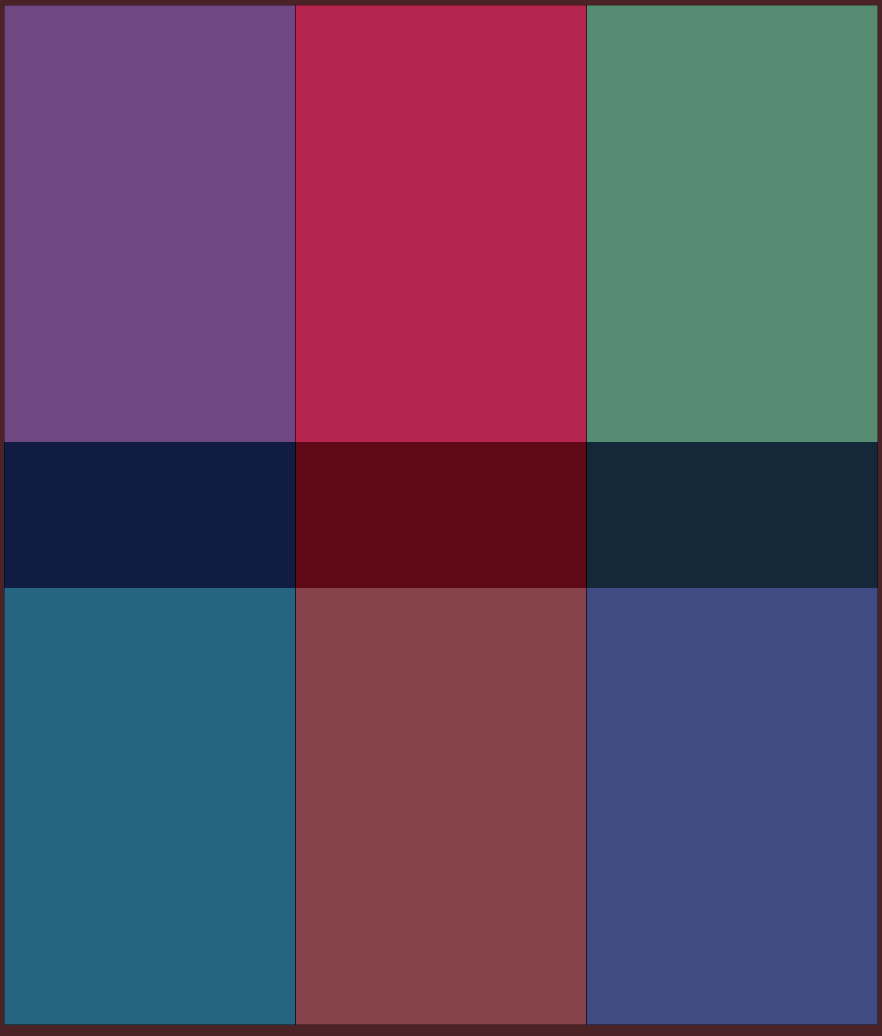
C·E·P·S Journal

Center for Educational Policy Studies Journal
Revija Centra za študij edukacijskih strategij

Vol.2 | No4 | Year 2012



Revija Centra za študij edukacijskih strategij
Center for Educational Policy Studies Journal
ISSN 2232-2647 (online edition)
ISSN 1855-9719 (printed edition)
Publication frequency: 4 issues per year
Subject: Teacher Education, Educational Science
Publisher: Faculty of Education, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
Managing editors: Mira Metljak and Romina Plešec Gasparič / **English language editing:** Neville Hall / **Slovene language editing:** Tomaž Petek / **Cover and layout design:** Roman Ražman / **Typeset:** Igor Cerar / **Print:** Littera Picta

C·E·P·S *Journal*

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The CEPS Journal is an open-access, peer-reviewed journal devoted to publishing research papers in different fields of education, including scientific.

Aims & Scope

The CEPS Journal is an international peer-reviewed journal with an international board. It publishes original empirical and theoretical studies from a wide variety of academic disciplines related to the field of Teacher Education and Educational Sciences; in particular, it will support comparative studies in the field. Regional context is stressed but the journal remains open to researchers and contributors across all European countries and worldwide. There are four issues per year, two in English and two in Slovenian (with English abstracts). Issues are focused on specific areas but there is also space for non-focused articles and book reviews.

About the Publisher

The University of Ljubljana is one of the largest universities in the region (see www.uni-lj.si) and its Faculty of Education (see www.pef.uni-lj.si), established in 1947, has the leading role in teacher education and education sciences in Slovenia. It is well positioned in regional and European cooperation programmes in teaching and research. A publishing unit oversees the dissemination of research results and informs the interested public about new trends in the broad area of teacher education and education sciences; to date, numerous monographs and publications have been published, not just in Slovenian but also in English.

In 2001, the Centre for Educational Policy Studies (CEPS; see http://ceps.pef.uni-lj.si) was established within the Faculty of Education to build upon experience acquired in the broad reform of the national educational system during the period of social transition in the 1990s, to upgrade expertise and to strengthen international cooperation. CEPS has established a number of fruitful contacts, both in the region – particularly with similar institutions in the countries of the Western Balkans – and with interested partners in EU member states and worldwide.

Revija Centra za študij edukacijskih strategij je mednarodno recenzirana revija, z mednarodnim uredniškim odborom in s prostim dostopom. Namenjena je objavljanju člankov s področja izobraževanja učiteljev in edukacijskih ved.

Cilji in namen

Revija je namenjena obravnavanju naslednjih področij: poučevanje, učenje, vzgoja in izobraževanje, socialna pedagogika, specialna in rehabilitacijska pedagogika, predšolska pedagogika, edukacijske politike, supervizija, poučevanje slovenskega jezika in književnosti, poučevanje matematike, računalništva, naravoslovja in tehnike, poučevanje družboslovja in humanistike, poučevanje na področju umetnosti, visokošolsko izobraževanje in izobraževanje odraslih. Poseben poudarek bo namenjen izobraževanju učiteljev in spodbujanju njihovega profesionalnega razvoja.

V reviji so objavljeni znanstveni prispevki, in sicer teoretični prispevki in prispevki, v katerih so predstavljeni rezultati kvantitavnih in kvalitativnih empiričnih raziskav. Še posebej poudarjen je pomen komparativnih raziskav.

Revija izide štirikrat letno. Dve številki sta v angleškem jeziku, dve v slovenskem. Prispevki v slovenskem jeziku imajo angleški povzetek. Številke so tematsko opredeljene, v njih pa je prostor tudi za netematske prispevke in predstavitve ter recenzije novih publikacij.

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Editorial

The present issue of the *CEPS Journal* focuses on reforms and developments in higher education in Central and South-Eastern Europe. During the last decade or two, research on higher education has represented an important part of overall educational research on a global scale; however, researchers from Western Europe and North America have mainly dominated research production, and research has been largely limited to higher education processes and phenomena in these world regions.

This fact reflects the state of affairs in global higher education research, but at the same time it is also an indicator of the limitations of the contemporary global research discussion. Processes and phenomena that have been widely analysed in a given national or regional context could appear different in another. They should, therefore, be considered differently, and research findings may lead to different conclusions when observed from the perspective of another context. Research in higher education has also begun to grow and spread in those regions of the world that were previously "peripheral" in this regard. This is increasingly the case in Central and South-Eastern Europe. Consideration of these factors provided the principal impetus last year for the editorial board to issue a call for papers on recent reforms and developments in higher education in this part of Europe.

Central and South-Eastern Europe have always been at the crossroads of social, political and cultural influences and interferences, and this is directly or indirectly reflected in higher education traditions in the region and in recent developments. When higher education research plays the role of informing higher education policy making – on the national level, but today also on the European level – it is particularly important to be familiar with and to take into account particularities, small details, special phenomena, etc. within a particular regional context; if these particularities are ignored, even the "best intentions" of policymakers may lead systems into trouble. For this reason, we need to know more about particular regional dimensions of higher education, and we need more research on these dimensions.

With the call for papers, we identified a number of issues that could be particularly relevant for further discussion in the field. On one hand, there is the relationship between national and European and/or international higher education policy discourses. During the last two decades (a period that has been called "the transition" in large parts of Central and South-Eastern Europe), global trends and developments in higher education have fundamentally changed the higher education landscape everywhere; however, the impact of these trends has been rather diverse across different countries, while the effects of the international (or European) "reform agenda" have also varied. In today's Europe, the implementation of the Bologna Process is an issue that is rather high on the research agenda, but original research

from the region, in particular from South-Eastern Europe, is still weak. Higher education reforms have opened a number of issues worth analysing in detail: either on a systemic level (e.g., the question of the diversification of higher education), or at the level of "structures" (e.g., the famous "BA-MA" question or the question of the "new Doctorate", etc.). Finally, there are also issues relating to specific areas within higher education, such as teacher education.

Of the draft articles that arrived subsequent to the call for papers, five were selected for publication. They deal with the various aspects of higher education mentioned above and reflect diverse social and political contexts. These five articles have been written by nine authors, almost all of whom originate from the region in question.

The first article is authored by Janja Komljenovič from the University of Ljubljana (Slovenia), who addresses the connection between international/European and Slovenian higher education policy discourse. The author starts with the observation that the new cultural political economy in Europe, which paves the way to the growing importance of supranational decision making, offers a new meaning of higher education. Her article aims to identify the discourses of various international policy documents relevant to the European higher education area, considering the horizontal dynamics of policy making. It focuses on the new meaning of higher education and the expected roles of higher education institutions. On this basis, using a case study approach, the extent to which these discourses are present in Slovenian higher education policy is demonstrated, focusing on two national strategies of the Republic of Slovenia for higher education, research and innovation. The article suggests that two main discourses are constructed: "the research-based society and economy", and "reforming the university". These present the emergence of a new idea of higher education on the international and national levels. The author investigates the extent to which these discourses are present in Slovenian higher education policy, and her findings show that Slovenian discourse hesitates to embrace them fully.

Zoran Kurelić and Siniša Rodin, both from the University of Zagreb, have already published their critical analyses of the Croatian "Bologna" reform. For the present issue of *CEPS Journal*, they wrote a new article analysing the complex reasons for Croatian higher education reform since 2003, as well as its consequences. The main proposition of their paper is that the implementation of the Bologna Process in Croatia has failed due to a fundamental misunderstanding of the goals of the process, a lack of correspondence between the cycles of higher education and the European Qualifications Framework, and a lack of international pressure, resulting from the nature of the open method of coordination. The authors also present the internal market rules of the European Union and how they affect the national regulation of higher education. The paper deals with the main characteristics of the higher education reform and how it has affected the structure of higher education

programmes, the comparability of degrees and qualifications, and student mobility. Finally, the authors propose an agenda for a "reform of the reform" that could bring the Croatian system of higher education back onto the European track.

The third article discusses one of the central aspects of recent Romanian higher education reforms: the issue of institutional diversity. Lazăr Vlăsceanu and Marian-Gabriel Hâncean from the Bucharest University (Romania) present key elements of post-1990 historical developments in the Romanian higher education system. The emphasis is on recent (2011) policies of increasing higher education institutional differentiation. The view is that, in policy design, due attention should be paid to both historical roots and predicted developments. Building on an institutional analysis approach, the authors put forward a theoretical model that aims to explore the predictive implications of some recently promoted higher education policies. These policies are expected to increase institutional differentiation at the systemic level and enhance quality in teaching and research at university level. In the authors' analysis, the predictive capacity of a model of reference is tested against a concurrent model. The key assumption of the latter is that of considering higher education institutions as "cooperative systems" that are unable to generate those outputs and outcomes that, by aggregation, would contribute to the construction of an institutionally diverse and heterogeneous higher education landscape.

Nataša Pantić, recently appointed to the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, contributes the fourth article in which she "reviews the evidence and scopes the issues" connected to teacher education reforms in the Western Balkans region. In particular, her article considers reforms and developments in teacher education in the region as part of overall reforms in higher education, and in light of changes in general education that impact teachers and their preparation. The author reviews the literature and reports from the region that offer some evidence of and insights into the issues surrounding teacher education reforms in the contexts of post-socialist education transformations. She scopes the issues relating to structural and curricular changes in teacher preparation, coordination of reforms across different levels, development of a common vision of good teaching in cooperation between teacher education institutions, schools and communities, and quality assurance of teacher preparation. The findings include the superficial nature of structural reforms and the neglect of substantial curricular changes, the dearth of opportunities for reflection linking theory and practice, insufficiently developed cross-curricular approaches to teacher education reforms, the fragmentation of teacher education along a number of lines, and the absence of a common vision of quality teaching and of formative links between quality assurance systems for teachers, schools and teacher education providers. Finally, the article outlines potential avenues for future developments and implications for teacher education policies and practices.

In the fifth article, the focus shifts again from the Western Balkans to Central Europe: Hans Pechar, Gulay Ates (University of Klagenfurt, Vienna Location, Austria) and Lesley Andres (University of British Columbia, Canada) analyse the "New Doctorate" in Austria by asking: "Progress toward a professional model or status quo?". The authors stress that, until recently, both policy direction and public awareness of the Bologna Process has been focused almost unilaterally on the introduction of the Bachelor's degree to European universities. They find this fact understandable, as for most European countries, and particularly in Central and South-Eastern Europe, the Bachelor is a new academic degree and the "BA-MA" dichotomy brings a serious of challenges to traditional structures. Commencing with the Berlin Ministerial Conference (2003), reform of doctoral studies has been highlighted as a second equal pillar in the Bologna reform process. The authors begin their article by providing an overview of the general policy background and the rationales that underlie the attempts to restructure doctoral studies in Europe, and then focus on the specific situation in Austria, where peculiarities of the status quo collide with uniquely Austrian approaches to reforming doctoral education. Through two case studies, the authors finally examine initial attempts to implement the "New Doctorate" in Austria and the related challenges.

The "varia" part of the present issue corresponds to the "focus" part and complements it nicely: Veronika Bocsi from the University of Debrecen (Hungary) presents research findings on the relationship between social gender and the world of values in higher education. The author starts by asserting that the category of social gender and the world of values are closely connected, and that the logic of this connection is quite unambiguous. In her analysis, she seeks an answer to the question as to what difference can be observed between male and female students in the world of values in a population where the thinking structures and behavioural norms of social genders are expected to appear less characteristically than in the average for Hungarian society. In conclusion, she addresses the questions as to what attitudes towards education will be formed in the different layers of society by the value systems conveyed by changing gender roles, what reactions will be formed as a response to them in the world of education, and how the two genders' career prospects and their opportunities to enter the different levels and stages of education will be affected by changes in higher education. This could also be an agenda for future research.

In the concluding part of the present issue, Katarina Aškerc and Romina Plešec Gasparič review Mark Bray's publication *Confronting the Shadow Education System: What Government Policies for What Private Tutoring?* (Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 2009).

Pavel Zgaga

The Complexity of Policy Mirroring: The Connection between International and Slovenian Higher Education Policy Discourse

Janja Komljenovič[1]

The contemporary economic imaginary of the 'knowledge-based economy' is changing the perception of higher education in Europe. The goals of higher education are changing and reform of institutions is predicted. The present article examines these reforms and conceptualisations of higher education by presenting the results of discourse analysis of 47 international policy documents at the European level and two comprehensive national strategies of the Republic of Slovenia for higher education, research and innovation. Based on the analysis of the European documents, the article suggests that two main discourses are constructed: a) 'the research-based society and economy', and b) 'reforming the university'. These present the emergence of a new idea of higher education at the international and national levels. The article investigates the extent to which these discourses are present in Slovenian higher education policy. The findings show that Slovenian discourse hesitates to embrace them fully. In particular, the idea of the managerial university is marginal in Slovenian discourse.

Keywords: higher education policy, discursive analysis, supranational policy making, the knowledge economy, Slovenian higher education

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Kompleksnost prenosa diskurzov v politike: povezava mednarodnih in slovenskih diskurzov visokošolskih politik

Janja Komljenovič

Zdajšnji ekonomski imaginarij »ekonomije, ki temelji na znanju«, spreminja percepcijo visokega šolstva v Evropi. Spreminjajo se cilji visokega šolstva in napovedujejo se reforme institucij. V prispevku so analizirane te reforme in konceptualizacija visokega šolstva, tako da predstavimo izsledke diskurzivne analize 47 mednarodnih političnih dokumentov na evropski ravni in dveh celovitih visokošolskih, raziskovalnih in inovacijskih strategij. Na osnovi analize evropskih dokumentov članek nakaže, da sta izoblikovana dva glavna diskurza: a) »družba in ekonomija, ki temeljita na raziskovanju«, in b) »reformiranje univerze«. Diskurza predstavljata pojav nove ideje visokega šolstva na mednarodnih in nacionalnih ravneh. Članek preverja obseg, v katerem sta diskurza prisotna v slovenskih visokošolskih politikah. Izsledki kažejo, da je slovenski diskurz zadržan do tega, da bi ju popolnoma sprejel. Še zlasti ideja menedžerske univerze je v slovenskem diskurzu marginalna.

Ključne besede: visokošolske politike, diskurzivna analiza, nadnacionalno oblikovanje politik, ekonomija znanja, slovensko visoko šolstvo

Introduction

The emerged cultural political economy (Jessop, 2008) in Europe, which paves the way to the growing importance of supranational decision making, offers a new meaning of higher education (HE). European policy and decisions directly affect higher education institutions (HEIs). Divided between different roles such as cultural versus economic, utilitarian versus non-utilitarian (Gornitzka, 2010), HEIs are expected to reform. For a European Union (EU) member state, the Bologna Process (BP) and the EU are the two most important international arenas for HE coordination. The EU has gained in importance in the past decade with regard to influencing member states' national HE policy, especially via the Lisbon Strategy and by using new modes of governance (such as the open method of coordination) and new institutionalised governance structures (such as expert groups or 'clusters' on E&T2010) (Corbett, 2011). Thus states are expected to follow the EU course, despite the unchanged legal basis of retaining formal competence over HE.

The article aims to identify the discourses of four clusters of international policy documents relevant to the European higher education area (EHEA) considering the horizontal dynamics of policy making (Gornitzka, 2010). It focuses on the new meaning of HE and the expected roles of HEIs. Using a case study approach, the extent to which these discourses are present in Slovenian HE policy is then demonstrated.

Approach and methods

Four clusters of international policy documents significant to European HE are analysed, i.e., documents of the EU, the BP, the European University Association (EUA) and the Council of Europe (CoE). For the analysis, 47 official documents relevant to HE and released since 1998 were chosen (Table 1). With regard to Slovenia, the analysis focused on two national strategies, i.e., the Resolution on Research and Innovation Strategy of Slovenia 2011–2020 (RISS) and the Resolution on the National Higher Education Programme 2011–2020 (NHEP) (Kolar & Komljenovič, 2011), both of which were adopted by the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia in May of 2011. Together, they present the overarching and comprehensive strategies for HE, research and innovation that should be followed by the regulatory framework, HEIs and other actors.

Table 1. The type and number of international policy documents included in the analysis.

	Type of document	Number of documents
Council of the EU	Resolution	2
	Recommendation	1
	Conclusion	3
European Commission	Communication	7
	Report	4
EU All		17 between 2001 and 2011
BP	Declaration	3
	Communiqué	6
BP All		9 between 1998 and 2012
EUA	Declaration	6 between 2001 and 2011
CoE	Parliamentary Assembly Recommendation	2
	Committee of Ministers Recommendation	13
CoE All		15 between 1998 and 2012
All		47

The analysis of the international documents was undertaken in three phases. In the first phase, all of the policy documents were reviewed in order to develop a general understanding of the context. In the second phase, the policy documents were coded using NVIVO computer software, which allowed the ideas with a similar message or content to be grouped. In the third phase, the groups of ideas were discursively analysed using the analytical framework of discursive institutionalism (Schmidt, 2010) and two discourses were constructed. The horizontal perspective of European policy making (Gornitzka, 2010) was most convenient to connect the EU cluster with the Lisbon Strategy and to integrate the four clusters of documents.

For the analysis of national documents, the first two phases were the same as those described above. The extent to which international discourses are mirrored in national policy was then analysed.

The theoretical framework of cultural political economy (Jessop, 2008) was used, as well as the concepts of semiosis, political rationale, policy and economic imaginaries (Jessop, 2008; Robertson, 2008). The discourses are constructed such that all of the ideas from the four clusters of policy documents are gathered together. This means that not all of the presented ideas that construct the discourses in the present paper are actively promoted by all of the clusters. The differences between the clusters in the discourses are only mentioned where there are specific points of contradiction.

For a precise presentation of the European discourses it would be important to show how and where ideas are generated and developed in the policy documents, how they travel in time and between clusters, the differences between clusters, and similar. However, the scope of the present study is not broad enough, and the aim was therefore to show the connection between the constructed European discourses and Slovenian policy.

The context

Higher education has been subject to substantial changes in the past two decades (Blasi, 2002; Weert & Vucht Tijssen, 1999), e.g., massification, globalisation, scientific and technological development, internationalisation, increased mobility, and stronger demands for quality and supranational decision making (e.g., Bladh, 2007; Wende, Beerkens, & Teichler, 1999). Furthermore, a specific market has been created for HE (Boer, Enders, & Jongbloed, 2009). In times of neoliberalism, markets have become a technology that is used for controlling the public sector and increasing its effectiveness (Olssen & Peters, 2005). The emergence of the knowledge economy (KE), in which knowledge, research and innovation play the central role, challenges the traditional role of the university (Felt, 2005; Välimaa & Hoffman, 2007). The KE, advanced as a social process integrating ideational, material, institutional and relational moments (Robertson, 2008), is gradually coming to represent the central strategy and discourse in modern Europe (Fairclough & Wodak, 2008).

The concept of the KE derives from changes in industrial competitiveness and technological advance in the 1980s, when the leading global economies responded by encouraging talented people to acquire skills and generate innovative technologies to keep the economy strong. It is reflected in shifts from an economy based on low skills to one depending on knowledge, from a Fordist to a post-Fordist society, in advancing global competition and transnational decision making, as well as in the process of turning knowledge into capital (Jessop, 2008; Olssen & Peters, 2005).

Analysing the aforementioned phenomena, Jessop (2008) presents the concept as the hegemonic economic imaginary – discursively constructed imagined economies. As such, it influences the organisation of societal sectors that have been exposed to a substantial ideational and representational shift, including HE (Robertson, 2008). This is reflected in profoundly new goals for HEIs (Gornitzka, 2010; Olssen & Peters, 2005), conceptually transforming autonomy as a relationship between HEIs and society (Olsen, 2009), as well as leading to important changes, such as HE becoming an industry per se, providing skills

and competences to customers, or to HE becoming largely subordinated to economic necessities (Jessop, 2008).

This section has briefly illustrated the context of HE in Europe, which is in line with the KE based on findings from the literature. The paper continues by outlining the major trends in the European HE policy of the four clusters. The findings will be synthesised using two discourses, i.e., 'the knowledge-based society and economy' and 'reforming the university', each of which encompasses three sub-discourses.

International policy – findings

DISCOURSE 1 – The knowledge-based society and economy

As a concept, 'the knowledge-based society and economy' has evidently become a discourse of the analysed policy documents. Firstly, the presence of this economic arrangement is not contested, but is rather taken as an indisputable fact, a finding confirmed by the literature (e.g., Nokkala, 2007; Miklavič, 2012). Secondly, the discourse in all of the clusters picks up the notion of HE being central to the economy. The literature explains that this was mainly done due to the Lisbon Strategy (Corbett, 2011; Gornitzka, 2010), which managed to position the role of R&D for economic competitiveness and growth, as well as to elaborate common priorities (Maassen & Stensaker, 2011). Thirdly, the discourse communicates the fact that the KE demands more people with HE qualifications and, moreover, that graduates need the 'right mix of skills'. Fourthly, the discourse recognises increased competitiveness in all of the clusters, and there is agreement on the necessity of making Europe globally attractive. Fifthly, the discourse points out the increased demand for knowledge transfer from university to business and the rising demand for knowledge exploitation.

New roles of universities

The discursive purpose of the university has moved away from the classic goal of the general advancement of knowledge to the benefit of society. Instead, emphasis is placed on economic reasons, i.e., selling new knowledge (either by business or universities) and creating new jobs via spin-offs and start-ups. The function of teaching is to 'produce the human capital capable of adequately working in knowledge-intensive jobs'. However, the analysed policies do encompass the 'traditional' purposes of HE: the contribution to societal and cultural development, democracy and peace, social cohesion, active citizenship and individual growth. The CoE has highly elaborated reasoning

emphasising this particular role of universities (e.g., Corbett, 2012). However, there are two main findings regarding the roles and goals of universities relevant to the present argument: firstly, these traditional purposes do not act as a substantively alternative rationale for the 'new' (i.e., economic) goals that are promoted by the KE. Secondly, they are often an addition to the concepts of the KE, as they have a positive connotation. Thus the European discourse predominantly reveals roles of HE that derive from the KE. Etzkowitz (1998) sees the emerging entrepreneurial university integrating economic development as a core function of university as being similar to the first academic revolution, when research was established as an academic function alongside teaching.

In addition, the scope of the role of universities is broadening, in the sense that they are no longer just foreseen to provide knowledge that should be disseminated by teaching and used by other actors; instead, universities are said to be "*motors of the new, knowledge-based paradigm*" (European Commission, 2005), to "*increasingly become significant players in the economy*" (European Commission, 2006), to be "*crucial drivers of Europe's ambition to be the world's leading knowledge-based economy and society*" (European Commission, 2009), and "*motors for economic recovery*" (EUA, 2009).

New aims for the higher education system

HEIs are foreseen to directly care for the economic prosperity and competitiveness of states and regions. The discourse establishes expectations that HE will help "Europe's standing in the world" (Sorbonne Declaration, 1998) and "European economic and political success" (European Commission, 2001), that it will ensure the success of the Lisbon Strategy and the Europe 2020 Strategy, and that it will enable Europe to achieve the goal of becoming a successful KE, for example:

> *Governments and other stakeholders need to acknowledge the extent of institutional innovation, and the crucial contribution universities do and must make to the European Research Area and the longer-term development of the European knowledge society as outlined in the Lisbon declaration of the European Union* (EUA, 2003).

The reforms of the university (which are elaborated below in the second discourse) are predicted to be undertaken in order to increase the attractiveness of Europe.

Supranational policy making

The BP is by itself the most unprecedented regional platform for coordination to launch HE reforms in all of the participating counties. Furthermore,

the EU has gained importance and informal competence for HE policy making mainly by making the BP part of the Lisbon Strategy (Corbett, 2011; Gornitzka, 2010), which was also supported by the EUA and the BP.

EU member states are now expected to achieve internationally set goals, prepare national reforms in line with the common European strategy, set national benchmarks based on European benchmarks, report on these annually to the European Commission, and similar. There are also measures for universities, i.e., they are expected to implement the Code of Conduct for the recruitment of researchers prepared at the European level, to attain quality labels and seals developed by European associations or bodies, to choose external quality assurance based on the listing in the European Quality Assurance Register for Higher Education (EQAR) rather than national criteria, and similar.

DISCOURSE 2 – Reforming the University

The discourse on reforming the university brings many ideas on how universities should change in line with findings of other authors presenting shifts of the system towards a 'new public management' concept (e.g., Olsen, 2009) or towards understanding HE as a business (e.g., Gumport, 2000; Jessop, 2008).

Managerial university

The sub-discourse on the managerial university encompasses ideas on reforming university governance structures, changing the concept of autonomy and the regulatory framework, and updating the quality assurance system and the funding arrangements.

The idea on the governance of universities in this sub-discourse is introduced by the EU as well as the EUA. The discourse predicts that governance will be professionalised and will introduce an institutional strategy setting. It is foreseen that top-level leadership and management with sufficient powers will be installed, that university leadership will be trained, and that preference will be given to people from outside the academic world taking over the leadership function. The world of business is to advise universities on the management change. In addition, there should be external representation in governance structures. Moreover, new internal governance structures should be developed in order to overcome internal fragmentation into disciplines, faculties and departments, and an interdisciplinary approach to research and teaching should be implemented. The CoE does not contradict these ideas, but simply adds principles of democratic governance.

These reforms would be successful if the HE system were to change in line with a new kind of 'social contract', whereby the state is predicted to focus on the strategic orientation of the system as a whole and avoid micro-management and over-regulation. All four clusters support this idea, and the CoE specifies what should be left to governmental responsibility and what should be given to universities (e.g., Council of Europe, 2007, 2012). HEIs would thus be granted 'more' autonomy.

The concept of autonomy has a specific and contrasting meaning in the analysed documents. It is instrumentalised for many purposes, e.g., for universities to respond to societal needs and expectations, to contribute to European attractiveness and competitiveness, to improve the quality of HE, to find new funding, and similar. In the EU ideation, autonomy is first understood as an obstacle and, next to guaranteed funding, as the reason why European universities have not been responsive to societal needs in the past decades (European Commission, 2003). This is assumed to have led to the contemporary problems in European HE (which are impressive in the EU ideation) and must change in future. Two years later, institutional autonomy is presented differently; not as an obstacle to change, but as "a pre-condition for universities to be able to respond to society's changing needs" (European Commission, 2005). This idea is put in the systemic context, indicating that national regulations are hampering universities' attempts to make the necessary changes, and in this document institutional autonomy is equated with national deregulation, an idea that has been subsequently kept alive in EU documents. In its Resolution, the Council of the EU (Council of the European Union, 2007) reaffirms the ideation of governance and instrumentalises autonomy with regard to funding. This is yet another idea concerning autonomy; a tool to increase funding from non-public sources, which is repeated thereafter. Additionally, autonomy is foreseen as attracting global talent and contributing to professional human resource management.

The EUA cluster promotes institutional autonomy for the same instrumental reasons, while adding other elements to the understanding of autonomy, i.e., autonomy as more than just deregulation or financial diversification. Based on the cognitive and normative classification of ideas (Schmidt, 2010), the ideas are classified as cognitive since they bring the rationale of achieving the aforementioned goals. However, the EUA cluster also includes normative ideas that position autonomy as a value in itself. The CoE focuses on the normative understanding of autonomy, and uses historical arguments and tradition to promote autonomy as a value necessary for democratic and humanistic societies. Although the EUA and the CoE include the normative view of university autonomy, they both move to its managerial conceptualisation. The EUA

elaborates on how it understands autonomy and manages to present a precise illustration of this in the past two years by preparing an autonomy scorecard. It identifies four elements of autonomy: academic, financial, staffing and organisational. This has also been picked up by the CoE in its latest document (Council of Europe, 2012). The managerial side of the ideation of autonomy fits well into the economic imaginary, containing reforms in line with the New Public Management (Olsen, 2009).

System diversification is seen as contributing to the attractiveness and competitiveness of European HE; with regard to the EU cluster, HEIs need to differentiate in focusing on different groups of potential students, to provide a differentiated study offer and way of teaching. More importantly, each university is to find its own strength and focus on it, thus specialising in the identified fields. There would be a small number of renewed, excellent research universities and the rest. Not all universities are encouraged to do research anymore. The EUA cluster supports the part in which universities are predicted to find their strengths, focus on them and develop institutional research portfolios.

The funding of HE should increase significantly, more or less from the private sources, i.e., industry and students. It is suggested that the funding system move from basic funding to outcomes-based and competitive finding, with specific elements being rewarded, such as connection to the labour market. In this part, the CoE points out the social dimension and equal opportunities. The funding system should be based on long term contracts, and it should support diversification of the HE system, i.e., to concentrate funding on chosen (excellent) institutions and/or fields. In addition, universities are to diversify their funding streams and strategically ensure their own financial sustainability. Moreover, they should be attentive to efficient and professional spending.

While recognising that the quality of universities is primarily their own responsibility, and that universities should strive to create a culture of quality, it is stated that this is not enough for accountability. For this reason, there is a focus on external quality assurance, and it is recommended that this shift from ex ante to ex post evaluation, and that people from industry be included in the decision making bodies of agencies.

Relationship with the business sector

The sub-discourse includes the relationship between the two sectors in the teaching function, as well as structurally connecting the two sectors, for example:

> *…the stronger involvement of enterprises in university boards, research agendas, admission panels, curriculum design, course delivery and QA*

> *systems can significantly improve universities' teaching, research and innovation* (European Commission, 2009).

Regarding teaching, it is proposed that curricula should be directly relevant to the world of work, with the inclusion of employability skills, and that people from industry should cooperate in both curricula development and teaching. Universities are expected to offer career guidance, track graduates and organise alumni, while the system in general should use employment data and projections for planning work and activities. Connection of teaching with the business sector is envisaged for all study cycles, including doctoral education, for which the EU has developed industrial doctorates and principles based on innovative doctoral education.

Cooperation between universities and business is to increase substantially, in the form of structured partnerships and knowledge transfer offices. In addition, universities are expected to professionally manage intellectual property rights and patents and create spin-offs and start-ups.

Universities should be systematically involved in the development of integrated local and regional development plans; they should organise themselves as local knowledge hubs, advance the local economy and attract talent.

Content changes

The sub-discourse on content changes predicts that curricula changes will include generic competences and employability skills, a view that is recognised by all of the four clusters. The EU thoroughly elaborates the skills for the HE curricula pursuant to the new skills for new jobs initiative.[2] The EUA cluster similarly denotes generic competences:

> *…the development of transversal skills and competencies such as communication and languages, ability to mobilise knowledge, problem solving, team work and social processes* (EUA, 2001).

Moreover, the competences that are most commonly directly mentioned in the policy documents are entrepreneurship, teamwork and ICT skills, as well as economics and technology.

Additionally, it is recognised that the population ('human capital' in the EU vocabulary) in the knowledge society needs research and technical competences. It is foreseen that the existing workforce will enter HE, and in order for

2 Mother tongue literacy, numeracy, knowledge of foreign languages, science and IT skills. It also covers other skills, such as learning to learn, social and civic competence, initiative-taking, entrepreneurship, cultural awareness and self-expression (http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-policy/key_en.htm)

this to happen universities need to make lifelong learning part of their basic mission, as well as making entry and exit points flexible.

In the EU cluster, STEM[3] disciplines are favoured, as they are promoted as making an important contribution to the economy.

As mentioned in the introduction, the purpose of the present article is not to demonstrate the discursive differences between the four clusters in concrete terms. To summarise, there are two basic ideations regarding the roles of HEIs, namely the 'traditional' and the 'new'. The findings of the present analysis are similar to those of other authors (e.g., Simons, 2007), who have elaborated the difference between the EU ideation and that of the EUA by explaining how the EUA communicates the public dimension of university in line with the critical humanist intelligentsia, as opposed to the economically utilitarian dimension of the EU. Thus European discourses are complex and sometimes include opposing ideations, making policy influence from the international to the national level even more complicated. The following section contains an analysis of how the discourses found in the four clusters of the international policy documents are followed in the Slovenian documents.

Slovenian policy

The NHEP (strategy for higher education) and the RISS (strategy for research and innovation) are somehow different policies in line with Gornitzka's (2010) finding on policy separation of the two basic functions of the university, i.e., teaching/learning versus research, with possible clashes. The RISS is much more compliant with the international discourses, mainly the EU cluster, while the NHEP also elaborates on other parts of the discursive ideation, namely the 'traditional'. However, for the purpose of the present research endeavour, both of the documents are seen as complementary strategies and their common ideation is analysed. The main ideational differences between the documents are pointed out only when necessary.

The presence of Discourse 1

The NHEP and the RISS share the common title of 'Audacious Slovenia', and a play of words in Slovenian is used trying to bring together the two words 'knowledge' and 'society' in the form of a coined word. Thus the policy documents are immediately terminologically connected to the 'knowledge society'.

3 Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics

The documents recognise the new circumstances identified in the international discourses, such as global competition, the race for talent, the need for a greater share of people with HE competences, the need for more doctors of science and researchers in the population, and similar. Together, the documents take the common imaginary of the KE for granted, as well as the role of knowledge within it, for example:

> *Slovenia has to focus on increasing the cohesiveness of society and competitiveness of its economy, while consolidating and restructuring its public finances. In order to achieve this, Slovenia is relying on creativity and knowledge, which are fundamental values and the sources of the country's future wealth* (Kolar & Komljenovič, 2011, p. 101).

New roles of universities and new aims for higher education

The NHEP emphasises the 'traditional' role of HE and recognises the 'new' one. The RISS is more explicit in connecting the two sectors – universities and the economy. The Slovenian strategies set the economic use of knowledge, knowledge transfer, spin-offs and start-ups as part of the national priorities. However, they do not position universities as actors of the economy, responsible for creating jobs or directly ensuring the economic prosperity of the country. Universities are thus not positioned as 'motors of the economy' or the main responsible actors for it:

> *Knowledge as it relates to the transfer of knowledge and of technologies is of key importance for the creation of high-tech spin-off enterprises from the PROs [NA: public research organizations] which can exploit the results of the research and development activities. Non-technological transfer of knowledge to society may contribute to its cohesion, health and creativity and an overall higher quality of life* (Kolar & Komljenovič, 2011, p. 115).

Regarding the new aims for HE, the Slovenian policy does not expect universities to directly position Slovenia as a globally competitive country or to make it attractive. It is stated that knowledge is central and important to achieving this goal and that universities contribute as they create knowledge; however, unlike in European policy, it is not stated this is a concrete task of universities.

What the Slovenian policy does define is the attractiveness of universities and the HE system itself. Both of the strategies aim to make Slovenian universities attractive and competitive:

> *At present, the attraction of our higher education area compared to other countries is extremely low; consequently, a number of immediate national and institutional measures must be adopted to increase the*

> *internationalisation of the Slovenian higher education area* (Kolar & Komljenovič, 2011, p. 53).

These ideas are balanced with notions of cooperation and the social dimension; in fact, the social dimension is one of the seven main goals of the NHEP.

Supranational policy making

Slovenia is an initial signatory of the BP from 1999, as well as being an EU member state. Consequently, it is subject to the international expectations elaborated above – it cooperates in BP structures, in different clusters and peer learning groups organised by the European Commission and in the EU benchmarking exercises, while also preparing national reports for the realisation of the Lisbon Strategy and so on. Either in agreement or not, it cooperates in this new reality. Based on the analysed national strategies, one can assert that it does so with no objections, as both of the documents claim to be prepared in accordance with the Europe 2020 Strategy and other European processes. Moreover, the RISS seems to have been influenced by additional international agencies:

> *In the autumn of 2010, studies were carried out by the international group of experts under the auspices of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the European Research Area Committee. These studies examined the Slovenian research and innovation environment and public policies in these areas, and subsequently provided recommendations for their optimisation. The results and recommendations of these studies were taken into consideration during the preparation of the Strategy* (Kolar & Komljenovič, 2011, p. 102).

The presence of Discourse 2

Managerial university

The group of ideas tackling universities' governance in the international sub-discourse is mirrored in the Slovenian policy to a very small extent. The Slovenian policy does not predict that universities will professionalise management, nor does it foresee leadership training or introducing leadership for managers from outside academia. Furthermore, there are no proposals that business should advise on the management structures of universities. The policy only predicts an institutional strategy setting and better cooperation between disciplines and faculties within the universities.

The national policy is more in line with the second group of ideas in this sub-discourse. Thus knowledge transfer to business is promoted, as well

as spin-offs and star-ups and an entrepreneurial culture. This is much more evident in the RISS than in the NHEP.

A part of the third group of ideas can be found in the Slovenian strategies as well. It is recognised that Slovenian universities already enjoy a high level of autonomy, and it is predicted that this will even increase in some parts of human resource management, by way of exempting academic and research staff from civil service status. Overregulation is mentioned, and it is stated that internal management will be left completely to universities, while, on the other hand, better responsiveness to society and higher accountability is envisaged. Thus the state will indeed focus on the strategic orientation of the system. Autonomy is used cognitively and normatively, i.e., as a value safeguarding academic freedom and as an instrument for responsiveness to societal needs and increased competitiveness.

The idea of diversification is present, partly in line with the international discourse and partly in contradiction to it. There is compliance for the differentiation of universities' profiles regarding the identification of institutional strengths, the focus on different student groups, teaching and research priorities. In addition, the RISS elaborates on 'smart specialisation' developed by a bottom-up approach completely compliant with the EU cluster. On the other hand, there is a discrepancy regarding the differentiation of the main mission of universities – research. The documents recognise that the main aim of universities is to produce knowledge, and fundamental research is prioritised especially. All universities are expected to have this profile, which is in contradiction to the European discourse. Other HEIs are expected to focus on the teaching role as the main priority, as well as connection to the profession and vocation. In this sense, the Slovenian policy is fully in line with the EUA, BP and CoE clusters, but only partly conforms to the EU cluster.

Funding is predicted to increase both for HE and research, but there is again an important difference with regard to the international discourse. Public funding, which is already comparable to the EU[4] or even higher, is predicted to increase substantially mainly from the public source, and student fees will to be introduced. The elements of international discourse that are present are long term contracts between the state and universities, specifying the goals to be achieved by universities. However, the share of funding for HE based on outcomes as opposed to the fixed share is predicted to be rather small in comparison to the expectation from the international discourse (only 3% of funds).

4 According to EUROSTAT data, total public expenditure on education as % of GDP at tertiary level of education (ISCED 5-6) was 1.38% in 2009, while the EU27 average was 1.22%.

The group of ideas on quality assurance is in line with the international discourse, as the quality culture at universities and internal quality assurance are emphasised. With regard to external quality assurance, a system is predicted that is completely in line with the international discourse, i.e., implementing the ESG[5], ex post evaluation, non-academic stakeholders in the governance of the agency, public and transparent information, and similar ideas.

Relationship with the business sector

The teaching function part of this international sub-discourse is partly compatible with the Slovenian policy. The latter expects universities to be attentive to employers' needs regarding the curricula; however, this is seen as in important part of academic autonomy. Thus direct employability skills are not mentioned for universities, while such an expectation is created for professional HEIs.

Career guidance, alumni and diploma supplement are present in the national policy.

Content changes

The Slovenian policy mentions the qualification framework, as well as the required generic competences offered in the curricula:

> *All study programmes must ensure that knowledge and skills are obtained in accordance with a national qualification framework and key competences, including innovation, critical thinking, communication in the mother tongue, cultural consciousness and expression, ability to operate in the international environment and information literacy, are developed* (Kolar & Komljenovič, 2011, p. 15).
>
> *Opportunities will be created to gain entrepreneurial skills and entrepreneurial culture among students, as well as for the simple establishment of enterprises* (Kolar & Komljenovič, 2011, p. 116).

As mentioned above, the direct relevance of curricula to the labour market is predicted for professional HEIs but not for universities, thus making the national policy partly compliant with the international discourse. The situation is similar regarding STEM disciplines, as they are favoured in the RISS for economic purposes, but not in the NHEP.

There are some original issues in the Slovenian policy of 2011 that are not presented in the present paper, as the aim of the article is to identify the discourses in the international policy and only then show their presence in the Slovenian case.

5 Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area.

Conclusion

While there is compliance with international discourses to a significant extent, the Slovenian HE policy still seems to encompass the 'traditional' idea of a university to an important degree. It seems that the new conceptualisation of universities as institutions with integrated economic development as a core function, which has been increasingly present in European policy in the past decade, does not fit comfortably in the Slovenian context. HEIs are not expected to be 'motors of the economy' or to be directly responsible for Slovenian global competitiveness, although it is recognised that they have an important role in the KE as institutions creating and transmitting knowledge. In addition, there is strong motivation to use knowledge in the economy, thus contributing to the creation of jobs. However, there are no direct expectations for HEIs to be responsible for the state of the economy.

The other important difference between the international and national discourses is in the concept of the managerial university. The Slovenian strategies do not predict that universities will professionalise in terms of turning into 'business-like' organisations, as would be expected in line with international trends (Felt, 2001). Furthermore, there is no expectation that they diversify funding streams in the direction of privatisation. In addition, autonomy is not reduced solely to the managerial concept, as it emphasises the normative ideational part, and even uses the cognitive part for non-economic purposes such as academic freedom.

Even though there is a multitude of ideas, concepts and measures in the Slovenian policy that mirror international discourses, the identified differences are important conceptual contrasts between the national and international policy.

It is possible to assert that the 'new' goals and roles of universities are defined in the European and Slovenian policy, and that there are latent clashing ideas between the 'traditional' and the 'new' conceptualisation of universities. Gornitzka (2010) explains that the fundamental change can be expected when goals and interests from one sphere invade the other, elaborating that for the changes of the societal sectors to occur, the "interaction between the sectors that are built on different principles is a fundamental dynamic of change" p. 537. Less dramatic changes in the HE sector can be seen when 'only' the "market-like solutions are imported to adjust the governance mechanisms in the academic sphere without changing the overall policy paradigm", p. 537. The finding of the present research is that at the European level substantial interactions between sectors of HE and the economy are foreseen and encouraged. This means that not only the 'market-like solutions' for HE are predicted, but the HE goals

and interests seem to change as the business sector is invited to interact with HE. This is also the case in Slovenian policy, even if it receives less emphasis and even if the new conceptualisation found in European policy is not picked up completely. Thus, based on findings from the analysis, important changes in the conceptualisation of HE at the European level, and even more so at the Slovenian level, can be expected in the future.

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Biographical note

Janja Komljenovič is an assistant researcher at the Centre for Educational Policy Studies, University of Ljubljana. She has been working in the field of higher education for more than a decade beginning as a student representative in 2002 when she was involved in national and European higher education policy making, especially in the Bologna process and quality assurance. In 2007 she worked for European University Association and between 2009 and 2011 she was advisor to the Slovenian Minister of higher education, science and technology; since 2011 she works at the University of Ljubljana. Her research interests are mainly the roles of universities in contemporary societies, university governance and autonomy and changing circumstances for higher education.

Failure of the Croatian Higher Education Reform

Zoran Kurelić[1] and Siniša Rodin*[2]

The authors analyse the reasons for Croatian higher education reform since 2003, as well as its consequences. The main proposition of the paper is that the implementation of the Bologna Process in Croatia has failed due to a fundamental misunderstanding of the goals of the process, a lack of correspondence between the cycles of higher education and the European Qualifications Framework, and a lack of international pressure, resulting from the nature of the open method of coordination. The authors present the internal market rules of the European Union and how they affect the national regulation of higher education. The paper deals with the main characteristics of the higher education reform and how it has affected the structure of higher education programmes, the comparability of degrees and qualifications, and student mobility. The authors propose an agenda for a "reform of the reform" that could bring the Croatian system of higher education back onto the European track.

Keywords: Croatia, higher education, Bologna Process, open method of coordination, professional qualifications, quality assessment, services of general interest, market access

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Neuspešno reformiranje hrvaškega visokega šolstva

Zoran Kurelić in Siniša Rodin*

Avtorja analizirata vzroke za reforme visokega šolstva na Hrvaškem po letu 2003 in posledice teh reform. Temeljna trditev članka je, da je bila implementacija bolonjskega procesa na Hrvaškem neuspešna zaradi temeljnega nerazumevanja ciljev procesa, pomanjkanja usklajenosti med cikli visokošolskega izobraževanja in evropskim ogrodjem kvalifikacij ter zaradi pomanjkanja mednarodnega pritiska, ki izhaja iz narave t. i. odprte metode koordinacije. Avtorja predstavita pravila notranjega trga v Evropski uniji in njihov vpliv na nacionalno urejanje visokega šolstva. Obravnavane so glavne značilnosti reform visokega šolstva ter njihov vpliv na strukturo visokošolskih študijskih programov, primerljivost stopenj in kvalifikacij ter mobilnost študentov. Avtorja predlagata agendo za »reformo reforme«, ki bi hrvaški sistem visokega šolstva lahko vrnila na evropsko pot.

Ključne besede: Hrvaška, visoko šolstvo, bolonjski proces, odprta metoda koordinacije, strokovne kvalifikacije, vrednotenje kakovosti, storitve v splošnem interesu, dostop do trga

Introduction

It is no longer a secret that the implementation of the Bologna Process in Croatia has gone wrong.[3] The higher education reform displays a significant level of anti-liberal conservative statism, which has support in parts of the academic community and in both leading parties: SDP (Social Democratic Party) and HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union). In essence, policymakers resist the Bologna Process and Europeanisation, hoping to retain the old academic and political arrangements. The system created by the reform is a bastard combining some elements of the old system with some concepts of the Bologna Process in a model that is in sync with neither the European surroundings nor Croatian society. The most obvious problems are: the destruction of the two Bologna cycles, the total lack of interdisciplinary Master's programmes (such as gender studies or European studies), bizarre degrees such as "Postgraduate Specialist", which are some sort of post-Master Master, and the frightening fact that the key degree of the reform, the Bachelor of Arts, does not even guarantee decent employability, as Croatian law recognises a Master's degree as a full qualification, not a Bachelor's degree. The fatal (politically motivated) decision to turn all pre-Bologna diploma holders into Bologna Master's degree holders by law opened a can of worms that was not fully anticipated by the policymakers responsible. What they did not know is that their moves to create a new model in a way that changes very little substantially *de facto* collides with the internal market of the EU and the four freedoms on which it is based. The creation of an essentially anti-liberal and anti-European model was not a conspiracy and was not brilliantly planned by cunning conservatives on the left and on the right; it was a synergy of various incompetent decisions and fears, in which universities also played their role, especially the faculties that recognised that the implementation of the Bologna Reform in Croatia could seriously damage their legal and financial independence.

The aim of the present paper is to analyse the reasons for Croatian higher education reform since 2003, as well as its consequences. The main proposition of the paper is that the implementation of the Bologna Process in Croatia has failed due to a fundamental misunderstanding of the goals of the process, a lack of correspondence between the cycles of higher education and the European Qualifications Framework, and a lack of international pressure, resulting from the nature of the open method of coordination. In part 2, we present the

3 See the most recent interview with the President of the Republic, Mr Ivo Josipović, Jutarnji List, 14 October 2012, retrieved 4 November 2012 from: http://www.jutarnji.hr/ivo-josipovic-intervju-hrvatska-ce-sigurno-uci-u-eu-1-srpnja-pa-njemacka-nas-je-podrzavala-od-samog-pocetka-/1059959/.

internal market rules of the European Union and how they affect the national regulation of higher education. Part 3 deals with the main characteristics of the higher education reform and how it has affected the structure of higher education programmes, the comparability of degrees and qualifications, and student mobility. In part 4, we propose an agenda for a "reform of the reform" that could bring the Croatian system of higher education back onto the European track.

Croatian higher education, the Bologna Process and internal market rules

The reform of the Croatian higher education model was launched in 2003 by the comprehensive reform of the Science and Higher Education Act.[4] However, the most sensitive and most comprehensive part of the reform of the Croatian system of higher education coincided with the extended process of negotiations for Croatia's EU membership. Science and higher education are commonly understood as easy negotiating chapters. Chapter 25 (Science and Research) and Chapter 26 (Education and Culture) were opened and provisionally closed at the very outset of the EU membership negotiations, on 12 June and 11 December 2006, respectively.[5] The Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration was quick to restate that the European Union does not have a common education policy, with regulatory powers in this area being retained by Member States.[6] The Chapter on Freedom of Establishment and Freedom to Provide Services was also provisionally closed on 21 December 2009. Due to the fact that certain negotiating chapters have been provisionally closed, various actors often conclude that Croatian law has been fully harmonised with EU law in a specific sector.[7] The understanding that Member States enjoy wide regulatory autonomy in the higher education sector, and that the closure of relevant chapters confirms national higher education policy, will be challenged: while the Bologna Process is indeed based on an open method of coordination, EU law restricts the regulatory autonomy of its Member States in other areas of regulation, primarily through legal rules regulating the internal market and its four freedoms, that is, the free movement of goods, services, workers and capital. It will be argued that higher education, on the one hand, and freedom of establishment and freedom to provide services, on the other, have passed each other like ships in the night, which is one of the main reasons

4 Zakon o znanstvenoj djelatnosti i visokom obrazovanju, Narodne novine (Official Gazette), 123 of 31.07.03.

5 Retreived 30 January 2011 from http://www.mvpei.hr/ei/default.asp?ru=568&gl=200701090000002&sid=&jezik=1.

6 Ibid.

7 See, e.g., http://www.mingorp.hr/default.aspx?id=2051 retreived 30 January 2011.

why Croatian higher education remains unfit to meet the requirements of the EU internal market.

In order to substantiate this claim, the first subsection will distinguish between higher education as a market service and higher education as a public good. It will also clarify how EU law affects the regulatory autonomy of Member States in the area of higher education. The second subsection will present an overview of administrative barriers that, in the sector of higher education, have the potential to restrict market freedoms. In this context, it will be demonstrated that EU internal market rules, while respecting Member States' autonomy to regulate higher education, prevent Member States from totally excluding higher education services from the market and from the application of EU internal market rules.

Services of general interest in the EU internal market

Higher education, legally speaking, can be defined either as a service that is provided on the market or as a public good that States provide to their citizens within the framework of their social function. This distinction is important because it provides a criterion for the application of EU internal market and competition rules. In the area of higher education, which is outside the scope of these rules, Member States enjoy wider regulatory autonomy and broader discretion for the implementation of their own higher education and social policy. However, in so doing, Member States must respect EU law applicable to market freedoms. In other words, Member States have the discretion to frame their respective education policy and, more generally, social policy, but must do so within the more general framework of the internal market rules and policies of the EU. The same holds for candidate countries.

The establishment and functioning of the internal market is one of the fundamental objectives of the EU.[8] However, only non-economic services of general interest are exempt from the application of internal market rules. Activities that are considered economic services of general interest may be within the scope of the application of the rules applicable to free movement of goods,[9] freedom to provide services,[10] freedom of establishment,[11] free movement of

8 Art. 3(3) TEU.

9 See case C-438/02 *Criminal proceedings against Krister Hanner* (2005) ECR I-4551.

10 Case C-281/06, *Hans-Dieter Jundt and Hedwig Jundt v Finanzamt Offenburg* (2007) ECR I-12231.

11 Case C-153/02, *Valentina Neri v European School of Economics (ESE Insight World Education System Ltd)* (2003) ECR I-13555.

workers,[12] and, most likely, free movement of capital, as well as being within the scope of competition rules.

Exceptions apply; a specific regime is applicable to services of general interest. However, being characterised as such does not completely exempt certain activity from the application of market rules, but only "… on the basis of principles and conditions, particularly economic and financial conditions, which enable them to fulfil their missions".[13]

Economic and non-economic services of general interest

Distinguishing economic from non-economic services of general interest is anything but simple. The importance of the distinction lies in the fact that economic services of general interest are considered services within the meaning of Art. 57 of the TFEU and are subject to the application of Art. 106(2) TFEU, both in the field of competition law and of the four freedoms. For example, when an economic operator, individuals included, provides services of higher education for remuneration, the situation is different. Such activities are considered economic and are within the scope of EU law. Furthermore, when an individual provides services in the form of lecturing, such activities are considered a service, since they are provided for consideration. This is the case even if the activity is performed at a public university and upon its invitation.[14] By the same token, when lectures are organised in institutions that operate for profit, they are within the scope of Art. 57.[15]

Application of internal market rules to higher education

Higher education activities can be exempted from the application of internal market and competition rules only insofar as such activities can be entirely characterised as non-economic activities of general interest.

The basic assumption is that the choice depends on a national policy choice. However, the initial judgment of a State is subject to the scrutiny of the ECJ, and it is perfectly possible that some activities that a particular State wants

12 Case C-4/91, *Annegret Bleis v Ministère de l'Education Nationale* (1991) ECR I-5627. In the opinion of the ECJ, public service exception under Art 45(3) TEU is not applicable in respect to high school teachers.

13 Art. 14 TFEU. In addition, Art. 36 of the Charter of Rights of the European Union provides that "[t]he Union recognizes and respects access to services of general economic interest as provided for in national laws and practices, in accordance with the Treaty establishing the European Community, in order to promote the social and territorial cohesion of the Union".

14 *Jundt, supra,* note 6 §§ 32-34

15 Case C-109/92, *Stephan Max Wirth v Landeshauptstadt Hannover* (1993) ECR I-6447 § 17.

to exempt from the application of internal market rules cannot be exempted according to EU law. In the standing case law of the ECJ, some specific categories of services, such as medical or educational, cannot be automatically exempted from the application of free movement rules.[16] In any case, Member States cannot exempt entire sectors of economic activities from the scope of free movement rules.[17] Accordingly, some higher education activities enjoy the protection of internal market guarantees; such activities are exempted from internal market law only insofar as the internal market law could affect their basic mission, which is assessed on a case-to-case basis.

It is possible that higher education activities can be considered either as services within the meaning of Art. 57 of the TFEU, as economic services of general interest, or as non-economic services. The first case would include the provision of services on the market, the second would include, for example, a public-private partnership, while the third would cover a system of state education provided as part of a national social package.

Regulatory competence in the area of higher education

Higher education in the EU falls within the regulatory competence of Member States. According to Art. 6 of the TFEU, the EU has competence to support, coordinate or supplement national measures.

Although Member States have exclusive competence in higher education, they may not, when regulating in the field, run against the general principles of EU law, such as the principle of equal treatment,[18] nor are they at license to restrict fundamental market freedoms.[19] In this context, two situations have to be distinguished.

EU internal market law can preclude national law even in the non-economic sector of higher education. An example can be found in the area of the mutual recognition of qualifications; namely, MRQ is a part of internal market law that applies regardless of the nature of the activity (Rodin, 2009c). In other

16 Case 279/80 *Webb* (1981) ECR 3305, § 10; case C-158/96 *Kohll* (1998) ECR I-1931 § 20.

17 Case 131/85 *Gül v Regierungspräsident Düsseldorf* (1986) ECR 1573, § 17.

18 Case C-267/06 *Tadao Maruko v Versorgungsanstalt der deutschen Bühnen* (2008) ECR I-1757, § 59; see also C-555/07 *Seda Kücükdeveci v Swedex GmbH & Co. KG.,* not yet published in ECR, § 27.

19 Starting from the early case 120/78 *Rewe-Zentral AG v Bundesmonopolverwaltung für Branntwein* (1979) ECR 649, § 8. See also C-76/05 *Schwarz and Gootjes-Schwarz* (2007) ECR I6849, § 70 and joined cases C-11/06 & C-12/06 *Morgan and Bucher* (2007) ECR I9161, § 24. More recently, related to higher education, see case C-73/08, *Nicolas Bressol and Others and Céline Chaverot and Others v Gouvernement de la Communauté française*, not yet published in ECR, § 28: "As a preliminary point, it should be recalled that whilst European Union law does not detract from the power of the Member States as regards the organisation of their education systems and of vocational training – pursuant to Articles 165(1) and 166(1) TFEU – the fact remains that, when exercising that power, Member States must comply with European Union law, in particular the provisions on the freedom to move and reside within the territory of the Member States."

words, Member States have only limited manoeuvring space in framing their higher education policies, despite the fact that, formally, they enjoy exclusive competence in the area of higher education (Garben, 2010).

Croatian higher education law and policy

In the light of the requirements of EU law described above, the present section will continue the analysis of Croatian higher education law and policy. In so doing, it will concentrate on their elements that encroach upon EU-related commitments. The discussion will focus on three points: the first point will expose contradictions in the Croatian system of recognition of professional qualifications, the second point will suggest that objections that the European Commission has addressed to Greece also apply to the Croatian situation, while the third point will discuss how EU citizenship and prohibition of discrimination on grounds of nationality affects Croatian higher education policy. We will demonstrate that Croatian higher education policy has created a system that is incompatible with the European qualification framework, leading to a situation where Croatian students need to study at least one year more then their European counterparts to earn the same qualification, while European degrees fail to be recognised in Croatia due to their "insufficient" length.

Professional qualifications

Differences in national systems of professional qualifications can create obstacles to freedom to provide services, freedom of establishment and free movement of workers. In an attempt to overcome such obstacles, EU law makes professional qualifications part of internal market regulation, with the general objective of contributing to market integration by measures of negative and positive integration. The main instrument of positive integration in this area is Directive 2005/36/EC, which does not seek to harmonise national systems of qualifications but instead provides for a system of mutual recognition.

The level of qualifications can be expressed in many ways. The Bologna Declaration introduced three cycles of higher education – undergraduate, graduate and postgraduate. It should be noted that the Directive, being a continuance of earlier directives applicable in the field, employs terminology that is older than the Bologna Declaration. In Art. 11, the Directive speaks about post-secondary education in the duration of a minimum of three and no more than four years to describe what has become the first Bologna cycle, and in the duration of a minimum of four years to describe the minimum for completion

of a graduate cycle. This defines the levels and volume of qualifications as a minimum requirement for interstate mobility.

As specified in the 13th recital of the Preamble to the Directive, national systems of higher education are grouped into different levels. The aim of such classification is only to facilitate the application of the general system of recognition, and it does not affect national educational structures or the regulatory competence of the Member States in the field. The Directive itself does not create any specific obligation regarding how Member States should frame their higher education; it only ensures that persons who have acquired a certain level of higher education can exercise their rights under the Directive.

Nevertheless, this system affects national higher education policies in an indirect way, since citizens of other Member States have access to the market under conditions that can be less strict than those required by a national system. For example, a person from another Member State who has acquired three years of post-secondary education has equal right of market access as a person who has studied for four years in the State of origin. In other words, the Directive creates a situation where three-year study programmes, and in any case four-year study programmes, lead to the acquisition of full qualifications as a condition for interstate mobility.

Firstly, possibly the most far-reaching contradictions in Croatian higher education law and policy follow from the fact that the entire higher education policy, from mid 2003 until the present day, has pursued a model according to which full qualifications for all professions is acquired after five years of post-secondary education, and such five-year qualifications are made equal to the pre-Bologna four-year cycle. This policy choice encumbers access to the labour and services market for students who have acquired qualifications at Croatian HEEs[20], since, according to EU law, full qualification (and market access) is guaranteed by a minimum of three and not more than four years of education. In other words, all national requirements that oblige citizens of other Member States to meet specific criteria in order to exercise market access will be suspect from the perspective of the general system of recognition of qualifications. This holds for both public and private HEEs, since both are subject to the same national qualifications framework.

In legal terms, former four-year programmes were made equal to post-Bologna five-year programmes pursuant to the Science and Higher Education (Amendment) Act 2004.[21] This was not only a blatant falsification of one of the

20 Higher education establishments.

21 Zakon o izmjenama i dopunama Zakona o znanstvenoj djelatnosti i visokom obrazovanju, Narodne novine (Official Gazette), 105/2004 of 28.07.04.

objectives of the Bologna Declaration (Kurelić, 2009), but also an obstacle to the free movement of workers, services and establishment. The same policy choice was built into Art. 14 of the Law on Academic and Professional Titles and Academic Degrees.[22]

This coherent policy was finalised by Art. 28 of the Draft Higher Education Act, which was introduced into parliamentary procedure in mid 2011. According to § 2 thereof, undergraduate studies lead to qualifications necessary for "…work and employment in certain professional jobs of medium complexity". This is in clear contradiction to the Directive, since it restricts the freedom to provide services and free movement of workers for persons who have acquired full qualifications in three- and four-year study programmes in other Member States of the EU.

The described policy not only creates obstacles to free movement directly, but also indirectly by restricting the operation of HEEs, both public and private, since it forces them to adjust their curricula to the national qualifications framework, which itself restricts free movement.

Freedom to provide services and freedom of establishment

Can a Member State prohibit or restrict the establishment of private HEEs relying on exclusive competence in the area of higher education? Can a Member State subject private HEEs to the same legal regime as public HEEs? Can it prohibit or restrict the operation of HEEs from other Member States? To what extent is a State subject to the application of internal market rules? Examples can be found in other areas of regulation.[23] Situations are comparable to the extent that higher education is understood as a service of general economic interest. State regulation must pursue a legitimate aim, e.g., a high standard of service. Furthermore, a State can restrict certain activity and reserve it for the public sector. However, it can do so only by applying criteria that exclude the discrimination of goods and services, or indeed qualifications, from other Member States.

At first glance, there are no legal obstacles in the Croatian legal system that would hinder EU HEEs, accredited in one of the Member States, in exercising freedom of establishment in Croatia. Such HEEs would be subject to Croatian law applicable to higher education only to the extent to which protection of a legitimate regulatory interest had not already been ensured in the State of

22 Zakon o akademskim i stručnim nazivima i akademskom stupnju, Narodne novine (Official Gazette), 107/2007 of 19.10.07.

23 Case C-438/02 *Criminal proceedings against Krister Hanner* (2005) ECR I-4551.

their establishment. Such HEEs would be entitled to organise classes and exams and to extend qualifications, subject to compliance with the legal rules of the State in which they are established. Croatian legal rules would be applicable to them only insofar as the rules are not discriminatory, and only to extent that creates certain added value to the already existing protection under the legal rules of the State of origin. This position was expressed by the ECJ in *Neri*.[24]

The main obstacle to the establishment of HEEs was removed in 2008, when the Law on Institutions was amended. The amendments allowed third-country nationals to establish HEEs in Croatia.[25] Nevertheless, even after the amendment, other restrictions to freedom of establishment persist. They are embedded in the process of accreditation of HEEs established in Croatia, as well as in the accreditation of their academic programmes.

Two policy choices are particularly suspect. First, Arts. 7 and 8 of the Rules on the Contents of Accreditation Instrument[26] provide that a necessary requirement for institutional accreditation is the entering of the HEE seeking accreditation into a contract with an already accredited HEE, stipulating that the two HEEs will execute the programme together. Following two years of joint performance, the already accredited HEE may issue a certificate (Art. 11) stipulating that the conditions specified in the contract have been satisfied.

In other words, market access control in higher education is entrusted to an institution that may be a direct competitor of the HEE seeking market access. The Rules do not clarify whether this is applicable to HEEs from other States, i.e., whether an accreditation-seeking HEE could enter into a contract with an HEE from, for instance, Germany or Italy. Article 2(10) of the Quality Assurance in Science and Higher Education Act[27] defines the "accreditation instrument" as an "… administrative act, enacted by the Ministry, pursuant to evaluation procedure…". This leads to the conclusion that a "contract" could be entered into only with HEEs from Croatia, which makes the measure "distinctly applicable" and thus contrary to EU law. Distinctly applicable measures, generally speaking, are very difficult to justify.[28] In any case, such a measure

24 *Neri*, *supra*, note 7.

25 Zakon o ustanovama. The amendment was required by the Screening Report of the European Commission for Chapter 3, of 19 July 2006. The Report found that certain institutions ("ustanove") perform commercial activity, and to that extent are subject to rules applicable to such undertakings.

26 Pravilnik o sadržaju dopusnice te uvjetima za izdavanje dopusnice za obavljanje djelatnosti visokog obrazovanja, izvođenje studijskog programa i reakreditacije visokih učilišta, Narodne novine (Official Gazette), 24/2010 of 22.02.10.

27 Zakon o osiguravanju kvalitete u znanosti i visokom obrazovanju, Narodne novine (Official Gazette), 45/2009 of 10. 04. 2009.

28 Catherine Barnard permits that certain distinctly applicable measures can still be justified. See Barnard (2010, p. 511).

restricts market access to everyone who wants to conclude a "contract" with an HEE established outside Croatia. Even if higher education is considered a non-economic service of general interest, such a restriction could not be justified due to its discriminatory nature (see *Hanner*).

The second suspect provision of the Rules is Article 2(2). This provision specifies that, in order to establish a private HEE, a bank collateral must be ensured. The purpose of the collateral is to compensate students in the case of the discontinuation of activities. The beneficiary of the collateral is the HEE with whom the accreditation-seeking HEE has entered into a contract. It is impossible to overlook the fact that a similar provision of Greek law prompted the European Commission to address a formal notice to Greece, seeking repeal of the rule. The Croatian norm does not specify the amount of the collateral, but it is clear that the amount must be agreed upon with the "already accredited HEE", that is, with a direct competitor on the market of higher education services. Furthermore, the formal notice addressed to Greece reveals the Commission's position that mandatory minimum academic requirements for professors teaching at the HEE established in other Member States, as well as their obligation to register in the registry of HE professors, is in breach of EU law. The Croatian Draft Higher Education Act also provides for minimum requirements, and is applicable without making a distinction between public and private HEEs. Similar to Greek legislation, the Croatian Draft Act does not take into account conditions that such professors have already fulfilled in another Member State.[29]

The obligation to register with the Registry of University Professors or, in Croatia, the Registry of Scientists, has the same restrictive potential.[30] The Rules provide that all scientists appointed to scientific positions, as well as professors appointed to teaching/scientific positions, should be registered with the Registry. Even after the amendment of 1 July 2010,[31] Art. 9 of the Rules provides that proof of Croatian citizenship must be attached with the request for registration.

Recent Developments

While the described legal reform was designed and implemented by the centre-right government in December 2011, following general elections, a

29 Art. 80 of the Statute of the University of Zagreb specifies that a visiting professor can be entrusted with teaching a course during two consecutive years, at the longest, subject to the permission of the Senate or a faculty council. This is a clear example of a distinctly applicable measure.

30 Pravilnik o upisniku znanstvenika, Narodne novine (Official Gazette), 72/2004 of 01.06.04, as amended, Narodne novine (Official Gazette), 82/2010 of 01.07.10.

31 Narodne novine (Official Gazette), 82/2010 of 01.07.10.

social-democrat led coalition assumed power and formed the government. The Ministry of Science proposed the new Science and Higher Education Act in April 2012 and opened public consultations. While the draft Act introduces a number of changes, it remains restrictive in respect of all of the points mentioned above, particularly in respect of internal market rules and non-discrimination on the grounds of nationality.

Article 41 of the Draft Act creates an obstacle to the free movement of workers and prevents workers from EU Member States from applying for jobs in higher education. Restrictive provisions include an obligation to be registered with the Croatian Register of Scientists, and an obligation to be appointed to a scientific position by a State-controlled committee. Responding to these concerns, the Ministry replied that registration of foreign nationals with the Register of Scientists was made possible by recent amendments,[32] and that the State Appointment Committee (*matični odbor*) can authorise the appointment to a scientific position of persons who have not been previously employed in Croatia. However, this is possible only if the State Appointment Committee concludes that the person concerned "meets the equivalent requirements" (*zadovoljava istovjetne uvjete*).[33] This only enforces indirect discrimination of EU nationals, as it is necessary to go through the specific procedure before the State Appointment Committee, which checks whether the applicant meets criteria that he or she has already satisfied in his or her home State. Croatian law therefore creates double burden for such persons. In effect, university professors from the EU will be discriminated against, since their job application will have to be assessed as to the compatibility of the applicant's qualifications with Croatian requirements, as well as being subject to registration with the Croatian register. This procedure gives an automatic advantage to Croatian candidates who already work within the system of higher education, while citizens of other Member States have to confront significant administrative barriers. In order to make it crystal clear, a German or Italian professor applying for a job at a Croatian university would have to register and be subject to the assessment of Croatian appointment criteria. Meanwhile, a Croatian docent can apply for the same job without any administrative requirements.

The Draft Act also maintains the original invention introduced by the centre-right government according to which Level 6 of the European Qualifications Framework is not a fully employable qualification, while Level 7 is split into two sublevels – Level 7.1 (Master) and Level 7.2. (Postgraduate Specialist).[34]

32 Pravilnik o izmjenama Pravilnika o Upisniku znanstvenika, Narodne novine (Official Gazette), 72/04 & 82/10).

33 Article 12 of the Draft Act, amending Art. 33 of the original Act.

34 Article 31 of the Draft Act, amending Article 77 of the original Act.

On the first count, Art. 71 of the Draft Act defines Bachelor studies as studies that "qualify students for graduate studies and give them the possibility of employment in certain professional jobs" (in Croatian: "Preddiplomski studij osposobljava studente za diplomski studij te im daje mogućnost zapošljavanja na određenim stručnim poslovima"). In other words, the bachelorate does not fully qualify the holder for a profession.

On the second count, the artificial distinction between Levels 7.1. and 7.2. prevents students who have acquired a Bachelor's degree level (Level 6 of the EQF) to study at Level 7.2., despite the fact that the two sublevels transfer the same level of competences. The distinction between sublevels is based on the assumption, advocated by both political options since 2003, that only a Master's level of education confers fully employable competences. Therefore, all students have to complete the Master's level in order to qualify for a profession, before they can "specialise".

According to this logic, since Bachelors are not fully qualified, they are not legally permitted to study at "postgraduate specialist" Level 7.2. Certainly, such a solution creates a system that is not internationally compatible, thus departing from one of the main goals of the Bologna Declaration. The European University Association considers such post-Master Master programmes to be "aberrant."[35]

The Croatian system has already had detrimental consequences. Notably, universities are legally prohibited from admitting students holding a European Bachelor and a U.S. college degree to Level 7.2. studies; such students must take Master's degree level programmes first. However, there is no reason why they should want to take a Croatian Master's degree programme, since such programmes, in reality, transfer Bachelor-level competences necessary for entry to the first profession, and not competences belonging to Level 7 of the European Qualifications Framework.

On the side of outgoing mobility, since Croatian students need to study for five nominal years in order to obtain the first complete qualification, they will be discouraged to take a Master's degree at another university. For example, students of Economics who obtain a Bachelor's degree in Economics in Croatia and then take a one-year Master's course in, for instance, Political Marketing in Slovenia, would not be considered qualified economists in Croatia. Full qualification requires taking a consecutive Master of Economics.

The present system discloses a discrepancy between the Croatian and

35 Howard Davies, Survey of Master Degrees in Europe, European University Association (2009, p. 16): "To illustrate the diversity of provision, Trends V pointed to Master qualifications tied to the first cycle, to Master qualifications located within the third cycle, and to apparently aberrant forms such as the 'post-Master Master.'"

European systems of higher education qualifications: according to Art. 16, both sublevels 7.1. and 7.2. are linked to Level 7 of the European Qualifications Framework, and according to Art. 17, they are linked to the 2nd Bologna cycle. This creates a paradox according to which so-called "Postgraduate Specialist" programmes can be delivered only after the completion of the 2nd Bologna cycle, to which they, according to law, belong. This is confirmed in the Referencing and Self-Certification Report of the Croatian Qualifications Framework to the European Qualifications Framework and to the Qualifications Framework of the European Higher Education Area.[36]

Indeed, EU law allows Member States to regulate their higher education systems. Furthermore, the Bologna Process is based on an open method of coordination that leaves States significant regulatory autonomy. However, the EU system of qualifications introduces a strong normative framework that Member States must comply with. In effect, mistakes made in the implementation of the Bologna Declaration can not survive the test of EU law applicable to the mutual recognition of qualifications. The two major mistakes made by Croatia are the creation of so-called postgraduate specialist degrees that belong to Level 7 EQF but are delivered within the third Bologna Cycle, and legislative prescription according to which only a Master's degree, and not Bachelor degree, confers full professional qualifications.

In the latest development, introduced by the Croatian Government on 17 October 2012, the Croatian Qualifications Framework Bill does away with Levels 7.1 and 7.2 and for the first time introduces a single Level 7 of qualifications. The Bill is currently in its first parliamentary reading.[37] Not surprisingly, the Progress Report emphasised that further progress is needed in aligning Croatian legislation in the area of the mutual recognition of professional qualifications.[38]

36 Ministry of Science, Education and Sports Agency for Science and Higher Education, Zagreb, February 2012, p. 82. "Graduate university degrees – specialist correspond to the second cycle of QF-EHEA and sublevel 7.2 of CROQF. These degrees are awarded following the completion of accredited one to two year study programmes and students are required to earn a minimum of 60 or 120 ECTS credits, respectively." And further: "Entry into a programme may be granted to holders of degrees at CROQF sublevel 7.1. This degree is usually part of the lifelong learning educational path of employed persons who have already completed graduate university studies or specialist professional graduate study and continue their education in a certain field."

37 http://www.sabor.hr/Default.aspx?art=50557&sec=4604, retrieved 4 November 2012.

38 Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council on the Main Findings of the Comprehensive Monitoring Report on Croatia's state of preparedness for EU membership, Brussels, 10.10.12 COM(2012) 601, p. 16. "In the field of right of establishment and freedom to provide services further efforts are needed, particularly for the alignment with the Services Directive and in the field of mutual recognition of professional qualifications, despite the progress achieved to date in both areas."

How to save Croatian higher education?

Inception

The Croatian system of higher education is in jeopardy due to a series of regulatory measures introduced since 2004 that have destroyed the inherited rationality of the system without creating a coherent system that corresponds to the requirements of the European Union.[39] Instead of acting as a corrective to market failure, we have a situation in which the market is allowed to be present only in cases of State failure, i.e., in instances where the State is unable or unwilling to deliver higher education services. Moreover, the intensity of regulation has proved to be largely counterproductive, failing to allow a genuine private sector to develop while, at the same time, strangling creativity within public education by imposing strict *ex ante* control. In other words, the Croatian system of higher education has to be saved from arbitrary and irrational State regulation.

The inception date that led to the present state of affairs in Croatian higher education is 16 July 2004, when the Croatian Parliament adopted amendments to the Science and Higher Education Act.[40] The newly introduced Art. 120 declared pre-Bologna four-year degrees *ex lege* equal to Bologna Master's degrees, thus initiating the synergy of horror that we witness today. This amendment created an absurd situation in which four-year Bachelor's degrees from the times of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are made equal to Master's degrees, while, at the same time, four-year Bachelor's degrees from European and American universities are considered bachelorates. All of the subsequent legislative interventions have only implemented this populist idea, which created a large number of *ex lege* Master's degree holders who lack real qualifications attributable to the Master's level. This was finally endorsed on 3 October 2007,[41] only a month before the general election, which can only lead to the conclusion that the government wanted to attract the loyalty of voters employed in public administration who hold such degrees. In this way, their degrees were made equal to the Master's degrees acquired by an increasing number of young people who have studied in the EU and the United States. In a paper published in 2007, Rodin argues that this is not by accident but by

39 It has been suggested by reviewers of the present paper that there is nothing for the Croatian system of higher education to be saved from. The authors disagree. We claim that the excessive role of the State has created not just an overregulated system but, indeed, a system that is incompatible with the rules of the internal market of the European Union.

40 Narodne novine (Official Gazette), 105/2004.

41 Zakon o akademskim i stručnim nazivima i akademskom stupnju (Art. 14) of 3 October 2007 (Narodne novine (Official Gazette), 107/2007).

design, devised in order to perpetuate the pre-democratic elite (Rodin, 2007).

It is estimated that in the 2008/2009 academic year, there were 617 Croatian citizens studying in the United States alone, mainly at Master's level. Since 2006, their number has consistently been above 600.[42] Writing for a Croatian newspaper, Inoslav Bešker poses the question as to whether the Croatian art of implementation of the Bologna Process is a result of incredible stupidity or whether it is sabotage.[43] In our analysis, it is a result of the legal sanctioning of the interests of one powerful social group, which, confronted with the liberalisation of higher education, has successfully introduced protectionist measures and protected the *status quo ante*.

Diagnosis

The current Croatian higher education policy dates from July 2004. The main guiding light of the reform, as stated by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport, was allegedly "harmonisation with European standards". In this context, the laws regulating science and higher education, the recognition of qualifications,[44] quality assurance including accreditation of academic institutions and programmes, academic and professional titles [45] and, ultimately, the Croatian qualifications framework,[46] were adopted and amended. In 2011, a package of legislation was introduced into parliamentary procedure, regulating science, higher education and the operation of HEEs.[47] Due to the change of government, these drafts were never adopted.

The main policy guidelines for the harmonisation of the Croatian higher education system with EU law were laid down in the ministries' policy document.[48] Not surprisingly, the document does not even mention market freedoms, focusing instead on the participation of Croatia in EU programmes, cooperation in relevant areas of policy and the strengthening of institutional

42 Source: IRO – Institut za razvoj obrazovanja & http://netakademija.tvz.hr/poslovni-savjetnik/savjeti/stipendije-i-kako-ih-dobiti.html.

43 Slobodna Dalmacija, 2 November 2011.

44 Zakon o reguliranim profesijama i priznavanju inozemnih stručnih kvalifikacija, Narodne novine (Official Gazette), 124/2009 of 16.10.09.

45 Zakon o akademskim i stručnim nazivima i akademskom stupnju, Narodne novine (Official Gazette), 107/2007 of 19.10.07.

46 Zakon o osiguravanju kvalitete u znanosti i visokom obrazovanju, Narodne novine (Official Gazette), 45/2009 of 10.04.09; Pravilnik o sadržaju dopusnice te uvjetima za izdavanje dopusnice za obavljanje djelatnosti visokog obrazovanja, izvođenje studijskog programa i reakreditacije visokih učilišta, Narodne novine (Official Gazette), 24/2010 of 22.02.10.

47 Nacrt prijedloga zakona o sveučilištu, nacrt prijedloga zakona o visokom obrazovanju i nacrt prijedloga zakona o znanosti. Text available on the web page of the Ministry http://public.mzos.hr/Default.aspx?art=10240, retrieved on 30 January 2011.

48 "Izvješće o analitičkom pregledu Hrvatska, Poglavlje 26. – Obrazovanje i kultura" http://public.mzos.hr/fgs.axd?id=14470, retrieved on 30 January 2011.

capacity. As far as legislation is concerned, none of the legal instruments discussed above refer to market freedoms. This market blindness of higher education brings the entire Croatian legislative framework into actual or potential conflict with *acquis communautaire*. Some of the contradictions have been identified in the regulatory practice of other Member States, and some are original Croatian inventions.

Altogether, the entire legislative framework of higher education is extremely State-oriented. This is not, in its own right, contrary to EU law. However, what is contrary is the omnipresent policy of subjecting activities that cannot be considered non-economic services of general interest to the same legal rules that are applicable to the State-controlled part of the sector. Such are the rules on institutional accreditation.

The system of professional qualifications[49] represents a problem in itself. The problem is twofold: on the one hand, it is discriminatory for holders of Croatian qualifications since they can acquire full qualification only after five years of post-secondary education, instead of three or four years, as envisaged by the Directive 2005/36/EC; on the other hand, since it is contrary to the Directive, the same rules cannot be applied to students from other Member States, who enjoy market access after three and four years, respectively.

These policy choices were entertained by the three governments (two centre-right and the present centre-left) in power since 2003. The latest wave of reform maintains and entrenches the three key mistakes that were seeded already in 2003: a restrictive approach to market freedoms and inherent discrimination on the grounds of nationality, an incomprehensible and internationally incompatible system of qualifications where a Master-after-Master degree has become the main form of education within the third Bologna cycle, and comprehensive governmental control of student admission, academic appointment and initial accreditation requirements applicable not only to State universities but, indeed, to private universities as well. Against this backdrop, the present authors propose ten policy guidelines.

The Cure?

The following policy recommendations tackle the major causes of the present disease that plagues Croatian higher education. Our proposal takes into account the lack of international compatibility with Croatian degrees and qualifications, the excessive encroachment of the State into the autonomy of higher

49 Legislation on the Croatian Qualifications Framework has been drafted and awaits parliamentary approval.

education, State control of market access and quality assessment. In addition to the these areas, the proposal attempts to strike a balance between a meaningful openness to the private sector and an adequate social framework that should allow wide access to public higher education.[50]

1. A Bachelor's degree must lead to a complete and fully employable qualification after three or four years of post-secondary education.
2. One-year Master's degrees that can be made part of graduate (doctoral) schools should lead to qualifications of Level 7 of the European Qualifications Framework, without the artificial differentiation of Levels 7.1 and 7.2.
3. A voucher system guaranteeing four years of free at point of delivery study for students, and combined public/private financing of Master's degrees. Vouchers should be redeemable by both state and private universities.
4. Public financing of three-year doctoral research programmes for full--time doctoral students.
5. Recognition of accreditations issued by European accreditation agencies that are members of ENQA (de-monopolisation of the Croatian Accreditation Agency).
6. Introduction of the possibility of accrediting graduate universities (i.e., universities that offer graduate degrees only), and of the possibility for science institutes to accredit and run graduate degree programmes.
7. Removal of barriers to the operation in Croatia of higher education establishments established in other States, and removal of barriers to the employment of university professors and other staff. State Appointment Committees should be abolished or restricted to *ex post* quality assessment.
8. Formal differentiation between university and professional degree programmes should be abolished and replaced by a system of professional qualifications based on learning outcomes.
9. Meaningful annual quality assessments of higher education establishments and publication of rankings.
10. Tax benefits for studying and investment in science and higher education.

These ten policy guidelines address a Croatian policy deficit that has persisted in the area of higher education since 2003. In spite of radical State

50 While our proposal has been ignored by the government, it has caused some debate and reaction amongst academia. Some of the discussions are accessible on the pages of Banka Magazine. http://www.bankamagazine.hr/Naslovnica/Komentariianalize/tabid/138/View/Details/ItemID/73536/ttl/Deset-teza-za-reformu-visokog-obrazovanja/Default.aspx retrieved on 9 June 2012.

intervention, today, after eight years, one can say that Croatia is worse off than before the commencement of the reforms. The central claim that we have tried to demonstrate in the present paper is that the reason for its failure is not the Bologna Declaration, but rather its Croatian travesty.

The existing system has created a perverse situation in which the number of Master's students is larger than the number of Bachelors. This has to change. Admission to the Master's level must be selective, and in order to be selective, a Bachelor's degree must lead to a full and employable qualification that is relevant for the labour market. Four-year Bachelor's degrees are part of the Croatian and European tradition and, with some exceptions, are implemented across the EU and the US.

This brings us to the social dimension of the system we are proposing. A system that cannot qualify students for the labour market in four years is not only inefficient but also socially unjust. Croatian and European families are increasingly unable to bear the economic burden of education. Even where tuition is not charged, high living expenses have to be met. An additional economic burden is created by the delayed entry of students into the labour market. Our policy proposal creates a win-win situation: students and their parents win due to the shortened period of studying, while universities win due to the fact that new sources of financing are becoming available at the Master's level, i.e., public national and European funding combined with tuition. Indeed, one part of the students will have to bear their own costs for education at the Master's level, but the first employable qualification will be conferred by a Bachelor's and not by a Master's degree, as is the case now. Finally, the proposed system will decrease public spending, as only four-year degrees leading to the first employable qualification will be financed from the public purse, and not extensive multi-annual studies, as is the case now.

The proposal also takes in account EU law applicable to the mutual recognition of qualifications. The present system, according to which the first employable qualification is acquired at the Master's level, makes any selection of Master's students impossible. Under the present system, each and every student, regardless of his or her grade point average, must study for five years until having acquired a Master's degree. This entails the requirement of a Master's thesis for a large number of students. Some faculties already have more Master's than Bachelor students. Under such circumstances, it is increasingly difficult to maintain the quality of teaching at Master's level, and the large number of Master's research papers generates unethical behaviour, including plagiarism. In other words, a Master's thesis is degraded to the level of a pre-Bologna graduation paper, which makes it incomparable with European Master's degrees.

The problematic quality of education at Master's level and the lack of meaningful selection lead to competences that are inadequate for doctoral research. Master's students are not qualified to pursue doctoral research, and the missing competences have to be compensated for during doctoral studies. This, in turn, leads to longer periods of study at doctoral level.

Once Croatia joins the EU in 2013, higher education will remain in its competence. As far as the EU is concerned, the Croatian system of higher education can continue to exist in its present dysfunctional form. However, if nothing changes, as appears to be the case, Croatian students will not acquire competences relevant to the European labour market. Croatian students will increasingly seek education and employment in other Member States and Croatian higher education will become increasingly irrelevant.

Post Scriptum

On 6 October 2012, the Croatian government withdrew the Science and Higher Education Bill from parliamentary procedure.

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Policy and Prediction: The Case of Institutional Diversity in Romanian Higher Education

Lazăr Vlăsceanu*[1] and Marian-Gabriel Hâncean[2]

Presenting key elements of post-1990 historical developments in the Romanian higher education system, the emphasis is put on recent (2011) policies of increasing higher education institutional differentiation. The view is that, in policy design, due attention should be paid to both historical roots and predicted developments. Building on an institutional analysis approach, we put forward a theoretical model that aims to explore the predictive implications of some recently promoted higher education policies. These policies are expected to increase institutional differentiation at the systemic level and enhance quality in teaching and research at university level. The predictive capacity of a model of reference is tested against a concurrent model. The key assumption of the latter is that of considering higher education institutions (HEIs) as "cooperative systems" that are unable to generate those outputs and outcomes that, by aggregation, would contribute to the construction of an institutionally diverse and heterogeneous higher education landscape.

Keywords: institutional differentiation, macro-level systemic incentives, policy and prediction, Romanian higher education

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Politike in predvidevanje: primer institucionalne raznolikosti romunskega visokega šolstva

Lazăr Vlăsceanu* in Marian- Gabriel Hâncean

Predstavljeni so ključni elementi zgodovinskega razvoja romunskega visokošolskega sistema po letu 1990, poudarek pa je na najnovejših politikah (2011), ki težijo k povečanju institucionalne raznolikosti v visokem šolstvu. Pogled, ki je predstavljen, kaže, da je pri oblikovanju politik treba pozornost posvetiti zgodovinskemu ozadju in tudi predvidenemu razvoju. S pomočjo metode analize institucij je predstavljen teoretični model, s katerim avtorja poskušata raziskati napovedane posledice nekaterih pred kratkim promoviranih politik visokega šolstva. Za te politike se pričakuje, da bodo prispevale k povečanju institucionalnega razlikovanja na ravni sistema pa tudi povečanju kakovosti poučevanja in raziskovanja na univerzitetni ravni. Napovedana zmogljivost referenčnega modela je testirana ob vzporednem modelu. Ključna predpostavka zadnjega je upoštevanje visokošolskih ustanov kot »kooperativnih sistemov«, ki ne zmorejo ustvariti takih učinkov in rezultatov, ki bi – ob združitvi – prispevali k izgradnji institucionalno raznolike in raznovrstne krajine visokošolskega izobraževanja.

Ključne besede: institucionalna raznolikost, spodbude sistemskih sprememb na makroravni, politike in predvidevanje, visoko šolstvo v Romuniji

Introduction

In the context of massification, higher education institutions (HEIs) are under pressure to meet the various requirements and needs of their direct and indirect beneficiaries (Reichert, 2009). Higher education systems with diverse and differentiated institutions are considered to have an increased capacity to satisfy the various expectations of beneficiaries. This essentially means that systems with greater institutional diversity may be regarded as a desirable outcome (van Vught, 2008). Several dimensions of such an outcome are usually considered: provision of wider and diverse learning opportunities, increased capacity for institutional adaptation to students' needs, and increased institutional flexibility in responding to domestic and wider social changes.

Institutional differentiation and institutional diversity bear different meanings. Differentiation is commonly seen as a dynamic process in a higher education system whereby either the existing HEIs follow specific trajectories of development, making them as distinct as possible from others, or new entities have a better chance of emerging in the system. Differentiation is thus a *process* benefitting from those incentives induced in the system that make each HEI assert its distinction. Institutional diversity is the end result of differentiation. It indicates the variety of entities already existing or the ways in which new entities may emerge and become consolidated within a system. Diversity may take various forms: systemic diversity, structural diversity, programmatic diversity, procedural diversity or reputational diversity (van Vught, 2008).

A key problem in the age of massification concerns ways of achieving increasing institutional diversity when a set of systemic incentives for increased institutional differentiation have been induced. We address this problem below with reference to recent policy initiatives and their developments in the Romanian higher education system.

The Romanian higher education system since 1990

During the last 23 years, the Romanian higher education system has moved from a "state controlled model" through a "state supervisory model" towards a "beneficiary-oriented model" (Păunescu, Florian, & Hâncean, 2012; Taylor & Miroiu, 2002). Developments in each new stage have been dependent on those from the previous stage; that is, developments have been "path dependent". In order to substantiate such a stand, let us look more closely at the recent history of Romanian higher education and provide some relevant data and information.

Transformations and stages in post-1990 higher education

During the communist regime, the dominant pattern of development was that of a state controlled model (i.e., the higher education system was dominated by high degrees of centrality and top-down policy approaches). Between 1990 and 2010, the institutional model changed into a "state supervisory model" (i.e., HEIs were allocated extended degrees of freedom and autonomy, while the state retained its regulatory and supervisory powers). During this period, the top-down approach to designing and providing public policies continued to be a feature of the system. Irrespective of the sources of institutional changes – domestic or European – the state retained its central position in deciding the main directions to be followed. In this context, the primary tool for the state to influence developments in higher education remained associated with the public funding stream as it was, with strong quality evaluation instruments and policies. New changing initiatives have started to take shape since 2008, firstly by undertaking a thorough analysis of the higher education system and institutions, and then by submitting a "*strategy of modernisation*" together with its normative legal basis. This "strategy of modernisation" has initiated a new stage in the development and transformation of the Romanian higher education system, properly supporting a new institutional framework: *a beneficiary-oriented approach*. The way of designing and implementing public policies within higher education has been radically changed. As a salient effect, there has been a change from a top-down approach (with the state having the central role and functions) to a bottom-up approach (with HEIs having a strong say and role in their institutional profiles and missions). One key option of the "strategy of modernisation" has been that of increasing the institutional differentiation of the higher education system, to the level of functionally generating wider institutional diversity.

Data and information on higher education flows

The number of organisations providing higher education services increased from 48 public universities in 1990 to 108 public and private HEIs in 2010. Moreover, the number of students enrolled in 2008/2009 was five times that of 1990/1991. This is a clear sign that the system shifted from elite education, at the end of the 1980s, to intensive massification, starting with the beginning of the 1990s. However, the total number of enrolled students has been decreasing since 2009, mostly because of a sharp demographic decline. Furthermore, the number of doctoral students has decreased since 2005/2006.

Teaching staff has not increased in correlation with the increase in the total number of enrolled students. Taking as a reference the ten-year period from 2001/2002 to 2009/2010, the student/teaching staff ratio generally increased from 22:1 in 2001/2002 to 30:1 in 2009/2010. Obviously, the quality of teaching and, indirectly, the time for research have decreased.

The massification of Romanian higher education has not been correlated with an adequate increase in critical resources (e.g., teaching staff stock, financial inputs, etc.). Moreover, there has not been a uniform massification process. Some fields have been exposed to a massive increase in student numbers (e.g., social sciences and humanities), while others (e.g., sciences and engineering) have faced a steady decrease in students. These different threads have produced some contradictory effects. On the one hand, as already mentioned, a huge increase in the student/staff ratio has taken place, while, on the other hand, faculties whose study programmes have benefited from massification have tried to enrol as many students as possible as a means of improving their funding streams. Meanwhile, faculties whose study programmes have been confronted with decreasing rates of student enrolment have focused on research as a means of securing academic standards and additional financial resources. However, on the whole, an unintentional consequence of such developments has dramatically emerged: the higher education system has become highly inefficient. The ratio of graduates to enrolled students has decreased (e.g., in 1990/1991 there were 25,927 graduates for 192,810 enrolled students, while in 2005/2006 there were 112,244 graduates for 716,464 enrolled students). In other words, the cost of delivering one graduate has consistently increased since 1990.

Another emerging trend concerns the expansion of distance learning. For instance, in 1999/2000, only 2% of the student population was enrolled in distance learning programmes, while in 2006/2007 we witness an increase to 23% (Păunescu, Miroiu, & Vlăsceanu, 2011; Vlăsceanu, 2010; Vlăsceanu, Miroiu, Păunescu, &Hâncean, 2011). According to research results, during the period 2004–2008, 6 of the 90 Romanian universities managed to attract 51% of competitive public research funding, with just 3 universities managing to attract 32%. Such figures sketch a very unbalanced and clustered picture, with a narrow minority of universities accessing the great majority of the competitive public financial resources allocated by the state to research.

Existing institutional configurations and their pitfalls

Drawing on the empirical evidence selectively mentioned above, we can detect several institutional configurations. Firstly, Romania reveals a high

number of HEIs relative to the small number of student enrolments and with regard to the demographic size of the country. Furthermore, the number of study programmes in social sciences and humanities (areas with low market demand) is high, while the number of study programmes in science, engineering and other professional areas is low (despite their having a high market demand). Secondly, there is a decreasing demand for higher education degrees due to the diminishing proportion of young people in the population. At the same time, Romania is experiencing (a) a continuous shrinking of public funds made available to public HE and research, and (b) a rather low internationally relevant and competitive research output. Thirdly, the system is dominated by a high level of institutional isomorphism in terms of HEIs' assumed missions and with reference to their structures, governance and organisation of curricula. The HE system has revealed reduced institutional differentiation and a growing gap between the stated mission of the HEI and its realisation.

Such configurations in the Romanian system of higher education highlight its lack of sustainability in many respects: systemic inefficiency, high institutional isomorphism, low economic relevance, poor research productivity, decreasing quality provision, etc.

Promoting new policies, particularly in the areas of institutional differentiation

New policies, legal arrangements[3] and institutional incentives have recently been put forward to change the system from a *state supervisory model* towards a *beneficiaries-oriented approach*. This new institutional approach was *inter alia* thought to breed higher levels of institutional differentiation and diversity (see Figure 1 and Table 1).

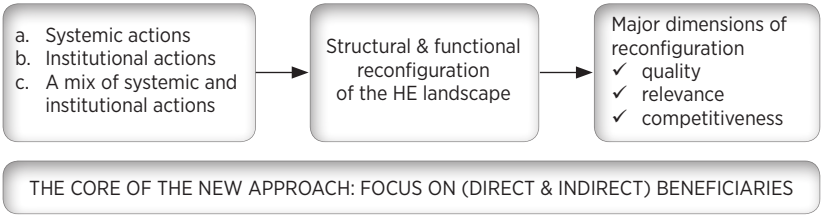

Figure 1. Outlining the new institutional arrangements

3 We refer here especially to the Education Act No. 1/2011 and to all its corresponding by-laws (e.g., the methodology for university classification and study programme ranking, the methodology for higher education quality assurance, the methodology for university funding, etc.).

Table 1. The reconfiguration of the Romanian higher education landscape

a. Systemic actions	b. Institutional actions	c. A mix of systemic and institutional actions
(i) increasing university autonomy as this is related to clear means of accountability; (ii) producing greater institutional diversity and differentiation through university classification and study programme ranking; and (iii) introducing a new funding formula: public funding dependent on teaching and research outputs, and on real costs.	✓ HEIs governing structures: HEIs to opt for either a more collegiate or a more managerial type of governing structure; ✓ restructuring institutional missions and internal organisation: HEIs to set up their own internal structures in line with the prospects of a new mission and its successful realisation; ✓ diversifying financial sources: allowing universities to set up commercial companies and foundations.	– a new approach to quality assurance, an approach that places more emphasis on learning and research outcomes; – huge concern over innovating curricula and teaching quality, so as to provide public financial incentives for innovations and for staff recruitment and promotion; – providing new incentives, so as to increase research outputs and to reorganise doctoral and master's study programmes; – developing qualification tracer studies, so as to increase the relevance of HEIs' outputs to market demands and students' personal development; – rethinking the relationship between UEFISCDI (i.e., The Executive Agency for Higher Education, Research, Development and Innovation Funding) and intermediary collegiate bodies.*

Note:
* Put somewhat differently, this rethinking is to set up and/or strengthen buffer collegiate bodies, under the umbrella of an executive agency (i.e., UEFISCDI) meant to provide national and international information on higher education and to increase inter-institutional communication.

The implementation of the new institutional arrangements began in 2011, after the new Education Act (No. 1/2011) was passed. The process of reconfiguring Romanian higher education is only at an early stage; important outcomes are to be expected both in the near future and in the longer term. Nevertheless, the institutional differentiation process has had a solid start, already producing effects. We refer to the University Evaluation Exercise[4] (UEE) conducted by several national collegiate councils (i.e., the Romanian Agency for Quality Assurance in Higher Education – ARACIS, the University Research Council – CNCS, the Council on the Attestation of University Qualifications and Degrees – CNATDCU, all in close cooperation with the European University Association – EUA). The aims of the UEE include: (a) *university classification:* to classify HEIs into three clusters, according to their stated mission and academic outputs; (b) *study programme ranking*: to rank study programmes in

4 By the UEE, we refer to both University Classification and Study Programme Ranking.

terms of their academic and research outputs. Study programme ranking has been mainly quantitatively oriented, while university classification has been built on both qualitative and quantitative assessment, in order to identify the extent to which each university manages to accomplish its stated mission and strategic goals. The qualitative evaluation exercise has been carried out by independent European expert teams mobilised by the EUA within its Institutional Evaluation Programme.

The UEE aims at differentiating universities on several axes: research, teaching and learning, relations with the national and international environment, and institutional capacity. It is expected to produce two types of differentiation: (a) classifying universities into three classes (i.e., research intensive, research and teaching, and only teaching-focused universities); and (b) ranking study programmes into five categories (i.e., A, B, C, D and E) across ranking academic domains. University classification produces only nominal differentiated classes, while study programme ranking produces ordinal (hierarchical) categories of study programmes, in terms of quality and outputs.

The outcomes of the UEE are connected to *degree-awarding powers* and *financial incentives*. For instance, universities placed in *the teaching-focused class* would be prevented financially (out of public sources) from the right to organise doctoral studies. At the same time, study programmes ranked as category A are to receive more money, while study programmes ranked as category E will not receive any public funding. The quantitative component of the UEE was completed in 2011. It involved collecting and processing raw data on the aforementioned criteria.[5] Such data are made available on an open public website.[6] The process faced a number of methodological and theoretical constraints, which demanded several academic debates in order to identify: (i) an acceptable range of indicators for measuring institutional outputs; (ii) strategies of populating each indicator with those data that allow for a fair national comparability across institutions; (iii) formulae for relating indicators and identifying university classes; (iv) optimal ways of allocating weighting to each indicator in the overall assessment of institutional outputs. The initial evaluation provided the first classification of universities and the first study programme rankings.[7] Once the quantitative side of the exercise was accomplished, the

5 The variables corresponding to the evaluation criteria were issued through Ministerial Order No. 4174/2011, available at http://chestionar.uefiscdi.ro/docs/OMECTS%204174%20modificare%20OMECTS%204072.pdf (Romanian only, retrieved on 2 April 2012).

6 See for this issue http://chestionar.uefiscdi.ro/ (Romanian only, retrieved on 2 April 2012).

7 The results of the university evaluation exercise – the quantitative evaluation – are available at http://chestionar.uefiscdi.ro/ (Romanian only, retrieved on 2 April 2012).

qualitative evaluation of each university was initiated and is currently under way (see Table 2).

Table 2. The main components of the University Evaluation Exercise

2011	**Quantitative evaluation component** Statistical analysis of empirical raw data. *4 evaluation criteria*: teaching and learning, research, relations to environment, institutional capacity.	**Outputs** Preliminary evaluation of universities ✓ 3 categories of universities (research intensive, research and teaching, and teaching-focused universities); ✓ in each ranking domain, a study programme ranking into 5 classes (A, B, C, D and E).
2012-2015	**Quantitative evaluation component** Visits of evaluation foreign expert teams to each university. Qualitative evaluation criteria: to what extent each university satisfies its assumed institutional mission and validation of the outputs produced by the qualitative evaluation component.	**Outputs** Final evaluation of universities

A way of predicting policy outcomes

After briefly outlining the historical background and the new policy of institutional differentiation implemented in the Romanian higher education system, a question of further interest is that of predicting outcomes of this policy. In so doing, we take the position that any new higher education policy should be regarded from the perspective of both its historical roots and the predicted consequences of its implementation.

The prediction of policy outcomes may be considered to be of two types: (a) prediction embedded in the policy as such so as to allow for the constant monitoring of policy implementation; (b) prediction made when launching a policy in order to theoretically evaluate its outcomes. The former is empirically grounded and provides a means for achieving optimal policy implementation. It allows for the introduction of corrections during policy implementation and promotes eventual adjustments that compete for better achieving well stated policy objectives. The latter is anticipatory and provides a means for identifying the degree of confidence one may have when opting for implementing a given policy.

For predicting policy outcomes in our case and validating them at this initial stage of policy implementation, we consider two models of interest: (a)

one *predictive model*, based on the assumptions of a well known institutional analysis in social sciences (Meyer & Rowan, 2006), and (b) a *concurrent model*, aimed at testing the validity of the former.

The predictive model

The predictive model is a hypothetical model. Building on an institutional analysis approach, the model predicts the behaviour of Romanian HEIs in the context of certain policy incentives. Specifically, the model aims to predict how the *beneficiaries-oriented approach* is expected to increase institutional differentiation, at a systemic level, and quality in teaching and scientific research, at a university level.

The model builds on the assumption that a powerful external selective incentive system is to steer the behaviour of every HEI. This should occur in spite of intra-university diversity of interests. The model has a three-layered structured pay-off matrix as a building pillar. Firstly, there is the *core layer*, which highlights several features: (i) increasing differentiation and diversification in order to satisfy students' interests; (ii) increasing university transparency in order to help students make informed decisions; (iii) enhancing the quality of university services and study programme provision according to the institutional assumed mission; (iv) increasing efficiency in public funding and the contribution of Romanian higher education to national socioeconomic development. Secondly, there is the *intermediary layer* (or *incentive schemata*), which supports the idea that degree awarding powers and public funding allocation must be based on the UEE results. Thirdly, there is the *surface layer*, i.e., *the rapports between the observed and expected behaviour*. On this layer, universities are expected to improve efficiency in their internal use of resources, so as to have as many study programmes as possible within categories A and B (see Table 3).

Table 3. Expected university structural behaviour

a. Managing university classification

Research intensive category	Research and teaching category	Teaching-focused universities category
University X University Y University Z ... University K ***University L (t+1)***	University Q University P University R ... University W	University U University T ***University L*** ***~~University L~~ (t+1)*** ... University S
Note: Given the incentive schemata, University L might, for instance, try to migrate from the teaching-focused universities class to the research intensive class. However, if this is the case, then at the moment t+1 University L should have increased its research outputs, otherwise this migration will not be possible. Essentially, each university has the possibility of either migrating to the expected university class or remaining in the corresponding class.		

b. Managing study programme rankings

Ranking domain α				
Study programme class A	Study programme class B	Study programme class C	Study programme class D	Study programme class E
University X University Y University Z ... University K ***University L (t+1)***	University Q University P University R ... University W	University U University T ***University L*** ***~~University L~~ (t+1)*** ... University S	University J University I University V ... University M	University N University I University G ... University H
Note: Given the incentive schemata, University L, for instance, might try to improve the quality of its corresponding study programme, within ranking domain α, so as to move from Class C to Class A (at time t+1). If this is not possible, then University L (at time t+1) might either seek out alternative funding streams to support the study programme or simply eliminate the programme from its higher education service package.				

The model predicts that the beneficiaries-oriented approach will generate institutional differentiation and enhance academic quality due to the selective incentives promoted by the policy design. Essentially, for every higher education policy area (e.g., quality assurance, public funding, etc.) that the new institutional arrangements aim to reform or change there is a similar payoff matrix. Secondly, all of the payoff matrices that could be designed have a common core layer (as shown in Figure 2). Thirdly, for the time being, one cannot assess the surface layer, as the implementation of the new institutional arrangement is in a early stage (which is the main reason that it is impossible to empirically test the model at this stage). Still, the theoretical idea of a payoff matrix

is suitable for application in predicting the outcomes of the UEE policy when considering its advanced implementation. For all of the major changes that the new institutional arrangement is expected to deliver in other areas – such as quality assurance, public funding, etc. – one could envisage similar payoff matrices. Fourthly, we theoretically predict a small variance between expected and observed behaviour for every payoff matrix (in respect to quality assurance, public funding, etc.).

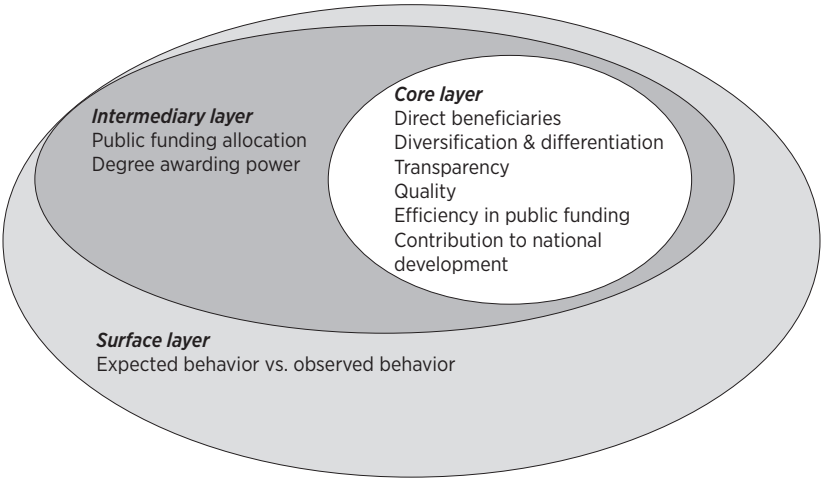

Figure 2. The three-layered matrix composition of the model

According to the predictive model, one could expect significant differences between the predicted and the observed behaviour under some conditions: (a) the incentives are not allocated properly; (b) the content of the core layer is to be significantly modified in the near future; (c) the results of periodical political elections will change the payoff matrix.

The concurrent theoretical model

To test the validity of the predictive model, a concurrent model, composed of several theoretical elements, may prove useful. Our proposed concurrent model is based on several assumptions, all of them having been already demonstrated elsewhere.

1. *Universities*[8] *are cooperative systems, comprising diverse groups of interests that try to fulfil their agendas by informal structuring*. These groups contribute to the achievement of the general goals of university as long as university is seen as a means for satisfying their specific interests (Pfeffer, 1995, p. 73). Incidentally, if university members fail in their attempts to satisfy their agenda of interests, their contributions to the organisational processes begin to decrease, putting the achievement of university objectives at risk. As systems of cooperation, universities are considered to include a large diversity of groups: students, administrative apparatus, academics and researchers, top management, representatives of professional associations, employers, etc. (Reichert, 2009). This highly diverse composition generates a high level of diversity of interests, which may sometimes be divergent or antagonistic. In the given context, within universities, informal internal structures might greatly affect and deter the optimal functioning of the formal internal structure (Scott, 2003).
2. *HEIs operate as professional bureaucracies*. The top management of universities is loosely coupled with the operating core. Incidentally, the behaviour of academics and researchers cannot be properly guided or controlled by formal arrangements. This dual structuring is due to universities operating as professional bureaucracies (Mintzberg, 1993). Within professional bureaucracies, the standardisation of skills is the prime coordinating mechanism, while vertical and horizontal decentralisation is one of the main design parameters. How such arrangements operate has a bearing on envisaged outcomes and on any HE policy implementation.
3. *The informal structures of HEIs are preeminent and greatly affect the functioning of formal internal arrangements*. The configuration of the internal structures of HEIs impacts organisational efficiency. One should further consider the fact that universities are embedded in a thick and dense fabric of networks of relations and shaped by a diverse array of institutional arrangements, which has strong implications for their level of homogeneity or diversity (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).
4. *Changing the institutional environment is not sufficient to produce a change in internal organisational cultures.* HEIs are assumed to vary in terms of their organisational cultures and specificity. Changing internal informal institutions is difficult without major interventions in internal organisational cultures.

8 In Romania, all of the HEIs accredited by the Romanian Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ARACIS) are labelled as universities; otherwise, they are simply termed as HEIs. However, in spite of this legal distinction, in the present paper we refer to universities and HEIs without discriminating between them.

The concurrent model argues that the observed behaviour of any HEI is primarily the result of a mix of formal and informal structuring configurations. External stimuli would stand a low probability of generating linear outcomes, mainly when considering the fact the university's diverse interest groups have a filtering impact. Consequently, the same external institutional arrangements might produce different outcomes within the same population of HEIs. In other words, the probability of the same institutional framework producing the same outcomes in a population of HEIs has a sparse distribution.

Confronting the models

When grasping the concurrent model, universities struggle against internal constraining forces emerging from the great diversity of their constituents. When grasping the predictive model, HEIs must cope with forces emerging from external systemic institutional arrangements. The two models predict different outcomes vis-à-vis the beneficiaries-oriented approach. The point is to theoretically estimate whether institutional differentiation might be reached, providing that the institutional arrangements are adequately implemented.

According to the predictive model, the new systemic institutional arrangements should produce institutional differentiation. The selective incentives are causal mechanisms differently affecting both HEIs and their stakeholders in a coherent manner. Here, we are referring to several aspects: prospective students would make informed decisions, top management of universities would adopt and pursue adequate institutional missions, academics would set their career ladders within a competitive environment, and public funding would primarily follow excellence in teaching and scientific research, and would avoid poor quality study programmes. The model predicts outcomes in a linear manner.

The concurrent model, on the other hand, predicts outcomes in a non-linear manner. The effects of external formal arrangements are filtered and affected by intra-organisational informal and formal structures. On these grounds, it might appear extremely difficult to support the idea that systemic public policies reach their expected objectives in a coherent manner. Consequently, if this is the case, systemic institutional arrangements should be subject to constant review.

As the HE reform in Romania is currently under way, we are not able to empirically test the two alternative models. However, one could envisage another type of testing. For instance, one could test the two models against each other hypothetically. The results could be used to indicate which model entails the highest probability of making sound predictions. Let us further use

this approach in order to demonstrate the importance of having a predictive approach embedded in any policy design and implementation.

Within the Romanian higher education landscape, HEIs are highly dependent on their external environment. All of their critical resources (e.g., prospective students, public funding, legitimacy, sources of reputation, etc.) are to be found outside their settings. In order to access the desired critical resources, universities must adapt their behaviour to the requirements of the external environment. Striving for critical resource access and managing external forces, universities of the system, as a specific population of organisations, adopt a process of institutional isomorphism. This institutional isomorphism, delivered through the attempts of organisations to survive and reach optimisation, will feature high levels of homogeneity.

Institutional isomorphism is triggered by three mechanisms: coercive isomorphism, mimetic isomorphism and normative isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). During times of institutional reforms, universities are generally confronted with powerful coercive isomorphism. This is the case in the Romanian higher education landscape: HEIs must legally meet all formal requirements. As the predictive model shows, all HEIs are compelled to make the necessary adjustments in order to observe the systemic institutional arrangements. These adjustments imply not only organisational mechanisms and operations, but also require academics and other staff and students to undertake corresponding actions within their settings. In other words, the incentives brought forth by the Romanian reforms are so strong and diverse that they involve not only the top management of universities but also their operating cores. Even if HEIs respond in the same manner to the coercive isomorphism imposed by the state authorities responsible for higher education, they are institutionally differentiated using the same criteria.

The concurrent model's prediction, that the internal formal and informal structures of HEIs would filter out the effects produced by systemic public policies, cannot be supported theoretically. However, we might expect some HEIs to slow the process of adopting changes, due to their organisational cultural profiles.

On such theoretical grounds, and despite the lack of empirical testing, we are inclined to admit that the predictive model entails a high probability of correctly predicting the outcomes expected to be produced by systemic reform. Providing that the policy is further implemented and refined without becoming affected by political quarrels, we are confident, at an acceptable level of probability, that the envisaged institutional differentiation will come about and generate its further codes of configuration.

Conclusion

The Romanian higher education landscape is currently shifting from a state supervisory model to a beneficiary-oriented approach. The newly provisioned institutional arrangements aim to produce institutional differentiation and to enhance quality in teaching and research.

Building on an institutional analysis approach, we have provided the historical background of the current higher education policy in Romania and have demonstrated the need for a predictive dimension in any higher education policy. With regard to the latter, we have theoretically discussed the possibility of predicting the future behaviours of Romanian HEIs. To this end, two alternative models of prediction have been proposed: *the predictive model* and *the concurrent testing model*. The former predicts that the currently emerging institutional arrangements, delivered by the Romanian reform, are expected to increase institutional differentiation at the systemic level and enhance quality in teaching and research at the university level.

The capacity of the predictive model to produce strong predictions is proposed to be tested against a concurrent model of HEIs envisaged as cooperative systems. The concurrent model argues that, at a structural level, HEIs could generate outputs and outcomes that, by aggregation, do not contribute to the construction of an institutionally diverse and heterogeneous higher education landscape. After testing the two models against each other, we theoretically claim that the predictive model would entail a higher probability of better predicting the outcomes expected to be produced by the systemic reforms. The concurrent model may be valid only if systemic institutional arrangements imply organisations adopting changes in a top-down manner. When HEIs are affected by selective incentives, the changes directly permeate at all levels. Under these circumstances, the ability of HEIs to filter out the impact of systemic institutional arrangements is significantly reduced.

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Teacher Education Reforms between Higher Education and General Education Transformations in South-Eastern Europe: Reviewing the Evidence and Scoping the Issues

Nataša Pantić[1]

The present paper considers reforms and developments in teacher education in South-Eastern European countries as part of overall reforms in higher education, and in light of changes in general education that impact teachers and their preparation. The paper reviews the literature and reports from the region that offer some evidence of and insights into the issues surrounding teacher education reforms in the contexts of post-socialist education transformations in South-Eastern Europe. It scopes the issues relating to: structural and curricular changes in teacher preparation; coordination of reforms across different levels; development of a common vision of good teaching in cooperation between teacher education institutions, schools and communities; and quality assurance of teacher preparation. The identified issues include: the superficial nature of structural reforms and the neglect of substantial curricular changes; the dearth of opportunities for reflection linking theory and practice; insufficiently developed cross-curricular approaches to teacher education reforms; the fragmentation of teacher education along a number of lines; the absence of a common vision of quality teaching, and of formative links between quality assurance systems for teachers, schools and teacher education providers. Finally, the paper outlines potential avenues for future developments and implications for teacher education policies and practices.

Keywords: educational change, higher education, teacher education, South-Eastern Europe

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Reforme izobraževanja učiteljev med transformacijami visokega in splošnega izobraževanja v jugovzhodni Evropi: pregled stanja in prikaz problemov

Nataša Pantić

Prispevek obravnava reforme in razvoj na področju izobraževanja učiteljev v državah jugovzhodne Evrope kot del reform v visokem šolstvu pa tudi v luči sprememb v splošnem izobraževanju, ki vplivajo na učitelje in njihovo izobraževanje. Opravljena je analiza literature in poročil iz regije, ki v kontekstu postsocialističnih transformacij edukacije v jugovzhodni Evropi govorijo o nekaterih problemih s področja izobraževanja učiteljev in omogočajo vpogled vanje. Obravnavane so teme, povezane s strukturnimi in kurikularnimi spremembami v usposabljanju učiteljev, koordinacijo reform med različnimi ravnmi izobraževanja, z razvojem skupnih smernic kakovostnega poučevanja v sodelovanju institucij za izobraževanje učiteljev, s šolami in skupnostmi ter z zagotavljanjem kakovostnega izobraževanja učiteljev. Identificirane teme vključujejo: površinski značaj strukturnih reform in zanemarjanje bistvenih kurikularnih sprememb, pomanjkanje priložnosti za reflektivno povezovanje teorije in prakse, nezadostno razvite medkurikularne pristope k reformam na področju izobraževanja učiteljev, razdrobljenost izobraževanja učiteljev med več strokami, odsotnost skupne vizije kakovostnega poučevanja in tvornih povezav med sistemi zagotavljanja kakovosti za učitelje, šole in za institucije, ki izobražujejo učitelje. V sklepnem delu so poudarjene mogoče poti nadaljnjega razvoja politik in prakse na področju izobraževanja učiteljev.

Ključne besede: spremembe v izobraževanju, visoko šolstvo, izobraževanje učiteljev, jugovzhodna Evropa

Introduction

The reforms of initial teacher education programmes are part of the reforms and developments in higher education. They include changes in programme structures, a shift from input-based to outcomes-based education, competence-oriented curricular changes, new ways of thinking about accountability in education, and new links between higher education and graduates' future employment. At the same time, one of the basic functions of teacher education is to prepare the teaching workforce for education systems that, in the countries of South-Eastern Europe (SEE), have experienced major changes since the early 1990s, and that continue to change.

The importance of teachers and their education and development for changing educational practices is increasingly recognised. Teachers are found to be critical for building competences for knowledge-based societies, for making education systems and processes more inclusive, for preparing future citizens to participate in democracies, and so on. This implies the need to develop teacher education in which academic, school-based and community-based knowledge come together in new ways of teacher preparation that can better serve the new demands upon future teachers.

However, researchers often point out that initial teacher education is slow in adapting its programmes to the changing needs of 21st century teachers. Some authors attribute this lagging behind, at least partly, to the marginalised position of teacher education within higher education developments (Vizek Vidović, 2009; Zgaga, 2003). Moreover, post-socialist contexts and traditions of teaching and teacher education provide limited opportunities for reform initiatives to be realised.

The paper presents issues identified in the literature and relevant research reports from the region. It first outlines the author's understanding of the requirements for teacher education on the basis of the international literature and in the European context, and then reviews the evidence collected in the region against these requirements. It scopes the issues and concludes with some suggestions for improvements.

Teacher education and change

An attempt to identify issues involved in reforms, or to evaluate the effects of reforms, needs to start from consideration of their purposes. Calls for change in teacher preparation are not a regional specificity. Claims that teacher preparation needs to change radically to meet the changing demands on

teachers in the changing contexts of education have been voiced internationally (Darling-Hammond, 2006; Hargreaves & Fullan, 1992; Goodlad, 1991). Yet, the implementation of reforms critically depends on the contexts in which they take place. Influential theories of change developed by Michael Fullan (1993) and his colleagues (Anchan, Fullan, & Polyzoi, 2003) suggest that implementing educational change is far from a technical matter and has to take into account the enormously complex interaction of various forces in the change process.

Let us start by considering the aspirations that SEE countries share with the rest of the world. Tatto and Mincu (2009) point to the increasingly global patterns of education reforms, and to global notions of the knowledge, skills and values that are worth teaching. Teachers are found to be critical for building competences for knowledge-based societies, and reforms addressing teachers (such as teacher standards for entry, redesign of teacher education curricula, new systems of accreditation and certification of teachers and schools) are gaining salience internationally as a policy tool to improve the quality of education (Tatto & Mincu, 2009). Hargreaves describes teachers who are catalysts of the knowledge society and illustrates their actions, observing that such teachers:

- promote deep cognitive learning (to help all students achieve high standards);
- learn to teach in ways they were not taught (applying and undertaking research);
- commit to continuous professional learning (by trial and error);
- work and learn in collegial teams (engaging in collective problem solving);
- treat parents as partners in learning (cooperating with different kinds of people);
- develop and draw on collective intelligence (in broader learning partnerships);
- build a capacity for change and risk (in relation to expanding knowledge, new demands and shifting communities); and
- foster trust in processes (e.g., through openness to shared work); (Hargreaves, 2003, p. 23).

A number of reforms in teacher education addressing some of these new demands on teachers can be found in different countries. Examples from Europe reported in the present journal include the Finnish orientation toward teacher education committed to the development of an inquiry and research-based professional culture (Niemi, 2011), and a collaborative strategy for teachers' professional development and innovation at the University of Alcala in

Spain (Margalef Garcia, 2011). The effects of such reforms on teaching and learning relate to the contexts, policies and politics where reforms occur.

Studies of education reforms in post-socialist countries (Anchan et al., 2003; Webster, Silova, Moyer, & McAllister, 2011) show the scale and complexity of changes in these contexts. Since the countries embarked on reforming their education systems in the early 1990s, virtually no aspect of education has remained untouched. The contexts of educational change in SEE countries are characterised by transition processes, implying market liberalisation, decentralisation of education and other systems, diversification of values, and multiple other transitions that affect education (Anchan et al., 2003; Leclercq, 1996; Radó, 2001, 2010), as well as changing settings of teacher education (Zgaga, 2003, 2006).

Fullan (1993) suggests that changing systems are typically characterised by the coexistence of the old and the new 'state of things'. The emergent new state may have common elements with the old one, and the wider apart the two states are initially, the more difficult the transition process (Anchan et al., 2003). Accounts of the 'old' state of teaching in some of the countries in the region seem to suggest that it is rather distant from the aforementioned teaching for the knowledge society described by Hargreaves (2003); for example, Closs (1995) describes the teaching practices inherited from former Yugoslavia as having strong normative and even authoritarian connotations, with 'academic' curricula laden with facts and pseudo facts often to be learned by rote memory, and the use of a single textbook. The valuing of 'academic excellence' (or its appearance) left a limited tolerance for diversity or individual difference of any kind (Closs, 1995, pp. 203–208). According to Pantić, Closs, and Ivošević (2011), teacher education institutions and schools in the region remain unduly disconnected from each other and from the increasingly multifaceted environments in which they operate. These authors compare reports from seven countries in the region, providing evidence that teaching and learning seem to be predominantly perceived as individualistic teacher-class activities rather than as a collaborative school-based activity, with insufficient collaboration among school staff and the wider school community, as well as insufficiently mutually supportive home-school relationships (Pantić et al., 2011) – all of which are desired for Hargreaves' teachers for the knowledge society. 'New ways', such as collaboration with parents and other stakeholders outside school, remain a challenge for teacher education even in some of the most successful systems in Europe (Niemi, 2011).

The preparation of Hargreaves' (2003) teacher for the knowledge society implies the need to develop teacher education in which academic, school-based

and community-based knowledge come together – an enormous change for teacher education in the region if we consider the current perceptions of the teaching profession presented above. Moreover, Hargreaves (2003) suggests that today's teachers and those of the future need to be prepared for teaching beyond the knowledge society, for building more inclusive education systems and processes, and for fostering public good. Values, social justice, and caring would need to be central to teachers' development for teaching beyond the knowledge society, whereby teachers:

- promote social and emotional learning, commitment and character;
- learn to relate differently to others, replacing strings of interactions with enduring bonds and relationships;
- develop cosmopolitan identity;
- commit to continuous professional and personal development;
- work and learn in collaborative groups;
- forge relationships with parents and communities;
- build emotional understanding;
- preserve continuity and security; and
- establish basic trust in people (Hargreaves, 2003, p. 59).

Studies from the region show that teachers and other education professionals recognise the importance of values and relationships in education, but are perplexed about how to deal with the value-driven aspect of their job (Pantić, Wubbels, & Mainhard, 2011). Broader cultural, social and value-oriented understandings of teaching are particularly relevant in contexts of change if teachers are to develop into reflective professionals and 'agents of change' who consider broader social purposes and competing values in education. Hargreaves (2003) illustrates how treating educational change as a technical, neutral process can ultimately undermine reforms. Anchan et al. (2003) use Fullan's Triple I model (Initiation, Implementation, Institutionalisation) to describe the processes of educational change in post-socialist contexts in which major structural reforms occurred with insufficient attention to implementation capacities, and without concomitant changes in infrastructure. They proposed a framework for educational transformation that includes:

- development of structures that support change;
- coordination/planning across all levels;
- articulating a vision and developing it in practice across all stakeholders;
- establishing pressure and support strategies for developing capacity and monitoring results (Anchan et al., 2003, p. 114).

In light of these aspects of educational transformation (structure, coordination, vision and quality assurance), the present paper reviews the reforms of teacher education in the region with a view towards identifying the issues critical for preparation for teaching for the knowledge society and beyond.

Method

Three major types of studies dealing with teacher education in the region have been reviewed:

1. Studies from the region found in various international and local journals through international and regional academic databases, such as Kobson. Journals relevant for teacher education as part of higher education have been identified and searched for articles reporting evidence from South-East Europe. Examples of such studies are Miclea's (2003) review of reforms at higher education institutions in South-East Europe published in *Higher Education in Europe*, and Vujisić-Živkivić's (2004) article about the role of schools in teacher development published in the local journal *Pedagogija*.
2. Studies conducted as part of regional projects that compare and analyse teacher education, such as a cross-national survey of pre-service and in-service teacher education '*The prospects of teacher education in South-East Europe*' conducted by the Centre for Education Policy Studies at the University of Ljubljana (Zgaga, 2006); or the report '*Teachers for the future - Teacher development for inclusive education in the Western Balkans*' prepared by the Centre for Education Policy from Belgrade for the European Training Foundation (ETF) (Pantić et al., 2011). These reports compare and synthesise the data and findings of individual country reports about teachers and their education, collected through questionnaires and interviews with teachers, teacher educators, education policymakers and various other stakeholders, including parents and community representatives. Evidence of issues relating to one of the above four aspects of teacher education (structure, coordination, vision and quality assurance) has been sought in these reports.
3. Finally, the review relies on publications describing reforms at particular teacher education institutions in the region, such as the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Zagreb (Vizek Vidović, 2009) and the Teacher Education Faculty in Jagodina at the University of Kragujevac (Savović, 2006). Such publications, as well as the above reports of the regional studies, have become known to the author through her

engagement in collecting policy-informing evidence in a number of projects dealing with teacher education in the region.

Teacher education reforms in the region

Structural and curricular changes in teacher preparation

The restructuring of initial teacher education programmes in SEE countries takes place as part of reforms at higher education institutions in line with the Bologna process. The 'Bologna agenda' includes the alignment to two-tier degree structures, the implementation of the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS), the redesign of curricula, the development of quality assurance systems, and the reintegration of universities. Analysts by and large agree that in the region structural changes have received more attention than those related to curricular goals and content (Miclea, 2003; Pantić & Wubbels, 2012; Zgaga, 2003, 2008). Discussions of how to best structure programmes, questions of their adequate duration, allocation of ECTS credits and assessment have became common currency in SEE academia, while substantial changes in the students' learning experiences within the new curricula are still described as sporadic at best, and often as exceptional individual efforts (Macura Milovanović, Pantić, & Closs, 2012; Pantić et al., 2011).

As in other study programmes, structural changes in the area of teacher education are often understood as an arithmetic question of the most suitable formulae for the bachelor and master's tiers, usually as a 3+2 or 4+1 dilemma (Zgaga, 2003). A related question is that of the nature of graduate and master's qualifications. Is a teaching licence to be ensured by a graduate degree or a research degree? In Albania, for instance, the four-year university programme of teacher education and training (equivalent to the bachelor level) is reported to be gradually changing to the 3+2 'Bologna system' (Ikonomi, Musai, & Sotirofski, 2010). In Croatia, teacher education has been 'upgraded' to the university level and organised as five-year study programmes adopting a consecutive model: at undergraduate level, students learn content related to various academic fields, and then acquire teacher competences at the postgraduate level through education science, *Methodiks* (subject didactics) and school practice, with a minimum of 60 ECTS (or 20% of the study programme) – an increase compared to the pre-Bologna 7–12% (Vizek Vidović, 2009). Thus, 'Bologna' alignments of pre-service teacher education sometimes involve higher levels of education being required for teaching (typically a master's degree), while it is doubtful whether these changes contribute to the improved quality and greater relevance of teacher preparation for changing school practices (Pantić et al., 2011; Vizek Vidović, 2009).

Curricular transformations are varied, just as preparation of teachers varies for pre-primary, primary (usually prepared at teacher education institutions, faculties of universities or professional colleges), and secondary teachers, whose preparation further varies for those teaching academic subjects (usually educated at the faculties for the relevant academic discipline with some teacher preparation as part of a teacher track), and for teachers of vocational subjects (usually graduating from faculties or professional colleges that offer education and training in their vocation, e.g., medicine, law, engineering, economics, etc., and often few courses such as subject didactics, pedagogy, and psychology) (Zgaga, 2006). Most teacher education institutions in the region reported that they were reforming their curricula. More than half have been active in either planning or developing learning outcomes and competences-based curricula as part of an effort to improve the employability of their graduates and make their programmes more compatible with European programmes (Zgaga, 2006).

Examples of concerted efforts to reform teacher education curricula can be found at different levels (of study programmes or institutions preparing different teachers), usually as part of EU TEMPUS projects (see, e.g., Hytonen, Pucko and Smyth (2003) regarding restructuring primary teacher education at the Faculty of Education of the University of Ljubljana), or through other kinds of international or bilateral assistance. Macura-Milovanović, Gera and Kovačević (2010) describe curricular reforms at teacher education faculties in Sombor and Jagodina supported and financed by the government of Finland (2004–2006) in the Serbian Teacher Education Project (STEP). Curricular reform in Jagodina was realised through action research (Savović, 2006) that aimed at improving the competences of teacher educators, providing more opportunities for student teachers to observe and practise teaching, interdisciplinary approaches to lesson planning and delivery, and new courses on child rights, developing tolerance and working with children with special education needs. The faculty then continued the reforms via an EU TEMPUS project from 2007 to 2009, focusing on improvement of student practice by preparing teachers and mentors to lead, monitor and evaluate students' practical placements (Macura-Milovanović et al., 2010, p. 46). Vizek Vidović (2009, pp. 62–63) and her colleagues describe a TEMPUS curricular reform at the level of a study programme for foreign language teachers at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Zagreb, setting subject-specific and education-related competences as curricular goals, and linking them to students' workload expressed in ECTS, as well as changes in content, teaching and assessment in all areas (education sciences, subject-related academic disciplines, subject didactics and student practice).

Unfortunately, such comprehensive efforts are rare, and changes implemented by higher education institutions within the Bologna process are more often described as superficial, modest and cosmetic (Miclea, 2003; Zgaga, 2011). There is little evidence of substantial changes in teacher preparation for inclusive education practices, for instance, even when the reformed programmes are formally based on competences (Batarelo Kokić, Vukelić, & Ljubić, 2010; Pantić et al., 2011). Sometimes programmes have been mechanically split into two parts to satisfy the 3+2 or 4+1 requirement, or ECTS credits have been put in place of hours. Such reforms show little consideration for the fundamental change in teaching philosophy brought by the orientation towards learning outcomes and ECTS credits to be gained through independent study and research on the part of the students, and not for listening to lectures (Zgaga, 2003, 2011).

One of the problems with curricula that is shared and recognised in the region is that of overloaded curricula incompatible with student-centred approaches, as workload leaves little room for 'active learning' and for interactive, problem-focused methods of teaching. Curricular change requires not only reducing content but also parallel changes to learning and teaching methodologies, and degrees expressed in terms of learning outcomes and competences require much more than adapting existing curricula (Miclea, 2003; Zgaga, 2003). Problems with teacher education curricula can illustrate these and other identified issues that preclude a more systematic change in teacher education to better suit the changing teaching profession.

The restructuring and reorganisation programmes also relate to concerns for the interdisciplinary nature of teacher education and its convergence with 'European standards' (Plevnik, 2003; Vizek Vidović, 2009). Common European Principles for Teacher Competences and Qualifications (European Commission, 2005) observed in the reforms of teacher education in the region (Pantić et al., 2011; Vizek-Vidović, 2009) imply teachers' working with knowledge, information and technologies, with people, with and for the community. This and other key EU reference documents, such as Improving Competences for the 21st Century: An Agenda for European Cooperation on Schools (European Commission, 2008) suggest that teachers should be able to respond to the needs of individual learners, that their education should ensure an understanding of the social and cultural dimensions of education and of the contexts within which they work, and should present teaching as a problem-solving or research-in-action activity (European Commission, 2008, p. 5). Reviews of teacher education from the region (Pantić et al., 2011; Zgaga, 2006) suggest that emphasis on teacher reflectivity and capacity to contextualise teaching strategies represents a substantial challenge for many higher education institutions for a number of reasons.

Firstly, pre-service teacher education continues to be focused on disciplinary knowledge rather than on building competences. Teacher education in the region has inherited an academically oriented tradition with an undisputed primacy of academic disciplinary knowledge, while pedagogical and other practical skills are sidelined (Pantić et al., 2011; Vujisić-Živković, 2004). Across the region, content has been characterised as irrelevant and lacking in contemporary theories of teaching and learning and student-centred approaches. Teacher education in Serbia has been described as disconnected with actual changes in real school life (Macura-Milovanović et al., 2010, p. 45). In Montenegro, "academic subjects prevail, making up 90% of all courses in most of the faculties" (Milić, Marić, Bošković, & Šćepović, 2010, p. 49). In Macedonia, "the curricula for subject teachers are mostly the same as the curricula for the various fields of study for non-teachers, although some students may choose to complete the optional teachers' programme of psychology, pedagogy and teaching method" (Spasovski, Ballazhi, & Friedman, 2010, p. 37). In Bosnia and Herzegovina, teaching and learning methodologies are described predominantly as traditional lecturing in education science courses (Kafedžić, Pribišev Beleslin, & Džemidžić Kristiansen, 2010, p. 50). In summary, teachers seem to by and large adopt the traditional image of a teacher inherited from their own school education – that of an authoritative lecturer who stands in front of the class and transmits knowledge by covering lectures (Vujisić-Živković, 2004).

Secondly, the dearth of opportunity for student teachers' reflection linking theory and practice is one of the most cited deficiencies of teacher preparation in the region (Pantić, 2008; Pantić et al., 2011; Zgaga, 2006). This view is spread among teacher educators, students and school mentors alike (Pantić & Wubbels, 2012). The lack of teaching practice as a substantial, routinely required and systematically supervised part of teacher education is readily recognised as part of the problem. Where it exists, teaching practice largely consists of observation of more experienced teachers, which risks limiting learning to the preconceptions of teaching that students' already have when they enter the observation, often uncritically (Vujisić-Živković, 2004).

The issue of the relationship between theory and practice as a knowledge base for teachers is much more complex than suggested in the views common in the region, which seem to imply an understanding of professional practice as applied formal knowledge, and fail to recognise the formative influence of practice in the use and creation of knowledge (Pantić et al., 2011). Teachers' professional activity involves encountering specific situations that do not occur as defined problems (Schőn, 1983). Defining the problem is, in fact, one of the most difficult tasks in a profession and, therefore, is not a matter of the

straightforward application of theoretical knowledge (Verloop, Driel, & Meijer, 2001). The missing element in teacher development in the region seems to be knowledge of how to identify and deal with problems in a concrete setting – a combination of cognitive and practical knowledge, skills, experiences and strategies, as well as emotions, values, motivation and attitudes. Thus, a central consideration for teacher education is how to help teachers understand the practical implications of knowledge construction and use in real contexts. Teachers develop such knowhow in different ways and settings, through contact and sharing with other people, e.g., through discussion and interaction with families or through critical reflection on and challenges to traditional conceptions of teacher and learner roles, subject matter and pedagogy (Huizen, Oers, & Wubbels, 2005; Kidd, Sanchez, & Thorp, 2008; Tatto, 1999; Vygotsky, 1997).

The review of research from the region suggests that teacher education provides few structured opportunities for such contact and sharing, and for extending teachers' professional development to the community they serve. There is a widespread view that teacher education only takes place at teacher education faculties (Vujisić-Živković, 2004). There are only rare opportunities for future teachers to experience diversity; for example, through experiencing different cultures, through recruiting student teachers with special needs, from marginal groups or ethnic minorities (Zgaga, 2003), or through interaction with socially and culturally diverse families. The necessary collaborative ways of working are rarely modelled by teacher educators (Pantić et al., 2011). Students have few opportunities to integrate theoretical and practical knowledge and develop their personal orientation and reflexivity, e.g., through discussion, through dialogue with various relevant players, in action research, or through school-university partnerships (Radulović, 2007). Only a quarter of the institutions reported that they had cooperated with teachers' professional associations or other stakeholders in the process of restructuring their curricula (Zgaga, 2006). Student teachers continue to be educated in and assessed predominantly on subject matter and pedagogical knowledge and skills. There is hardly any explicit focus on values in present teacher education in the region (Pantić, 2008), even though teachers themselves perceive their roles in the promotion of values as very important (Pantić & Wubbels, 2012).

Coordinating reforms

A major issue identified as a barrier to a comprehensive meaningful change in teacher preparation to better respond to the changing contexts of education is the absence of cross-curricular approaches to teacher preparation (Pantić et al., 2011). It is sometimes emphasised that such a meaningful change

would require a commitment by complete institutions (Vizek-Vidović, 2009). One of the reasons why relying on individual course designers is insufficient, cited by Pantić and colleagues (2011), is evidence suggesting that, despite some exceptional individual efforts, the overall capacity and motivation of a great number of teacher educators to initiate and adapt to change in higher education is limited, and that job-for-life attitudes and behaviours have become entrenched. The idea that established senior professors might research and run new courses or develop new ways of working with students, colleagues and communities seems alien in all but a few cases (Pantić et al., 2011). A teacher educator from Kosovo explained: "Faculties plan only as many courses as they have professors and therefore there is no room for new courses and philosophies" (Rexhaj, Mula, & Hima, 2010, p. 36).

Teacher education programmes that are effective in more comprehensive teacher preparation include clear and consistent visions of teaching and learning that guide the programme (Zeichner, 2006). Accounts of reformed study programmes for teachers also stress the need to engage in a process of consultation with a range of stakeholders when defining the desired learning outcomes (Vizek Vidović, 2009). It seems that curricular innovation in the region has mostly occurred through the introduction of new curricular units relevant to 'new' educational topics, such as inclusive education, child rights, citizenship education, and so on (Pantić et al., 2011). As in other study areas, new courses and programmes seem to have elicited less resistance as channels for introducing reforms (Miclea, 2003) than the rarer cross-curricular approaches to reforms. The problem with this is that many of the competences that are found to be critical for these 'new' areas of teacher expertise such as inclusive education – competences like communication with other stakeholders in education (including families) or reflection on values and their impact on diverse learners – remain outside the remit of current pre-service teacher education, especially in subject teacher programmes. According to Vizek Vidović (2009), the development of a competence-based curriculum requires the final step of verification of whether all of the necessary competences are covered by the programme units, whether the descriptions of the learning outcomes are coherent, whether particular units follow the intended progression in developing a particular competence, and so on (p. 71). Clearly, unless the staff conducting the units of a particular programme work together, the chances are that elements of teaching might be omitted under the assumption these would be covered by other course units.

Developing a common vision

Creating such a common vision is more difficult, if possible at all, when the preparation of teachers is fragmented across different types of institutions (Zgaga, 2003). Multiple fracture lines in the education of teachers have been cited as a barrier to a more holistic and more relevant preparation of teachers and other school staff. Teacher education for different levels of education is delivered in different programmes by different higher education institutions that pay different amounts of attention to teacher education. Collaboration between faculties of education and faculties that educate subject teachers is hindered by long-established faculty autonomy within universities functioning as a loose association of faculties (Miclea, 2003; Zgaga, 2003). No links exist between the faculties that prepare teachers and those that prepare other education professionals, such as pedagogues (school-based educational advisors), psychologists and others, and training for principals is rare (Macura Milovanović et al., 2012; Pantić et al., 2011). This is not a favourable setting for introducing a comprehensive shift of paradigm in teacher education and for the development of cross-curricular and interdisciplinary approaches. Yet, there are rather strong convictions within academia in the region that there is nothing wrong with class teachers being prepared at faculties of teacher education and subject teachers being prepared at faculties of mathematics, arts, sports, etc.

Many countries in Europe have recognised a more appropriate institutional setting for the education of future teachers in a growing number of faculties of education that promote teacher education as a single inter-disciplinary area of study rather than as a sequence of various other disciplines that are seen to be useful for teachers. In the SEE region, an example of this tendency was reported in the transformation of the Faculty of Education in Pristina, established in 2002 by Kosovo's Ministry of Education (with support from the Canadian-funded Kosovo Education Development Plan, Finnish Support for the Development of Education in Kosovo, Save the Children Denmark and other organisations). This new faculty offers a Bachelor of Education degree in preschool and primary education (class teachers) and lower secondary education (subject teachers) (Rexhaj et al., 2010, pp. 39–40).

Quality assurance

Another issue that is often cited as a missed opportunity for building a common vision of quality teaching and the relevant teacher preparation relates to quality assurance systems and the accreditation of teacher education providers and programmes (Pantić et al., 2011). Pre-service teacher education in the region is subject to national quality assurance procedures that apply to

all higher education institutions and programmes. External evaluation criteria include: basing the programme on the latest scientific knowledge and skills, accordance with the professional needs and national priorities of the sector, and often comparability with the other European higher education programmes in the same fields of study (Plevnik, 2003; Vizek Vidović, 2009).

In a number of countries in Europe, governments increasingly set teacher standards. In the SEE region, such standards are at an early stage of development, which is sometimes seen as another barrier to the harmonisation of teacher competences being defined as desirable outcomes for teacher education programmes, especially for vocational subject teachers (Vizek Vidović, 2009). In addition to external standards set by governments, the accreditation of teacher education programmes also depends on universities or on their faculties that traditionally participate in teacher education provision, such as arts and science faculties. Quality assurance is generally a relatively new concept in the region, and 'a culture of quality' is yet to be built within universities (Miclea, 2003). Teacher education quality assurance is reported to provide few formative links between quality criteria for teachers, schools and teacher education providers. Yet, feedback from research on the concept and use of competences to establish teacher standards has tended to be positive among teachers, teacher educators and student teachers (Pantić, 2008; Zgaga, 2006).

Conclusions and ways ahead

In the present review, teacher education in SEE has been viewed within the context of implementing Bologna process reforms. These reforms have given precedence to drafting and implementing new legislation, while curricular reforms have often been sidelined. This situation seems to have brought about discrepancies between the (formally) modernised systems and obsolete teaching and learning practices. In teacher education, the new second cycle programme is particularly crucial, as there is a danger that it will become a mere extension of the old curricula focused on disciplinary knowledge rather than on building teacher competences.

The issues identified in this review do not seem helpful for promoting teacher education as a comprehensive, interdisciplinary, inclusive, problem-oriented, learning outcomes-based study area. In the context of fragmented teacher education, there is a risk of setting narrow learning outcomes in accordance with the institutional vision, or lack of vision, of their role in the preparation of future teachers; indeed, such outcomes could even reinforce the fragmented education of education professionals.

Curricular changes towards degrees expressed in terms of learning outcomes and competences require much more than adapting the existing

curricula. One of the most urgently needed changes seems to be building a more meaningful relationship between theory and practice in teaching. Innovative ways of integrating theoretical and practical knowledge could be sought by building communities of practice, action research and formative evaluation of changing practices; for instance, evidence of teacher behaviour and its educational impact on students could be systematically incorporated in teacher education programmes for formative purposes and revision of teaching approaches based on learning from practice.

Another increasingly popular practice in teacher development programmes is engagement in action research. As opposed to the long-established idea that practitioners implement the findings of research undertaken by others, in action research the researcher is at the same time a teacher practitioner, and is thus affected by the results. The underlying rationale is precisely the belief that the relationship between theory and practice is reciprocal, and that teachers are more likely to change their behaviour if they engage in exploring the problems that concern them. Clearly, changing approaches to theory and practice calls for a dramatic change in relations between schools and teacher education institutions; it also requires research to evaluate the implemented changes and inform the direction of future practices. There is therefore a need for pre-service education providers in higher education institutions to build partnerships with schools, e.g., through working with practicing teachers in order to improve their own programmes and thus meet the real needs of changing schools.

In conclusion, the state of teacher preparation in the region leaves much to be desired in order for Hargreaves' (2003) vision of the teacher for the knowledge society and beyond to be realised. In this vision, teacher preparation should be regarded as collaborative and continuing development. The fragmented education of teachers, head teachers and specialist staff does not seem to be the most effective way of developing professionals who would later work in teams in schools. The direction of the process of integrating faculties into universities is yet to be determined in many countries in the region. In the meantime, a possible way to start overcoming the fragmented education of teachers and other education professionals could be sought through linking pre-service teacher education institutions to in-service education and training institutions, considering that the latter have developed some useful teacher development programmes in recent years (Pantić et al., 2011).

When it comes to overcoming institutional and curricular fragmentation and building interdisciplinary and inclusive approaches in teacher education, organising teams of interested 'model' teacher educators from various

scientific fields could be a first step to improvements in curriculum quality, and to developing a culture and practice of inclusion at faculties (Miller & Stayton, 2006, pp. 56–68). As part of the ETF's regional study (Pantić et al., 2011), researchers from Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Serbia described teacher educators whom they considered to be good at their job, and how these successful teacher educators had developed, maintained and enhanced their professionalism despite the obstacles. The researchers described these model teacher educators as committed to lifelong learning and self-improvement, but also to collaboration with colleagues, students, practising teachers or other education-related professionals. They were described as taking their work seriously, being enthusiastic and gaining pleasure from their work, being open to new ideas and experiences, and seeking to work in schools and/or in education projects with NGOs. They learned from practice and from conducting research, and did not see themselves only as consumers and transmitters of academic learning. They learned a great deal in terms of new approaches to their profession, including methods of working with students, by developing international links (sometimes studying abroad), by developing shared programmes or collaborative research, by attending international conferences and learning through the Internet, journals and books, as well as through personal/professional correspondence with international colleagues and working with international NGOs. Although some of the teacher educators identified were young, others were nearing retirement but were described as remaining fully committed and young in spirit.

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The "New Doctorate" in Austria: Progress toward a Professional Model or Status Quo?

Hans Pechar,*[1] Gülay Ates[2] and Lesley Andres[3]

Until recently, both policy direction and public awareness of the Bologna Process has been focused almost unilaterally on the introduction of the Bachelor's degree to European universities. This is understandable, as for most European countries, the Bachelor is a new academic degree. However, commencing with the Berlin Ministerial Conference (Realising the European Higher Education Area, 2003), reform of doctoral studies has been highlighted as a second equal pillar in the Bologna reform process. In this paper, we begin by providing an overview of the general policy background and the rationales that underlie the attempts to restructure doctoral studies in Europe. Next, we focus on the specific situation in Austria, where peculiarities of the status quo collide with uniquely Austrian approaches to reforming doctoral education. Finally, through two case studies, we examine initial attempts – and related challenges – to implement the "New Doctorate" in Austria.

Keywords: Bologna reform, doctoral studies, professional model, apprenticeship model, Austria

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»Novi doktorat« v Avstriji: razvoj v smeri profesionalnega modela ali status quo?

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Do pred kratkim so bili politične usmeritve bolonjskega procesa in seznanjanje javnosti o njem skoraj enoznačno osredinjeni na vpeljavo prve stopnje študija (Bachelor) na evropske univerze. To je razumljivo, ker je za večino evropskih držav to nova akademska stopnja. Toda reforma doktorskega študija je bila, začenši z ministrsko konferenco v Berlinu (Realising the European Higher Education Area, 2003), predstavljena kot drugi enakovreden steber v procesu bolonjskih reform. Na začetku članka podajamo pregled splošnega ozadja politik in razlogov, ki podpirajo poskuse rekonstruiranja doktorskega študija v Evropi. Nato se osredinimo na specifičen položaj v Avstriji, kjer svojskosti statusa quo trčijo z unikatnim avstrijskim pristopom k reformiranju doktorskega izobraževanja. Na koncu s pomočjo dveh študij primerov analiziramo začetne poizkuse in s tem povezane izzive implementacije »novega doktorata« v Avstriji.

Ključne besede: bolonjska reforma, doktorski študij, profesionalni model, pripravniški model, Avstrija

Professional and Apprenticeship Models of Doctoral Studies

Most controversies surrounding the Bologna Process dwell on the introduction of the Bachelor's degree. In the Germanic countries, this new degree is widely regarded as a departure from the Humboldtian tradition, that emphasises cultivation of the mind as the main mission of higher education. By contrast, the Bachelor's degree within the Bologna framework places much more emphasis on employability, which is often regarded as a sellout of higher education to the interests of the business sector and a further step towards the "Americanisation" of European universities (for a critique of this perspective, see Pechar, 2012).

Controversies surrounding the introduction and implementation of the Bachelor's degree have managed to outshine the reform efforts in doctoral education that were introduced at the Berlin Conference of Ministers meeting in 2003. Within the Bologna framework, doctoral education is regarded as the "third study cycle" and as the link between the European Higher Education Area and the European Research Area (European Ministers Responsible for Higher Education, 2005). When compared to Bachelor's degree reforms, such efforts directed at the European doctorate are much more influenced by the American model of the PhD. The introduction of the Bachelor's degree can be interpreted as an adoption of the Anglophone two tier architecture, that distinguishes between undergraduate and postgraduate education. However, the Bachelor's degree, as specified in the Bologna architecture, is fashioned after the British, and not the American model. In the majority of the countries that have implemented the Bologna Process, the Bachelor's degree is three years in length and is specialised (the British model), rather than four years with a considerable amount of non-specialised, liberal education (the American model).

In contrast, reform of doctoral education in Europe has strongly embraced the American model of the PhD. Frequently in comparative higher education research, two models of doctoral education are juxtaposed (Rhoades, 1991). On the one hand, the *apprenticeship model* has as its core a strong personal relationship between the master and his or her disciple. This model is characterised by a low degree of standardisation and formalisation, which allows for a high degree of personal discretion by the master. On the other hand, in the *professional model,*[4] the individual mentor is one component within the collective

4 The term "professional model" refers to the theoretical differentiation of two modes of doctoral training as distinguished by Gumport (1992) and Rhoades (1991), and should be confused neither with postgraduate education provided by professional schools nor with a "professional doctorate".

responsibility of the department and the institution. As such, a higher degree of formalisation and standardisation reduces the personal discretion of the individual supervisor. These two models have geographical coordinates. Whereas the professional model is an ideal type description of doctoral education in the USA, the apprenticeship model, for the most part, describes traditional forms of doctoral education in Europe. In this paper, we are unable to describe in any detail the diverse forms of apprenticeship and profession models across various jurisdictions. In the following section, we focus on a comparison of American and traditional Germanic models of doctoral education.[5]

The apprenticeship model has its origins in the medieval university. It was modernised in the early 1800s by the introduction of the chair structure of the Humboldtian university. When compared to earlier forms of higher education, neo-humanist reforms resulted in a completely new approach to doctoral training. Before Willhelm von Humboldt legitimised the research mission of universities, the doctoral dissertation was simply a confirmation of the authoritative knowledge transmitted in early modern universities. Remarkably, it was primarily the professor, and not the student, who wrote the doctoral dissertation. The task of the student was to defend the dissertation of his master; it was neither expected nor desired that the student produce any original knowledge on his own. To develop one's own dissertation would have been regarded as a presumptuous provocation of the established order of knowledge. When the new model of doctoral training introduced the requirement of original research by the student, traditional professors complained that it led to a "decline in quality" (Rasche, 2007a, p. 198).

The establishment of a rigorous new research doctorate across Germany occurred over an extended period of time. In its place lingered less demanding forms of doctoral examinations, such as the doctorate *in absentia* (i.e., not present) that coexisted with doctoral dissertations based on original research. As late as 1876, Theodor Mommsen, a renowned historian at the University of Berlin, attacked the former as German diploma mills that produced "pseudo-doctors" (Rasche, 2007b). For such graduates, the Doctoral degree signalled readiness to enter the labour market rather than as a step toward an academic career. Moreover, the general standards for doctoral training were significantly lower than today. For example, preparation and completion of a dissertation was usually completed in few months and rarely took more than a year (Paletschek, 1998). Relaxed standards at the doctoral level could not seriously

5 It is noteworthy that the Germanic model has strongly shaped doctoral education in many European countries, predominantly in Northern and Eastern Europe. Likewise, the American model has shaped doctoral programmes in Anglo-Saxon countries. Since the 1980s, it has served as a model for doctoral reform in Europe.

damage the academic quality of the system because the gatekeeper to the academic profession was no longer the Doctoral degree, but the Habilitation (an additional professorial dissertation).

The Humboldtian concept of the university emphasised "unity of research and scholarship", which embedded specialised research within a common neo-humanist framework; hence, specialisation at the German research university of the early 19th century was weak. Although specialisation increased during the later decades of the century, the chair structure served as a centre of gravity around which all academic activities were concentrated. Because he possessed a high degree of autonomy in academic affairs, the *Professor Ordinarius* was granted full control and responsibility for research and teaching activities in his discipline, including doctoral training. This was the historical context from which the apprenticeship model emerged.

The professional model arose out of a very different set of historical circumstances. American higher education gained status and social support relatively late, when industrialisation after the civil war led to rapidly increasing demands for professional qualifications. During that period, many academics who were familiar with the German system established research universities and transferred some elements of the Humboldtian model to their home institutions. Attempts to establish pure doctoral institutions were not successful. As Gade (1991) explains,

> rather than developing separate institutions for research and advanced instruction, these functions were grafted onto existing institutions, turning many colleges into universities and creating another distinctive American form, the comprehensive institution, containing undergraduate education on the British model, and research and graduate work on the German model. (p. 1082)

Furthermore, the organisational home for doctoral education in the US was not the chair structure but the department, which had major consequences in terms of the structure of doctoral education. In contrast to a system organised around faculties and chairs, rooted within a guild structure and a tradition of the "private discretion and prerogatives of individual faculty" (Rhoades, 1991, p. 132), a department within the college system was more public, formalised, transparent, and focused on specialisation and scholarship. Instead of the German tradition of a "pre-professional guild pattern of particularistic, informal apprenticeship" (p. 132), American doctoral education was organised around the principles of formal professional education and certification.

The recent reform debate in Europe is strongly oriented around the key features of the professional model of doctoral education. The following points are at the centre of this discussion:

(1) What is the role of the institution as opposed to the individual supervisor in doctoral training? In the traditional European model, it is the professor who has full control and responsibility for all phases – from admission to graduation – of doctoral study. More recently, however, many European universities have introduced doctoral schools that try to be equivalents of American graduate schools, with the goal of strengthening institutional responsibility for doctoral education.

(2) Should responsibility for supervision rest on one individual academic or on a supervisory team? The individual supervisor is predominant in the traditional European model. More recently, this heritage of the chair structure has come under question, and collegial supervision by a team is preferred.

(3) Is access to doctoral education regulated by clear and unambiguous admission procedures at the institutional level, or is it driven by informal decisions of individual professors or supervisors? The professional model is characterised by transparent admission procedures, whereas in the apprenticeship model, entitlement (to enrol "in principle") is combined with opaque routes to secure a supervisor. The idiosyncratic "no admission" policy in Austrian higher education (Pechar, 2009) constitutes a particular challenge for this area of reform.

(4) To what extent does doctoral training require a structure and additional coursework? The traditional European pattern rested on the assumption that doctoral students have already acquired a sufficient methodological basis for undertaking research in their respective subject. Hence, the doctoral student can proceed with a dissertation without additional coursework. More recently, however, structured and semi-structured doctoral programmes have been introduced that require additional coursework, mainly in advanced research techniques.

(5) Who evaluates the dissertation? Is this the responsibility of the supervisor or of an external examination team? Traditionally in the German speaking world, assessment was the responsibility of the individual supervisor. More recently, the functions of supervision and evaluation have been increasingly separated and different levels of external assessment have been implemented. Assessment can be external to the supervisory team, external to the institution, and external to the national academic culture.

In the next section, we focus our attention on doctoral programmes in Austria.

Doctoral Education in Austria

A fundamental reform of its universities began in Austria after the revolution of 1848 and continued into the liberal era in the 1870s, when the Humboldtian vision of *Wissenschaftsfreiheit* – that is, freedom of teaching and research, unrestricted by religious or political intervention – was fully established (Ferz, 2000). Together with the chair structure and the habilitation system, Austria adopted the apprenticeship model of doctoral training that required a German-style dissertation (Clark, 2006).

Until the 1960s, the Doctoral degree was the first academic degree at Austrian universities.[6] Following a major study reform process in 1966, a Diploma degree (equivalent to the Anglophone Master's degree) was introduced in order to distinguish between non-doctoral and doctoral study.[7] The policy intention was to specify the Doctoral degree as the trajectory towards a research career, while providing students who wanted to enter the labour market an exit option at a lower academic level (Götz, 1993). In practice, however, the differentiation between the Diploma and the Doctoral degree remained weak. Doctoral education did not provide research training comparable to the American PhD, and many students continued to use the Doctoral degree as a signal to enter the professional labour market.

Expansion of higher education since the 1960s has been shaped by the conditions of conservative welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen, 1990), that are not conducive to high participation rates (Pechar & Andres, 2011). Austria is among the OECD countries with the lowest proportion of its 25-34 year-old population having attained tertiary credentials (ISCED 5) (21% as opposed to the OECD average of 37%). Moreover, the difference between the 25-34 year age cohort (21%) and the 55-64 year age cohort (16%) is among the smallest of all OECD countries. In other words, Austria ranks at the bottom end and has not significantly improved during the last 30 years (OECD, 2011, p. 40).

The low tertiary participation rate can be explained partly by the characteristics of Austrian secondary schools. Austria is among the very few countries that still practice early streaming at age 10. Immediately after only four years of elementary school, pupils are streamed into either preparatory schools for higher education (Gymnasium) or "main schools" (Hauptschule). The latter are

6 However, as in Germany, graduates who wanted to enter a career in the civil service, in the liberal professions (law, medicine), or as a teacher had to pass a state exam in the Gymnasium. This kind of "ex post control" by the government made the high degree of freedom in teaching and learning possible (Anderson, 2004).

7 Due to generous interim arrangements, some first degree doctorates were awarded until the 1990s.

designed for students who allegedly are not academically inclined, but instead possess "handicraft talent." This pattern of early streaming limits both the ambition of students and the pool of those who are eligible for higher education. It is telling that only 24% of Austrian students at age 15 expect that they will attend tertiary education after completing secondary school, compared to the OECD average of 41% (OECD, 2007).[8]

Given the low tertiary graduation rate at ISCED 5, it is interesting that the rate of Doctoral degrees (ISCED 6) in Austria (2.0%) is higher than the OECD average of 1.5% (OECD, 2011). Again, this seeming paradox can be explained by the educational characteristics of conservative welfare regimes, that still feature many characteristics of sponsored mobility. According to Turner (1960), early selection of the future elite, encouraged by the sponsored mobility norm, goes hand in hand with reduced competitive pressure for the elite cohort once they are selected. This theory provides a solid explanation of transitions in the Austrian education system. After being assigned elite status at age 10, students who complete the Gymnasium are entitled to enrol in any study subject at any university without further selection and admission procedure (Pechar, 2009). This kind of entitlement system was a familiar pattern in European countries in the era of elite higher education. As a consequence of educational expansion, most countries have either abolished or modified their entitlement rules in order to accommodate the realities of mass higher education. Austria, however, has maintained the entitlement system and does not allow universities to select and admit students. Moreover, this rule applies not only to the transition from secondary schools to universities, but also to gaining access to postgraduate education – that is, master's and even doctoral studies. According to this logic, any successful completion of a prior step of study is accompanied by entitlement to enrol in the next advanced step.

The odd pattern of low graduation rates at ISCED 5 and high graduation rates at ISCED 6 was long regarded as a special virtue of the Austrian higher education system. As the saying goes, "we educate only few at the tertiary level, but those particularly well." More recently, however, leading academics and policy makers have recognised the inadequacies of this traditional pattern. Despite high rates of awarding Doctoral degrees, the share of researchers in the Austrian labour force is relatively low, to the extent that research-intensive

8 Another explanation for the low participation and graduation rate at the tertiary level is the well developed system of vocational education and training at the upper secondary level. Vocational training, both in dual and school-based forms, is regarded as one of the strengths of the Austrian education system. It is controversial whether this system still satisfies the qualification demands of an increasingly knowledge-based economy, but it is undeniable that the secondary VET sector fulfils many functions that in other countries are performed at the tertiary level (Graf, Lassnigg, & Powell, 2012).

industries complain about a lack of trained research personnel.[9]

Pressure at the European level and dissatisfaction within national constituencies have resulted in attempts to restructure doctoral education. A key document at the European level has been one entitled *Salzburg Principles*, that emerged from a "Bologna seminar" aimed to identifying the key challenges of linking the European higher education area and the European research area. Seminar participants agreed upon ten basic principles "that should underpin further considerations of the key role of doctoral programmes and research training in the Bologna Process" (European University Association, 2005). This document emphasises that "universities as institutions need to assume responsibility" for the quality of doctoral education (Principle 2), and it highlights the "crucial role of supervision and assessment" (Principle 5). On the bases of the *Salzburg Principles,* the Austrian Rectors' Conference (now Universities Austria) adopted the *Recommendations on New-Style Doctoral Studies* in 2007. This document emphasises the importance of supervision and guidance, and recommends that "the formerly bilateral relationship between supervisor and doctoral candidate (individual supervision) should be broadened to integrate the candidate into a team, for example as part of a doctoral programme" (Universities Austria, 2007, p. 36). With respect to admission, the document states that "unrestricted entry to doctoral studies, as is currently the case in Austria, entails that prospective doctoral candidates are not selected on the basis of qualifications and university capacities" (p. 37). Regarding the assessment and examination of doctoral candidates, the recommendations advocate that "at least one examiner should come from a field that is not too close to that of the supervisor (and should ideally be from abroad)" (ibid., p. 40).

This reform debate coincided with a major governance reform that introduced the new public management model to the world of higher education (Pechar, 2005). The legal foundation for the new governance regime is the University Act 2002 (UG, 2002). During the preparation of this new act, far-reaching proposals to abolish the Habilitation and substitute it with substantially upgraded doctoral training were discussed (Novak, 2006).

In the end, however, a more cautious path of reform was chosen. The Habilitation was maintained,[10] and at the same time the quality standards of doctoral training were raised. Two measures were undertaken in order to raise the quality of doctoral training. First, the minimum duration of doctoral training was increased by one year, from two to three years. Second, new forms

9 "In human resources, the indicators point towards the relatively low proportion of academically trained people. . . . Interestingly, and in contrast to this position, the number of new doctorates is significantly higher than the EU 27 average" (Schibany et al., 2011).

10 It is possible, however, that the Habilitation will become dispensable once the qualitative upgrading of doctoral training takes full effect.

of doctoral programmes have been established. Individual modes of doctoral study, which dominated until recently, have now for the most part been substituted by new models of semi-structured or structured programmes. The Austrian doctoral reform is termed as *Doktorat Neu*. Since the winter semester 2009/2010, doctoral students have only been able to enrol under the new terms and conditions of *Doktorat Neu*.

As we demonstrate in the next section, the new model of doctoral studies does not constitute a radical break with the past. The Austrian University Act of 2002 (UG, 2002) provides the legislative framework for recent changes to doctoral programmes. Because the Austrian "no admission policy" has remained in place, strong continuity with the past has been retained;[11] that is, every student who completes the preceding level of study is entitled to enrol in the ensuing level of education.[12] However, compared to the former system, some substantive changes have taken place. Most of these changes, such as the composition of curricula, admission procedures, assessment of the dissertation, and supervision, are regulated at the university level, the disciplinary level, or both.

In keeping with the European Credit Transfer System, in 2004 the UG 2002 established the requirement of 180 ECTS points for a Doctoral degree and 240 ECTS for a PhD degree. This legislative paragraph 54(4) was amended in 2006. Since that time, the number of ECTS points has no longer been specified by law or regulation; only the length of doctoral study is specified at three years. Despite this legislative change, some universities continue to retain ECTS points. When compared with the former system, different policies for retaining students in doctoral studies have been adopted; however, these procedures are not necessarily consistent across universities, or even across disciplines within universities. Regarding the tasks of doctoral students, doctoral agreement contracts and annual progress reports have been established. In the past, the main supervisor was responsible for overseeing, evaluating and assigning grades for doctoral projects, with the second evaluator being relegated to a minor role.

In the following section, we describe the ways in which the *Doktorat Neu* at the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Vienna and the Department of Social Sciences and Economics at the University of Graz[13] were

11 "Enrolment" in Austria simply entails signing up for a programme and paying student union fees.

12 The Act UG 2002, §64(4) stipulates that a master's degree entitles a student to enrol in a doctoral programme of a corresponding subject.

13 At the University of Vienna, the Faculty of Social Sciences is comprised of the Departments of Journalism and Communication Sciences, Nursing Science, Political Science, Social and Cultural Anthropology, Sociology and Social Studies of Science. At the University of Graz, the Department of Social Sciences and Economics includes the following: Business Education and Development, Business Studies, and Economics and Sociology.

implemented. We do so by addressing the following questions: What kinds of admission procedures have been established? Are there any differences between universities even when we limit our analyses to one discipline? What changes can be observed at the curricular level? How structured is the *Doktorat Neu* study within each faculty? What is the initial impact of these changes on enrolment numbers, recruitment, supervision and assessment of doctoral theses?

Case Studies of the University of Vienna and the University of Graz

In the winter semester[14] 2011, almost 29,000 doctoral students were enrolled in Austrian universities. Of these newly designated "early stage researchers", as they are described by the Bergen Communiqué (2005, p. 4),[15] 35% were enrolled at the University of Vienna and 9% were enrolled at the University of Graz.[16] In 2011, 22% of all doctoral candidates in the field of social (and economic) sciences were enrolled at the University of Vienna, 26% at the Vienna University of Economics and Business, 17% at the University of Linz, 12% at the University of Graz and the University of Innsbruck. During the 2011 winter semester, 1,750 doctoral students in the field of social (and economic) sciences were enrolled at the University of Vienna and 527 at the University of Graz. In the following sections, procedures and processes that regulate the academic lives of students enrolled as *Doktorat Neu* are described.

Research Design

Our two case studies are based on a mixed method approach including the triangulation of different sources of evidence (Yin, 2009). According to Flyvbjerg (2011), "case studies comprise more detail, richness, completeness, and variance – that is, depth – for the unit of study than does cross-unit analysis" (p. 301). Moreover, analyses are carried out in relation to the relevant environmental context. In order to portray in-depth insights of Austrian doctoral reforms, we have mined information from online documents of national legal

14 In Austria, the academic year is divided into two semesters – the summer and the winter semester. Each semester is four months in length.

15 According to the Communiqué of the Conference of European Ministers Responsible for Higher Education (2005 #3), "we consider participants in third cycle programmes both as students and as early stage researchers" (p. 4).

16 Twelve percent are enrolled at the University of Innsbruck and 9% the Vienna University of Technology. Source: uni:data statistics, the data warehouse of the Austrian Federal Minister for Science and Research http://eportal.bmbwk.gv.at/portal/page?_pageid=93,95229&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL&.

regulations (e.g., UG, 2002), doctoral curricula in the field of social sciences at the University of Vienna and the University of Graz, and doctoral enrolment statistics. The latter were made available by the Austrian Federal Minister for Science and Research and by the interviewees. In addition, to gain further insights into current practices and procedures, semi-structured interviews were conducted with five key expert informants. Interviews at the University of Vienna were conducted face-to-face at the interviewees' workplace. At the University of Graz, telephone interviews with interviewees were carried out. The interviews, which on average lasted for one hour, were conducted in June 2012. In the following sections, we provide a synopsis of the implementation of the *Doktorat Neu*; first, at the University of Vienna, and second, at the University of Graz.

Doctoral Study in the Social Sciences at the University of Vienna[17]

Of all of the faculties at the University of Vienna and in Austria, the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Vienna enrols the second largest number of doctoral students. Admission to *Doktorat Neu* entails registration and payment of student union fees ("ÖH Beitrag"). Neither a designated supervisor nor the doctoral dissertation topic is required at this point. Individual doctoral study is divided into two parts. The first year is considered to be an entry and conception phase, followed by two years of research and completion of the doctoral dissertation. During the entry phase, each student must find a research supervisor, attend a maximum of 10-ECTS credits of course work, and write a research proposal. At the end of the first year, the doctoral student is expected to present her or his research proposal to the faculty. In order to facilitate the latter requirement, several doctoral advisory boards[18] have been established at the institutional level. Members of doctoral advisory boards for Social Sciences evaluate the doctoral dissertation proposal of the prospective doctoral student. Following a positive assessment of the proposal, the doctoral student can then negotiate and sign a doctoral dissertation agreement. Only those who have received both a positive evaluation and have signed doctoral dissertation agreements in place are permitted to attend the additional courses required to

17 Figures and numbers have been made available by the Centre for Doctoral Studies at the University of Vienna.

18 In the Faculty of Social Sciences, six doctoral dissertation advisory boards with six or seven members have been established. Detailed information can be found at: http://doktorat.univie.ac.at/en/supervisors/doctoral-advisory-board/doctoral-advisory-board-for-the-director-of-the-study-program-number-40-for-the-following-fields-of-doctoral-research.

complete their doctorate (20-ECTS credits). The doctoral dissertation agreement between the student and supervisor specifies the tasks to be achieved within each year, such as papers to be written, courses to be completed, and poster conference presentations to be made. Annual reports provide insights into the prescribed and fulfilled tasks of the doctoral project. In this semi-structured *Doktorat Neu* programme, students must earn 30 ECTS credits overall. No further ECTS points are granted for the dissertation or defence.

In the summer semester 2012 in the Faculty of Social Sciences, 714 of 1,734 doctoral students[19] were enrolled in the *Doktorat Neu* programme. Of the 221 new doctoral students or "early stage researchers" who started their doctoral studies in 2009, 110 were still actively enrolled in the summer of 2012. The remaining 111 students had withdrawn.[20] By March 2012, only 23 of the 110 doctoral students had received positive evaluations from doctoral advisory boards and had signed doctoral dissertation agreements. To date, 87 students have not yet signed doctoral dissertation agreements. Reasons for the lack of progress by 79% of the 2009 cohort remain unclear. Currently, the number of presentations a doctoral student can make is unrestricted. However, according to the interviewees, after having made one unsuccessful attempt, an unspecified number of students subsequently withdraw. Only a minority of doctoral students have presented their doctoral dissertation proposals two or three times.

It is noteworthy that in the Faculty of Social Sciences, the 110 active early stage researcher survivors of the winter semester 2009 have a pool of 50 supervisors with the status of either Professor or Habilitation. In other words, there is an average of two doctoral students per supervisor. At first blush, this appears to be a shift towards the realm of supervisory feasibility. In reality, however, 1,734 doctoral students are currently enrolled in the Faculty of Social Sciences, which is an untenable number of 35 students for every supervisor!

The intention of the restructuring process to assure the quality of doctoral studies and actual practice can be determined by examining both the intended and non-intended effects of the restructuring endeavour. Student presentations of proposed doctoral projects to faculty advisory boards were intended to ensure greater public visibility and to introduce a measure of quality assurance. The intended role of advisory boards was to offer practical recommendations, which would then be used to improve the doctoral dissertation proposal. Since there are no regulations in place regarding how often students can present, in theory each student has the opportunity to present until a positive review has been obtained. According to comments made by interviewees

19 The remaining 1,020 students are enrolled in the old doctoral programme.
20 Withdrawal requires no action on the part of the student.

and supported by official statistics, some members of doctoral advisory boards use the doctoral proposal presentation as a screening mechanism. This hurdle in the doctoral programme provides an opportunity for faculty to reduce and regulate the number of students by weeding out poor performers. The doctoral proposal presentation also serves as a self-elimination mechanism, as many doctoral students do not attempt to re-present their proposals. Over one fifth (21%) of enrolled doctoral students have passed the required courses and have written their proposals, but they are unable to find a supervisor. A doctoral proposal presentation is not permitted without an established supervisor. According to university regulations, in such cases of hardship, the Chair of the doctoral advisory board is required to assign a supervisor. To date, no instances of assigned supervision have been documented; however, an indeterminate number of cases are rumoured to exist.

Another element of quality assurance is the requirement of a doctoral dissertation agreement. This new procedure is intended to concretise commitments from both the doctoral student and the supervisor. The doctoral student is provided an opportunity to ensure that the tasks agreed upon in a given year are (1) related to her or his doctoral project, (2) are realistic, and (3) achievable. Likewise, it is a mechanism to formally specify the responsibilities of the supervisor. When compared to students enrolled under the old regime, where it was not uncommon to have not seen their supervisors for the majority of their doctoral studies, doctoral dissertation agreements also specify the number of supervisor consulting hours. Furthermore, newly offered courses with compulsory attendance provide additional opportunities for students and faculty to address, discuss and refine research-related questions.

Supervisors are no longer evaluators of the doctoral dissertation. According to university regulations, both evaluators should be external. Currently, the extent to which the evaluations are external remains ambiguous. As of June 2012, only three doctoral dissertations have been completed. Two were evaluated by their supervisors and one by an assessor external to the University of Vienna. As none of the students who were admitted to the *Doktorat Neu* programme have defended their dissertations, it is not possible to examine intended versus actual practices regarding dissertation evaluation.

Doctoral Study in Social and Economic Sciences at the University of Graz

Similar to the University of Vienna, at the University of Graz neither a designated supervisor nor an identified doctoral dissertation topic is required

to enrol. Doctoral study at the Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences is highly modularised and fully structured. The programme has undergone two stages of reforms (2007 and 2009). In the second reform, examination procedures and policies were developed. The oral defence was split into two parts (Rigorosum 1 and Rigorosum 2), which is unique at the University of Graz.

After having enrolled as a doctoral student, several steps are required:

1. successful completion of mathematics and statistics courses and empirical methods in the social sciences for a total of 18 ECTS points;
2. submission of the doctoral dissertation proposal;
3. attendance at more detailed research methods in social sciences (18 ECTS);
4. successful completion of an oral mid-term defence based on completed coursework (Rigorosum 1);
5. participation at doctoral colloquia;
6. completion of the doctoral dissertation;
7. second oral defence of the doctoral dissertation project (Rigorosum 2).

The required coursework at the beginning of doctoral study was intended to expose all students to a common curriculum. In addition, requiring them to complete 48 ECTS points and the "Rigorosum 1" before they are allowed to proceed to the next steps was intended as a mechanism for selecting the most promising students. Data to date indicate that these requirements constitute a major obstacle for many early stage researchers. Instead of attending the examination, many simply do not continue with their studies. Students must complete a total of 60 ECTS points through coursework and oral defences of the research project.

At the University of Graz, a supervision agreement signed by the principal supervisor, the doctoral student and the co-supervisor is required. This contractual agreement specifies (1) the requirement that the student attends a minimum of two consultation appointments, (2) the target date for completing the doctoral dissertation, (3) modes of communication between the student and supervisors, and (4) planned presentations by the student. An annual written report is also required, and supervisors are encouraged to inform their students about conferences and to introduce them to scholarly networks and communities.

Although these agreements serve as an awareness raising mechanism for the supervisor by specifying her or his responsibilities, they cannot be considered to be a quality assurance tool for better supervision. Data documenting

the number of signed agreements are not available, but such data collection endeavours are planned for the future.

Assessment of the doctoral dissertation is carried out primarily by qualified faculty from a different faculty or institution, but not by the supervisor. Although external assessors are recommended, they are not mandatory. Here, practice is linked to financial constraints, in that travel and subsistence expenses required for external assessors imposes a burden on the budget of the Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences.

In the Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences, the doctoral curriculum is highly modularised. Such modularisation in terms of structures and coursework has been strongly influenced by the Faculty's interpretation of the goals of the Bologna Process. Currently, the Faculty are considering reversing modularisation at the level of doctoral studies (third study cycle), with the goal of reducing the overall number of ECTS points required. The content of coursework has also been criticised. For example, some required courses do not fit the needs of the doctoral students studying sociology. The creation of a separate doctoral school of sociology is currently being entertained.

Discussion

Our analyses demonstrate that both the University of Vienna and the University of Graz have implemented reform steps that constitute a departure from the traditional apprenticeship model of doctoral education. However, both universities have a considerably long way to go if the intention is to fully implement a professional model. Briefly, we highlight the achievements and shortcomings of the reform by referring to the five questions that we posed earlier in this paper.

Regarding admission procedures, Austrian universities continue to be forced to live with the idiosyncratic "no admission" policy that is codified in the University Act 2002. However, they increasingly find ways to circumvent this policy by establishing internal overt and covert screening mechanisms. As a consequence, huge numbers of students enrol, only to be frustrated by unsuccessful attempts to have their research proposals accepted and to find a supervisor. In many ways, the traditional pattern is maintained; however, these prerequisites constitute a visible signal to students and faculty, and make the distinction between paper students and students who effectively work on their dissertation much more transparent than before.

In terms of implementing the *Doktorat Neu*, there are similarities and differences at the two universities. Both universities have increasingly emphasised

the role of the institution in doctoral education. At the University of Vienna, the role of the institution, as opposed to that of the individual supervisor, has been strengthened by the introduction of faculty advisory boards. These boards determine whether doctoral students are allowed to remain in the programme. As a consequence, the traditional notion of the sole responsibility of the professor has given way, somewhat, to regulations, policies and procedures at the faculty level that limit the discretion of the individual supervisor and increasingly standardise the doctoral experience. Formal criteria for decision-making processes are not well defined, however, and remain as one key task to be resolved. At the University of Graz, the main focus of reform has been the introduction of extensive coursework and two oral examinations to which retention in the programme is linked. Both universities have implemented a supervision contract that is intended to clarify expectations among the student, the supervisor and other committee members. This process of standardisation is accompanied by various forms of shared responsibility within the faculty and departments, at least in the early stages of doctoral education. Once students start to work on their dissertations, it appears that individual supervisors continue to have the upper hand regarding the research that is carried out by the student.

In terms of curricular differences, both universities have introduced mandatory coursework to increase the rigour of students' programmes of study, to promote regular engagement with faculty, and to provide students with the knowledge base and skills to complete their dissertations. However, because students' research interests are not vetted at the time of enrolment to ensure that they are in line with faculty members' interests and areas of expertise, it is a Herculean challenge to design courses that suit the needs of all students.

With respect to assessment, each university has taken a different approach. At the University of Vienna, the social sciences have followed the sciences by adopting the professional practice of external assessment. At the University of Graz, assessment by supervisors prevails.

As our findings for the University of Vienna demonstrate, to date the reforms have had an impact on enrolment numbers. Measures that have been introduced to increase the rigour of doctoral studies have resulted in reducing the proportion of students who remain in the programme. At the University of Graz, demanding coursework and the mid-term oral examination serve to weed out the less capable, the less persistent, or both.

To conclude, reform of doctoral education is a far-reaching process that is as profound as the introduction of the new Bachelor's degree. It is likely that the recently created and adopted regulations described in our case studies are intermediate stopgap measures that will continue to evolve through a process of

trial and error. A considerable amount of time and experience will be necessary before a stable system of doctoral study procedures emerges. To fully enact a professional model of doctoral education, faculties of postgraduate studies that develop regulations and policies for the entire postgraduate student population will probably be required. Furthermore, North American sensibilities regarding student services and support would enhance the doctoral experience for students. Nonetheless, the magnitude of change in a relatively short time is impressive.

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The Relationship between Social Gender and the World of Values in Higher Education

Veronika Bocsi[1]

The differences between male and female students in the field of education can be studied from several points of view. The aim of the present study[2] is to approach the issues of mobility closely connected to the educational institution, institutional existence and school, using the filter of value sociology, thus bringing us closer to the different school attitudes and behaviours of the two genders, focusing on higher education. In our analysis, we used the 'Campus-lét' Research database[3] (2010) of more that 2,000 students (N=2,384). In the course of completing questionnaires, students responded to the Rokeach Value Survey, which includes 18 terminal and 18 instrumental values evaluated on a five-grade scale. The techniques used were value averages and ranking, factor analysis and analysis of variance. We identified three factors with the use of terminal values (humanist-integrated, seeking happiness in individuals, hedonistic-egoistic) and four *with the use of instrumental* values (philanthropic, rational, open minded-creative, bureaucratic), with the *factor scores* indicating a *significant relation to* gender in five cases.

Keywords: gender differences, Rokeach Value Survey, students, values

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2 The study was financed by a research project entitled Higher Education for Social Cohesion – Cooperative Research and Development in a Cross-Border area (HURO/0901/253/2.2.2.).

3 Campus-lét Research Project. OTKA number: K81858, leader: Prof. Ildikó Szabó.

Razmerje med družbenim spolom in svetom vrednot v visokem šolstvu

Veronika Bocsi

Na področju izobraževanja lahko razlike med fanti in dekleti proučujemo z različnih vidikov. Namen raziskave je bil proučiti povezanost mobilnosti v tesni povezavi z izobraževalno institucijo, obstojem institucije in s šolo, ob tem pa uporabiti filter sociologije vrednot, da bi tako podrobneje predstavili razlike med spoloma glede odnosa in vedenja v šoli s poudarkom na visokem šolstvu. V raziskavo je bilo vključenih več kot dva tisoč študentov (N = 2.384) iz raziskovalne baze »Campus-lét« v letu 2010. V raziskavi je bil uporabljen vprašalnik »Rokeach Value Survey«, ki je sestavljen iz 18 terminalnih in 18 instrumentalnih vrednot, ki so jih študentje ocenjevali na petstopenjski lestvici. Analiza izsledkov vključuje povprečne vrednosti in rangiranje, faktorsko analizo in analizo variance. Z uporabo terminalnih vrednot smo identificirali tri faktorje (humanistično-vključevalni, iskanje sreče pri posameznikih, hedonistično-egoistični), štiri pa z uporabo instrumentalnih vrednot (človekoljubni, racionalni, odprtoustvarjalni, birokratski); izsledki faktorske analize so pokazali statistično pomembno povezanost s spolom v petih primerih.

Ključne besede: razlike med spoloma, Rekeach Value Survey, študentje, vrednote

The relation between social gender and the world of values

As the very first step of our theoretical argumentation, we can assert that the two spheres, the category of social gender and the world of values, are closely connected, and that the logic of this connection is quite unambiguous. One common characteristic of the conceptual definition of values is their being embedded in circumstances, while the other is an emphasis on integration into and adaptation to society, which shifts both the community and the individual towards the final status considered to be desired. Both are based on collective experience and can be interpreted as a certain kind of common agreement (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990). Thus, specific cultures and subcultures, operating as complex systems and bearing groups' interests in mind, establish the frameworks of human behaviour, and thereby also the category of social gender. As they control the process of socialisation and establish its methods and content, both social gender and values represent well regulated and highly efficiency transmission mechanisms. The male and female roles formed by communities in traditional societies can be different, but they are also similar in the sense that they closely fit into the space defined as a common set of values, norms, rules of behaviour and cultural content, while their rules and sanctions are of a collective quality. Rendering the individual construction impossible is not only confined to the field of experiencing social gender; we face a similar phenomenon in connection with, for instance, religion and other intellectual and behavioural constructions. This typical characteristic of communities can be realised as a completely adequate reaction provoked by the interest of the group's survival. Such a train of thought is closely connected to the approach that emphasises the role of biological factors in the construction of values (Csányi, 1994; Hankiss, 1977). In the case of traditional societies, usefulness, making a sacrifice and balancing advantages and disadvantages are not primarily interpreted on the level of the individual due to the collectivist features of communities; therefore, as a source of these advantages and disadvantages, the category of social gender (like many other categories and deeds) occurs more frequently as a problem where individuals are already interpreted as units of analysis by the value system of the community. This makes the objective judgement of (more) traditional gender role interpretation rather complicated from the perspective of a more individualistic value system.

According to Hofstede and Hofstede (2005), we face four fundamental problematic areas, to which different cultures may give different answers: the relation to social inequalities, the relation between the individual and the

group, the concept of masculinity-femininity, and the way people cope with insecurity. Before outlining Hofstede's typology, we must emphasise that male and female roles in their traditional forms are principally of a complementary nature, not only establishing separate activities and rituals, but also different thinking patterns for the two genders. Opinions differ as to how many common elements there are in these systems (Mead, 1949), whether the systems include the advantage of either gender, and if so why (while approaching the issue with a collectivist logic, this certainly cannot be considered as a relevant question). In the course of his study, which approached the world of values through the world of organisations and the concept of organisational culture, and which is considered to be one of the most wide-ranging international comparative studies in the field of values, Hofstede did not look for differences between men and women. When comparing national cultures, he attempted to draw fault lines, with one of these axes being drawn between self confidence-competitive spirit and care-fostering relationships-preserving the natural environment. When he wanted to interpret the axis, he encountered the fact that the different attitudes can be explained mostly with the aid of gender; therefore, the two poles were named masculine and feminine. Within the world of organisations-workplaces, this involved the following relation to aims-values for the two genders: it shifted men towards high salary, recognition, promotion and challenges, and women towards good work relationships, cooperation, a pleasant environment and security. According to national characterology, Hungarian society has strongly feminine characteristics, while Slovakia, Japan or Austria, for instance, prove to be strongly masculine countries based on Hofstede's examination. The largest distances between the value order of men and women can be found in masculine countries, while in such countries female roles also increasingly include challenges, taking risk and career plans.

Among international studies, we can find several analyses that deal with the different value preferences of men and women. This aspect of values has been examined with the most important value tests, such as the test by Rokeach, Schwartz and Hofstede. Since these tests use diverse methods, the results will also be different. Naturally, the tests have similar elements: belonging to other people, sensitivity, benevolence, universalism, and the sphere of transcendence are more important to women, while logic, openness to change, power, stimulation and a comfortable life are the territory of men. However, these differences are not invariant: the extent of diversity is different in almost every country, and there are countries where some generally feminine values are important to men, such as security in Israel (Sholan, Florenthal, Rose, &Kropp, 1998). On the basis of Schwartz and Rubel-Lifshitz (2009), we can say that diversity is

stronger in those countries where equality is more characteristic of the relationship between men and women. In the cited analyses by Sholan et al., the authors point out that the importance of values is different for men and women because women tend to rate them higher.

If we survey the mainstream of Hungarian value sociological research, we can conclude that, in drawing fault lines in the world of values, most analyses concentrate on sociocultural differences (school qualification, occupational categories) or comparison between age groups, rather than the study of differences according to gender. There are, of course, examinations where gender distribution is used, even if their number is not considerable. The transformation and characteristics of the value system of Hungarian society have long been provided by measurement results of the Rokeach Value Survey; in the course of its analysis, relevant research results can be found in several cases. In the case of women, Füstös and Tibori (1995) emphasise increased sociability, while Füstös (1995) observes significant differences in the field of values connected to religion and politics. Comparing the Hungarian results to the value structure of the United States of America, he concludes that gender differences prove to be more significant in Hungary. Surveying child-rearing principles on a national sample, Szabados (1995) concluded that, in percentage terms, fewer women select the values of fantasy, management skills, determination, love of work and independence. In his analysis, he made a distinction between external and internal values (the aim of external values is to help the individual to be accepted by the environment, while the aim of internal values is to create individual balance and individual results), concluding that men preferred internal values and women external values. Jancsák's value sociological analysis of students taking part in teacher training in Szeged and Debrecen (2011) indicates that female students tend towards the direction of postmodern and universal values, while male students tend towards traditional and material values.

Value systems and the constructions of social genders also influence institutional behaviour and attitudes towards it. This can be concluded from the research results of educational sociology, even if in most cases the results of specific measurements and studies are not embedded in value sociology's framing of the problem. Gender differences affect a number of segments of life situations and indicators related to school: it is sufficient to consider the results of surveys connected to student performance in different subjects, behaviour, stereotypes, expectations, motivation or the teacher-student relationship. In the course of studies of school performance according to subjects, we find that, in the first years of education, female students produce higher values even in those fields that should, according to our previous expectations, demonstrate the dominance

of male students (e.g., maths). Considering school performance in the past few decades, we find that female students are also more successful at secondary level, and in the research of higher education the so-called male disadvantage hypothesis may be formulated in Hungary (Fényes, 2010). In connection with differences in performance, we should note that, in the opinion of most researchers, findings do not really show different indicators and levels of performance, merely different usage and direction of abilities. It is quite certain, however, that these results cannot be analysed completely independent of the worlds of values hidden behind individual behaviours and the terminal and instrumental values of individuals. Different attitudes towards school may also colour conduct and performance at school, because school can be interpreted as a field for adaptation or an institution whose aims and rules are extensively distant from our own rules, resulting in non-conforming behaviour (Willis, 1977).[4] We could also point out that school appears to be a kind of instrument in the recruitment of certain layers of society, with the help of which desired positions or a scientific career can be realised (female students' advantage in higher education in the area of, for example, academic indicators is no longer evident following the first semester; moreover, fewer female students plan or have already undertaken publications, fewer take part in OTDK (National Scientific Students' Associations), and fewer plan to take part in a doctoral programme (Fényes, 2010)).

Brief description of the analysis and research results

In the course of our analysis, we used the database of more that 2,000 students (N=2,384) established by 'Campus-lét' Research in 2010. Inclusion in the sample was not by random selection; the focus of the database was weighted to the variables of gender and faculty. 'Campus-lét' Research was based on a sample of full-time students studying at the University of Debrecen. The university has the highest student numbers among the institutions of Hungary, and, with its 15 faculties, covers a considerable part of the structure of higher education. Although, in terms of its catchment area, it can be regarded as a regional institution, as a large proportion of its students come from the Northern

4 According to Karikó (2005), the fundamental logic and process of rearing-education is conformist; it is therefore not at all irrelevant how a particular group within society is related to the values of conformity, or, in the case of an already existing demand for conformity, whether it is traced back to school or beyond school. In Schwartz's (2003) two-dimensional value model, tradition and security are connected to the sphere of conformity, while stimulation and independence are on the opposite pole. If we consider Karikó's findings to be true, this latter model may show which values most probably clash with the process of school education-rearing. Thus, from the point of view of educational sociology, the pole towards which the behaviour and thinking required by the social genders gravitate is not irrelevant.

Great Plain region, the catchment area of the institution also covers Hungarian minorities living in Romania and the Ukraine. It should be noted that the relatively unfavourable economic indices and social characteristics of the region are also reflected in the sociodemographic situation of the students: among them there is a high proportion of students whose parents do not have a degree (in the case of fathers this proportion is 75.6%, while in the case of the mothers it is 64.5%). Compared to highly prestigious Hungarian institutions, the proportion of students originating from rural areas can also be considered high (30% of the students come from villages or farms), and certain university faculties and majors operate as channels for becoming a first-generation intellectual. Thus, the impact of all of these factors on value systems must be taken into consideration in our analysis. Students' value preferences were surveyed with the Rokeach Value Survey's range of values consisting of 36 items, 18 instrumental values and 18 terminal values, with students evaluating the importance of each item on a five-grade scale.[5] Although this method differs from the usual application of the Rokeach Value Test, we hope that the results obtained bear sufficient relevance. In the course of our analysis, we first used the ranking and averages of the values and then separated factors on both terminal and on instrumental values. Finally, with the aid of variance analysis, we examined which factor would be more characteristic in the case of which gender. Before completing the statistics, we formulated the hypothesis that, although in Hungarian society the university population can be regarded for certain reasons as a group in which categories of social genders are close to each other, differences can still be grasped in the following dimensions:

- in female students' value preferences, values connected to conformity, adaptation and sociability are positioned higher;
- rational and materialistic items are closer to the mentality of male students;
- differences can be grasped in the ranking orders, in the averages and in the factors created.

Being familiar with the results of the Rokeach Value Survey, we can, on the one hand, state that students' value preferences harmonise with the

5 In the questionnaire, students had to indicate how important the listed values are in their lives. In the course of classification, they used a five-grade scale, where one indicated the lowest value and five indicated the highest value. The Rokeach Value Survey contains the following terminal and instrumental values: a comfortable life, a world at peace, happiness, wisdom, family security, inner harmony, equality, a sense of accomplishment, an exciting life, national security, true friendship, mature love, pleasure, self-respect, freedom, a world of beauty, social recognition, salvation (terminal values), imaginative, courageous, broad-minded, obedient, intelligent, self-controlled, responsible, capable, cheerful, logical, forgiving, independent, helpful, honest, loving, clean, ambitious, polite (instrumental values).

Hungarian results and trends obtained in similar studies (e.g., the last position of salvation in the rank order, while at the top of the list there are values connected to happiness and family), but the criteria of being a university student and the endowments of the students' generation also result in certain shifts. This is reflected in how values connected to work, material needs, discipline, close adaptation to society and a helping attitude (helpful, obedient) are ranked lower, while the higher rank achieved by a world at peace and national security in national surveys can also most probably be explained by the effects of age group (Füstös & Szakolczai, 1999). Not surprisingly, mature love and true friendship, which are among postmaterial values and in the case of adults are ranked in the middle, hold higher positions in the present sample. On the one hand, the higher ranking of values that can be connected to hedonism is in harmony with the trend of youth surveys (Bauer & Szabó, 2005), but it can also be related to Inglehart's scarcity hypothesis (Inglehart, 1997) due to the special qualities of the student lifestyle. The higher scale values of wisdom, capable and logical must be accounted for by the fact that the respondents were university students, with particular objectives in life, and by the mentality associated with a future intellectual lifestyle, as well as by the sociocultural background of the respondents, which differs from that of the average Hungarian youth. The rank order values of the student sample and the data of subsamples according to genders are shown in Table 1. The diagram shows that male students positioned the items of freedom, intelligent, logical, courageous, capable, wisdom, ambitious, disciplined (self-controlled)[6] and a comfortable (prosperous) life higher, while female students did the same with the variables of inner harmony, clean, a world at peace, loving, national security, helpful, social recognition, independent and equality. Thus the picture sketched indicates that the value system of female students is more pacifist, more static, and that they consider the value judgement of the outside world to be more important (social recognition), with more inclusion of the values of helping other people, whereas the world concept of male students is more rational and materialistic. In interpreting the differences in the rank order, the only result in the female students' subsample that is difficult to explain is the higher position of the item of independent. In this case, it might be the independence of a future female graduate, an independent way of life, and providing self-support in a crisis that position the value of independence higher in this subsample. It is important to note that, based on the rank orders, we could not trace differences among values connected to hedonism.

6 The value of disciplined is interpreted by the expression 'self-controlled' in the questionnaire, which may approach traditional male gender roles.

Table 1. The rank order of Rokeach Value Survey values in the student sample and in the subsamples of the male and female students[7]

Student sample		**Male students**		**Female students**	
happiness	4.89	happiness	4.81	happiness	4.93
family security	4.86	family security	4.77	family security	4.90
mature love	4.80	mature love	4.66	mature love	4.86
inner harmony	4.76	true friendship	4.66	inner harmony	4.85
true friendship	4.74	honest	4.66	true friendship	4.77
honest	4.73	freedom	4.61	honest	4.77
clean	4.68	intelligent	4.60	clean	4.74
intelligent	4.65	inner harmony	4.58	a world at peace	4.70
responsible	4.63	pleasure	4.57	responsible	4.67
freedom	4.63	clean	4.57	intelligent	4.67
pleasure	4.62	responsible	4.56	pleasure	4.65
cheerful	4.60	cheerful	4.50	cheerful	4.65
a world at peace	4.57	self-respect	4.49	freedom	4.64
self-respect	4.57	logical	4.49	self-respect	4.61
loving	4.53	courageous	4.48	loving	4.61
polite	4.50	capable	4.44	polite	4.55
an exciting life	4.50	an exciting life	4.43	an exciting life	4.54
national security	4.46	polite	4.42	national security	4.52
a sense of accomplishment	4.46	wisdom	4.38	a sense of accomplishment	4.50
courageous	4.44	a sense of accomplishment	4.37	helpful	4.46
capable	4.44	loving	4.36	social recognition	4.45
wisdom	4.42	national security	4.34	independent	4.45
logical	4.41	ambitious	4.33	wisdom	4.44
independent	4.40	a world at peace	4.32	capable	4.44
social recognition	4.38	self-controlled	4.32	courageous	4.42
helpful	4.38	independent	4.30	ambitious	4.37
ambitious	4.36	social recognition	4.24	logical	4.36
self-controlled	4.31	helpful	4.22	equality	4.34
forgiving	4.23	forgiving	4.10	self-controlled	4.31
equality	4.21	a comfortable life	3.99	forgiving	4.30
broad-minded	4.05	obedient	3.95	broad-minded	4.13
obedient	4.02	equality	3.94	a world of beauty	4.11
a world of beauty	4.02	broad-minded	3.89	obedient	4.06
a comfortable life	3.97	a world of beauty	3.83	a comfortable life	3.96
imaginative	3.75	imaginative	3.79	imaginative	3.73
salvation	3.21	salvation	3.09	salvation	3.27

7 Values with a difference of at least three positions are highlighted in the table. Values positioned higher are in bold type, while values positioned lower are in bold and italics.

Examining the scale value averages of the two subsamples, we can observe that female students show a higher commitment to values (Table 2). It is worth emphasising that the advantage of male students is only evident in those dimensions of instrumental values that are related to creativity or rationality, and in the case of terminal values only in connection with material goods. At the same time, the distances seem to be much smaller (in every case their value is below 0.1). We witness the greatest differences between genders in the case of equality (0.4) and a world at peace (0.38), but there are seven more items showing a difference of 0.2 or more (a world of beauty, inner harmony, loving, broad-minded, helpful, mature love, forgiving). The scale value averages confirm that the female students' way of thinking is more open to the world and more armed with the intention to help.

Table 2. The average scale values of male and female students based on the Rokeach Value Survey[8]

Terminal values	Male students	Female students
a comfortable life	3.99	3.96
a world at peace	**4.32**	**4.70**
happiness	4.81	4.93
wisdom	4.38	4.44
family security	4.77	4.90
inner harmony	**4.58**	**4.85**
equality	**3.94**	**4.34**
a sense of accomplishment	4.37	4.50
an exciting life	4.43	4.54
national security	4.34	4.52
true friendship	4.66	4.77
mature love	4.66	4.86
pleasure	4.57	4.65
self-respect	4.49	4.61
freedom	4.61	4.64
a world of beauty	**3.83**	**4.11**
social recognition	**4.24**	**4.45**
salvation	3.09	3.27

Continued on the next page

8 In the tables, values showing the five greatest differences, both in the case of terminal and instrumental values, are highlighted in bold type.

Instrumental values	Male students	Female students
imaginative	3.79	3.73
courageous	4.48	4.42
broad-minded	**3.89**	**4.13**
obedient	3.95	4.06
intelligent	4.60	4.67
self-controlled	4.32	4.31
responsible	4.56	4.67
capable	4.44	4.44
cheerful	4.50	4.65
logical	4.49	4.36
forgiving	**4.10**	**4.30**
independent	4.30	4.45
helpful	**4.22**	**4.46**
honest	4.66	4.77
loving	**4.36**	**4.61**
clean	**4.57**	**4.74**
ambitious	4.33	4.37
polite	4.42	4.55

In the last phase of our analysis, we undertook to model both the terminal and the instrumental values with the aid of factor analysis (Table 3).[9] With regard to terminal values, three factors could be grasped: humanist-integrated, seeking happiness in individuals and hedonistic-egoist factors. Only the first category requires explanation: it involves an arrangement of values whereby thinking in a community (national security, equality) is combined with humanist values (wisdom, inner harmony, sense of accomplishment). In the case of instrumental values, we could separate a philanthropic factor (forgiving, helpful, loving, honest), a rational-careerist factor (capable, ambitious, logical, independent), an open-minded/creative factor (courageous-responsible, broad-minded, imaginative) and a bureaucrat factor (self-controlled, obedient). Our last step was to examine the case of the specific subsamples, and, with the aid of variance analysis, determine which factor their value structures are shifted towards.

9 We rotated the factors with varimax method and used maximum likelihood estimation. When making the models, we kept in mind that by variables the information explained should not fall below one unit. The information content preserved was 37% with terminal values and 46% in the case of instrumental values. We could achieve the fitting factor structure by keeping 13-13 values.

Table 3. Factors of terminal and instrumental values on the basis of the Rokeach Value Survey

Factors of terminal values	Humanist-integrated	Seeking happiness in individuals	Hedonistic-egoist
a world at peace	0.549		
happiness		0.666	
wisdom	0.474		
inner harmony	0.493		
equality	0.571		
a sense of accomplishment	0.567		
an exciting life			0.433
national security	0.479		
true friendship		0.411	
mature love		0.548	
pleasure			0.542
self-respect			0.534
freedom			0.603

Factors of instrumental values	Philanthropic	Rational	Open-minded/ creative	Bureaucrat
courageous			0.524	
self-controlled				0.654
capable		0.674		
logical		0.553		
forgiving	0.567			
helpful	0.638			
honest	0.459			
loving	0.677			
ambitious		0.460		
broad-minded			0.499	
obedient				0.560
independent		0.491		
imaginative			0.543	
intelligent		0.469		
cheerful	0.484			

The examination of variance analysis by factors produced a total of four significant relations in the case of the two genders (ANOVA test, sig.: 0.05). No difference arose in the category of hedonistic-individualist, confirming our assumption that the dividing lines drawn on the basis of hedonism in society are not to be drawn between men and women, but rather along the borders of

the layers of society or age group. Nor was any difference evident in the case of open-minded/creative and bureaucrat factors. The former case might be explained by the fact that the item of broad-minded, which was more characteristic of female students, occupied this factor, while in the latter category similar can be said of the inclusion of disciplined (self-controlled) as an instrumental value. However, a significant relation was found in the case of humanist-integrated, seeking happiness in individuals, philanthropic and rational factors (Table 4). The rational factor, which is much more related to having career plans (ambitious), as well as being in agreement with the logic and operating principle of scientific life (capable, intelligent, logical), was much more characteristic of the value system of male students. Female students can be characterised by different aims in life (the factor of seeking happiness in individuals), a different image of man (integrated-humanist), and a relation to a different world (philanthropic).

Table 4. Significant relations between certain factors and the variable of gender

	Humanist-integrated	Seeking happiness in individuals	Philanthropic	Rational
male students	-0.25	-0.22	-0.25	0.06
female students	0.95	0.99	0.92	-0.03
Sig.	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.015

Summary

In our analysis, we were seeking an answer to the question as to what difference can be observed between male and female students in the world of values in a population where the thinking structures and behavioural norms of social genders are expected to appear less characteristically than in the average for Hungarian society, and in a medium where male and female students' behavioural, performance-related and positional conditions and regulations are much closer to each other. Having completed the analyses, we can state that significant and well-interpreted differences can be found between the value preferences of the two genders, which, on the one hand, confirm our hypotheses, and, on the other hand, can also be interpreted in the world of education. Our expectations were that significant differences would be found between male and female students – gender differences evident in mentality due to the characteristics of students' sphere of life – in the world of higher education, a

world that would otherwise be capable of reducing differences in value preferences. It is important to emphasise that our expectations were also related to those fields of values that should operate universally (e.g., rationality) based on the logic of higher education. Our hypotheses have been proved in the course of our analysis, as the world of values of female students is more embedded in society and the community, and can be described with philanthropic intentions in this direction, while, with regard to their aims in life, personal relationships are more highly appreciated. The higher position of social recognition in the rank order refers to the fact that female students tend to evaluate themselves based on the opinion of the community. Male students, however, have a more rational, career-centred, materialistic image of the world, and their judgement about themselves and their aims in life are much more independent of the community. It should be noted that these differences were evident in the case of all three techniques (averages, ranking orders, factor analysis) used for surveying the values. If, on the one hand, we project this onto the school's world of life, we discover an explanation of female students' more conformist behaviour derived from values that tends towards taking school norms more into consideration. Concerning female students' adaptation to school, however, we might raise the question as to whether they really undergo interiorisation of the aims of school, or whether their attitude can be explained merely by a desire to integrate into institutional existence. The teacher stereotypes mentioned in the theoretical chapter of our study may also confirm this behaviour in the case of the two genders. Our results obtained in the field of values might also be relevant with regard to university faculties and the phenomenon of certain professions becoming a female preserve, as, on the one hand, the results may account for the choice of a major that is helping, social and focused on people, while, on the other hand, they may also be related to less ambitious academic career plans during the university years. We hope that in the near future our research results may complete the theoretical frameworks of studies related to higher education addressing the issues of certain majors becoming a female preserve, gender differences with regard to achievement in higher education, labour market attitudes and differences in the career plans of male and female students, while also harmonising with the gender-centred study of mobility. In conclusion, we must make it absolutely clear that value structures are systems that change slowly, but are not static: a study conducted a few decades earlier would most probably have determined greater distances between the two genders (while it is important to emphasise that social genders' approaching each other is not a completely unambiguous and one-way process: one only has to think of American society after the Second World War). The characteristics

of behavioural rules, aims in life, norms and values formed by social genders are also embedded in the conditions of the environment, economic changes and the characteristics of educational institutions. Nevertheless, the process is two-way: the change of values is not only the end result, but, following Weber's (2001) logic, might well be the starting point of phenomena affecting the whole of society. The question is what attitudes towards education will be formed in the different layers of society by the value systems conveyed by changing gender roles, what reactions will be formed as a response to them in the world of education, and how the two genders' career prospects and their opportunities to enter the different levels and stages of education will be affected by structural changes in education, such as the changes in higher education.

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Biographical note

Veronika Bocsi was born in 1978 (Eger, Hungary). She attended the University of Debrecen (Hungary) and obtained degrees in History and Sociology. From 2003 to 2009 she was a student in Education Studies Program of the Doctoral School of Humanities (University of Debrecen). Veronika Bocsi defended her thesis in 2009 and she started to work at the Faculty of Child and Adult Education as an assistant professor in the same year. Her main fields of interest are the world of higher education, the sociology of lifestyle and the sociology of values.

Bray, M. (2009). Confronting the Shadow Education System: What Government Policies for What Private Tutoring? Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning. 134 p., ISBN 978-92-803-1333-8.

Reviewed by Katarina Aškerc*[1] and Romina Plešec Gasparič[2]

In this publication, Mark Bray, the director of UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) between 2006 and 2010, introduces private supplementary tutoring, a phenomenon that several countries have been facing in different forms and with different intensity for quite some time. Private supplementary tutoring represents the "shadow" of the formal education system, since changes in the education system also change private supplementary tutoring, which would not even exist without the former. Being familiar with the shadow enables the observer to identify changes taking place within the system and its broader context. With the meaningful title, the author also exposes the dilemma that policymakers and planners face in dealing with and responding to this phenomenon and its growth, which demands constant observation and analysis, since different circumstances require different responses and measures. The author supports his observations with explicit and exact analyses and descriptions of the situation and changes in different countries. Moreover, he uses many illustrative real-life examples and student[3] experiences, which add to the authenticity and clarity of the text. The publication is based on a UNESCO IIEP forum that was held under the same title in Paris in 2007, and is a continuation of a study from 1999.[4] The content refers only to fee-paying private supplementary tutoring of basic (i.e., academic) subjects at the primary and secondary levels of national education systems.

Despite many criticisms of private tutoring, there are certainly some positive effects, such as increased focus on the individual and consideration of their specific learning characteristics and needs, more interesting teaching, faster feedback, better student progress, etc., which should also be qualities of the formal education system. Students who are low achievers can benefit from private tutoring by catching up with what they have missed, while high achievers can attempt to attain even higher academic goals. However, the author is

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3 The word 'student' is used for primary and secondary level students.
4 The shadow education system: private tutoring and its implications for planners.

critical of private tutoring causing and enhancing social and economic inequality, dominating children's lives and reducing their free time. Furthermore, it can even distort the formal education curriculum, resulting in private tutoring shifting from being a passive shadow to having an active effect on the education system, either supporting or undermining it. It is important that policymakers and planners identify the phenomenon of private tutoring in time, realise the capacity of its (negative) effects and confront them.

In the first part of the present book, the author presents the extent, forms and patterns of private tutoring, as well as providing an overview of various countries and regions. Private tutoring can be carried out in a one-on-one setting with direct contact between the student and the private tutor, or in the form of lectures to a larger group of students. It can be organised on the basis of an individual agreement or within a private tutoring centre. With the development of technology, private tutoring is also provided with the help of modern ICT tools. The intensity and frequency of tutoring sessions vary according to (examination) periods, but it is found in countries with low and high revenues and in households with different incomes. Private tutoring is more frequent in urban than rural environments, and in some countries it is received by more boys than girls,[5] etc. There are some extreme practices that catch the eye, e.g., the occurrence of corruption in some countries as the result of school teachers providing (or being forced to provide) private tutoring sessions. This often has negative consequences, as during regular instruction teachers omit parts of the curriculum knowing that students will receive tutoring lessons, sometimes even doing so in order to broaden the "market" for private tutoring. The author draws attention to the fact that different models of private tutoring demand different government policies: the market-driven form usually used by students with high learning results (e.g., in Korea and Japan) requires a different approach than government initiatives to introduce sponsored tutoring for students with poor learning results (e.g., in Australia and the USA). Tutoring of students that teachers teach in regular instruction (e.g., Mauritius) is different from finding a private tutor on the student's own initiative (e.g., in Singapore, teachers are forbidden to give private tutoring sessions to students they teach in regular instruction). Online tutoring is different from direct personal contact. Tutoring sessions provided by qualified professionals, i.e., professional teachers (active or retired), face-to-face or within a commercial company, differ from tutoring sessions provided by pedagogically unqualified high school students or university students.

5 In Egypt, where secondary schools are gender-segregated, private lessons provide an opportunity for students to meet peers of the other sex.

Although there has always been a certain degree of private tutoring and there always will be, the author thinks it is problematic and alarming that nowadays this sector is becoming increasingly structured and commercialised. Two subchapters deal with the supply and demand of tutoring, supported by many examples and data from different countries, which the author uses to form answers to questions regarding the reasons for the (growing) occurrence of private tutoring. Private tutoring is a business in some countries: centres and companies on a local and multinational levels offer and charge for tutoring lessons. These can be a major expense for households or families looking for a way for their children to achieve high academic results and gain better social and economic opportunities in the future. It is therefore important to be aware of the fact that, with the rich investing in private tutoring, the poor are forced to follow suit, which causes great social and economic pressure on weaker families. The frequency and intensity of the phenomenon are largely dependent on cultural and social characteristics, which, at the same time, helps to explain the different private tutoring forms in various countries and regions.[6]

The forms of private tutoring are presented in three case studies with an exact and analytical approach, providing tables, citing documents, stating individual experiences and placing the situations into a broader context. The Korean education system[7] follows the tradition of Confucianism, in which formal learning plays an important social role and the competitive spirit in education is deeply rooted in the nation. Private institutions with fee-paying evening and weekend classes have emerged to assist successful selection admission to higher levels of education. Private tutoring has resulted in high achievers ceasing to participate actively in classes, instead doing homework for private institution or even falling asleep during class. Academic success, and consequently private tutoring, is the main instrument of economic and social development, and even though numerous government directives and reforms have tried (quite ineffectively) to abolish such approaches, private tutoring is growing exponentially. The government in Mauritius has also tried several times to solve the problematic issues of private tutoring, which expands mostly towards the end of primary schooling, but with limited success. The education system is very selective

6 While Australia, England, France, Singapore and the USA have been looking for ways to stimulate demand for private tutoring, elsewhere the main intention has been to decrease or even prohibit demand for private tutoring: e.g., Korea, Mauritius, Cambodia, Egypt, Kenya, Turkey and Uganda. Some countries regulate private tutoring with state regulations (e.g., Lithuania, with the most structured system, as well as Kazakhstan, Mongolia, Slovakia, Tadzhikistan, Ukraine, etc.), while several countries do not have special regulations or have regulations that are ambiguous and unclear.

7 The total household expense for private tutoring in Korea in 2006 was as much as 2.8% of gross domestic product.

and competitive and the curriculum is overfilled. Most private tutoring has to be carried out by regular teachers in school buildings, which causes additional pressure for students to attend. Surprisingly, data shows that by providing private tutoring lessons, primary level teachers in Mauritius can double or even triple their income. In France, where families that invest in private tutoring get certain tax allowances, private tutoring is a consequence not only of social and economic forces but also of a government initiative trying to increase the level of academic results. The present publication thoroughly presents case studies that include the introduction of sociopolitical facts. However, in some parts the text could be supported by a rough outline of the general national education system, which would help the reader unfamiliar with the specifics of each system to more clearly and profoundly understand the circumstances presented.

Reading about the interesting practices and the expansion of private tutoring, the reader wonders what policymakers and planners could and should do in order to confront the education system in the shadow. The author states that due to the lack of data they are often forced to use raw figures and estimates regarding private tutoring. The presented patterns, factors, causes and effects of private tutoring, placed in different contexts, certainly represent an important source of data and a good example of collecting and presenting data. Surely, more attention should be paid to adequate and effective data collection in different situations, such as in the aforementioned case studies, while presentation of data should be upgraded with successful further policymaking and implementation. Suitable and critical evaluation approaches are needed for determining policy effects. Certainly, it is important for policies to focus on the causes and not only the symptoms, thus not only the national specifics of education systems but also the social and economic dimensions (these three aspects are debated in a special subchapter) and international comparisons should be taken into account.

This leads to a question regarding the situation of the Slovenian education system. There are no special laws regulating private tutoring, nor are there taxes connected with it or prohibitions placed on it. We therefore trust the ethical principles of Slovenian teachers. Although we do not have any empirical research on private tutoring at hand, we assume that in Slovenia private tutoring does not achieve the extent presented in the present study. However, we can find advertisements of organisations and individuals offering and marketing private tutoring at all levels of education, especially for turning-point external examinations at the admission to a higher level of education. This raises several questions: what are the economic dimensions of private tutoring in Slovenia, what are the cultural and educational effects, and, above all, what are the social

and direct financial consequences for students and their families? These are all important questions that demand answers. It is interesting that international research (e.g., TIMSS and PISA) shows that Slovenian primary and secondary level students have difficulties achieving certain competences, and this indirectly leads to the question as to whether there is a correlation between achieving these competences and receiving private tutoring (in different countries). In a short chapter, the author introduces international studies and rankings (TIMSS, SACMEQ, OSI and PISA)[8] that, despite the difficulty of data collection, have contributed significant information on the shadow of the education system, while the PISA team has also discussed the collection of more specific data on private tutoring in future research.

Private tutoring has become a global phenomenon with different characteristics in different countries. Despite sometimes being introduced with well-intentioned government initiatives for low achievers, and despite having numerous positive effects, it is necessary to monitor private tutoring carefully. We agree with the author that policymakers and planners need to confront the education system in the shadow in order to identify appropriate answers and proactive measures for "visible" national education systems as well.

The present study is of interest to a wide circle of readers; it is certainly useful for policymakers and planners, educators and educators of educators. By presenting a number of good and bad practices throughout the world, it is a significant aid to identifying forms of private tutoring and planning suitable measures. Raising awareness about the phenomenon of private tutoring, its scope, expansion and influence, is undeniably important for educators, since opening these kinds of questions leads them to professional consideration of the quality of pedagogical work in national education systems, and to a critical search for opportunities to improve it.

8 TIMSS (Third International Mathematics and Science Study and its successor Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study, 1995, 1999, 2003), SACMEQ (Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality, 1995, 2000, 2007), OSI (Open Society Institute, 2004–2005, 2005–2006, 2007), PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment).

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Povzetki in indeksiranje

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Letna naročnina (letnik 1, 2011, 4 številke). Posamezniki 45 €; pravne osebe 90 €. Naročila po e-pošti: **info@cepsj.si**; pošti: Revija CEPS, Pedagoška fakulteta, Univerza v Ljubljani, Kardeljeva ploščad 16, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia.

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ISSN 1855-9719