ċ) diaspora ta' studenti Mediterranji; (d) privatizzazzjoni; (e) leġittimizzazzjoni tal-ħidma entreprenerjali ta' l-università; (f) tisħiħ fl-awtonomija ta' l-università; (g) sekularizzazzjoni; (ġ) akkomodazzjoni innovattiva fl-użu tal-lingwi differenti għat-tagħlim; u, fl-aħħarnett (h) it-tħaddim ta' pedagoġija interattiva. L-argument hu li dawn il-propożizzjonijiet jistgħu jiffurmaw aġenda għal riċerka kemm kwalitattiva kif ukoll kwantitattiva aktar profonda biex tissaħħaħ l-edukazzjoni komparattiva tas-sistema universitarja fir-reġjun tal-Mediterran.

تحاول هده الورقة أن تبرهن بأنه على الرغم من الاختلافات الحقيقية بين مختلف المناطق الفرعية للبحر المتوسط، فإن تاريخا سياسيا مشتركا وحالة مشتركة من التهميش في الاقتصاد العالمي، تجعل المقارنة بين النظم الجامعية في المنطقة ممكنة. تقدم أولا الورقة تفصيلا مبسطا للموضوع من أجل إنتاج مجموعة من المقترحات التي يمكن اختبارها عمليا والتي تسلط الضوء على بعض الاتجاهات والتحديات والتوقعات المرتبطة بالتعليم العالي في البحر المتوسط. التحولات التي تم تحديدها في المنطقة تشمل الاتجاهات نحو(أ) أولوية القطاع الجامعي، (ب) توسع الالتحاق بالتعليم الجامعي، (ج) تشتت طلاب المتوسط، (د) خصخصة القطاع الجامعي، (هـ) درجة أكبر من الإدارة الذاتية، (و) العلمنة، (ز) " التكيف المتجدد" في حل قضية اختيار لغة التدريس، (ح) استخدام البيداغوجيا التفاعلية، (ط) الشرعية المتزايدة للجامعة المرتبطة بالصناعة والتجارة . وعلى الرغم من أن هده المجموعة من المقترحات مؤسسة على بيانات، فإنها يجب أن تشكل برنامجا لبحوث كمية ونوعية من أجل وضع دراسات التربية المقارنة في المتوسط على أساس راسخ.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND STATE LEGITIMATION IN CYPRUS

PANAYIOTIS PERSIANIS

Dans cet article nous proposons de mettre en évidence les intentions de l'Etat chypriote en matière de politique éducative universitaire dans les années 80. Nous démontrerons que la création même de l'Université en 1989, ainsi que le caractère qui lui était assigné – Université d'Etat reliée à la communnauté académique internationale – devrait servir à légitimer l'Etat lui-même. L'opposition des nationalistes sous l'administration coloniale britanique, d'une part, et une série d'hésitations et d'ajournements après l'Indépendance, d'autre part, ont retardé de plus de 60 ans la création de l'Université à Chypre. Créée, enfin, en 1989 elle était destinée à compenser l'absence quasi totale de légitimation dont souffrait l'Etat. L'Etat, par la stratégie politique d'expertise et par celle de participation, a voulu légitimer le processus qui est à l'origine de la décision concernant aussi bien le caractère de l'Université que le savoir que celle-ci devrait produire.

Το άρθρο διερευνά τη χρησιμοποίηση από το κράτος της εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής στη βαθμίδα της ανώτερης εκπαίδευσης για σκοπούς "αντισταθμιστικής νομιμοποίησης", όπως αυτή συνέβη στην περίπτωση της Κύπρου κατά το τέλος της δεκαετίας του 1980. Υποστηρίζει πως όχι μόνο η ίδρυση του Πανεπιστημίου Κύπρου το 1989 - μετά τριάντα χρόνια ισχυρής αντίθεσης των εθνικιστών, κατά τη διάρκεια της Βρετανικής αποικιακής διοίκησης, και άλλα τριάντα χρόνια κρατικών ενδοιασμών και αναβολών, μετά την πολιτική ανεξαρτησία - αλλά και ο χαρακτήρας του ιδρυθέντος Πανεπιστημίου (κρατικό και συνδεδεμένο με τη διεθνή ακαδημαϊκή κοινότητα) μπορούν να ερμηνευθούν κυρίως ως αποτέλεσμα της απόφασης του κράτους να χρησιμοποιήσει την ανώτερη εκπαίδευση για να αναπληρώσει το σοβαρό του έλλειμμα νομιμοποίησης. Υποστηρίζει επίσης πως το κράτος χρησιμοποίησε την πολιτική στρατηγική της εμπειρογνωμοσύνης και σε μικρότερο βαθμό τη στρατηγική της συμμετοχής για να νομιμοποιήσει τις διεργασίες που οδήγησαν στις αποφάσεις για το χαρακτήρα τόσο του Πανεπιστημίου όσο και της γνώσης που αυτό αναμενόταν να παράγει.

ستحاول هده الورقة دراسة استخدام الدولة لسياسة التعليم العالي "كتعويض شرعي" مثلما حدث في قبرص في نهاية الثمانينات. تناقش الورقة بأنه ليس إنشاء جامعة قبرص في سنة 1989 – بعد ثلاثين سنة من المعارضة الوطنية القوية خلال الإدارة الاستعمارية البريطانية وثلاثين سنة أخرى من تردد وتأجيل الدولة خلال الاستقلال السياسي– ولكن أيضا خصوصية الجامعة المقامة (حكومية وترتبط بالمجتمع العلمي الدولي) يمكن تفسيره إلى حد بعيد كنتيجة لقرار الدولة باستخدام التعليم العالي من أجل التعويض عن عجزها الحقيقي الخطير. ويحاول المقال أيضا أن يؤكد على أن الدولة استخدمت سياسة استراتيجية الخبراء وإلى مدى أقل سياسة استراتيجية المشاركة من أجل إعطاء الشرعية للعملية التي حددت خصائص كل من الجامعة والمعرفة التي يتوقع أن تنتجها.

MANAGEMENT IN THE GREEK SYSTEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION

CHRISTOS SAITIS

Le but de cet article est de donner un aperçu de la relation entre le Ministère de l'Education et les institutions de l'enseignement supérieur en Grèce. La coordination de cette relation est vitale à la fois pour les institutions universitaires - qui rquièrent un degré d'indépendance administrative pour faire leur travail au nom de la société, et pour l'État, qui souhaite s'assurer que les institutions de l'éducation supérieure satisfont de façon adequate les besoins de la société. En conclusion, cet article montre que le Ministère de l'Éducation exerce son contrôle dans le secteur de l'enseignement supérieur par des lois et règlementations et intervient dans le travail administratif quotidien des institutions académiques. Les institutions de l'éducation supérieure sont entièrement subordonnées à l'Etat et ont très peu droit à la parole en ce qui concerne les décisions qui affectent leur développement futur. On peut donc considérer la supervision ministérielle comme un case de 'surcentralisation bureaucratique' de l'État.

Το άρθρο αυτό επιχειρεί να σκιαγραφήσει τις λειτουργικές σχέσεις μεταξύ Υπουργείου Παιδείας και των Ιδρυμάτων της Τριτοβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης (ΑΕΙ και ΤΕΙ). Ο συντονισμός αυτής της σχέσης είναι θέμα ζωτικό και για τις δύο πλευρές: Τα ΑΕΙ και ΤΕΙ που απαιτούν μεγαλύτερο βαθμό αυτοδιοίκησης · και η Πολιτεία που θέλει να βεβαιωθεί ότι τα ιδρύματα της Τριτοβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης εξυπηρετούν σε ικανοποιητικό βαθμό τις ανάγκες του κοινωνικού συνόλου.

Το παρόν άρθρο αποδεικνύει ότι το Υπουργείο Παιδείας ασκεί την εποπτεία του στα ΑΕΙ και ΤΕΙ μέσω νόμων και άλλων κανόνων δικαίου και παρεμβαίνει στο διοικητικό έργο των ακαδημαϊκών ιδρυμάτων. Τα ΑΕΙ και ΤΕΙ είναι εξαρτημένα (οικονομικά και διοικητικά) από το κράτος και έχουν περιορισμένη εξουσία για τη λήψη σημαντικών αποφάσεων. Για το λόγο αυτό η ασκούμενη υπουργική εποπτεία μπορεί να θεωρηθεί ως "γραφειοκρατικός υπερσυγκεντρωτισμός" μάλλον, παρά ως "κρατική καθοδήγηση".

يهدف هدا المقال إلى توضيح العلاقة بين وزارة التعليم ومؤسسات التعليم العالي في اليونان. أن تكامل هده العلاقة هو قضية حيوية لكل من المؤسستين الأكاديميتين - والتي تحتاج إلى درجة من الاستقلالية الإدارية للقيام بواجبها نيابة عن المجتمع؛ وللدولة - التي تسعي لطمأنة نفسها بأن مؤسسات التعليم العالي تخدم بشكل ملائم حاجات المجتمع. يخلص المقال إلى أن يبرهن بأن وزارة التعليم تمارس تحكمها في التعليم العالي من خلال القوانين واللوائح وتتدخل في العمل الإداري اليومي العادي للمؤسسات الأكاديمية. فالمؤسسات في التعليم العالي هي تابعة للدولة كليا ولها صوت محدود في القرارات التي تؤثر في نموها المستقبلي. لدلك يمكن اعتبار الأشراف الوزاري كحالة "للبيروقراطية فوق المركزية" عوضا عن كونه توجيها من الدولة.

CHANGING BOUNDARIES IN ISRAELI HIGHER EDUCATION

SARAH GURI-ROSENBLIT

Cet article analyse les changements principaux survenus dans l'enseignement supérieur des vingt dernières années, et leur impact dans la modification de ses frontières extérieures et intérieures. L'analyse inclue également un modèle comparatif des systèmes d'enseignement supérieur dans le monde, d'une manière générale. Par le biais de cette méthode comparative, sont examinés les développements ayant mené à la restructuration des frontières de l'enseignement supérieur en Israël, quand la recherche se focalise sur les paramètres suivants: (a) Expansion du système d'enseignement supérieur; (b) Diversification de ses institutions; (c) Emergence de nouvelles disciplines et leur insertion dans le système éducatif académique; (d) La ré-évaluation de nombreuses professions à un niveau académique; (e) La redéfinition des diplômes de maîtrise et autres diplômes supérieurs; (f) L'impact des nouvelles technologies d'information sur le modelage des paysages académiques; (g) L'influence des tendances à la globalisation et à l'internationalisation sur le développement des systèmes nationaux d'enseignement supérieur.

מאמר זה בוחן את השינויים המרכזיים, שהתחוללו במערכת ההשכלה הגבוהה בישראל בשני העשורים האחרונים והאחראים לשינוי הגבולות החיצוניים והפנימיים שלה. שיטת הניתוח אף מספקת מסגרת קונצפטואלית, שמטרתה לשמש מודל להשוואת מערכות השכלה גבוהה במקומות שונים בעולם ברמת המאקרו. המאמר מנתח את ההתפתחויות, שהביאו להבנייה מחודשת של גבולות מערכת ההשכלה הגבוהה בישראל מהיבט השוואתי בינלאומי, ומתייחס לנושאים הבאים: (1) גידול המערכת;(2) גיוון המערכת; (3) שילוב דיסציפלינות ותחומי לימוד חדשים במערכת הלימודים האקדמית; (4) שדרוג ההכשרה המקצועית בתחומי עיסוק מגוונים לסטטוס אקדמי; (5) הגדרה מחודשת של אופי התואר השני ותארים מתקדמים בכלל; (6) השפעת הטכנולוגיות החדשות על עיצוב סביבות לימוד אקדמיות; (7) ויחסי הגומלין בין המגמות של גלובליזציה ובינלאומיות לבין שימור הייחוד הלאומי של מערכות השכלה גבוהה.

خلاصة: يتعرض المقال للتغييرات المركزية التي جرت في جهاز التعليم العالي في اسرائيل، في العقدين الاخيرين، والتي كان من شأنها تغيير الحدود الخارجية والداخلية لهذا الجهاز.

ترسم طريقة التحليل في المقال اطاراً فكريًا يشكل نمطًا للمقارنة بين اجهزة التعليم العالي في أماكن مختلفة من العالم وذلك على المستوى العام (الماقرو).

يحلل المقال التطورات التي كانت سببًا في البناء المجدد لحدود جهاز التعليم العالي في اسرائيل، وذلك من منظور القارنة العالمية. وهو يتعرض للمواضيع التالية: ١. تعاظم حجم الجهاز; ٢. التنوع في الجهاز; ٣. استيعاب طرق وأساليب وأصعدة جديدة في جهاز التعليم الاكاديمي; ٤. تدريج التأهيل المهني في مواضيع الاهتمام المختلفة ضمن الاطار الاكاديمي; ٥. تعريف طابع اللقب الثاني والالقاب العالية الاخرى مجددًا; ٦. تأثير التقنيات الجديدة على بلورة بيئات تعليمية اكاديمية; ٧. العلاقات المتبادلة بين توجهات العولة وبين الحفاظ القومية لجهاز التعليم العالي.

CHANGES AND CHALLENGES IN SPANISH HIGHER EDUCATION

JOSÉ-GINÉS MORA

Des changements politques et sociologiques importants ont eu lieu en Espagne pendant les deux dernières décennies. Ces changements ont considérablement influé sur le système éducatif supérieur. S'il est vrai que les résultats peuvent être considérés comme globalement positifs, toutefois de nombreux aspects pourraient et devraient être améliorés. L'éducation supérieure en Espagne doit en ce moment faire face à de nouveaux défis afin de placer le système à un niveau de qualité adéquat. Les changements principaux qui ont eu lieu dans le système éducatif supérieur espagnol, et les défis actuels sont examinés dans cet article.

Durante las dos ultimas décadas, ha habido en España cambios políticos y sociológicos muy profundos. Estos cambios también han afectado al sistema de educación superior. Este sistema es actualmente muy diferente del que era tan solo hace dos décadas. En general, los cambios han sido muy positivos para el conjunto del sistema. Sin embargo, muchos aspectos pueden y deben ser mejorados todavía. Para elevar la calidad del sistema universitario español es necesario afrontar nuevas reformas en el sistema. En este articulo se analizan tanto los cambio ocurridos, como los retos de futuro a los que se enfrenta el sistema universitario español.

حدثت في أسبانيا خلال العقدين الماضيين تغيرات سياسية واجتماعية مهمة أثرت بشكل كبير على نظام التعليم العالي. وعلى الرغم من أن النتائج قد تبدو إيجابية بشكل عام، إلا أن هناك عدة جوانب يمكن ويجب أن تُحسنَ. فعلى التعليم العالي في أسبانيا أن يتغلب على تحديات جديدة من أجل وضع النظام في مستوى مرغوب من الكفاءة. ناقشت هده الورقة التغيرات الرئيسية التي حدثت في نظام التعليم العالي في أسبانيا والتحديات الحالية التي تواجهه.

THE TURKISH HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM IN THE 1990s

HASAN SIMSEK

Cet article est une tentative de documentation des défis auxquels le système d'éducation supérieure turc doit faire face. Notre analyse suggère que la nature de ces problèmes et de ces questions fait écho à ceux qui ont déclenché des initiatives de réformes majeures dans d'autres parties du monde. Parmi les plus importantes on trouve un nombre croissant d'étudiants face à des ressources publiques sur le déclin, un manque de personnel enseignant de bonne qualité, des inefficacités exacerbées par un financement public qui diminue, le besoin d'alternatives pour diversifier les sources de revenus, le problème posé par les regles et la bureaucratie governementales très strictes en ce qui concerne l'organisation et l'administration de l'éducation supérieure, ainsi qu'une détérioration qualitative dans de nombreux secteurs.

Bu makale Türk yüksek öğretiminin 1990'larda yüzyüze olduğu sorunları irdelemeyi amaçlamaktadir. Yaptığımız analiz, Türk yüksek öğretiminin karşı karşıya olduğu sorunların dünyanın diğer yüksek öğretim sistemlerinde reforma yol açan sorunlarla benzerlik gösterdiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Bu sorunların en önemlileri şunlardır: daralan kamu kaynaklarına rağmen yüksek öğretime olan talebin sürekli artiyor olması, yüksek nitelikli öğretim elemani eksikliği, yüksek öğretime ayrılan kamu kaynaklarının verimsiz kullanılması, gelir kaynaklarının çeşitlendirilmesine yönelik alternatif yolların aranması ihtiyacı, yüksek öğretimin örgütlenmesinde ve yönetiminde bürokrasi ve aşırı merkezi kontrol, ve pek çok alanda niteliğin azalması.

تحاول هده الورقة توثيق التحديات التي تواجه نظام التعليم العالي في تركيا. يشير تحليلنا إلى أن طبيعة هده المشكلات والقضايا تتشابه كثيرا مع تلك التي أطلقت المبادرات الرئيسية للإصلاح في أجزاء أخرى من العالم. من بين أهم هده التحديات التوسع في الطلب في الانخراط في مواجهة النقص في الموارد العامة؛ النقص في هيئة التدريس من دوي الكفاءات العالية؛ عدم الكفاءة التي تفاقمت بتقلص الأنفاق العام؛ الحاجة إلى طرق بديلة لتنويع مصادر الدخل؛ مشكلة اللوائح والبيروقراطية الحكومية المتطرفة الإحكام في تنظيم وإدارة التعليم الجامعي؛ وتدهور النوعية في مجالات متعددة.

TOWARDS AN INNOVATIVE UNIVERSITY IN THE SOUTH? INSTITUTIONALISING EURO-MEDITERRANEAN CO-OPERATION IN RESEARCH, TECHNOLOGY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

JORMA KUITUNEN

Cet article examine les stratégies d'institutionalisation de la coopération scientifique, technologique et éducative dans le contexte des relations euro-méditerranéennes récentes. Afin de comprendre le processus de création d'un nouveau type de politique de coopération euro-méditerranéenne dans ces secteurs d'activité, il est nécessaire d'avoir une vision large des contextes sociaux qui déterminent ce même processus. La phase la plus récente de la modernisation socio-économique, à laquelle on fait souvent référence sous le nom d'ère de l'information, est responsable du changement du concept et aussi des structures institutionnelles de la coopération et dans les secteurs scientifiques et technologiques. Un des buts-clé du renouvellement de la politique de coopération avant et après la conférence ministérielle de Barcelone en 1995 est la promotion de la vision d'une université innovative dans les pays de la Méditerranée du sud et de l'est, une université qui réponde activement aux besoins d'une nouvelle économie politique et de nouvelles stratégies de coopération scientifique, technologique et éducative dans la région euro-méditerranéenne. Cet article examine de façon critique cet idéal pour l'université du sud, en prenant compte la question fondamentale de la sensibilité socio-culturelle, selon qu'elle soit manifeste ou absente à la conference de Barcelone. Le large consensus que l'on a obtenu parmi les divers participants européens et non-européens des groupes de travail du Fourm Civil Euromed - un consensus qui a fait ressortir le retard des pays du sud de la Méditerranée pour la technologie et la recherche basées à l'université pourrait être considéré comme le résultat direct de la façon dont ces forums ont été organisés. L'article soutient que différentes voix pourrait émerger, et donc que la base conceptuelle de coopération pourrait être élargie, si les participants d'autres secteurs de la société civile étaient impliqués.

Artikkeli käsittelee tieteellisen, teknologisen ja koulutuksellisen yhteistyön institutionalisoinnin strategioita viimeaikaisen Euro-Välimeri -yhteistyön kontekstissa.Voidaksemme ymmärtää uudentyyppistä Euro-Välimeri -yhteistyön politiikkaa mainituilla toiminta-alueilla, on välttämätöntä suhteuttaa yhteistyön determinantit laaja-alaisesti sosiaalisiin ja taloudellisiin yhteyksiinsä. Tuorein vaihe sosio taloudellisessa modernisaatiossa, jota on usein luonnehdittu

globaaliksi informaatioajaksi, on aiheuttanut muutoksia tieteellis-teknologisen ja yliopistojen välisen kansainvälisen yhteistyön käsitteeseen ja institutionaalisiin rakenteisiin. Tämä tulee ilmi myös Euro Välimeri -yhteistyön uudistusprosessissa sekä ennen Barcelonassa 1995 pidettyä ministerikokousta että sen jälkeen. Yhdeksi keskeiseksi tieteellisen yhteistyön tavoitteeksi on asetettu innovatiivisen yliopiston edistäminen eteläisen ja kaakkoisen Välimeren maissa eli se, että niiden yliopistot reagoivat Euro-Välimeri -alueen uudentyyppisen talouden ja politiikan tarpeisiin sekä tutkimuksellisen ja koulutuksellisen yhteistyön strategioihin. Artikkelissa arvioidaan tämän yhteistyöpolitiikan luonnetta ja vakiinnuttamisen tapoja tieteen, teknologian ja korkeakoulutuksen globalisoituvien yhteistyötrendien valossa sekä analysoimalla niiden soveltamista Euro-Välimeri -yhteistyön kontekstiin Fórum Civil Euromed -nimisen kansalaistapaamisen eri toimijoiden ajatuksia. Tällöin väitetään muidean muassa, että mainitun kansalaistapaamisen laaja konsensus, jossa sekä pohjoisen että etelän edustajat korostivat eteläisen Välimeren teknologian ja yliopistojen jälkeenjääneisyyttä yhteistyöpolitiikan lähtökohtana, perustuu paljolti siihen tapaan, jolla tämä tapaaminen organisoitiin. Laaja-alaisempi pohja yhteistyön käsitteellistämiselle ja sosio-kulttuuriselle legitimiteetille olisi saavutettu, jos myös toisentyyppisten 'kansalaisfoorumien' ajatuksille olisi ollut sijaa.

خلاصة: يناقش هذا المقال استراتيجيات بناء اسس للتعاون في مجالات العلم، التكنولوجيا والتربية وذلك في اطار العلاقات المتبادلة الآخذة بالتطور في العقد الاخير بين اوروبا وبلاد حوض البحر المتوسط. وفي سبيل الفهم الصحيح لاسس سياسة بناء التعاون بين اوروبا ومنطقة البحر المتوسط، من المهم استعراض السياقات الاجتماعية الواسعة للمنطقة. المرحلة الجديدة من التحديث الاجتماعي-الاقتصادي والتي يطلق عليها في بعض الاحيان "عهد العلم" هي المسؤولة عن تغيير طابع البنية التنظيمية التي ميّزت في السابق علاقات التعاون بين الجامعات وبين قطاعات الاعمال والتكنولوجيا. احد الاهداف المركزية لمؤتمر برشلونة سنة ١٩٩٥، كان دفع فكرة "الجامعة المجددة" الى الامام. وذلك في بلاد جنوب حوض البحر المتوسط وشرقه؛ جامعة من شأنها ان تجيب، بشكل فعّال ومستمر، عن حاجات الاقتصاد الجديد وعن التطورات العلمية، التكنولوجية والتربوية. يناقش هذا المقال، وبشكل ناقد، فكرة انشاء جامعات من هذا القبيل، وذلك من خلال الاخذ

بالاعتبار الظروف الحضارية-الاجتماعية لكل بلد من البلدان. تلك النقطة التي لم يتم التركيز عليها بشكل كاف في مؤتمر برشلونة. الاجماع الواسع في اوساط المشتركين في مجموعات العمل المختلفة "للطاقم المدني" لتقديم فكرة التعاون الاوروبي-البحر الاوسطي، فيما يتعلق بالتواقص والفجوات في بلاد جنوبي حوض البحر المتوسط وذلك في مجال التكنولوجيا والبحث الجامعي، ينبع من الطريقة التي تم فيها تشكيل مجموعات العمل هذه. ومن اجل ان يتم توسيع قاعدة التعاون، من المهم توسيع دائرة المشتركين في مناقشات الطواقم ذات العلاقة بالموضوع وذلك بهدف ان تسمع اصوات عديدة ومتنوعة اكثر وبهدف ان تجد هذه الاصوات تجسيدا عمليًا لها.

IN MEMORIAM

Michelle Kefala (1945 – 1999)

Michelle, adieu!

On June 2nd, a hot and sunny Wednesday, we quite unexpectedly and unbelievably lost Michelle Kefala. This is a small tribute to her memory so that she may rest in peace.

Michelle was a lovely, warm hearted and friendly Greek Cypriot woman academic who dearly loved the Mediterranean - so unassuming and so welcoming in the tough and competitive world of academia. A sociologist by training, she carried out all her studies in France and she then returned to her beloved Cyprus to fight for a million causes for which her big heart had room.

It was hardly a surprise to see that there wasn't a single important social organisation in Cyprus, which was not represented at her funeral. These were her people. She was theirs! because Michelle was a woman who cared a lot for all things common!

She was a strong believer and activist in the women's movement and she was deeply convinced that Greek and Turkish cypriot women had a vital role to play in bringing about peace in this heartbroken island of ours. A small village girl from a farming family, her mother widowed very young, Michelle had a strong passion for the injured and the weak in every sphere of life. This passion she passed on to her students who were deeply shocked by her loss at the age of 54. She left early, the University of Cyprus bereaved, before she had time to participate in the discussions being featured in the *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies*, her only contribution to it being a book review in Vol. 2, No. 1 of 1997. We are left to continue the work she would have aspired to: to find ways of making the voice of the disadvantaged heard in the Mediterranean.

Michelle dearest, rest in peace. This we shall do!

Helen Phtiaka
University of Cyprus
23.6.99

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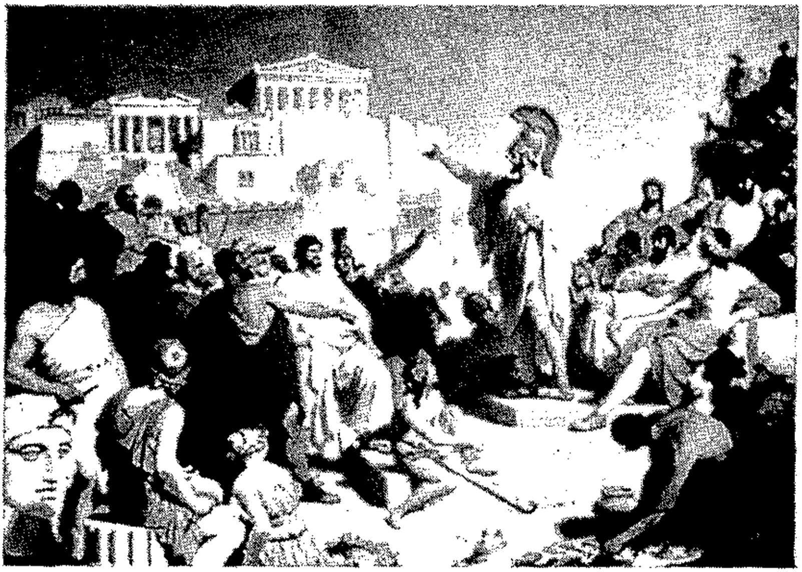
Sous la direction de
Ahmed CHABCHOUB

Tunis 1998

EDUCATION AND THE STRUCTURING OF THE EUROPEAN SPACE

NORTH-SOUTH, CENTRE-PERIPHERY, IDENTITY-OTHERNESS



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