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In this issue:

Multi-Ethnicity in Higher Education

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U N E S C O

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Higher Education in Europe

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FROM THE EDITORS

The multi-ethnic and pluricultural nature of European societies, indeed of world society, is (or should be) reflected both in the composition of the student cohorts and the staffs of higher education institutions. This same reality should also, of course, be reflected in the curricula, for an important aim of higher education is or should be to sensitize students to the multi-ethnic and pluricultural nature of their societies. From an understanding of multi-ethnicity and pluriculturalism should evolve an appreciation for and the valuing of cultural richness. The same understanding should lead to renewed efforts to promote social harmony and to value and to practice tolerance and human solidarity.

Given that the mission of UNESCO calls for it to promote intercultural and interethnic dialogue through international cultural co-operation and that the task of CEPES is to promote international co-operation in higher education, we thought that a topic on multi-ethnicity in higher education would be very timely, all the more in that interethnic relations in some parts of Europe are undergoing crises of tragic proportions.

We are conscious of our very incomplete treatment of this vast subject. We were unable, for instance, to obtain a contribution from any eastern European country, but this was not for lack of trying. The scholars whom we contacted either failed to reply to our enquiries or were pressed by other obligations. At least the articles which we did obtain serve as examples of the types of studies that the topic can inspire.

The lead article, by *Ibrahim Alladin*, a Mauritian sociologist resident in Canada, argues in favour of the globalization of higher education, a multi-facetted concept which involves the development of pluricultural attitudes in and approaches to education in the interests of international co-operation, tolerance, and peace.

The discussion of pluricultural education as a proactive reaction to multi-ethnicity is continued by *Antonio Perotti*, the Italian Director of CIEMI, the Centre d'Information et d'Etudes sur les Migrations Internationales of Paris. Perotti argues that all higher education course programmes, particularly those dealing with geography and history, should embody a pluricultural approach which confronts the "pluricultural, pluriconfessional, and often multiethnic social context" of Europe. Taking teacher education as a particular example, he argues that multicultural education should be much more than a question of developing special programmes for culturally different children. It should bring about in all children the

development of a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic worldview.

These two general studies are followed by four country-specific studies.

Sue Wright and *Dennis Ager* of the United Kingdom examine the enrolment of minority group students in higher education in their country in the light of current government policy to democratize access, on one hand, but to transfer much of the financial burden of studying from the public authorities to students and their parents. Although the representation of minorities in higher education is higher than their representation in the larger society, the authors feel that the conclusion to be drawn from this finding with regard to the democratization of access and the reduction of ethnic prejudice on the part of the majority population is ambiguous.

Vic Satzewich of Canada, who examines the history of higher education for the Indian population of his country, particularly the results of special programmes for Indian people, concludes that such programmes may reinforce the very marginalization of their recipients in Canadian society which they were supposed to eliminate.

The question of special programmes for "the disadvantaged" is picked up by *Kogila Moodley* of South Africa. Here, unlike in Canada, the "disadvantaged" are in fact the vast majority of the population. The fundamental question is how to Africanize the universities, to bring the numbers of black teachers and students (in the historically white universities) up to their proportions in the larger society while preserving traditional academic standards and values, and this in a context in which large numbers of the persons involved of all races and ethnic origins wish to escape from the whole principle of ethnic and racial classification. The situation and the remedies described are fascinating and pregnant in lessons for Europe.

In the closing article, *Khadiga M. Safwat*, a Sudanese sociologist resident in the United Kingdom, also casts some light on the European situation from a vantage point outside Europe through an examination of the role and place of women and culturally "non-conforming" persons in conservative Muslim society. She is concerned by how attempts at multicultural and sexually mixed integration in poorer societies can be thwarted by the influence of and the economic aid brought to bear by wealthy but very conservative donor countries and organizations.

The two 'Tribune' articles move the focus of discussion from multiethnicity and pluriculturalism in higher education to questions of the socioeconomic status of students.

Arto Nevala of Finland chronicles the rise and the decline in his country of efforts to democratize higher education by broadening access. *Anastasia Rigas* of Greece, who is concerned by the problem of the academic failure of first year univer-

sity students from problem families, describes a programme which is being created to offer psychosocial support to young people in this situation.

In order to compensate for our neglect of eastern Europe in the 'Topic' and 'Tribune' sections, we have devoted the whole 'Information' section to eastern Europe. We have printed excepts, dealing with higher education from some of the country reports which were prepared for the 43rd Session of the International Conference on Education (International Bureau of Education), Geneva, September 1992. In particular we draw the attention of our readers to the report prepared by the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation, a long section of which dwells on the need for a multi-ethnic and pluricultural approach to teaching and learning at all levels of the education system.

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MULTI-ETHNICITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION: THE GLOBALIZATION OF UNIVERSITIES

Ibrahim ALLADIN

● This article begins by posing some fundamental questions about global co-operation and why co-operation among nations is necessary. Co-operation in higher education can foster global understanding and bridge cultural gaps. What is therefore called for is the globalization of universities. For positive international co-operation in education to occur, the following initiatives are required: global perspectives in the curriculum, foreign students as learning resources, the globalization of universities and colleges, and the disengagement of educational policy from foreign policy.

INTRODUCTION

Can countries genuinely co-operate? Can they subordinate their individual interests and goals to the common good? Toynbee has stated that in the annals of history, the mid-twentieth century will be remembered as the first period in which the powerful and industrialized nations responded to the needs of the weak and poor nations. Commendable as this effort is, the question still remains as to whether or not nations can learn to co-operate in view of solving common global problems? Since co-operation is already going on, it is more appropriate to ask: can countries co-operate more effectively? The answer, we think, is "yes, they can".

The answers provided by the leadership of many international agencies are limited and often pessimistic. In the present age of outstanding technical development and the growing interdependence of nations, there is one option left, namely, the creation of more enlightened citizens who can convert fear and irrationalities into international co-operation. This process calls for the globalization of universities, for the university is the only truly global institution that can promote international co-operation and understanding through educational exchanges. Globalization is a process that requires a transformation of relationships and negative attitudes with the aim of becoming more global in terms of orientation. It sees co-operation as a potential for conflict resolution. This paper explores the leadership role the university can play.

DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Higher education has gone through a series of reforms since the Second World War. It has been dominated by three preoccupations: quantitative expansion, reform of individual institutions, and the reform of the

higher education system as a whole. These three preoccupations can be said to have appeared consecutively during the 1950's and 1960's.

Changes in the structure of post-war public systems of education, the administration of those systems, the financing of them, as well as changes in curricula received a much needed impetus from human capital theory. The latter provided both the rationale and the justification for the expansion of higher education.

The theory of human capital was formulated by Theodore W. Schultz in 1960 and launched at the seventy-third annual meeting of the American Economic Association in St. Louis, Missouri, in December, 1960. Since then, many economists have developed variants of the theory, but it is the Schultzian model of human capital that has had the greatest influence on education and social policy around the world. In 1980, Schultz was awarded the Nobel Prize in Economics, a fact which indicates the influence he continued to exert.

For many policy-makers and employers, human capital theory provided the breakthrough for which they were looking. First, the theory gave a clear justification for the expansion of education. Second, employers were convinced that educated employees were more productive and would contribute more to the profits of the corporation than less educated employees. This increased productivity is explained by the skills and abilities of human capital that the employees have acquired in the course of their education.

The idea that education is capital in the same sense as material capital has had tremendous impact on educational participation rates, the proportion of national budgets allocated to education, the administration of public systems of education, the sizes of public institutions and their administrative structures, as well as on curricula and pedagogy. Not only has the size of the educational system expanded, the pattern of that system has been transformed. In discussing the influence of human capital theory on education, Psacharopoulos remarked that "... there has been an almost 180 degree shift of emphasis in development planning, the emphasis changing from physical to human capital as the major source of growth" (1973, pp. 1-2).

THE CHANGING ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES

The changing role of the university has altered the character of the education it provides. Universities still perform the traditional role of teaching the arts and sciences, but the focus is now more on training students in highly specialized fields and on preparing them for a wide range of occupations created by the knowledge revolution. Before the Second World War, the majority of undergraduates majored in either the arts or the sciences, but this is no longer the case. Today, universities offer a range of new professional disciplines, from public administration to food science.

There has been an explosion in the knowledge industry. Fewer students are graduating in the traditional arts and sciences disciplines. For ex-

ample, in 1980 in the United States, only 14.6% of students graduated in the arts and sciences combined compared to 17.9% who majored in the single most popular field, business (Hurn, 1987, p. 11). The university has become a place where a student is trained for an occupation rather than given a broad education in traditional fields.

The transformation of universities has signified a new era in the direction of higher education. In a novel and dramatic way, a knowledge revolution has occurred. Formal credentials have become resources the possession of which is essential for the progress of the giant corporations and bureaucracies that dominate economic and social life. Science and technology, production and administration, marketing, business and management - all require experts and technical knowledge. Until the late nineteenth century, experts and expert knowledge had been produced outside the university. By managing to capture the process through which experts are produced and to transfer the actual production of much new knowledge from outside their walls to within them, universities staged one of the greatest coups in the history of capitalism. Moreover, they met only minimal resistance because the imperial interests of universities and the self-protective instincts of professionals reinforced each other. Together they made the credentials dispensed by universities the hallmark of professional expertise. Universities, thereby, became the gatekeepers of the advanced technical-managerial society (Katz, 1986, p. 9).

One of the major changes pushing the university into the information age has been the increased pressure on universities not only to transmit knowledge through teaching but also to create new knowledge, and to disseminate this knowledge to improve society. Throughout this century, universities, "believed to have a special understanding of society... were called on to bring about its improvement". Universities now form parts of national development plans, reinforcing the involvement of themselves in the daily lives of nations.

The information age and the advancements in communications have added another dimension to universities; namely, they are becoming international communities. The globalization of the world economy and the interdependence of nations have forced them to take on a more international focus. The isolationism that existed in the 1960's is being replaced with efforts made by many universities to expand opportunities for international education. For the university to bridge cultural gaps, a global perspective is required. A new thrust in international education is expected to instill a global perspective in all aspects of education.

GLOBAL EDUCATION AND UNIVERSITIES

The Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education justified giving higher education a more global dimension in the following ways:

- The proper concern of education is the whole world, not simply a part of it. Any educational effort that, in its totality, concerns itself

with less than what can be known about other countries and all peoples of the world is incomplete.

- Knowledge respects no national boundaries.
- The ability of educated people to use what they know in the advancement of any human enterprise is greatly enlarged by the acquisition of knowledge and skills that enable them to function effectively in more than one country or culture.
- One of the central problems of all nations has become the use of nonrenewable resources.
- In many other matters - including the prevention of nuclear war and the curbing of inflation - international co-operation becomes increasingly crucial. Such co-operation cannot be effective unless substantial numbers of men and women in all countries have a good understanding of people and conditions in other parts of the world. It is no longer good enough to know how they are different. We now need to know why they are different, and how the differences will affect co-operative efforts to achieve desired objectives.
- It is inconceivable that any country that aspires to international leadership can exercise that role if its people are under-educated in international affairs. (Kerr, 1980, pp. xix-xx)

Echoing the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, Michio Nagai in **An Owl Before Dusk** (1975) remarked that the most important problems nowadays are increasingly international, and only minor problems remain national. And in **A Passion for Paradox**, Harlan Cleveland (1977) observed that we now live in a world in which everything leads to everything else. These observations imply that international co-operation must involve universities and that global education must reach more people and more professions.

The most recent development in global education reflects a new awareness of the interdependence of nations. Issues that were formerly regarded as domestic have become international. A new thrust for universities is to instill a global perspective in all aspects of teaching and research. Global perspective can mean simply that all issues and disciplines have an international context. Realization of this reality may cause some people to forget that the perspectives of other nations may be considerably less global than those of their own. This fact - with its deep roots in values, traditions, and situations that differ profoundly from their own - should be kept in mind when considering trends in international and global education. Otherwise the notion of a global perspective could serve to legitimize a new brand of parochialism (Burn, 1980, p. 2).

Global education, a diverse and highly decentralized movement, responds to a variety of events on the international stage: from poverty and hunger to pollution and electronics. The need to teach global education and global interdependence is now

widely acknowledged (Alger and Harf, 1986). The message from global educators is that universities should prepare global citizens.

The American philosopher, Ralph Barton Perry, pointed out in his volume, **One World in the Making**, that "Men live in a greater world, embracing the whole of earth and all its inhabitants, and their lives must be organized in the same proportions" (Kenworthy, 1970, p. 16). What lies behind this message is the concept of a "world society", a world of nations co-operating together without giving up their sovereignty to a super-government or superpower. Universities have the possibilities to promote global understanding.

As William Fulbright wrote:

> *In the fields of international relations, the purpose of education is the civilizing and humanizing of relations between nations in ways which are within the limits of human capacity. The question is whether, in this era in which man has become capable for the first time of destroying his species, we can close the gap between our needs and our traditional forms of behavior; whether, to put it another way, we can change the nature of international relations, not merely by improving our traditional way of doing things but by devising new techniques and new attitudes: techniques and attitudes which one may hope will be within our capacity but adequate to our needs. The question may be answered with catastrophic suddenness or it may never be answered; what is called for, however, is not an answer but an effort, an effort rooted in acceptance of our humanity, in hope for our future, and in a certain, perhaps not entirely justified, faith in ourselves.* (William Fulbright, 1967, "Foreword".)

In its thrust towards globalization, universities should become more seriously and totally engaged with global problems and international relations. This increased concern should recognize the broader definition of education and deal with the central role education can play in promoting global co-operation. Academic departments in the arts and sciences, professional faculties, and administrators of institutions of higher education should take cognizance of their responsibilities regarding the improvement of learning across society, of furthering planned change and reorientation in education, and in finding solutions to global problems. This will involve the acquisition of new skills and insights required to understand human problems across cultural boundaries within each society and to operate effectively in the framework of existing social and political institutions (Griffin and Spence, 1970, p. 72).

Possibilities for International Co-operation in Education

Our contention is that there is no other way than genuine and systematic co-operation among nations. There is a readiness among some nations to co-operate in the realization of the extent of the tragedy that lies in a traditional ethnocentric path of development. Co-operation in education, especially through universities, is a workable place to begin since

education is less central to the immediate aims of competition and power politics among nations than other venues. However, one should realize how difficult co-operation in education is because of the sensitive factors that still create global divisions - ideology, nationalism, language, and other highly emotionally charged factors (Griffin and Spence, 1970, p. 51).

Co-operation among nations on the development of educational programmes depends in the first instance on the readiness of individual countries to participate on a mutual basis. Thus a shift away from policies with colonial and neocolonial overtones which foster dependency relationships (Alladin, 1989). For example, the movement of students and scholars from developing countries to the developed ones was based under various *scholarship diplomacy* schemes. As Selvaratnam notes:

> *These schemes were largely effected through cultural and bilateral negotiations and subsequent agreements between individual developed and developing countries. This initiative was further catalysed and sustained by various philanthropic foundations. Notable among them were the Asia, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations, the Carnegie Corporation, and the various international agencies that came under the United Nations system, notably the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)* (Selvaratnam, 1985, p. 309).

The flow of scholars and students in higher education has taken a global dimension. It began in the early 1970's at an unprecedented rate. Most of the students from the developing countries went to universities in North America, Europe, the former Soviet Union, and to the eastern bloc allies of the latter. Some movement of students between the developed countries also took place, for example from Canada, the United Kingdom, and western Europe to the United States, and vice versa. It is assumed that the flow of scholars and students and academic exchanges provide not only "an important educational option for individuals and nations" (Barber *et al.*, 1984) but also have far-reaching economic, political, educational, and cultural consequences both for the sending and the host countries. Selvaratnam explains:

> *For most of the sending developing countries, the argument has been in terms of meeting the urgently needed high-level trained manpower requirements, both in the government and the private sectors. This is particularly so when these developing countries lack not only the economic resources but also the essential cadre of skilled academic and administrative manpower necessary to establish new higher education institutions or expand the capacity of their existing ones. On the other hand, for the developed receiving countries, positive educational, monetary, and foreign policy benefits as well as trade and commercial considerations have been outlined and emphasized as reasons for participating in and even encouraging*

the flow of scholars and students into their respective countries (Selvaratnam, 1985, p. 308).

International co-operation in education should not lead to the dependency of one nation on another. The First Development Decade recognized the need for a global strategy of development that would provide co-operative development efforts. Within the overall framework of a development strategy, a strategy for educational development is needed. This educational strategy should have a clear notion of global education and attract support for it. Since the First Development Decade, attention has been drawn to the critical importance of education in development co-operation throughout the world. Reports such as the Brandt Report (1980) as well as various publications by the World Bank and UNESCO have underlined the role of education. But education has so far not been very effective in promoting global co-operation.

International organizations such as UNESCO that have the mandate and infrastructure to promote global education have to be strengthened if they are to take the initiative with regard to the steps required to formulate, implement, and coordinate the kinds of educational programmes that are required for international co-operation. A giant step could be accomplished if larger countries, such as the United States, were to reaffirm their moral, intellectual, and material commitment to UNESCO.

The careful packaging of planning, research, and programming is an important element in international education. Unfortunately, development strategies have often overemphasized the technological and economic aspects of development so that cross-cultural issues and cross-cultural understanding have received less attention from social scientists. The effects of developmentalism are still being felt. Universities that have been influenced by thinking based on human capital theory continue to undermine the importance of global education. For these universities, international co-operation is narrowly defined, often in economic terms.

Positive international co-operation in education would require the following initiatives: global perspectives in the curriculum; foreign students as a learning resource; the globalization of universities and colleges; and the disengagement of educational policy from foreign policy.

Global Perspectives in the Curriculum

The essential message of the global education movement is that it involves everyone. It also obviously involves all disciplines and all levels of education. In addition, global education stresses the involvement of individuals in a diversity of world systems and institutions, as consumers, workers, investors, educators, members of religious organizations, etc. In essence, this feature recognizes that human establishments are linked to the entire world (Alger and Harf, 1986, p. 2). Discussion of global perspectives in the curriculum therefore should not reinforce parochialism, but instead a genuine

desire to examine and study cultures for the broadening of understanding.

Much of the content of global education consists of subjects in the humanities and the social sciences that are susceptible to controversial interpretation from perspectives of different cultures. Often, these interpretations advocate blatant attempts to present their cases in the classroom. Global education should be committed to presenting a broad spectrum of perspectives when addressing controversial issues and should be alert to the biases of advocates. The responsibility for providing this balance rests with the individual teachers and the sponsoring institutions (Freeman and Hayden, 1986, p. 17).

Foreign Students as A Learning Resource

The numbers of foreign students enrolled in universities across the world are an important source of learning with global perspectives. These students are an underutilized resource for improved communication between cultures (Kerr, 1980, p. xxvii). Barber *et al.* write:

> *Foreign study provides an important educational option for individuals and nations. The usefulness of this option has been most obvious where national systems of higher education are limited in size and quality. But even in relatively rich educational environments, foreign study satisfies the desire for cross-cultural learning experiences and provides ways of dealing with overflows in educational demands, as in the case of American medical students abroad. The growing importance of the foreign study option is evident in the approximately eightfold increase that has occurred worldwide in the last thirty years* (Barber *et al.*, 1984, p. 1).

Overseas study provides a direct opportunity for cultural learning through the broadening of knowledge and views internationally. It also provides the opportunity to acquire knowledge about the culture and other aspects of the host country. At the same time, the impact of such knowledge acquisition is considered to extend beyond the cognitive domain into the area of motivation, views, and opinions (Opper *et al.*, 1990, p. 117-118). It also assists in the rapid understanding of other cultures through close interaction.

The Globalization of Universities and Colleges

The case for the globalization of institutions of higher education is not difficult to make. Increasingly, the international political and economic scene involves every individual, irrespective of place or country of residence. Inflation, unemployment, technological advancement, and national security are all influenced by global conditions. Our ability to deal effectively with global issues depends to a considerable extent upon the contribution by people of many lands and cultures. Universities should not be involved in cultural imperialism. Knowledge should not be monopolized by one country or one institution. The search for global solutions requires universities to co-operate

and to share information. International education should receive the support of national governments.

National governments should be aware of the contribution which universities can make towards global peace and understanding. There should be a strong commitment to the support of programmes that stimulate international scholarship, foreign-language studies, exchange programmes, collaborative research, and access to information. One way for governments to show the seriousness of their concern for global education would be to strengthen current international programmes and to take advantage of opportunities that already exist.

The globalization of the university could only occur if governments would decide to:

- provide funds for international education programmes;
- encourage close links with institutions overseas;
- support study-abroad programmes not only for students and staff, but also for administrators;
- provide support for long-term research on issues of global magnitude;
- create a centre that would coordinate international research and exchanges;
- educate the public on the importance of international education programmes and encourage people to participate by hosting overseas students;
- assume leadership in international forums on global education.

Educational Policy versus Foreign Policy

An important initiative for national governments to take is to move in the direction of disengaging educational policy from foreign policy. Education treated as the "fourth dimension of foreign policy", to improve the "image" of a country, to cast its policies in a favourable light, or to promote particular military or economic projects, is a form of corruption (Griffin and Spence, 1970, p. 62). For this reason, programmes that are sponsored by governments to achieve these goals should not be included under the rubric of international education. While it is not easy to separate programmes that are educational or propagandistic, initiatives are necessary for genuine cooperation in the field of education.

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THE IMPLICATIONS OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

Antonio PEROTTI

● Studies on intercultural education undertaken by the Council of Europe have highlighted a gap at the level of higher education between transmitted knowledge and the indispensable information needed by individuals living in the pluricultural contexts of contemporary European societies. A task of higher education is to inculcate in teachers an intercultural perspective both for work in schools and for activities in community contexts and perspectives. The intercultural dimension should not simply address itself to a special category of culturally different students, but rather, should address all students so as to sensitize them to the cultural pluralism which surrounds them and to educate them to successfully master it. Certain disciplines have a privileged status with regard to the transmission of useful information for the education of all citizens living in pluricultural societies: history, geography, anthropology, philosophy, psychology, economics, sociology, and law. Several examples of intercultural education programmes offered by higher education institutions are presented in this study (in Portugal, Canada, and France) as well as reference to activities sponsored by the Higher Education and Research Division of the Council of Europe.

INTRODUCTION

One of the conclusions resulting from ten years of Council of Europe studies on intercultural education has been that a serious gap exists between the kind of knowledge supplied by higher education and the knowledge needed by individuals confronted with pluricultural societies[1].

This gap, which constitutes a particular challenge for universities, exists for several reasons. To begin with, universities, particularly education faculties and teacher training institutes, are charged with the initial and further training of trainers. Secondly, the University has the prime responsibility for both the "selective memory" and the "forgotten memory" of the knowledge and perceptions transmitted by the European systems of education, thus, the ignorance and rejection of other cultures and civilizations.

The University is being questioned not only with regard to the content of the knowledge and information which it provides, but also as to its capacity (or lack of capacity) to develop both. Intercultural education thus implies reflexion on the ethnocentrism of all cultures, of education, and of the textbooks used (especially in history, geography, and literature).

Work on interculturalism has directed reflexion at an analysis of the culture vectored by national school systems. Such analysis, which is indispensable for an intercultural approach, cannot be conducted

without assistance from higher education. How could one, for instance, envisage the revision of textbooks without input from higher education? International gatherings have been held in order to understand why research on pedagogy and education has been so unconcerned with intercultural matters. The supporters of intercultural education from various European countries have been forced to conclude that their suggestions, broadly speaking, are rarely taken into account. Discussions on this subject often seem to be restricted to limited circles of initiates and militants.

The causes of this lack of interest, which are diverse, are no doubt linked to the obstacles raised by the national and monocultural character of public education in the European nation-states, and consequently, to political-institutional obstacles. There are, in fact, close links between intercultural education and the implications of the latter with regard to institutional policies concerning immigrant populations and/or minority groups. Intercultural education cannot ignore the special legal and socio-economic conditions of such populations. Nevertheless, one of the causes is also the absence of interest and insufficient action on the part of higher education with regard to the problems of intercultural pedagogy and education. In fact, these problems have been almost exclusively reserved for and submitted to reflexion in primary education.

CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERCULTURAL PEDAGOGY AND EDUCATION

In order to specify the tasks which could be assigned to higher education, certain key aspects of intercultural education need to be highlighted.

To begin with, it is necessary to remember that this concept has transcended the problems of the mere presence of immigrant populations and that it has gradually moved away from a concentration on the development of teaching methods designed for the schooling of the children of immigrant workers and the specific needs of the latter.

Intercultural education is not conceived simply for a category of culturally different children. It is directed at the instruction of all children with regard to the cultural plurality of their environments, by the adaptation of teaching (objectives, contents, methods) to the new requirements of a pluricultural, pluriconfessional, and often multiethnic social context.

With the permanent settling of immigrant populations having specific educational and cultural characteristics, this context is now characterized by the following:

- multi-cultural models and values which are being constantly propagated via the new global information and communication technologies which are linked to television;

- media influence on collective identities and relations between persons and groups through images, evocations, and symbols;
- the reappearance of nationalist movements and ideologies preaching intolerance, xenophobia, and racism;
- the economic, political, social, and cultural construction of Europe (as much the Europe of the Twelve as the "Common European Home"), implying a study of European identity and European culture(s), and leading to a reinforcement of mixture, competition, confrontation, and rivalry among Latin, Germanic, British, and Slavic cultures and between the Christian religions (Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox) and Islam;
- the development, here and there, of fundamentalist religious movements;
- the development of strong movements in favour of regional and local autonomy;
- the reawakening of highly politicized ethnic and national affiliations (ethnic cleansing or discriminatory policies directed at minorities).

For several years, this landscape, which is permeated at all levels by cultural pluralism, has been challenging the capabilities of educational systems, particularly the school systems, to transmit the knowledge (cognitive information) and aptitudes (attitudes and behaviour) necessary to "enable citizens of different origins to manage differences and dissensions within the scope of social cohesion and political unity, through communication and confrontation".

The idea of a multi-cultural society in Europe refers one back to these realities to which is linked the question of how to integrate all future citizens into democratic societies which are both plural and founded on the dialectic of contract. Intercultural education and pedagogy are trying to answer this question. Social integration is a normal process which concerns nationals and non-nationals, majorities and minorities, even if the integration of the latter has specific characteristics or gives rise to particular problems.

Education for cultural plurality should not be conceived of as a temporary measure but as an attitude, a state of mind, with regard to a situation that is going to endure. *Intercultural situations are not transitory but permanent systems of thought confronted with situations of permanent change.*

Intercultural education cannot be reduced to the teaching of particular disciplines alongside others. It has to permeate all disciplines. There is no specific domain of application which is to be conceived of *a priori* as intercultural. "Intercultural discourse obtains its sustenance from disciplinary discourse while at the same time enriching it". It would therefore be a mistake to turn the intercultural training of teachers into supplementary training restricted to a number of specialized subjects appropriate for introductory classes, acculturation courses for foreigners, or for

teachers of minority languages. No doubt a specific teaching strategy exists for each type of class and for each discipline. But intercultural training is more than all of the above, while taking all of the above into account. All teachers should adopt an intercultural approach, even for the most common of situations. Regardless of their subjects and of the origins of their pupils, teachers must be aware of the value, originality, and contributions of various cultures.

Initial and continuing education ought to teach all teachers that intercultural study relates both to cultures as subjects in themselves and to the links among cultures. Irrespective of the means of intercultural training, two dimensions must be present: the cognitive dimension, that is, information, the knowledge to be transmitted; and the relations, that is, the capacities or aptitudes to be fashioned.

The cognitive dimension is the dimension which most involves higher education. At this level, one should above all aim at revising approaches to history and geography by promoting an approach which is less ethnocentric both with regard to the writing of textbooks and to teaching, as well as a critical analysis of prejudices, international openness, and understanding of the interdependence of nations, and the contribution of different civilizations and cultures, especially as the result of migrations.

Even if no discipline can avoid an intercultural approach, some disciplines are particularly well adapted to the transmission of useful knowledge to members of pluricultural societies. One such discipline is history. An intercultural approach to the teaching of this discipline is fundamental to an understanding of the cultural plurality of European societies: the heritage of the formation of nation-states, the history of ethnic and regional minorities, of diasporas, of Gypsies, of the history of colonization and of migrations, and of the history of secularism and of religions.

Several studies undertaken by the Council of Europe on school textbooks have revealed major gaps in the treatment of the different religious faiths practised in Europe. These gaps weigh heavily today on the education of citizens living in societies in which large Muslim and Buddhist populations are cohabiting with Christian and Jewish populations.

In a context in which, due to economic and political crises, the return of religion to the world scene often takes the form of integrist movements, the silence of education with regard to religion as such can only have negative consequences. Knowledge about an understanding of religion should be included in the essential knowledge to be transmitted to members of plurireligious societies, which, in fact, most European societies are.

Geography, like history, is a privileged area for intercultural education. A new outlook is needed to understand representations of the modern European context that we link to cultural issues. It has become necessary to go beyond the classic

perspective and to link the teaching of geography to history, anthropology, and sociology. This renders all the more consequential the recommendation made at the symposium on *Geographical Information and Documentation on European Countries to be Included in Atlases, Thematic Maps dealing with Demography, Languages, Religions, Ethnic Diversity, Population Movements, Goods and Capita, Environmental Maps, etc...*, held under the aegis of the Council for Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe in Utrecht, The Netherlands (12-15 September 1989)[2].

The knowledge which training at higher education level can transmit to teachers as much as to students should focus on deepening understanding of certain humanistic sciences, in particular, cultural anthropology, a discipline which identifies and explains the processes whereby individuals and communities acquire an identity; the historical and geographical framework of the geneses of culture and religions; the economic, ideological and political implications of positions of strength between cultures; and the presence as well as the meaning and roles of a dominant culture and minority cultures. Educational systems and cultural policies can no longer ignore either the knowledge to be derived from cultural anthropology (the culture of daily life and the negotiations it entails in order to achieve the cohabitation of persons and of groups), or the sociology of languages and cultures (their permeability; their symbolic importance, the positions of strength among them, both on a worldwide and on a national scale).

Intercultural education presupposes acquaintance with the latest audio-visual technologies, with their impact upon cultural change, upon collective perceptions and ways of imagining our fellow humans, and upon the fixing of linguistic and cultural identities including the definition of minority ethnic groups and the myths related to dominant groups. Hence the need to become media-wise through education in a way that will permit teachers to better understand the media, to be able to illustrate their teaching and to take into account the media images which have been transmitted to their students with a view to placing their work within the knowledge parameters already elaborated by their students.

Education with regard to the media should permit teachers to move from an attitude of defensiveness with regard to this new teaching/learning tool to one of mastery, using it to develop the critical intelligence essential for the creation and the maintenance of an active democracy and of a citizenry which is not easily manipulated. How do media work and in whose interests? How do they articulate meaning? How do they represent reality? How are representations of reality understood or valorized by various audiences?

Finally, intercultural education implies, at the informational level, deeper knowledge of human rights (concepts, history, international agreements) and the identification of

sources of intolerance and xenophobia.

The organization of essential knowledge for intercultural education can only be undertaken with major assistance from higher education. Universities and higher education institutions in several European countries have become aware of this need, albeit from a limited point of view. A few significant examples of their responses are listed below.

EXAMPLES OF HIGHER EDUCATION COURSE PROGRAMMES HAVING INTERCULTURAL OBJECTIVES

In Portugal

Since 1991, the Portuguese Ministry of Education has been awarding Master level degrees in *Intercultural Relations* to students who have already earned a bachelor's degree[3]. Degree requirements call for 3 modules including 45 hours of lectures and 30 hours of seminars.

The first module includes the following four topics: society and culture; sociolinguistics; the great diasporas; and the philosophy of education. The second includes the following five topics: intercultural education; intercultural social psychology; nationality, citizenship and identity; ideologies, conflicts, and tensions; and biculturalism and bilingualism. The third module is based on four topics: policies and strategies for the Portuguese communities, for co-operation, for the Portuguese language and culture, and for European integration.

The seminars of the second module base teaching on the notion of culture, the encounters of culture bearers in a multi-cultural situation, the passage from multi-cultural to intercultural situations; conditions for the elaboration and the sustenance of intercultural structures; and analyses of the pluriculturalism of European societies.

In France

Although no special degree in intercultural education is offered in France, several universities and institutes offer courses closely linked to the problems of interculturalism:

- on migrations and their interrelations with the organization of inhabited areas and the evolution of contemporary societies (3rd cycle diploma in *Migrations, Areas, and Societies*, offered jointly by the Universities of Poitiers and Paris VII[4];
- on migrations, media, cultural exchanges with Islam, and development (3rd cycle diploma offered by the University of Paris VII in *Mediterranean Migrations, Exchanges, and Development*[5];
- on the pluricultural environment of suburbs with a high density of immigrant populations (diploma in *Knowledge of Suburbs* offered by the University of Paris VIII-Saint- Denis[6].

In addition to the third cycle programmes which are based entirely on such questions, more general programmes include courses on the Maghreb, the Arab world and the Third World, and several seminars on migrations, the Islamic and Muslim populations of France, Islamic cultures, etc.

All these centres of instruction also function as research centres; in particular, the *MIGRINTER Research Unit* of the University of Poitiers and the Centre for International Studies and Research (CERI) of the Institute for Political Studies and the National Foundation for the Political Sciences. Among these courses, the programme run for the degree offered by the University of Paris VII on *Mediterranean Migrations, Exchanges, and Development* should be highlighted. It appears to be the most pertinent with regard to the type of intercultural education programmes sketched above.

This degree programme, which was opened in October 1990, was the first 3rd cycle programme of its type created in France. The initiative in founding it was taken by the University of Paris VII, the Institute of the Arab World (IMA), and the Centre for Information and Studies on International Migrations (CIEMI). Its aim is the preparation of specialists in migration problems, in north-south relations, and in the economic dynamics of the Mediterranean area.

The degree is meant to fill a serious information gap by the provision of indispensable knowledge. The Mediterranean region (specifically the northwest, Maghreban, and eastern Mediterranean subregions) constitutes a critical zone in which a great deal is at stake. It is a region that has been dominated by major civilizations, one in which problems of identity have become particularly acute, and one in which intercultural relations risk turning into cultural wars. It is a region of intense secular migrations; a region of mixed Euro-Mediterranean tissues. Yet knowledge about this problem area is only fragmentary.

The instruction offered at Paris VII is *pluridisciplinary* (social sciences, economics, and law). Courses for students interested in migrations are grouped around a core curriculum, a series of optional courses, specialized internships, and topical seminars. The courses at each level are based on pluriculturalism. A detailed presentation of the course scheme follows:

The Core Curriculum

1) Mediterranean Areas and Societies (56 hours)
2) Seminar on Pluridisciplinary Methods (34 hours)
3) Workshop and Practice: Introduction to Informatics and Specialized Documentation (65 hours)
4) Cultural Plurality, the Interests at Stake (34 hours)

Optional Courses on Migrations

5) The Sociology of Migrations (34 hours)

6) Europe, a Land of Migrations, Law and Migration (34 hours)

7) The Media and Immigration; Minority Controlled Media; the Access of Minorities to the Media (34 hours)

8) A Euro-Focussed Intensive Course on Mediterranean Cultures and Migrations into a Europe-in-the-Making (34 hours)

9) Social and Intercultural Psychology (34 hours)

In Italy

For the last several years, training in intercultural education has been undertaken within Faculties of Education (see the Universities of Turin, Milan, Parma, and Catania). Several other universities seem to be developing similar orientations.

The Council of Europe Programmes

Finally, one should mention the third cycle programme that has been organized by the Division of Higher Education and Research of the Council of Europe which calls for the organization of *European Workshops* and *European Intensive Courses* aimed at encouraging European academic co-operation in favour of the organization of new programmes for intercultural specialist formation[7]. These activities are directed at university teaching staff, postgraduate students, researchers, and the representatives of concerned professional sectors. Among the European workshops and the intensive courses organized in 1990, one can list such workshops as "the internationalization of the media and of national identities in Europe", organized by the University of Paris VIII (St. Denis); on "images of others and international relations", organized by the University of Sienna (Italy); and on "the Europe of Cultural Regions or Areas", organized by the EURETHNO European Network of Strasbourg.

Outside Europe - the University of Québec (Montréal)

This overview would not be complete if it did not mention an exemplary higher education programme which has been set up at the University of Québec (Montréal)[8]. Instruction is organized around a programme worth thirty credit hours which leads to a bachelor's degree in intercultural education.

This programme aims at offering specialist training to two groups of mediators to be employed in the field of intercultural relations in Québec: teachers and persons working in the context and the perspective of community development. The first of these occupational groups is to be helped to better resolve the problems, appearing both in the multi-ethnic schools and the predominantly francophone schools of Québec, of the scholastic integration of minorities and to better promote an intercultural spirit at school and among young francophone *québecois*. In the case of the second occupational group, sociocultural organizers working in community associations created by

minorities or by staff members in charge of minority reception within social services (hospitals, police, social assistance, etc.), the programme is intended to increase work efficiency, particularly with regard to the provision of information and the organization of activities.

The programme includes the following (compulsory or optional) courses:

Compulsory courses (12 credit hours):

- Research in Intercultural Education
- Introductory Seminar in Intercultural Education
- Workshop on Intercultural Intervention Programmes
- Immigration, Ethnic Minorities, Inter-ethnic Relations

One of the following courses (3 credit hours):

- History of Ethnic Communities in Québec
- Philosophical Aspects of Intercultural Education

Intercultural Education in Schools

3 of the following courses (9 credit hours):

- Educational Structures and Ethnic Maintenance in Québec
- Teaching Methods for Multiethnic Classes
- School Integration and Intercultural Education
- Links between Assistance and Adapted Educational Intervention

The Teaching of French in Introductory and Advanced Classes

Intercultural Education in a Communitary Setting

OR 3 of the following courses (9 credit hours):

- Mid-level Teaching and Self-Help Resources
- Immigration Law
- The Policies of Québec with Regard to Cultural Communities
- The Status of the Immigrant Woman
- Methodologies for Intercultural Community Assistance
- Social and Health Services and Ethnic Minorities

2 of the following courses (6 credit hours):

- Education and the Dynamics of an Intercultural World
- The Amerindian Nations of Canada from the First European Settlements to the Present Day
- Introduction to *Québecois* Culture
- Religions and Ethnic Groups
- The Anglophone Community of Québec

or any other relevant courses chosen with the consent of the director of the programme.

CONCLUSION

Due to the special interest in these courses and the practical intentions of this article, we encourage readers to contact the organizers of these programmes directly. Our short descriptions of the latter will no doubt stimulate valuable suggestions by decision makers in higher education interested in setting up intercultural education projects directed both at persons working in schools and at persons working in community development.

NOTES

1. See, among works on the subject published by the Council of Europe: M. REY, **Former les enseignants à l'éducation interculturelle** (Strasbourg, 1986); and J. BERQUE, "De nouveaux minoritaires dans la cité européenne", **in Educational and Cultural Aspects of Intercommunity Relations, Strasbourg, 5-7 December 1989** (Strasbourg, 1991). See also: A. PEROTTI, "Sociétés pluriculturelles et éducation", **in Migrations Société**, 2 18: 19-54.

2. F. AUDIGIER, "La Dimension européenne en géographie: une échelle parmi d'autres", 52nd seminar for teachers, Donaueshingen, 3-8 June 1991, Council of Europe, DECS/SE/BS/Donau(91)2.

3. Diploma Programme Coordinated by Professor Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trinidade, Open University, rua da Escola Politécnica, 141-147, 1200 Lisbon, Tel. 67-23-34.

4. The person in charge of the academic development programme within the associated research unit (1145-MIGRINTER) is Mr. Gildas Simon, Professor at the University of Poitiers, 95 avenue du Dr. Pineau, 86002 Poitiers, Tel. (33) 49-45-19-66.

5. The degree programme is coordinated by Professor Claude Liauzu, University of Paris VII, 2 Place Jussieu, 75251 Paris Cedex 05, Tel. (33) 44-27-63-55.

6. The degree programme is coordinated by Professors Roger and Villard, University of Paris VIII, 2 rue de la Liberté, 93200 Saint-Denis, Tel. (33) 49-40-65-05.

. 7. Requests for information should be addressed to the Council of Europe, Higher Education and Research Division, B.P. 431, R6, F-67006 Strasbourg Cedex, Tel. (33) 88-41-20-00.

8. The person in charge is Denise Véronneau, University of Québec at Montréal, Certificat de perfectionnement en éducation, Tel. (1) (514) 987-36-12.

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CONSIDERATIONS OF DEMOCRATIZATION AND ELITISM IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Sue WRIGHT and Dennis AGER

● The year, 1992, has been one of bewildering change in British higher education caused primarily by government planning and intervention which has as its motor a complex political agenda. In this article, the authors concern themselves with one of these changes: the apparent move towards the democratization of higher education. The likely effect of this change is then assessed for all sectors of the British population and in particular for the linguistic and ethnic minority groups constituted by recent immigration into the country.

INTRODUCTION

The United Kingdom has long been low in the international league table of mass higher education. Compared to its partners in the European Communities and to its main competitors in the industrial world, far fewer eighteen-year-olds remain in full-time education. Now, one of the major changes in higher education in the United Kingdom is the restructuring necessary to enable 30% of the age group to study in universities by the end of the century. The university sector is being expanded; courses and programmes are changing; entrance is no longer dependent on one type of examination; methods of paying for education are being revised; the aims, methods and contents of higher education are undergoing a re-evaluation.

ABOLITION OF THE BINARY LINE

The first of the changes associated with the broadening of higher education has already taken place: the abolition of the division between the traditional universities and the polytechnics.

Before 1992, the university sector was divided among twenty new universities created in the 1960's to cope with the increasing numbers of young people born in the late 1940's, and thirty universities, the tradition and histories of which date, in some cases, back to the Middle Ages. The new universities were either created *ex nihilo* or by renaming existing technical institutions (many themselves founded in the 1880's to educate and train manpower for the industrial revolution). In all cases, the new universities, like the thirty universities already established, did university work, teaching according to standardized Bachelor, Master, and Doctorate levels, the equivalence and quality of which were guaranteed by external examiners. Academic staff were to carry out research as a

condition of employment: an élitist concept.

Alongside this sector, the polytechnics developed, again mainly from existing technical institutions or colleges of further and higher education. Their remit was to provide a more vocational experience, and they were originally local institutions, managed by Local Education Authorities (LEA's), receiving their income from student fees paid by those LEA's, together with general monies both from LEA's and from the government. The universities, on the other hand, recruited staff and students nationally or internationally, and received their income from the government through a national buffer institution and from student fees which the LEA's had no choice but to pay. On 1 April 1989 the polytechnics became corporate, leaving the control of local government. As of 1992, they have been redesignated as universities.

The United Kingdom now has 107 universities. However, this is not to say that the two-tier system with its prejudices and divisions has completely disappeared and that the university sector has become a cohesive whole. The former polytechnics are *managed* as corporations, rather than *organized* like the universities as collegial institutions. They may carry out as little as 45% of their work at first degree level or above and may do little if any research. The University has been *redefined* to cover what the new institutions already do, rather than to respond to a predefined concept or ideal of higher education.

The binary line used to separate not merely different institutions but also different perceptions of them. The polytechnics had been local institutions, recruiting students who were intellectually less able (as measured by "A" level examination results at entry) and socially less favoured. According to public perception, they were second best. In the early days, many "poly" students studied part-time, but as a reaction to government pressure in the early 1980's, these institutions were forced to increase student numbers, particularly in full-time programmes. On the other hand, the old or *chartered* (since each of them had received a Royal Charter defining their collegial structure) universities, receiving 5% to 7% of the age group, were openly élitist, particularly in their admission procedures. When the 1981 reductions in government funding for higher education came into force, they penalized most heavily those universities the admissions policies of which had favoured access, measured by lower scores in the "A" level examination, local recruitment, and (often) a higher ratio of students from ethnic minorities or from overseas. As a response, all the universities limited student numbers and measured their success by increased élitism. The divide became wider: the polys expanded out of their difficulties; the universities defended selection and higher costs per student.

THE NEW UNIVERSITY SYSTEM

In marked contrast to the situation described above, the expansion programme of the present government calls for a widening of access so that by the year 2000 a third of all eighteen-year-olds will enter higher education. This policy has the support of all the major political parties and is, therefore, likely to be implemented even if a Conservative government were not to achieve a fifth term of office. At the moment it appears that there are no significant amounts of money earmarked to fund the expansion necessary to accommodate mass higher education.

In order to accommodate the million students expected by the end of the decade, it is clear that the higher education system of the future will not be the beast that we know today. In particular, individual tuition, pastoral care, and one of the most generous student financial support systems in existence will have to be curtailed. In fact, the latter is already happening, the student grant system being frozen and a loan system introduced to bridge the gap caused by inflation.

Thus, on the one hand, we have the expansion of higher education which should in theory bring about greater democratization, but on the other, the cuts in funding for student grants which may well have the opposite effect. As families of students now have to bear a greater proportion of their living costs throughout the three years of study for a first degree, it is inevitable that the student body will be drawn largely from the sectors of society in which parents can both afford to pay and are convinced of the value of so-doing. Amongst those who might be called ethnic British, one can reasonably expect that this expansion may have more effect amongst the middle classes than amongst the working classes, who have not traditionally sent large proportions of their young people into higher education. On the other hand, the expansion will perhaps affect both working class and middle class members of some of the ethnic groups resulting from recent immigration, and both the working and middle classes of some regions of Wales and Scotland.

THE PARTICIPATION OF ETHNIC MINORITY STUDENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The evidence for the above-stated belief comes from a number of reports dealing with the attitudes towards education amongst ethnic minority communities based in the United Kingdom (Brennan and McGeevor, 1990). They noted that certain groups exhibited an enthusiasm for higher education which transcended class barriers. This enthusiasm is translated into applications and admissions to universities, which are far higher from this sector of the population than might be expected from their total numbers in the population as a whole, which before the publication of the full 1991 census has been estimated at between 5% and 6% (Watson, 1988).

It is noteworthy that the numbers entering universities are unexceptional in that they reflect percentages in the population as a whole. They may even display a slight

under-representation, since immigrant groups of recent origin are likely to exhibit a demographic curve showing high proportions of the younger age groups. The numbers entering polytechnics are, on the other hand, two, possibly three, times what one might expect and are growing rapidly. In the move to higher education for a larger proportion of the age group, the ethnic minorities are clearly in the vanguard. One significant trend which has been noted is that candidates for higher education from ethnic minorities do not come mainly from professional and highly skilled workers' families, but also from families with manual and partly-skilled backgrounds (Taylor, 1992).

Table 1. **October 1990 Entry: Applications from and Admissions of Ethnic Minority Members to Universities and Polytechnics**

	Applications (number)	Applications (percent of total)	Admissions (percent of total)
Polytechnics	21,607	13 %	14.5%
Universities	16,903	8.7%	6.4%

(*Source*: Bristol Polytechnic, **Ethnic Monitoring and Admissions to Higher Education**)

Table 2. **October 1991 Entry: Applications from and Admissions of Ethnic Minority Members to Polytechnics**

Asian Indians	Pakistanis	Black Caribbeans/Africans	Other ethnic minorities
5%	2%	2%	6.5%

(*Source*: **The Guardian**, 19 June 1992)

Many ethnic minority members are also linguistic minority members and therefore suffer the difficulties that derive from being bilingual in a resolutely monolingual education system. The fact that many such students are working through their second language is one of the factors of their heavy presence in the polytechnics where there are also non-degree programmes to which entry can be obtained without "A" levels, notoriously difficult for those whose command of academic registers of English may be deficient. Another consequence of this bilin-

gualism is often a prolonged period of study to reach university matriculation level and a willingness to resit examinations if this should prove necessary. Thus, there is already a tradition amongst ethnic minority families, in particular those of Far Eastern and South Asian origin, of funding their younger members for longer periods of study than is the norm in Britain. In a period of expansion, during which there will be little extra funding, it is likely that the sectors in society the members of which have already accepted the responsibility of supporting their children financially and in which the expectation of further study is established are more likely to be well represented.

VOCATIONAL COURSES

In many ways, this sector of society epitomizes the government's vision of future higher education, not only in that students are drawn from a wider spectrum of backgrounds, but also in the subjects they choose to study. Minority ethnic recruitment is particularly high in all the areas that can be categorized as vocational and professional: Law, Business, Medicine, Pharmacy, Engineering, etc., and observed to be negligeable in the Humanities and the Social Sciences.

The desire of the government to increase the prestige of vocational subjects as against academic ones, exemplified in the creation of new awards, such as National Vocational Qualifications, is intended to simplify and rationalize the traditionally complex range of certification of vocational training in the United Kingdom and encourage a skills-based orientation in the larger numbers seeking higher education. The desired outcome is primarily a skilled workforce rather than a more highly educated populace in all spheres.

POSITIVE DISCRIMINATION?

The expansion of higher education seems likely to provoke a scramble to attract the candidates with the highest potential. This desire has already led to strategic planning with some of the most prestigious universities actively seeking out applicants from groups thought to have been previously under-represented in their institutions. Both Cambridge and Oxford, for example, have instituted a scheme to encourage applications from ethnic minority groups on the premise that there may be social and educational factors which make it harder for even very able candidates from non-traditional sectors to succeed through the ordinary admissions procedures (GEEMA, 1992). Similar schemes exist elsewhere. In particular, the SAIL Scheme at the University of Sussex has been in place for some time.

As higher education becomes more accessible, it seems likely that the ethnic minority groups will continue to be targeted as long as the universities continue to believe that they constitute a pool of ability not yet fully tapped and a sector of British society which is motivated to achieve higher education qualifications and prepared to fund itself to do so.

This targeting is sometimes perceived as positive discrimination, although calling it such seems to be a misunderstanding of the issues. As the following statistics show, there is no reason, in terms of social equity, why there should be positive discrimination for ethnic minority students, since taken as a whole, their numbers in most forms of higher education represent about twice their proportion in the total population.

Table 3. **Cambridge Admissions by Ethnic Origin: 1991**

White	91%
Indian	2.6%
Chinese	1.1%
Black	0.4%
Pakistani/Bangladeshi	0.5%
Other Asian	1.1%
No. of students = 2,914	

(*Source*: **The Daily Telegraph** , 9 May 1992)

Nevertheless, actions such as SAIL and the Oxbridge schemes are often perceived as positive discrimination by the right wing, and as such, are resented and combatted. The reaction of the right wing is expressed by Ray Honeyford, one of its leading educational spokesmen:

"If we are to manipulate procedures so as to boost black and Asian success in certain areas, we must logically do the same to lower the level of success in others" (**The Daily Telegraph**, 27 September 1991)

A WIDER ABILITY RANGE

A further statistic which suggests that the ethnic minorities are spearheading the democratization of higher education is the high proportion of applications to universities compared with the number of acceptances amongst this group. While accepting that there may well be an element of racism which leads to the rejection of an ethnic minority member with the same raw score from the "A" level examination as a white applicant who is accepted, clear

evidence also exists that ethnic minority applicants are drawn from a wider spectrum both of ability and of social background. They also include a larger number of students who have taken non-traditional routes and subjects; who come in the vast majority from inner city schools; who are more likely to resit examinations and to take longer to complete courses. In the future, if the target of a million students by the year 2000 is to be achieved, there are likely to be larger numbers of students having such backgrounds from all sections of society.

HIGHER EDUCATION OR UNEMPLOYMENT?

It is, however, naïve if not disingenuous, to see these raw statistics purely as an indication that there is little racism in British society or as evidence that ethnic minority members experience few problems in the education system or as a sign of positive discrimination at work. It may well be that ethnic minority members experience greater difficulty in finding employment in mainstream British industry and commerce at the age of eighteen and, therefore, elect to continue their studies.

A number of recent studies and reports indicate that gaining employment, which in a period of recession is difficult for all, is exacerbated by being black or brown (CRE, 1990; Brown, 1990). Anecdotal evidence that this is so is to be found even in the right wing press. An investigative team from the newspaper, **Today**, found that three young women with exactly the same qualifications were treated differently when two of the candidates made clear, by giving their places of birth, that they were members of ethnic minority communities (**Today**, 11 September 1990). There is further evidence to show that promotion comes later and with greater difficulty for ethnic minority employees. British Rail was recently reprimanded for what appeared to be racist considerations in its promotion procedures (**The Daily Telegraph**, 30 June 1990). Awareness of this situation could well be a variable in the desire of ethnic minority members to be as well qualified as possible.

BASTIONS OF PRESTIGE

We have seen from the account of the special scheme of Oxford and Cambridge that it would be neither just nor accurate to say that the white middle class domination of the most prestigious courses is being systematically defended by this group. However, there remain some bastions of prestige which are jealously guarded. That this is mostly covert is obvious, and only a few examples of clear proven prejudice have been made public.

The case of St. George's Hospital Medical School in London is well known and documented (**British Medical Journal**, 1992). Those responsible for admissions had programmed the computer which processed candidates to mark down all those with female or foreign names, thus handicapping both female and ethnic minority candidates. St. George's was taken to court and found guilty of both racial and sexual discrimination. The staff involved in admissions at the teaching hospital now have stringent guidelines

to ensure that ethnic minority students compete on fair terms (**General Practitioner**, 29 May 1992).

This situation is not necessarily the same in other medical schools, and Table 4 shows that black and Asian students find it statistically more difficult to enter British medical schools.

These figures may show a number of things. They may show that discrimination is still widely practised. They may show that applications are coming from a particularly wide ability range of the ethnic minority groups. They may show that for a number of reasons ethnic minority groups do not do as well as their white peers or are perceived as not doing as well. Moreover, there is undoubtedly a concentration of ethnic minority applications in subject areas that are traditionally the most difficult to enter: Medicine, Pharmacy, Law, Accountancy. In applying in greater numbers for admission to the most prestigious course programmes, ethnic minority members are necessarily destined to higher failure rates.

Table 4. **Applications to British Medical Schools by Racial Group**

	No. of applicants	No. accepted	Percentage
Black	184	30	16%
Asian	1,642	622	38%
White	5,458	3,180	58%

(*Source*: **British Medical Journal** 304 (1992): 1266)

Once again, the experience of students from ethnic minority groups could be viewed as a portent of things to come as higher education expands. As a larger percentage of the group aspires to enter higher education, there are indicators that new categories of students are more likely to be accepted by the less prestigious institutions. If they are accepted by the more prestigious institutions, they will have experienced greater difficulty than students from the schools and backgrounds which have provided the traditional clients of these institutions.

MARKET PHILOSOPHY

The present UK government has a strong desire to impose a market philosophy on the public service. In

higher education, this desire is reflected by a funding policy which rewards students recruited at the cheapest possible price, with no built-in margin for scholarship or for the additional costs of such facilities as libraries. Although it has not proved possible yet to implement a full market philosophy in education (the only private university in the United Kingdom, Buckingham University, is supported by public funds paid through the LEA student fee income), it is the expressed desire of the government to move away from direct funding to student fees, however paid.

The government plans that some universities will become centres of excellence for research and attract substantial extra funding, while others will become teaching-only institutions. Similarly, it plans a diversified higher education system according to which the common standard for degrees, guaranteed by external examiners, will be replaced by assessing the quality that each institution itself declares. Inevitably, such doctrines will create a league table of prestige, and although the binary line will have been abolished in terms of names and status, it will continue to exist in terms of resources and reputations. In the British university, the argument has always been made that research and scholarship are inseparable from teaching at degree level, and if this is indeed true, then students at research universities will be advantaged, as will those retaining a selective admissions policy in teaching.

Bourdieu and other sociologists have analysed the processes involved in retaining distinctiveness in society and the methods by which social groups ensure that their "competitive advantage" is protected in changing contexts. British higher education, traditionally one of the major indicators of social distinctiveness, is at the moment experiencing a major contextual change. How social divisions and privilege are retained in the face of mass higher education remains to be seen, but the ethnic minority experience may be an indication of what we may expect: wider access to the less prestigious institutions and restricted access to the most prestigious institutions which will continue to draw students primarily from their traditional sources. Democratization of higher education is on the agenda, but only to a certain degree.

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INDIAN HIGHER EDUCATION IN CANADA: THE CONTRADICTIONS OF SPECIAL PROGRAMMES

Vic SATZEWICH

● This paper examines one particular response of the Canadian government to the issue of multi-ethnicity in higher education: the constraints placed on people of Indian origin with regard to attendance at universities until the 1950's, and traces the historical development of special programmes within universities for Indian students. It suggests that while special programmes for Indian students may be a positive step in terms of Indian control of Indian education and the development of an infrastructure for both self-government and economic development, such programmes are nevertheless problematic. In particular, special programmes tend to reinforce negative and potentially racist stereotypes about Indian culture. They suggest that Indian people trained in special programmes are only capable of dealing with other Indian people. The degrees granted by special programmes are devalued by employers. State efforts to increase the level of education amongst Indian people are aimed at creating a new set of agents of social control.

Sociologists have long recognized the contradictory nature of educational institutions under capitalism (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Livingston, 1985; Mallea, 1987). The contradiction inherent in modern systems of education is encapsulated in Carnoy and Levin's (1985, p. 144) argument that schooling under capitalism is characterized by a "reproduction dynamic" and a "democratic dynamic". The rise of the educational State in western capitalist countries can in part be written as a history of attempts by the State, representing both particular and general class interests, to reproduce the system of class relations and to control the working class and other subordinate groups (Althusser, 1971; Willis, 1977). At the same time, however, people have displayed resistance within education, and education may also provide the basis for social classes and ethnic minorities to question the status quo and resist the dominant ideology and bourgeois and ethnic hegemony (Mallea, 1987).

Since the formation of Canada as a federal state, the reproduction of the relations of production via education has involved the creation of proletarians who have come from a number of cultural backgrounds. Thus, insofar as the future workers of Canada were, in many cases, from a plurality of non-Anglo origins, the reproduction of the relations of production involved transformations which were class and culturally based. The phenomenon of reproduction and resistance within education, then, has always occurred within both a class, ethnic, and gendered space.

The contradiction within education has been central to the develop-

ment of Indian education in Canada, particularly higher education. Historically, education has been one of the most contested areas of Indian/non-Indian relations in Canada (Miller, 1989). In this paper, the suggestion is made that while Indian people have actively sought out, and struggled for, education for their children, and while education is currently defined as a precondition for self-government and economic development (and hence reflective of the democratic dynamic), it also happens that present policies which are aimed at dealing with multi-ethnicity in higher education (in particular those which involve the establishment of separate programmes for Indian students) also reflect the reproduction/social control dynamic.

HISTORY OF INDIAN EDUCATION

As a social category, Indian people[1] occupy a unique position within political and legal relations in Canada. Their status in Canada was defined, in part, by the British North American Act (BNA) of 1867, by the various Indian Acts, and by the land surrender treaties which were agreed to between representatives of the Crown and Indian people. The BNA (which defined the terms under which the various Canadian provinces would combine to form a confederation), in conjunction with the Indian Act, defined the citizenship status of Indian people and the nature of the responsibilities of the federal government with respect to Indian education. Under the terms of the BNA, legislation relating to Indians and lands reserved for Indians were defined as a federal government responsibility. Whereas matters like health care and education for non-Indians are provincial responsibilities, Indian health and education are federal responsibilities.

In the course of the negotiations over land surrender treaties in western Canada during the turn of the century, Indian leaders actively sought out the inclusion of educational provisions in return for relinquishing their ownership of land. According to Miller (1987, p. 4), Indian people sought to learn European languages, writing skills, and customs to help cope with European settlement on the prairies and to prepare for life in articulation with European society. As Stevenson (1991, p. 216) notes, "clearly, Indian people's understanding of the value and power of the written word cannot be underestimated. The desire to acquire such knowledge was so strong among some peoples that they gave up their

[1] The term *Indian* or *status Indian* refers to people who are defined as *Indians* under the Canadian Indian Act. The terms *aboriginal*, or *native people*, refer collectively to *Métis*, *non-Status Indians*, *Inuit* (*Eskimos*), and *status Indian people*. *Métis people* are children of mixed marriages, while *non-Status Indian people* are those who have lost their *status* as Indians through, among other things, enfranchisement or marriage. For a more detailed discussion of the meaning of different categories of aboriginal people (see Frideres, 1988).

children for that very reason". In response to pressures from Indian leaders during the treaty process, the federal government made a commitment to provide "schooling" to Indian children. This commitment is now interpreted by Indian people to mean that education, including post-secondary education, is a treaty right which the federal government is obligated to fulfill (Lanceley, 1991).

Federal government policies pertaining to education for Indian people conceived of education as a means to resocialize Indian children and to transform them from their "savage" lifestyles towards a Christian, European, and capitalist culture. In the context of an emergent capitalist economy characterized by the dominance of commercial farming and industrial production, education for assimilation meant preparation for either self-employment or wage employment in agriculture, or in other resource industries. It was also hoped that education would provide the basis for the allocation of full citizenship rights to Indian people and end the need for a *special status* for Indian people within political and legal relations.

Over the years, the manner in which these objectives were to be achieved varied on the basis of the generational status of Indian people, on changing philosophies within the Department of Indian Affairs, and on economic considerations. Generally, however, the delivery of primary education to Indian children was premised on the need to separate them from non-Indian children. Indian schools either took the form of day schools or residential schools. In a process not unlike the efforts by contemporary cults to resocialize new recruits (Bromley and Shupe, 1981), the residential schools were based on the assumption that the only way to effectively resocialize Indian children would be to physically separate them from the corrupting carriers of traditional culture, namely parents and other family members (Haig-Brown, 1988).

INDIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Until the 1960's, university education was reserved for the élite of Canadian society. University education was élitist to the extent that it was primarily a means of transmitting to children of *bourgeois* and *petit bourgeois* origins the cultural capital needed to take up their future positions within the class structure. Before the 1960's, total university enrollments were low. In a study of the school population between 1946 and 1958 conducted by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, it was demonstrated that of those children who started Grade 1 in 1946, only 9% had entered university by 1958 (cited in Porter, 1965, p. 178). In 1951, University enrollment as a percentage of the 18-24 age group was 4.2%, while in 1961, it had climbed to 7.5% (Lennards, 1990). In this context, Porter (1965) demonstrated that both secondary school and university attendance were affected by the parents' position in the class structure. In the mid-1950's, while proprietors, managers, and professionals constituted only 15.4% of the total labour force in Canada, their children constituted over 50% of the student enrollment in universities.

Conversely, while labour and agricultural occupations made up 36.2% of the labour force, the proportion of children enrolled in universities whose parents were in these two occupations was only 16%.

Given the limited class differentiation within the Indian population of Canada, and given that the majority of Indian people lived on isolated reserves where they were either low-income commodity producers engaged in hunting and gathering activities, part of the rural proletariat, or completely unemployed, their class background militated against university attendance. It therefore appears that of the handful of Indian students who attended universities before the 1960's, most were the sons, and in some cases the daughters, of band chiefs or other leading families on reserves (Stevenson, 1991; Dosman, 1972, p. 63; Barman, Hébert, and McCaskill, 1986, p. 11).

But these class-based restrictions on access to university education were reinforced by ethnically-specific policies in a number of different ways. First, the Department of Indian Affairs did not, and at present does not, regard university or post-secondary education as part of the treaty rights of the Indian people. Federal government officials have taken a narrow, literal implementation of the schooling provisions in the treaties. If an Indian person did graduate from high school, he had to rely on his own resources, or on donations from church bursary funds, to attend a university (Stevenson, 1991, p. 225).

The federal government defines its treaty-based obligation for Indian education as terminating with secondary school. Thus, until the 1950's, there were no federal funds available to help Indian students overcome the class-based financial restrictions on attendance at universities[2]. While the federal government now funds Indian students who attend universities, it does so on political grounds and not on the basis of the treaties (Lanceley, 1991).

Second, by virtue of the *Indian Act* of 1876, the Department of Indian Affairs could involuntarily enfranchise an Indian person because of university attendance (Statutes of Canada, 1876, c. 18, 86[1]). Enfranchisement meant the termination of an Indian person's status as an Indian under the Indian Act. It involved, among other things, the loss of access to Indian band resources and of treaty rights. Although it was probably not intended as such, this provision was a specific deterrent for Indians to attend university insofar as it defined higher education as incompatible with the legal status of an Indian person. For the federal government, enrollment in a university was taken to be the ultimate sign of assimilation. This attitude reflected the belief that if an

[2] In some cases, descendants of the original members of the File Hills Colony, which was an experiment in radical social engineering designed to completely resocialize and deculturize a cohort of Indian students in Saskatchewan, went on to university and later to become part of the Indian leadership structure of Canada.

Indian student possessed the wherewithal to earn a university degree, then he no longer required "protection" under the Indian Act and was capable of exercising the rights and duties of full Canadian citizenship. This provision for compulsory enfranchisement of university trained Indian people remained in effect until the 1951 revision of the Indian Act.

Third, residential and other schools offered poor quality education compared to the education received by non-Indian students in provincial schools. Barman, Hébert, and McCaskill (1986, p. 9) note, for example, that by 1930 three-quarters of all Indian pupils in Canada were in grades one to three, and only three out of every hundred went past grade six. In contrast, more than half of the non-Indian children in provincial schools were beyond grade three and almost a third were beyond grade six. This discrepancy was due, in part, to the difficulty the Department of Indian Affairs had in attracting good quality teachers, because the wages for the teachers they employed were considerably lower than the wages paid by provincial governments through local school boards. Thus, compared with the European population, Indian people had fewer qualifications than non-Indians with which to gain entrance to universities or other institutions of higher learning.

In short, while access to post-secondary education was gradually restricted by class, Indian people were in a particularly disadvantaged position when compared to non-Indian people in similar positions in the class structure.

In 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB), the main organization representing the interests of Indian people in Canada, developed a policy paper called **Indian Control of Indian Education**. This paper made a number of recommendations covering all levels of the education system. In relation to higher education, the paper called for the federal government to "take the initiative in providing opportunities for Indian people to train as teachers", to create "flexible structures to accommodate the native person who has talent and interest, but lacks minimum academic qualifications", and to develop curricula which place a greater emphasis on Indian culture (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972, pp. 18-19).

In 1973, the federal government accepted the recommendations of the NIB's policy paper, and since then there has been a dramatic increase in Indian attendance at post-secondary institutions, and changes in the structure of programming (see Table 1). In relation to the latter, special programmes within universities have been established. These include teacher, social work, nursing, and legal training programmes, as well as separate academic departments of native studies. Separate vocational and technical colleges, like the Saskatchewan Indian Institute of Technologies, have been created, and the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College in Regina, which is affiliated with the University of Regina, offers university level courses to aboriginal students. While admittedly still some way off in practical terms, Indian people are beginning to call for the establishment of separate Indian universities (Brass, 1987).

Table 1. **Enrollments in University and Post-Secondary Institutions of the Registered Indian Population, 1960-1991**

Year	University	Post-Secondary (1)
1960-1961	60	n/a
1965-1966	131	n/a
1970-1971	432	n/a
1975-1976	2,071	n/a
1980-1981	4,455	n/a
1985-1986	5,800	11,170
1986-1987	n/a	13,196
1987-1988	n/a	14,242
1988-1989	n/a	15,572
1989-1990	n/a	18,535
1990-1991	n/a	21,300

(1) The figures for post-secondary enrollment for 1986-1991 include university-level enrollments.

(*Source*: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, **Basic Departmental Data** (Ottawa, 1991, p. 39).

INDIAN CONTROL AND THE DEMOCRATIC DYNAMIC

Many commentators suggest (Pauls, 1984; Lawrence, 1987) that these special programmes which are part of "Indian control over Indian education" reflect a shift away from the reproduction dynamic to the democratic dynamic. Clearly, special programmes for Indian students provide opportunities for individual advancement, and Indian communities, with a new generation of articulate and politically astute leaders who will struggle for social justice and self-government. As one particular response to multi-ethnicity in higher education, however, the establishment of separate programmes for Indian students is potentially contradictory in that they remain rooted in the reproduction dynamic.

First, separate programmes are premised on the assumption that cultural differences are central to the problems of Indian students both within school and the larger society. Indian culture is conceived of as totally unlike the "white" middle class culture reproduced in schools. While this position has been adopted by Indian and non-Indian people alike (see the National Indian Brotherhood, 1972), it is nevertheless problematic to the extent that it is silent on the issue of racism within

education. That is, by focusing on culture as the problem, alternative definitions of the problem which priorize racism are automatically ruled out. Also, the assumption that cultural difference is the source of the problem tends to reinforce the stereotype that Indian culture is pathological (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1982). Arguments about the existence of inherent and basic cultural differences between groups which make it impossible for them to live, work, and learn together are part of the discourse of the "new racism" in both western Europe and North America (Barker, 1981; Balibar and Wallerstein, 1991). Cultural difference has become the new grounds for exclusion and the denial of civil rights to certain groups of people.

Second, there are grounds to suggest that the degrees offered through special programmes for Indian university students are defined by some university administrators and employers as inferior to degrees offered through mainstream programmes (More, 1980, pp. 36-37). For example, few aboriginal students trained in the Saskatchewan Urban Native Teacher Education Programme (a programme designed to train Indian teachers to work in urban schools) have been successful in finding teaching positions in cities. In fact, in the city of Saskatoon between 1987 and 1990, the proportion of native teachers in the public and Catholic school systems declined (Satzewich and Wotherspoon, 1992, pp. 141-142). While it is difficult to interpret the lack of progress in hiring Indian teachers for positions in city schools, what is clear is that the potential pool of aboriginal teachers (which is now sufficiently large) is not being drawn upon as aggressively as it should be if urban school boards evaluated their credentials as equivalent to degrees offered through mainstream programmes.

Third, while it is not inappropriate for native teachers to be trained to teach native students, particularly in the light of positive role modeling, the danger with such programmes is that they may tend to ghettoize aboriginal teachers (More, 1980). While Indian teachers may initially *want* to teach Indian students, graduation through a special programme may result in a situation in which these teachers are defined as *only capable* of teaching students who are of their own ethnic origin. Like their counterparts who have been recruited to work in police forces, once teachers become part of the extant occupational sub-culture, they do not wish to be defined as *Indian* teachers, but rather as professionals who are flexible, who can teach a variety of students in a variety of situations, and who can be upwardly mobile within the school system.

Fourth, if it is true that current Indian-state relationships are in a phase of decolonization (Frideres, 1988), and if the area of education is one of the main arenas within which decolonization is occurring, hard questions need to be raised about the form and meaning of this process. An instructive parallel for Canada is the post-war decolonization by the United Kingdom of her African colonies. The withdrawal of British

political domination of African colonies was coupled with continued economic domination, support for which British authorities hoped to maintain through the cultivation of a university educated urban élite. According to Robinson (1980, p. 62), "without the transfer of power to educated élites... [it was argued that] it would soon become impossible for control over the colonies to be retained". For the British state, the cultivation and promotion of an educated élite was seen as one of the means by which control over ex-colonies could be retained. University education, preferably in British institutions or in institutions staffed by those trained in British institutions, would provide the new African élite with the cultural capital as well as the technical training needed to administer the economy in favor of British interests.

The apparent support of the federal government for university education, within the limits set out in its educational funding guidelines, for Indian people and for special programmes within universities is part of a strategy to create a technocratic élite within urban communities who mediate relations between the wider Indian and non-Indian population. The State hopes to create an educationally-based technocratic élite which will help defuse the politicization of other Indian people and replace State officials as the main agents of social control (Brittan and Maynard, 1984, p. 160). This new comprador élite will act as the new agents of social control over other Indian people, and will mediate larger Indian/non-Indian relations.

CONCLUSION

Indian control over Indian education, and the establishment of special programmes for Indian students within existing universities and other institutions of higher learning is regarded by many as an unquestionably positive step towards improving the social and economic conditions of Indian people. While it is not the intent of this paper to suggest that existing "mainstream" university level programmes are perfect, it is suggested that this strategy to deal with multi-ethnicity in higher education is a potentially contradictory one. If Canadians are to learn anything from the American experience with separate systems of education for black and white students, it is that the philosophy of "separate but equal" was used to deny black students access to quality education (Mohraz, 1979).

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NEW TRIALS OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES

Kogila MOODLEY

● This analysis explores the implications of affirmative action, in its broadest sense, in the educational sphere of a unique multicultural and multiracial society - South Africa. It looks at more conventional approaches such as positive discrimination and preferential hiring, on the one hand, and at the process of institutional transformation, on the other. Elsewhere, discussions of affirmative action commonly dwell on institutional access and on admission. Less qualified people, distinguishable on the basis of ascribed attributes such as race, are too often perceived as having been placed in positions for which they are unprepared. Examples of affirmative action procedures undertaken in South African tertiary institutions will be examined.

THE CONTRADICTIONS OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Despite legal guarantees of equal access and anti-discriminatory measures, vast disparities for marginalized groups stubbornly persist. A look at a diverse range of societies, among them the United States, Canada, India, and South Africa, reveals poorly educated minorities of long-standing, entrenched in low-status, low income positions. Most notable among these caste-like minorities are blacks in South Africa and the United States, First Nations or Aboriginal People in Canada and Australia, Harijans or Untouchables in India, and women in all these contexts. In South Africa, for example, a white student has a ten times greater statistical chance to attend a university than a black counterpart, although the absolute number of black students will soon exceed the white figure.

Various explanations have been posited for this underrepresentation, ranging from political exclusion, cultural differences, and discriminatory labour practices to the impact of internalized lower expectations and aspirations based on experiences in the marketplace. In many instances, well-intending governments responding to pressure groups have resorted to affirmative action, preferential hiring, positive discrimination, and quota systems to alter the representation of these groups in different sectors. Organizational barriers of the past, it was felt, must be removed to make way for the full integration of the excluded. Benign positive discrimination would restore the imbalance occasioned by historically validated ethnically and indeed also sexually based discrimination. This practice would provide an altered conception of such groups, offer missing role models, create a critical mass to avoid tokenism, and above all

stimulate such groups out of their caste-like positions.

Much criticism has been directed at preferential policies. Affirmative action, it is said, was never meant to threaten the hierarchical order, merely to window-dress it. It is seen to be simply a cooptive strategy to incorporate opposition into an unequal system without structural transformation. Others have argued that preferential treatment stigmatizes all those benefitting from it. It reinforces *group* and *ascriptive* criteria in areas in which expertise should be the measure. It entrenches perceptions of target groups as *inferior* and as recipients of charity. These perceptions in turn devalue the gains of all members of target groups and are said to induce in minorities a sense of deep self-doubt (Maphai, 1989).

Instead of decreasing the salience of inequitous group identification, such as untouchability in India, people who had converted to Christianity generations ago to escape the effects of the caste system reclassified themselves in order to take advantage of the benefits. Once criteria such as race or caste become an asset through affirmative action programmes rather than being a liability, minorities develop an interest in perpetuating their racial or caste group membership instead of dismissing it as irrelevant. Similar redefinitions have been noted among those functioning with significant privileges in the mainstream of society. With the introduction of affirmative action programmes, they too seek the added *advantages* to be gained by reclaiming distant, sometimes fragile past linkages. In short, the beneficiaries of such policies are not always those most in need, but too often the economically privileged (Sowell, 1989).

South African society offers a unique case since these questions have been experimentally and theoretically addressed for a long time and, therefore, allow interesting conclusions to be drawn that differ from those based on experiences elsewhere. Furthermore, because the disadvantaged form the numerical majority, the privileged minority has had to come to grips with their exclusion in a more urgent and pressing way than in situations in which minorities are less threatening. Eliminating racial discrimination in the United States is frequently perceived as a moral issue, bordering on charity. In South Africa, it is a precondition for survival of the white minority.

South Africa has a perverse history of affirmative action which emerged in the 1920's as a policy of nepotistic patronage for disadvantaged members of the ruling race. During the 1920's and 1930's, a *Civilized Labor Policy* introduced "job reservation" and preferential employment for white Afrikaner workers. Twenty years later, over 100,000 mainly unskilled and semi-skilled whites were preferentially employed on the railways, then the biggest single employer of white labor in the country. The state also put pressure on private enterprise to maintain sufficient quotas of "civilized labor" (Adam and Giliomee, 1979, pp. 151-152), and laws guaranteed coloured labor preference over black African labor in the Cape.

Even the most outspoken critics of affirmative action such as Thomas Sowell maintain that the implementation by South Africa of affirmative action for whites represents one of the most successful stigma-free cases. What characterizes this success story is that it was a programme for a politically dominant white Afrikaner group which had previously enjoyed fewer opportunities in comparison with other members of the ruling white minority. As a relatively high status group, they thereby escaped the often mentioned assault on the self-esteem of recipient groups. Afrikaners, unlike minorities elsewhere, never experienced self-doubt about their competency. Instead of viewing preferential hiring as affirmative action, they interpreted it as legitimate entitlement. Their structural location reaffirmed this self-perception.

Apart from the legal exclusion of the majority *non-whites*, the minority secured its position even in areas such as universities, where few legal barriers existed. The traditional reproductive practice operated by hiring mainly whites because the required credentials were mainly supplied from this sector. By not providing equal education for the majority, the minority entrenched its status in terms of qualifications and standards. As a result, in South Africa, as in the U.S., blacks are dismally underrepresented in academe (Evans, 1990).

Despite this historical exclusion, opponents of affirmative action continue to defend their traditional selection criteria of merit and the fear of lowered standards. This perpetuates the traditional ethnic composition as long as the formerly excluded are not given equal opportunities of acquiring *white* credentials.

The South African university setting encapsulates in a microcosm all the issues salient in addressing affirmative action elsewhere. There is past unambiguous inequality based on race. Linguistic and cultural groups have been politicized by separation through coercive governmental intervention. In the desegregation process, these differences converge in the hegemonic terrain of the Eurocentric university existing within the African context. All the concerns of the sustained inequality of minorities prevail: historic disadvantage, coinciding race and class differences, as well as the cultural and linguistic capital of the ruling group and their prominence in defining *standards*.

There is, however, one major difference. In other affirmative action situations, the disadvantaged are numerical minorities. In South Africa, the disadvantaged constitute some 80% of the population. It is clear, therefore, that if issues of equality of outcome are addressed through affirmative action in South Africa, the end result would amount to a reversal of power relations rather than mere inclusion for cooption or pacification of minorities, as witnessed elsewhere. How does the dominant group cope with such a predicament? What strategies do the disadvantaged adopt to reconcile

demands for historical justice, with the need to maintain the skills and standards of the privileged and acquire their share of expertise in a new non-racial setting?

THE SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITY SETTING

South African universities comprise three distinct groups:

1. *The historically black Universities of Fort Hare, Zululand, Turfloop, Bophuthatswana, Western Cape (UWC), and Durban-Westville (UDW).* These so-called tribal institutions were initially designated by the government in the late 1960's as exclusive separate universities for each "non-white", "ethnic" group, in order to provide the semblance of separate but equal opportunities and remove the few non-white students at the English-language universities from their "liberal poisoning of the black mind". They were heavily controlled by the government and manned by *Broederbond* administrators and Afrikaner faculty members in the colonial tradition of bringing culture to the natives. In spite of this situation, not all responded with uncritical compliance; some became the seats of periodic resistance and black nationalist counter ideologies. In the late 1980's, they were permitted to admit "other group" members and granted autonomy as institutions.
2. *The Afrikaans-speaking universities, which are deeply rooted in nationalist ideology.* Not all have been entirely uncritical in their stances on apartheid, but they functioned primarily as ideological training grounds for Afrikaner nationalism and have responded more conservatively to pressures for adaptation. They have taken in some black graduate students, although their linguistic exclusiveness and history acts as *de facto* barriers for large-scale enrollment of black Africans.
3. *The English-language Universities of Natal, Cape Town, Witwatersrand, and Rhodes are situated historically in the liberal tradition.* They have formally rejected government intervention in academic freedom and have taken a generally progressive stance towards incorporating black students, but have been less successful in recruiting black faculty.

In the post-apartheid period, after 1990, all universities in South Africa are in the process of admitting students from across the colour spectrum. This process has resulted in contact between students with vast disparities in educational backgrounds. Most black students come from institutions with poor facilities, underqualified and unqualified teachers, poor housing, political discontent, and a cohort of alienated politicized peers. This fundamental discontinuity between school and university is most accentuated for black students.

University Support Mechanisms

Universities have responded to this situation in different ways. Most

English-medium universities and some black universities give greater centrality to academic support and bridging programmes, others, such as UWC, aim at a total reconceptualization of the nature of the institution. In the words of its rector, UWC strives to be the "intellectual home of the Left" in the forefront of societal transformation. Its hiring and liberal admission policy reflects this vision. Ian Scott (1986, p. 16), director of the Academic Support Programmes at the University of Cape Town, articulates their purpose metaphorically. "There is... a real danger that the *open door* offered by a progressive admissions policy may turn out to be a revolving door which will all too soon return students to the streets without having had a real chance to fulfill their objectives". Therefore, at the more traditional institutions, various programmes are aimed at preparing so-called disadvantaged students to adapt to and to cope with the university's academic demands.

Devising appropriate academic support models has been an on-going process. As with all attempts at reform, Academic Support Programmes have been criticized for utilizing a deficit model: aiming to change students, but leaving the Eurocentric, white, middle-class character of the institution intact. A micro-level preoccupation with academic assistance through improved language use and study skills has been viewed as insufficient and resulting in students who feel alienated and marginalized in the institution. A focus on such a narrow approach has been described as "tinkering with the problem" and "diverting pressure for fundamental change" (Scott, 1986, p. 19).

In designing Academic Support Programmes, black students have invariably been defined as "disadvantaged". This label has been contested by some in their alternative conceptualization of the situation. Nzimande (1989, p. 4) in his paper, "From disadvantage to deinstitutionalization: Disaggregating the liberal universities and some implications for academic support programmes", includes the white majority staff as disadvantaged in that, "... these academics do not have access to lives and conditions of the majority of the oppressed, and many of them, through... indifference to these conditions, are therefore disadvantaged".

In the "Perceptions of Wits" study, conducted by the University of the Witwatersrand to assess faculty, student, and community perceptions of the university, black students expressed the view that white students should also be exposed to support programmes. They too were victims of the disabling effects of a racially segregated and uncritical education (Webster *et al.*, 1986, p. 53).

A similar approach was articulated earlier by Jairam Reddy (1986, p. 11), now rector of the University of Durban-Westville, who recommends Academic Support Programmes (ASP) for faculty as well as for students. This criterion could begin with the selection process. In addition to usual academic criteria, an "understanding of black community struggle" and "participation in the work of community organization and out-

reach programmes" should be considered valuable credentials for effective teaching. Faculty members should be oriented, he argues, to the nature of perceptions and "challenges facing the black student and strategies to cope with them" (1986, p. 11). They should actively participate in an academic support programme and learn an African language. Sabbatical and exchange programmes with black institutions and interaction with black scholars and community leaders would also serve to build a holistic background against which teaching and learning can be meaningful.

Such directions for change are aimed at transforming the university into a non-racial open arena, projecting through it the kind of society desired by advocates of non-racialism. They are reinforced with regard to several of their aspects by the Wits study which sampled attitudes of diverse community groups on the role of the largest university of the country. There was little support (18%) for preferential admission standards for disadvantaged students. This view was also shared by disadvantaged students, of whom 71% preferred the use of what they saw as more universalistic criteria such as achievement motivation. Some 64% of these students said admission should be based on interview information, and 63% advocated aptitude tests as suitable admission criteria. They opposed the use of biographical information, extent of disadvantage, community service, and work experience (Webster *et al.*, 1986, p. 54). Some 90% of the respondents showed overwhelming support for the maintenance by the university of an excellent research environment, but that it be defined to include excellence in teaching. Teaching, it was felt, should be directed toward acknowledging "the grossly inadequate educational preparation of most sectors of the community without compromising degree standards" (Webster *et al.*, 1986, p. 55). To this end, 76% of black students felt that the university should support academics in developing appropriate teaching methods to serve the new classroom constituencies.

For 61% of the respondents, the courses offered should address the problems of disadvantaged communities. Insights into these problems would be gained and priorities established by increasing the number of researchers with those experiences. The university could not respond to the needs of the community unless members of these communities were part of its decision making structures at all levels. Engagement in community outreach and formal recognition of those active in community affairs through the conferral of degrees would serve to reinforce the interest of the university in this sphere. In the absence of these gestures, the perception of the university as representing élitist interests which are dominated by government and business persists.

Some distinctions were evident between academic staff and black students on the question of how faculty involvement with disadvantaged communities would be evaluated for academic purposes. Some 55% of academic staff respondents felt that the recognition of such commitment in selection procedures would be a way of identifying the number of black applicants with potential. Black students, on the other hand, overwhelmingly felt that community service should be considered for selection, promotion, and tenure of faculty (Webster *et al.*, 1986, p. 56).

History I: A Case Study

Within the English-speaking liberal University of Cape Town, one departmental approach to the transformation of the teaching and learning process toward successful outcomes warrants a careful look. In 1988, the History I class experienced a crisis in that over 40% of the students failed. Furthermore, 70 out of 80 of the black students had failed or had dropped out because of fear of failure or inability to cope. However, by 1989, this failure rate dropped to 11%, without a significant difference between black or other students. The percentage of first or upper second class passes increased from 3% in 1988 to about 12% in 1989. This dramatic change in results was achieved through time-consuming team efforts at restructuring both the content and the methodology of the course.

Upon careful analysis, History I had been viewed by students as a "distant", "non-relevant" course in European history, covering the rise of feudalism to the Second World War - itself a reduction in time span from the Adam-to-the-Atom course of earlier years, at a time when almost 60% of students were black and few in the class felt much affinity to European history (unpublished report). The course had been a mixture of traditional political and cultural history, with components of new social history or neo-Marxist historiography, depending on the instructor's interest. Failure in the course, it was found, also related partly to the method of testing through traditional essay-type questions.

Considerations of course content, a narrowed course focus, and the establishment of connections among economic, environmental, sociopolitical, and cultural consciousness and contemporary society were part of the restructuring of the course. Most importantly, teaching staff members had to reassess what knowledge and skills they were attempting to teach and how to communicate these at a first year level. New teaching materials were produced, and alternative methods of testing were devised. Instead of assuming that students had arrived with the analytical skills required for the course, the teaching staff gradually equipped students with them in the first few weeks. Alternative class organization from large formal lectures to small groups facilitated active course participation. Analytic reading of history; comparing, contrasting and sensitivity to different interpretations of history were carefully introduced. Knowledge of these skills was not assumed as it had been in the

past. Without lowering standards or departing entirely from its broader focus on European history, the course was reconceptualized successfully by establishing valuable interrelationships with student worlds.

This example of knowledge transmission is a very valuable one, since it sheds light on one approach toward collaborative, sensitive transformation of curriculum and teaching. Such endeavours are time-consuming, but they serve all students well and avoid stigmatizing the disadvantaged.

The University of the Western Cape - a Second Case Study

In contrast to other affirmative action approaches, according to which ascribed criteria of caste, race, or ethnicity are targeted for inclusion, the University of the Western Cape, originally an apartheid creation for *coloured* people, aims at total institutional change by emphasizing a shared ideological orientation. UWC's approach to hiring faculty gives priority regardless of colour to political persuasion and a commitment to transform education from profit-oriented motivation toward a socialist-oriented one. However, at the student level, a large influx of African students has been accommodated in order to redress systemic imbalances. The aim of the rector, Jakes Gerwel, is to turn UWC into "an intellectual home of the left" and to establish it as a model of a post-apartheid tertiary institution. He justifies this priority by pointing out that while all universities are committed to free enquiry and research, "they take place within a dominant ideological discourse". UWC contributes to change by serving an underrepresented ideological formation, that of the Left. The aim is to bring about a linkage between the university and the "democratic movement" (Weaver, 1988, p. 136).Thus, university members generally engage in various boycotts as a transformative non-violent strategy to deal with issues in an apartheid society, to work through inherent contradictions in the university, to express solidarity with other institutions and with the wider community on salient issues. In short, the university is the "site of struggle".

This type of institutional transformation, despite its vibrancy, is not unproblematic. It distinguishes itself with very high levels of student activism. While liberationist education has its intrinsic virtues, Gerwel points out that all too often "a tension prevails between the boycotts and the development of high quality education" (*Ibid,* p. 137). This institution has attracted several high calibre faculty members and prominent activists, out of a commitment to engage and serve in the transformation. Past construction of apartheid South Africa and present reconstruction are explored through curriculum changes in literature, education, and law, to name but a few. Phenomenal growth in student numbers range from 391 students in 1964 to an enrollment of 18,000 in 1992. Some sympathetic faculty members bemoan the extent to which this university, in seeking to redress the past, accepts

unqualified students who experience difficulty in meeting university level requirements. UWC has also faced criticism for allowing dogmatic student activism to hamper the operation of the learning environment for other students. Lately, however, apathy and career orientation rather than politicisation seem to prevail.

TOWARDS A NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITY

The different strategies addressed by these South African universities reflect a very broad view of affirmative action, beyond the usual tokenistic inclusion of the disadvantaged. The analysis has included a range of related processes dealing with the improved position of minorities from hiring to institutional and curricula change toward recognizing the altered composition of students and wider societal realities.

In the South African tertiary educational system, initiatives to effect change have taken either a reformist direction as in the case of historically white universities, or adopted a total institutional strategy as in the case of the historically black universities of the Western Cape and Durban-Westville. Ironically, both these institutions were historically designated for the minority non-white groups, namely Coloureds and Indians. They were only able to exert such initiatives and assert a positive alternative vision, because their leadership had changed from dominant group members who were political appointees, to subordinate group members with different experiences and a vision of an alternative education.

The history of South Africa resonates unequivocally with the need for affirmative action to correct past racially based injustice. Yet, as one examines some of the indicators included in this quest, calls for transformation have been couched essentially in universalistic, ideological, standards-maintaining language. The labelling of blacks as "disadvantaged" is rejected in favour of the view that all South Africans are disadvantaged - whites through their isolation from the real issues and blacks through material deprivation, and symbolic and political exclusion. In the **Perceptions of Wits** study, students themselves, including black students, reject special admission standards for blacks. They prefer general criteria such as achievement and aptitude tests. Separate off-campus support programmes were criticized in favour of on-campus, inclusive programmes, open to all. Overwhelmingly, the desired goal is that of maintaining high standards but incorporating the black experience into an Africanized, relevant curriculum. Total institutional and ideological transformation ranks high in place of piecemeal change. All these preferences underline universalistic, non-racial trends. How can one explain this trend, given that the society is permeated by the criterion of race?

The answer lies in the nature of the apartheid society of the past. The politically aware and politically excluded have to a very large extent been immunized against emulating the race and ethnic based injustice of

the apartheid order. They do not wish to be tainted by it even for purposes of redress. Whether this non-racial universalism which seems to predominate will succeed in transforming the past and present cultural capital and hegemony into effective non-racial representations at all levels remains to be seen. If the current project of negotiation and constitutional restitution is successfully implemented, South Africa could offer one of the most democratic and participative plural societies, in spite of its history. Other divided societies may do well to take note of this lesson of rational reconciliation by devising policies that go beyond the cooption and tokenism of most affirmative action processes.

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THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF MULTI-CULTURAL EDUCATION AND INTOLERANCE WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON SUDANESE WOMEN

Khadiga M. SAFWAT

● Multi-culturalism, particularly in education, is presented and discussed within the larger context of the Arab world and the more specific context of Sudan. The extreme religious and social conservatism of the wealthiest Arab countries, particularly Saudi Arabia, and their powerful economic influence on the poorer Arab countries, like Sudan, have resulted in the adoption by the the governments of some of these countries of similarly conservative social and economic policies. Such has been the case with Sudan. The effect of such policies, along with the general poverty of Sudan, on multi-cultural education and on the position of women in society, has been nefarious. However, by contrast, the economics of relative wealth in Saudi Arabia itself has dictated the emergence, via higher education, of large numbers of highly skilled Saudi women who are creating economic spheres of their own within Saudi society.

INTRODUCTION

The argument made below is that the progressive rise of forms of Arab Neo-Rightism (similar to the universal blueprint for Neo-Right programmes everywhere) stands as a barrier to multi-cultural, multi-racial, gender positive/mixed education. The Neo-Right multi-cultural debate is both an evolving programme and a hangover of the Thatcherite and Reagonomic radical free market advocacy. Arab Middle East political Islamic programmes entangle Arab women in wider regional/world developments which manifest themselves in anti-women, anti-Left, anti-West movements and policies in different Arab cultures and societies.

This discussion also attempts to examine points of deviation in the accepted two-tier general hypothesis regarding education both as empowerment of the individual and as social control.

Looked at from a gender perspective, the empowerment of Arab women through education, job training, and job opportunities is complicated, as a concept, by increasing hierarchical differences which do not conform to ideas of gender equality as implied by the existence of affirmative action and women's catching up programmes in the wealthy western countries or the pragmatic expression of feminist thought. Grouping the two approaches together does not help in the understanding either of equality or of the liberation of women. Looked at from a horizontal perspective, the concept, both regionally and contextually, presupposes preconditions for socially

based feminist survival and/or gender specific programmes.

An examination of the development of various modern forces and social categories in the Middle East provides an insight into a realistic assessment of the hypotheses and helps to indeterminately decode the concept.

The past two decades have witnessed a progressive decline in democratic evolution based on economic progress and the development of political democracy of the kind in vogue from the immediate post-independence years to the end of the 1970's. The evolution of modern Arab political forces, even if at the level of the opposition, provided an ally for women in terms of their demands for equality and special programmes.

In the cases of Sudan and Egypt, the independence movements presupposed sexual equality.

MULTI-CULTURALISM: A RECURRENCE IN HISTORY

Multi-cultural education can be viewed from two angles: a) as a process by which individuals and groups can be incorporated into multi-cultural wealthy societies; b) as a product of the compulsive displacement of people from everywhere to everywhere without real or objective preconditions of choice.

The first angle becomes feasible and productive with the availability of resources to redistribute among the increasingly varied demands of expanding numbers of consumers who may not necessarily always be producers (or the other way round). A situation which can exist is one in which multi-cultural minorities become producers but refrain from sharing in the redistribution of surplus (the surplus they help produce) evenly with non-minority members, i.e. the majority of nationals.

The second angle is a situation in which individuals are guests in a society which does not accept them. Acceptance has preconditions which are informed by relative affluence and by the sharing in the redistributive-based popular consumption of public goods and services, i.e. welfare programmes. At times of high unemployment and contrived or objective crises in welfare states, aliens, guests, and migrants are least welcome.

It requires little effort to observe that the latter situation produces a reduced possibility for public spending on socially enjoyed goods and services. Education everywhere now manifests some of the most contradictory tendencies, even in the wealthy industrialized societies.[1]

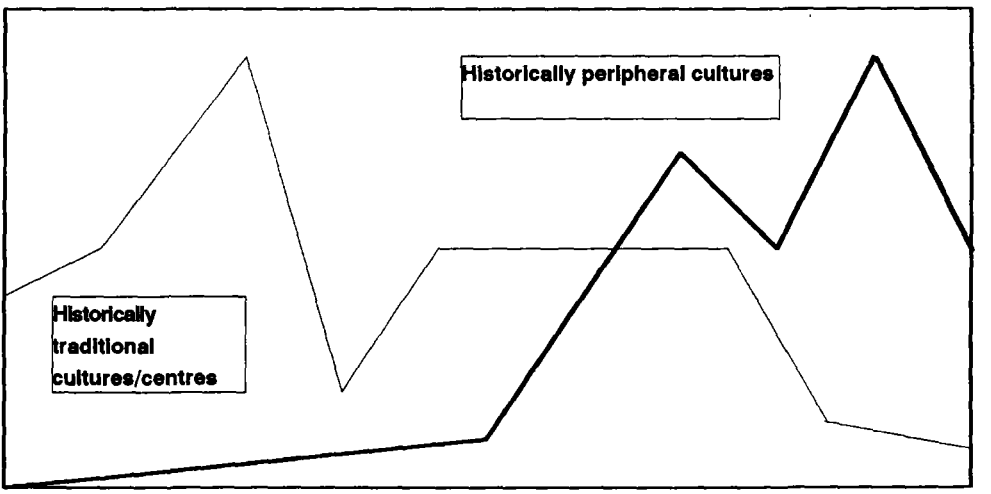
THE GENESIS

The recent history of the Middle East has been turbulent, particularly over the last twenty years.

The economic process here is centred around the capital-rich gulf Arab labour markets which have been made available for unprecedented numbers of imported skilled and semi-skilled workers from the region as the result of the so-called oil revolution of the mid-1970's.[2]

The process has also resulted in the assumption by the culturally poor, politically and socially conservative, or reactionary former Middle Eastern peripheral regions of central cultural and economic power (see graph below on the dichotomy of economically rich versus culturally poor).

Graph 1. **The dichotomy of economically rich versus culturally poor Middle Eastern countries**



One seemingly contradictory manifestation of this routine which has emerged has been the compulsive internationalization of economic production which bases itself on the market and on oil-surplus finance capital accumulation. This mechanism informs the regionalization/ globalization of cultural production/reproduction. At the root of this mechanism must of necessity lie the essential pursuit of resources, including the untapped resources of labour among all groups and categories of integrationist societies along the model of export-oriented economies for the world market at the expense of production for the internal market.

With regard to mutual interdependence, the above process has reinforced the prospects and preconditions favouring the export of less liberal cultural characteristics and conservatism from the oil-rich to the labour-exporting poorer countries. The rise of a universal Neo-Right found particular appeal in the region and elsewhere.

However, certain economic variables linked to restructuring have influenced certain culturally based educational changes which are reflected in women's (and men's)

education, in the demands for female labour, and in the workplace. Accordingly, dramatic changes in the Arab male/female labour structure have become manifest. In some instances, for instance, in Syria, former North Yemen, Lebanon, Jordan, and Egypt, the proportions of educated women and female entrants into the labour market reflect both increases in female labour and changes in the wage patterns for female workers. Women's education has followed the patterns of demand for women's labour (see Table 1). In the public and mixed sectors, women entrants into the labour force doubled between the mid-1970's and the beginning of the 1980's. The labour force in rural areas has come to be dominated by women. The qualitative and demographic restructuring of labour was strongly influenced, in the cases of Iraq and Iran during the first Gulf War, by the results of male military recruitment. In these two countries, women enjoyed a decade of near-monopoly over job training and educational opportunities in the absence of competition from men. Moreover, they came to dominate the civil service and the public sector. This type of situation has been observed during wars elsewhere and should not be taken as an evolutionary dimension of any permanent character.

GENDER BASED EDUCATIONAL DISCRIMINATION

Certain categories of Gulf oil-styled development programmes have manifested themselves via social engineering which has been influenced by a culturally peripheral and historically conservative ideology upon which are based socio-cultural constraints most frequently expressed in the area of the family and of women.[3]

The oil-driven Gulf labour market has attracted men and women, both professionally skilled and unskilled, from non-oil producing societies. The loss of highly qualified modern forces from these societies has nonetheless been accompanied by relatively high public spending based on unprecedented foreign exchange earnings for and job creation in the labour-exporting societies, but also on the placing of demands on certain depoliticized professionals and pressures on underlying and overlying educational tendencies among both highly qualified professionals and semi-skilled labour.

One cannot underestimate the compulsion of labour under conditions of conservative to reactionary social engineering. The rise to prominence through democratic processes of Islamic reactionaries has had far-reaching repercussions on the electorate. Through pressures brought to bear with regard to the securing or the renewal of labour contracts, the Sudanese National Islamic Front (NIF) won some 58 seats in Parliament. This party subsequently ensured increased economic, cultural, and political prestige, primarily built upon student union power in the university and in other higher education institutions as well as on the trade unions, professional organizations, the army, and the police.

Table 1. **Per Capita GNP/Population Profile in Selected Arab Countries: Uncomparable Data**

Country	Per capita GNP (USD)	Illiteracy Percentage	Population (in millions)	Rural Urban Nomadic Percentage		
Bahrain	10,000	27	417,000		81	
Egypt	700 (1987)	43	50	51	48.8	
Iraq	1,620 (1977)	-	14.1	63	36	
Jordan	1,960 (1984)	25.4	3.4	23	26	51
Morocco	670 (1984)	36	2.4	71.5	28.5	
Sudan	320 (1984)	78.4	26.10	69.15	20.2	10.62
Syria	1,870 (1984)	35	10.6	50.9	49.1	
Tunisia	1,270	54	7		52.9	
Yemen Arab Republic	550	21	9.3		8.5	

(Source: Dr. K. M. Safwat, 2.12.1991)

The two way traffic in educational impact cannot be explained simplistically by generalizing in terms of the whole Arab region. Forms of illiteracy are important to identify in order to be able to examine the multicultural, multi-sexual, mixed, or separate educational opportunities in higher education and at postgraduate levels.

It is also useful to remember that the above situation has been sustained by the economic crises of the 1980's and 1990's and universal neo-Right programmes which: a) at one point have called for women everywhere, be they in post-industrial wealthy western countries, wealthy pre-capitalist countries, or poor countries to return to their homes and to leave the (diminishing) labour markets to men; but b) have encouraged reliance on female unskilled or deskilled naturalized labour in certain post-industrial fragmented production processes in the so-called export-oriented Free Trade

Zones (FTZ's) and Free Processing Zones (FPZ's).

The subsequent disbanding of labour markets has accordingly meant the massive return of labour to the labour-exporting societies and the consequent loss of foreign currency earnings.

VIOLENT MOVEMENTS OF CULTURES, PEOPLE, AND EDUCATION IN SUDAN

Sudan, has for a long time, been recognized as and has identified itself as a multi-cultural, multi-religious, and multi-ethnic society. Historically Sudan has been characterized by a clear North/South divide. The South is largely African (meaning negroid) and Christian. It is relatively less developed but is well-endowed with natural resources and has aspirations that are compatible with those of northern Sudan. The northern Sudan is relatively more accessible to events in the North through Egypt and the rest of the Arab world. It is developed in varying degrees and serves as a point of contact with the West. It is largely Arabized (meaning Islamized) and is predominantly sectarian.

The North/South divide is historically complicated by the existence of a mosaic of smaller entities of tribal and ethnic minorities in both the North and the South. Although both of the two principal components of the Sudanese territory/nation were assembled arbitrarily, a tendency exists for the constituent parts of each group to manifest relative homogeneity. The latter, in fact, is only present for brief moments, the function of times of relative prosperity and the smooth working of an internally distributive process of development. So long as resources were relatively abundant and differentials were relatively unpolarizing in terms of survival economics, the divide was less obtrusive, milder, and merely of historical and political interest.

The latter process is a sequence in and a function of a larger project by which Sudan, over the past twenty years or more, has been reshaped as a result of Arab oil revenues and the concentration of wealth in the periphery of the Arab region, particularly in Saudi Arabia. The distortion of the central cultures in the historic core of the Arab region, accompanied as it is by the export of labour, has had a major effect on a country like Sudan. Countries which formerly were more politically, culturally, and organisationlly advanced - countries which were also well developed from an educational point of view - are now starved for capital. Traditionally peripheral, culturally poor, and politically conservative Saudi Arabia has been able to exert impact through the scheme of financial "cultural regional interdependence", a scheme which operates to the benefit of the latter and the at the expense of the former.

Put in the wider context of the movement of chronological regional history and of the spatial socio-economic context, the concept of multi-culture as a social (perhaps, ironically, aesthetic) phenomenon and as a spatial and socio-economic context informs extremes in the scale of gradation of cultural wealth and

economic poverty versus cultural poverty and economic wealth. In terms of both horizontal and vertical multi-cultural compulsion, Sudan figures at the extreme end of the scale. In this respect, the contrasts between Saudi-Arabia and Sudan with regard to women's education and women's economic activity and decision- making in government positions are worth examining.

EDUCATIONAL PROFILE

Saudi Arabian Gender Educational Programmes and Women's Economic Democracy

The annual recruitment figures of King Abdel Aziz University indicate that about 60 percent of annual intake is made up of women. Similar figures have been registered by King Faisal University and the University of Imam Mohammed Ibn Sad. Women are accepted in the Faculties of Arts and Educational Training affiliated with the General Presidency for women's education, most of the social science departments except Information and Media Studies, and in certain other administrative sections. In the pure and applied sciences, women are permitted to enroll in pharmaceutical studies and in medicine. According to the last Five Year Plan, "...it is important to expand women's education qualitatively and quantitatively... One of the challenges facing the Five Year Plan in education is to find a way to make use of the numbers of qualified individuals in this section of the population within the teachings and edicts of the Islamic Sharia regardful of the increasing needs of Saudisation (of jobs) at all levels..." (Fawzia Abu Khalid, 1987, pp. 27-28).

Women in Development - Women's Development: A Contradiction in Terms

Women higher education graduates have become a socially, economically, and psychologically very expensive form of unemployment. An economic sector for women serviced by women has become a subtle and expedient solution for both the dangerously frustrated female labour force and expensive labour importations.

The female Saudi skilled labour force has outgrown any feasible demand for such a force which is not designed for employment. The percentages of women graduates have outstripped the openings in a labour market confined to male labour. Attempts to reduce dependence on imported expatriate staff created the first preconditions for the gainful employment of Saudi women. Subsequent social problems, which will not be dwelt upon here, inspired the creation of a women's service sector by women for women.

What can be called the Saudi women's "empire" cannot be compared to the radical western feminist women's "empire". The women's "empire" caters to women, by women, in a women's sector, where female entrepreneurs must nevertheless be fostered under a system of *Kafil,* or male patrons, in all transactions. Since the end of the 1980's, the women's "empire" has been a function of other factors, including fiscal problems and the desire to reconsider foreign labour employment in

large construction and development schemes.

The Sudanese "Top Brass" Political Islamic Ethnocentric Educational Programmes

Comparative Spatial and Chronological Picture of Sudanese Women

Despite the fact that the illiteracy rate for women in Sudan is one of the highest in the Arab Region, Sudanese women, until the end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's, enjoyed some of the most egalitarian educational and job opportunities of the Arab countries.

Digression from Democratically Enjoyed Social Programmes to Political Islamic Xenophobia

Currently, the political Islamic-based educational programme of Sudan borrows from regional trends of Islamisation of the social, economic, and political arenas and from the pre-1989 global scenario of attack on the Left and the progressive demise of democratically based public spending.

Women, at least in urban areas, are being increasingly called upon to take up the role of custodian of national culture and the guardian of the nation's honour, a pretext to desex them under a *hijab* and to disempower them. Women are accordingly called upon to go back to the home. However, as the result of unprecedented hardships, women have assumed roles hitherto held by males or implicitly shown to have been the responsibility of men. There are many more women heads of households than was ever the case before. Compared to the Saudi women's "empire", the "monopoly" of Sudanese women over impoverished, seasonalized, marginalized, and violently displaced families is no indication of development in their status/position/roles. This situation can only compound a sub-slave position in which the woman is the unrecognized reproducer of self and society through production/reproduction in the so-called informal sector. The producer, however, assumes the duties without the corresponding rights.

One should, of course, mention that, at the same time, women in the wealthy industrialized societies are also being called upon to return to their homes to care for children, the disabled, the aged, this in the wake of the scaling down of the welfare state. In both cases, women are encouraged, in some cases by government programmes, to do piece work at home where they do not have the benefit of labour protection, legislation, or trade union rights.

In Sudan, however, the deskilling and depoliticizing women's labour processes have not necessarily succeeded in sending women back into the home, a failure which is linked to the function of the legacy of the role of women in reproducing the family, particularly in rural economies. This reality is an open contradiction of Political-Islamic cultural, educational, and other programmes which are centred on the relationship between the sexes and a world view which denies the eligibility of women for positions of power.

UNIVERSAL EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL INTOLERANCE

As the result of an alliance with "modern" democratic forces, Sudanese women came to enjoy equal pay for equal work and other wide-ranging liberties until the inception, under the second military regime, of the political religious based social programmes. Now, under the third military regime, a "Top Brass" Political-Islamic regime is seeking to increasingly diminish those gains, albeit with little success.

It is important to note, however, that this discourse relates to northern Sudanese, predominantly Arabized Muslim women. The concerns of southern Sudanese women, if at all examined, figure in a completely different debate.[4]

Southern Sudanese women are polarized with regard to their northern Sudanese counterparts. No reliable figures exist with regard to them - at best only mystified, encoded, and adjusted figures. In fact, they are historically ignored, dismissed economically, impoverished to stone-age scales, and are the objects of cultural and social discrimination.

Ethnic-, gender-, and minority-based educational programmes are dearticulated through deculturization and/or acculturization in pursuit of the establishment, through enforced cohesion and conformity, of homophobic ethnically-based dominance and the power of adherers along with the disempowerment of everyone else not fitting into these categories.

Official Politically-Islamized and popular anti-women, anti-left, anti-west manifestations under official Sudanese religious fundamentalism are now entrenched in educational programmes which are actively engaged in:

- the Arabization of all educational levels from primary to higher education;
- the undoing of popular, democratically-based, mixed co-educational opportunities;
- the exclusion by compulsive reductionism of ethnic minorities from cultural and educational programmes;
- the rewriting of Sudanese history and the dismantling of major non-Islamic cultural institutions of historic importance such as museums and archival collections;
- the discharging of most female senior civil servants, medical doctors, judges, engineers, heads of departments, academics, professionals, members of the armed forces and the police, etc., under the pretext that under Islam women are not entitled to hold leadership positions.

CONCLUSION

Points of contact between oil-surplus prosperity and non-oil relative poverty have left their impressions both ways. Oil-rich extra-statal/regional institutions are exerting direct influence on outlying Arab extensions through cross-border economic activity. The granting and denying of

favours have placed socio-political developments in the region in the politically/culturally and historically conservative oil rich straitjacket.

Saudi Arabia has a great deal of financial and ideological influence in Sudan. Certain family and personal laws were intricately engineered by Saudi experts as early as the 1970's.

Over the last two decades, the demands placed on certain depoliticized professionals and the pressures brought to bear on the overall general educational environment in labour-exporting societies have reproduced underlying and overlying educational tendencies among the professionals in question as well as among the semi-skilled labour force.

The two way traffic of educational impact cannot be explained simplistically by generalizing about the Arab region as a whole. Forms of cultural illiteracy need to be identified in order to be able to examine the multicultural, co-educational, or separatist educational opportunities available for higher and postgraduate education.

The pursuit of a unicultural programme of education in response to the highly politicized relations characteristic of a gender-centred ideology leaves little margin for multi-culturalization. The evolution of the social and economic situations of Sudan over the past two decades has created the need, on the one hand, for cultural problem solving educational programmes. On the other hand, however, the very nature of the fundamentalist educational programme is progressively creating serious contradictions for multi-cultural education. Oil surplus generated neo-right power is playing an increasingly important role in the engineering of the family and in the elimination of decision-making/power positions for women in the Arab world.

NOTES

1. In the West, the zenith of the process of the multi-culturalization of education has based itself, during the last two to three decades, on multi-culturalized products originating in localized production units. In the wealthy Arab oil countries as well as in certain industrialized wealthy countries like Germany and Canada, the actual producer is imported into the production processes of both material and cultural activity. The collapse of the eastern European system has also brought to the fore new preconditions for and needs to consider the multiplicity of the varieties of cultural intolerance which are now in constant violent movement, as well as migrations of labour to a diminishing labour market with 10% unemployment in the richest cores.

2. The following events are landmarks in the period covered by this article.

- the 1973 oil revolution by which the Arab Gulf states imposed a ban on sale of oil to the West;
- the first Gulf War (Iraq-Iran);
- the collapse of oil prices;
- the Second Gulf War;
- the resulting disengagement of the Gulf labour market;

- the loss of foreign currency earnings in remittances from Gulf labour employment;
- the rise in oil prices during the Second Gulf War. Non-oil producing countries experienced a concomitant rise in energy prices from a mere 5% to nearly 35 to 50% of already diminishing foreign currency earnings.

3. The Arab Gulf oil-rich states contributed US $ 9 billion up to the outbreak of the First Gulf War and about US $ 7.8 billion until the mid-1980's in aid to non-oil producing poorer countries. Development levels, of necessity, drew on degrees of freedom of flow of capital from richer to poorer countries, on the one hand, and on labour export/labour migration in the opposite direction, on the other hand, within the Region. The foreign debts of the Arab Middle Eastern and North African countries increased during the 1980's from US $ 4.4 billion to US $ 118.8 with an average percentage of 70% of their GNP. The resulting austerity programmes had significant implications with regard to women's social and economic positions.

4. This routine is explained in feminist terms as incumbent on concerted sex discrimination within the so-called conservative or classical patriarchal belt (Moghadam, 1990, p. 10). In the Sudanese reality this issue is extremely complex.

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TRIBUNE

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN FINLAND SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR[1]

Arto NEVALA

● The socio-economic background of new university students in Finland is analyzed at three levels: first, the overall change in the socio-economic background of Finnish students in higher education since the Second World War; then with regard to changes in two regions: southern and southwestern Finland; and finally, with regard to disciplines studied. New students in medicine, law, economics, and technology are consistently found to come from upper socio-economic classes. In the humanities and in education, on the other hand, the distribution according to socio-economic background corresponds better to that of the whole population. In the near future, Finnish higher education will face new challenges. From the viewpoint of the economy, the golden years are now over. At the same time, equality has fallen out of fashion.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Finland's first university was founded in Turku in 1640 but was transferred to Helsinki, the capital city, in 1828. The expansion of the Finnish system of higher education started in the beginning of the twentieth century. Between 1908 and 1934, eight new universities were established. The first of these, the University of Technology, opened in 1908 in Helsinki, and a little later, the Swedish School of Economics and the Helsinki School of Economics were established. At the start of the 1920's, two universities were established in Turku, one for the Swedish-speaking population and another for the Finnish-speaking population. The Helsinki School of Social Sciences opened in 1925 (later becoming the University of Tampere); the Swedish School of Economics of Turku, in 1927; and the University of Jyväskylä, in 1934.

During this first period of expansion, the Finnish system of higher education evolved without any specific higher education policy. There were no set objectives or plans for the expansion of higher education; on the contrary, the government intervened very little in the development of higher education. The expansion that occurred was a result of the industrial revolution and competi-

[1] This article is based on a paper presented at the World Congress of Comparative Education, held in Prague in July 1992.

tion between the two language groups of Finland, the Finnish-speaking majority and the Swedish-speaking minority (see Elovainio, 1974).

The second period of expansion of Finnish higher education began at the end of the 1950's. This expansion was partly caused by great changes which shook not only Finnish society but the whole of western Europe after the Second World War. The growth of the population, the change in its socio-economic structure, and extensive urbanization increased the need for reform in higher education. One part of this reform was the centrally planned and target-oriented policy of modern higher education, which Finland inaugurated in the mid-1960's. In fact, higher education and more broadly, the whole educational policy, became a part of social policy with the special goal of increasing quality (see, for example, Nevala, 1991a and Antikainen, 1986).

The other part of the reform was the increased intake of students. The so-called *old universities* (i.e. those founded before the First World War) increased student intake, and in addition, seven new universities were founded. The first of these, the University of Oulu in northern Finland, was founded in 1959. Then in the mid-1960's, five universities were founded within two years: Tampere University of Technology (1965), the University of Joensuu, the University of Kuopio, Lappeenranta University of Technology, and the University of Vaasa (1966). The only university founded during the 1970's was the University of Lapland, which was established in 1979 in Rovaniemi. At the beginning of the 1980's, the Finnish network of higher education included seventeen universities and was expanded to cover the whole country (see Map 1, p. 66). According to international norms, the system of higher education in Finland is extremely decentralized (Kivinen and Rinne, 1992a and Dahllöf, 1988).

The number of university students in Finland increased rapidly following the Second World War (Table 1, p. 67), particularly during the 1960's as did also the total number of students. At that time, entrance to universities was quite easy, because the annual quotas for new students grew more rapidly than the numbers of young people who left secondary school and passed the matriculation examination, thus establishing eligibility for university admission.

During the 1960's and 1970's, the *new universities* (e.g., those founded after the Second World War) also admitted increasing numbers of new students. In 1960, only 6 percent of the new university students went to *new universities*, but by 1975, the figure had increased to 24 percent. This second expansion of the Finnish system of higher education meant that the universities recruited more new students from previously unrepresented socio-economic classes. In addition, the distribution according to province changed. More new students came from eastern and northern Finland where most of the *new universities* were located (see Nevala, 1991a, p. 79).

Map. 1 Universities and Provinces in Finland (1990)

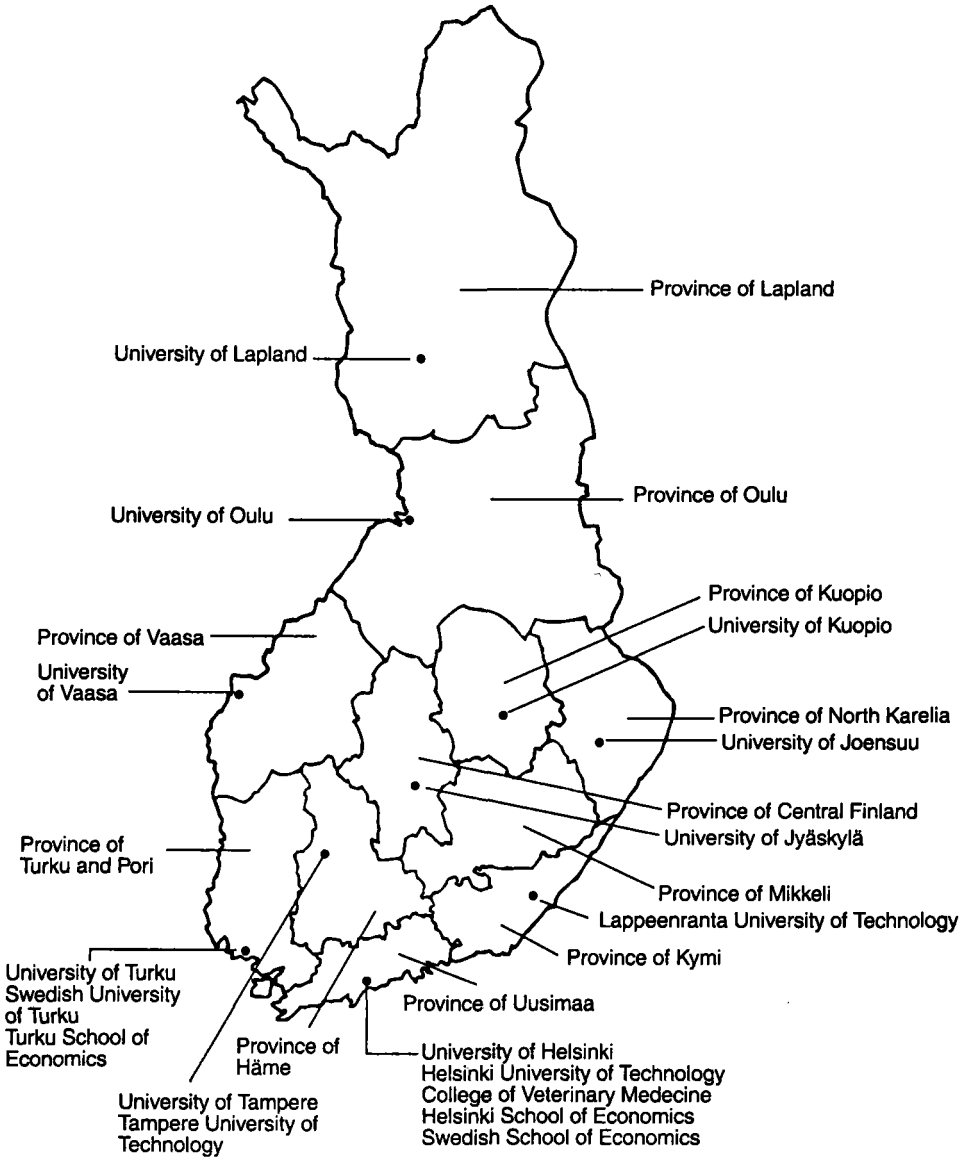

Table 1. **Numbers of university students in Finland from 1945 to 1990**

Year	New students	Total number of students
1945	3,920	14,140
1950	3,049	14,437
1955	3,997	16,698
1960	5,770	24,600
1965	10,044	42,230
1970	9,730	59,857
1975	11,915	75,515
1980	11,721	82,060
1985	12,815	90,347
1990	16,400	108,013

(*Source*: Nevala, 1991a, Appendix 3)

FROM EQUALITY TO INEQUALITY

Since the Second World War, the changes in higher education in Finland as well as in the whole of western Europe have been considerable. These changes have also affected the make-up of student cohorts, especially their socio-economic backgrounds, as shown in Table 2 (see p. 68).

This table does not reveal any clear trends. First, representation of the highest socio-economic group (I) decreased continuously from the end of the Second World War to the 1960's. At the same time, more students came, in particular, from the agricultural occupations (Group IV). By 1970, their percentage had nearly doubled compared with their representation in 1945. The proportion of children of workers (Group III) also increased during the same period. One can conclude that the mass of Finnish university students reached its most balanced socio-economic mix around the beginning of the 1970's.

To explain this process of equalization, one must keep in mind that the same changes also took place in many other western countries. For example, in Sweden, where the system and policy of higher education are quite similar to those of Finland, the proportion of university students from the lower socio-economic groups increased during the 1950's and 1960's (see Nilsson, 1984). At that time, the promotion of equality became a central goal in educational

Table 2. **Socio-economic backgrounds of new university students in Finland from 1945 to 1985 (percentages)**[2]

	I	II	III	IV	V
1945	43	30	15	11	1
1950	39	27	18	15	1
1955	37	26	17	19	1
1960	35	27	19	18	1
1966	32	29	20	18	1
1970	28	28	21	21	2
1975	32	18	19	15	16
1980	37	17	19	11	16
1985	39	19	16	9	17

(*Source*: Nevala, 1991a, Appendix 5)

policy all over western Europe, Finland included.

The other reason for this increasing equality was the simultaneous expansion of secondary schooling and higher education. For instance, in 1950 there were 126 secondary schools in Finland that could provide students with an education which would make them eligible for university studies; however, two decades later, the number had increased to 235 (Kivinen, 1988, pp. 45 and 296). In addition, a majority of the new schools were founded in areas that had previously been regarded as peripheral so far as secondary schooling was concerned. At the same time, the number of new university students increased rapidly, especially during the 1960's (Table 1). Thus, not only did the socio-economic inequality of the new university students level out, but regional equality in higher education also increased. The second expansion of Finnish higher education was beneficial to the eastern and northern parts of the country. The number of new students coming from these

[2] The socio-economic groups are: I: - managerial and professional employees; - self-employed (large enterprises); II: - administrative and clerical employees; - self-employed (small enterprises); III: - workers (including skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers); IV: - farmers and other agricultural occupations; V: - others (e.g., unemployed, pensioners, students); - socio-economic status unknown.

areas more than doubled during the 1960's (see Nevala, 1991a, p. 79).

The direction of development of the university student body changed during the 1970's and 1980's. As shown in Table 2, the proportion of new university students made up by the highest socio-economic group increased during the 1970's and in the early part of the 1980's. This change cannot only be explained by the growth of the upper socio-economic classes in Finnish society as a whole; for example, the number of new students coming from socio-economic Group I has increased more rapidly than the proportion of this group in the whole population. Another group that grew during the same period was that which included pensioners, unemployed persons, and others outside active working life (Group V in Table 2). This can be explained partly - but not completely - by the changes in the statistical basis; but on the other hand, the proportion of this group in the whole population also increased.

The greatest decrease seems to be in Group IV (farmers and other agricultural occupations) and in Group II (administrative and clerical employees). It is true, however, that the agrarian population decreased rapidly as a consequence of structural changes in Finnish society. The percentage of new entrants coming from the workers' socio-economic group (III) decreased during the 1970's and 1980's. Thus the changes in the mass of Finnish university students were the opposite of those that had taken place during previous decades. The mass of students was now characterized by a shift to a higher socio-economic level.

One reason for this change in the direction of development was the fact that the expansion of student quotas came to a halt, and competition for admission to universities gained momentum. In addition, the number of students who qualified for university entrance by passing the matriculation examination increased during the 1970's and in the early part of the 1980's. On the other hand, student aid reached its maximum real value in the mid-1970's. Since then, the real value has decreased, a situation which has caused problems, specially for students of lower socio-economic status.

The official policy of higher education also changed during the 1980's. Equality was gradually forced to give way to new goals: efficiency, development of accountability, and internationalization. In addition, the government believed that the equality experienced during the 1960's would continue throughout the following decades. Unfortunately, this has not been borne out in reality (Nevala, 1991a, pp. 220-221).

It again must be stressed that changes such as these did not take place in Finland alone. The 1980's was a decade of new higher education policies all over western Europe (see Teichler, 1988; Neave, 1990; Neave and van Vught, 1990; Tuijnman, 1990). In many European countries, the socio-economic status of the new students entering higher education has increased or remained high (see, e.g., Clancy, 1988 and 1990; Jonsson, 1987 and 1988; Murray, 1988). It

seems clear that equality has had to give way to new approaches and goals in higher education. This change can be seen as one aspect of the end of the *Egalitarian Individualism Project*, which has characterized the West during the post-war period. The *Egalitarian Individualism Project* has how turned into a principle of restriction according to which entry into educational careers is again extremely selective (see Sulkunen, 1991).

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

During the post-war period, one important goal of the Finnish policy of higher education was not only socio-economic but also regional equality. Therefore a major principle in the building up of the system of higher education was decentralization. This meant that at the end of the 1970's there was at least one university in every Finnish province except one, Mikkeli.

At the same time, as the higher education network and the modern policy of higher education were being elaborated, Finland was divided into different educational areas. Although, these areas already existed in the 1950's, the differences between them became more visible during the 1970's and 1980's.

Two areas have been chosen for a particularly close look, the Province of Uusimaa, which surrounds the capital city of Helsinki, in southern Finland, and the Provinces of Kuopio, Mikkeli, and North Karelia in eastern Finland.

These two areas differ considerably; in fact, they represent the extremes of Finnish higher education. The Province of Uusimaa can be characterized as the heart of élite higher education. On one hand, the socio-economic status of the new university students coming from this province has always been very high. The percentages of new entrants

Table 3. **Percentages of new university entrants from the highest socio-economic group in Uusimaa Province and eastern Finland (Kuopio, Mikkeli, and North Karelia)**

Year	Province of Uusimaa	Eastern Finland
1945	50	37
1950	48	35
1960	53	28
1975	49	23
1980	53	26
1985	55	29

(*Source*: Nevala, 1991a, Appendices 6-13)

coming from the highest socio-economic group (I) in the Province of Uusimaa and in the provinces of eastern Finland during the post-war period are given in Table 3.

When these numbers are compared with those given in Table 2, strong evidence can be induced to support the argument that the Province of Uusimaa is the most élitist area in Finland. This characteristic can be explained partly by the large proportion of managerial and professional employees in the total population living in this province. It should be noted, however, that throughout the post-war period, the over-representation of the highest socio-economic group among entrants to universities has been greatest in the Province of Uusimaa (Nevala, 1991a, p. 102).

In eastern Finland, the socio-economic status of the new entrants to higher education has always been much lower than in the Province of Uusimaa or in the whole country. This has, for instance, meant that the over-representation of socio-economic Group I in the eastern part of Finland has been about half that in the Province of Uusimaa. On the other hand, in the Provinces of Mikkeli, Kuopio, and North Karelia the socio-economic status of new university students has been much closer to that of the whole population than in other provinces (Nevala, 1991a, p. 125).

To summarize, the heart of the equality attainment process during the 1960's was situated in eastern - and also northern - Finland. The regional expansion in higher education was especially beneficial to these areas. Correspondingly, the changes in Finnish higher education during the 1970's and 1980's discriminated most against young people from the eastern part of the country.

There also seem to be great differences between these two educational areas with regard to the choice of faculty by incoming students. Among the new university students from the Province of Uusimaa, the faculties of technology, economics, and medicine have been by far the most popular. On the other hand, in the Provinces of Mikkeli, Kuopio, and North Karelia, the most popular have been the humanities and the education faculties. In addition, during the 1970's and 1980's, the years of the modern Finnish policy of higher education, the differences have grown.

For instance, in 1985, 23 per cent of the new entrants to higher education in the Province of Uusimaa chose technology; whereas, the number of those who enrolled in the humanities and in education was lower, making up only 20 per cent of the total. Conversely, in eastern Finland, within the Province of North Karelia, almost half the students (40 per cent) enrolled in the humanities and in education and only 13 per cent enrolled in technology. In 1968, the differences were much smaller: 11 per cent of the new students in the Province of Uusimaa went into technology and 36 per cent into the humanities and education. In North Karelia, 38 per cent chose education or humanities, and 12 per cent started in the faculties of technology (Nevala, 1991a, Appendices 6 and 12).

The clear formation of different educational areas in Finland seems to be largely the result of the current Finnish higher education policy, which has been in effect since the 1960's. On the other hand, through this process, the socio-economic differences in recruitment to different faculties have again become more marked.

ELITIST AND *POPULIST* FACULTIES

The socio-economic status of new university students differs in different faculties. This fact is closely linked to the regional background of the students and to the formation of educational areas in Finland. During the 1960's and 1970's, each university developed its own primary area of influence, the heart of which was the province in which the university was located. A large proportion of the new students also came from the surrounding area, which meant that the socio-economic status of the new entrants to different universities and faculties depended partly on the socio-economic background of the whole population in the province. However, there were clear differences between faculties in spite of their locations.

The faculties of economics, law, and technology can be classified as élitist faculties. A large number of new students come to these faculties from southern and southwestern Finland, and therefore the socio-economic status of these faculties was higher than that of other faculties. On the other hand, the faculties of humanities and education can be classified as *populist* faculties, as can be seen in Table 4 (p. 73).

The socio-economic status of the new entrants to the élitist faculties has always been higher than average (see also Table 2). At the start of the 1970's, however, new students came to these faculties more uniformly than ever from different socio-economic groups. During the 1970's and 1980's, the percentages of the highest group clearly grew once again. Still, in the mid-1980's, the same kind of change also took place in the *populist* faculties, even though the percentage of new students from Group I was much smaller than that in the élitist faculties or on average among new students.

On the other hand, the humanities and especially education have become important fields of higher education among young people who come from the group outside *normal* working life (Group V). In summary, therefore, especially during the 1980's, the élitist and *populist* faculties recruited their new students again mainly from different socio-economics classes (see also Isoaho, Kivinen, and Rinne, 1990).

This process of differentiation can be partly explained by changes in Finnish higher education. The modern policy of higher education has clearly transferred the centre of the humanities and education away from universities in Helsinki, the capital city, to eastern and northern Finland. The measures here have been simple. In the name of educational equality, the student intake has been increased at universities situated in peripheral areas and reduced, for instance, at the University of Helsinki. The higher education policy has therefore had a strong effect on the educational

Table 4. **Socio-economic status of the new entrants to élitist and *populist* faculties from 1945 to 1985 (percentages)**[3]

	Law, Economics, Technology					Humanities and Education				
	I	II	III	IV	V	I	II	III	IV	V
1945	44	32	15	9	0	42	32	16	9	1
1950	40	29	18	11	2	40	25	20	14	1
1960	40	27	18	12	3	34	27	19	18	2
1971	31	28	21	17	3	24	28	23	20	5
1980	43	17	18	9	13	31	18	21	12	18
1985	46	20	14	6	14	33	19	19	9	20

(*Source*: Nevala, 1991a, Appendices 39-48)

choices of young people in eastern and northern Finland.

Conversely, the centre of technology, economics, and law has by no means so clearly moved away from southern Finland. Naturally, student enrollments within these fields have also increased in the peripheral areas; but relatively speaking, the increase has been small; for instance, in the eastern part of Finland there is no faculty of economics in any university. The number of new admissions in technology, law, and economics outside Helsinki has been so small that this change has not been able to break the strong link between economics and technology and an upper class socio-economic background. This link has always been strong; and to break it, the number of admissions would need to be increased many times over. For reasons related to labour market and education policies, doing so would be extremely difficult.

THE END OF EQUALITY?

Since the Second World War, higher education in Finland has experienced perhaps its most intense period of change: the higher education network has expanded, the number of students has increased rapidly, and as of the mid-1960's, higher education policy has been an integral part of the social policy of the country. During nearly all of the post-war period, the concept of equality has been one of the main ideas used to

[3] The socio-economic groups are identical to those in Table 2.

develop not only Finnish higher education but all of society. At the end of the 1980's and in the beginning of the 1990's, however, the situation seems to have changed.

Obviously after the *good years* of the 1960's, Finnish higher education became more unequal during the 1970's and 1980's, as has already been pointed out. Higher education has become more discriminatory and socially selective than before. In addition, equality has been forced to give way to the new goals of educational policy. In other words, equality has fallen out of fashion. Without exaggeration, the late 1980's can be viewed as the period marking the end of the building up of the National Welfare State on the basis of *egalitarian individualism* (see Nevala, 1991b).

In the near future, the idea of equality will remain in the background of Finnish higher education policy because, partly, of cuts in government financing of higher education. The *golden years* are now over, as they are in many other western countries. In addition, the reform of the student aid system in Finland in 1992 has made student loans more expensive. Thus university studies will depend increasingly on parental financing.

On the other hand, as a result of budgetary cuts, statements have been made to the effect that in the future the development of Finnish higher education will include the privatization of some, if not all, of the universities, only a little more than a decade after the last Finnish university was nationalized (see, e.g., Viren, 1991; Kivinen and Rinne, 1992a and 1992b). And this is not the end. A discussion in Finnish higher education circles has also begun about whether or not certain institutions, even universities, should be closed.

More and more criticism has been directed at the higher education network, which includes 17 universities. Because some of these universities are relatively small, the question has been raised as to whether or not Finland, a country with only 5 million inhabitants, really needs so many universities and whether it has sufficient financial resources to keep them all alive.

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PSYCHOSOCIAL SUPPORT FOR PROBLEM UNDERGRADUATES: THE GREEK CASE

Anastasia RIGAS

● Eminent researchers from different countries affirm, citing statistical data, that the incidence of serious family problems and familial bereavement create antisocial adolescents. Greek researchers in particular have concluded that the antisociability and criminality of adolescents are directly related to the premature disturbances of the individual within his family. This article proposes a special educational programme for non-violating adolescents having family-related social and psychological problems. The programme will be housed in an Advisory Juvenile Centre in the vicinity of the University of Athens. It will offer students the possibility of "points of contact" and of personal (socio-psychological) support in order to help them overcome difficulties presented by their surroundings (society, families, or schools) and hence their social behaviour.

INTRODUCTION

Adolescence may be considered a life phase which leads young persons from a situation of dependence and parental protection to autonomy and adulthood. Naturally such a change can rarely occur without psychological conflicts and contrasting views either between the adolescent and his family or between him and his general social surroundings. Thus, those psychologists who point out that "adolescence without conflicts is pathological" are correct if one considers the variety of social, familial, and psychological situations which affect the formulation of such a composite concept. Researchers have concluded that a true model of the contemporary western family does not in fact exist because of the many variables which contribute to the differentiation of the characteristics which constitute the core family. These include the socio-economic level of the parents, their age, the number of children, the professional activities of the wage earner, the use made of free time, religious beliefs, the somatic and spiritual health of the members of the family, the neighbourhood, the dwelling, the school surroundings, etc.

Because of this diversity, it is difficult to characterize the problems with which adolescents were confronted during the 1980-1990 decade because these have been a result of intra-familial conflicts and other sorts of problems (conflicts between husband and wife, unwed motherhood, death in the family, divorce, emigration of one or both parents, serious financial problems, nervous or somatic diseases) instances of which were particularly frequent during this decade (Rigas, 1989, p. 232).

What are in fact new family structures which have taken shape in

recent years are still being studied by researchers. The results of their work should lead to clear conclusions as to whether or not these new variants in the domain of socio-familial living may lead to a decrease in intra-familial conflicts and a *normal* adolescence.

Psychosocial studies have also proven that social maladjustment is more common in some families than in others, particularly in those families having strongly negative social heritages[1], i.e. those with high incidences of criminality, alcoholism, and disorders of a nervous or a somatic type (Bohman and Sigvardsson, 1980, p. 25).

Based on previous theories and the studies of distinguished researchers (Bohman and Sigvardsson, 1980; Dolto, 1988; and Rousse, 1991), this article addresses the question of the behaviour problems of undergraduate Greek students who abandoned their studies during the first year.

To identify and to empirically test the assumed causes of targeted behavioural problems of young students (18 to 19 years old, of both sexes), having similar low socio-economic backgrounds, is an important step in developing and evaluating treatment programmes for psychological support and "therapeutic" prevention, especially with regard to programmes designed to assist undergraduate students displaying negative social behaviour in relation to failure in their studies.

Figure 1. **The Family Situations of the Subjects**

1st group	2nd group	3rd group	4th group
One adolescent girl, 19 years old (first year student at the University of Economics of Athens), illegitimate child, who lives with mother.	Ten adolescents of both sexes (18-19 years old) of legitimate birth whose parents are divorced; (first and second year students at the University of Athens); they live with one of the two parents (six with the mother - two boys, four girls - and four boys with the father.	Two adolescents both sexes (18-19 years old), (Polytechnic School of Higher Education and - Private School of Trans-lators and Secre-taries), born out of wedlock; their mother abandoned them at the Foster Families Care Services when they were very young. The mother only rarely sees her children.	Two adolescents, girls (18 years old), (first year students at the University of Crete, Department of Pedagogy and Psychology), of legitimate birth. One parent (father) died when the girls were very young (five and eight).

The adolescents who are the subjects of the parent study are from single parent families. They are classified, in Figure 1 (p. 77), according to their family situations.

After the subjects had agreed to take part in this study, their first encounters with the psychologist varied from indifferent or ironic to oral aggressivity on the part of some of them. As the sessions progressed, the subjects progressively displayed increasing trust and improved behaviour.

The first interview (the so-called approach) with the adolescents was followed by: a) a questionnaire on their social characteristics and b) non-directed *open interviews*[2] (Rogers, 1945).

In the first interview with the subjects, the objectives of the study were explained, stressing what it could offer and what it might have been able to offer to adolescents with similar problems. We attempted to make it clear that the entire discussion would be confidential, that discretion is one of the characteristics of researchers.

Objectives

This article presents selected characteristics perceived following the semi-directed interviews with the subjects which are classified in four groups as distributed among the four groups of adolescents who are the subjects of the study. The four groups of characteristics, which are presented in Figure 2, (p. 79), are discussed below. A proposal is made for a psychosocial and educational support centre for young people such as these.

For the meantime, the fifteen adolescents studied, all of whom displayed types of behaviour considered problematic by conventional authority figures, were referred to a psychosocial support programme for *troubled* adolescents which would also include a family counselling intervention component (Roberts, 1989; Rousse, 1991, p. 163; Rossi, 1985).

RESULTS

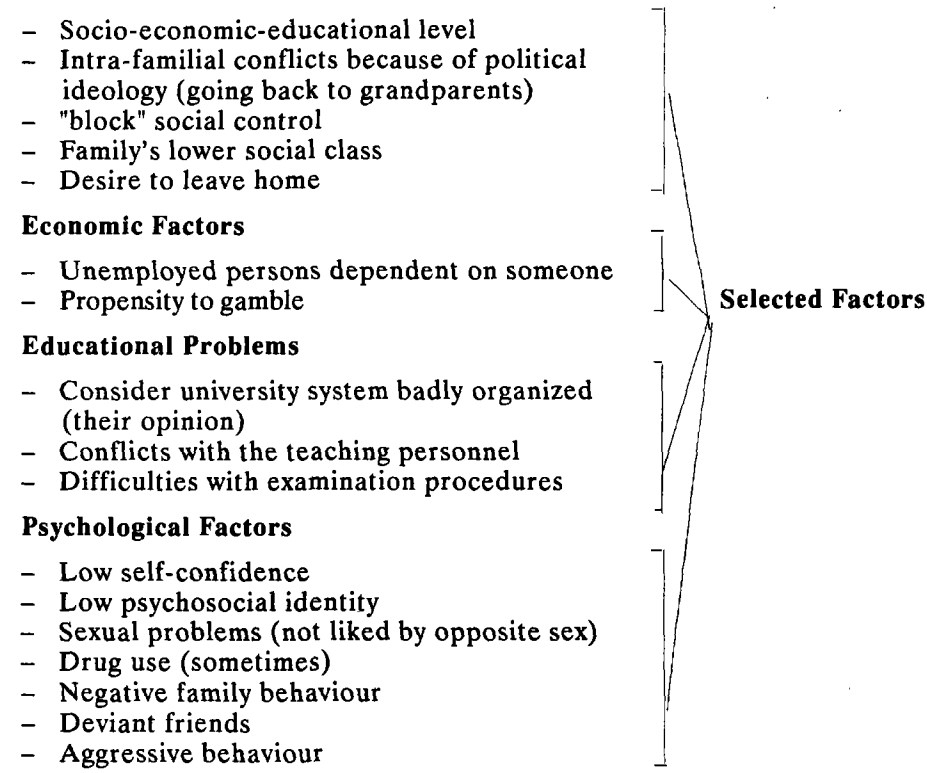
Sociological Field

Statistical analyses have proved that adolescents who come from low socio-economic backgrounds and have disturbed intra-familial relations are more likely to fail academically and to abandon their studies and to engage in transgressive behaviour than adolescents of more favoured social classes who are confronted with familial conflicts (Rousselet, 1980).

Geographic, social, and cultural conditions are also factors which may induce academic failure. These include poverty which creates undesirable life-economic conditions, value conflicts between the family of the adolescent and the school, and the use by the family of a substandard vocabulary; the social class level predominating in the area in which the school is located; immitation of the behaviour of older friends; and a propensity to gamble (play games of chance).

Thus, the curve of the results achieved in school reflected a "gradient" that was strongly determined by the social setting of the adolescent being studied. Also, the

Figure 2. **Selected Factors Influencing the Negative Psychosocial Behaviour of the Fifteen Adolescents of the Study and Their Failure in Their Undergraduate Studies (suggested by internal social control theory)**



attitude of the parents towards higher education, their feelings as to whether their child should remain in school rather than go to work, is also a factor (Rigas, 1989).

Educational Field

The function of the educational mechanism, the number and the specialization of the teaching personnel, the organization of the programmes of study, the facilities and the school material, the procedure of examinations, the relations between the teachers and the students and those between the family and the school appear to affect the psycho-synthesis of the adolescent-student, as delaying factors (academic failure, abandonment of studies) (Navridis, 1986).

Most of the adolescents who were questioned answered that "a large percentage of their friends who completed secondary schooling or even an undergraduate degree complained that education... did not yield... knowledge or contribute to their finding employment".

Economic Field

Ten of the fifteen adolescents reported that they receive a minimum amount of financial support from their families, while the rest reported a "sick familial situation and an economic debasement without any economic-psychological familial support whatsoever". These adolescents must face social and professional life alone. They admitted that they spent much of their time gambling, this in search of a lucky economic opportunity, "legal" or "illegal".

They would like to have their own rooms, to get away from and to be free of their "sick" family settings, and to have the lives of "normal" adolescents, that is, to live with their sexual mates. But they are forced to lead the lives of their families which they consider "unbearable", and they vegetate, most of the adolescent boys waiting to do their military service.

Psychological Field

This fourth field could just as well have been put first. It is simultaneously the reason and the outcome (the cause and the effect) depending on the characteristics of the given family and its shared values (Dolto, 1988; McDevitt *et al.,* 1991).

The adolescents studied exhibited problems which related to their social identity. (Who are they? Where are they headed? What will happen to them in the future?) They consider themselves to be failures, and they feel an emotional "void". They appear to be vegetating. They are worn out; they have lost their moral stature (and feel insecure, have no familial stability, and are indifferent to learning).

Within these self-perceptions, however, lie the *points of contact*, the places where help can be proffered as distinct from law infringement, psychiatry, and institutionalization.

Frequently, academic failure creates serious psychological problems for the adolescents concerned, problems which are linked to their intra-familial relations (Dolto, 1988; Rigas, 1989). The emotional security which an adolescent can perceive from his family is undoubtedly one of the best protections against the different risks associated with this period in life (Rigas, 1988).

With regard to the fifteen adolescents studied, all of them, regardless of categorization (children of unwed mothers and children of divorced parents), had psycho-pedagogical characteristics in common. Variance was due more to social group (class) and the degree to which intra-familial relations had deteriorated than to categorization into children of unwed mothers or of divorced families. The greater degree of psycho-pedagogical pathology, the greater the rate of academic failure (Markantonis and Rigas, 1991).

CONCLUSIONS

In the cases under study, situations of conflict appear to play some role in the dynamics of the relations between parents (natural or replacement) and adolescents. Of particular importance are relations of conflict, of emancipation, and of the loosing of bonds with the family: "a process of liberation from the parents".

The latter usually occurs when the intellectual capabilities of the adolescent permit him to doubt such positions as "family ideology". Such doubting, however, leads the adolescent to a collision, manifest or internal, with his parents, and to the desire to create his own household.

These conflicts disrupt family severity resulting in poor performance on the part of the adolescent and creating situations which teachers must confront.

How can contact with the adolescent be preserved without leading to a clash?

The answer to this question is simply to keep the routes of communication open, a task which, of course, involves an honest confrontation of the adolescent by his parents, not a desire to impose their views through unidirectional dialogue.

From the moment certain parents find themselves with adolescent children they find themselves in crisis situations, sometimes sharply reliving some of their own adolescent conflicts. Also, in the eyes of certain parents, the sexual awareness of adolescents underlines their own aging, while the effort of the young man or woman to break free from the family homestead and to attempt to live alone or with his or her sexual mate, a common way of life for the European adolescent which is only cautiously making its appearance in Greece, is frequently the cause of conflicts between parents or their surrogates and children (Rigas, 1989).

It appears that the weight of given conflicts does not permit us to prejudge their outcomes nor to formulate a prognosis regarding the resulting social behaviour of the young people concerned, particularly those in the study groups.

The need to reconsider the relations between generations is clearly characteristic of this period, i.e. of adolescence.

After studying the relations between scholastic failure and the sentimental lives of adolescents, P. Mannoni (1979) pointed out that a type of "dramatization" of scholastic failure exists, an "ethical interpretation", as he termed it, when in fact it should not have been interpreted as anything more than a pedagogical demonstration on the part of the instructor. The danger is that academic failure in adolescents can, in some cases, lead to a more general failure, affecting other sectors of their psychic development and social activities. In his recommendations as to what attitude must be adopted towards such adolescents, Mannoni, suggests the possibility of multilateral therapy which brings together parents, educators, and the medicino-psychopedagogic group and, if necessary, the intervention, outside the school

and family settings of "third fathers", who will offer the young persons concerned fellowship which is more linked to their problems than to their poor grades". H. L. Cohen and J. Filipcrak (1971) and P. Cohen (1986) insist on the necessity of an individualized confrontation in or outside the school setting as well as the possible utilization and the effectiveness of certain motivations based on rewards.

Various studies have pointed out that a serious crisis situation exists in Greek secondary and higher education. Both the students and the professors are discouraged even though the problem as described only touches a small percentage of Greek adolescents. The results of discouragement, depression, and suicide attempts have been described within this framework by more than one author (Gilly, 1991).

The whole body of criticism directed at Greek secondary and higher education concerns students as much as their parents, the teaching staff, and the psychotherapists. A recent book by J. Rousselet (1980) approaches this topic, underlining its complexity and pointing out that the discouragement of young people very much resembles that of many of their elders.

No doubt, however, much of this disintegration is related to the socio-economic difficulties being experienced by the industrialized countries. Even those adolescents who have been the most successful in completing their studies may find themselves unemployed (Navridis, 1986; Rigas, 1988, 1989).

THE MEANS: A PSYCHOSOCIAL EDUCATIONAL ADVISORY CENTRE

The solution to the problem presented above presupposes the establishment of an Advisory Centre for young men and women which will advise them with regard to their professional education, their behaviour, and keep track of them at their homes and places of employment, giving them psychological support when needed. A place of "contact" of this sort should be welcoming and should offer orientation, seclusion, and instruction. It should not be a place of limitation, like a prison or a detention institution but a type of Youth Centre (including provision of room and board for unlimited periods). Above all, it should be a place which will have as its primary aim the psychological and moral support of young people. The result would be a type of awakening for the young people concerned (Rigas, 1988).

Various services must collaborate with one another in order to set up this centre. The municipal authorities can offer certain housing facilities as their contributions to the provision of room and board. The sponsoring organizations will devise appropriate free time activities. A system of pedagogic support will be set up to deal with the psycho-pedagogic problems of the young people concerned. With regard to their occupational difficulties, the organizers of the centre will sensitize potential employers to the possibilities offered.

The desired results can be expressed schematically as follows:

Pedagogical Effects:

- The offering of support, social instruction, and tuition free evening courses geared towards helping the subjects acquire creative initiative.

The Effect on Behaviour:

- The subjects will acquire an acceptable means and manner of expression (occupations, crafts, benefit-deriving hobbies-collections *et al.*, general interests).

Psychological Support, Prevention:

- The subjects will participate actively in discussions and seminars under the supervision of a specialist.
- Subjects will receive economic reinforcement in the form of payment which at first will be symbolic and will then become substantial for productive work of their liking.

In order for a young person to *offer* him- or herself, someone must *believe* in him or her, that is, *bet* on him or her, to be willing to support him or her ethically, economically, or psychologically in order to stimulate his or her *amour propre*, his or her sense of honour. If such a bet is not made, then the subject will be unable to offer anything in return to overcome the constant failures in his or her life.

A great possibility exists that this first approach will fail. If so, a second attempt will be made, for only in this way will the young man or woman be co-operative. It may be necessary to approach such persons using their stereotypes (manner of expression, fixed opinions about the status quo, etc.). As long as they "accept" the organizers, they can be won over.

The Intervention: Psychological Support

How Subjects Will Escape from Problem Situations

It may be necessary to withdraw subjects from their families if the latter display pathological traits. However, it would be necessary to place such adolescents elsewhere, possibly in rooms which they could share with roommates or in apartment complexes. These could be provided by the municipal authorities.

The subjects will have to earn money, given the costs of room and board and the imperatives of surviving outside the family. At the same time, the subjects would need to be convinced of the importance of good oral, written, and bodily expression

and to perceive available opportunities which are offered free of charge or through symbolic or substantial payment, depending on the situation.

The subjects will be stimulated to participate in discussions and to take interest in professional education and employment.

All of the above falls under the rubric of sensitization to possible solutions to problems. The director of such a programme would always have to reflect and be in harmony with the training he has received; he would have to remain in constant contact with other youth hostels and homes in the community; and he would have to offer continuous care to all his charges so that their "attachment to reality" would be preserved. Thus the latter will be better able to confront their professional, economic, and sentimental lives (extra-institutionally).

The following are suggestions for the immediate future:

- direct co-operation with the special Youth Universities Centres, so that the young students may find some kind of support with regard to their discussions with experts;
- expansion of studies within the framework of the programme;
- settlement of manner of payment depending on the situation of each adolescent; undertaking of statistical studies within the framework of community programmes, especially for young people who drop out of school following certain types of academic failure which may be the result of their direct familial and social surroundings.

EPILOGUE

Many studies by well-known researchers from different countries have affirmed, with reference to statistical data, that the regularity of serious family problems and familial bereavement create antisocial tendencies in adolescents. A good number of these researchers have concluded (for instance, Erikson, 1968; Dragonas, 1988) that the antisociability and criminality of adolescents are directly related to their premature conflicts with their families (Hillary, 1991; Kokkevi, 1991), while N. Matsaniotis (1987) has further added that "The behaviour of [Greek] young people reflects the microcosm of their famil[ies] and [the Greek] social temperament. The deviant, the offender, is aware and with his will systematically refuses to carry out his responsibilities. When, however, the young person lives and grows up within a family and a society with indefinite, loose, or non-existent principles; when his duties and his responsibilities are not dictated by his unconscious superego which coincides with the sediment of the ethical values of his id, then how can we characterize him as licentious?"

NOTES

1. The term *negative social heritage* has been coined to designate the phenomenon of familial social maladjustment. Bohman and Sigvardsson

(1980) indicate that it is possible "to trace social maladjustment of adolescents back" to the their grandparents. Jonsson (1967), in one of his studies of maladjusted boys suggests, in terms of social psychology, that progressive maladjustment in families such as these could determine a process of *social rejection* over a period of several generations and the possibility of genetic and constitutional factors.

2. Rogers (1945) insists on the idea of non-directed interviews. According to him, the person being examined is not an object of examination or management, but a subject. If this subject is permitted to express himself freely, it will become possible for his *alter ego* to help him, it understanding and considering him to be *its* equal and thus that he can become capable of solving his problems on his own.

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INFORMATION*

BELARUS:

New Developments in Higher Education and Research

Higher education in Belarus is directed at the training of highly qualified specialists for all the fields of the economy, of science, and of culture, introducing them to the latest trends. Training is provided in higher education establishments (universities, academies, institutes) which constitute a structural element of continuing education. Higher education establishments have the following functions:

- to train specialists in accordance with recognized qualification standards;
- to organize and conduct fundamental and applied research in order to solve economic problems in close co-ordination with teaching;
- to train scientific and pedagogical personnel imparting in them the highest levels of qualification;
- to organize upgrading courses for the teaching staffs of educational establishments;
- to provide for the retraining and upgrading of specialists engaged in other spheres of the economy;
- to assist in raising the general educational and cultural levels of the population.

The main structural elements of a higher education institution are affiliated divisions, faculties, departments, and laboratories. In addition, there may be scientific and research institutes, design bureaux, and production facilities (factories).

Admission to higher education establishments is based on competition. In some cases, admission can be granted by means of special arrangements with enterprises and organizations. Higher education institutions offer full-time, part-time, and extramural courses. There is also an external option for those wishing to be retrained. In this case, tuition is covered by the enterprise or organization which has seconded its specialist to learn a new profession.

A broad network of higher education establishments exists in the Republic of Belarus. At present, 33 state operated higher education institutions have 184,565 enrollees. In 1992, these institutions awarded diplomas to 30,164 highly-qualified specialists.

The distribution of higher education enrollments according to major sectors of the economy is as follows:

*Many of the items presented in this section, taken from the indicated sources, have been slightly edited and shortened by the editors.

Industry and construction	30.0 percent
Transport	2.8 percent
Agriculture	11.0 percent
Finance and banking	10.5 percent
Health, physical training, and sports	7. 5 percent
Education	37.5 percent
Arts and cinematography	0.7 percent

The development of higher education in Belarus is characterized by increased democratization and autonomy. Student self-government is gaining momentum. A quarter of the membership of the Council of Higher Education Establishments (the supreme governing body) is made up of students.

Full-time students are entitled to state maintenance grants provided they make satisfactory progress in their studies. Students can supplement their grants by participating in applied research projects undertaken in the departments and laboratories of their higher education institutions. The most gifted students are awarded special fellowships.

Higher education establishments are inextricably linked to the needs of the economic infrastructure of the Republic. At present, higher education establishments are offering new specialities in robotics, electronic instruments engineering, and chemical technologies. They are promoting integration with research and production spheres. Branches of the departments and the laboratories of higher education establishments are being set up in production associations and academic institutes. At present, there are 127 such branches as well as 53 education-research-production complexes and 21 research-and-production laboratories.

As an integral part of the continuing education system, higher education is actively integrating various educational levels, thus expanding the educational field and preparing the ablest and most talented persons to enroll in higher education. Special efforts are being made to integrate general secondary and higher education, particularly with regard to the fourteen lycei in existence in 1992.

A lyceum is a professionally-oriented educational establishment providing general secondary education for senior students at an advanced level along with professional training at tertiary level in various orientations and specialities. The principal goal of such an establishment is to prepare the most talented young people to continue their education in higher education institutions. As a rule, a lyceum is attached to a higher education institution or is linked to one or more research institutions, cultural centres, or secondary schools pos-

sessing appropriate personnel and educational and material facilities.

The first lyceum in Belarus was created at Belorussian State University. It is an independent educational institution combining general secondary education with in-depth training in specialized subjects. It has two orientations: physics and mathematics, and philology. Admission to a lyceum is based on a competitive examination. Its final examinations are combined university entrance examinations.

Special attention is devoted to teacher training. The system of teacher training includes 6 pedagogical institutes, 18 secondary schools specialized in pedagogy, and 4 secondary specialized schools for industrial training. In addition, courses in pedagogy are offered by the pedagogical divisions of universities. The system comprises 8 institutes of advanced studies for teachers.

At present, teacher training is developing along the lines of creating teacher training and educational research amalgamations. Such amalgamations comprise pedagogical lycei and institutes, secondary specialized pedagogical institutions, institutes of advanced studies for teachers, and educational research organizations. Thus the continuity of pedagogical education, movement from one stage to the next, and the scientific and methodical provision of training for teaching staff are assured.

University education in Belarus is undergoing development. Four universities have a total enrollment of more than 35,000 students. The universities offer a firm grounding in social and natural sciences. They are major centres of national culture and training for the national intelligentsia and for academe.

The centre of university education in the Republic is the Belorussian State University (located in Minsk). Its 12 faculties cater to over 15,000 students and have a teaching staff of 1,500. The University has three research institutions, a special design bureau with production facilities, biological stations, sports and health-building facilities, and a complex of modern residence halls. A secondary school (lyceum) offering accelerated studies in physics and mathematics as well as in philology has been set up under the auspices of the University.

Graduates of higher education institutions are awarded unified diplomas and are offered employment. The newly trained specialists are entitled to a range of state benefits.

The Belorussian Polytechnic Academy has been created under the auspices of the Belorussian Polytechnic Institute. It will train engineering personnel according to what are perceived as the most important future orientations of the economic development of the Republic. The former Belorussian Institute of National Economy has been transformed into the Belorussian State University of Economics.

The higher education institutions of Belarus form a highly developed research complex. In 1991, the higher education institutions of the Ministry of Education alone carried out 1,159 research and study projects, published

436 monographs and textbooks, and developed 900 inventions. Some 326 doctoral and candidate of science theses were defended in the various higher education institutions. Research-and-production co-operatives are now being set up. Some 107 of these have been linked to higher education institutions.

All in all in 1991, the Ministry of Education of Belarus operated 4 research institutes, 13 research sectors, 3 design bureaux, 3 computing centres, and 53 specialized and problem-solving laboratories which collectively employed more than 7,500 scientific workers.

International co-operation in higher education, which has been developing steadily, now embraces 90 higher education institutions in various foreign countries. Eighteen Belorussian state higher education institutions are involved in 117 consortia and direct contract arrangements.

These higher education institutions have undertaken a good deal of research on direct contract with production enterprises. The value of such work accomplished in 1991 was 32 million rubles.

Higher education institutions actively co-operate with the institutes of the Academy of Sciences of Belarus. Some 26 complex joint programmes are currently underway, the proportion of the research being carried out specifically by the higher education institutions reaching 80 percent.

The higher education institutions offer a wide range of advanced degree courses including postgraduate, doctoral, and aspirant options. Some 1,500 postgraduate students and 1,200 aspirant option students were working for their candidate-of-science degrees in higher education institutions linked to the Ministry of Education. Some 41 persons were preparing senior doctorates (doctorates of science).

Students are also involved in research. Over 45,000 full-time undergraduate students were participating in research projects in 1991. They can participate in a number of ways:

- *traditional ways*: research and subject groups, study and research projects, and student scientific conferences and exhibitions;
- *non-traditional ways*: participation of students in the work of research laboratories, youth technical design centres, research and production teams, applied research and development projects of academic departments, activities of all-institute and faculty student bureaux, and course and diploma projects.

Thus, the higher education institutions fulfil all the necessary conditions for the continuous grounding of students in research. Beginning with the first year of undergraduate studies, each student works on one problem under the guidance of an instructor. This continuous effort leads to the completion of a diploma paper in the student's final year of studies. This paper reflects the research potential accumulated by the student in the course of his studies. Students

in the polytechnic institutions can only be awarded their diplomas after they have successfully defended their diploma papers (projects). In the case of humanities students, success on a final examination based on the project is required.

Upgrading and Retraining

Over the last few years, a system of postdiploma education has emerged in Belarus designed to provide for the upgrading of professional skills of specialists in all spheres of the economy. The training offered, which proceeds from science and practice, is based on a comprehensive network of upgrading and retraining courses built on branch and interbranch principles. It embraces a large number of teaching institutions: 15 institutes and their divisions and 15 faculties. Also, over 80 courses have been organized by ministries, boards, enterprises, etc., which offer both full-time and part-time courses. The duration of the latter courses is from one to six months. The courses offered by the retraining facilities of institutes and faculties may run for over a year. Those taking upgrading and retraining courses retain their median salaries. Admission to these courses is by arrangement with the enterprises and organizations concerned. Seven upgrading institutions which had been under the control of the ministries and administrative apparatus of the former USSR were transferred to the authority of the government of Belarus. Recently, a network of co-operatives, small enterprises, and other commercial organizations, was set up to offer personnel training (around 100 of such organizations existed in 1992).

Each year, more than 100,000 managers and specialists are trained in Belarus. As of 1991, the various educational establishments have been offering courses on the functioning of market economies. About 10,00 specialists have completed such courses.

Those enrolled in upgrading courses study the latest achievements in their professional fields and replenish their theoretical and practical knowledge. They master effective methods of management, new technologies, advanced methods of labour organization and administration, and they have the opportunity to exchange experiences among themselves. The teaching staffs for such courses are composed of leading researchers, scholars, teachers, and senior managers from higher and specialized education institutions. On completing their course programmes, trainees defend their end-of-course papers which are, as a rule, geared towards improving the production processes in which they are intimately involved.

Ministries, boards, enterprises, and organizations draw up long-term plans for the upgrading of their staff, taking due account of job categories and proceeding from the norm of a period of study leave every five years.

Further training in Belarus takes the following forms:

- studying through individual programmes;

- attending continuously operating seminars on economics and production problems for not less than a month at a time;
- short periods (of 3 weeks' duration to a year) of on-the-job training or of training in upgrading or retraining establishments;
- long periods of training (once every five years) in upgrading and retraining establishments;
- study visits to highly specialized enterprises as well as to leading research and educational establishments;
- retraining in academies, upgrading institutes, and special faculties and departments of higher and specialized education establishments.

The general supervision of the upgrading and retraining system is the responsibility of the Belorussian Ministry of Education. The Ministry determines the principal guidelines of the system's development, co-ordinates the activities of educational establishments, and supervises the content and quality of training. During 1987-1991, the Ministry of Education organized 14 upgrading and retraining establishments for specialists in such domains as state-of-the art equipment and technology, foreign trade, etc.

The leading centre for upgrading in Belarus is the Interdisciplinary Institute for the Upgrading of Senior Managers and Specialists for the National Economy, which annually enrolls over 8,000 managers and specialists.

The upgrading of medical personnel in Belarus is undertaken by the Republican Institute of Advanced Medical Studies, which is a modern teaching, research, and medical organization working in close co-operation with medical schools, hospitals, and research organizations. Paramedics are retrained in vocational medical schools.

Considerable attention is devoted to the upgrading of school teachers. Secondary school teachers regularly take upgrading courses at the State or the Minsk institutes or at one of the six regional institutes for the upgrading of teachers. In July 1992, the State Institute for Advanced Studies for Teachers was transformed into the Institute for the Upgrading and Retraining of Managers and Specialists in Education. It became the principal educational establishment of its type for teaching personnel in Belarus. There are also a National Institute for Teachers of the Social Sciences and two faculties which cater to the needs of teachers of general and specialized subjects. Annually about 20% of the faculty members of higher education institutions take some form of upgrading courses. Around a half of the persons concerned take courses at upgrading institutes and faculties, including leading higher education institutions and research institutes outside Belarus.

To meet the specific needs of industry, the curricula and syllabi of such courses are developed in co-operation with relevant ministries, enterprises, and organizations.

Rapid scientific and technological progress is creating demands for the timely retraining of specialists in order for them to staff newly emergent industries. The required retraining is offered at special faculties in which students, with practical experience in chosen fields, are also graduates of higher education institutions.

Special faculties have been set up in the largest higher education institutions of Belarus to offer retraining courses in ecology and effective use of natural resources, in applied mathematics, in powder metallurgy, in robotics, and in microprocessor systems, as well as in other orientations.

The training process in the special faculties is organized in co-operation with the departments and scientific institutions of the leading higher education institutions. These faculties also make use of the technical facilities of industrial enterprises and organizations, research-and-production associations, and the Belarus Academy of Sciences.

Upgrading courses for mid-level personnel are offered by the special divisions of specialized schools. In particular, these courses cover such subjects as industrial robots, computers, automated instruments and devices, and the production of microelectronic equipment.

To respond to industrial demand, higher education establishments have come up with courses covering the state-of-the-art in science and in research.

Managers and specialists are retrained in the retraining facilities linked to the ministries responsible for the sectors of the economy in which they are employed (the branch principle). A professional training and retraining programme for the redeployment of released and unemployed workers has gotten underway. Some 51,000 of such workers were to be retrained in 1992: 7,000 people in Brest province; 7,000 people in Vitebsk province; 5,500 people in Gomel province; 7,000 people in Grodno province; 7,000 people in Minsk province; 6,500 people in Mogilev province; and 11,000 in the city of Minsk.

The Ministry of Education has selected 213 education establishments which will be responsible for the training and retraining of workers and specialists. A network of divisions and departments has been created to retrain released and unemployed workers for second and related specialities.

Work is being undertaken to extend the list of specialities and professions accessible through retraining.

The education and research provision of the retraining process is undertaken with due regard to modern requirements. Personnel

retraining options for managerial personnel now include more than 30 possible orientations. These include such areas as the fundamentals of economics, the theory and practice of market relations, management and marketing, effective methods of management in new conditions, electronics and information science, computers, business accounting, entrepreneurship, and practical psychology.

Today, the purpose of postgraduate education is to ensure the adaptation of personnel to forthcoming changes in their professional activity. Thus, the following categories of personnel would seem to be most in need of such training and education:

- state administrators and executive specialists of all levels;
- entrepreneurs in all spheres, irrespective of the form of property;
- high- and middle-ranking managers of enterprises and organizations;
- teachers;
- educational organizers and political figures of all levels.

The postgraduate education possibilities for other social and occupational categories should be aimed at helping the latter to make the transition to a market economy. They should also be contributing to the preparation of new types of personnel for new conditions.

(*Source*: E. G. Bondarenko, I. L. Velichanski, A. V. Kozulin, and S. A. Povalyaev, **Development of Education: 1990-1992: National Report of the Republic of Belarus** (Minsk: Ministry of Education of the Republic of Belarus, The Belarus Research Institute for Education, National Commission for UNESCO, pp. 12-17, International Conference on Education, 43rd Session, Geneva, 1992).

BULGARIA:

Recent Changes in the Structure of Higher Education

The State Education System

The state education structure, as regulated by legislative action, comprises the following educational levels:

- junior education (4 years);
- pre-secondary education (4 years following junior education);
- secondary education (3-5 years following pre-secondary education);
- semi-higher education (3 years following secondary education);
- higher education (4-5 years following secondary education; 2-3 years following semi-higher education).

The following types of educational institutions correspond with the

levels of education as presented above:

- junior schools;
- pre-secondary schools;
- primary schools (junior and pre-secondary);
- secondary schools (grammar schools) - comprehensive, specialized, professional;
- semi-higher institutes;
- higher education institutions - universities, academies, higher institutes.

Private Education

A system of independent education as an alternative to the public education system has been restored. State control is exercised at the input (permission to open schools) and at the output (permission to grant certificates for completed education programmes). Possibilities have been created for the opening of foreign education institutions: - colleges, lycei and universities. The system having been in existence for less than a year, it is not yet possible to provide further information about it.

Types of Higher Education

Semi-higher (incomplete higher) education: This level consists of 3-year course programmes following successfully completed secondary education (certificate required) and grants the qualification of junior specialist in different fields linked to production and employment in the civil service. Programmes end with a state final certification examination, students passing being granted the right to enroll in complete higher education in the same subject, completing the work for a first degree in a shorter period (2-3 years) than in the case of students who enrolled directly from secondary school.

Higher education: This level consists of course programmes of 4-5 years' duration and grants the highest qualifications in all fields. Students having a secondary education certificate or having completed a semi-higher education programme (in the respective subject) are admitted to higher education on a competitive basis. A higher education course programme ends with a state final certification examination. Certified students may continue their education in postgraduate programmes for a first postgraduate degree or work in their areas of expertise.

The types of university degrees to be awarded and the forms of postgraduate education to be offered have not yet been established in law. Projects are being discussed for the adoption of the degrees of Bachelor, Master, Doctor (Ph.D.), and Doctor of Science (D.Sc.), as well as for their requirements and the procedures for awarding them.

The State Education System of the Republic of Bulgaria

Territory: 111,000 km^2

Population: 8,948,649

Level of Education	Educational Institutions	Pupils/ Students	Teachers
Primary Education	**6,390**	**947,676**	**64,498**
including			
Elementary	3,333	333,572	23,424
Pre-secondary	2,877	592,847	37,988
Vocational-craftsman	5	2,785	83
Special	175	18,472	3,108
Secondary Education	**1,123**	**383,953**	**28,769**
including			
General	509	71,039	5,429
Specialized	116	78,486	5,256
Professional	498	233,528	18,084
Semi-higher Education	43	29,672	3,014
Higher Education	30	151,597	20,940

(*Note*: Data collected by 15 November 1991)

(*Source*: Ministry of Education and Science, **The Development of Education, 1990-1992**, National Report of the Republic of Bulgaria, Sofia, July 1992, pp. 1, 2, 4, 5, and Appendix A, International Conference on Education, 43rd Session, Geneva, 1992).

KAZAKHSTAN:

Development of Higher Education in the Republic of Kazakhstan

At present there are 62 higher education institutions in Kazakhstan having a total student enrollment of 286,000 students, 171,000 full-time, and 115,000 part-time students, including those involved in extramural forms of studying.

The higher education institutions employ a total of 22,000 teaching staff members, among whom 570 are doctors of science and professors. The candidate of science degree is held by 89% of the teaching staff members.

The specialists to be employed in the national economy are trained in 1 academy, 7 universities, 13 technical institutes, 21 training institutes, 9 agricultural institutes, 6 medical institutes, 2 transport institutes, and 4 higher institutes of culture, all of which are controlled by a number of ministries.

Currently, the curricula and the programmes of these institutions are being revised so as to make them conform to international standards and criteria.

Postgraduate Education

Postgraduate education is aimed at those persons whose activities are important for the success of the transitional period and who require refresher courses or retraining. At present, much attention is being directed at the improvement of the professional skills of specialists involved in export-oriented economic and commercial activities, in law, in education and health protection, and in the new trends in science, technical skills, and technology.

Twenty-two institutions for the improvement of the professional skills of teachers are functioning. More than 60,000 teachers and educational officials improve their professional skills in these institutions every year. A State Training Centre for the Improvement of the Professional Skills of Authorities and Specialists in Vocational Training and in Secondary Technical Education and six regional school departments have been created in which over 1,000 students per year may improve their qualifications. Refresher courses for faculty and staff members in the system of higher education are offered by the research institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan, at universities, and also at leading centres in other republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

(*Source*: **Development of the System of Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan**, A Report to the 43rd Session of the International Conference on Education, Geneva, 1992, Alma-Ata, 1992, pp. 4-5)

POLAND:

New Laws on Community Appointed Educational Bodies and on Disciplines Offered in Polish Universities

The Law on the Education System of 7 September 1991 laid the basis for introducing community appointed bodies into the education system.

Such bodies include the National Education Council which is entitled

to function in association with the Ministry of National Education. The following functions fall within the scope of its competences:

- the working out of proposals for the fundamentals of Polish education policy and for budgetary allocations for education;
- the presentation of opinions to the Senate and to the Sejm committees on budget proposals;
- the presentation of opinions as to the criteria used to allocate the budget of the Ministry of National Education to the school system;
- the presentation of opinions on concepts of education, including the outlines of proposed curricula and minimum compulsory curricula;
- the presentation of opinions on parliamentary bills which affect education.

The disciplines which are offered by institutions of higher education were specified in the Law on Higher Education of 12 September 1990. This law paves the way for new possibilities connected with:

- the setting up of non-state institutions of higher education;
- the possibility of establishing an open university the resources of which would be available to all persons, including those who are not students and will not take examinations (for example, at the M.A., professional training, postgraduate diploma, Ph.D., and special levels);
- the right of institutions of higher education to organize post-primary schools;
- the setting up of all-university, inter-faculty, and extra-faculty organizational units (alongside the basic units of organization, in other words, faculties);
- the participation of the academic community (including lecturers, students, and other staff members employed by higher education institutions) in instituional management, through the election of individual managers and management bodies. The term of office of elected managers (rectors, deans), and also of management bodies, is three years.

The elected management bodies of institutions of higher education are the senates and the faculty councils. The scope of competence of the senates includes:

- establishing the general policy of the activities of the institution;
- approving new degree subjects (on the suggestion of faculty councils);
- agreeing to the setting up by the institution of post-primary schools.

The scope of competence of faculty councils includes:

- establishing the general policy on the activities of the faculty;
- approving curricula and syllabi.

The Central Council on Higher Education is an elected body which

represents higher education at national level. Its term of office is three years, and it is composed of the elected representatives of the teaching staff and of students. Its area of competence includes:

- the definition of the conditions that institutions of higher education require, the determination of the curriculum requirements for particular degree subjects, and the establishment of the names of degree subjects;
- the designation of the paths of development of higher education in given fields of research and staff training;
- the determination of the criteria for the allocation of subsidies;
- the presentation of opinions on proposed legislation regulating academic research and agreements on international co-operation;
- the presentation of opinions on matters brought to its attention by the Minister of National Education.

(*Source*: Ministry of National Education, **The Development of Education in Poland, 1990-1991**, Report for the International Bureau of Education in Geneva, Warsaw, 1992, pp. 26, 27, and 29, International Conference on Education, Session 43, Geneva, 1992).

ROMANIA:

Various Types of Post-Secondary Education Are Being Offered

Post-Secondary Vocational Education

Following proposals made by the various ministries, economic planning organizations, and other central organs, the Ministry of Education and Science has organized post-secondary vocational education. The average course programme runs for two to three years.

These courses are attended by students who have completed secondary school, having earned the *baccalauréat*. They are trained for intermediary level positions in the technical, economic, socio-cultural, and sanitary professions.

This level of schooling, which includes full-time and evening course offerings, takes place in the facilities of general schools or of secondary schools (lycei). Each class has an enrollment of around 30 students, the minimum number being 18, the maximum, 36.

Higher education in Romania is offered at two levels leading to two entering levels of professional employment.

Short-term higher education: This level is that of the colleges which assure the training of future specialists in execution, exploitation, and management at mid-level entry level.

The personnel in question fall between the level of workers and that of senior managers. The level of education offered is superior to that offered by the vocational schools and the post-secondary institutions, but it is inferior to that obtained through long-cycle higher education. Only the latter serves to qualify for professions such as engineer, physician, economist, and teacher.

The colleges function inside already existing institutions or inside certain other teaching units, if the latter belong to the higher education system. Full-time courses extend over a period of two to three years.

Long-term higher education: This level, which trains highly qualified experts for all areas of activity, takes place in universities, polytechnic institutes, other types of institutes, and academies for periods that range from four to seven years, according to profile. Full-time courses, evening courses, and correspondence courses are offered. Postgraduate offerings are also available in full-time sessions as well as through correspondence courses. The doctoral degree, which can be earned in many fields, is another form of university specialization.

(*Source*: Ministère de l'Education et de la Science, **L'Enseignement en Roumanie**, Bucarest, 1992, pp. 7-8)

RUSSIAN FEDERATION:

Legal, Cultural, Financial, Administrative, and Structural Reforms for the Education System

The Financing of Education

The Law imparts a special character to the financing of higher and postgraduate professional education.

The right of citizens to higher and postgraduate education within the limits of the state educational standards is ensured by the granting of a personal state credit (a grant or a loan to be partly or wholly repaid) to those who were successful on the entrance examinations and were able to enroll in an educational institution. The procedures and the conditions for the award of this credit are set according to the laws of the Russian Federation.

The differentiated budget of a higher and/or a postgraduate professional education institution which is accredited by the state is based on state allocations and the annual tuition fees paid by its students. The size of tuition fees corresponds to the the size of the state grant for education.

The measures for financial support which are provided by the state for families and children include the following: state temporary allowances to parents (or people replacing them) during the nursing period (the length of the period is fixed by federal law); grants to mothers of large families and to single parents;

grants to low income families; grants to handicapped people, etc. These sums are not counted as taxable income. Parents (or the people replacing them), who are responsible for the upbringing and the education of a young child in their family, are paid additional allowances, equal to the state expenditure for the instruction of a child of similar age in a state or a municipal education institution. The size of payment is set according to federal norms.

The priority which is being granted to the educational sphere becomes evident when one examines the salaries of teachers. The minimum salary which has been set for the teaching staff in education institutions is higher than the average salary in the Russian Federation. Average salaries for various types of teachers are set as follows:

- for the faculty members of higher education institutions, the average salary should be two times greater than the average salary for an industrial worker in the Russian Federation;
- for teachers and other educators, the salary should not be less than the average salary of an industrial worker in the Russian Federation;
- for the non-teaching personnel of education institutions, salaries should not be less than the average salaries of personnel performing similar tasks in industrial enterprises of the Russian Federation.

In general, the State Law on Education of the Russian Federation provides strong guarantees for the normal functioning and development of the education system.

The Renewal and Development of Multi-cultural Systems of Education

A multi-cultural system of education is most important for the preservation and the development of ethnic cultures; the formation of a multicultural conscience; and the exploration by children and young people of their own native cultures, of the collective culture of Russia, and of world culture.

The major condition for the success of the state educational policy is an understanding of the system of multi-measuring of the national cultural area of Russia. One should not forget that for many decades the policy of the Soviet Union, as propagated in the schools, was to promote the Russian language as part of the means to achieve the cultural assimilation of non-Russian ethnic groups and the de-Russification of the Russian nation in favour of the utopian goal of forming a whole nation of "Soviet people".

It would be a mistake to encourage the absolute dominance of any individual ethnic principle or to base schooling on a "cleansed" national cultural tradition. Under the real conditions of modern Russia, a policy of this sort would create not only a threat of ethno-cultural disintegration but also one of direct cultural deterioration. The reason is that today the Russian language and culture remain, with regard to the other national cultures of Russia, the only communication link between them and between Russia and the rest of

the world. In particular, it is impossible to ignore the fact that the only language in which one can study in higher education institutions in Russia is Russian. At the other extreme, several other native languages are not offered at all for formal study within their own regions. From this reality comes the need for a new understanding of what a national school system and multi-cultural systems of education are.

The point to be made here is that while 90% of all school-aged children in Russia attend Russian schools, only 81% of the population of Russia is actually Russian.

The establishment of a state policy within the sphere of development of multi-cultural systems of education demands the following:

- the renewal and the evolution of the Russian national school itself, the traditions of which were lost during the period of the totalitarian regime;
- the renewal and development of the individual national education systems of the republics included within the Russian Federation;
- the satisfaction of the educational needs of dispersed ethnic groups inhabiting the Russian Federation;
- all possible support for the educational needs and interests of the representatives of the nations and ethnic groups of Russia living beyond the borders of the Russian Federation.

Linked to these goals, the main task of state policy is to conserve and to develop the collective cultural and educational vastness of Russia.

In order to solve the above-mentioned problems, some important steps have already been taken. The concept of individual national schools, which was developed by the Federal Council on the Problems of the Development of Multi-cultural Systems of Education, was adopted at the General Conference of the Ministry of Education in December 1990. The next step was the preparation of a project for wide discussion on the concept of a national Russian school. Work is being undertaken everywhere on the development of concepts for national schools for all the nations of Russia and on programmes for the development of regional national systems of education. In Yakutia-Soha, Buryatia, Tatarstan, and Karelia, such concepts and programmes have been adopted or prepared for adoption at the highest state levels.

The basic idea which permeates these projects is that of the priority of the native language and the cultural tradition of the given people for the development of concerned individuals so that they will not be placed in marginal positions, shorn of that confidence which comes from integration into one's native culture. It is necessary to involve the individuals from early childhood to secondary school graduation in the spheres of their native languages, traditional ways of life, folk arts and sports, and worldviews as perceived from the vantage points of their own individual national states.

Beginning with pre-school level or first grade, children are to be exposed, through graduation from secondary school, to the humanist cultures of other peoples. They will also be exposed to the histories of the modern civilizations of the peoples of the world.

The main peculiarity of this approach, which differs from former approaches, is that native cultures cease to be "non-obligatory additional elements"; rather, they are now designated as the first priority and the basis from which stems the knowledge and understanding necessary for further continuous education as well as for living in the global society of the 21st century.

Special attention is being paid to strengthening the Russian multicultural vastness through education. The policy of the Ministry is to fully assist in the transformation from thinking within the framework of a national education system to thinking with regard to individual regional systems. Within this logic, work has begun at the federal level on the development of such education programmes as: *Povolgzhe*, "Northern Caucasus" (*Severnyi Kavkaz*), and "Southern Siberia" (*Yuzhnaya Sibir*). Such territorial designations are themselves natural, industrial, cultural, historical, and multi-ethnic units which evolved as such over the years. The direct political objective of the Ministry of Education is to strengthen the integrative qualities of these territorial systems through education.

Since the ethnic groups that inhabit Russia differ greatly in terms of historical development, their traditional cultures possess different potentials on which to base national systems of education.

Certain ethnic groups, however, cannot propose a national educational model of their own (for instance, the small ethnic groups of the North as well as the so-called non-titled and previously oppressed ethnic groups). Accordingly, the multi-cultural educational policy of the Ministry of Education calls for the provision of direct scientific, methodical, and organizational support to these ethnic groups in order to help them participate in inter-ethnic educational programmes. The Ministry of Education is paying increasing attention to the educational needs and problems of the small ethnic groups of the North.

At this point, these ethnic groups can either assimilate completely and lose their native languages or conserve and develop their ethnicity and individual cultures. The educational system which is being created by the ethnic groups of the North is a reflection of their traditional way of life and is oriented towards their psychophysiological peculiarities. The Ministry of Education is taking special measures to offer specific state assistance (both at federal and regional levels) for the development and the publication of a new generation of textbooks in the native languages of these ethnic groups and to provide for the training of native teachers who are able to teach children in their native languages. It is also providing for the training of specialists equipped to work in given traditional industrial fields and for

the organization of nomadic schools and classes for nomadic villages and groups of herdsmen.

Over a long-term perspective, national systems of education should give rise to a new collective educational structure for Russia which would satisfy the national educational needs of the ethnic groups living in the Russian Federation, one which takes into account their regional peculiarities (ethno- and socio-cultural, historical, industrial, and economic).

The ministerial activities in favour of the implementation of the concept of national education have already had some positive results. A major result has been the conservation of the collective educational vastness of Russia. None of the individual territories have demanded the separation of their individual (national) educational systems from that of Russia as a whole. All the basic directions of the educational policies of the Ministry of Education have been fully supported in each area, no doubt because the goals and strategies are being developed by the Ministry in co-operation with the local education boards of the various republics, regions, and territories, and with the participation of the Federal Council on the Problems of the Development of Multi-cultural Systems of Education formed by the Ministry and with the participation of the Council of Ministers of Education of the republics included within the Russian Federation. That the collective educational vastness of Russia has remained secure is also due to the fact that the Ministry of Education has chosen to deal directly with the regionalization of education, a course of action which corresponds perfectly with the policy of the government to elevate the administrative status of the territories and to strengthen their autonomy.

The regional approach within the educational sphere has some specifically important features. These include, first of all, local ethno-national and sociocultural peculiarities. Taking these peculiarities into consideration helps the system of education to play a major political role in the elimination of inter-ethnic and social tensions. The Ministry of Education is closely supervising this approach to regionalization, in particular the establishment of regional (national-regional) programmes for the development of education based on the principles found in the common *Programme on Stabilization and Development of Russian Education During the Transitional Period.*

According to these perspectives, the role of the Ministry of Education should become that of co-ordinator of the interregional educational programme and the supporter of those regions with regard to scientific and organizational progress. Currently, the Ministry is required to play the role of initiator and stimulator of the process by which national educational programmes are being created and developed.

To further this process, the Ministry established the Institute for Multi-cultural Educational Problems, an organization with great scholarly and scientific potential (more than 400 researchers employed by 17 research centres in

Moscow alone and more than 30 branch centres located in other territories). All these centres are involved in research aimed at finding solutions to the educational problems not only of those ethnic groups living in the autonomous territories of the Russian Federation but also of those groups which have not formed states (the Germans, Greeks, Poles, etc., of Russia). Under the specific conditions of the post-totalitarian transitional period in Russia, this Institute is also called upon to propose suggestions for structures of educational management which would help to spread its activities beyond its normal framework. In particular, the Institute is called upon to promote the role of education in establishing and supporting international harmony on the basis of multi-cultural dialogue; to aid in the transition of schools from poorly functioning instruments into working tools for renovation within the structures of civilized societies; and to promote the role of schooling in given societies as the interpreter of traditional cultures (especially in the cases of ethnic groups with nomadic ways of life), and at the same time, as the integrator of given cultures in a cultural context in a shared civilization.

Taking into consideration the fact that the process of renovation and development of Russian education is taking place in a society which is itself undergoing renovation and development, one can easily understand that these new educational needs of the ethnic groups and nations living in Russia have surfaced. In order to satisfy these needs, the educational system is mobilizing public support for the development of educational initiatives. The demand for new and revised textbooks and a new content for education as well as the development of a new understanding of what a national school system should be (of what a Russian school system should be) are the results of the profound social transformation underway in Russia.

A major aspect of the multicultural educational policy of the Russian Ministry of Education is its support for the educational structures of ethnic groups living beyond the borders of Russia in certain "close foreign countries" (*Blizhneye Zarubezhye*). The problems of the Russian schools in these countries are often very acute. In spite of the fact that agreements on education have been reached among all the post-Soviet states, including the establishment of all the necessary conditions for the normal functioning and interacting of all the educational systems, the practical realization of these conditions depends in many cases on the inner policy-making processes of some of these newly established states.

Today, the readiness for positive co-operation among educational systems is becoming increasingly clear in the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States and other former Union republics. Additionally, the previous tendency towards separation has begun to reverse itself in favour of a more unified and integrated position with regard to education. The recently signed agreements between the Min-

istry of Education of Russia and the Ministries of Education of Georgia, Kirgisia, and Uzbekistan are proofs of this change. The Ministry of Education, along with its partners from the other states of the Commonwealth of Independent States, is working to enrich the existing agreements, giving them new content, while taking into consideration the interests of all of the peoples of Russia living in the territories of these countries.

Legislative Support for the Functioning and the Development of the Education System

The solution of the most difficult educational problems faced by Russia in the period of transition to a market economy and the implementation of programmes of educational reform are possible only by the stable application of the newly adopted State Law on Education of the Russian Federation. Therefore, the Ministry as well as the regional and local administrative authorities must work out mechanisms for the implementation of this Law.

The following are the most urgent tasks:

- to elaborate and to present proposals to the Supreme Council of Russia with regard to the harmonization of the existing laws of the Russian Federation on education with the provisions of the new Law (by December 1992);
- to prepare proposals for harmonizing existing regulations and decrees of the Government of Russia with the new Law on Education (by September-October, 1993);
- to reconsider all the legislative acts of ministries and institutions, the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation included, so as to eliminate any infractions of the new Law;
- to develop legislation and regulations on the problems of the development of the educational system which have not been solved either by the new Law on Education or by other legislative acts still in effect.

The second major goal of the provision of legislative support for the reform of education is the development of a legislative basis for the functioning of local administrative bodies. The Law on Education has made a clear distinction between federal, local, regional, and municipal competences and responsibilities in the management of education, and it has provided mechanisms for the regulation of their interactions and co-operation. As the Law on Education is a law of direct implementation, it is equally applicable to all the territories of the Russian Federation; however, with regard to other problems, the Law lays down general regulations according to which the citizens of the Federation can initiate their own legislative activities within the sphere of education, the new Law serving as a basic text.

Thus, educational management bodies have a duty to develop draft legislation for federal and local governmental bodies intended to

amplify the general provisions of the new Law on Education.

The main criteria for the success of this effort should be the securing of the constitutional right of citizens to education, and legislative guarantees of the free functioning and development of the education system.

The same criteria will become the basis for the statutes of the lycei, gymnasia, colleges, and special educational institutions which are currently being developed by the Ministry of Education.

Support and legislative provision for the activities of non-state education institutions should be strongly reflected in the actions of the various organs of educational administration. This question is closely linked to that of providing a legislative basis for the development of the process of privatization of education institutions. The black-market dealers in education must be isolated, and a proper and civilized procedure for privatizing education institutions should be developed.

A third goal of legislative support for educational reform is that of the development of new regulations regarding the provision of social security and welfare benefits for teachers and students. The Ministry and the regional administrations have to develop and adopt the following:

- a system of socially guaranteed norms for the financing of educational institutions;
- regulations regarding differentiated salaries for educational workers;
- regulations regarding educational vouchers;
- programmes for securing the social protection of children and adolescents.

A fourth goal is the development of legislation providing for a new economic policy in education. Priority here should go to tax reductions and credit privileges for educational institutions as well as for investors and sponsors so as to aid in the channelling of material and financial resources into education.

Structural and Institutional Changes in the System of Education

Structural changes must be made in the education system to accomplish the following:

- introducing greater diversity into the patterns of educational institutions;
- providing for the more even distribution of general and vocational schools;
- targetting educational institutions to meet the demands, needs, and interests of different social and professional groups in the population;
- developing innovative education institutions while reducing the number of obsolete ones;
- developing a network of non-state owned education institutions;

- introducing different forms of domestic education, including family boarding-houses.

Certain structural changes taking place over the last two years were consumer-oriented. Thus the number of gymnasia, lycei, colleges, agricultural schools, school-university complexes, and other much needed types of educational institutions has increased dramatically. Although this element is important so far as system changes are concerned, structural development is often hindered by lack of finance, absence of a legislative basis, and the fact that means for the accreditation and assessment of new institutions do not exist.

The existing system by which education is financed is the main stumbling block. A teacher-training college cannot be merged with a university or a retraining centre to form an integrated complex because they are financed through different financial units.

The institutional changes needed to overcome these obstacles should be made along with required structural changes. A general inventory of educational institutions in Russia is much needed. It could be undertaken according to the models of the general census of schools made in 1880, 1894, 1911, etc.

A system of incentives for prospective educational institutions and sites that develop and master new curricula and teaching strategies is also much needed. Such institutions could become pilot projects for the accelerated development of educational system.

Several steps have to be taken to promote the development of non-state owned educational institutions. The Ministry recently submitted a set of draft regulations for independent schools to the Government and is now working on legislation to support the development and functioning of such institutions.

To promote the expansion of the network of independent schools, the following is needed:

- a manageable set of procedures for their registration, licensing, accreditation, and assessment;
- a means by which they can receive credits on a favourable basis;
- a way by which newly opened schools can be permitted to function for two years on an experimental basis;
- the possibility of legalizing private groups and classes wishing to function on the premises of state-owned educational institutions;
- the provision of assistance to the Russian association of independent schools, which was established in 1991;
- the creation of regional and local experimental sites for the promotion of the development of independent educational institutions (the first site was created on Sakhalin island);
- the encouragement of the efforts of large industrial and agricultural

enterprises to create their own educational institutions, sometimes by purchasing state institutions, financing them partially from their budgets, and permitting them to remain completely autonomous with regard to their management.

The state school system must also undergo the following structural changes:

- incentives for the development of new school patterns; increases in the number of specialized schools and, the introduction of new school subjects in order to meet current demands (economics, law, ecology, sociology, etc.);
- reductions in the numbers of students in "monster-schools" (more than 2,500 students per school);
- the gradual transition to a horizontal school structure; i.e. elementary, middle, and secondary schools to function as independent institutions;
- the modification of the goals of evening general secondary schools to provide for the social rehabilitation of teenagers with behavioral problems, to combine vocational and academic education, thus solving the problem of drop-outs from day schools, and to offer retraining for the unemployed. Such changes would imply the restructuring of existing schools, networking, the creation of day-evening school complexes which provide vocational training, etc.

The sphere of vocational training will undergo the most comprehensive structural change.

The traditional system of vocational training, in spite of its many achievements, is too rigid to react dynamically to the needs of contemporary society. It is poorly adjusted to the market economy system and does not meet regional needs.

Over the past two years, the Ministry of Education has retained the system of vocational training in the federal budget (with the exception of 13 local sites where pilot experiments in regional budget financing are underway), in spite of demands to the contrary by the Government and the Supreme Council. The reason for taking this action was to stabilize the system and to begin the development of new vocational school patterns, higher vocational colleges, technical lycei, commercial colleges, agricultural schools, etc.

The Ministry has decided to make profound changes in the system of vocational training. A programme for the creation of a network of innovative vocational schools is underway. The various types of schools planned are as follows:

- state-owned and financed schools to serve as models of vocational training and to provide the labour-force needed to satisfy interregional needs;
- regional vocational schools providing labour for given regions and to be financed from their budgets;

- trade association schools to be attached to given enterprises and financed from their budgets;
- independent vocational schools with combined sources of financing for their vocational and educational programmes.

To implement the restructuring of vocational education according to this plan, the following steps must be taken:

- transferring the ownership of most of the vocational schools to the regions and their financing to the budgets of the regions and the trade associations;
- doing the same for the technical schools, most of which (80%) exist to satisfy the needs of enterprises for skilled workers; developing a combined means of financing them from the federal and the local budgets, and introducing models for their integration with higher technical and vocational schools so as to create a three-stage vocational training system;
- development of a network of municipal vocational colleges according to the community college model in the West in order to satisfy the immediate socio-economic and educational needs of the regions;
- retargetting a number of vocational institutions in favour of entrepreneurship training so as to provide staff for small industries and private ventures;
- increasing the number of vocational schools providing specialists for the service sector;
- using the resources of the vocational training system to retrain unemployed adults and to requalify those who want to change their jobs. This task is to be implemented in close contact with the federal employment service;
- the step-by-step introduction of vocational training financing through a voucher system;
- the provision of favourable conditions for the development of independent vocational schools.

The goal of the structural changes described above is to provide for a more efficient and accountable education system that will meet current needs and match the general goals which have been set for educational reform in the Russian Federation.

(*Source*: Ministry of Education, **The Development of Education: National Report from the Russian Federation**, Moscow, 1992, pp. 27-32; 55-56; 61-64, International Conference on Education, 43rd Session, Geneva, 1992).

SLOVENIA:

Higher (Post-Secondary) Education

There are two universities in Slovenia: The University of Ljubljana (1919) and the University of Maribor (1961).

The following units are attached to the University of Maribor: 4 faculties, 1 technical training college, and 1 higher institute: the faculty of economics, the faculty for work organization, the faculty of education, the technical faculty, the higher institute of law, and the higher institute of agronomy.

The following units are attached to the University of Ljubljana:

- the academies (of music, theatre, radio, television, and plastic arts);
- the faculties (of biotechnics, economics, architecture, construction, social sciences, eletrotechnics, computer sciences, natural sciences and technology, mechanical engineering, sport, arts, medicine, pedagogy, law, and veterinary science);
- higher institutes (sea and traffic, social work, internal affairs, health workers, technical-protective workers, administrative workers).

At present, the faculty of theology, with its detached unit in Maribor, is still not a part of the University of Ljubljana.

The staff of both universities numbers 1,800 persons (626 full-time professors, 346 assistant professors, 378 university instructors, 330 full-time lecturers, and 119 assistant lecturers).

Both universities offer about 130 different course programmes.

The duration of studies varies according to given course programmes; in the faculties, 4 to 5 years (with the exception of the faculty of medicine, in which studies usually last 6 years); in the higher institutes, 2-3 years; for postgraduate studies: the specialization, 1-1.5 years; the Master's degree, 2 years.

Both universities enroll regular and part-time students. During the 1991-1992 academic year, 36,693 students were enrolled in the programmes of both universities (30,693 regular and 5,432 part-time students). Each academic year, 5,000 to 6,000 students complete their studies. In the same period, about 466 candidates complete postgraduate studies. Among them, about 120 candidates per year earn a Doctor's degree.

(*Source*: Ministry of Education and Sport, Board of Education and Sport, **The Development of Education in the Republic of Slovenia: 1990-1992: National Report from the Republic of Slovenia** (Ljubljana, 1992, pp. 16-17, International Conference on Education, Session 43rd, Geneva, 1992)

UKRAINE:

The Higher Education System Is Undergoing Major Reforms

Description of the System

A total of 891 higher education institutions are functioning in Ukraine providing for the higher (post-secondary) education of youth. Among these institutions, there are 720 technical high schools and schools, 15

colleges (2-4 years of education), 156 institutes, 10 universities (4-7 years of education), 2 agricultural universities, 3 academies, and 3 conservatories. They prepare specialists in 284 specialities, 192 of which have an engineering-technical profile.

Annually, about 170,000 students are admitted to universities, academies, institutes, and conservatories. Of this number, more than 110,000 study in the day sessions. All in all, 880,000 persons are studying in these establishments, of which 530,000 have been seconded to their higher education institutions by their employers. The number of students enrolled in the technical schools, the technical high-schools, and the colleges totals some 740,000 persons of whom more than 500,000 are studying in day sessions.

According to the main directions of specialist training, the higher education institutions of Ukraine can be broken down in the following way:

- 104 higher education institutions specializing in the natural sciences, the humanities, economics, and law;
- 367 in the engineering-technical sciences;
- 113 in the agricultural sciences;
- 126 in the medical sciences;
- 86 in the educational sciences;
- 89 in the arts and in culture;
- 6 in physical education and sports.

For the training of scientific-pedagogical personnel in higher education institutions, postgraduate and doctoral courses are available. After graduation from an undergraduate course progrmme in a higher education institution, the most talented young people may continue their studies in one of 300 specialities and prepare theses to obtain the advanced degrees of candidate or of doctor of sciences. Currently, 13,000 persons are enrolled in postgraduate course programmes of whom 66 percent have been seconded from their places of employment.

Qualification upgrading and extension courses are among the most important constituents of the system of continuing education in Ukraine. The facilities available provide the opportunity to upgrade one's professional knowledge and skills, to obtain a new qualification or a new speciality on the basis of the qualification one has earned earlier, and to gain practical experience in one's specialization.

At present, 518 educational establishments and extension courses for professional upgrading are functioning in Ukraine. Around 600,000 students enroll annually in such courses. Among the institutions offering such courses, there are 53 institutes of professional upgrading and their 27 affiliates, 118 faculties of qualification upgrading located in higher education institutions, and 46 special extension faculties in which students may obtain their second qualifications in science, engineering, and

technology. In addition, 274 courses and schools for the upgrading of the qualifications of managers and specialists are functioning. The State Management Institute which is operated by the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers enrolls 400 persons annually.

Higher Education Reforms

The main goals of the reform of Ukrainian higher education are the following:

- the full satisfaction of the educational needs of Ukrainian citizens;
- the training of specialists able to work under new socio-economic conditions;
- the increased intellectual and cultural potential of Ukraine.

At present, a new structure for higher education is being elaborated which will be better able to satisfy the different requirements of citizens for higher education and be more flexible with regard to the ability of specialists to be competitive on the market. The very conception of the higher education system has been changed. Even the so-called special secondary education establishments (technical high-schools, engineering schools) have been affected by this change in conception.

The multi-stage training of specialists has been introduced. New qualifications correspond to the grades of junior specialist, bachelor, specialist, and master. This hierarchy considerably widens the scope of training available for a specialist. For instance, the current plan calls for the training of bachelors in approximately 67 professionally oriented directions uniting 284 of the presently existing specialities which are offered at universities, academies, and institutes.

The plans and curricula which have been adopted as well as the course requirements correspond to those which have been adopted in other developed countries. An accreditation and evaluation system for higher education institutions has been introduced aimed at stimulating individual institutions to achieve the highest level of specialist training and of compliance with state requirements. According to the results achieved through accreditation and evaluation exercises, higher education institutions will be granted a great deal of institutional autonomy including the right to solve their own problems and to determine both the contents of the courses they offer and the procedures whereby students are admitted to them. These reforms will enhance the processes of international integration of Ukrainian higher education and solve many problems linked to the equivalence and the recognition of degrees, diplomas, and periods of study.

The improvement of engineering education, an area which enrolls about 50% of the mass of students in Ukraine, is extremely important for the optimization of the structure of specialist training. With the introduction of the multi-stage character of higher education, the orientations of a number of higher education institutions are changing. It has become

very important to increase the universal character of engineering knowledge, giving increased attention to the economic, administrative, and general cultural training of engineers. Thus the leading engineering-technical institutes are to be transformed into technical universities,. overspecialization to be eliminated so as to offer students the opportunity to acquire universal fundamental knowledge as the basis for future specialized training.

The Upgrading of Qualifications and the Retraining of Personnel

The restructuring of the activities of the institutions offering qualification upgrading is aimed first of all at strengthening their scientific-practical potential and at integrating them into the leading higher education institutions. The aim is to set up a retraining or upgrading facility, offering one or many specializations, in the best higher education institutions. These facilities would retrain or upgrade specialists in accordance with the requirements of the enterprises, establishments, institutions, and organizations employing them and seconding them for training. They would also retrain dismissed and unemployed workers.

In addition, the extension of the network of educational establishments for the training of high level state administrators is being planned. These institutions would be called upon to upgrade the qualifications of personnel on the basis of agreements with employing organizations.

(*Source*: Ministry of Education of Ukraine, **Development of Education in Ukraine: 1990-1991**, Kiev, 1992, pp. 51-53, and 65-67, International Conference on Education, 43rd Session, Geneva, 1992)

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CALENDAR OF EVENTS

MEETINGS ORGANIZED BY CEPES

1993

5-7 May

International High-Level Consultation on Policy Issues of "Quality Assessment and Institutional Accreditation in Higher Education" (Oradea, Romania). For further information, please contact: Miss Ruxandra Constantinescu, CEPES, 39, Stirbei Vodă Street, R-70732 Bucharest, Romania.

1 - 3 July

10th Consultation of CEPES Liaison Officers (Bucharest, Romania). For further information, please contact: Miss Ruxandra Constantinescu, CEPES, 39, Stirbei Vodă Street, R-70732 Bucharest, Romania.

October

4th Interregional Workshop of the European Network for Staff Development in Higher Education For further information, please contact: Mr. Oleg Kouptsov, CEPES, 39, Stirbei Vodă Street, R-70732 Bucharest, Romania.

1994

"National Identity and European Consciousness: Mentality, Education, Scholarship" Experts Meeting on the evolution of European mentalities (Bucharest, Romania). For further information, please contact: Mrs. Stamenka Uvalic-Trumbic, CEPES, 39, Stirbei Vodă Street, R-70732 Bucharest, Romania.

OTHER MEETINGS

1993

22-26 February

Fifth International and Interdisciplinary Congress on Women (San Jose, Costa Rica). For further information, please contact: Ms. Mirta Gonzales-Suarez, Organizing Committee, School of Psychology /PRIEG, University of Costa Rica, Apdo. 2060, San Pedro, Costa Rica.

March

"Fields of Knowledge, Teaching and Learning" Module V, of the European Higher Education Advanced Training Course (EHEATC) organized by the Consortium of Higher Education Researchers (CHER) (Milan, Italy). For further information, please contact: CHER Administrator, CHEPS, University of Twente, P.O. Box 217, 7500 AE Enschede, The Netherlands.

May

"Institutional Decision-Making and Research", Module VI of the European Higher Education Advanced Training Course (EHEATC) organized by the Consortium of Higher Education Researchers (CHER) (Enschede, The Netherlands). For further information, please contact: CHER Administrator, CHEPS, University of Twente, P.O. Box 217, 7500 AE Enschede, The Netherlands.

12-14 May

First International Conference on Intelligent and Cooperative Information Systems (ICICIS) (Erasmus University Rotterdam, The Netherlands). For further information, please contact: Conference Office, Erasmus Forum, Burg. Oudiaan 50, P.O. Box 1738, 3000 DR Rotterdam, The Netherlands.

30 May-2 June

"Bridges and Gateways to the Future of International Education". The 45th Annual Conference of NAFSA: Association of International Educators (San Francisco, California, USA). For further information, please contact: NAFSA Conferences and Meetings. NAFSA: Association of International Educators, 1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 1000, Washington, DC 20009-5728, USA.

June

"Staff Development/Improving Teaching and Learning - Acute Problems in 1992 and International Seminar for Staff and Educational Development (ISSED)". International seminar organized by the European Association for Research and Development in Higher Education (EARDHE)(Berlin, Germany). For further information, please contact: Dr. Brigitte Berendt, Freie Universität Berlin, Unit for Staff Development and Research into Higher Education, Habelschwerdter Allee 34a, 1000 Berlin 33, Germany.

7-11 June

"Adult Education Symposium". International conference (Shenyang, China). For further information, please contact: Dr. Edgar J. Boone, North Carolina State University, Box 7801, Raleigh, N.C. 27695-7-801, USA.

27 June-1 July

"Teacher Education Toward the 21st Century: From Practice To Theory". International conference (Tel-Aviv, Israel). For further information, please contact: Ms. Daniella Davin, Conference Coordinator, Conference Secretariat: Dan Knassim Ltd, P.O. Box 57005, Tel-Aviv 61570, Israel.

27 June-2 July

"The Role and Place of the Humanities in Education for the World of the 21st Century". 11th International Congress of the World Association for Educational Research (WAER) (Jerusalem, Israel). For further information, please contact: Congress Secretariat, International Congress of the WAER, c/o International Ltd, P.O. Box 20313, Tel Aviv 61292, Israel.

15-18 August

"Curriculum - Pedagogy - Technology". 4th Nordic Conference under the Nordic Forum for Computer Aided Higher Education (Aalborg, Denmark). For further information, please contact: Conference Secretariat. Conference Secretary Bente Vestergaard, TNP/Institute 12, Aalborg University, P.O. Box 159, DK-9100 Aalborg, Denmark.

15-18 August

"Higher Education in a Changing Environment: Regional, National and Trans-national Issues". 15th Annual Forum of the European Higher Education Society (EAIR) (Turku, Finland). For further information, please contact: Mrs. Jacinte van Schaik, EAIR Secretariat, c/o CHEPS, University of Twente, P.O. Box 217, 7500 AE Enschede, The Netherlands.

30 August-3 September

8th World Conference on Co-operative Education, organized by the World Council and Assembly on Co-operative Education (Dublin, Ireland). For further information, please contact: Ms. Adrienne Joly, Conference Administrator, Dublin City University, Dublin 9, Ireland.

31 August-4 September

5th European Conference for Research on Learning and Instruction, organized by the European Association for Research on Learning and Instruction (EARLI) (Aix-en-Provence, France). For further information, please contact: 5th EARLI Conference Secretariat, U.F.R. de Psychologie et Sciences de l'-Education, Université de Provence, 29, Avenue Robert Schuman, 13621 Aix-en-Provence Cedex, France.

September

"Management of Higher Education Institutions", Module VII of the European Higher Education Advanced Training Course (EHEATC) organized by the Consortium of Higher Education Researchers (CHER) (Turku, Finland). For further information, please contact: Mr. Kari Hyppönen, Head of Dept. of Academic and Student Affairs, University of Turku, SF-20500 Turku, Finland.

November

"Higher Education and Developments in Europe", Module VIII organized by the European Higher Education Advanced Training Course (EHEATC) organised by the Consortium of Higher Education Researchers (CHER) (Prague, Czech Republic). For further information, please contact: CHER Administrator, CHEPS, University of Twente, P.O. Box 217, 7500 AE Enschede, The Netherlands.

9-11 December

EDINEB: "Educational Innovation in Economics and Business Administration: the Case of Problem-Based Learning". Conference organized by the Faculty of Economics and Business Administration, University of Limburg (Maastricht, The Netherlands). For further information, please contact: Conference Secretary: Ms. M. van Zutphen, University of Limburg, P.O. Box 616, 6200 MD Maastricht, The Netherlands.

14-16 December

"Governments and the Higher Education Curriculum - Evolving Partnerships". Annual Conference of the Society for Research in Higher Education (SRHE) and the University of Sussex (Brighton, UK). For further information, please contact: Prof. Tony Becher, Conference Co-ordinator, EDB, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton BN1 9RG, UK.

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