

CEPES



UNESCO
EUROPEAN CENTRE
FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

HIGHER EDUCATION IN EUROPE

In this issue:

**DIVERSITY of STRUCTURES
for Higher Education**

Vol. XIX, No. 4, 1994

U N E S C O

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FROM THE EDITORS

This issue of Higher Education in Europe presents many of the papers which were delivered at a workshop on *Universities, Colleges, and Others: Diversity of Structures for Higher Education*, held at CEPES from 23 to 25 September 1993 in Bucharest, Romania. It was the third in a series of workshops organized in Eastern and Central Europe as part of the *Project on Legislative Reform in Higher Education* of the Council of Europe. The workshop was also supported by CEPES and the Ministry of Education of Romania.

Being a workshop, much of the proceedings consisted of oral presentations and discussions in addition to the presentation of papers. Indeed, two of the major presentations, one by *James Wimberley* of the Council of Europe, and the other, by *Roeland In'tveld* of the Netherlands, were oral deliveries, the only written record available to us, in both cases, being the excellent pages prepared for the overhead slide projector.

During the six sessions of the Workshop (including opening and closing sessions), four major topics were introduced and thoroughly discussed. These topics were 1) *History, Geography, and Economy: Elemental Influences on Higher Education Policy Decisions*; 2) *Policy Goals for the Future*; 3) *Legal Construction of Higher Education Structures*; and 4) *Managing Change*. The usual *modus operandi* was that each of the four topics was introduced by a paper (or in the case of Topic 4, by a long oral presentation) giving major theoretical considerations and was then followed by one or more national case studies (in the case of the

first three topics) and then by open discussion.

At the opening session of the Workshop, following welcoming remarks by *Professor Liviu Maior*, the Minister of Education of Romania, and by *Carin Berg*, the Director of CEPES, *Mr. James Wimberley* of the Council of Europe presented the aims and premises of the Workshop and situated it in the *Project on Legislative Reform in Higher Education*.

The objective of this Project is to assist the process of legislative reform for higher education, primarily in Central and Eastern Europe, through the provision of advice to single countries on legal matters and by the search for a deeper understanding of shared problems by the organization of workshops, the commissioning of studies, and the providing of documentation. The idea is to remedy such problems as overspecialized and rigid programmes, many small and weak institutions, high unit costs and low participation, and unclear institutional missions. Differences, that is, diversity, are useful, even necessary, and non-university higher education is important, as it educates over fifty percent of students in such countries as the USA, the Netherlands, and Sweden. As examples of non-university higher education, he cited the former Polytechnics of the United Kingdom, the IUT's of France, the *Fachhochschulen* of Germany, and the HBO's of the Netherlands. There are both advantages to be gained through a diversified system which would include traditional universities as well, also, as possible disadvantages. Two important

questions are where diversity should lie: in institutions and/or in programmes, and how change in the direction of diversity should be guided.

The first topic, *History, Geography, and Economy: Elemental Influences on Higher Education Policy Decisions*, was introduced by Professor Raymond Sayegh of France and illustrated by the case study of Mr. Alexander Prokopchuk of the Russian Federation. The second topic, *Policy Goals for the Future*, was presented by Dr. Leo Goedegebuure of the Netherlands and complemented by a paper by Professor Ulrich Teichler of Germany on the link between the diversification of higher education and the initial and continuing employment of graduates. The third topic, *Legal Construction of Higher Education Structures*, was introduced by Dr. Johan Vanderhoeven of Belgium and illustrated by case studies by Professor Sir Graham Hills of the United Kingdom, Mrs. Renée Ribier of France, Professors Ioan Mihăilescu and Lazăr Vlăsceanu of Romania, Dr. Zdenek Kovar of the Czech Republic, and Dr. Götz Schindler of Germany. As Dr. Kovar delivered an oral presentation, we are publishing in its place a written description of the legal basis of Czech higher education reform since 1990 by Mr. Jiri Holenda, also of the Czech Republic, which was distributed during the Workshop. We are also in-

cluding a written description of the Hungarian college system written by Mr. Imre Czinege, one of the Hungarian participants in the Workshop.

The last topic, *Managing Change*, was presented orally by Professor R. In 'tveld of the Netherlands who illustrated the many points which he raised with a set of twenty-seven overhead slides. The gist of his message, given that the public generally expects change to be brought about in higher education by legislation, is that such legislation should be general in nature, for instance, framework laws, not detailed attempts to legislate curricula and course programmes.

The last session was devoted to a summing up by Professor J. F. Bernt of Norway, the General Rapporteur.

Because of the length of the 'Topic' section, we have not been able to include a 'Tribune' section; however, there are the usual 'Information', 'Bibliographical References', 'Calendar of Events', and 'Notes on Contributors' sections.

Our next issue, Number 1, 1995, will have as its 'Topic' the proceedings of a major CEPES conference held in May 1994: *Quality Assurance and Institutional Accreditation in Eastern and Central European Higher Education Systems: Procedures and Operational Aspects*.

Diversity of Structures for Higher Education

FOREWORD

James WIMBERLEY

The Workshop, *Universities, Colleges, and Others: Diversity of Structures for Higher Education*, held at CEPES in Bucharest from 23 to 25 September 1993, was the third in a series organized under the auspices of the special *Project on Legislative Reform in Higher Education (LRP)* of the Council of Europe. This programme has been arranging many advisory missions to the central and eastern European countries that have recently joined, or are expected to join, the Council.

The workshops are multilateral and allow an exchange of experience on key shared problems. In practice, these problems are turning out to be very similar to those faced by the older *western* Member Countries. Admittedly, their intensity has been heightened by the burden of the mistakes of the communist *anciens régimes* and by the peculiar stresses of the democratic and market transitions.

CEPES-UNESCO and the Romanian Ministry of Education co-sponsored the workshop, which was opened by the Romanian Minister of Education, Professor Liviu Maior. Forty representatives from twenty-two countries took part, including thirteen in central and eastern Europe, except for Albania, Poland, and Croatia, and also a good number from western Europe, reflecting the great current interest in the topic.

The aim of the Workshop was to explore the policy aspects of structural diversity in higher education. Diversity is often held up as a *good thing*, indeed, the only way to accommodate the various requirements of students and of employers in a mass higher education system. The widespread perception of the Soviet model of higher education was that its fragmented and highly specialized programmes represent a failed concept of diversity. The new member countries are therefore struggling to define a new structural concept of higher education, groping towards shorter cycles and perhaps a clearly defined non-university sector.

The programme of the workshop combined theoretical presentations and national case studies in an attempt to draw inferences about the future of diversity in higher education, and the role of governments and institutions in promoting and managing it. The discussions were lively and achieved the objective of a high-quality exchange of experience. The great variety of models of non-university higher education (binary and integrated) in western countries and the vigorous debate surrounding them meant, however, that no single model or even viewpoint could be presented to the new members.

That the whole question is in a state of flux is proved by the interpretation given

FOREWORD

to the ending of the binary system in the United Kingdom. Was it simply a policy shift by the government, or the inevitable fate of attempts by policy makers to fix structures in concrete? Diversity had perhaps to be seen as a state of disequilibrium, like riding a bicycle, that could only be maintained by constant effort.

Another area of debate was the role of the law itself. It seemed reasonable to lay down the basic map of the system in law, but legal rules can be clumsy and ineffec-

tive instruments for steering developments, or better, guiding their evolution. In these circumstances, the conclusions tended to be charts of the dangers inherent in any given policy rather than a viewpoint reflecting a consensus.

The General Rapporteur, Professor J. F. Bernt of Norway, wrote a thoughtful and informative final report that brought together the various strands of the discussion.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS

Carin BERG

- The participants in the workshop are welcomed and the rationale for the workshop and its objectives are stated. As the diversification of higher education structures is necessary and is taking place spontaneously throughout eastern

I am honoured to be here today and to address this meeting which brings together distinguished academics both from western and central and eastern European countries. It is a pleasure for me to meet once again, this time in Bucharest, some of the participants in the *International High-Level Consultation on Policy Issues of Quality Assessment and Institutional Accreditation in Higher Education*, which also took place in Romania - in Oradea - from 5 to 7 May 1993, the results of which have had a salutary influence on the elaboration of Romanian legislation concerning the evaluation and accreditation of higher education institutions in Romania.¹

I am confident that this workshop, devoted as it is to the topic, "Universities, Colleges, and Others: Diversity of Structures for Higher Education", organized by the Council of Europe in association with the UNESCO European Centre for Higher Education (CEPES), will also play an important role in the continuing reform of the higher education systems in the countries of central and eastern Europe.

In the period of transition to pluralist democracies and market economies, when widespread economic and social

and central Europe, the need has arisen to give it some direction, above all to ensure that higher education evolves in ways compatible with the transition to democracy and a market economy.

changes are taking place in all the central and eastern European countries, the universities, as depositories of social and human values, are assigned a radical role in acting as spearheads in the assertion and implementation of the required structural changes in all fields. It is from this perspective that I am following with interest the numerous initiatives undertaken by the Council of Europe within the Project on Legislative Reform in Higher Education, aimed at assisting educational reform and harmonizing the educational policy decisions in the central and eastern European countries so that they may comply with international norms.

As every one very well knows, the university is once again at a crossroad - if not throughout the world, definitely in central and eastern Europe. Influenced as they were by a model of the university which proved to be alien to them, the higher education systems in this part of Europe are now faced with new challenges and questions. The development of autonomous institutions prepared to assume important responsibilities, the breaking away from the past while aiming at the realization of new democratic values in society, the radical

¹ The proceedings of this meeting were published as the topic of the No. 3, 1993, issue of *Higher Education in Europe*.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS

reform of the contents, coupled with the development of a new quality of staff, students, and researchers - all are among the new options. In particular, changes in the structures are of great importance for the future. Europe has its own traditions in this respect. One cannot avoid mentioning the Humboldtian or the Napoleonic models of the university which although shaped in the past, still prove to be references for today's options. However, we cannot avoid anticipating the future, while critically considering the not-too-distant past as well as the present.

The fragmentation and the wide diversification of structures are among the challenges being faced in Romania. It may seem difficult not to mention in this context the rapid expansion of both public and private institutions in conditions of scarce resources, a situation which is negatively affecting the quality of education. It is from this perspective that the Romanian Parliament is presently adopting a new law on the quality assessment and accreditation of higher education² and that the Ministry of Education is working with a large team of academics and researchers to underline the basic principles of a new structural reform which will lead us away from the trends of uncontrolled diversification and of unfruitful fragmentation.

We expect new qualitative developments to evolve in the Romanian system of higher education. The problem is not only one of establishing new structures. Whatever their dimensions, the structures by themselves remain mere struc-

tures. What matters is their contents and functioning - that they prove their relevance at the dawn of the coming century. The present of the university is always projected into the future, or in other words, the university is expected to bring the future into the present world. Many of our hopes lie with today's students because they are the ones who must carry out many of the values pertaining to a democratic, pluralist society. Nevertheless, the option is not one of waiting for the future to shape itself. We have tried to stimulate and to bring about new changes. Other changes are being prepared. The unavoidable question is: *what sort of changes?* Realizing that the options are multiple and highly demanding, the responsibilities of choosing the right ones for our contexts are permanently confronting us.

This workshop, which brings together eminent specialists, academics, and researchers under the auspices of the Legislative Reform Project in Higher Education of the Council of Europe in co-operation with CEPES, is expected to bring to the fore new ideas and experiences with a view to fostering educational reforms in the central and eastern European countries.

In hosting this workshop, our basic assumption has been that only through concerted action, a better knowledge of realities, and proper solutions to problems can the difficult transitional period to democracy and market economy be successfully negotiated. I am confident that the participants in this workshop will find the right answers to our common problems.

2 It was promulgated by the President of Romania on 17 December 1993 as Law No. 88/1993.

UNIVERSITIES, COLLEGES, AND OTHERS: DIVERSITY OF STRUCTURES FOR HIGHER EDUCATION: DISCUSSION OF THEMES

- The topic of the workshop is presented and analyzed, and the themes are stated in the order in which they will be taken up. Diversity, which is viewed as evolving either from the top down or from the bottom up, is considered as the differentiation of the wide variety of institutional types and of educational offerings. Within the

THE AIM OF THE WORKSHOP

In view of the fact that no higher education structure in Europe has proven to be permanent and that presently major changes taking place throughout Europe are increasing the degree and speed with which these structures are undergoing reform, it is important to consider diversity as a key element in the reform of higher education. In a changing world of new technologies, new democracies, and new patterns of living and working, the diversification of higher education possibilities may be the key to the capacity of a society to adapt to the processes of political and economic transformation that are affecting the whole of Europe. The legislative reform project for higher education of the Council of Europe aims not only to facilitate and document legislative reform in Europe but to act as an East/West co-operation project: sharing information, experiences, and current initiatives in the area of legislative reform of higher education. This workshop, co-organized with CEPES and the Romanian Ministry of Education, is part of the programme of multilateral activities of the project which seeks to provide a deeper insight into specific topics in higher education reform in Europe

context of such major questions as where diversity should be located and how it should best be encouraged, the subject is discussed in terms of country and international contexts, policy goals for the future, the legal construction of higher education structures, and the management of change.

through discussion and the interaction of participants from all parts of Europe.

This workshop aims to discuss the place of diversity in higher education and to explore the various means for accommodating it in higher education systems. It will combine theoretical presentations and case studies with discussions that will attempt to draw, if not conclusions, at least general influences about the future role and nature of diversity in higher education.

DEFINITIONS

The concept of diversity in relation to higher education needs to be defined. Diversity here is held to be the differentiation or the wide variety either of institutional types of course programmes or of educational offerings. The differentiation of higher education institutions, in their names, statuses, research possibilities, degree awarding abilities, etc., is conceived of as *external diversity*, while the differentiation of course offerings, study periods, diplomas, areas of study, etc., within one higher education institution is termed *internal diversity*.

More specifically, diversity can be said to evolve from the *top-down* when nationally prescribed institutional or ex-

ternal diversity cause institutions of a like category (for example, universities) to specialize in order to maintain competitiveness with other similar institutions. Diversity can be said to evolve from the *bottom-up* when differentiation of programmes and courses eventually causes modifications in the original character of the institution, thus setting it apart from others.

THE CONTEXT

Changes are taking place in all parts of Europe. Some higher education structures, once of a binary nature, are being integrated, and some, once of an integrated nature, are being restructured along binary lines. Governmental policies towards the *steering* of higher education are in flux. In some parts of Europe, painful transitions to a market economy and liberal democracy imply the fundamental reform of the higher education system as a whole. The necessity of ensuring that higher education will continue to fulfill the needs of society and will be capable of meeting future needs has made the issue of diversity, once again, both central and very important.

In western Europe, governments and academic theorists have tended to view diversity as a *good thing*, needing strong policy encouragement. The implicit assumption behind this approach has been the endemically powerful university sector with considerable autonomy, capable of acting (or not acting) quite effectively to defend certain traditional uniformization schemata of higher education. Under the former communist regimes of central and eastern Europe, this autonomy was effectively suppressed, and governments had a free hand to impose their own ideas. As a broad generalization, these schemes reflected

an idea of vocationalization and manpower planning. The inherited institutional pattern is already very diverse with many small specialized schools and institutes of different levels co-existing with larger, multi-sectoral universities and polytechnics. The research mission was largely split off into specialized institutes. From the experience of the advisory missions within the legislative reform project of the Council of Europe, the main structural problems are seen as ones of rebuilding coherence from fragmentation, rather than of creating diversity from uniformity.

The argument for diversity is simple and intuitively very positive. It is that higher education now has to deal with three expansions:

- in numbers (from one in twenty to one in two of the age group); the students are increasingly more heterogeneous in terms of ability, skills, and interests;
- in the range of skills called for by the labour market (consider the number of different professions spawned by computing);
- in the body of knowledge, particularly in but not limited to the natural sciences and technology.

The secretariat of the Council of Europe is not aware of any significant body of informed opinion that questions the need to meet these challenges by a broader range of programmes in higher education. Another value emphasized by this organization is the richness of the cultural diversity of Europe, its languages, literatures, and others expressions. The room for debate arises not over the ineluctable trend towards diversity of provision, but on whether it should be enthusiastically supported or reluctantly accepted and guided into

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channels that preserve as much as possible of valued traditions.

There are a number of respectable arguments for restricting diversity as well as countervailing trends towards uniformity that deserve respect from policy-makers:

- the internationalization of science and, increasingly, of the economy;
- the need for quality control in relation to international scientific standards and the international labour market (professional accreditation is a force for standardization in the USA);
- the information costs of diversity and the need for transparency and accountability; uncoordinated diversity can lead to a loss of flexibility and choice;
- the difficulty in steering a very diverse system and very diverse institutions, unless long-range development is handed over entirely to market forces;
- costs: the economics of scale from standardization, and the transitional costs of change and re-organization;
- finally, the battered but still living idea of a liberal education, of equipping students for the full life of a citizen of an advanced democracy, in both political, professional, and civic dimensions.

At the same time, market driven diversity can be about as perverse as the centrally planned variety. Undifferentiated products (whether detergents or educational courses) may be given gimmicky labels that conceal their essential uniformity. More seriously, diversity may respond more to the interests of

producers (the research and careers agendas of academics) than to the educational needs of customers (students).

Diversity, it is suggested, is best understood not as a one-dimensional *good thing* but as one of a set of central values or concerns of the higher education policy-makers in a democracy along with quality, efficiency, autonomy, and fairness. Often a balance has to be struck. The laws of European countries are clearly designed to establish the co-ordination of provision and uniformity of standards, as much as to provide innovation and diversity. *Appropriate diversity* is referred to below as the aim of policy-makers.

The discussions in this workshop should attempt to focus on two essential questions. *First*, where should diversity be located? That is to say, what dictates the choice between diversity of institutional types as determined by the structure of a higher education system, and diversity of programmes and types of study as determined by diversity within institutions, and, when is a combination of the two a warranted option? *Secondly*, how can diversity be assured and encouraged?

THE QUESTIONS

Where Should Diversity Be Located?

The bottom line on diversity in higher education should be the need for diversity of educational opportunities for individuals and professional qualifications for society. Institutional diversity would seem to be sustainable only within a system structurally defined and maintained by law or governmental intervention. The question to be considered is whether or not institutional diversity is necessary. The phenomenon of academic drift

along with the exponential increase of programme diversity over the past decade seems to be proof that diversity occurs in an evolutionary manner, in spite of structural constraints and restrictions imposed by a binary system. Along with the fact that nominal integration on a systems level can often hide a very wide internal programmatic diversity, one is justified in asking if effective diversity is actually attained under a strictly structured system of external diversity.

How Is Diversity Best Encouraged?

Increased governmental guidance can impose diversity, but can it adapt to maintain relevance or to avoid institutional drift? A free-market type of institutional behaviour may lead to diversification of institutional offerings, or, to an increasing similarity of such offerings *copy cat* style. State organized institutional or sectoral diversity maintains an outward differentiation, but does the comparison of like institutions (universities with universities and so on) give a picture of diversity?

It would seem that like institutions in a strictly binary system are more similar than different. There are university studies and non-university studies. Burton Clark, in a study of discipline areas in American universities, found that internal differentiation was expanding rapidly, therefore leading to an institutional variety within the realm of like institutions, this, of course, within a system little regulated by governmental bodies. Does this situation have an implication for European national higher education systems?

In the American higher education system, the *market* would seem to be a diversifying influence, competition for scarce resources and effort to reach desired

clientèle obliging adaptation and renewal. Another reaction to the *market*, however, is the emulation of successful models. This reaction could lead to homogenization as institutions strive to imitate *successful* institutions. Frans Van Vught has posited that institutions subject to the same environment tend to act alike; therefore, a system will become more homogeneous. In this type of situation, he suggests, it is the government which, in creating varying environments for different institutions, provides for differentiation. Another view might be that in attempting to imitate successful models, some institutions will certainly fail, thereby creating diversity in spite of themselves (*systemic diversity* as a result of *institutional failure*).

THE TOPICS

For a practical understanding of how to employ diversification to best suit national circumstances, four approaches to the subject are taken.

History, Geography, and Economy: Elemental Influences on Higher Education Policy Decisions

Higher education structures reflect the role and value of higher education in given societies and cultures. These values evolve over time and are influenced by all the same factors which make a society what it is. History, geography, and economy are perhaps the most important influences on higher education structures, although certainly not the only ones or even the most apparent ones in a given society. Religion, language, and demography, to name a few, are other determining factors.

Some questions could also be posed as to the future of higher education policy and diversity. In a period of change,

adaptation, and transition, how should societal influences be interpreted? How should cultural and educational values be translated into policy decisions regarding the structure and role in society of higher education? Can the instability of one or of several influencing factors lead to instability in the educational structure? Should higher education structures be governed by policy seeking to respond to perceived traditions or by policy seeking to reconstruct or reinterpret tradition? Is the higher education structure a means to achieve social, economic, and political reform?

Policy Goals for the Future

The current rethinking and reformulation of European higher education systems has been accompanied by revised higher education policy that seeks to set a new course for higher education into the future. If higher education clearly has a central role in the evolution of society, then any policy affecting its direction may be of capital importance for the nature of the social transformations which will occur. What should the guiding principles of such policy be? How much of a role should government have in guiding or in steering the future of higher education? How much policy formulation should be left to the institutions themselves? or to the *market*?

Legal Construction of Higher Education Structures

This topic seeks to clarify legal definitions and formulae for structural diversity. Structural change in higher education systems in Europe is usually carried out through law. Systemic or external diversity is set out in legal definitions of the sectors, their functions, their limits, their financing, their responsibilities, and their

organization. Legal regulation of structural change in higher education has a fundamental role to play in prescribing the types and limits of structural diversity and in influencing the degree to which *bottom-up* diversification is possible. Private funding and international co-operation may offset the effects of legal regulation, but current and future legislative reforms of higher education structures should take into account the dynamic force of programmatic, internal diversification within institutions.

Managing Change

This topic is meant to be a practical discussion of the means and processes of turning policy decisions and new laws into functioning systems. Implementation of structural changes in a higher education system may imply modifications in the very conceptions of the role of higher education, of universities, and of disciplines, not to mention changes in financial structures, teaching methods, enrollment procedures, and so on. In short, implementation of an important structural change presents a large number of challenges both for the government and for the institutions.

A NOTE ON INTERNATIONALIZATION

The structures of higher education are overwhelmingly a matter of national policy. It is, however, no longer possible to treat the international and European dimensions as marginal or as decorative. The appropriate internationalization of higher education is a recognized goal of most national systems for several reasons: the universal character of science, the growing economic and political interdependence of states, and the more intense process of European integration. It is supported even more strongly by those institutions which see

international alliances as the way of raising their quality and status. The large-scale mobility of academic staff and students and the intense co-operation between institutions can hardly fail to have a structural impact. Are the diverse national systems of higher education in Europe fated to converge to form a recognizable European system or family of systems?

This question can be asked both at the level of programmes and at that of institutions. The work of the CC-PU (Standing Conference on University Problems) of the Council of Europe and on a large scale, the programmes of the European Union such as ERASMUS, are intended to promote *bottom-up* mutual learning and the diffusion of good educational practice between as well as across national systems, primarily at the level of programmes within institutions. Will this work lead towards convergence, by emulation of the best or most popular, thereby decreasing overall diversity? This possibility exists but is not the only possible outcome, for a market-driven process can also, as was noted above in the national context, lead to competitive differentiation and increased diversity; the paradigm of the market is after all specialization by comparative advantage.

At the level of institutional structures, international effects are less visible. Looking back on the original diversifications of the 1960's and 1970's in western Europe, the latter were largely neglected, each country inventing its own system of non-university higher education. At the time it was expected that the non-university sector would respond to purely national or regional needs, leaving international co-operation to the universities. This expectation has been proved wrong; the *Fachhochschulen* in Germany, for ex-

ample, have vigorously sought international links; for the same reasons and in similar ways to the universities. The mismatches between institutional types in different countries presumably create additional barriers to international co-operation. When basic reforms of institutional structure are under consideration, it would be reasonable to take into account the need for all institutions to be open to appropriate international co-operation and for the system as a whole to be reasonably transparent to all its clients, including foreign ones.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This workshop is part of a project on legislative reform in higher education partly intended to help the new member and partner states of the Council of Europe. One of the key issues all these countries have to face is that of the structures of non-university higher education: binary (*Fachhochschulen* or polytechnics), special provision within universities (IUT's, *Escuelas Universitarias*); integrated with market differentiation (new British universities)? This question is difficult not only in practice, under the constraints of money and the past, but also difficult in principle, as there is no outstanding model to follow. Contrast, for example, the restoration of autonomy to institutions of higher education and of a research function to the universities, which may be very difficult in practice, but regarding which the principles are generally accepted. The experience of the western countries is at first sight very confusing and divergent. The effects of international co-operation and the implications for higher education in the European Union Maastricht Treaty are still to be seen and remain an undefined variable in the equation. Diversity is clearly necessary in order to ensure future growth, development, and competitiveness in all

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fields of activity of any higher education system; however, will educational adaptation and differentiation be a part of the remedy to the current economic crisis, or merely a reaction to it? This workshop will try to shed light on these hard problems by going back to first principles. What is the purpose of diversity in higher education? Where is diversity important? And how and by whom can it be brought into being?

Finally, it may be recalled that the objects of a discussion such as this, the institutions of higher education, and the courses they provide are only means to the educational enrichment and empowerment of the lives of their students. In the end, the only diversity which is inherently important is the widening of individual opportunity; the only uniformity that matters is equal rights of access to this opportunity.

THE IMPACT OF HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, AND THE ECONOMY ON HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY: A COMPARATIVE SURVEY

Raymond SAYEGH

- Confronted with the rapid development of higher education in this century but particularly over the last twenty years, the author identifies a number of factors influencing this development and estimates their relative importance. The factors which he lists includes economic and technological factors, demographic factors, geographical factors, historical and political factors, and cultural and religious factors. The interplay of these factors over time and space leads to the diversification of higher

"The adult must be a productive factor in society rather than the product of that society" (Council of Europe, 1980).

INTRODUCTION

The following survey takes as its starting point the widely held view that the quality of higher education has become a priority of education policy as a whole and that this level of education plays an important role in cultural, social, and professional development.

However, the study of higher education is extremely complex since it requires both an inter- and an intra-disciplinary approach. It is worth mentioning here the many different names used to describe this type of education. The adjective, *post-secondary*, is often used in the United States of America and in Canada, while the term, *further education*, is current in the United Kingdom. The expression, *higher education*, is also used, and in some countries, *tertiary education*. In France, higher education is known as *enseignement*

education which in turn raises the major question of how diversification is to be regulated. This major question then leads to more specific questions related to the funding of higher education, the development of such forms as adult and continuing education, the guarantee of equal opportunity, the mobility of students and teachers, the link between higher education and employment, and the ways in which higher education can influence actors in the political arena to act in its favour.

supérieur (higher education) or as *third cycle* education. In general terms, this level of education covers all education and training which the relevant authorities regard as forming part of tertiary education and which can be provided in various types of institutions, both universities and other kinds of bodies, as part of distance teaching programmes or of various other types of training programmes (Burn, 1977, pp. 969-977).

In both the developed and the developing countries, many different approaches, varying widely from the institutional, structural, pedagogical, and socio-economic points of view, have been tried.

In general terms, there have been three major stages in the development of higher education from the beginning of this century up to the 1950's. At first, this kind of education was used to train a particular élite among civil servants. Subsequently, up to the 1970's, it was also used to meet the needs of industry. Finally, over the last twenty years, the

relations between higher education graduates and the world of work have developed so as to encompass a much greater variety of opportunities. It has become more and more obvious that higher education is in a constant state of interaction with the various sectors of society, thereby transforming the ideas that used to be held of the proper functions of higher education. Limited for years to the roles of teaching, training, and research, higher education has now broadened its scope so as to take on other functions, however without, of course, turning its back on its basic roles.

Higher education is acquiring increasing importance in most countries as an instrument of economic, social, and cultural development at both the regional and national levels and also as a means of bringing about change in the community of which it forms a part.

There is often, however, a feeling of frustration because of the perception that higher education establishments do not help, as they should, to solve the concrete problems of the communities in which they are situated (OECD, 1983, p. 87). Problems become more and more frequent and accumulate: social change, the democratization of education, increasing student numbers, the impact of scientific and technological progress, youth unemployment, graduate underemployment, poor co-ordination between training and employment, formal and non-formal education, etc.

Despite the need to forge increasingly close links with the community that it intends to serve, higher education often seems to be out of step with social change. To express the problem metaphorically, how are we to prevent society from advancing, like a moving walkway under our feet, more rapidly

than the educational system (Statement by Italy, 1989, p. 6).

As a result of the rapid changes produced by technological progress, the universities are attempting to redefine their objectives, their roles, and their functions. Educational systems in general need to become much more relevant so as to be in perfect harmony with their local, national, and international environments. While it is obvious that long-term objectives should reflect the universal nature of higher education (Abiyad, 1988, p. 34) in its approach to world problems as defined by UNESCO (1983, p. 126), (peace, human rights, environmental protection, the control of science and technology by society, etc.), it is also important that the immediate objectives be clear. One author points out that a university is nothing more than an exotic plant if it has no roots in the history, philosophy, and culture of its country and if its teaching and its research programmes, its lectures and its reference materials, do not draw their examples from the local environment (Goel, 1983; Abiyad, 1988, p. 34).

Subject to many different interests at several levels (local, regional, international), higher education is confronted by both present realities and the need for change. However, the question arises as to whether it is possible to devise future approaches without fully understanding the multi-dimensional factors that affect and shape higher education. We need to know the impact of these factors on higher education policies, taking account of actual experience and regional differences.

The influences mentioned below may be described as general in nature, but find expression depending on circumstances in a local context (Mialaret, 1988, p. 39).

THE FACTORS INFLUENCING HIGHER EDUCATION

The increasing openness of higher education towards business and industry since the end of the Second World War clearly proves the influence of economic factors on the direction and development of tertiary education.

Economic and Technological Factors

Substantial changes in working conditions, the need for high-level training, and the training of management staff for business and industrial life have, by reinforcing the links between universities and the world of work, affected institutional structures and curricula. The objective is to match training more effectively with employment.

The economy itself, however, is subject to fluctuations that directly influence the development of higher education, hold back its efforts to diversify its structures, affect resources, delay the introduction of the necessary equipment, slow down research, and force cutbacks in student numbers. This situation affects not only the developed countries, but above all, the developing ones which require additional material and financial resources if they are to obtain a greater number of more highly trained managerial staff. It is clear that establishments of higher education are closely linked with the regional socio-economic development that such education promotes and by which it is at the same time re-shaped (Reply to the Questionnaire: France, 1989, p. 24).

The difficulties encountered by higher education in Poland are the result of the unfavourable economic situation, together with demographic factors and investment problems (Ministry of Na-

tional Education, 1988, p. 115). In many countries, poor economic performance has led to cutbacks in university funding to such an extent that universities have been forced to seek financial support elsewhere. In fact, higher education is mainly financed from public funds and only incidentally through contributions from industry, enrollment fees, donations, etc. Education in Bulgaria, for example, has been financed from the State budget by funds channelled through it (National Report: Bulgaria, 1989, p. 6).

Quantitative changes (increases in student numbers) have led to required qualitative changes. Considerable demand for higher qualifications by an increasing part of the working population has also influenced the structures of higher education. Thus, in certain countries, for instance Canada, industrialization led in the 1960's to the engagement of highly qualified workers from abroad, before its own university structures could be broadened and adapted so as to respond to the new socio-economic circumstances.

The introduction of new technologies into different sectors of the economy and their applications in varied fields have been variable factors that have encouraged and forced education to diversify, expand the number of areas of study, and create additional disciplines in order to satisfy the ever increasing needs of students who in the aggregate have had their perspectives broadened through the addition of a new category of students, adult or mature students.

Demographic Factors

Access to post-secondary education has become much more widely available and has led to structural reforms and the establishment of new institutions, such as distance universities,

openuniversities, weekend universities, evening courses, etc.

"Students make up a massive and changing population. By their very numbers, they have an increasingly powerful impact on society. However, because of their constant turnover, they present a moving picture whose true features are difficult to identify" (Le Monde, 8/2/90, p. 13). A survey carried out in France reveals that students place their hopes in education and a degree as offering some protection against unemployment, which they perceive as a great threat (Le Monde, 8/2/90, p. 13). The attraction of what may be seen as a panacea increases student numbers, especially in countries in which numbers in the eighteen to twenty-five-year-old age-group are very high.

In Japan, 44% of young people have higher education qualifications (Bloch, 1988, p. 73). In 1987 in France, more than 350,000 people were enrolled in continuing education courses and were receiving 1.7 million hours of teaching. A study published by OECD states that 9.2% of students in France are mature, as compared with 16.7% in the United Kingdom, 24% in the United States of America, and 54.6% in Sweden (CERI, 1987, p. 34).

Between 1975 and 1986, the number of students in the world rose by 18.4 million: 4.5 million in the industrialized countries (i.e., an increase of 17%) and 13.9 million in the developing countries (i.e., a rise of 109%) (Mayor, 1989, pp. 3-4).

Faced with the challenge of these *second chance* students and with demographic growth, the universities have had to respond by introducing structural reforms, since establishments of tertiary education need to remain

receptive to feedback from the world of work.

Another by no means unimportant factor to be added to those listed above is the geographical factor which influences the development of higher education structures.

The Geographical Factor

The geographical circumstances of a country, together with its resources, are taken into account in the various approaches followed. Thus, "Peru, which depends on the mining industry, or Saudi Arabia, which depends on the oil industry, need to educate large parts of their student population so that they can learn to manage this industry or work in it and thus ensure the economic prosperity of the country" (Faraj, 1988, p. 155). Specific types of institutes have appeared in the Philippines and in Japan "where university colleges have been established for fishing, forestry, and marine sciences" (Faraj, 1988, p. 158). Institutes of tourism, fishing, and textiles have begun to operate in Tunisia, and an agricultural college has been established in the fertile plains in eastern Lebanon. A country with an agricultural structure will develop the horticultural sciences.

All countries seek to make better use of their own resources in order to stimulate socio-economic development in the regions. In Romania, higher education is directing its attention towards the training of managerial staff in the basic economic sectors such as mining, the oil industry, geology, machine construction, agriculture, etc. There is also "a trend for higher education establishments to make an ever increasing contribution to the economic, social, and cultural development of the areas where they are located and to the development of the geographical regions where they

are situated, which leads them to adapt their programmes to the employment requirements of the respective regions" (Ministry of Education and Instruction, 1988, p. 16). A similar approach has also been pursued by France and Germany through the establishment of the Franco-German Advanced Institute for Technology and Economics (Le Monde, 28/10/1988, p. 26).

Higher education is also called upon to deal with regional disparities. In Portugal and in Sweden, recognition of this problem "has had considerable influence on government policies in the field of higher education" (Council of Europe, 1984, p. 175).

In the Republic of Korea, the post-secondary education system helps to achieve a better balance between the towns and the countryside. The University of Tromsø in the extreme north of Norway is intended to reduce inequalities between the northern and southern regions of the country (Cerych, 1987, pp. 8-9). The provinces in Canada have taken a number of measures intended to reach individuals or small establishments located in isolated areas.... Distance education is regarded as one of the most important components of the strategy of continuing education...." (Education in Canada, 1989, p. 14). In a country as vast as the United States of America, geography determines the administration and the financing of the various systems of education. Australia has to deal with the problem of a population widely scattered throughout its territory. The objective is to provide university education for adults prevented by circumstances of geography or employment from attending courses.

In addition to the geographical background which clearly influences the educational system as a result of the

obligation to respond to the needs of local communities and of the regions, there are other factors arising from the administrative and political systems of different countries.

Historical and Political Factors

The objectives and policies pursued by universities are linked to the fact that "each society produces its own system of education with its own structures, system of financing, and administrative rules of operation" (Mialaret, 1988, p. 36). Thus countries with a federal or a confederal structure, like the United States of America or Switzerland, clearly show that central government action is reduced to a minimum. There are dozens of different education systems in the first country mentioned above, while Swiss university structures depend on the policies elaborated by the cantons in which the higher education institutions are located.

Whether a state is unitary or federal, centralized or decentralized, free market or socialist, democratic or authoritarian, a young country or a country with a long university tradition; the political and ideological system to a greater or lesser degree sets the course for education policy as regards formal or non-formal education. In fact, the central role of the state in the formulation of higher education policies is shown by the fact that the executive and legislative authorities are involved in the process of drafting education legislation. The ministries of finance, planning, education, and social affairs, together with other bodies if required (ministries of agriculture, health, industry, etc.) participate in this process.

We also need to take into account the influence of the political parties in power on the process of educational development. Thus, in the United States of

America, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party have different views, the former favouring federal government action, while the latter seeks to reduce the influence of the federal government. The same is true in France in which the laws on higher education frequently bear the name of the minister in office and vary depending on which party is in power. "In short, education cannot ignore politics and it would be impossible to claim that an educational system is ever autonomous or entirely free from political influences" (Faraj, 1988, p. 162).

Furthermore, political conflicts may modify or even overturn existing university structures. Such was the case with the war in Lebanon. The Lebanese University, concentrated in the capital, was forced to split up and establish numerous faculties and institutes throughout the country in order to be close to communities that could only move within restricted areas. This diversification of structures was also salutary to the extent that it stimulated various socio-economic sectors (banks, clinics, etc.).

Thus, "any educational policy is directly influenced by the existing political, economic, and social conditions", but "it is primarily, for each people, the products of their own history and culture" (Landsheere, 1992, p. 8).

Cultural and Religious Factors

History shows that cultural models have always played a fundamental role. "The early universities were a reflection of the feudal cultures of which they were part, and they were regarded as being responsible for transmitting the culture of the time rather than creating new knowledge..." (Altbach, 1980, p. 6). The universities of Paris and Bologna, on the

one hand, and of Oxford and Cambridge, on the other hand, served respectively as models for European and North American universities. In the last century, German universities were pioneers in research and inspired universities in America, Japan, and the rest of Europe. The universities of the colonial powers inspired and even served as examples for universities in third world countries (Altbach, 1980, p. 6). The universities of the former Soviet Union have also acted as models for a large number of Eastern European countries. It is also a well known fact that the integrated model established in Sweden (the creation of strong links between training and practical work experience) has also served as an example, while the United States has favoured a diversified approach in which the traditional educational system for training élites is combined with an expansion of the tertiary sector (Abiyad, 1988, pp. 168-169). However, a new kind of university is now being developed in that country. These "business universities", which have begun to have an influence in France, consist of advanced training institutions established by companies themselves outside the traditional university system. The emergence of this new pattern of education has given rise to conflicting opinions: some support their development on the grounds that "companies constitute an entirely separate system with their own values, knowledge, and symbols", while others take the view "that it is scandalous that a kind of education that comes entirely within the province of the university is provided by companies and is falsely labelled as being of university standard" (Le Monde, 1/12/1988, p. 15).

In addition, the existence of many different cultural and linguistic groups within a heterogeneous society influence the objectives of educational policy. Thus

in Africa in particular, tribal languages exist side by side with European languages. The development of universities reveals the close links that exist between culture and religion. Thus Christianity in all its many different forms, and Islam directly or indirectly, influence the design, approach, and choice of programmes.

One writer has pointed out that a number of Arab countries have adopted aspects of western educational systems and that "such features... have created a conflict with traditional Islamic education". However, "despite this conflict, the desire for education still predominates in the Arab world" (Faraj, 1988, pp. 168-169). The overwhelming impact of western technology on some countries has shaken some ancient customs and traditions, overturning some value systems. Thus, ways have had to be found to make the necessary changes so as to live harmoniously within a new technological society.

However, whatever the existing cultural model, certain factors remain constant and provide, in varying degrees, the basis for a general analysis.

THE IMPACT OF THESE FACTORS ON HIGHER EDUCATION

The most obvious signs of the diversification of tertiary education are the establishment of new institutions (universities and post-secondary technical and technological colleges, training centres, open universities, distance universities, etc.) and the appearance of new courses. Inter- and intra-disciplinary programmes are increasing. This diversity is taking place in the computer sciences, engineering, micro-electronics, biotechnology, hydraulics, and the nutritional sciences. Artificial intelligence and

laser technologies are developing. Medical technologies are improving..." (Sayegh, 1989, p. 51).

Thus, efforts to adapt higher education to the changing needs of society and of the productive sector require greater sacrifices on the part of countries, especially those possessing limited budgetary resources. Financial difficulties increase as governments are forced to make choices and to decide on priorities in different fields: education, health, defense, etc. Projects are begun and then cut short. Plans for providing equipment and facilities or for the recruitment of teaching staff may be affected by the shortage of resources.

Furthermore, the solution of one problem may create new ones. Thus, investment in universities has not necessarily led to the training of qualified teaching staff, as certain African countries unfortunately know to their cost. In order to make up for the shortage of qualified staff they are forced to call upon foreign teachers. Moreover, the situation is aggravated by the brain drain, which is harmful to these same countries.

A lack of planning (quantitative training that is too rapid or too slow, the rapid growth of student numbers, the balance between science and arts courses) complicates the situation. Failure to match the training provided with the real needs of the economy, together with deficiencies in relations with the economic environment, continue to be a major source of concern for higher education.

Despite the vital importance of studying the workings of the labour market, the long-term forecasting of employment needs is a thorny problem with which any attempt at planning must grapple. Despite the differences observed between education systems in the

developed countries and the developing countries, they have a certain number of difficulties in common. A delegate to one international conference observed that "if we are to win the employment battle, we need to win the training battle" (Statement by France, 1989, p. 25).

Moreover, resistance to change and innovation is to be deplored. The Director-General of UNESCO pointed out that "change in post-secondary education is a difficult process that must overcome the inertia of deeply rooted traditions" (Mayor, 1989, p. 4).

In general terms, it seems that rising student numbers and greater financial difficulties have induced decision-makers to seek other sources of finance and to turn increasingly to the private sector, to industry, and to local communities.

Most educational systems display a greater or a lesser degree of diversity as revealed by the different kinds of establishments and the various objectives pursued. If we are to believe one author, "the purpose of diversification is to serve a more varied clientèle. Tertiary educational systems must serve both the young and the older generations, full-time and part-time students, students with no work experience, as well as students who have successfully completed their general secondary education and those who have failed to complete it..." (de Moor, 1980, pp. 1-26).

There remains the dramatic and complex problem of unemployment. The reasons put forward to explain it include the stagnation of economic growth and the inadequate interaction between the sectors of production and of higher education. Is the latter responsible for unemployment and underemployment because it fails to supply the labour

market with qualified personnel having sufficient knowledge of technological progress or should we rather blame the sectors of the economy that consequently fail to provide jobs?

Higher education establishments are forced to modify their curricula and to adapt them so as to take account of the employment situation and scientific advances. The idea is gaining ground that this kind of education is no longer the sole responsibility of the public authorities and that participation by the community, industry, and firms is required, although without in any way restricting the role of higher education itself. Arrangements for coordinating action between the public and the private sectors have been made with a view to sharing the costs between the state, companies, and the local and regional authorities. Some programmes may be financed by the private sector (scholarships, in-firm training courses, equipment), which allows its facilities and equipment to be used. In response to the increasing and varied demands of students, some universities in Europe have established modular courses with a view to providing better preparation for working life. Such courses, without being widespread, have been of particular benefit to new categories of students; such as adults who are already working. Even young people, who decide to interrupt their studies for several years, find them useful. Thus, France has introduced a modular system (credits) in many courses of the first and second cycles. Effective co-ordination between tertiary education and the world of work can only be improved through such action.

Proper structures must be put in place in order to encourage co-operation between the universities and organizations

playing a central role in economic life (e.g., professional bodies), in order to devise particular training programmes. Co-operative arrangements of this kind operate and are widespread in the countries of western Europe. For many years now in the United States of America, co-operation between the universities and business has been commonplace, to such an extent that co-ordinating units even operate within universities and are responsible for disseminating the know-how of teachers and research workers. Over 50% of companies provide regular assistance to the post-secondary sector. In eastern Europe, contractual relationships are formed between industry, private companies, and higher education establishments for the implementation of projects, joint training, the granting of scholarships, on-the-job training, etc.

As far as participation in educational activities is concerned, in Romania specialists from the business sector may be engaged on a temporary basis. In Bulgaria, some practical courses may be given either by a teacher or by a specialist from a scientific, medical, or other such milieu (Reply to the Questionnaire: Bulgaria, 1989, p. 19). In Hungary and former Yugoslavia, diplomas obtained by part-time students possess the same validity as those awarded to full-time students. On the other hand, in Romania adults attending training courses outside higher education establishments "are not awarded diplomas which are the equivalent of university degrees" (Reply to the Questionnaire: Romania, 1989, p. 18).

A process to provide much wider access to higher education, involving greater equality of opportunities and equality between the sexes, has begun. The educational landscape is being

transformed through the development of distance universities and open universities. Distance teaching is taking root in several countries. Some communities are beyond the reach of normal educational activities on account of geographical factors or the lack of resources. The communication media may provide some response to their needs through distance education involving the use of printed texts, correspondence, audio cassettes, radio, television, the telephone, etc. In Ukraine since the 1960's, student numbers in higher education evening courses and correspondence courses have doubled (Reply to the Questionnaire: Ukraine, 1989, p. 74).

With the ever increasing involvement of universities in continuing education, postgraduate and specialized training programmes are changing and are likely to be organized in the form modules rather than as complete courses. Adults who are engaged in professional activities must be able to undergo further training, specialize in a particular area, or retrain for a different occupation.

The dichotomy between initial training and work no longer applies when the individual is an adult who is constantly learning. Continuing or recurrent education, seen as an overall process of education beginning with primary education and pursued throughout life, is beginning to spread to many countries. Continuing education is coming more and more to the fore as a driving force at the interface where economic, social, and cultural structures come into contact with the productive and reproductive forces of society. It finds its justification in attempting to solve the equation: "permanent innovation/ permanent obsolescence equals permanent change/ permanent education" (Besnard and Lietard, 1990, pp. 17-18). In particular, it

provides a number of responses to rapid development, social and industrial changes in society, recession, and unemployment. It may have a role as a metasocial regulator having the beneficial effects (the integration of those living on the margins of society, the attempts to combat unemployment, etc.) mentioned by experts.

Thus, the interest in permanent education can be explained by a number of factors: much broader access to education (on the basis of the principle of equality of opportunities at different levels: social, sexual, geographical), economic expansion in the case of some (further qualifications for professional advancement) or underemployment in the case of others (continuing their studies while trying to find employment). The result of such interest is an influx of students into higher education.

"In Europe, the hour of higher education for all has come" (Massit-Folléa and Epinette, 1992, p. 172). However, "despite common degrees, European universities still have common problems...; that is the paradox of the universities of Europe which were united throughout the Middle Ages by a common culture and language (Latin), mixing together students and scholars without regard to national frontiers and anticipating by more than 500 years the economic and political integration of Europe (Le Monde, 17/9/1992, p. 20). It is worth recalling that education, absent from the Treaty of Rome, is given a place in the Treaty of Maastricht, which states that community action shall be aimed at developing the European dimension in education ...", at fostering "co-operation with third countries and the competent international organizations in the field of education, in particular the Council of

Europe" (Treaty of Maastricht, Chap. 3, Art. 126 *et seqq.*, 1992).

Experiments involving mobility on the part of teachers and students have been tried out in both Africa and Europe. Transfrontier co-operation, whether on a bilateral or a multilateral basis, has developed, *e.g.*, the course programmes between Luxembourg, Belgium, and Switzerland (J. Charpentier, *in* Philip, 1989, p. 55). Other experiments have taken place in countries belonging to different regions. Cameroon is linked with the University of Leiden (Netherlands) through agreements concerning curriculum design, the training of research workers, and the exchanges of experts and students (National Report: Cameroon, 1989, p. 41).

Finally, at a somewhat higher level, there is also a determination to increase co-operation with international organizations. Burundi provides a striking example of the development of relations with countries of widely differing political structures in different regions, such as Algeria, Canada, China, Germany, etc. (National Report: Burundi, 1989, pp. 46-48). Fundamental changes have been observed in Bulgaria in the educational field in order to bring about co-operation with other countries and international organizations (Reply to the Questionnaire: Bulgaria, 1989, p. 41).

There is an increasingly clear recognition on the part of states of the need to define new areas of co-operation, particularly on account of the budgetary restrictions affecting some countries. In short, bilateral, regional, and international co-operation is becoming a statement of belief with a view to finding ways of making higher education better able to meet the socio-economic needs of different countries, whatever their social, economic, political, and cultural struc-

tures. Despite the development of higher education establishments, the fact remains that they continue to be attached to the general education system and therefore to the overall objectives that it sets.

However, the efforts which countries make depend on their capacity and determination to create a less heterogeneous society by overcoming the longstanding socio-economic division of society into two groups consisting of those who have assimilated the new technologies and those who are protected or assisted.

The constant adaptation of higher education to the quantitative changes caused by socio-economic change and technological progress raises the question of the appropriateness of the reforms of the higher education system. In view of their varied character, it would be wise to display pragmatism and act on the basis of past experience. Thus, "reforms of higher education appear to be more successful and have more far-reaching results when they are grafted onto traditional foundations and develop in harmony with the whole of the educational, social, political and economic environment" (From the Editors, 1987, p. 3). It is on this basis, for example, that financial assistance is given in Bulgaria, in those cases in which "post-secondary" training makes a genuine contribution to the economic, social, and cultural development of the various regions" (Reply to the Questionnaire: Bulgaria, 1989, p. 21).

In return for the many different forms of assistance that those operating in economic life can give higher education, the latter provides the various economic sectors with high-level managers and technicians and thereby contributes to the socio-economic and cultural

development of society. Alongside its traditional functions relating to the furtherance of knowledge and research as well as education and training, higher education would appear to have moral obligations towards the problems raised by society regarding national and international affairs and would seem to represent a particularly favourable arena for the initiation of debate and action. After all, a university is not only a competent and independent authority, but is also aware through its critical spirit of the dangers threatening world peace, and in tune with such questions as the environment, human rights, literacy, solidarity between states and peoples, the new world economic and political order, etc. Peace studies are taught in an increasing number of universities (over 300 institutions surveyed) in the form of courses devoted to disarmament, the peaceful settlement of disputes, and the dangers of nuclear war (UNESCO, 1988).

The above remarks give rise to a number of questions the answers to which might justify further study with a view to being able to anticipate problems:

- How should higher education be funded?
- How should continuing adult education be established and developed?
- How should equality of opportunity and the participation of women in the educational process be increased?
- What measures should be taken to increase the mobility of teachers and students?
- What measures should be taken to ensure that training is relevant to employment?

- How can higher education, instead of being a passive subject, act positively and influence political decision-makers so as to develop both its traditional and less traditional functions?

Attempts to answer these questions could, if need be, form a whole series of forward looking strategies in the complex world of higher education.

In the face of the obstacles raised by such an approach and the enormous scale of the task to be accomplished, there yet remains one more thing to be said, which goes to the very heart of the matter, namely that one must never, in any circumstances, give up hope.

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REFORMING THE RUSSIAN HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

Alexander PROKOPCHUK

• An aperçu of the reform process in higher education in the Russian Federation is given. It begins with a statement of the objectives of reform and a listing of the laws and decrees concerning it promulgated in 1991, 1992, and 1993. Great weight has been placed on the set-

ting of standards and the creation of mechanisms to enforce these standards. Also, efforts are being made to adapt certain higher education course programmes to regional needs. The article concludes with a short discussion of current problems.

INTRODUCTION

The higher education system of Russia is undergoing transition. Having been all but frozen for many years, it has begun to reform itself.

The reforms are pursuing the following main objectives:

- expansion of access to higher education;
- decentralization of the higher education system, along with expansion of the autonomy of the individual institutions and the broadening of the academic freedom of faculty members and students;
- emphasis in course programmes on the basic sciences and humanities;
- deideologization of education.

The Russian higher education system comprises 535 higher education institutions with a total student enrollment of about three million. Of the number of higher education institutions, 216 are under the auspices of the State Committee for Higher Education. The rest of them are subject to the line ministries to which their fields of specialization relate.

The legal framework of the functions of the higher education system is determined by the following laws and decrees:

- Presidential Decree No. 1 on Youth (1991);
- Law of the Russian Federation on Education (12/07/1992);
- Presidential Decree No. 768 on measures to support higher education institutions (09/12/1992);
- Presidential Decree No. 443 on measures for the state support of [undergraduate] students and postgraduates (12/04.1993);
- Presidential Decree No. 4547-1 on the reorganization of the federal bodies for higher education governance (25/02/1993).

The State Committee for Higher Education has submitted a draft law on higher and postgraduate education to the Government for its consideration.

STEPS IN THE REFORM PROCESS

Ensuring the diversity of higher education is one of the main concerns of the reform of Russian higher education. It goes without saying that since the

country is adopting a market-oriented economy, education should become more flexible and diverse than it has been, every individual being given an opportunity to choose the level and character of education which in his or her estimate would be most adequate to enable him or her to confront the labour market.

Therefore, when the reforms began, the following main objectives were set with regard to the expansion of access to higher education under new economic conditions:

- introduction of new professional and educational programmes which take adequate account of the abilities and interests of the individual; these programmes will vary in terms of level and complexity;
- expansion of opportunities to receive education through external studies departments, correspondence courses, and retraining centres through an integrated system of education;
- support for the establishment of private (non-state) higher education institutions and the development of fee-paying higher education.

Much has already been done in the domain of external studies. The legal basis for the functioning of external-studies departments has been defined, making this form of education accessible to all. All kinds of limitations (such as the nature and length of employment) have been removed for those seeking to enroll in correspondence courses. Practical activities are being conducted to expand the use of telecommunications in education, particularly for distance education which is being developed.

For the first time in the last seventy years, more than 100 non-state higher education institutions are offering educational programmes, thus creating thousands of new places in higher education as a whole. The Law on Education provides equal opportunities for the functioning of governmental and non-governmental institutions, with non-governmental higher education institutions having the right to engage in educational activities upon receipt of a license from the State Committee for Higher Education.

The more than 100 institutions mentioned above are licensed. As a rule, the educational programmes offered by them are intended to train professionals in the fields of the social and the legal sciences, economics, management, commercial operations, journalism, banking, finance, etc. It is obvious that demand for these specialists is particularly great in the Russia of today and that the programmes are usually organized as companies with limited liability, as joint-stock companies, etc. Most of these institutions fail to have facilities of their own. Rather, they use the facilities of the state institutions.

Proceeding from the premise that a distinction must be made between external and internal diversity, the reforms intended to diversify the structures of higher education are aimed at the following:

- implementation of a multi-level structure for higher education which, in parallel with the traditional 5-year training programmes, envisages the introduction of three other types of educational programmes different in character and length of study:

- one-to-four-year bachelor's degree programmes which provide broad training in 80 subjects;
- two-to-four-year programmes which train specialists in particular professions (the certificate which a student would obtain upon completion of his studies would equal that of the bachelor's degree but would certify different subjects);
- three-to-six-year master's level programmes which run on a four-plus-two-year basis in which the four-years represent the bachelor's degree programme;
- establishment of a hierarchical classification of the types of educational institutions according to the character and level of their missions;
- a considerable increase in the number of educational institutions which offer programmes in the humanities and the social sciences, particularly in the fields of economics, law, and sociology.

During the 1992-1993 academic year, about 20% of the Russian higher education institutions began to offer multi-level programmes. The advantages of this structure include the fact that after two years of studies a student can obtain an intermediate certificate of studies and shift to another programme or to a higher education institution or complete his or her education altogether. Also, a student may choose up to 30% of his or her subjects inside the programme or change programmes or move to a different higher education institution upon completion of the initial programme. In addition to making education programmes more flexible and responsive to the

student's interests, such a system also facilitates academic mobility, which is another important issue in the reform of the education system.

The Government of the Russian Federation has approved a higher education institutional statute which defines the following types of educational institutions:

- *university*: a higher education institution the activities of which are aimed at the development of education, science, and culture through the conducting of fundamental research and the offering of training programmes at all levels of higher, postgraduate, and continuing education in a wide range of natural and social sciences and the humanities;
- *academy*: a higher education institution the activities of which are aimed at the development of education, science, and culture through the conducting of research and the offering of training programmes at all levels of higher, postgraduate, and continuing education in a single major area of science, technology, or culture;
- *institute*: an independent higher education institution or a division of a university or an academy which offers professional education programmes in a number of fields of science, technology, and culture, and conducts research;
- *college*: an independent educational institution or a division of a university, academy or, institute which offers incomplete and/or complete programmes of higher professional education.

Structural changes have occurred in the student body. The number of student economists and lawyers has increased considerably.

All limitations, except those imposed by one's academic record, have been removed in the case of students wishing to transfer from one higher education institution to another or from one programme to another. What is called the *federal component of educational programmes* has been instituted in each specialization (about 70% of the volume of each programme) which has permitted the retention of a single educational space in Russia and has ensured objective possibilities for student mobility.

In order to improve the contents and the forms of higher education, the following is intended:

- an increase in fundamental components both in the natural sciences and in the humanities;
- an upgrading of the contents of programmes in the social sciences and the humanities to bring them into compliance with the up-to-date level of the development of science and social practice;
- the broad retraining of social and political science faculty members; publication of up-to-date scientific and educational materials;
- attention paid to regional and national peculiarities in the educational process;
- inclusion of systematic knowledge from the natural sciences into the humanities programmes of basic higher education;
- a considerable increase in the independent work of students, as well

as the time allocated for teachers' research;

- the assurance of continuity of educational programmes at all levels, from elementary schooling through postgraduate studies;
- the bringing of the contents of the professional and educational programmes of Russian higher education institutions closer to the educational plans of foreign universities;
- the creation of conditions for continuing education for the retraining of professionals all through their careers.

The following has been accomplished: the elaboration of State Educational Standards for the training of bachelor's degree holders in all fields have been developed. The federal component of these standards establishes the minimum contents of fundamental training in mathematics and natural sciences, as well as in the humanities and the socio-economic sciences. The number of mandatory fundamental disciplines includes mathematics, physics, chemistry, informatics, biology, and ecology. These must make up a volume of at least 30% of each programme. The cycle of the humanities training includes cultural studies, sociology, and political science; subjects which were not previously included in Russian educational programme. In general, the humanities component in a typical bachelor's programme must have a weight of at least 25% of the total programme.

THE SETTING OF STANDARDS

Educational standards are a means to ensure diversity while preserving a single educational space in Russia.

Educational standards are set by the federal and the regional authorities and by the higher education institutions themselves.

The federal component of the educational standard determines: 1) the minimum volume of educational information in the programme; 2) the specific requirements for each level of training of graduates; 3) the maximum amount of required study time (usually 54 hours per week, including 24 hours of lectures).

From the technical point of view, the standards are prepared by the Educational-Methodological Union of the Higher Education Institutions. The Union is divided into 20 Scientific-Methodological Councils, each of them covering an appropriate subject like, for instance, physics. The councils consist of professors, teachers, and researchers and are primarily responsible for working out the respective standards. The standard is then submitted to the State Committee for Higher Education which approves it and makes it a rule for all the higher education institutions offering the particular subject. But the federal component also carries weight at the level of the programme. Inside the programme it is the prerogative of the individual higher education institution to select the ways in which it wishes to teach given subjects. These ways when codified constitute the higher education institution component in the setting of the educational standards.

As higher education institutions are part of the socio-economic structures of the regions in which they are located, it is obvious that they should be responsive to the needs and interests of the region when developing educational programmes. This awareness constitutes the regional component of educational standards.

The State Committee has signed agreements on the sharing of responsibilities with the regions of Rostov, Kemerovo, Novgorod, Kabardino-Balkaria, and Saratov, to mention several. The agreements deal with issues of:

- finance;
- professional specialization;
- the optimization of professional orientation (to avoid parallel programmes);
- social issues, etc.

Higher education institutions situated in the regions frequently carry out so-called *Regional Development Programmes*, like for instance, the *Kuzbas*, the *Povolzhie*, the *Siberian Timber*, the *Dal'ny Vostok*, and the *Samara Programmes*. These programmes cover the industrial sector, the development of the infrastructure, agriculture, etc. They also make educational programmes more diverse internally.

With the introduction of new educational programmes and the establishment of new governmental and non-governmental institutions, the issue of quality assurance arises. At the state level there are four stages of control over the standards of the educational process: 1) licensing, 2) certification, 3) accreditation by the state; and 4) accreditation by the general public. (For more information, see the paper, *The Russian Federation Law on Education and the Unified System of Control and Evaluation of Higher Educational Institutions*, Moscow, 1993).

CURRENT PROBLEMS

The problem that dominates the thinking of all education officials and university administrators at the present time is the

acute shortage of funds. Its solution calls for the development of a new financial mechanism for funding higher education as well as a search for non-traditional sources of financing.

The universities have already eliminated their courses on Marxism and are moving to make their curricula more flexible. They are having difficulty in revising courses and materials and in finding ways to replace the courses on the history of the Communist Party, on Marxist Political Economy, and on Scientific Communism. Many old-line faculty members who used to teach these courses are still on the payroll but are not well-prepared to teach other subjects.

Similar problems exist for the many institutions that are trying to introduce new courses in such fields as law and business. Law should be a burgeoning field in a new, market-oriented society, but it is hard to develop an adequate course programme given that there is no new Russian Constitution but that, at the same time, new legislation is coming out of Moscow every month, if not every week. Business programmes are mushrooming, but few Russian professors have adequate training to teach them. Although the universities are enlisting the aid of Western institutions, the latter are not always knowledgeable in picking their partners; nor is it clear that the business school materials being imported from the West will prove to be suitable for the different conditions of the Russian economy.

These problems are being exacerbated by the tendency of specialized institutes

to upgrade themselves by adding new programmes in economics, law, and business, even though many of them, particularly the institutions of applied science, have no experience in their facilities in the teaching of the new subjects which they are adding.

Another issue of concern stems from the fact that all the institutions of higher learning in Russia were differentiated by function. Classical universities emphasized the basic disciplines; polytechnics concentrated on applied science; and institutes focused on professional training. Today, institutions of all kinds tend increasingly to resemble one another. Universities are orienting themselves to more applied and professional education and investigation because the available jobs and the contract research fall heavily in these areas. Institutes are introducing programmes in business and law for similar reasons and are also trying to transform themselves into universities, now that universities have been accorded the highest status and prestige in the Russian hierarchy of education. The implementation of the statute laying down clear criteria to be met for assuming the title of *university* will obviously put an end to this spontaneous changing of names.

Another grave problem is the lack of foreign books and periodicals, a matter of acute concern to faculty members, especially at a time when they badly need Western materials to help them develop adequate teaching programmes in business, law, and the social sciences.

PYRAMIDS, PRISONS, AND PICTURESQUE HOUSING: A DISCUSSION ON DIVERSITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Leo C. J. GOEDEGEBUURE and V. Lynn MEEK

- Part of what has given higher education its remarkable stability in recent years has been its diversity. From the point of view of policy, there are three kinds of diversity in higher education: systemic, programmatic, and structural. Binary higher education systems, representing a form of systemic diversification, have evolved as a response to the massification of higher education. However, because of a number of factors, the perceived ideal

remains the traditional university. The non-university components of binary systems tend increasingly to resemble universities through processes of academic drift. To prevent these processes which in fact negate many of the intentions of planned diversification, social esteem and prestige must be built into all sectors which will then have an interest in preserving their individual identities.

INTRODUCTION

The literature on higher education often emphasizes the remarkable stability of the university - and its various derivatives - over most of its extensive history. In his oft-quoted work, Kerr, for example, observes that

About eighty-five institutions in the Western world established by 1520 still exist in recognizable forms, with similar functions and unbroken histories, including the Catholic church, the parliaments of the Isle of Man, of Iceland, and of Great Britain, several Swiss cantons, and seventy universities. Kings that rule, feudal lords with vassals, guilds with monopolies are gone. These seventy universities, however, are still in the same locations with some of the same buildings, with professors and students doing much the same things, and with governance carried on in much the same ways (1982, p. 152).

In so far, then, as diverse means "unlike in nature or qualities; varied; chan-

geful" (Oxford English Dictionary), what relevance does the concept of diversity have for higher education?

A number of authors have argued that it is the very diversity of higher education that provides its stability. The thesis is that the division of labour in higher education based on professional knowledge and professional expertise produces diversity and structural disintegration, which in turn protect the equilibrium of the whole. A national system of higher education can also be regarded as a set of disciplines and professions, but each isolated from the other, and with its own particular culture and set of norms and values.¹ Even more to the point is the fact that pressures and conflicts produced by increasing professionalism and specialization in higher education have been met with increasing differentiation, not unification. The idea that groups in potential or actual competition with one another create boundaries between themselves in order to avoid direct conflict and possible defeat is a central

1. For an excellent and elaborate treatment of this position, see Clark, 19983, in particular pp. 14-15, and 219.

sociological construct (cf., Durkheim's theory of the division of labour in modern society).

As has also been noted in the working document prepared for this workshop, *Universities, Colleges, and Others: Diversity of Structures for Higher Education: A Discussion of Themes*, the issue of diversity is important for a number of reasons, one of which concerns the wish to optimize the responsiveness of higher education systems to societal needs. Changes in government policy towards higher education often have the stated intention of creating higher education systems that are more flexible, adaptive, and responsive to community needs and economic priorities. Complex societies and differentiated economic markets display a wide variety of needs that, supposedly, cannot be fulfilled by a single type of higher education institution. Hence the need to diversify. Systems that are more diversified are better able to respond to a wide variety of needs. In this respect, it is often claimed that the strength of the American system of higher education lies in its diversity. According to the Carnegie Council, "we [the USA] celebrate the diversity, acknowledging that our system of higher education is the envy of the world...." Although not everyone is as lyrical about the American system as is suggested by this passage, there is no denying that this system is diverse indeed, even though it incorporates components that in other systems would not be considered to be parts of higher education.

Some of the reasons for the continued attention given to diversity in many higher education policy debates around the world are the inherent *goods* as-

sociated with the notion. As a starting point for the present discussion, it may help to list a few (Stadtman, 1980):

- diversity increases the range of choices available to learners;
- it makes higher education available to virtually everyone;
- it matches education to the needs and abilities of individual students;
- it enables institutions to select their own missions and to confine their activities;
- it responds to the pressures of a society (complex and diversified in itself);
- it becomes a precondition for college and university freedom and autonomy.

Some of these benefits overlap with the reasons just mentioned. Others seem to be elaborations of the arguments in terms of responsiveness and stability. Whether or not Stadtman's presumed benefits of diversity are achieved in reality is an empirical question. But obviously, diversity is a fairly broad concept. Quite possibly, this breadth is one of the reasons why the debate on diversity tends to have a somewhat confusing nature. Let us therefore briefly elaborate on the ways in which diversity is defined.

THE CONCEPT OF DIVERSITY²

For purposes of discussing the policy problems associated with diversity, we shall approach the issue according to three particular interpretations: *systemic*, *programmatic*, and *structural* diversity.

2 Both the approach to diversity taken here as well as the examples used are dealt with in more detail in Goedegebuure, *et. al.*, 1993.

Systemic diversity: This form of diversity refers to differences between and among institutions as regards their tasks, their sizes, and the ways in which they are controlled (Birnbaum, 1983, p. 45). Higher education systems show remarkable differences with respect to their systemic diversity. Some countries are experiencing a fundamental transformation of their higher education systems, Australia and the United Kingdom in particular, which has important consequences for the nature of their systemic diversity. Over the last decade, other countries, like Sweden and the Netherlands, have experienced quite extensive reforms of their higher education systems, which in the near future may have far-reaching impacts on their systemic diversity. Still other systems, such as that of Ontario, Canada, seem to have been remarkably stable over the last decade.

Programmatic diversity: This form of diversity concerns institutional differences in the supply of educational and research programmes and service activities. Clearly there is a close interrelationship between programmatic diversity and systemic diversity. Within a higher education system, various types of higher education institutions can exist, with these different types offering similar educational programmes. Such appears to have been the case in, for example, the Australian and the British systems just prior to the recent reforms. In contrast, formally unified systems can contain institutions doing quite different things with respect to both teaching and research. This form of programmatic diversity is quite apparent in certain private sectors of higher education, such as in the United States. While institutions may share *privateness* in common - and the related authority structures that derive from belonging to the private sec-

tor - there is great diversity of level and type of educational programmes between institutions. In California, for example, the Clairmont Colleges (except for the Clairmont Graduate School) concentrate their teaching at the undergraduate level and do not attempt to compete with other private institutions, such as Stanford University or the California Institute of Technology for research programmes and funding.

Structural diversity: This form of diversity has to do with differences in the legal foundations of institutions, for example, external structural factors, as well as with differences in their governance structures, for example, internal aspects. There are immense differences amongst countries in the types of legislation that apply to higher education and how legislation is used to steer higher education systems. One of the clear examples is the way in which the distinction between public and private institutions is both perceived and implemented in different countries. As the idea of *private* higher education is often associated with the working of some sort of market mechanism, and since the notion of *markets* is high on the agenda in many of the former eastern European countries, perhaps some observations on this issue are in order.

First, there is no such thing as truly *private* higher education. Government and the public sector intervene in private higher education in a number of ways. Many private institutions receive a substantial proportion of their funding from the public sector. Research activities at Stanford, for example, are heavily dependent on federal government research funds. Also, as is the case in California, the State usually plays some role in the licensing/accreditation of private institutions. In Japan, private institutions

have recently been placed under the supervision of the minister of education. This transfer implies that each institution, private as well as public, must be chartered by the minister after review by the University Chartering Commission.

Second, in dual public/private systems like in California, the most prestigious of the private institutions may hold equal esteem with the most prestigious of the public institutions. However, rarely, if ever, do private institutions uniformly enjoy more prestige than public institutions. For example, while Japan has an extensive private sector of higher education, the older public universities form the top of the status hierarchy.

Third, there appears to be a greater variety of institutional type and particularly of institutional quality in the private than in the public sector. Both California and Japan express significant doubts about the quality of some of their private higher education institutions. Somewhat paradoxically, however, a certain range in quality amongst some higher education institutions can serve to protect both the quality and the diversity of the system as a whole (cf., Trow, 1974).

Significant private sectors have their roots in the historical development of particular systems of higher education. *Privatization* (taken here to mean the growth of *privateness* within public higher education) and market-like competition, however, have arisen on the higher education agenda of many countries, whether primarily public or with dual public/private sectors. Also, shifts in public/private relationships have changed in many spheres, not only within higher education. Changing socio-economic relationships in central and eastern Europe, for example, point to a significant push towards privatiza-

tion on a grand scale. With respect to higher education, as Levy notes,

privateness is... seen as providing more incentives for efficiencies for actors from students to administrators. Supporters of privatization find vindication in the trends of the last fifteen years or so. In the most developed countries, this marks a striking reversal of the decreasing privateness of post-war decades. Thus, the public universities of Europe have come to look much more favourably on private finance to augment resources, offset lost government funds, and provide energizing competition (1991, p. 7).

Privatization is being embraced as an ideology in its own right and as a reaction to what is perceived as *public failure*. Behind many of the changes in the relationships between governments and higher education institutions is the philosophy of *economic rationalism*, a belief that market forces, rather than state intervention, will make institutions more cost-effective and better managed, as well as making higher education systems more fluid and responsive to client needs and demands. The market competition "is posed as the solution to good government, the condition for a healthy economy, and the chance for a better education" (Perkins, 1987, p. 1).

The conference Working Document has raised this point as well. At the same time, questions have been raised as to its overall viability. It is to this issue that we want to shift the debate, as one of the principal questions to be addressed is how diversity is best encouraged, next to the question of where diversity should be located. These are by no means easy questions, but a description and analysis of some recent developments in binary and other systems that are formally differentiated as to the types and roles of

institutions (*i.e.*, systemic diversity) may provide some useful insights. The example of binary systems in particular is used, because it very clearly portrays the major difficulties associated with steering, control, and encouragement of diversity.

BINARY SYSTEMS: OBJECTIVES AND ARRANGEMENTS

To the extent that sound generalizations can be made with respect to higher education, the argument can be made that the rise of binary systems is closely related to the development from élite to mass higher education - a statement that is particularly true for those higher education systems residing in the Anglo-Saxon and Continental traditions.

Here, throughout the centuries, a relatively limited number of students, predominantly from the higher social classes, was educated in the traditional ways of the university³. As has been stated more eloquently elsewhere (Trow, 1974), demand for higher education rose sharply after the Second World War, the result of economic and social developments, a demand that could not be met within the existing systems. First, the available capacity within the universities was simply insufficient to cater to the increasing number of students. Second, large bodies of students were and still are at odds with the established university philosophies regarding higher education. And third, meeting this demand within the university systems would have implied extreme budgetary pressures under *ceteris paribus* conditions. Therefore, in a number of countries, the solution was sought in creating new sec-

tors next to the university. Examples of this solution are the polytechnics in the United Kingdom, the colleges of advanced education (CAE) in Australia, the *Fachhochschulen* in Germany, and the vocational education sector (HBO) in the Netherlands.

The objectives for these new types of higher education are remarkably similar across these countries and can be summarized as follows:

- to offer more professionally oriented, and vocationally/economically relevant types of education;
- to cater to non-traditional groups of students in a more innovative manner, including an emphasis on part-time education;
- to be primarily teaching oriented, with at best a derived attention to applied research; and to deal with the capacity problem without substantially increasing the governmental expenditure for higher education.

To an extent, the creation of these new types can therefore be seen as an attempt at innovating the higher education system in the face of new environmental conditions. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that it also implied safeguarding existing university practices and traditions, a fact that has been expressed by some of the architects of the non-university sectors at that time. For example, Sir Leslie Martin, in establishing the Australian binary system, based it on his essentialist ideas of what a university should do, namely research and the training of researchers, in com-

3 This is not to say that the emphasis in both models has been the same, for evidently there are basic differences between what has been labelled the Newman and the Humboldt philosophies on higher education.

ination with a clear perception of the different intellectual capacities of students - the well- and lesser endowed students: "Implicit in this distinction, according to intellectual capabilities, is the creation of two types of institutions"⁴. Similar expressions of sentiment were made by Anthony Crossland, the person who was politically responsible for the British binary policy: "We are preserving a privileged position for the universities by deliberately trying to create inferior institutions outside"⁵.

In view of the above, it is remarkable that for at least three of the four examples introduced above, namely the Australian, the British, and the Dutch systems, the binary policy has been cast in the "equal but different" dogma⁶. From a static political perspective on higher education, this view can be understood. It is easier to *sell* a policy to Parliament and to constituencies if the veil of equality is cast. However, looking at the destinies of these systems, some doubts arise as to the viability of this philosophy.

EQUAL BUT DIFFERENT: THE NEGATION OF STATUS

In Australia, the binary system lasted some twenty-five years. Although during that period it contributed to the growth and development of higher education, the conclusion reached was that its objectives had not been attained:

[...] it became difficult to attach to the sector a clear educational philosophy and to distinguish its functions from those of the

universities. [...] The bulk of the student demand was for courses in the humanities, business studies, and social sciences, not in technologies. [...] In their search for equal status with the universities, the colleges either dropped or upgraded diplomas in favour of degrees, and college staff achieved parity of salary with university staff. In order to teach degree courses, the colleges recruited staff with higher degrees and a record of research publications, the same sort of staff that were employed by universities (Meek and Goedegebuure, 1989, pp. 18-19).

Also, the CAE's proved not to be as inexpensive as an alternative as had been expected at their inception. Over the years, the Australian system has become more homogeneous instead of more diverse, this to some extent because of the occurrence of academic drift in the non-university sector. The result was a new higher education policy implemented in 1988. The binary system was abolished and replaced by the Unified National System. No longer will the *random* location of an institution in a particular sector be the reference point for higher education policy, but the institutional function:

The new arrangements will promote greater diversity in higher education rather than any artificial equalization of institutional roles. Institutions that attempt to cover all areas of teaching and research compromise their ability to identify, and build on, areas of particular

4 As expressed in a speech in 1961, quoted in Davies, 1989, p. 55.

5 Woolwich speech, 27 April 1965. This position was refined in the second founding speech of the binary system of Lancaster, 20 January 1967.

6 This notion is less explicit in the German system and policy.

strength and the achievement of genuine excellence. The ultimate goal is a balanced system of high quality institutions, each with its particular areas of strength and specialization... (Higher Education: a Policy Statement, 1988, p. 28)⁷.

A comparable development regarding the fate of the binary system is evidenced by the British case. Here, the polytechnics have steadily expanded their target groups and functions since 1966 in the direction of the universities. According to Scott, the British binary policy has been surrounded by ambiguity. Not only can the policy itself be considered a rationalization of historical coincidences, it also embodies a separation of institutions on the basis of bureaucratic control which only remotely relates to the educational objectives and nature of the different institutions:

...the most important distinctions within British higher education can no longer be drawn between sectors. They must be drawn between institutions within these sectors, and even between departments within these institutions. Perhaps the most unfortunate aspect of the 'binary policy' is that it obscures the diversity of institutions by allocating them to stereotyped sectors (Scott, 1989, p. 300).

In the perception of another observer, the collapse of the British binary system is closely related to the "equal but different" philosophy on which it was based:

As for the polytechnics' having a distinctive character, it was clear from the beginning that having

been promised parity of esteem, the state then had to provide them rough equality of academic standard, and of cost as well. And thus we have seen a steady convergence in their character, mission, governance, and autonomy (Trow, 1988, p. 16).

This argument appears intuitively plausible since the Australian example also shows that formal equality within a framework of unequal distribution of resources and prestige results in substantial tension within the system and gradual erosion of originally established objectives. In practice, a binary system seems to have the opposite effect of its rationale. Differences between sectors become blurred while increased differences within sectors are restrained because of the policy necessity to treat all institutions in the same manner.

Despite the plausibility of this argument, one should note that rather different perceptions exist as to the success of a binary system. Rather quickly, a number of analysts placed the banner of failure over the binary policy. Pratt and Burgess pointed out that the polytechnics quite soon started replacing the non-traditional courses, such as sub-degree and part-time courses, in favour of the traditional higher level degree courses offered by the universities (Pratt and Burgess, 1974), a development they labelled academic drift. However, in subsequent analyses, this perspective on the binary system has been somewhat altered. Scott points out that in fact the polytechnics were left little choice as to their development path because of the environmental pressures of the overall further education system:

7 For a more detailed account of the development of this system and its rationale, see Goedegebuure, 1992.

The polytechnics, after all, can hardly be expected to buck the wider trends that have affected all further education... [which] was subject to broad secular trends, the bias towards full-time study embodied in the mandatory grant system, the growing unwillingness of employers to release their employees, the encroachment of degrees on professional qualifications and so on, which affected advanced courses as much or more than non-advanced courses (Scott, 1984, pp. 178-179).

His conclusion therefore is that many of the objectives of the original binary policy have been fulfilled, such as the counteracting of the dominance of the university sector, the introduction of vocationally relevant courses, and of the promotion of participation from the lower social classes. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the binary system with respect to the university-polytechnic distinction has ceased to exist. Through expansion of the research function, a further concentration on the more prestigious degrees, and incorporation of traditional academics into the polytechnic staff, the institutional distinction became more and more fiction rather than reality⁸. In 1991, the White Paper heralded the end of the binary system by offering, amongst other things, the opportunity for the polytechnics to use the name, *university*. That the possibility has been taken up by the majority of polytechnics suggests that

the label, *university*, is more than just a name.

THE IMPORTANCE OF DIFFERENCES

The above discussion suggests that binary systems have an inherent *self-destructive* capacity, if the Australian and British examples are taken as yardsticks. However, there are other examples that modify this perspective. For example, the American situation shows that it is possible to maintain a viable system in which strict demarcation exists, not only between individual institutions, but also between sectors.

Perhaps the California system is the best known example. The higher education system of California consists of three separate sectors: the University of California system (UC), which includes the typical research and doctorate granting institutions, the California State University system (CSU), which contains the non-doctoral degree granting institutions, and the Community College system. In particular, the separation of the UC-CSU system is guaranteed by the so-called Master Plan, which regulates the system through government steering, and defines the boundaries between the sectors. Noteworthy is the fact that these boundaries are not based on the "equal but different" philosophy. The sectors are different and *not* equal, which, as is argued later, can perhaps explain the fact that the system still exists and works.

8 See, for example, Kogan, 1991; Brennan and Shah, 1993. One should note that pressure was put on the binary system not only by the developments in the polytechnic sector. The nature of the British universities changed as well as a result of highly intrusive government policies in the 1980's in combination with financial pressures.

9 One could, in fact, consider the private higher education institutions in California as constituting a fourth sector.

Nonetheless, in this situation academic drift also exists. As Clark (1990) states:

...there is a steady, unrelenting pressure [from the CSU system] to evolve into full university stature. [...] and, Master Plan or not, the campuses, at different rates and to different degrees, develop a research capability.

His prediction is that around the year 2000 some of the CSU institutions will have acquired the right to grant doctoral degrees and will have evolved, far more than at present, into research universities.

If the California systems exhibit some underlying tensions, these appear absent in the Ontario (Canada) system. Here, a binary system has existed since 1965, separating universities and Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology (CAAT's). Also in this case one can make the argument that clear guidelines exist regarding the activities that institutions within the sectors can and cannot undertake (Jones, 1991).

Can we therefore conclude that rather strict government control is a possible solution to the previously noted phenomenon of institutional drift and the gradual expansion and loosening of original missions? Before answering this question, it would be worthwhile to discuss institutional relations within higher education systems and the role and influence of classifications.

STRATIFICATIONS AND DYNAMICS

Distinguishing institutional types, whether through binary, trinary, or x-nary lines, ultimately has to do with diversity, as has been indicated above. In particular, it relates to external diversity, *i.e.*, the differences between institutions, formalized in systemic diversity. In general, classifications - of which 'systemic diversity is an example - distinguish like from unlike, often with the side-effect of an implicit indication of complexity and quality. According to Trow, the higher education system is a

stratified system of institutions, graded formally or informally in status and prestige, in wealth, power, and influence of various kinds (Trow, 1984, p. 132).

In other words, whatever the type of higher education system, there will always be distinctions between institutions. The effects of those distinctions are less clear, especially in the case of explicit sectors created by governments. Neave (1983) takes the position that all higher education systems have an inherent tendency for integration. Irrespective of the fact that government policy might be aimed at maintaining separate sectors, there exists

an undisputable move towards integration, even though from the policy-makers' perspective, it constitutes a regression towards the priorities, values, and practices found in the "noble" [university] sector¹⁰.

But different perspectives exist as well in the literature on higher education. Also in 1983 Clark acknowledged the

10 The term "noble sector" was introduced in the OECD report *Short-Cycle Higher Education: A Search for Identity*, 1973.

problem of integration in formally separated systems by stating that "...national systems still actively seek a way to de-differentiate. The label of 'university' is generously passed around...¹¹. However, his overall conclusion is contrary to Neave's:

Explicit sectors [...] seem to be the chief answer to the macro-organization of an evermore extended division of academic labour. The crucial process of change from implicit to explicit is the legitimation of roles for different types of institutions... (1983, p. 195).

Indeed the crucial question is not one of integration or of differentiation as such, but of legitimating different functions of institutions. The legitimation of functions implies societal esteem, rewards, and thus prestige. We are thus brought back to the basic notions and assumptions that underlie the different methods of classification. It is a fact of life that institutional hierarchies will always exist, in which institutions at the bottom of the status ladder will try to emulate those at the top. The problem therefore is not so much one of how to avoid this behaviour, for it is virtually impossible to avoid, but one of how to channel it to prevent de-differentiation and wastage of scarce resources at the system level.

From various disciplines it has been argued and demonstrated that organiza-

tions in general - by definition including higher education institutions:

- strive for maximization of resources, profits, and utility;
- that power and prestige are crucial variables in explaining organizational behaviour; and
- that incentive-disincentive types of steering and control through the handing out and the withholding of valued resources can be very effective¹².

Any government policy on diversity and structural arrangements regarding the higher education system should take these basic notions into account. Failure to do so will ultimately result in the demise of structural arrangements through the dynamics of institutional behaviour. It has often been argued that if institutions are left free to determine their own actions and course of events, that is, maximizing diversity - they will seek their own niches, thereby maximizing diversity - an approach that is solidly based on market-philosophies and evolutionary analogies¹³.

Even though these arguments appear attractive to proponents of the market and are reinforced by the apparent failure of many government induced restructuring operations and the inadequacies of public policy¹⁴, empirical reality does fully support such a perspec-

11 Here, Clark discussed in particular the creation of the comprehensive university. Around that time, this was a rather popular concept of a new type of university in which different forms of higher education, both strictly academic as well as more vocationally oriented, were brought together. It would offer students the ultimate possibility to choose courses most suited to their interests and intellectual capabilities. In the United States, this type of institution still exists, but in western Europe it has never taken hold, as is indicated by the experiment with the German *Gesamthochschule*. See, for example, Cerych and Sabatier, 1986.

12 See, for example, Bacharach and Lawler, 1980; Benson, 1975; Cyert and March, 1963; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Hannan and Freeman, 1989; Levine, 1980; Niskanen, 1971; and Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978.

13 For a critique, see, for example, Goedegebuure, 1992; and Meek and O'Neill, 1993.

14 For some examples, see Cerych and Sabatier, 1986; also, Van Vught, 1989.

tive. In the American system, which probably is the most market-oriented system existing to date even though it is not exempt from government regulation, these conditions do not lead to an increase in diversity. As Birnbaum (1983) has shown, diversity is in effect decreasing. Another example might be the Dutch case, where after the introduction of a steering philosophy aimed at increasing institutional autonomy, both the universities and the non-university institutions appear not to differentiate through niche-seeking and distinctive profiles, but rather portray imitation behaviour (Goedegebuure, 1992). And for Australia, it has been argued that up until now there appears to be little evidence to support the proposition implied in the Unified National System that institutions are actively pursuing ways to differentiate (Meek and O'Neill, 1993).

We seem to be faced with a substantial dilemma. Having taken the binary systems in a number of countries as examples, it looks as if a system of government controlled sectors is inherently unstable and, through its underlying philosophy and institutional actions, contains the seeds of its own destruction. On the other hand, absence of governmental control and increased institutional autonomy does not appear to result in increased diversity. But, as is often the case, it is not a question of either-or. In our perspective, a combination of control and autonomy could well result in a workable system which to an extent might limit de-differentiating behaviour through institutional drift. The outlines of such a system are presented in the last section of this article.

DIVERSITY THROUGH CONTROL AND AUTONOMY

Higher education systems are often portrayed as pyramids, with universities at the top and other types of institutions - *lower types* - residing below. As has already been indicated, such systems contain conditions that very likely will lead to imitative behaviour because of the resource- and prestige pattern that is inherent in such steep and open hierarchies. Close-structured systems, such as binary ones, are often depicted as prisons, placing unnecessary constraints on the innovative and adaptive capacity of institutions through uniform resource patterns, uniform regulation, and, again, sharp prestige distinctions. Also in these systems, emulation occurs because of these underlying conditions, and institutions find the files to cut the bars that are constraining them in their figurative prisons - a situation that again does not correspond with the perceived need to either maintain or to increase systemic diversity.

One of the well-known aspects of Amsterdam are its canals and the diversity in rooftops of the houses on the banks. With some imagination, we can picture a higher education system along those lines. Again we have separate sectors (the individual houses) with rather clearly defined missions or objectives. These are quite formally laid down in regulations, much along the lines of the California Master Plan. However, within the realm of these sectoral objectives, there is substantial autonomy for individual institutions. Thus, hierarchies can, and quite possibly should, exist within the sectors, providing institutions full possibility to expand into any area they consider necessary, under the condition that they do not cross the externally established boundaries. Of course, this

hierarchical ordering does not prevent emulation within sectors. With respect to the American system, the argument has been made that it is exactly this *emulation* that leads to progress in the system, because institutions at the top of the hierarchy, through their advanced positions, will continue to develop and to move forward. Others will take up their previous positions, and the system as a whole will progress to a higher plane¹⁵. Under the condition that this behaviour is contained within sectors, however, there is little danger of decreasing systemic diversity.

But, in order for such a system to work, societal esteem and prestige have to exist for all sectors: Only if institutions can find prestige within their sectors that is comparable to that in others will there be an incentive to try and move from one segment of the system to the other. This notion strongly relates to that of the *legitimate roles* identified above. While recognizing the fact that this type of prestige cannot be prescribed through external regulation but has to be generated from within society at large, its essential ingredient is diversity. There is no *theoretical* reason why different activities cannot have comparable levels of esteem. Nor is there any reason why universities in particular should hold the highest levels of prestige. The French system with its *Grandes Écoles* (non-university types of institutions) is a good example here. But an absolute precondition is the creation of environ-

mental conditions that enable diverse notions of prestige to develop. And here, a major and difficult task for government exists.

Since

- most higher education systems to a large extent are public systems, depending on public funds, and
- resource distributions to a very large extent determine institutional behaviour, as indicated above,

a differentiated system for the provision of resources should be created that, through incentives and disincentives, rewards institutions for attainments within their sectoral spheres, and punishes them for activities outside their direct realm. Such a system would be vastly different from many of the present day higher education systems in which governments create uniform environmental conditions under which institutions must function. And following notions of adaptation and resource dependence, such uniform conditions would lead to uniform, and thus de-differentiating, behaviour by institutions¹⁶.

CONCLUSION

The proposal embodied in this article is but a rough outline of a structure and its conditions, one that has to be specified and refined to a far greater extent than has been done here. However, for purposes of stimulating discussion and providing a different perspective to the

15 A notion presented by Riesman, known as the "academic procession", and regularly portrayed as a snake-like movement; it should again be emphasized that this notion of *progress* cannot be traced back to evolutionary theory. Evolutionary theory in essence concerns adaptation to environmental circumstances and has nothing to do with the notion of *progress* or of more highly valued states. Both of the latter were posited through Social Darwinism, for which normative reasoning was paramount. Evolutionary theory has also been heavily criticized for this shift from the original paradigm.

16 With respect to higher education systems, this line of reasoning was first explored by Goedegebuure in 1992. It was more recently refined by Van Vught, 1993. See also Meek, 1991, and Meek and O'Neill, 1993.

debate on diversity than what normally is the case, the present contribution may be of use. Whether or not the concept of "picturesque housing" will evolve beyond the stage of an embryonic theoretical notion remains an open question. But too often debates on higher education policy and structures remain within the realm of strict higher education research and literature, without drawing on the wider pool of the social sciences, and in particular on works dealing with political and organization-sociology that may provide insights into the dynamics of higher education systems.

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HIGHER EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT: CHANGING CONDITIONS FOR DIVERSIFIED STRUCTURES OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Ulrich TEICHLER

- The article begins with an overview of the history of the importance given by European systems of higher education to the twin questions of the proper structures of higher education and the link between higher education and employment. From the mid-1950's to the present, the debates on the two questions have sometimes been closely linked and sometimes barely linked at all. The point is that the link between increased employment and higher education is very complex and that signals are unclear. There is no proof, for instance, that over the

STRUCTURES AND RELATIONSHIPS TO EMPLOYMENT: TWO CURRENT ISSUES OF HIGHER EDUCATION

In identifying current issues of higher education which are the focus of consideration, debate, and possible concern among politicians, representatives of higher education systems, researchers on higher education, as well as other experts in this area, it is necessary to begin by defining structures of higher education systems as well as relationships between higher education and employment.

The question of structures appeared on the agenda in Europe from the early 1960's to the mid-1970's. From the mid-1970's to the mid-1980's, however, they were hardly an issue at all, and very few changes were implemented in this respect. In the late 1980's, again, the majority of European countries became involved in debates about needs for diversity and the re-structuring of higher education. Regarding the link between higher education and employment, a

long-term, graduates of non-university higher education institutions will be better protected against unemployment than graduates of traditional universities, particularly those from non-traditional and diversified programmes within these universities. Still a non-hierarchical diversity of institutions and programmes seems best suited to the long-term employment prospects of students. Also, information sources on higher education and employment must be made more accurate and more comprehensive.

similar historical pattern can be observed. Substantial attention was paid to this theme for a certain time during the 1960's and 1970's. Although it lost momentum in the late 1970's, it is now back on the agenda.

One might be inclined to assume a close link between the two debates over time. As is well known, the re-structuring of higher education was viewed in the past as a strategy for ensuring a closer match between the output of higher education and the demands of the employment system. Therefore, it would be most natural to assume that the concurrent re-emergence of both these issues was due to this link. A closer view, however, reveals a less clear inter-relationship.

As this article will demonstrate, current debates on structures of higher education are no longer as closely linked to issues of higher education and employment as they once were. A lesson that has probably been learned from the mid-1970's to the mid-1980's is that the

structural development of higher education is only to a limited extent shaped by higher education-employment relationships, and that structural policies are not a very powerful tool in changing the relationships between higher education and employment. The two issues have remained interrelated, but in a much more complex way than was the case two or three decades ago.

CHANGING VIEWS AND DEBATES FROM THE 1950'S TO THE MID-1970'S

From the late 1950's until about the mid-1970's, the relationship between higher education and employment was one of the most central issues in higher education policy in most industrialized societies. Around 1960, the belief became widespread that the expansion of higher education was indispensable for economic growth. However, by the 1970's, many politicians, employers, and labour market experts were claiming that expansion had led to substantial over-education at a time when unemployment in general had increased (*cf.*, the summary of the debates in Teichler, Hartung, and Nuthmann, 1980; Fulton, Gordon, and Williams, 1982).

In many countries, policies in favour of the expansion of higher education were embedded in efforts to restructure it. During the late 1950's, the community colleges in the United States were the most rapidly expanding sector of higher education. The establishment of polytechnics in the United Kingdom and of *instituts universitaires de technologie* in France in the 1960's were among the best known examples of diversified institutional structures of higher education.

Around 1970, it became conventional wisdom that diversified structures were necessary in order to protect élite educa-

tion and to offer suitable learning environments for the motivations, capabilities, and employment prospects of the *new*, previously disadvantaged or *non-traditional* students (see OECD, 1973; Trow, 1974; OECD, 1974; de Moor, 1978). What remained controversial was not diversification as such, but rather the principals and structures of differentiation or diversification.

During the 1970's, many employers, politicians, and experts claimed that the expansion of higher education was going beyond the demands of the employment sectors thus causing a growing mismatch between the competencies of graduates and their future tasks. According to these views, graduate unemployment and the under-utilization of competencies were likely to increase dramatically. In addition, the growing unemployment in Western Europe since 1973 was also affecting graduates from institutions of higher education.

Increased concern regarding the employability of graduates triggered widespread responses in higher education in at least three respects. Stronger emphasis was placed on fields of study closely linked to specific careers, on institutions aiming to impart skills immediately useful on the job, and on curricular revisions aimed at changing the qualitative content of higher education in a way likely to increase higher education course programmes considered appropriate in various countries, assuming that those completing short programmes were unlikely to harbour ambitious career goals.

The wording, *emphasis was placed*, was chosen with care. For as will be discussed below, the actual developments were by far less coherent and consistent in those respects than the prevailing rhetoric. Efforts in the mid- and late 1970's in favour

of diversifying the structures of higher education were undoubtedly reinforced by the growing employment problems. Note should be taken of the fact that those efforts by no means addressed exclusively the employability of graduates but were much broader in their intent.

RECENT ISSUES

Leaving aside, for a moment, the developments which occurred from the late 1970's to about the mid-1980's, one can note that after a period of almost complete silence, renewed efforts, in recent years, to improve the structures of the higher education system are visible in a surprisingly large number of European countries. Recent policies in favour of restructuring, however, are by no means similar in all countries so far as the causes addressed and the models suggested are concerned (see Neave, 1989; OECD, 1991; Gellert, 1993; Teichler, 1993).

Four different major debates having one element in common can be disentangled. This element, issues pertaining to the relationship of higher education with other sectors, is only conceived as one of the many issues involved, but not as the major driving force of the debate.

The restructuring of higher education first became a priority issue in most of the countries known for the extraordinarily long duration of the study periods leading to the award of a first degree. Restructuring thus took place in Spain, Denmark, Finland, and Italy. It is in the process of implementation in Austria and is a major issue in Germany and Switzerland. The long duration of study came to be viewed as intolerable for many reasons. Among them, mismatches between higher education and employment are evoked but are not

necessarily considered to be the most serious problem. One notes with interest that the structural models actually chosen were quite different. In Spain, the interim stage of three years of successful completion of higher education was transformed into a degree level (a bachelor's degree). In Italy, separate university departments were established to provide very short course programmes (up to two years). In Finland and Austria, new types of institutions of higher education were expected to provide course programmes leading to a degree equivalent to a bachelor's but being more vocational in emphasis (similar to the degrees awarded by the German *Fachhochschulen* and the Dutch *Hogescholen*).

Second, the so-called binary structure in the United Kingdom (and also in Australia) was discontinued. This structure in the United Kingdom was different from the other two types of institutional or multi-institutional structures in other European countries in one respect. All key structural elements, such as entry level, duration of studies, and types of degrees varied only gradually in the United Kingdom in terms of quality level and reputation, not however, in years of learning or of formal character (*cf.*, OECD, 1973). One might argue retrospectively that the *softest* structural differentiation between universities and the non-university sector, which for many years ensured the relatively high reputation of the non-university sector, eventually turned out to be the least stable one. Polytechnics became universities and are very likely to become similar to traditional universities, even though claims are made that higher education should be more responsive to employment demands - one of the rationales, given in the past, for the estab-

ishment of polytechnics as distinct from universities.

Third, the structures of higher education are under scrutiny in various central and eastern European countries. After the political transformations of 1990, the establishment of short and possibly more vocational course programmes in anticipation of expanded enrollments was strongly advocated by many experts. In some countries, steps are already being undertaken in this direction, whereas in other countries, decisions are still pending. Graduate employment is one of the arguments in the debate, but by and large, the crux of the debate is a search for a *modern* structure for higher education in general.

Fourth, in December 1988, the European Community called for the equivalence of all three-year programmes in higher education in its Member States in terms of providing the basic entry qualification to highly qualified occupations (*cf.*, the Commission of the European Communities, 1991). This policy is the most clearly employment-related one referred to in this context, but it is also the most vague, structurally speaking. As structural convergence between higher education systems in Europe did not exist previously and was not considered desirable for the future, the duration of the study period remained the only possible criteria for measuring the quality and the character of study.

A renewed debate on the relationships between higher education and employment has been underway in many European countries since about 1990, as a recent OECD study (1991) emphasizes. However, no single dominant issue has emerged nor any clearly dominant mood accompanying it. Rather, consideration

is being given to a ranging set of causes and contexts.

First, many experts are pointing out that the changing work tasks in jobs that graduates have held in the past call for a reconsideration of curricula, teaching, and learning in higher education. New technologies, for instance, are having a tremendous impact on many occupations. Closer links between scientific and technological knowledge, on the one hand, and economic and social knowledge, on the other hand, are on the agenda in many occupations. Last but not least, many employers are calling for stronger efforts on the part of higher education to foster general knowledge, problem-solving competencies, as well as social and communication skills.

Second, there is growing unemployment in many industrialized societies. It is not yet clear whether this phenomenon is short-term or whether a new stage of growth in unemployment quotas has emerged in general similar to the stages of growing unemployment in 1973-1975 and again in the early 1980's.

Third, enrollment quotas are again rising more substantially in various European countries than they did from the mid-1970's to the mid-1980's. Thus, the range of motivations, abilities, and employment prospects of graduates is likely to expand.

Fourth, government higher education policies in various European countries moved, during the 1980's, from macro-societal planning and detailed steering of higher education institutions towards an increase in the responsibility of the individual institution of higher education. *De-regulation*, increased *autonomy*, and similar slogans were used for describing the reduction of the procedural control of institutions of higher education along

with growing emphasis on evaluation and output related funding. Thus, the individual institutions of higher education became more concerned about the whereabouts of graduates as an important output or outcome variable.

In addition, some experts point to a growing internationalization of the professional labour market as well as the increasing importance of continuing education, both for graduates from institutions of higher education and for non-graduates possibly served by higher education institutions. It is less clear, however, whether these observations refer to actual trends or whether they are expressions of wishful thinking.

In discussing ways to improve the employment prospects of graduates of institutions of higher education, a broad range of measures tends to be addressed. The restructuring of types of institutions and of course programmes is among the measures recommended, but the emphasis being placed on structural changes in favour of employability is less pronounced now than it was until the mid-1970's. In order to explain this more cautious reference to structural measures, experiences acquired from the mid-1970's to the mid-1980's must be taken into consideration.

LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE MID-1970'S TO THE MID-1980'S

As already noted above, the efforts in favour of changing institutional structures began to lose momentum as of the mid-1970's. There seemed, more-or-less, to be a consensus emerging that the diversification of higher education was needed, but far-reaching steps were rarely taken during this period. According to a study published by the Council of Europe in 1988 (Teichler, 1988b), the

Netherlands was the only country taking formal steps in the mid-1980's, but this action can be viewed as a relatively late legal step already preceded by an informal upgrading of the *hoger beroepsonderwijs* around 1970.

To explain the stagnation of the restructuring of higher education during that period, one must take the following observations into account. They obviously overlap, and they might not be sufficient to explain the development in all European countries, but they certainly played a role in many cases.

First, the restructuring undertaken from the late 1950's to the mid-1970's was very costly because either new institutions were established or institutions previously not considered part of higher education were upgraded. As of the mid-1970's, however, various western European governments were no longer prepared to increase expenses for higher education or at least not in proportion with the rise in student numbers. Also, resistance on the part of the universities against downgrading was fierce (it only occurred in a few cases in eastern Germany in the early 1990's under the specific circumstances of German reunification). Thus, although governments in various European countries pleaded publicly for restructuring, they rarely took any action.

The second consideration is closely linked to the first. Even if governments were determined to take action, they did not necessarily succeed in doing so. During the 1970's, *planning* ceased to be a key word of higher education policy, and *implementation* became a common phrase, indicating difficulties and the watering down of original plans. As was pointed out in a comparative study on the implementation of major higher education reform efforts in Europe

during the 1970's, plans were most likely to be implemented if the founding of completely new institutions of higher education were to be the outcome, and least likely if already established universities feared a loss of status (Cerych and Sabatier, 1986).

Third, the need for diversification was initially viewed to be part of an internationally convergent trend of both expansion and structural development of higher education. In the late 1970's and during the 1980's, however, most experts agreed that the speed of expansion remained strikingly diverse and that a bewildering variety of patterns in higher education systems had emerged (*cf.*, Trow, 1974; Teichler, 1988a; Teichler, 1988b). Thus, faith in the irreversibility and irresistibility of certain structural models of the higher education system vanished.

Fourth, the debate about structures of higher education in terms of distinct types of higher education institutions or types of course programmes lost relevance once more diversity among individual universities was advocated. As various European governments, during the 1980's, began to emphasize the evaluation of the quality of individual institutions and departments as well as competition between individual institutions and departments, the structural debate was bound to lose priority.

Fifth and most importantly, signals about the structure of higher education desired by the employment system remained vague and ambiguous. In various European countries, one could observe claims by employers that a substantial increase of graduates from traditional universities was not desirable and that a diversification of higher education would reduce the mismatch between higher education and the labour market.

If we turn to actual graduate employment, however, the message turned out to be less clear.

If one tries to summarize the experience regarding graduate employment acquired in western European since the late 1970's relevant to structures of higher education (*cf.*, the overview in Teichler, 1988c), one can point out five major observations, even though the available statistical data and research results concerning the relationships between higher education and employment are less suitable for providing clear answers in this respect than one might wish.

To begin with, the employment problems of graduates from institutions of higher education turned out to be less dramatic than the pessimistic predictions of the mid-1970's had suggested. On the one hand, the developing trends of upgrading and vertical substitution were quite pronounced. On the other hand, problems did not centre around a central issue, but spread themselves widely. Some young people abandoned their intentions to study. Some students moved to fields of study promising better careers. Some students prolonged their studies. Graduate unemployment increased somewhat. Some graduates ended up in jobs clearly not requiring a degree. This state of affairs reduced the pressure in favour of reallocating the flow of students and of reshaping the structures of higher education according to the presumed demands of the employment system more than many experts had previously expected.

Second, realignment affected fields of study more strongly than types of higher education institutions or types of programmes. By and large, those graduates in Western Europe who faced relatively better employment oppor-

tunities were enrolled in fields clearly linked to occupational areas. It should be borne in mind, however, that shortages, on the one hand, and oversupplies of graduates, on the other hand, varied among European countries by far more than conventional wisdom suggested.

Third, non-university higher education might more successfully ensure relatively high ranking positions and careers for their graduates in those countries and in those sectors in which specialized higher education is clearly linked to specialized occupations. This principle might explain in turn why the polytechnics sector was eventually absorbed by the university sector in the United Kingdom - a country in which institutions of higher education were traditionally expected to train the mind rather than to train specialists.

Fourth, even in countries emphasizing clear links between higher education and professional work tasks, the employment prospects of students choosing not to enroll at traditional universities but rather in other sectors of the higher education system turned out to be less favourable than expected. For example, a survey of persons graduating from German universities and *Fachhochschulen* in the mid-1980's demonstrates that university graduates in engineering, in economics, and in business had fewer problems in finding employment and considered their work tasks during the first five years after graduation more clearly linked to the competencies which they had acquired during their courses of study than did their fellow graduates from *Fachhochschulen* (Teichler, Schomburg, and Winkler, 1992). The claim of bright employment prospects for graduates from non-university higher education seems frequently to be based on a comparison of different composi-

tions of fields of study provided by universities, on the one hand, and by non-university institutions of higher education, on the other hand.

Fifth, there has been a definite shift on the part of employers in many European countries since the 1980's so far as the competencies which they consider desirable are concerned. More emphasis is placed on cross-disciplinary knowledge, problem-solving abilities, ability to learn, personality, flexibility, social and communication skills, ability to act in international settings, transferable skills, etc. This shift of criteria for the recruitment of graduates turned out to be disadvantageous for graduates from those institutions and course programmes which hoped to provide improved employment prospects by fostering a *vocational* approach.

This summary of experiences does not mean to suggest that policies in favour of diversification in Europe have not been successful and have not in many cases led to reductions in the number of possible mismatches on the labour market. One can only note that graduates from traditional universities have fared less badly than frequently predicted. Also, one notes that the employment system in most European countries did not give clear signals as regards the desired diversity of higher education. Thus, it is not surprising to observe that many students continue to choose the traditionally most prestigious institutions, making use, however, of diversified study provisions.

SOME TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS FOR THE 1990'S

Activities in favour of a restructuring of higher education in European countries in the 1990's can no longer be carried along by the optimism that they can

count on very precise support by the employment system. They can no longer be based on the hope that re-structuring will be extraordinarily successful in alleviating problems regarding the relationships between higher education and employment. There is no hope for a magic wand in this respect.

There is no intention, however, to suggest that changing the structures of higher education is a futile effort so far as the relationships between higher education and employment are concerned. A diversity of higher education provisions supported by different types of higher education institutions and/or by different types of course programmes seems to serve the motivations, capabilities, and occupational prospects of students better than a homogeneous higher education system or a hierarchy of provisions clearly geared to the norms prevailing at the apex. In the European context, a diversity of types does not seem sustainable without governmental support for the non-élite sectors, because the norms among academics and within research seem to favour a hierarchy geared to the norms prevailing at the top and because the signals sent by the employment system are too vague and too ambivalent.

Given these signals, one should not be surprised to note, first, that problems of the relationships between higher education and employment are not the major driving force for a reconsideration of the structures of higher education; rather, the driving force is a bundle of diverse considerations including issues of the relationships between higher education and employment. This perception of the problem is certainly appropriate in that the structure of the higher education system has to serve various purposes and should thus not be primarily determined

by labour market considerations. One should also not be surprised to note that labour market considerations are referred to not only in support of a single structural model but also in support of quite different options.

The most suitable structural diversity of higher education certainly might vary from one European country to another, for traditions regarding the strengths and weaknesses of higher education programmes and institutions vary as to the notions regarding the links between higher education and employment. The question also becomes political if it becomes one of deciding whether diversity should entail substantial differences of quality or should keep quality differences in bounds.

The search for the most suitable structure of higher education might be eased if the relevant information base were improved. Notably, regarding its implications for the relationships between higher education and employment, one can observe an abundance of shaky information as well as deliberate misinformation. Again, an improved information base will most likely not favour any single structural model, but it might be helpful in exploring a more rational range of options.

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THE LEGAL CONSTRUCTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION STRUCTURES

Johan L. VANDERHOEVEN and Jan de GROOF

- In focussing on the legal basis for the diversification of higher education, the authors argue that the main focus when analyzing education laws for diversity or coherence should be on maintaining the proper balance between the rights of individuals and the needs of society. Thus, the fundamental role of regulation is to guarantee a

flexible adaptation to changing needs. The evolution of the legal basis of Belgian, specifically Flemish, higher education, from 1970 to the present is examined from this perspective. Ways of adapting lessons learned from the Belgian experience to the realities of eastern and central Europe are proposed.

INTRODUCTION

The working paper for this workshop, *Universities, Colleges, and Others: Diversity of Structures for Higher Education: Discussion of Themes*, states for this topic that "it seeks to clarify legal definitions and formulae for structural diversity". There is greater importance in analyzing the dynamics behind all legal definitions and formulae. Do legal definitions really influence what goes on in society? Or does the societal reality influence legal definitions? It is impossible to highlight these questions rapidly for all countries involved. A later paper will analyze in greater detail the new constitutions of the central and eastern European countries in relation to the formal legal criteria for modern legislation in the field of education.

In order to stimulate discussion, we want first to put forward a challenging thesis. Afterwards, we shall develop a more concrete illustration of the dynamics behind higher education reform, based upon the Belgian experience. To conclude, we shall return to fundamental rules that have to be set out as laws.

DEMOCRACY: LAW AND STATE POWER

Perhaps the main focus when analyzing educational laws for diversity or coherence should be on the possibility of maintaining a creative and dynamic balance between the rights of individuals and the needs of society or between control and evolution, not on the structures themselves. This standpoint is related to a concept of what a democratic society is or should be.

In all modern democratic societies, governments play a very important role in maintaining and promoting welfare and well being. On the one hand, democracy implies the need to circumscribe the power of government; however, on the other hand, democracy implies a transition in the legitimation of state power from normative ideas on how things are supposed to be to ensuring the quality of how things are.

What does this rather cryptic statement mean? The foundation of a democratic society is no longer a well-defined judgment on right and wrong, on good or bad. This judgment is subject to a democratic dialogue among all citizens.

The focus of power in a democracy, says the French philosopher Lefort, is an empty place. He uses this metaphor to explain that governors, societal groups, or even individuals no longer have the right to appropriate power or to embody it. The core of democracy lies in the ongoing dialogue between competing and creative forces, summed up as "the market", but of course, this dynamism also touches on other societal, cultural, and moral values. This foundation of a democratic society has to be safeguarded by a number of procedural rules which are given the force of law. These rules must guarantee equal rights to all to participate in societal life, including - of course - education.

To a certain extent we doubt that the statement in the working paper to the effect that "legal regulation of structural change in higher education has a fundamental role to play in prescribing the types of structural diversity and in influencing the degree to which 'bottom-up' diversification is possible" is entirely correct. Perhaps the fundamental role of regulation is to guarantee a flexible adaptation to changing needs without damaging the rights of all.

LEGAL DEFINITIONS AND SOCIETAL DYNAMISM: THE BELGIAN CASE

When examining the internal functioning and the organizational patterns of teaching and learning in Belgian higher education (universities and other institutions), one is confronted with a paradox. On the one hand, as in other countries, the evolution of the role and function of higher education has been subjected to dramatic changes over the last three decades. But on the other hand, the organization of teaching and learning remained rather traditional. For about twenty years, real *in-depth* change

seemed to be hampered by a framework set out in a law that was once called "epoch-making". Only recently did exogenous pressures become important and strong enough to lead to decisive changes. An analysis of those tendencies leading to change in the near future therefore is linked to an analysis of external developments themselves.

For the first time in Belgium, higher education was organized within a general legal and comprehensive framework by the Law dated 7 July 1970, relating to the general structure of higher education. This law grouped together almost all forms of education which followed secondary school. Shortly thereafter, teacher training was integrated into this framework. The Law classified all educational forms according to the organization of studies and their ultimate qualification. Thus at the dawn of the 1970's, only three types of higher education were to be found in Belgium: universities, higher technical (mainly training programmes for graduate engineers and interpreter-translators), and arts education (including architecture) and teacher training. Based upon two leading principles, a fundamental change of policy was undertaken. First, there was a strong commitment to the *democratization* of education, especially higher education. Secondly, major shifts in *labour market requirements* became apparent. Both principles reinforced each other.

Democratization

Access to all forms of higher education was made entirely free of any restrictions, thanks to a deliberate policy on the part of the authorities which were seeking to promote by means of the *Omnivalentiewet/Loi d'Omnivalence* (Omnivalence Law) of 1964 a true democratization of higher education. As a consequence of this Law, all secondary

school leavers have, in reality, free access to nearly all types of higher education. Admission to short-term higher education requires a *Certificate of Higher Secondary Education* awarded on completion of a full cycle of secondary education or since 1984 of a seventh year of vocational education (on a full time basis). Entry into long-term higher or university education requires the *Higher Education Admission Diploma*, which is now awarded almost automatically during the same examination period as the *Certificate of Higher Secondary Education* (with the exclusion of vocational education). Because of this formalistic awarding procedure, the Flemish Community decided, after the transformation of Belgium into a federal state in 1989, to abolish this admission diploma. Only in a few limited cases is access to higher education subject to an entrance examination (in the cases of the Faculty of Applied Science, Civil Engineering Training, and the Royal Military School).

Although the studies that have been carried out indicate a reduced concern in the Flemish Community regarding equal educational opportunities and the democratizing of university education as compared to concern expressed by the French Community, there is still a large number of eighteen-year-olds who choose to go on for higher education. Some forty-five per cent of all young people aged eighteen in the Flemish Community and fifty-five per cent in the French-language Community enrolled for some form of higher education in 1988, and roughly eighteen per cent of young people aged eighteen and over manage to qualify for a higher education diploma.

For most of the disciplines, no provisions exist for a *numerus clausus* in the strict sense of the term and for constraints on taking up or dropping

studies. Information campaigns to guide young people, particularly young women, towards disciplines offering good future perspectives (chiefly at the level of secondary education) permit the correction of certain imbalances. In recent years, certain groups have called for stricter conditions of access to higher education and for the introduction of suitable selection procedures. The French-language Community has not so far echoed this call. European-wide pressure for change in this area is becoming increasingly manifest.

Labour Market Requirements

The working population represents approximately thirty-eight percent of the population (3.75 million people). As in all other western industrialized countries - and at this point there are striking differences among the different parts of Europe - the tertiary sector has continued to gain in importance at the expense of other sectors. In Belgium nowadays, seventy percent of the working population is to be found in the tertiary sector, the highest such figure in Europe. Therefore a high enrollment rate in higher education is of vital importance. Reference is made to the comparable figures for France (63%) and for Germany (56%).

Structural Consequences

As a consequence of the policy to integrate, as much as possible, all kinds of programmes into the new established system of higher education, the full-time post-secondary sector for eighteen-year-old school leavers (following the end of a twelve-year period of compulsory education in Belgium) became very small.

The trail-blazing integration of nearly all full-time education for eighteen-year-

olds in part explains why Belgium, like France and Germany, adopted a *specialist model*, according to Neave's definition (1992), rather than a *multipurpose* or a *binary* structure for its higher education. This typology is based on two criteria: the structure of the educational programmes and the organizational structure and management of the higher education institutes.

In a recent study, Jallade (1992) developed a different framework for classification (binary, unitary, and fragmented systems) based only on the general structures of the educational programmes. According to this classification, Belgium belongs to the binary systems. For purposes of the argument to be developed below, the organizational aspects as well are included.

The option for a *specialist model* implied the creation of a type of higher education organized somewhat independently of the university. Its newly organized courses, on the balance, tend to be vocational and terminal in nature. The range of programmes is relatively limited, covering a few generically or occupationally related sectors (teacher training, elementary engineering, pre-school teacher training, social work, accounting, and secretarial studies). Recently, all these so-called *short-term* higher education programmes adopted a three-year structure according to the definitions of the *European Guideline* of 12 December 1988.

Most of the *traditional forms* of higher technical and arts' education mentioned above became integrated in an in-between structure, *long-term* higher education having at least four-year programmes. According to the Belgian Law, short- and long-term higher education used to be considered first as *non-university higher education*, and later as *higher*

education outside the university. In both cases, however, the distinction between the two sectors was expressed in negative terms (*non* or *outside*). Contrary to what happened in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, the system did not reach a real binary or multipurpose status, even though transitions from one type to another were possible *de facto*. In general, however, distinctions remained (and remain) rather important in different ways. At any rate, *higher education outside the university* grew literally out of secondary education, without the stimulus of much legislation. Even now, the links between secondary and higher (especially short term) education are striking.

In terms of its tradition of dominant curricula, Belgium belongs to what McLean (1990) calls *The Encyclopedic Heartlands*. Typical of this tradition is the idea that all students have to acquire as much knowledge as possible about valid (rational) subjects. All students will more-or-less follow the same curriculum, organized along a rather strong idea about the hierarchy of topics and disciplines. But it must be understood that this tradition has a strong orientation to utility. All human activities are supposed to become more efficient by the application of rational procedures. Therefore, even vocational studies, at any level, should begin with rational scientific ideas. The power of this ideology lies in its capacity to survive continuous pressures for differentiation which have been posed by the democratization of lower secondary schooling and the diversification of upper secondary education, on one hand, and by the ever changing demands of the labour market, on the other hand.

As a consequence, in all forms of higher education there remains a strong tendency

to organize all programmes according to the same principles. Every year, a more-or-less fixed programme is set starting with broad, general, and theory-oriented introductions to given disciplines. Later, the general knowledge thus acquired will be applied to more concrete problems. Every year, each student must pass a fixed number of formal examinations. This procedure explains to a large extent the ongoing resistance in higher education to modular or credit systems.

The same is true for programmes based on only one subject or on learning by doing. For example, in teacher training among a number of teacher trainers, there is still strong loyalty to the idea that teaching practice should embody the application of principles learned in theoretical courses. The same situation can be found in other disciplines as well. As a consequence, the interaction between the labour market and education programmes (initial training and in-service training) is not always optimal. It must be admitted, however, that labour market requirements are sometimes rather unstable or badly defined.

Change Under Pressure

Until recently, the teaching and learning climate in Belgian higher education, especially in the short-term programmes, remained closely linked to the traditional patterns of schooling at the primary and secondary school. The university, by tradition, has always been characterized by another *cultural* climate. But even here there remains a very strong sense of the encyclopedic tradition (formal curricula, examinations, broad spectrum programmes, etc.). The long-term type remained in-between but more closely resembled the university.

Until 1989, the authorities did not take any explicit measures either to improve

the internal effectiveness of the individual education institutions or to bring them more directly into line with the actual needs of the labour market. They only tried to influence the funding of higher education in general and of scientific research in particular. Certain statements issuing from academic and political circles give the impression that marketability and economic competitiveness have gained in importance among the criteria used for assessing the quality of research and education. The Belgian authorities, however, did not consider that it was up to them to take measures to exert a direct influence on developments in this area. The authorities referred to experiences in other countries relative to the evaluation of the quality of individual institutions through such measures as accreditation procedures, certain types of inspection, and the like, for Belgium has no yardsticks for measuring the performance of higher education establishments as a basis for determining and awarding financial resources.

One could say that Belgian policy used to be a perfect example of *demand-led policy*. At a certain moment in the mid-1980's, however, higher education policy itself became a victim of the *demand-led* ideas. According to Neave, the erosion of demand-led policies for higher education may be seen as symptomatic of the abandoning of the stance that governed the expansion of higher education as of the early 1960's (Neave, 1984, p. 114). At least in the Flemish Community as of 1989 (with the federalization of the Belgian State) this tendency - and the replacement of a demand-led policy by a more expenditure-driven one - became gradually apparent.

Although some of these tendencies are noticeable in the French and German language communities as well, only in the Flemish Community has a real shift in policy strategy been launched. In the Flemish Community, it has become possible to overcome the hindrances to the ability of the government to move to a more expenditure-driven policy. Those old constraints - being partly a function of the highly segmented nature of Belgian society and also being a function of the political power that various segments can wield against the government - are still influential in the field of education policy, especially in the French Community of Belgium (Hecquet, 1984).

The pressures in favour of change are threefold: the consequences of a demand-led policy, shifts in the labour market, and the internationalization of higher education. Note should be taken of the fact that the first and second factors correspond perfectly with the two leading principles of the expansion of higher education in the 1960's.

New Principles for Teaching and Learning in the Flemish Community.

After several attempts to change the legislation on higher education under the national government, the Flemish Community took up the challenge on its own immediately after gaining its educational autonomy in 1989. Modifications of the higher education system led to a new discussion about its triple structure.

In June 1991, two Acts were passed aiming at a fundamental reorganization of *academic education* (that is, university education). First, new relations were established between the universities and the authorities based on more autonomy and local financial responsibility. From then on, universities were to be financed up to fifty percent according to the num-

ber of students enrolled as of February of the previous academic year. The other fifty percent is fixed and varies according to the index of consumer prices and wage costs. Thus, spending is made more stable and financial long-term planning, easier. No perfect solution for rationalizing the educational offer of the different universities has yet been found. Rationalization and programming standards were set up for purposes of funding (a shift towards an expenditure-driven policy).

The former system of *ex-ante* supervision by the authorities has been replaced by an *ex-post* system. It is based on the idea that universities are capable of independent management. However, as part of the responsibility of the education system to society, a general form of quality control and supervision of educational offerings is being introduced by means of *visitation committees* for peer review.

The academic education field was reclassified into eighteen branches of study, including an overall number of about eighty acknowledged training programmes (academic degrees and diplomas). Postgraduate programmes were structured as well.

In October 1991, another Act relating to long-term higher education was passed. Although the programmes in question will not be integrated into the universities, they provide education of an *academic level*. In general, long-term higher education observes the same rules as academic education. The main new element is the much larger autonomy of long-term institutions, backed up - first and foremost - by overall package financing.

The above-mentioned Acts also embodied attempts at the autonomous

definition of the different higher education forms in a positive way. One should keep in mind that research remains the privilege of universities, but that institutions offering long-term higher education can participate in applied research through co-operation agreements with universities.

The new rules also introduce a more flexible system for transfers between the different levels of training. While respecting a number of very general principles, the actual responsibility for day-to-day operations is in the hands of the institutions themselves. Soon, a new Act will be adopted in order to open the possibility of doctoral training at universities to students who have completed the long-term type of non-university higher education.

The Education Department has just launched an overall plan aiming at the reorganization of short- and long-term non-university higher education. The financing mechanism will be adapted to encourage institutes to create larger multitechnic *high schools*. The authorities want to separate short-term higher education completely from secondary schooling. At the same time, an economy of scale will help reinforce the basis for quality development in teaching and learning as well as control over the higher education budget in the future.

Teaching and learning in Belgian higher education underwent almost no dramatic changes over the last thirty years. An *epoch-making* law on integrating the higher education system was not efficient enough to revitalize the system in relation to its environment. The successful expansion of the system and the demand-led policy sustaining it contributed in the end to the replacement of traditional policies by expenditure-

driven decisions (at least in the Flemish Community).

It should be understood that the government limited itself to safeguarding the simple functioning of the system. For this reason, a more proactive policy was launched in 1989. New procedural rules have been or will soon be elaborated. However, the question which remains is whether or not Belgium, compared to other European countries, has scored in a negative way as a consequence of non-action or because of incrementalism in higher education policy. Perhaps in Belgium many decisions lead to relatively good outcomes without needing deliberate and synoptic policy (as in other European countries), thanks to the inherent but active forces in society. If so, the circle can be closed.

So far as higher education policy in central and eastern Europe is concerned, one of the main dilemmas can be defined: will the respective governments be able to limit themselves to their core tasks in a democracy, even though they will perhaps remain the only agents which can provide guidelines and incentives and be able to coordinate the overall desirable development in society. In this context, the quotation by Bronislav Geremek is relevant: "the path to freedom is open, but that to democracy is uncertain".

THE FOCUS ON LEGISLATION

Given the Belgian example of dynamic evolution which at first sight does not seem very innovative, and taking into account the Belgian position in the debate on democracy, initial questions raised in this article on the role of laws in defining education structures should be reoriented towards a more fundamental one: *the role of legislation in the movement*

towards democratization in which education is one of the key-actors.

It would seem opportune for the new democracies to set out the general political objectives of their (higher) education reform plans within a legal framework, more specifically as regards State action with respect to education and the content of education. (This proposition is made notwithstanding the fact that it is not orthodox - normally objectives cannot be treated as enforceable legal standards). All educational institutions thus immediately become partners in the movement towards democratization and liberalization which the State wishes to establish. However, the State assumes the role of both initiator and executor of this operation, which immediately exposes one weakness: the reform of education will only be carried out if the State is actually capable of performing this challenging task.

Hence the State must prevent a situation from arising whereby the era of State monopoly and bureaucracy gives way to a period during which the material facilities which the Law obliges the State to provide cannot be offered, or during which the authorities do not achieve the implementation arrangements set down in the Law. The former discretionary competence of the Government must not be replaced by a legal vacuum; otherwise it will become difficult to achieve the aim of all education. It is not clear whether the law in central and eastern Europe at present should focus primarily on structuring external or internal diversity. Maybe a demand-led policy could provoke a much more efficient structure in line with local cultural traditions and economic needs?

In order to achieve an effective right to education as demanded by all those in favour of democracy, the law should

guarantee the financing of educational institutions. For this purpose, State and municipal financing should be provided, as well as a mechanism for the indexation of operational subsidies. From this point on, many questions concerning evaluation can be raised:

- Are financing norms based on stated or proven needs?
- Are the procedures for registration, attestation, and accreditation clearly defined?
- To what extent is demand-led development of educational non-state infrastructure possible?

In some central and eastern European countries, *state educational standards* have been developed, without any legally outlined consultation procedure with those persons actually involved in education. Sometimes these standards are referred to as *minimum* norms, but at the same time, they may be called *models*, which are then applied *independently* by the educational institutions. In some legislative models for higher education such norms are only mentioned in an appendix to the education law, but they are nevertheless made subsequently enforceable.

Such procedures are questionable. They must either be detailed in the Law itself, or they must be based on a clear legal delegation. Moreover, the regulation must not conflict with the principle of autonomy which should be included in the Law as an expression of democratic options.

CONCLUSION

The *right to education* is both a freedom (rejection of excessive government intervention) and a right (entitlement to positive intervention on the part of the

government), an individual right (based on the development of the individual), and a collective right (the right of a group, whether or not it is based on an ideology, philosophy, or a pedagogical concept); a political and ideological right, with consideration being given to the compatibility of the right to education with other rights (freedom of worship and belief, freedom of speech and assembly); and a socio-cultural right the exercise of which is necessary in the context of training and the three aspects of the latter (personal development, social training, and preliminary vocational training or continuing training). Taking these factors into account, we conclude the following. The adoption of a law-making technique prescribing less and guaranteeing more is for central and

eastern Europe more fundamental than a concrete option for a certain educational diversity. Otherwise, "bottom up" diversification will remain impossible.

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DIVERSITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION: A UNITED KINGDOM PERSPECTIVE

Sir Graham HILLS

- Conscious diversity of provision within and between institutions of higher education is desirable. Diversity is a necessary feature of all evolving systems. In higher education, student choice among a wide range of educational and training options is the surest way to persuade

SUBJECT DIVERSITY AND FLEXIBILITY

Diversity is a biological necessity: it allows ecological systems and even single species to respond to changing circumstances. Diversity is at the root of change, particularly painless evolutionary change. Frontal assaults on cultural bastions invariably fail. On the other hand, the gentle outflanking of the conservative majority by groups of committed reformers is a sure and even reversible way of achieving change.

Diversity is also a virtue in higher education. It is the vehicle of change, and coupled with enhanced student choice, it is bringing about large and welcome changes to the structures and methodologies of higher education. This possibility is particularly important as universities confront the prospect of mass higher education as opposed to that of a small, already well-educated élite.

The much larger numbers of students also have a much wider range than before of expectations and aspirations. The provision of higher education will increasingly need to reflect this reality.

The range of subject options, the ways in which the subjects are offered, and the levels at which they are offered will continue to extend as more and more stu-

universities to adapt to modern needs. The key to success lies in the modularization of all course contents on a standard basis and in removing barriers to choice and interdisciplinary studies of all kinds.

dents see themselves as paying customers rather than as grateful acolytes. Although market forces as such are unlikely to prevail, the pressures of the job market, of the increasing costs of education and research, and not the least the personal ambitions of students will all impose profound changes on otherwise conservative institutions.

Academics are conservative by nature. Their knowledge makes them so. In the past they have paid more attention to satisfying their internal needs of scholarship, specialization, and research than to the educational needs of their students. Among the forces of change is the explosion of the knowledge base, the fragmentation of knowledge, and the demands of the knowledge base by the new technologies.

Fragmentation is not the same as diversity, even if the two are related. The one frequently gives rise to the other. It follows that specialization and the compartmentalization of knowledge is often first the child and then the enemy of diversity. Science is already fragmented into a myriad of isolated boxes which have difficulty in communicating with one another, for example, chemistry with physics, or mathematics with computer science. Since change invariably occurs

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at the boundaries of knowledge, specialization at all levels of education can be self-limiting and inhibiting.

The academic pursuit of specialized knowledge for its own sake is therefore unlikely to encourage diversity of provision and diversity of structures. The United Kingdom is an example of an academically inclined country which places much emphasis on knowledge and less on skills. The concentration of universities on knowledge for its own

sake and the lack of comparable institutions with other, diverse goals have had damaging effects on the ability of the United Kingdom to develop new technologies. It is here that the lack of institutional diversity has been most felt.

The vocabulary of this aspect of higher education is described in Figure 1. The dynamic characteristics of these components of higher education and the realities between them are shown in Figure 2.

Figure 1. The Main Components of Tertiary Education, Research, Design, and Development

THE KNOWLEDGE BASE,

- the know-what, the facts, the theories once in the brain, now in the computer memory

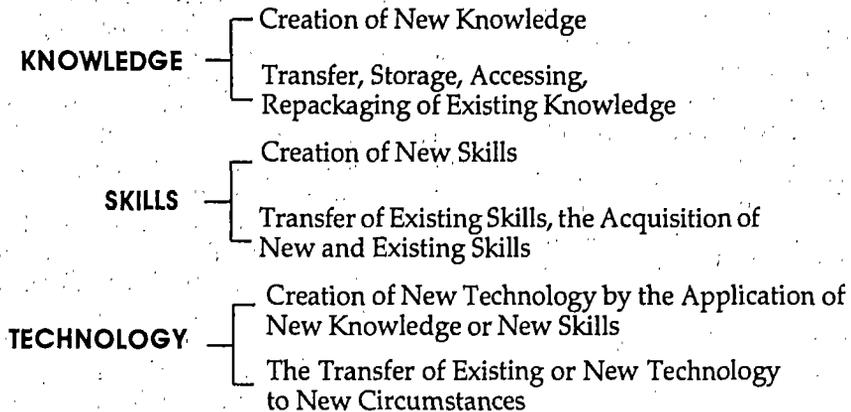
THE SKILLS BASE,

- the do-how, the human domain of the senses, the arts, crafts, and practices

THE TECHNOLOGY BASE

- the know-how, the application of knowledge by the use of skills.

Figure 2. The Dinamic Components of Tertiary Education



Universities will be forced to consider all these aspects of education and training. This task alone will evoke new goals, new attitudes, and new organizational arrangements. A great diversity of educational and training options will need to be considered which may well require a diversity of institutions to deliver them.

To accommodate the variety of new subjects and subject mixes, it was found convenient to disaggregate subjects into smaller, coherent segments or modules. The modularization of undergraduate courses has led to an almost limitless range of new subject combinations and new degree courses. It, more than anything else, has introduced an undreamt of degree of diversity and also of flexibility.

Student choice has imposed continuous change on reluctant universities. It arose in the smaller, less well-endowed institutions such as the polytechnics which had more to gain and less to lose from the changes. In the United Kingdom, these institutions have done well and have challenged the universities to introduce similar flexibilities into an otherwise hierarchical system.

Modular structures and student choice have, in the best tradition of evolutionary diversity, been the major factor in persuading universities to look outward to the needs of society, of industry and, of course, of the students themselves. Modular courses were also the precursor to another important educational development, namely that of open learning, whereby the student exercises considerable control over the choice of subject and of learning procedures. Its success has confounded its critics. It is highly motivating and a very effective way of accommodating the new

electronic communications systems into the educational framework.

Modularization is therefore an important aspect of diversity, but its greatest strength lies in its flexibility. It facilitates the diversification of subject matter, but it also facilitates the re-integration of diverse subject matter into coherent new disciplines, for example, information engineering, molecular biology, materials science, facilities management, and process design.

Subject diversity is therefore a natural state of knowledge and needs no encouragement. It readily leads to fragmentation and to over-specialization, to cultural polarization, and an attitude of *not-invented-here*. It also leads to schisms between arts and science, science and technology, etc. These adverse features are arguments for delaying specialization and encouraging integration, for example, by design methodologies, by case-studies, and by project work.

The flexibility made possible by modularization is universally valuable. Once in place, it facilitates the transnational interchange of students, staff, and therefore of ideas. It would be even more helpful if there were also *standardization* of the essential elements of the new modular structures; leading to standardization of the size of the modules; of the length of course units, and of the value of course credits.

Such a process of standardization might be so difficult as to seem impossible but, as with electronic components and communication frequencies, it will have to be done - the sooner then the better.

RIGIDITIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Obstacles to change and to diversity are widespread in higher education. Because they have resisted change, universities are the longest surviving feature of civilization, easily outliving national governments, political structures, and even religious institutions. This situation arises because civilization itself is a knowledge-based activity to which universities are central. Even so, the accretion of knowledge can have a stultifying effect which can inhibit evolution and diversity.

If we consider knowledge itself, it is evident that for centuries its value lay in its scarcity and its exclusiveness. This quality has changed, and in the last twenty years, the knowledge base has exploded. For the first time, universities face the threat of too much knowledge. A knowledge base can be exhaustively expensive to maintain. To the individual, the knowledge mountain can induce knowledge blocks (obsession) and knowledge sedimentation (prejudice). Excess theoretical knowledge is the most dangerous, conditioning as it does future options and constructs. Too much specialized knowledge leads to orthodoxy, especially in political and religious matters. Diversity is then a form of heresy.

It is therefore essential that we imbue our students with the belief that knowledge is now universal, freely available, and free flowing. It cannot be owned, and attempts to possess it should be resisted. Flexible learning procedures and *open-learning* are the means of encouraging intellectual flexibility and intellectual mobility and discouraging rote learning and memory habits.

In every subject, the knowledge base is already overwhelmingly large. The growth of new knowledge and the decay

of old knowledge questions the value of possessing and owning knowledge. The idea that a student will acquire knowledge to last a lifetime is now absurd. Only a minority of graduates go on to build their careers on the knowledge base acquired at the university. Most will change their jobs and their professions several times. The intellectual tool kit of the future is therefore not one comprising mainly or even largely knowledge but rather a range of intellectual skills, technologies, and other skills which can be used over a wide range of disciplines, existing and yet to come.

In the United Kingdom, the word *skilled* carries less prestige than words such as *educated* or *knowledgeable*. It is well known that the Hellenic traditions of all European universities have led to a veneration of the intellect and to the downgrading of skills and of the training necessary to acquire them.

The clash or schism between the academic values of the knowledge base and the human and vocational values of the skills base has been a painful issue which the United Kingdom has yet to resolve. All examinations in Britain are knowledge based, whereas all professions are skills based. Only medicine and the law have managed to bridge this gap and to give social value to skills.

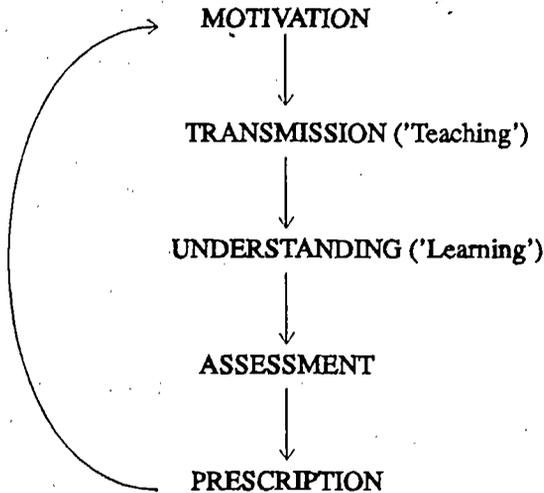
This conflict between education and training has been damaging to the technological capacity of the United Kingdom. It is a form of diversity not to be welcomed or to be encouraged. On the other hand, diversity of outlook, of subject matter, of professions, etc., is quite acceptable and is readily compatible with the continuous integration of knowledge-based learning and skills-based training.

THE MANAGEMENT OF DIVERSITY

The proper model of higher education is therefore one of controlled or organized diversity within institutions and between institutions. As in the United States, the European student body will increasingly expect a wide range of choices. Their choices are as good a guide to our future as the inclinations of professors and others with a vested interest in the *status quo*.

Computer-based teaching methods will facilitate the operation of this wide range of diversity and choice. The greatest change in the delivery of higher education will occur as the knowledge-transfer process becomes largely automated, computer-based, and also under the control of the student. The role of the professor and teacher will then be that of tutor, mentor, and friend. The new virtuous circle of attainment will be that shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3. 'Hooper' UHI Teaching/Learning System



The knowledge base was until recently the province of the professor. This situation will change as the knowledge platform for each subject also becomes standardized and universal. This standardization will greatly improve the effectiveness of universities whilst also raising considerably the quality of the teaching and learning materials. By 2001, (say), all course contents for the first degree will be in standardized CD-ROM format, delivered on hard-disk. Standardization has always led to higher product quality. The room for diversity between countries will be small, but the

scope for each in packaging the knowledge base for specific purposes will be considerable.

INTERNAL DIVERSITIES AND EXTERNAL STANDARDIZATION

It has been argued here that the benefits of transnational standardization are so great that in most basic subjects greater diversity between countries should not be encouraged. There is no Italian chemistry, no British electronics.

The same is true for degree structures and course organization. Indeed, it

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would be helpful also to standardize the levels of the first degree, of the professional degree, and of the doctoral research degree. Then students would find it easier to move from one national system to another.

Since most European countries are entering, for the first time, the era of *mass* higher education, the level of the first degree should not be too high. To make it readily attainable, it should take the form of the first degree as offered in the United States, the only country to have already introduced mass higher educa-

tion. That first degree is the result of a deliberately broad foundation course designed as a basis for citizenship as well as for the professional studies subsequently to be taken by a smaller proportion of the age group.

It would therefore be helpful also to attempt a transnational standardization of the vertical diversity of attainment, the so-called ladder of attainment shown in Figure 4, and onto which (and off of which) students of all ages and all countries can step as circumstances or needs dictate.

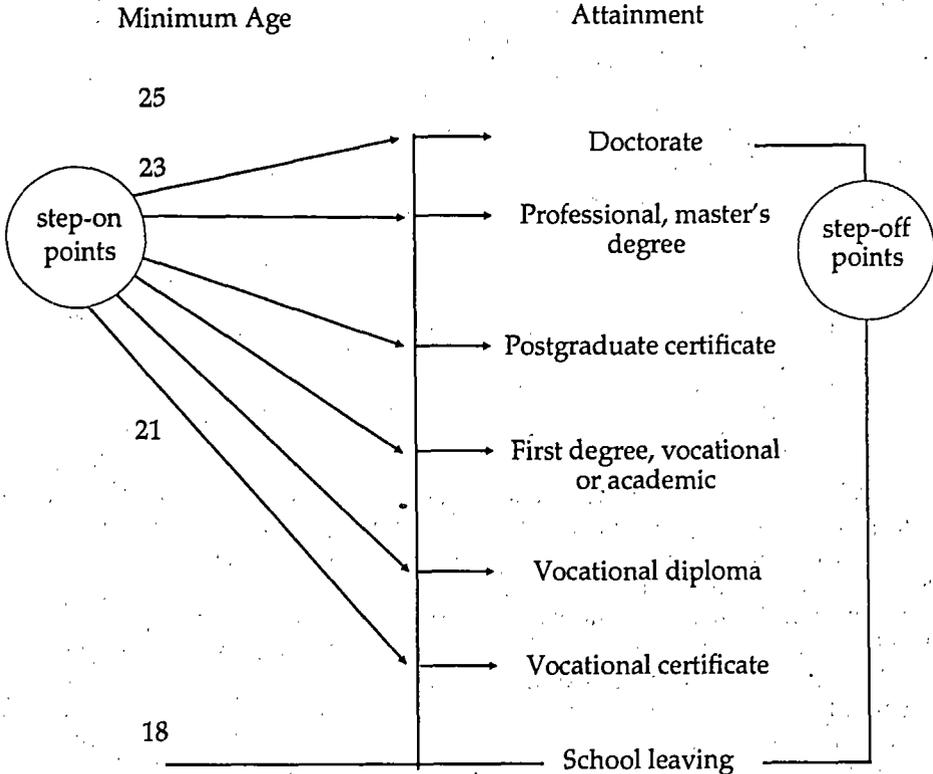


Figure 4. International Ladder of Attainment in Higher Education

Each of these steps should be coherent and self-contained. Each could be taken sequentially in one institution but preferably in more than one country and with work experience intervals as appropriate. Given this range of options, the internal and external diversity open to the student is now very large. The structural diversities inside each country would be those of:

- a wide range of subject mixes;
- a conscious progression towards one or more specialisms;
- a wide range of mixes of knowledge (academic) and skills (vocational);
- a wide range of entry and exit points on the ladder of attainment.

This internal diversity would then be accompanied by deliberate standardization of this diversity between nations and countries. A common pattern of higher education would be of benefit to all students, allowing them to maximize the extent of their informed choice

and therefore of their mobility. This would require the standardization of all different levels of qualification, a process now underway in the European Union. Bridges could then be built between institutions and between countries. International credit transfer already exists in the European Union, and it should be extended.

CONCLUSION

All countries are engaged in the same tasks. Their institutions of higher education share a single purpose, that of organizing and of repackaging the universal knowledge base in ways suitable for the needs of their students and of their countries. To search for common goals is to seek standardization in ways that are compatible with a wide range of internal diversity.

Deliberate international diversity is not helpful, except perhaps to politicians and historians.

LEGAL CONSTRUCTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION STRUCTURES: THE FRENCH CASE

Renée RIBIER

- Diversification, like many aspects of French higher education, has been kept under a strong degree of state control. Diversification varies according to whether it concerns Level 3 or

Until recent years, the French higher education system was centred around two principal graduation levels:

Level 3 (*baccalauréat* + 2 years), represented by the *instituts universitaires de technologie* (university polytechnic institutes), and the *sections de techniciens supérieurs* (senior technician sections), which offer training in the industrial, agricultural, and tertiary sectors;

Level 1 (*baccalauréat* + 5 years), representing graduation from universities, engineering schools, and management training programmes. These levels correspond to the organization of course programmes and diplomas as well as to entry levels in the labour market, qualifications and salaries being defined by collective agreements, which set the level of remuneration as per the type of diploma obtained.

The diversification of training occurs differently according to these two levels.

DIVERSIFICATION AT LEVELS 3 AND 1

At Level 3, the diversification of the contents of training is external, imposed on the system as a whole by the specialized

Level 1 of higher education. Different types of institutions and programmes at both levels, resulting from conscious attempts at diversification, are described.

ministries which are supported by advisory boards composed of representatives of the professions, the teaching staff, and the administrative personnel. For each specialty, the contents of course programmes and the organization of courses are defined by a central authority, as is also the type of terminal diploma to be awarded. Change in these arrangements occurs rather slowly and is motivated more by a need to adopt and align the contents of education so that it matches the evolution of technologies and of professional practice than by any desire to create, *ex nihilo*, new types of training or new branches.

Nevertheless, the use that the students have made of these structures, which were set up institutionally to provide the labour market with technicians, having two more years of training beyond the *baccalauréat*, has upset these plans. Indeed, students have imposed *de facto* diversification by continuing their studies, especially following graduation from the *instituts universitaires de technologie*. More than half of such graduates are enrolling in long-cycle studies in engineering schools and in university *licence* programmes.

At Level 1, the situation varies greatly depending on whether schools (*écoles*) or universities are considered.

So far as the schools are concerned, the creation of a new training branch can be envisaged and organized by an institution seeking diversification or by academics (one or more of them) who have committed themselves to the creation of a new institution.

The contents of education, meaning the teaching programmes, are evaluated by bodies which are independent of the concerned ministry, such as the *Commission des titres d'ingénieur* (Commission for Engineering Qualifications), and the *Fédération nationale des écoles de gestion* (the National Federation of Schools of Management). These commissions evaluate projects and approve them thus authorizing award of the title or the diploma of *ingénieur*, both being legally protected. The commissions are composed of representatives of the major employers' federations, of the professional branches and of school directors. The ministry confirms the recognition of the diplomas awarded by the provision of employment and of funding.

Over the last seven or eight years, a great number of schools were created under the pressure of regional communities that attach significant interest to the development of technical training in branches that are profitable for them. This process has had debatable, if not negative, consequences: a geographical scattering of units which are overly small and underequipped to conduct research; and an overspecialization of types of training which stress the originality of their technological niches in order to attract candidates.

The universities too have witnessed a rapid diversification of training offerings, as part of a general strategy aimed at professionalization.

Professionalization is understood as the pursuit of a closer adjustment of the training offered to professional requirements. Thus training programmes have emerged in such fields as tourism, real estate law, applied foreign languages, and the applications of biology to the agro-food industry. As for environmental studies, new branches have been set up covering geography, chemistry, biology, geology, and sociology.

This diversification is the result of an internal process. Teams of academics are responsible for the elaboration of training projects. Each one is submitted by the given university to the ministry in order to be *accredited*, that is, granted national recognition. The ministry examines the opinions expressed by the expert commissions which it designates, attaching particular importance to scientific level and quality. Afterwards, the minister decides whether or not to grant recognition of the given diploma. He can refuse to grant recognition, even if the opinions of the experts were positive, for reasons pertaining to the mission of the university or because of uncertainty as to openings on the labour market. Such cases are, however, rare.

Even if the diploma is not officially recognized, the university can nevertheless decide to award it under its own authority by calling it a *diplôme d'université* (university diploma).

This internal expansion led the ministry to an external diversification of the types of education offered by the creation of a new component in the university system, namely the IUP's - *instituts universitaires professionnalisés* (university professional institutes).

BIRTH OF THE IUP'S

The IUP's were the result of two realizations: the internally expressed need of the system to bring some organization into the diversity of professionalized diplomas; and the emergence of a diversified demand, both regarding qualifications and the employment market for professionals having qualifications of a higher level than those offered by Level 3 training but still not as advanced as those of Level 1.

The IUP's correspond to the level of the *baccalauréat* + 4 years. In 1992, the ministry decreed the creation of a new national diploma, that of *ingénieur-maitre* (master engineer), changing the organization of the course programme from *bac* + 1 to *bac* + 4, and defining nine branches of training for the industrial sector and seven branches for the tertiary sector.

The universities elaborate projects within each branch of study. These projects are then submitted for examination by a commission independent of the ministry. The universities remain fully responsible for designating a status for IUP's within their organizational charts but they are obliged to see to it that at least 30% of the courses of the latter are offered by professionals and that long internships are made available in enterprises.

There are, at present, 122 IUP's of which 58 are linked to the industrial sector and 64 to the tertiary sector. However, most of them do not represent *ex nihilo* creations; rather, they are the result of changes in status of pre-existing institutes or programmes requiring the *baccalauréat* + 4 years, such as the MIAG's

(*maîtrises d'informatique appliquée à la gestion*) or certain MST (*maîtrises de sciences et techniques*) or of a cross-sectional regrouping of various existing specialties to which were added other specialties, some of them completely new.

Last but not least, the ministry requires that the annual number of graduates per IUP be at least 100 students in order to avoid the scattering of overly small units.

Given the fact that IUP's are fairly new, it is too early to pass judgment as to suitability regarding the needs of the economy and of society, the employment of graduates, and their recognition via collective agreements. This new formula has enjoyed great success in universities, as they have all set up at least one IUP. The regional communities are definitely interested in them and have initiated numerous requests to have them set up in them.

CONCLUSION

This French initiative thus reflects the complexity of the higher education system while demonstrating its great flexibility and its capacity to react rapidly to the diversity of job opportunities, technological progress, and the expectations of its socio-economic environment.

This diversification has been favoured by a political context that has considered higher education to be a national priority and has provided salaries and workplaces for significant numbers of teacher-researchers. Both internal and external diversification have interacted through a constant dialectic, but one which, fortunately, has been kept under control by the State.

HIGHER EDUCATION STRUCTURES IN ROMANIA

Ioan MIHĂILESCU and Lazăr VLĂSCEANU

- The higher education system of Romania has been one of the sectors of Romanian society most determined to undertake drastic reform and restructuring. The reform process, which got underway during the first months of 1990, is complex, particularly the efforts in favour of restructuring and diversification aimed at

The system of higher education in Romania is currently negotiating its way amidst a process of major restructuring. The process has been made possible by the political changes which came about at the end of 1989. One can maintain that in recent years the Romanian higher education system has been one of the most dynamic social sectors, unequivocally expressing its intention and determination to undertake drastic reform in all spheres of academic life.

Like all other social institutions in Romania, the universities suffered greatly during the communist dictatorship. The academic and managerial structures were marked by bureaucracy and conservatism. Openly or deviously, universities were pushed aside. Attempts were even made to transform them into ordinary labour-force breeding units or social relays according to communist social norms. Without openly saying so, but quite obviously, the regime viewed the Romanian academic intelligentsia with suspicion, if not with frank hostility. Universality and the critical spirit - basic academic values - were in strong contradiction with communist dogma.

The structural dysfunctions of higher education in Romania were far from being inherent to the academic system;

adapting Romanian higher education, both in terms of national and of curricular structures, to the realities of a market economy and liberal democratic principles. An appropriate legal framework is to be provided by two new laws, the Law on Education and the Law on Quality Assessment and Accreditation.

they were deliberately instilled by the political bureaucracy. The feeling of frustration experienced by professors and students alike was more intense than that perceived by other social categories. Thus the longing for radical change was more clearly and fiercely expressed in Romanian academic circles than among other social and professional groups.

The reform process of higher education in Romania, which began in the first months of 1990, was initiated by the major universities of the country. In most instances, the national coordinating institutions sanctioned situations that had already come into being. The factual dynamics of given structures has been and still is more rapid than legislative or normative modifications. The reform endeavours of the national institutions (the Parliament, the Government, the Ministry of Education), initiated at the beginning of the 1990's, were primarily corrections of the gross errors committed during the totalitarian regime.

Starting in 1993, the main political institutions have also manifested their intention to radically reform and restructure the higher education system. The new strategy is no longer concerned with restoration by sectors, but is conceived as a medium and longer-term coherent con-

cept addressing all segments of higher education. Its development, which is being simultaneously supervised by national and international bodies and organizations, is obviously a time-consuming process. The reform is examined at the legislative, institutional, psychological, and social levels. Mention, however, must be made of the fact that legislative or normative sanctioning has fallen far behind the actual dynamics of academic institutions.

THE DYNAMICS OF NATIONAL STRUCTURES

Study Fields

Beginning with the mid-1970's, Romanian higher education entered a period of stagnation from the standpoint of the number of students and professors. The *numerus clausus* system was strictly controlled by the central political

and administrative bodies. The anti-intelligentsia attitudes of the top political bureaucracy relegated higher education and scientific research to the periphery, the stress being laid on developing a sort of utopian intellectual working class. Investments in higher education were drastically reduced, and, in the case of traditional universities, budgets could scarcely cover current expenses. In spite of all restrictions, however, the driving force to enroll in higher education grew stronger and stronger. In some cases (law, art), entrance examination competition rose to aberrant figures: fifty to sixty candidates per place. Indeed during the 1980's, Romania was among the countries with the lowest higher education enrollment rates. As a result, a general mood of dissatisfaction prevailed which led to the explosive expansion of the higher education network between 1990 and 1993.

Table 1. Romania - Higher Education Enrollment by Type of Study: 1970-1971 - 1993-1994

Type of Study	1970-1971	1980-1981	1989-1990	1990-1991	1991-1992	1993-1994
Establishments	51	44	44	48	56	56
Faculties	195	134	101			
Enrollment Total	151,885	192,769	164,507	184,171	205,393	240,000
of which:						
Day Students (%)	70.7	83.6	57.7	70.5	74.1	
Evening Students (%)	4.5	9.7	36.1	23.8	18.8	
Distance Learning (%)	24.8	6.7	6.2	5.7	7.1	

With regard to the type of course programmes, the communist regime in Romania was characterized by an endlessly rising proportion of students who were enrolled in evening courses and a correspondingly falling rate of students

enrolled in day and distance learning courses.

This trend was motivated by at least two factors: a financial one: the continuous decline in the economic condition of the country which entailed cut-

backs in public spending in all sectors, higher education included. Unit costs per student were much lower for evening courses than for day courses. The second factor was ideological. Describing itself as the representative of the working class, the communist party stimulated the access of young workers to higher education. The occult justification was to win the allegiance of a whole generation of youth whose chances of following a normal academic course programme were slim.

The aftermath of that policy was definitely negative. First, it lowered the quality of academic instruction. The students who enrolled in evening classes had fewer possibilities to learn as compared to day-course students. It was mandatory for all students enrolled in evening courses to give proof of their full- or part-time employment. The amount of time they could allocate to study during a semester was minimal. They would study solely during examination sessions. Time-budget studies made between 1985 and 1988 on sample student teams revealed that a day-course student had five times more available time for study than an evening-course student. Under the circumstances, professors were persuaded by administrative or political means to be more lenient with the precarious amount of knowledge displayed by evening-course students. The situation was perceived as incongruous, since the diploma gave identical rights, irrespective of the type of study programme attended.

Secondly, this same dynamic encouraged partiality so far as chances to enroll in higher education were concerned. As academic institutions were located in the major cities, only here and in the neighbouring areas could residents afford to attend them. Young

people living in rural areas had far fewer chances to acquire a higher education.

The low prestige of evening courses gave rise at the beginning of the 1990's to a strong negative reaction with regard to that type of study. Consequently, the percentage of day-course students increased while that of evening-course students plunged. For the 1993-1994 academic year, the percentage of students in evening courses is estimated to have dropped considerably. The expansion of the university network into the field has facilitated the access to day courses of would be students residing in distant areas.

The distance-learning system of studies is undergoing radical restructuring, a new system of distance learning having been conceived, based on the decentralization of major universities and the setting up of local branches. It is estimated that the new system is going to be gradually expanded, as local communities increasingly contribute (financially and logistically) to the support of higher education and scientific research.

For the moment, however, the budgets of local communities are limited. They therefore can only cover part of the expenses for pre-academic education. The expansion of distance learning depends on the passage of laws on administrative autonomy for local communities and also on the legislative modification of local budgets.

Types of Studies

During the communist decades, higher education in Romania was divided into a series of independent, specialized units. There were only a few major universities (Bucharest, Cluj, and Iai) that were permitted a more complex structure. The rest of the higher educa-

HIGHER EDUCATION STRUCTURES IN ROMANIA

tion institutions were specialized in only one field, or in several related fields; for instance, agronomy, economics, engineering, music, or sports. The organizational type was mainly of Soviet inspiration. There was also a certain political motivation: to avoid the concentration of large numbers of students in one institution only as a way of preventing political disturbances.

For reasons similar to those previously mentioned, the permanent decrease in the percentages of students in the sciences and the humanities and the increase in the percentages of students in the technical sciences was constantly pursued. Fundamental research and the social and humanistic sciences were assigned second-rate places within the larger framework of communist political

strategies. Applicative techniques were the only acknowledged factors responsible for development.

Out of the utopian ambition to achieve economic and technological breakthroughs in all fields, the political-communist bureaucracy magnified the size of certain economic fields as well as of the related higher education studies. In metallurgy, chemistry, and mechanics, oversized faculties and departments were developed. At the end of the 1980's, polytechnic education represented sixty-five percent of the total of higher education. Conversely, studies in the humanities and the social sciences as well as in medicine and in the arts were permanently fenced off, some fields fading away (sociology, psychology, ecology).

Table 2. Romania - Higher Education Enrollment by Field of Study: 1970-1971 - 1993-1994

Field of Study	1970-1971	1980-1981	1989-1990	1990-1991	1991-1992	1993-1994 *
Engineering	29.9	59.4	64.9	58.9	53.6	38.3
Agriculture	5.4	5.0	3.9	3.7	3.8	4.1
Economics	13.8	11.4	9.4	10.3	11.5	19.5
Law	3.9	2.0	1.4	2.8	3.5	3.0
Medicine	6.5	12.1	10.2	10.4	10.1	6.7
Science and Humanities	39.3	9.0	9.6	13.6	15.9	25.3
Arts	1.2	1.1	0.6	1.2	1.6	2.9

* 1993-1994 - Estimates in relation to the number of entrance seats for the September 1993 admission examination

Beginning with 1990, the error of structuring academic studies according to fields of economic activity became evident. The reduction of activity in certain economic sectors amplified the unemployment rate of specialists with higher education qualifications. The most affected professions were those in

metallurgy, steel working, chemistry, and mechanics.

Under the impact of change in the labour market, and following the reassertion of the traditional universities, the ratio of students enrolled in technical studies began to decrease, falling to under fifty percent in 1992-1993. In the

years to come, the quota of this domain is expected to decrease to approximately thirty percent. Alternatively, the ratio of science and humanities has increased and will probably exceed fifty percent in the following three years. The increases in these fields are due to the larger numbers of students enrolled in the existing faculties and to certain emerging study fields: social assistance, business management, political science, ecology, communications sciences, and journalism. Also, confessional higher education has been extended.

The higher education institutions have been increasingly perceptive of the information supplied by industry, and, in general, by the labour market. Currently, aspiring students are increasingly better informed as to their career opportunities. A high labour-force deficit is being registered in certain professions: law, economics, administration, social assistance, translation and interpreting, computer sciences, and pre-academic teaching. Analyses of academic entrance examination rates offer interesting data regarding public (young applicants and their parents) perceptions of the general state of the labour market. Thus, for the 1993 university entrance examination competitions, the overall ratio of candidates per seat was of 20 to 1; in law, 5 to 10 to 1; in psychology, sociology, history, and journalism, about the same as in law, but in engineering, only 0.3 to 0.5 to 1.

The index of the entrance examination pressure is a strong argument for the acceleration of the restructuring process for higher education. Some universities have already begun to reassess their profiles and have expanded or set up the more sought-after fields. Some others, mainly the polytechnics, find it difficult to adapt. Their high degrees of

specialization will not allow for a significant degree of diversification.

The restructuring of study fields may encounter various obstacles which could have negative effects. Responding solely to current economic and labour market requirements might irremediably compromise some study fields. Under the conditions of transition to a market economy, careers in fundamental research are less attractive (relatively modest salaries, little publicity in the first years of activity). Nevertheless, fundamental research remains an essential factor in medium- and longer-term development. Exclusive orientation according to the immediate needs of the economic environment may soon lead to the disappearance of some fields of fundamental research, the re-creation of which might take a very long time. Therefore, it is necessary for the reform of higher education structures to envisage the protection of certain study and fundamental research fields, vital for the future of Romanian science and economy.

Secondly, confronted with the rapid decrease of student numbers in some faculties and forced to modify their study structures, some universities might take up fields in which they fail to possess the proper resources: qualified professors, adequate study infrastructures, specialized libraries, curricular experience. The danger of lowering the quality of academic education due to improvisation lurks in the background. The signal is evident in the case of the former polytechnics, which have designated themselves as universities in order to avail themselves of the formal university framework and to set up new faculties.

Thirdly, the oversized technical fields of not so long ago have acquired large academic staffs the workplaces of whom

are threatened by the restructuring of study fields. This fact could be a severe constraint to a rapid restructuring process, for national and social policies call for an avoidance of high intellectual unemployment. Reorientation towards other activities is difficult and could generate a loss of the intellectual potential of the country.

On the one hand, there is a significant number of highly qualified specialists. Their reorientation towards other fields could cause important scientific losses in the fields in which they have worked up until now. On the other hand, requalifying them would be even more difficult, since the average age of the technical higher education personnel is rather high, and requalification availability decreases with age and with professional experience. A partial solution would be the development of scientific research in technical higher education institutes and a higher research activity ratio in the total amount of a professor's workload. A favourable argument in this respect is the fact that during the last two decades technical institutes have accumulated an important technical base.

The restructuring of study fields might be and has already been confronted with a series of obstacles of a psychological and social nature. For several decades, technical institutes have enjoyed a relatively privileged status: large numbers of students and professors, significant investments, and more consistent financial allocations. Under the new circumstances, some of them are forced to place themselves in a more modest position. The situation might generate prestige reactions and a call for obstruction on the part of fields unwilling to accept the loss of their privileged status. And if resistance is supported by a strong political lobby, the result could

be an unnatural preservation of the former overdimensions.

Here also lie the seeds of a dormant conflict among higher education institutions. The possibility of setting up new study fields within the framework of the comprehensive universities is hindered by lack of space. Major investments in building construction are improbable. Subsequently, there is competition for space between the comprehensive and the technical universities. The former see in the decline of technical studies their chance to expand their teaching and social facilities for students. The latter are not willing to surrender any part of their managed infrastructure. While waiting for new regulations on public property, each category tries to maximize that part of the infrastructure it has been managing. In the absence of an impartial umpire, strong conflicts of interest could be triggered among the different categories of universities which are craving space.

Temporizing or social protection solutions notwithstanding, one thing is evident: higher education institutions are forced to satisfy both industry and labour market demands. Isolation and pursuance of their own rationale will only drastically reduce the chances for the survival of certain fields.

As a result of deliberate decisions made by the higher education institutions and under the impact of a modified demand and supply ratio, the study field structure of higher education in Romania is tending to become similar to that of the western European countries.

Size of Universities

The fragmentation of Romanian higher education into specialized, independent units has resulted in small higher education institutions.

Some universities are competitive. So far as size is concerned (relative to the numbers of their students and professors), expansion is a complex problem, especially under the circumstances of extended academic autonomy. Thus the management of a higher education institution tends to become increasingly complex and to demand special qualifications as well as the ability to maintain a fair balance between a purely academic rationale and a financial one.

While undergoing growth, the management of a university increasingly resembles that of a company, and at peak levels of university management, economic and financial rationales begin to call the tune. The negative consequences of that tendency with regard to academic operation could be prevented by restricting department (faculty) size and even by multiplying horizontal functional divisions.

Table 3. Universities in Romania Classified According to Size of Enrollments: 1992-1993*

Size Class (according to number of students)	Number of Universities
Up to 500	9
501-1,000	9
1,001-5,000	18
5,001-10,000	6
10,001-20,000	3
Over 20,000	3
Medium Size of A University	4,375

* Military higher education institutes not included.

The rapid expansion in size of certain universities has generated certain managerial complications. The development of university administrative and technical staffs has been slow when cast against the numbers of students and professors. Also, the mobility of academic staff members and students has increased. The workload of the administrative components has been diversified and multiplied. The rules and regulations concerning financial and accounting management, and the status of payments and investments follow one another at a brisk pace. All of the above has led either to the overburdening of the operative component (personnel, ac-

counting, supply), or has caused adjustment problems for older employees. Dissensions between the operational and the academic components have arisen because academic staff members are displeased with delays in responses to their requests. Administrative staff assignments, four or five years ago, were highly standardized and repetitive. At present, increased creativity and initiative are required from the very same personnel.

The rising level of dissension among universities and the rising complexity call for a requalified administrative personnel and even for the development of new types of managers specialized in higher education. Also, administrative

HIGHER EDUCATION STRUCTURES IN ROMANIA

techniques should change and, more importantly, university management needs to be computerized. The major universities in Romania have already achieved significant changes in this respect, even if certain administrative components are reticent for fear of a reduction in work places or due to psychological obstacles in adjusting to new work techniques.

Territorial Structure of the Higher Education System

As of 1990, the territorial structure of the higher education system in Romania has been diversified. Previously, most of the higher education institutions were concentrated in certain large centres: Bucharest, Cluj, Iai, and Timioara. At present, higher education institutions exist in 22 cities. The universities which were open during the 1960's and 1970's and closed at the end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's have been reopened. In such situations, the grounds for reopening them have been twofold: local needs and the correction of the errors committed by the former regime.

Higher education institutions have also been set up in cities which had never

had a higher education institution. Although in the latter case the hurried procedure for setting up universities resulted in lower academic standards than those insisted on and observed by the major universities, a sufficient number of qualified academic personnel, and a minimal start up of infrastructure (libraries, laboratories, teaching and research equipment, campuses) has been possible. Under the circumstances, the large universities, claiming protection for the concept of *university* and feeling the need for certain national evaluation and accreditation criteria, have lobbied for the establishment of a national system of quality control. Although the quality control of higher education on a national scale may seem at first glance as opposing the much evoked principle of academic autonomy, it is actually intended to restrain or to keep in check the facile proliferation of higher education institutions.

The territorial expansion of higher education units has also reduced some clear regional discrepancies which were manifested in the 1980's.

Table 4. Area Pattern of Higher Education in Romania in 1993

Region	Number of universities	Regional potential to acquire higher education *
Muntenia (Wallachia)	17	12.2
of which Bucharest	11	39.8
Moldavia	8	8.8
Banat - Crişana - Maramureş	9	10.4
Transylvania	11	11.4
Total per region	48 **	11.0

* Number of seats open for the September 1993 entrance examination, per 1,000 persons aged 18 to 25.

** Military higher education institutes not included.

Big cities continue to have the largest concentration of academic activity. For example, 40% of the academic potential of the country is concentrated in Bucharest (in terms of the numbers of professors and of students). For this reason, the historical region of Muntenia (Wallachia) offers the largest number of possibilities for local access to higher education: 12.2 per one thousand of people aged between eighteen and twenty-five (taking into consideration the number of seats open for competition, in September 1993) for the first year of studies in higher education. Considering the city of Bucharest alone, the chances of enrollment are 39.8 per one thousand of people between eighteen and twenty-five. The historical region of Moldavia has the lowest density of higher education institutions; correspondingly, the region has the lowest rate of local access to higher education.

In the short run, the prospect of expanding the network of higher education institutions territorially is practically nil. The only chance to concur with normal academic standards is the expansion of the new system of distance learning, by setting up local branches of the large universities. The branches are conceived of as being supported by the major universities, at least so far as the curricula, qualified academic staff, research potential, and documentary bases are concerned. A possible solution might be to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the computerized national academic network (interconnected higher education institutions). It might even contribute to a reduction of the infrastructural difficulties with which the large universities are confronted (especially with regard to student social services). In practice, such a solution is conditioned by the reform of curricula and

by diversified programmes and forms and types of study.

Structure of Higher Education versus the Legal Status of its Institutions

From the standpoint of its legal status during the communist regime, the only acceptable type of higher education institution was a public one. Beginning in 1990, the first private universities emerged. There is no precise information available about private universities in Romania; however, according to some estimates, there are around fifty or sixty private universities, with over 100,000 enrolled students.

This type of university emerged in the absence of any legal regulations on private universities. They were acknowledged neither by the Ministry of Education, nor by any other national institutions qualified in educational policy matters. Thus there was a complete absence of any legal accreditation of diplomas and certificates issued by these universities. The project for a law on academic evaluation and accreditation establishes the conditions under which public and private institutions are recognized, evaluated, and accredited. It also envisions temporary solutions to help students enrolled in private universities, that may or may not be accredited, complete their studies. The short-run intention of the law is to avoid social unrest which may grow in size, but also to uphold academic standards.

The study fields offered by private universities, are, in most cases, similar to those offered by the public universities. Some private universities have even promoted new fields, which do not exist in public universities. Their curricula are not substantially different from those of the public universities. In fact, they are

normally taught by the same professors (public university professors also teach at private universities). In addition, the private universities deliberately follow the public university institutional process in order to facilitate the accreditation of their diplomas.

The private universities are mainly or solely financed by the tuition fees paid by their students. During the 1992-1993 academic year, tuition fees amounted to about two to four average monthly salaries. Accordingly, there is an important difference between public university students who benefit from free education and may even receive study grants (for the 1992-1993 academic year, fifty-five percent of the total number of students received grants from the public budget) and the tuition-paying students of private universities. The project of higher education reform to be submitted in the ensuing months has reconsidered both formula in order to find a middle way between no-charge (and a large number of grants) and highly expensive education. The tuition fees paid for private instruction have stimulated public universities to think about diversifying their ways of financing themselves and to identify other resources in order to augment self-financing.

In the absence of an unbiased opinion as to the condition of private universities, no fundamental statements can be formulated as to the quality of their programmes, their research and study infrastructures, their academic staff, or their students. Some studies on this subject are being elaborated: for objective purposes, both national and international organizations are performing evaluations in parallel (for instance, the studies sponsored by the World Bank on higher education reform and scientific research in Romania).

DYNAMICS OF CURRICULAR STRUCTURE

During the communist regime, the Romanian academic curriculum was insufficiently diversified. There existed a short-cycle type of higher education in the domain of technical studies (sub-engineers) and in that of pedagogical studies (the training of lower-secondary education teachers). The study span was four years in the sciences, in the humanities, and in economics, and five years in engineering studies. Evening course studies required one more year as compared to day course studies.

The curricula of institutes, faculties, and departments were highly specialized, any student horizontal mobility (between study fields) being viewed only as exceptional. Student specialization began as of the very first academic year and was strongly emphasized. The certificates and diplomas issued would indicate narrow specialities, restricting changes in professional careers. A decrease in the number of work places in certain sectors would entail manifold difficulties in finding other employment for those specialized in one field only.

As of 1990, but more evidently since 1993, the curriculum has been restructured. Characteristic of the restructured curriculum are a series of new dimensions:

Multilevel Studies

- Short-term studies (2-3 years), leading to the award of a study certificate. In some domains, these studies are independent, unrelated to longer-term studies in the field. This situation prevails in fields for highly trained technicians who do not need longer-term academic instruction (library

sciences, secretarial studies, informatics, etc.). In some other fields, short-term instruction is simply one stage of long-term education. In these cases, studies can be terminated after two years (graduates receive certificates allowing them to practise certain professions), or studies can be continued.

- Longer-term studies (total span is four to five years). There are two variants: the first refers to studies organized as units, for periods of four to five years without being correlated to short-term studies in the same field; the second variant is conceived to devote the first two to three years to short-term studies, and the following three to four years for speciality studies. The graduates receive diplomas and can practise most of the professions requiring higher education.

- In-depth studies (1-2 years). Graduates receive a master's diploma and can work in fields in which specialized higher education is required. This level could be instituted as a curriculum stage in choice fields (where long-term diploma recipients in the field are accepted) or it could be organized through the agency of in-depth multi-disciplinary study centres in which diploma recipients in various fields are accepted. For instance, for a master's degree in ecotechnics programmes, biologists, engineers, geographers, sociologists, and economists would be accepted.

- Doctoral studies, 2-4 years, of which the first two years are included in a system of course attendance. The new structure conceives the doctorate as inherent to academic studies and as an initiation to research activity.

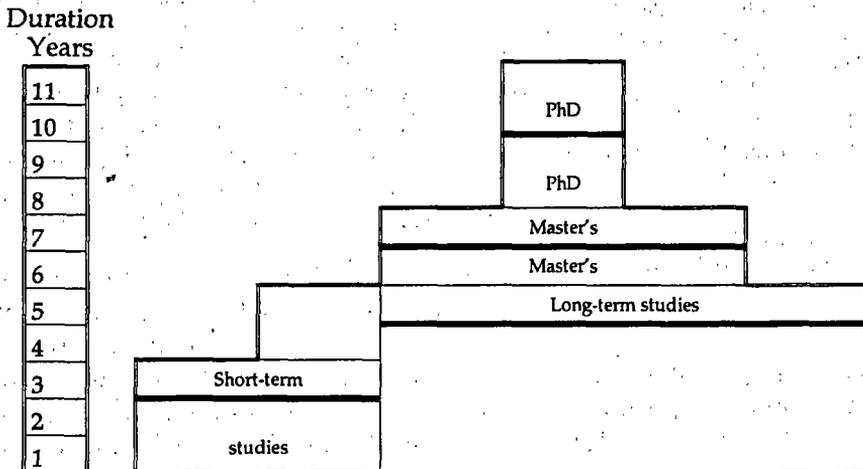


Figure 1. Structure of By-Levels of Higher Education in Romania (since 1993-1994).

Passing from one level to another is conditioned by the study certificate (diploma), performance at the immediately lower level, and success on recruitment examinations. The level structure is pyramidal: for instance, according to generous estimates, only forty to fifty percent of the bachelor's degree awardees will be admitted to master's studies, and only twenty to twenty-five percent of the master's degree awardees will be admitted to doctoral studies. The quantitative ratio between the levels is set by the higher education institutions, but they can vary from field to field and from period to period. The ratios refer to that portion of academic studies financed from the public budget.

Flexibility of Academic Careers

From this point of view, various purposes are designated: increases in student horizontal mobility between different study fields, prevention of student failure due to the inability to adjust to curricular requirements in certain fields or due to mandatory extension of studies in fields for which given students lack the talent. The main purpose of restructuring is to build *bridges* between different study fields and also to enable the student to adequately shape his or her own academic career.

Multilateral Education (Extension of Multi-Disciplinary Profiles)

Difficulties in finding employment encountered by extremely narrowly specialized people have multiplied during the period of transition to the market economy. The signals sent by the labour market are clear: the new jobs, offered especially by the private sector, require both broad qualifications (in increasing numbers of fields), and at least a minimal knowledge of the handling of electronic equipment. The restructuring of curricula

also means taking into consideration the latest demands of the labour market. Those departments and faculties failing to confront these realities should accept responsibility for breeding unemployment. Narrow, in-depth training, ensured by master's and doctoral levels, is to be targeted mainly towards higher education and scientific research activities.

Linking Curricular Structure to the Dynamics of Industrial and Social Activities

Higher education has its own dynamics and rationale. But these dimensions cannot be exclusive and cannot ignore the requests coming from industry and commerce. The concept according to which universities only know what a specialist's training consists of, future users being free to accept or to refuse what a university can offer, were valid to some extent during the period of the communist regime; but under the circumstances of a market economy, such a concept might prove catastrophic for a university. Unless they are uninterested in the career chances of their graduates, universities must adjust their curricula to the needs of public and private users.

Adjustment is also a necessity for finding new financial resources. It is quite obvious that higher education can no longer be supported from only public funds. Employing the financial resources offered by public or private companies or other fields of activity is possible if universities diversify their curricula and set up other forms of education, such as retraining courses or special training programmes requested by certain users.

Extension of Academic Autonomy In Drawing up Curricula

During the communist era, study programmes were set up at the national level and applied *ad litteram* by all universities in the country. As of 1990, universities claimed autonomy to draw up study programmes, which generated great differences among the curricula of the various universities. At present, a compromise has been reached between a diversity of study programmes and a national study programme: certain segments of curricula are mandatory for all universities offering courses in a certain field, while others are set up independently by each university. The ratio between the common and the variable segments tends to favour the variable segments, as academic autonomy becomes more resolute and as the recently established universities become more experienced in drawing up their own curricula.

The requirements that some degree of homogeneity be assured for the curriculum (advanced chiefly by the Ministry of Education) are motivated by the national character of the diplomas and study certificates issued by the various universities. Too great a degree of curricular diversity might result in the hierarchical classification, at first informal, of the faculties and universities, and it might even involve restrictions on the national accreditation of diplomas and certificates.

Reshaping the curricula in the directions mentioned above might have positive implications. It would ensure a relative decrease in the public costs of higher education; it would allow for an energetic integration of higher education into the social system; and it would prevent over-education (especially in fields in which qualification can be achieved by

short-term studies). Romanian higher education would thus approach international standards (the increased mobility of students and professors would improve the chances for Romanian diplomas to be internationally valued). Also, malfunctions in the education systems (dropouts, suspended studies) would be reduced. Students would be better able to adjust their academic careers according to their talents. In general, the higher education system would be characterized by greater flexibility and adaptability.

The restructuring of curricula faces obstacles at two levels. To begin with, one may refer to certain traditional departments which are reticent or even hostile to higher education reform endeavours because of the lack of psychosocial ability on the part of some professors to adjust to the new political and social changes. Secondly, certain obstacles originate in some quarters of the national institutions coordinating higher education, mainly those that argue in favour of maintaining a centralized control on the dynamics of academic structures. In this respect, there are notable distinctions among higher education institutions. In general, the major universities are more consistent in their efforts to reform, while the recently established universities seem to be more conservative.

THE RESTRUCTURING OF HIGHER EDUCATION: NORMS AND LAWS

An additional obstacle in the way of higher education restructuring is the absence of an adequate legal framework. The factual dynamics of academic structures has been more rapid than its sanctioning by rules and regulations. The old law on education has not yet been invalidated (even if some clauses

have been suspended). In many respects, some provisions utterly contradict the latest changes. The Ministry of Education has adopted a series of norms concerning both the correction of serious errors committed by the former regime and some steps that could be considered as forgoing the reform. Although one cannot yet speak of implementing a clear strategy of reform in the field of higher education, many of the decisions adopted by the Ministry of Education are congruent with such a strategy.

The main norms for legally representing the basis of the reform of higher education were formulated as a projected law as early as the beginning of 1991. This early project has bloomed into the *Law on Education* and the *Law on Quality Assessment and Accreditation in Higher Education*.

As an organic law, the general law on education is following a complex procedure in being passed by the Parliament. It is estimated that the law will be approved in early 1995.

The project for the *Law on Quality Assessment and Accreditation* is more advanced*. The draft has been passed by the Senate and will probably be passed by the Chamber of Deputies at the end of September or the beginning of October, 1993. The project establishes the conditions under which higher education institutions can be founded and approval for temporary operation, granted. It also spells out the conditions for the setting up of quality evaluation and accreditation mechanisms.

According to the proposed law, responsibility for evaluation and accreditation would be given to a National

Council on Academic Evaluation and Accreditation, responsible to the Parliament. The temporary operation license and accreditation would be granted on the basis of a self-evaluation report, of a report drawn up by the specialized committees of the National Council, and of a report drawn up by the National Council. Based on those reports and on the recommendation of the Ministry of Education, the Government would decide to grant or not to grant the temporary operation license and authorization. The draft law also lists the conditions under which an authorized institute should cease activity and the terms under which its students could continue their education.

A much debated aspect of the Law on Accreditation concerns the criteria and standards for academic evaluation and accreditation. The criteria concern the basic conditions of organization and operation characteristic of higher education institutions: staff, curriculum, infrastructure, research, and financial activities. Most universities contend that the proposed standards are rather high and that their inflexible implementation could severely compromise the chances of private education to survive.

The power conferred upon the National Council and its committees is relatively greater in Romania than in most western European countries. The Government Decisions sanctioning the evaluation and accreditation results and Parliamentary control over the activity of the National Council are justified by the need to ensure, as much as possible, the objectivity of the decisions taken.

Increasing the rhythm of Romanian higher education reform and restructur-

* *Editor's Note:* The Law on Quality Assessment and Accreditation, No. 88/1993 was approved and went into effect on 17 December 1993.

ing is the aim of the recently founded National Council for Higher Education Reform. The council is a consulting body and advises the Ministry of Education on all aspects concerning the reform of the entire system of education: human resources, financial resources, study plans and programmes, evaluations of institutes and staff, research activity, partnerships, and rules and regulations.

The National Council for Higher Education Reform opens up to debate the fundamental concepts of educational reform, and it identifies and analyzes the

roots of obstructions, imbalances, and dysfunctions in the process of education reform. It recommends the introduction of rules and regulations, promotes implementation of programmes and sub-programmes for the institutional restructuring of education, and informs public opinion on the course of reform.

Having in view the dynamics of higher education institutions and of the legal rules and regulations, we anticipate that the 1993-1994 academic year will witness a major restructuring and reform of higher education in Romania.

HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Jirí HOLENDÁ

- The article gives an aperçu of the development of higher education in the Czech Republic from 1990 to 1993. The Higher Education Law of 4 May 1990 provides for the greater democratization of higher education structures and for increased institutional

DEVELOPMENTS PRIOR TO MAY 1990

Czechoslovak higher education institutions represented an appreciable force in the political upheaval of November 1989. As early as the very first days of the process of political change, the higher education institutions gained considerable independence in relation to the state and to the Communist Party, which had been the personification of state management during the preceding forty years.

During the first quarter of 1990, the individual higher education institutions elected academic officials (rectors, deans, and other senior executives), thus exchanging nearly 90 per cent of their personnel, and introduced the practice of admitting applicants to professional posts by selection based on publicly advertised competitions. New people were recruited as lecturers at higher education institutions, particularly from among those who had been refused such appointments for various reasons by the previous political system.

A new spirit infused the content and the organization of studies and course programmes in the higher education system. The departments (chairs) of Marxism-Leninism were abolished, while new chairs and faculties were opened.

autonomy. Accreditation boards have been created. An Act of 9 July 1991 led to the creation of five new universities through the reform and amalgamation of pre-existing institutions. Principles for a law setting up student tuition fees are given.

Considerable changes took place, in particular, in the disciplines belonging to the social sciences, which had been hit hardest by the one-sided Communist propaganda.

The higher education institutions initiated wide-scale contacts with the economically advanced Western countries. All these processes involved the active participation of the students, who thus succeeded in gaining numerically strong representation in the academic senates. At the same time, the students began to build their own representative bodies.

Wide-scale discussions were devoted to the preparation of new higher education legislation which would replace the Higher Education Act of 1980. In the period from February to April, 1990, several drafts of a new Higher Education Act were considered before its adoption by the Federal Assembly on 4 May 1990 and its entry into effect a month later on 1 June.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF MAY 1990

The new Higher Education Act codified the basic academic rights and freedoms

of Czechoslovak institutions of higher education. According to the Act, the newly-constituted bodies competent to decide certain issues are the elected academic senates of individual higher education institutions and faculties which are represented by teachers, researchers, students, administrators, and others.

Other important bodies functioning at higher education institutions and faculties are those known as *Scientific Councils*, the members of which are appointed by the rectors or the deans, subject to the consent of the appropriate academic senates.

The role of the Ministries of Education of the Czech and Slovak Republics has been reduced to the creation of the conditions necessary for the development of higher education institutions and of higher education in general, co-ordination of the activities of higher education institutions, distribution of the financial resources earmarked for the higher education sector, and the registration of the statutes of higher education institutions.

The new bodies which have been established include the Councils of Higher Education Institutions and the Accreditation Boards.

The Councils of Higher Education Institutions represent the institutions vis-à-vis the Ministries of Education of both republics. They are entitled to advise the Ministries and to be consulted on matters concerning the establishment and composition of the accreditation boards, the proposals of the Ministries for the distribution of financial resources to individual higher education institutions, as well as other issues of major importance to higher education institutions.

The Accreditation Boards are advisory bodies of the Czech and Slovak governments. Their members are prominent experts from higher education institutions and from scientific and other institutions. The main purpose of the accreditation boards is to advise government authorities on the establishment, fusion, division, and abolition of higher education institutions and faculties. On the basis of their recommendations, the Ministry may accord or withdraw the right of a whole higher education institution or of a faculty to conduct state and postgraduate examinations and procedures for the nomination of professors within individual disciplines.

The Act empowers the Academic Senates of the higher education institutions and/or their faculties to approve institutional statutes which outline the organization, management, activities, operation, and details of study programmes and the registration of students.

Already registered statutes indicate two basic approaches to the organization and administration of higher education institutions: first, a general outline of disciplines and objects of administration and, second, a more detailed approach which includes the formulae for management.

The Higher Education Act gives the Academic Senates extensive powers to make decisions on the internal affairs of their institutions (faculties). The Act and the statutes of the individual higher education institutions stress democratic procedures in the work of the senates.

Under the law, the rector is a representative of the higher education institution. He or she administers the institution, represents it, and acts on its behalf. He or she is accountable to the academic senate of the institution and in some

limited aspects to the Minister of Education.

The provision of the Act which gives the rectors and deans only an advisory vote in the academic senates is problematic. It greatly weakens the position of the rector in the administrative hierarchy of the institution.

The system of self-administration of higher education institutions was clarified by the Higher Education Act of May 1990. It has nevertheless proven to be very complicated to implement. The existence of two academic bodies - Academic Senates and Scientific Councils, with vague and sometimes contradictory professional and managerial powers, results in a complicated and lengthy decision-making process.

Persons at different levels of the various higher education institutions frequently make critical remarks about the excessive powers of the academic senates.

THE ACT OF 9 JULY 1991

By means of this Act, five *new* Universities in the Czech Republic were established. To better explain what *new* in this context means, we shall detail the recent history of the University of West Bohemia, one of the five. The other four have similar histories.

The Act of the Czech National Council which merged the former Pilsen Institute of Technology and the former College of Education in Pilsen into the University of West Bohemia came into force on 28 September 1991. Until then, the Pilsen Institute of Technology had been the only institution of higher education in West Bohemia that prepared students for careers in Mechanical and Electrical En-

gineering, Computer Science, Applied Sciences, and Economics.

The Institute had been founded in 1949 as a branch of the Czech Technical University in Prague. In 1953, it became an independent institution. Further growth led in 1960 to the establishment of two distinct faculties: the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering and the Faculty of Electrical Engineering. Two new faculties - the Faculty of Applied Sciences and the Faculty of Economics were established in 1990.

Throughout its existence, the Institute maintained close links with the Skoda Concern - Czechoslovakia's largest heavy engineering works - and several other engineering enterprises in Czechoslovakia. Close contacts were developed with a number of foreign institutions of higher education. They resulted in joint research projects and the development of training programmes for a new generation of electrical and mechanical engineers.

The research carried out at the Institute covered all the main areas of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering.

The College of Education, Pilsen, opened in 1948 as a Faculty of Charles University. From 1953 to 1959, it operated as an independent institution of higher education; and from 1959 to 1964, as an Institute of Education. From 1964 until the establishment of the University of West Bohemia it was an independent College of Education, preparing primary and secondary school teachers.

At present, the University has five faculties. The head of the University is the Rector. He is assisted by four Vice-Rectors, each of whom is responsible for one of the following areas: study, research, future development, and foreign

relations. Decisions concerning research and the awarding of the academic titles of *docent* (senior lecturer) and *profesor* (professor) are taken by the Council which consists of the Rector, the Deans, representatives of departments, and certain outstanding personalities from outside the Institutions. Election of the Rector, recommendations concerning any approval of educational and financial matters as well as of the future development of the University are within the jurisdiction of the Academic Senate of the University. The ratio of staff/student representation in the Senate is 2 to 1.

The faculties, which are administered by the Deans, have their own Councils and Senates. In educational matters, they are relatively independent of the University and make the final decisions concerning curricula.

The basic teaching and research units are the departments, which often provide courses not only for students enrolled at particular faculties but for students at other faculties as well.

SUGGESTED PRINCIPLES FOR THE LAW CONCERNING TUITION FEES AND THE SYSTEM OF STATE GRANTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Principle 1: Introduction of tuition fees: goals. According to this law, the tuition fee is a quantity the amount of which is approved by the Deputies of the Czech Parliament. Every student enrolled in higher education who has Czech citizenship has to reimburse this amount and thus take part in the direct financing of the institution of higher education in which he or she studied. The introduction of

mandatory tuition fees will create economic stimuli for both the students and the institutions of higher education, which should result in the improvement of their work. The decision-making capacities of students regarding their higher education during their years of study will thus be better informed with regard to the economic motives and consequences of their decisions. The introduction of tuition fees must not reduce the access of low income social groups to higher education.

Principle 2: Necessity to collect tuition fees.

Principle 3: Necessity to pay tuition fees.

Principle 4: Student financial organization.

Principle 5: Conditions for deferred tuition payment.

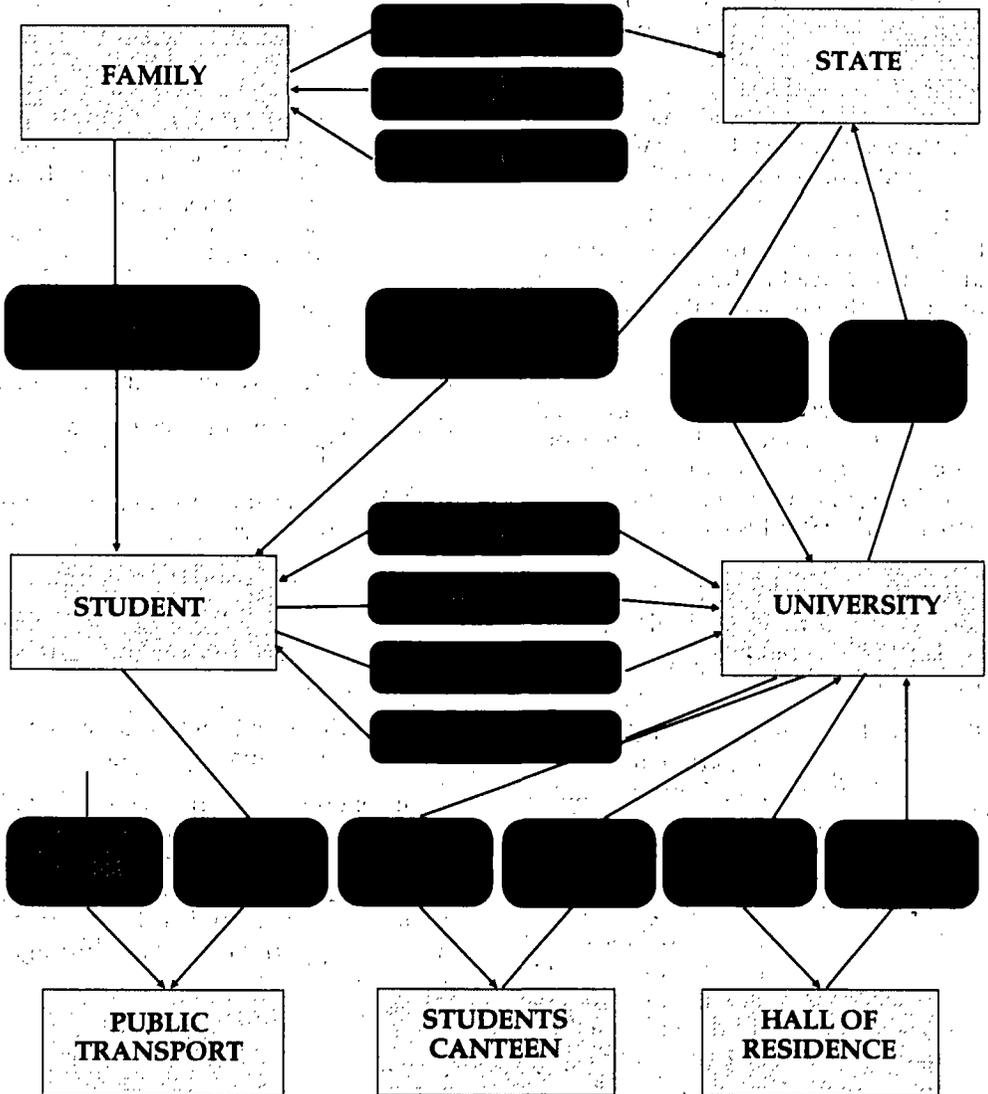
Principle 6: Criteria for the determination of tuition fees.

Principle 7: Determination of tuition fees.

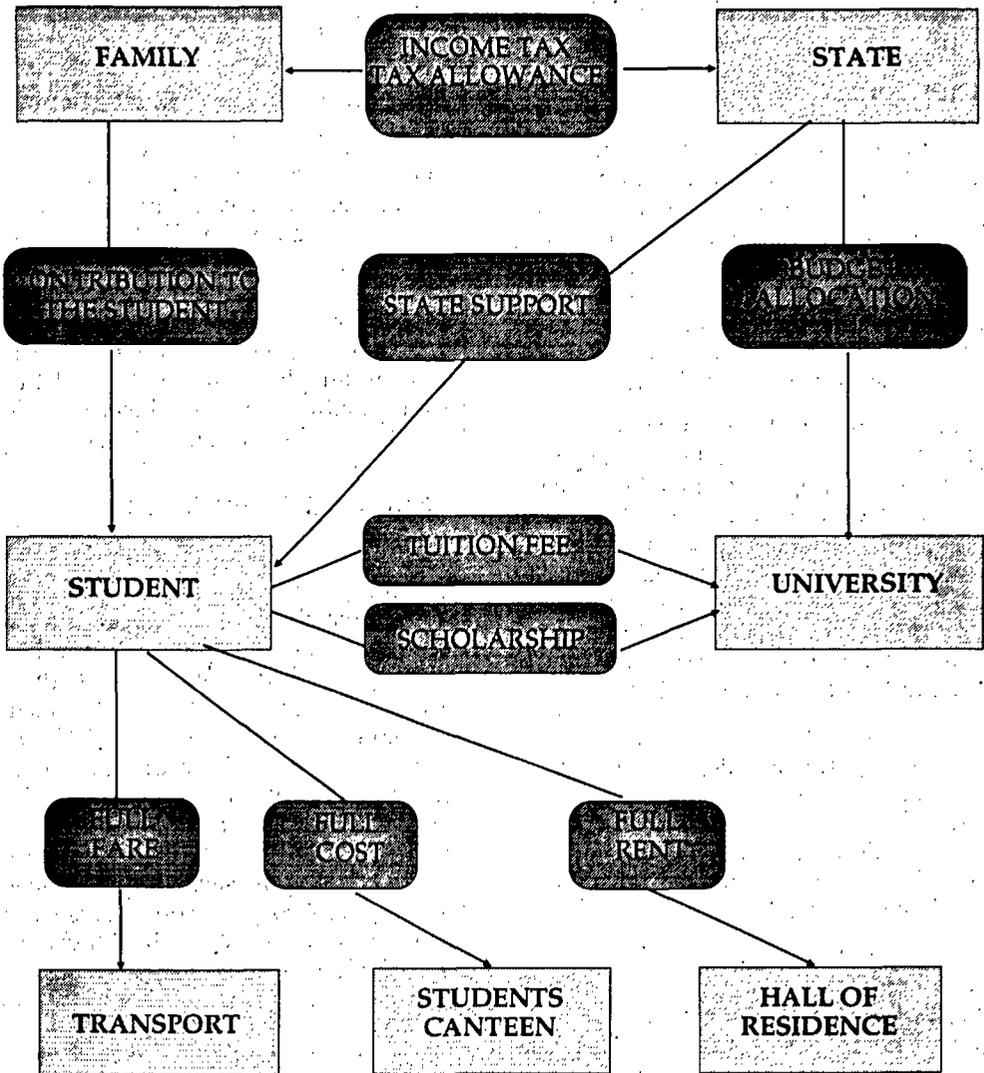
Principle 8: The contribution of the state to tuition payments.

The following two figures represent the present way in which students finance their higher education and proposed changes. In particular, the new system calls for an end to the indirect financial support of students through subsidized services.

DEPENDENT SITUATION



SUGGESTED SOLUTION



COLLEGE EDUCATION IN HUNGARY

Imre CZINEGE

- The college system of Hungary is introduced. Colleges have a long history in Hungary and operate at a level similar to that of the *Fachhochschulen* of Germany. The main areas of study and research which they cover are listed

as are their admission requirements. Their system of governance is described as are also the ways in which they are funded. A table of facts and figures on Hungarian colleges is appended.

BRIEF REVIEW

The college education system of Hungary is dense. The Hungarian colleges are similar to the German *Fachhochschulen* and the Dutch *hogescholen*. The following characteristics are typical of such colleges everywhere in Europe: three-year full-time programmes (three academic years), practice-oriented training, and significant specialization.

Some specific features of the Hungarian colleges are their strongly specialized profiles (*e.g.*, mechanical engineering, electronic engineering, etc.), their university-type organization (departments, grading of staff, college councils, etc.), the university-type assessment of students (8 to 10 examinations in a semester, a thesis, a state examination), and their postgraduate courses.

There are two types of Hungarian colleges: independent colleges and university colleges. The university-colleges are units of universities, operating as university faculties. They offer similar courses and the same diplomas as the independent colleges.

In general, Hungarian colleges have the following specializations: Engineering, Economics and Financial Accounting, Agriculture and Horticulture, Health Studies, Military and Police Training, Teacher Training (for Lower

Primary Schools), and Teacher Training (for Upper Primary Schools).

With respect to the level of courses and their equivalences, Hungarian college diplomas correspond to the German *Fachhochschule* degree and to the English Polytechnic degree, the B.Eng diploma. The truth of this statement is supported by the equivalency agreement between Germany and Hungary (1991) and the EANI qualification of engineering colleges (for the Euro-Engineer title).

ABOUT COLLEGE EDUCATION IN HUNGARY

The Hungarian colleges are part of a tradition which goes back more than a hundred years. The colleges of today were preceded by the Higher Technicians' Schools (1870-1949), which were reorganized after the Second World War as technical, medical, and economics secondary schools (1950-1962). During the education boom in Europe, these institutions were developed into post-secondary technical schools (1963-1969) and some years later into independent colleges (the Education Law of 1969) and university-colleges (1970 to 1975).

The types of undergraduate courses and course programmes offered by the colleges include the following:

- 3-academic-year (full-time) course programmes;
- 4-academic-year (part-time) course programmes;
- 8-week practical training courses (for full-time students);
- thesis requirements;
- preparation for state examinations.

The postgraduate programmes offer advanced training in specialized areas in the framework of one-year part-time courses, financed partly by the government and partly by the students.

The colleges have a great deal of autonomy regarding the development of curricula. The curricula are supervised and accepted by the Council of Rectors and Directors of specific areas (e.g., the Council of Engineering Institutions). This council is not an authority but a professional body of experts working in the same area.

The relative importance given to different disciplinary areas in a typical college curriculum is expressed in the following percentages:

- 10-15%: general studies (language, law, philosophy, etc.);
- 40-50%: basic subjects (mathematics, physics, economics, etc);
- 20-30%: specialized training;
- 5-10%: optional subjects;
- 5-10%: preparation of a thesis.

Because science is international, the curricula are very similar to those developed in other countries.

Admission Requirements

Applicants must pass a final examination (maturity) at the completion of

secondary school as well as a unified entrance examination which is the same for the universities and the colleges. The maximum score is 120, and applicants are admitted according to the total number of points earned. The advantage of the unified system is that if a student is not admitted to his or her university of first choice, he or she may still indicate another institution where he or she might be admitted. (Recently, this rigid system was softened, and admission is now based on secondary school achievement.)

The Structure and Management of Colleges

The College Council is the highest body in the governing hierarchy of a college. It is made up of representatives of the departments and of professors, assistants, and students.

The chief executive of a college is its Director-General who is elected by the College Council of the institution for three to five years and is confirmed by the Minister of Education. He or she is responsible for the administration, management, education, and research work of the institute. Most colleges have two Directors, one of them is responsible for research and development work; the other is for the educational area. The Financial Director coordinates the accounting and other financial activities in the college.

The departments are independent units inside the colleges. Each department has a Head. Professors, lecturers, and assistants form the teaching staff. Naturally, the staff is assisted by non-academic employees, for example, clerks, technicians, etc. As of 1992, the whole staff has civil service status.

COLLEGE EDUCATION IN HUNGARY

The colleges are involved in various other activities in addition to education. Among them, research and development work are the most important. Professors are permitted to conduct research and are urged to earn advanced degrees, particularly the PhD. Consultancy (mainly in Engineering, Management, and Finance) is another general activity of the colleges.

Research is financed by the Ministry of Education (less than 10%), by different enterprises and companies (50 to 60%), and from other sources (30 to 40%).

Colleges offer post-secondary and other special course programmes (for example, hostess and hotel service training, accounting and finance, management and language courses). They organize workshops, short exhibitions, and meetings.

The international activity of the colleges is developing rapidly. They are taking part in PHARE and TEMPUS programmes and in individual mobility programmes for students and staff, etc.

Regarding international relations, the most remarkable official excursions in

1991, for example, were the College Directors' Conference Study Tour to Germany (Baden-Württemberg) and the Engineering College Directors' visit to Bavaria. The Secretary of the Rectors and Directors Conference organized three seminars for College Administrators in Budapest with the participation of experts from the State University of New York.

In 1991-1992, the main activities of the College Directors' Conference focussed on the following issues:

- the critical analysis of the Law on Hungarian Higher Education and related legal questions;
- the development process for different types of projects (overall concept of the development of higher education, development of the structure of a higher education network, etc.);
- the organization of the participation of colleges in applications for grants and funds (World Bank, PHARE programmes, etc.).

SOME FACTS AND FIGURES ON HUNGARIAN COLLEGES

Full-time students (1990):

Universities	41,064	53.6%
Uni-Colleges	10,453	13.6%
Colleges	25,084	32.8%
(Total Colleges)	76,601	100%

Graduate students (1990):

Universities	9,747	57.0%
(incl. Uni-Colleges)		
Colleges	7,359	43.0%
Total	17,106	100.0%

Lecturers (1990):

Universities	10,571	72.8%
Colleges	3,959	27.2%
(incl. Uni-Colleges)		
Total	14,530	100.0%

Full-time students at colleges:

Engineering	7,364	20.7%
Economics and Finance	3,535	9.9%
Teacher Training (L)	7,105	20.0%
Teacher Training (U)	11,221	31.6%
Agriculture	1,807	5.1%
Health Studies	1,430	4.0%
Others	3,075	8.7%
Total	35,537	100%

SOME PROBLEMS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN GERMANY

Götz SCHINDLER

- The underlying premise of this article is that the best way to become acquainted with higher education in Germany is to discuss its problems. Such problems as expanding enrollments, the role of research and teaching, the link between higher education and future employment, the question of the supposed

There are several types of higher education in Germany. On the one hand, there is the university sector: universities, technical universities, teacher training colleges (there are only a few of the latter left because most of them were incorporated into universities), and schools of art. On the other hand, there are the *Fachhochschulen*.

The main road to a *Fachhochschule* leads through a school leaving examination at a *Fachoberschule* after 12 years of schooling. To enroll at a university, a technical university, or a teacher training college, one must have passed the *Abitur* at the end of the *Gymnasium* studies after 13 years of schooling. As of the beginning of the 1980's, the number of entering students at *Fachhochschulen* holding the *Abitur* has been increasing. Thus entering students who would be able to attend a university are preferring to enter a *Fachhochschule*. By now, approximately 50% of the entering students at *Fachhochschulen* hold the *Abitur*.

Higher education in Germany faces many problems which are not necessarily the result of the reunification of Germany. Some of them, however, have

equality of German universities, the link between regional development and higher education, and the question of the duration of studies are briefly discussed in light of the tension between the universities and the *Fachhochschulen*. The hint is made that the *Fachhochschulen* are more successful pedagogically than are the universities.

simply become more serious following reunification.

Some people say that the *increasing number of students*, is the most serious problem which must be tackled, others say that the real problem is the *increasing duration of studies*. When referring to students, these people are really designating university students. They would prefer to have more students at *Fachhochschulen* because they believe that these problems are less serious in these institutions. On the other hand, many university students and employers complain that university studies are too theoretical, that is, that they lack much of a practical orientation.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN UNIVERSITIES AND FACHHOCHSCHULEN

Fachhochschulen are a type of institution which is comparatively young. They were first set up in the Federal Republic of Germany at the beginning of the 1970's. In most cases, they emerged from professional schools. The number of *Fachhochschulen* almost equals the number of all other types of public institutions of higher learning with the exception of the 43 schools of art:

- 132 universities (including comprehensive universities), technical universities, teacher training colleges, and theological colleges with approximately 1.4 million students and
- 114 "general" *Fachhochschulen* and 28 "public administration" *Fachhochschulen* enrolling approximately 400,000 students in 1991.

Fachhochschulen were established as an alternative to the university sector. The main objectives of universities are to gain and enlarge scientific knowledge by research and to disseminate it by teaching. The main objectives of *Fachhochschulen*, on the other hand, might be summarized by the expression, *orientation towards practice*. *Fachhochschulen* differ from universities in distinctive ways.

The objectives of *Fachhochschulen* were very much influenced by the political discussions of the 1960's. At that time, the educational system, particularly higher education, was being criticized from two different angles, that of the inequality of educational opportunity and that of the fear that the number of university graduates was so small that Germany might not be able to stand up to worldwide economic competition.

Today, the first angle is considered to be completely unimportant. The second angle is at the heart of most discussions regarding the deficiencies of German universities.

Between 1980 and 1991, the number of entering students at universities increased by 39 percent and at *Fachhochschulen* by 47 percent. The *Fachhochschulen* seem to have been somewhat more successful than the universities in attracting new students. Indeed, the number of graduates of *gymnasia* holding the *Abitur* and enrolling in *Fach-*

hochschulen instead of in universities has been increasing. If one analyzes the German system of higher education in terms of *competition within the system*, one might conclude that:

- *Fachhochschulen* and universities compete successfully for the financial support of the state and for beginning students;
- there is almost no competition among universities.

The success of the *Fachhochschulen* is not only due to the particular concept of this type of institution but also very much as a result of the current problems of German universities. The problems did not come about as a consequence of deteriorating staff-student ratios in universities (between 1980 and 1991 from 1 to 12 to 1 to 17 teaching personnel) because in this respect the situation at *Fachhochschulen* is even worse (from 1 to 19 to 1 to 40). The problems of universities are more-or-less *home-made*. The objectives, as stated below, which are at the core of the *idea* of the German university have declined in importance:

- the unity of research and teaching;
- the meaning of theoretical knowledge for a profession to be entered after graduation;
- the assumption that all universities are equal.

THE UNITY OF RESEARCH AND TEACHING

University professors are still appointed to do research *and* to teach. Moreover, in their opinion to be a good teacher requires one to be active in research. The state shares this opinion. The funds allocated to universities are not earmarked for research *or* for teaching *but* for both.

Even most professors insist on the unity of research and teaching. At the same time, they deplore the fact that teaching takes so much time and refuse to do their part in developing the personalities of their students.

Students too have their own opinions. For them, the obligation of professors in regard to teaching includes excellence in teaching, going beyond the boundaries of their fields of research, caring for the development of the personalities of their students, and giving students an opportunity to participate in research, at the latest after their third year of study. In reality, most students know from experience that most professors consider teaching to be an onerous duty. Moreover, students want to be taught in small groups, something which for financial reasons is impossible.

AFTER GRADUATION?

Regarding the question of *theory versus training for a future profession* in reference to university course programmes, the situation is even more complicated. Basically, there are two kinds of courses. On the one hand, there are the courses that are aimed at certain professions, for instance, courses in teacher training, medicine, and law. On the other hand, there are courses - and they are the majority - which do not prepare students for particular professions but are shaped according to the fields of research.

The latter seem to pose problems for many students. Certainly they do not expect to receive professional training in a university of the type that they would receive at a *Fachhochschule*. But they think that *all* courses of study should offer less theory and more knowledge that is oriented towards practice, should be based on professional reality, and should

give them at least a faint idea of what a profession one might enter after graduation might be.

ABOUT THE EQUALITY OF UNIVERSITIES

One must understand that the German system of higher education is decentralized. The responsibility for higher education, as for education in general, is that of the *Länder*, the federal government having little authority in this area. Nevertheless, the decisions taken on matters of higher education assume that all universities are equal.

First, there is no difference as to the criteria for the allocation of funds. These are allocated according to student enrollment figures and research programmes. Although quality of teaching is not taken into account, quality of research may sometimes be. The system of budgeting and accounting has been very inflexible and "never has been turned into an effective financial administration"; universities having never been recognized as enterprises or corporations.

Second, regulations for the admission of beginning students into course programmes not having a sufficient number of student places do not take account of such things as course design and quality of teaching. Third, even most entering students care very little about differences between universities; they wish to enroll in the universities which are closest to their homes.

As a consequence of this *ideology of equality*, discussions about higher education since the 1960's have centred around different *types* of institutions (comprehensive universities, *Fachhochschulen*, and teacher training colleges) while discussions about diversity among universities only began very recently.

OTHER PROBLEMS

Regional Aspects

Since the 1960's, new universities and *Fachhochschulen* have been set up in regions not having such institutions. The intention was not only to increase the number of student places but at the same time to support regional economic development, particularly in this case, by establishing *Fachhochschulen* in order to improve opportunities for higher learning by people of lower social strata.

Student Numbers, the Reform of Course Programmes, and State Interference

There is no doubt that the objective of increasing student enrollments has been attained. At present, almost thirty-seven percent of the 19-to-21-year-olds enroll in institutions of higher education. At the same time, the commitment of university professors to the reform of course programmes has declined, no doubt the result of the overcrowded universities. Of greater importance, however, is the preoccupation of professors with research and their distrust of state "interference" in higher education. The distrust began to be felt in the 1970's when the *Länder* governments, the federal government, and the universities set up working parties for the reform of courses of study at the *Länder* and the federal levels. But also, although the universities were given a chance to do something about the reform of course programmes, they failed to take advantage of the opportunity.

Duration of Studies

The average duration of studies has been increasing, especially since the beginning of the 1980's. But there are striking differences between universities. In biol-

ogy, at the end of the 1980's, the difference between the university with the lowest and that with the highest average was 5.1 semesters with a median length of study of 12.5 semesters. In French language and literature, the difference was 6.5 semesters (the median being 11.8 semesters).

These differences show to what an extent German universities and their departments are *unequal*. But according to politicians, this problem is not the main one. For them, university graduates are too old and not well enough equipped for practice in order for Germany to face worldwide economic competition successfully. Therefore, proposals which are being discussed are aimed at:

- stepping up the expansion of the *Fachhochschulen* at the expense of the university sector and
- changing the structure of university course programmes so that most undergraduate programmes would consist of eight semesters of professional training, and for a minority of highly gifted students, additional semesters of research-oriented studies in order for them to earn a doctorate.

What should be understood here is that cutting the overall length of studies is more important than reforming the curricula. The proponents of these suggestions say that most universities have not been able or are not willing to reform, so that it is necessary to set a maximum study duration. Critics insist that a reform of curricula must be the first step and that no reduction of duration of studies is possible until universities can engage more teaching personnel and receive more funding.

CONCLUSIONS

On the whole, the aim of higher education reform in Germany can be summed up in terms of *more autonomy and more flexibility*, or put in other terms, less control by the state so far as funding, regulations regarding examinations, and comparability of course programmes are concerned. Thus, the individual higher education institutions, especially the universities, will be given the chance to be more flexible so far as the allocation of funds and the design of course programmes are concerned.

In particular, flexibility of course design at universities is necessary because entering students are becoming increasingly heterogeneous. Some of them come with job experience or vocational training; some are older; others will only

be studying part-time. They all have very different reasons for attending a university.

Possibly increased autonomy will enable universities to overcome their lack of vision as to what university teaching is all about. Most students want more than professional training; they also want universities to support the development of their personalities. What makes the situation even more difficult for universities is that they will have to compete with *Fachhochschulen* for funds and for students. At *Fachhochschulen*, there is already an atmosphere of rebellion and of awakening. For example, some of them are beginning to offer courses in fields like law, which has been the privilege of universities, but in an atmosphere which is not to be found at the universities.

UNIVERSITIES, COLLEGES AND OTHERS: DIVERSITY OF STRUCTURES FOR HIGHER EDUCATION - REPORT ON THE MULTILATERAL WORKSHOP

Jan Fridthjof BERNT

- This report discusses the Workshop as a whole and reflects upon the points raised in the papers presented and the resulting discussions. First, the reasons for establishing non-university higher education are presented and discussed, and then types of diversification, particularly vertical diversification, are examined. The most important questions raised, however, are those of how diversification is to be established and

by what mechanisms it is to be controlled. The conclusions are mixed but stress that diversification should be undertaken very carefully and very democratically, care being taken both to recognize the value of the university tradition which has been evolving for centuries to avoid threats to flexibility and international recognition and mobility.

INTRODUCTION

At the September 1993 Bucharest Workshop on the diversification of higher education, the organizers formulated as a basic premise that "diversification of higher education possibilities may be the key to a society's capacity to adapt to the process of political and economic transformation that is affecting the whole of Europe". The reasons for this assumption are quite obvious. Nations and national systems of higher education have to respond to the rapid changes in their political and economic environments, and differentiation in teaching programmes and institution building appears to be an obvious answer to these challenges.

In this context, however, the concept of diversification is not in itself an answer, merely a way of posing the questions. Higher education systems must change and diversify in order to meet the challenges of our times - but how should change and diversification be achieved in practice? What are the options in such a process? What is the price that might to be paid for change and flexibility? What

are the pitfalls, and what price should one not be willing to pay? In order to discuss these questions, it is necessary to attempt to identify more precisely the problems which have come to the fore and some of the major models offered to solve them. Second, we shall have to consider differences in the political, economic, and cultural environments of the individual countries which may be of importance for the choices to be made. This report will focus mainly on the first task; however, it will also reflect on some of the issues involved in the latter.

THE REASONS FOR ESTABLISHING NON-UNIVERSITY HIGHER EDUCATION

The diversification of higher education has been introduced as a response to a wide variety of problems. There have been two major and separate diversification drives with quite different, if sometimes somewhat overlapping, basic philosophies.

The nineteenth century brought the creation of technical universities - first in

Germany and subsequently in most of the industrialized countries - in order to provide industry with engineers and technological research. Similarly specialized universities or schools were later been set up in most countries in fields such as business administration, agriculture, medicine, veterinary medicine, etc.

As a general rule, these institutions are based upon the same basic philosophy regarding higher education and the relationship between research and higher education. The main ways in which they are different from universities is in their much stronger ties to the professional world outside the institution. Both research and teaching are, generally speaking, oriented more towards practical application - the needs of the sectors of society which education and research are designed to serve. But like the universities, most of these institutions put heavy emphasis on research and on the relationship between research and teaching.

The justification for the establishment of these institutions having been the need for a new type of education and research, it is conceivable that they could be integrated into a university structure at a later stage, as a professional faculty or school. There are, after all, no compelling reasons why it is necessary to maintain schools of business administration or engineering as separate entities, while schools of law and medicine are not.

Whether such integration should in fact take place is another question. The answer will depend largely on history, geography, and the administrative and educational qualities of the universities in question.

Secondly there is the post-Second World War drive towards establishing what is dubbed a *binary system*, a system

for higher education in which the universities are supplemented by institutions with a clearly alternative general basic philosophy compared to that of the university model.

The problems or needs that these institutions are designed to meet are numerous and complex. The most important appear to be as follows:

Economic

The growth in demand for higher education is placing a great strain on government finances. The traditional university model for higher education may appear inefficient and impractical as a tool for mass education in a modern society. The obvious response in this case is to try to meet the demand for higher education with a more cost-effective model in terms of time and money spent per graduate. Although this reason in and of itself is not a very good one for diversification, diversification may act together with other objectives, or be the actual driving force behind other arguments in favour of a binary system.

The Need for a Stronger Theoretical Basis for Professional Training Programmes

A number of non-university institutions of higher education are the result of development from a rather modest and practically oriented vantage point: teachers' colleges, nursing schools, technical colleges, etc. Very few of these institutions were created as intended alternatives to universities. While they at present can be viewed as tools of diversification of higher education, they reflect to a great extent the result of *academic drift*. Schools, the educational programmes of which have a predominantly practical orientation, have responded to an increased demand

for a theoretical basis for their professional activity by strengthening the elements of theory in their educational programmes.

The German *Fachhochschulen* seem to be interesting exceptions to this pattern in as much as they are newly created institutions with an explicit philosophy of combining practical training and theoretical education. One major question is whether they represent a special national development, created as a response to a highly traditional and rather rigid university tradition, or whether they constitute a potent, general model for a binary structure of higher education - an answer to the shortcomings of the traditional universities which are not merely temporary malfunctions but the consequences of inherent properties of this type of institution.

In this context, one should note that many universities have now integrated more practically oriented educational programmes into their own curricula. Faculties and departments of social work, teachers' training, nursing education, etc., can be found within the frameworks of established universities. Further research is needed to establish whether this solution is good - in general or in special circumstances - but it is obviously not a model that can be dismissed without further consideration.

The Regional Dimension

The shape of a nation's system of higher education is not simply determined by general national needs and aspirations. Establishing institutions of higher education is also a tool in the process of strengthening the educational system, industry, and the business community in the individual regions of the country. This need has been a major force behind the creation of regional colleges and

decentralized professional schools at an intermediate level in the various districts of Norway. Similar considerations have been part of the rationale behind the creation of the *Fachhochschule* system in Germany.

Once an institution is established in a region, the characteristics of that region are likely to have consequences for its profile. One cannot argue with geography. Thus, institutions of higher education are subject to influences from their immediate surroundings. But mere geography does not say anything about the profile of the education at the individual institution, or the relationship between the various types of institutions. This realization leads to what is the major question in this context:

Should Diversification Be a Goal in Itself?

The three causes of binary diversification listed so far are reflections of, or a response to, forces or circumstances outside the higher education system itself. Diversification of the system of higher education is an accidental or secondary consequence of the ambitions of individual institutions or of broader national concerns like state finances and regional policy. Diversification on this basis does not exclude unification of the system of higher education at a later stage. A binary system may be unified through an incorporation of the newer and specialized institutions into the existing universities, through a development by which the two kinds of institutions become increasingly similar, or through an institutional network system by which the newer institutions are linked with the traditional ones through various kinds of economic and academic relationships.

The latter is the present trend in Norway.

In contrast, the idea of diversification as a goal in itself reflects a mistrust of the universities, a belief that the universities as aging or aged institutions are unable to renew themselves according to the needs of society and of students. A binary system is established to create a more suitable framework for innovation in higher education, a supplement to the universities established to work within a well-defined system of division of tasks.

The basic premise of this line of argument is the point of view that the traditional universities today are, and are likely to remain, old-fashioned and conventional institutions, that they are dominated by highly specialized professors who lack the ability to see beyond their own narrow research interests, who lack genuine interest in teaching and contact with students, and who are unable to design new courses and education programmes to meet the needs of society. One obvious observation here is that if this view is correct, diversification in the form of creating new and more dynamic institutions, cannot be - and must not be allowed to be - the sole answer to this kind of problem. Society has invested too much in the universities to allow them to deteriorate into monuments or even caricatures of the educational thinking of yesterday.

Diversification may, however, be an instrument among others to bring about necessary change in the universities. In Norway, for instance, regional colleges initiated media studies in the 1970's. In the 1980's, the universities entered the field, adding their own more research- and theory-based profiles, still leaving room for programmes with more practical orientations at the regional colleges. Thus the initiative of the regional col-

leges acted both as a trigger for innovation in university studies and as the basis for an alternative to university education.

PROBLEMS OF VERTICAL DIVERSIFICATION - A BINARY SYSTEM

Up to here, the issue of diversification has been dealt with solely as a question of establishing non-university higher education. Diversification may also, however, take place between universities, between non-university institutions of higher education, and within single institutions.

Diversification within single institutions has not been a topic in the general debate on diversification in higher education. It enters the diversification discussion mainly as a possible alternative to institutional diversification. The need for external diversification diminishes to the extent that the universities manage to establish diversified programmes, courses, or organizational structure within their own systems.

Horizontal diversification - between institutions at the same level - is also an established and generally approved model. There may be problems of control and of coordination (which will be dealt with later). But there is no disagreement that institutions should specialize and be encouraged to develop new courses and programmes. And in many situations, the institutions need no special encouragement to pursue this line of diversification. Even a rather small and insignificant institution may be able to find a suitable niche and establish itself in a national position in a narrow segment of teaching and research.

Then there is the question of vertical diversification - of non-university programmes of higher education with a

stronger emphasis on practical application than is considered acceptable at the universities, and with a considerably smaller element of research-oriented theory as an integrated part of their educational programmes. Some of the causes and merits of such a diversification have been examined. Some of the possibly unfavourable effects of this approach will also be discussed.

The vantage point taken for the observations which follow is that such diversification in many cases will have quite good short-term effects. Establishing new non-university institutions, or giving new tasks to old ones, may trigger enthusiasm and creativity in the institutions involved and may attract great interest both among the students and among potential recipients of the graduates of institutions. Non-university institutions will commonly be more flexible and able to concentrate and shape their efforts to meet the needs of the students and society than traditionally research-oriented universities. Even the universities will have to acknowledge that, as a general rule, the non-university institutions appear to be more flexible and more capable of adjusting to the demands of the market than most universities - particularly as regards teaching - but also to some extent when it comes to research aimed at practical application.

The crucial question therefore is what such diversification is likely to do in the long run to institutions of higher education - to the non-university institutions offering such courses and programmes, and to the universities.

As for the universities, it is an obvious cause for concern that an approach to diversification which gives non-university institutions the exclusive responsibility for more educational program-

mes of a more practical nature will tend to reinforce the traits of the universities which led in the first place to the diversification in question.

Such a result could be viewed as having favourable effects. Universities are supposed to be institutions of theoretical learning; therefore, to transplant a dominant practically oriented education programme into a university is bound to cause problems. Whether or not and to what extent such transplantations should take place will depend on very concrete cost-benefit evaluations. It is by no means obvious that an educational system in which the universities have responsibility for all the varieties of higher education is desirable. On the other hand, there are obvious dangers connected with a type of diversification by which important sectors of higher education are the sole responsibility of non-university institutions - dangers both for the universities and for the educational programmes in question.

The universities are supposed to be *università*, institutions offering a broad range of learning, ideally covering all main fields of theoretical knowledge. If the consequence of diversification is that the universities become excluded from important new fields of learning and education, such an action would tend to aggravate the problems that led to the diversification in the first place. The universities remain conventional and secluded from practical life, isolated from the important challenges which triggered the new type of higher education. They remain unused or misused resources in times of scarcity.

The non-university institutions offering new courses or programmes may, however, be facing serious long-term problems. When a new institution or a

new line of higher education is established, it can commonly draw upon the best intellectual resources that are available at the time. But after five, ten, or fifteen years, this situation may have changed drastically; the academic strength of the institution may be seriously weakened.

It is a common experience that if an institution of higher education wants to stay in the front line, some research in the field in question must be undertaken at the institution. If not, the knowledge base of the institution is likely to start eroding rapidly. Even at institutions with a fairly wide research portfolio, there will still be problems connected to the nature and substance of the research undertaken, and particularly to the relationship between applied research and basic research. A non-university institution may have difficulty in maintaining sufficiently strong ties between these two kinds of research, partly because of inadequate funding for research purposes, but chiefly because a major part of the ideological and practical basis for these institutions will lack or have reduced stress on basic research in order to promote a more practically oriented line of education and research.

In an open academic society with a flow of ideas and personnel among the various kinds of institutions, this inherent property of non-university institutions will commonly not affect the quality of the teaching, notably in a short-term perspective. In the long run, however, this separation from the basic research milieu is likely to weaken the quality of both research and teaching at these institutions. The teaching of theory may - even at the best of such institutions - take the form of a passing on of knowledge - the state of the art - without giving the student the proper tools to

develop his or her own knowledge in the years after graduation.

The above is obviously a strong argument in favour of restricting binary diversification to non-university institutions in fields which do not require front line research performance, simply because this level is not targeted. And even in these cases, it appears necessary to maintain a system of quality control and institutional co-operation in order to prevent the non-university institutions from becoming promoters of second-hand and second-rate knowledge.

Some institutions of professional higher education agree with this point of view, but mainly because they fear that a more theoretically oriented education would destroy the practical orientation of their educational programmes - that they would be dominated by theoretical knowledge more than by practical professional skills.

This position does have its merits. It would be an unfortunate situation if all professional training were to be modelled solely on academic, theoretical education. But, on the other hand, it illustrates the dangers of the ditch on the opposite side of the road, that important professional training programmes may fail to meet the challenges of new knowledge in the field, with *negative academic drift* and an inadequate professional education as the consequence.

DIVERSIFICATION - WHO SHOULD DECIDE, HOW TO CONTROL?

Returning to diversification as a general strategy, the question asked is what mechanisms should be used to achieve - and to control - diversification?

During the Bucharest Workshop, a convincing argument was made that mere

market mechanisms are not likely to create constructive diversification. A number of factors tend to contribute to conformity both in education and in research. In this context, this report concentrates on the tendency towards uniformity in the educational programmes.

An important observation to be made in this context is that many institutions are more likely to copy the programmes of successful competitors than to develop their own. Such an action is partly a question of cost. It takes much less time and intellectual and administrative resources to adopt a programme from another institution than to develop a new one. But it is also a question of marketing. As a general rule, it is much easier to sell a local version of an established and successful programme than to convince potential students and employers of the merits of a new and untested local variety.

Secondly, there is the phenomenon of *academic drift* - the tendency of non-university institutions to try to become more like universities - with more research-oriented teaching programmes. This tendency may also, to some extent, reflect a market mechanism. Institutions which are recognized as being close to the universities in terms of academic standards may have more prestige than more practically oriented ones. More important, however, is the fact that academics who are employed as teaching staff at non-university institutions are likely to bring with them the standards and the expectations of university staff as to the profile of the programmes and the character of the institution. Thus in most cases strong forces will act on a professional non-university programme of higher education, driving it in the direction of the programmes of those institutions to which its institution was intended to be an alternative. This tenden-

cy may be good or bad. What is certain is that it means that more freedom of choice for such institutions is at best an uncertain avenue to diversification.

One of the speakers, Dr. Leo Goedegebuure of the Center for Higher Education Policy Studies at the University of Twente, the Netherlands, argued that the answer to this problem is to ensure diversification among the various kinds of institutions through a controlled differentiation of their environments. This aim, he suggested, should be achieved through government control of the framework within which the institutions are working. He did not, however, elaborate as to what kind of environmental variation he had in mind.

Another speaker, Professor Roeland In'tveld of the Erasmus University of Rotterdam, the Netherlands, argued persuasively that governments should be very reluctant to try to legislate in the areas of teaching and course programmes in higher education. Statutes, according to him, rarely make good teaching plans.

The following main options for influencing higher education programmes through control of the environment of the institutions remain:

- *Government administrative control* over what programmes, degrees, or courses are offered at the individual institutions. Instead of telling the institution what to do, the government might prevent it from jumping on the bandwagon and copying an apparently successful programme by refusing to give the necessary permission, thus creating a situation whereby the institution is encouraged to create its own new programmes or to develop existing ones further.

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- *Control through the credit system* of the institutions. By claiming the ultimate authority in cases of disputes concerning the credit given by one institution for courses offered at another, the government can prevent universities and other institutions of higher education from trying to crush every new flower not grown in their own gardens. Thus it would be possible to create a more healthy and efficient competitive climate between, on the one hand, the larger and established institutions, major universities and schools at university level, and, on the other hand, newer and smaller institutions of higher education with a weaker academic standing: polytechnics, community colleges, and other non-university institutions, and the smaller and less recognized universities.
- *Control through funding* - that is: specified grants for special programmes or positions, or linked to certain performance indicators, for instance, the number of students in a programme graduating within a specified time limit.

All these kinds of environmental control imply a reduction of institutional autonomy. The question as to what extent such reductions can be accepted must be discussed at the national level. In a country with strong democratic traditions and vigorous public opinion in favour of academic freedom, control mechanisms can be accepted which would be rejected out of hand in a country in which there is a considerable risk that governmental control of the institutions of higher education might be used to exert political pressure on the direction or the substance of research and teaching. Also, at an administrative

level, the extent to which central government should be given the authority to control the environment of institutions depends largely on the degree to which it can be trusted to act in a prudent and sophisticated manner in this sector. Can we trust central government to exercise its powers with care - delegating the decision-making authority to the individual institution in all cases in which national control and co-ordination is not necessary, and showing the proper reluctance to set aside the judgments of individual institutions as to what kinds of education they should offer?

These concerns are obvious when the question is one of government control over what courses and programmes are offered. They are also crucial issues when it comes to the question of what kind of research institutions and their staff members should be permitted to pursue? Apparently, however, even technical co-ordination such as a centralized system for credits for courses from other institutions may have unfortunate consequences if it is not exercised with the necessary prudence and respect for academic standards. A generous credit-giving system, designed to help and to upgrade non-university education may have a Gresham's Law effect: the less valuable and less rigorous of competing courses giving the same academic credit will tend to attract the most students in a competition with its more demanding counterparts. The other half of *the market* - the companies and institutions hiring the graduates - will in most cases not be sufficiently well-informed and sophisticated enough to balance this effect adequately.

The questions of direct government control over teaching programmes and research are fairly easy to identify and to address. In the last instance, these are issues of law. To what extent should

central government have powers to control the activities of non-government owned institutions of higher education, and to what extent should publicly owned institutions be exempted from the general ruling powers of central government and be granted an independent or semi-independent status?

The problems of institutional independence are more complex, particularly as regards financing. Funding will always be a potential source of control for central government, to the extent that it has funds to distribute. Central funding may be balanced by regional funding, which, however, may also be used to control institutions. Private funding raises new and difficult questions depending upon whether it comes from sponsors, buyers of research, or students. Although time and space do not permit a discussion of the pros and cons of types of funding, the assumption is that public funding will remain the major source of income for most institutions of higher education, a reality that it is neither desirable nor realistic to try to change.

As a consequence of institutional dependence on government funding, it is necessary to scrutinize the public funding programmes in order to identify the effects which they have on the activities of institutions. The question is not merely one of academic freedom from political control, but also - and probably mainly - a question of the potentially distorting effects of governmental funding mechanisms on the internal priorities and decision-making processes within institutions.

Money speaks, and sometimes it speaks so loudly that the voices of academic and administrative reason cannot be heard. The power of money represents a major challenge to all systems of higher education. It is necessary to analyze the effects

of government funding programmes and to try to draft political guidelines and statutory limits for the exercise of this kind of governmental power.

The answer to the question as to what extent central government should have powers to control the environment of institutions of higher education will depend largely on the trust people have both in the motives and in the ability of central government to act in this sector. Is the government capable of acting rationally and forcefully in regard to these questions? Or is it more likely to be bureaucratic, inefficient, and weak so far as external pressures are concerned - or even corrupt?

And then there is the cost-benefit question. What is the cost of central government control in terms of effectiveness and of time consumed? A wide range of experiences, even those of higher education administrations, indicate that multilevel bureaucracies will have an inherent tendency to spend increasing amounts of their time and resources on internal administrative affairs.

The presently dominating fad in higher education management in western countries, quality control through extensive use of plans, reports, and performance indicators, has given rise to a number of examples of the dangers of uncritical attempts to fit research and higher education into *modern* models of management and administration. In spite of a general point of vantage in favour of debureaucratization and decentralization, this new vogue in higher education management seems to have an inherent tendency to generate an increasing amount of administrative work, partly in central government, but particularly within the institutions themselves.

The idea of effective quality control through a limited number of fairly simple performance indicators has proved to be a desktop fiction. If we are unwilling to restrict the concept of quality to what is easily measured through simple performance indicators, we have the choice between investing a considerable amount of our scarce resources into an extensive bureaucracy, one-half of which is producing plans, reports, etc., which the other half evaluates and tries to act on the basis of, or to return wholly or partly to a traditional more holistic administrative model, with less detailed control and with more weight on a working and less minutely defined overall evaluation of institutions.

A popular answer to this problem is debureaucratization through the use of market mechanisms. The institutions of higher education should be forced to reach for excellence through a market whereby students, private corporations, and the government itself act as buyers of the output of the institutions - research and graduates. This idea of *an invisible hand* as an alternative to bureaucratic and political control may appear quite attractive. It brings us, however, back to the question of whether it is possible to create an effective marketplace for research and higher education.

The inclusion of the government as one of *the market forces* is in reality a negative answer to this question. Government participation in a market will in most contexts imply a political and administrative responsibility for what the market produces. Thus the market will not be an alternative, but a supplement to government control, and in most cases not a very important one. The alternative to this disruption of a would-be free market of competing programmes of

higher education is government abdication in one of the most important sectors of society, in favour of a darwinistic *survival of the fittest*, based upon, at best, a quite uncertain idea of what *fitness* will imply in this context. This risk is one we should be very reluctant to take.

THE COSTS OF DIVERSIFICATION: LACK OF MOBILITY AND LOSS OF FLEXIBILITY

An even more fundamental and largely neglected issue in the debate on the diversification of higher education is the price that must be paid and will no doubt continue to be paid for an extensive and uncoordinated diversification on a national basis, in terms of loss of opportunities for national and international harmonization of programmes of higher education and free movement of students and graduates within and across the national borders. In light of the efforts invested in internationalization in this domain, one may be tempted to ask whether the diversification discussion that has been going on about this subject over the last few years is not similar to a discussion about the number of camels you should bring on a trip to the North Pole.

Controlled diversification of higher education may fit into a unified national system for degrees, educational programmes, and credits but at the cost of the more extreme idea of institutional liberalism. Even controlled diversification is difficult, it being very hard to envisage how a system of national diversification of higher education can be reconciled with, for instance, an international modular system of credits. The situation might arise whereby what is asked is whether or not a loss in mobility of students and graduates - within a nation and across international borders - is

an acceptable price to be paid for a high degree of institutional diversification.

Another price that might have to be paid for a high degree of diversification might be as Professor Sir Graham Hills of Strathclyde University, Scotland, pointed out at the Bucharest workshop that the trade-off for a high degree of specialization be a dramatic loss of flexibility. In times of technical innovation and global competition, it is of crucial importance that an education system which mainly produces narrowly specialized graduates not be created. There is ample evidence that graduates with a knowledge of a fairly broad range of subjects based upon a familiarity with the basic scientific principles underlying their fields of education are easier to re-employ, upgrade, or retrain than highly specialized graduates or graduates with an education based almost exclusively on practical application. In times of accelerating scientific progress, today's knowledge is likely to be obsolete tomorrow. An important consequence of this acceleration is that the quality of education should be measured not according to what one has learned, but according to what one is able to learn.

The need for flexibility in terms of the upgrading and the adjustment of education programmes and of graduates may be the strongest argument against a high degree of diversification. In times of global competition, no country can afford to waste its economic and intellectual resources on educational programmes which are less than optimal in terms of quality and flexibility. As pointed out at the Bucharest workshop, closed doors can be afforded neither within nor between national systems of higher education. One should be able to move in the system, and the system should be

transparent to the students and to the recipients of graduates.

On the other hand, it is important that the national and international credit systems be designed in a way that encourages unconventional courses and combinations of courses. As Professor Sir Graham Hills observed at the workshop, an abundance of knowledge is available. The challenge is to master it. In other words, what is needed now are graduates who have learned how to learn - how to maintain and upgrade their own professional standards - not walking textbooks which will be outdated shortly or drivers of cars which will be out of production in a few years.

In this situation, it is crucial, particularly to countries which are in the process of reconstructing both their societies and their systems of higher education, that we avoid what Vice-Rector Ioan Mihăilescu of the University of Bucharest described at the workshop as "the traps of restructuring". We must not become so fascinated with new ideas, models, and rhetoric that we throw away the experience accumulated through the development of the present university model of higher education, experiences with a system founded on research-based teaching at institutions with interaction and co-operation between a broad range of academic subjects.

This concern is of crucial importance to countries which, like the former communist states of central and eastern Europe, are in the process of restructuring their systems of higher education as part of the departure from a totalitarian political system. In the process of re-entering the free academic world and of modernizing their institutions, the eastern European countries should be careful not to adopt uncritically the current rhetoric of western debate on higher

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education or to try to imitate all reforms - implemented or merely suggested - that are currently *in vogue*. Experiences and documented results should be the basis for decisions on the organization of research and higher education, not unfinished experiments or ideas.

Academics must trust their own judgments. There is no such thing as a universal model for the organization of higher education - only more or less successful attempts to adapt to a complex and changing national and international environment. In this process, we should be careful not to discard the knowledge and values of a working system each time we feel there is a need for reform.

The observations of Professor In'tveld at the workshop are particularly worth stressing: lawmakers should be modest; laws should be brief and should deal mainly with issues of organization and of relations between government and institutions. Above all, no attempt should be made to solve the problems of diversification and of the design of programmes of higher education through a system of comprehensive legislation.

CONCLUSION

The questions of how higher education should be organized are complex, and there are no simple answers. In this area, everyone is a student and should remain so for the rest of his or her life. The purpose of legislation is not to prescribe the right answers to these questions, but to create an environment that ensures a running informed debate and an enlightened decision-making process in the field.

The substantive answers to the questions addressed in this report will not be found in the market, nor in the ministries, or in the legislatures, but in a continuous dialogue between the institutions, the market, and society at large, and *within* the institutions. The main challenge is to ensure that this dialogue is not halted or perverted.

The task of legislators is to create the proper environment for continued work with these issues, and in this context, the institutions of higher education must be viewed not merely as the objects of this debate, but also, and maybe even primarily, as its main *fora*. The institutions of higher education may have failed to meet all their obligations in this respect, but it is a grievous mistake to try to hold this debate outside an academic context as a discussion solely of how to achieve bureaucratic control and efficiency. Some of the debate on diversification of higher education must be viewed as attempts of this kind.

A house divided will not stand. The main task at hand in the field of higher education and research is not to differentiate and to divide, but to keep or to bring together research and teaching, research and society, teaching and society, research and teaching in various academic fields, research and teaching at different institutions, and research and teaching in different countries. Diversification of higher education must take place within a framework that takes care of these needs. Differentiation of types of institutions and of programmes of higher education must be a supplement, not an alternative to a unified academic tradition of knowledge and teaching.

Information

DENMARK:

Business Gives Thumbs Down on Degree

Six years after its introduction into the university system, much of Denmark remains unconvinced about its three-year bachelor's degree.

At a seminar held by the ministry of education, Hans Skov Christensen, head of *Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening*, the Danish employers' organization, said that industry had no interest in the new degree.

Industrial employers want candidates with the traditional five-year master's degree. Only 25 per cent of candidates with the new degree have been able to be employed.

Hans Peter Jensen, rector of the Danish Technical University and Head of the Danish Rectors' Conference, said that universities too had very little faith in their bachelor graduates: "Nobody wants to be operated on by a bachelor doctor, cross a bridge built by a bachelor engineer, or be buried by a bachelor priest".

The bachelor's degree was introduced in Denmark in the late 1980's as a response to increasing pressure for more university places. The Liberal (conserva-

tive) government wished to see more students at university level but did not want to finance a five-year master's degree curriculum for all.

Since then, the new degree has been marketed neither by universities nor by industry or academic organizations. Only very few courses programmes, such as meteorology, are geared to three years.

On top of the internal labour market problems, Danish bachelor's degree holders face a lack of international recognition.

Ole Hansen of the Niels Bohr Institute said that in the United States, Danish bachelor's degree holders are not admitted to postgraduate study before they have completed an extra year in the US system.

A record number of 41,724 students are being admitted to Danish universities this year, while another record number - 21,700 - were rejected.

(Source: *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, No. 1139, September 2, 1994)

IRELAND:

Plans to Abolish Tuition Fees at Its Universities Within Three Years

Ireland will abolish tuition fees for university students within the next three years, Education Minister Niamh Bhreathnach has announced.

The present fees range from about US \$ 2,250 to US \$ 3,300 a year. Only forty per cent of students receive financial aid from the government.

The minister's promise must still be approved by the coalition government. That approval seems likely, since the proposal has the support of both parties in power.

Tuition fees account for some thirty per cent of the income of the country's seven universities. The balance of their operating funds comes mainly from government grants.

Some university officials have expressed concern about relying even more heavily on the state for their financial support, saying that doing so might ul-

timately lead to an erosion of their traditional independence. They also say that dropping tuition will do nothing to increase the number of students from poorer families who can attend universities, nor will it create any additional student places. This year, 60,000 young people have applied for just under 30,000 university and college openings.

The decision to scrap the fees may not be as costly to the government as it first appears. The government is also expected to abolish a tax credit for parents who may give up to five per cent of their income to their children who are in college.

The gap between the cost of abolishing tuition and the total amount of educational tax credits is about US \$ 22.5-million.

(Source: *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Volume XL, No. 50, 17 August 1994)

Bibliographical References

Book Review

Staffing Higher Education: Meeting New Challenges

by *Maurice Kogan, Ingrid Moses, and Elaine El-Khawas*

Higher Education Policy Series 27, OECD, 1994.

London and Bristol (Pennsylvania): Jessica Kingsley, 1994 X-136 p. ISBN 1-85302-541-0

The need for rethinking and radical change is the leitmotif of all debates concerning higher education. In this context, academic staffing is a nodal issue.

Knowledge about academic staffing policies and practices, with both their quantitative (or demographic) and qualitative aspects, is incomplete in several ways. In this context, this OECD-sponsored publication by three eminent specialists, Dr. Elaine El-Khawas, Vice-President for Policy Analysis and Research of the American Council on Education; Dr. Maurice Kogan, Director, Centre for the Evaluation of Public Policy and Practice, Brunel University, United Kingdom; and Dr. Ingrid Moses, Deputy Vice-Chancellor, University of Canberra; serves as an inspiration for experts in the field of higher education having "creative policy" skills. The overview of the main issues concerning the theme, as well as the strategies and policies proposed and analyzed, recommend this book as a kind of "synoptic work" which is more "a matter for creative policy analysis than research" (p 125).

The book is based on an OECD Institutional Management in Higher Education workshop held in Paris in 1992. It was led by the authors as well as by Dr. Hans Acherman, Deputy Secretary-General, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands. It is based primarily on the contributions produced during the workshop.

The book deals with the ways in which academic staff members face new challenges and the effects of these challenges upon their mandates, tasks, qualifications, conditions of work and professional development, and at the same time, with the demographic and economic parameters within which academic staff must work.

The information is based mainly on the experiences of English and French speaking countries and does not include any substantial consideration of the problems of staffing in central and eastern Europe (only a few brief references are made to these countries in chapter 6). However, the intention is that a future project activity, in collaboration with colleagues in central and eastern

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Europe, will develop some understanding of the problems peculiar to these countries which are outside the original arena of OECD.

The first eight pages of the book constitute a so-called *Executive Summary* which introduces the larger problems evoked throughout the book.

Describing some of the emerging characteristics of the academic profession, the increasing complexity of the academic task, the changing staffing structures, and the functions of different sectors and institutions, the authors focussed in the second part of the study on the analysis of different staffing policy practices (helpful in determining fits between tasks, structures, and qualifications) in an attempt to reformulate them for future patterns of work.

The conclusion that "the actual changed mission of higher education calls for a more sophisticated and careful management of human resources than used to be the case" (p. 117) provokes thinking in regard to new structures which combine the vertical management and the horizontal collegial modes of governance thus working towards "the release of synergy between academic and management values".

The recommendations made in the final chapter, the most consistent and valuable in the book, are directed to governments, institutions, and members of the academic profession, having as a background the exceedingly complex changes in many of the countries within the ambit of OECD. Analyzing governmental policies, the authors draft the contents of a possible analytic basis for a comprehensive staffing needs analysis. At the institutional level, they emphasize the need for explicit, integrated policies for selection and staff development and for active policies for the removal of impediments to staff advancement. So far as the academic world is concerned, the authors suggest that policies should pay attention to identifying the conditions, the inputs, and the processes necessary for advancing standards of work.

The implementation of policy suggestions and ideas for the quantitative and qualitative improvement of staffing in higher education requires research which is coherent, effective, and efficient. This book represents a very good step in the right direction.

Laura Grünberg

NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED BY CEPES:

Background report to OECD review. Setényi, J. et al.; Ed. Budapest, MEC, 1994. 51 p., tabs. (Consultative Meeting of the Ministers of Education of Central and Eastern Europe. Sinaia, Romania, 1994)

The education system in Romania: tuition in the languages of ethnic minorities. Romania. Ministry of Education. The Education Department for National Minorities. Bucharest, ME, 1994. 1 v.(various pagings), annex.

The higher education in Greece. Kassotakis, Michael. Athens, 1994. 19 p.

The higher education system in Russia. The Centre for International Academic Cooperation (Russian Federation); Ed. Voronezh, Voronezh State University, 1994. 9 p.

The state educational standard of the Russian Federation: higher professional education-general requirements. Russian Federation. Higher Education State Committee. Moscow, HESC, 1994. 7 p., annex.

European Forum for Freedom in Education: procedure and organization. //Europäisches Forum für Freiheit im Bildungswesen: Ziele, Vorgehensweise und Organisation. ger. European Forum for Freedom in Education (Germany). Witten, EFFE, 1994. 23 p.

State education in Romania. Romania. Ministry of Education; Ed. Oradea, ME, 1994. [37] p., tables.

Education in Romania. Romania. Ministry of Education; Ed. Oradea, ME, 1994. [21] p., tables.

Russian universities. Interuniversity Centre for International Educational Programmes (Russian Federation). Moscow, ICIEP, 1994. 76 p.

Etudiants des hautes écoles suisses. //Studierende an den schweizerischen Hochschulen. Office fédéral de la statistique (Suisse). Berne, OFS, 1994. 24 p. ISBN: 3-303-15096-6

Education in Finland 1994: education, statistics and indicators. Statistics Finland. Helsinki, SF, 1994. 71 p. ISSN: 1236-47460789-6735

Acts on schools of higher education, the academic title and academic degrees. Poland. Ministry of National Education. Department of Science and Higher Education. Warsaw, MNE, 1994. 103 p. ISBN: 83-85430-10-5

Report on the future of self-regulation in higher education. Accrediting Commission for Senior Colleges and Universities. Western Commission for Colleges and Universities (USA) Oakland, Mills Colleges, 1993. 23p.

Calendar of Events

MEETINGS ORGANIZED BY CEPES

1995

9-11 February

First meeting of the Expert Group for the Elaboration of the Joint Council of Europe/UNESCO Convention on Academic Recognition in the Europe region (Bucharest, Romania). For further information, please contact:

Ms. Stamenka Uvalic-Trumbic,
CEPES, 39 Știrbei Vodă St., R-70732,
Romania.

12-14 February

First Session of the CEPES Advisory Board. For further information, please contact:

Mr. Lazăr Vlăsceanu, CEPES, 39
Știrbei Vodă St., R-70732, Bucharest,
Romania.

OTHER MEETINGS

1994

3-8 October

"Appraisal and Perspectives of Education for International Understanding". 44th Session of the International Conference on Education organized by the International Bureau of Education (Geneva, Switzerland). For further information, please contact:

Mr. Juan Carlos Tedesco, Director, International Bureau of Education, P.O. Box 199, 1211 Geneva, Switzerland.

10-13 October

CRE Project on Quality Audit (Utrecht, The Netherlands). For further information, please contact:

CRE, 10 rue du Conseil Général, CH-1211 Geneva 4, Switzerland.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

30 October-3 November

CRE Project on Quality Audit (Göteborg, Sweden). For further information, please contact:

CRE, 10 rue du Conseil Général, CH-1211 Geneva 4, Switzerland.

31 October-4 November

"Intercultural Conflicts in Peace Research and Education". 15th General Conference of IPRA: the International Peace Research Association (Malta). For further information, please contact:

Ake Bjerstedt, Peace Education Commission, School of Education, Box 23501, S-200 45 Malmö, Sweden.

2-4 November

"Higher Education: Capacity-building for the 21st Century". 4th UNESCO-NGO Collective Consultation on Higher Education (Paris, France). For further information, please contact:

Ms. L. Kearney, UNESCO, ED/HEP/HE, 7 place de Fontenoy, 75352 Paris 07 SP, France.

10-12 November

"Social Science Information Needs and Provision in a Changing Europe. European Conference (Berlin, Germany). For further information, please contact:

Ms Ulrike Becker or Ms Erika Schwefel, Informationszentrum Sozialwissenschaften, Abteilung Berlin in der Aussenstelle der

Gesellschaft Sozialwissenschaftlicher Infrastruktureinrichtungen (GESIS), Schiffbauerdamm 19, D-10117 Berlin, Germany.

9-11 November 1994

"Perspectives of Continuing Professional Development", 3rd European Forum for Continuing Engineering Education, Adolf-Czettel-Bildungszentrum, Theresianumgasse 16-18, A-1040, Vienna, Austria.

13-17 November

CRE Project on Quality Audit (Oporto, Portugal). For further information, please contact:

CRE, 10 rue du Conseil Général, CH-1211 Geneva 4, Switzerland.

24-26 November

"Quality in International Education". 6th Annual Conference of EAIE: the European Association for International Education (London, UK). For further information, please contact:

EAIE, Van Diemenstraat 344, NL-1-013 CR Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

19-21 December

"The Student Experience". Annual Conference of the Society for Research into Higher Education (SRHE) and the University of York (London, UK). For further information, please contact:

SRHE, 344-354 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8BP, UK.

1995

Follow-up Meeting of MINEDEUROPE IV in conjunction with CORDEE. (Paris,

France). For further information, please contact:

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

Mr. H. Rissom & Mr. P. Herold, UNESCO, ED/UCE, 7, place de Fontenoy, 75352 Paris 07 SP, France.

"6th European Conference for Research on Learning and Instruction". European Association for Research on Learning and Instruction (EARLI) (Nijmegen, The Netherlands). For further information, please contact:

Robert-Jan Simons, Department of Educational Sciences, Nijmegen University, P.O. Box 9103, 6500 HD Nijmegen, The Netherlands.

"6th World Conference on Continuing Engineering Education". International Association for Continuing Engineering Education (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil). For further information, please contact:

F. R. Landi, Escola Politecnica, University of Sao Paulo, POB 1145, Sao Paulo, CEP 05499, Brazil.

"9th World Conference". World Association for Cooperative Education (WACE) (Jamaica). For further information, please contact:

Cal Haddad, International Secretariat, WACE, c/o Mohawk College, P.O. Box 2034, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada L8N 3T2.

January

6th Session of the International Commission on Education for the 21st Century (Beijing, China). For further information, please contact:

Ms A. Draxler, UNESCO, ED/EDC, 7, place de Fontenoy, 75352 Paris 07 SP, France.

26-29 January

"Skola'95" Prague Student Fair. International Conference and Exhibition on Secondary and Higher Education, organized under the auspices of the Coun-

cil of Europe (Prague, Czech Republic). For further information, please contact:

ICEF International Consultants for Education and Fairs, Am Hofgarten 18, D-53113 Bonn, Germany.

February

Meeting of Governmental Experts to Examine the Draft Recommendation on the Status of Teachers in Higher Education (Paris, France). For further information, please contact:

Mr. D. Beridze, UNESCO, ED/HEP/HE, 7, place de Fontenoy, 75352 Paris 07 SP, France.

6-9 February 1995

"Global Civilization and Cultural Roots: Bridging the Gap. The Place of International University Cooperation". International Association of Universities, tenth General Conference (New Delhi, India). For further information please contact:

Dr. Franz Eberhard, Secretary General, IAU, 1, rue Miollis, F-75732 Paris, Cédex 15, France.

April

5th Session of the International Committee for the Application of the Convention on the Recognition of Studies, Diplomas and Degrees in Higher Education in the Arab and European States bordering the Mediterranean (Paris, France). For further information, please contact:

Mr. D. Beridze, UNESCO, ED/HEP/HE, 7, place de Fontenoy, 75352 Paris 07 SP, France.

19-22 April

International Conference on "Counselling and Tolerance". Organized by IRTAC (University of Malta, Malta). For further information, please contact:

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

Dr. Derek Hope, Secretary IRTAC,
Brunel University, Uxbridge, Mid-
dlesex, UB8 3PH, UK.

7th Session of the International Commission on Education for the 21st Century (Amman, Jordan). For further information, please contact:

Ms A. Draxler, UNESCO, ED/EDC, 7,
place de Fontenoy, 75352 Paris 07 SP,
France.

June/July

Final Session (8th) of the International Commission on Education for the 21st Century (Paris, France). For further information, please contact:

Ms A. Draxler, UNESCO, ED/EDC, 7,
place de Fontenoy, 75352 Paris 07 SP,
France.

26-30 June

"One World Many Voices - Quality in Open and Distance Learning". 17th World Conference for Distance Education (Birmingham, United Kingdom). For further information, please contact:

ICDE Conference Office, The Open University, West Midlands region, 66-68 High Street, Harborne, Birmingham B 17 9NB, UK.

July

"Improving University Teaching" (IUT). 20th International Conference. For further information, please contact:

Improving University Teaching, University of Maryland, University College, University Boulevard at Adelphi Road, College Park, Maryland 20742-1659, USA.

International Conference on Distance Education organized by the Association for International Education and the State Committee for Higher Education of the Russian Federation (Moscow, Russian

Federation). For further information, please contact:

Mr. Alexander Prokopchuk, Deputy Director of International Cooperation, State Committee for Higher Education, 33, Ul. Shabolovka, Moscow, Russian Federation.

2-7 July

"State and University in the New Europe: a Liberal Future?" International Conference (Usti nad Labem, Czech Republic). For further information, please contact:

Dr. Bob Brecher, School of Historical & Critical Studies, University of Brighton, 10-11 Pavilion Parade, Brighton BN2 1RA, Sussex, UK.

12-18 July

Education for the 21st Century: Educational Modernization and Cultural Tradition (9th congress), World Council of Comparative Education (Beijing, China). For further information please contact:

World Council for Comparative Education, c/o University of Manchester, Department of Education, Manchester, M 13 9PL, UK.

27-30 August

"Dynamics in Higher Education: Traditions Challenged by New Paradigms", 17th Annual EAIR Forum, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (Zurich, Switzerland). For further information, please contact:

EAIR Secretariat, Forum 1995 CHEPS University of Twente, P.O. Box 217, 7500 AE Enschede, The Netherlands.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

4-11 September

Fourth World Conference on Women: Action for Development, Equality and Peace (Beijing, China).

5-12 September

"20th Annual Conference". Association for Teacher Education in Europe (Oslo, Norway). For further information, please contact:

ATEE, rue de la Concorde 60, B-1050 Bruxelles, Belgium or Bislet Hoegskolesenter, Pielstredet 52, N-0167 Oslo, Norway.

14-17 September

European Conference on Educational Research, British and European Educa-

tional Research Associations (University of Bath, UK). For further information, please contact:

ECER 95 Conference Secretary, School of Education, University of Bath, BA2 7AY, UK.

December

"The Changing University". Annual Conference, Society for Research into Higher Education (SRHE) (Edinburgh, UK). For further information, please contact:

The Conference Organiser, SRHE, 344/345 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8BP, UK.

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