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ABSTRACT

The 14 papers in this volume address planning and administration of higher education within an international context. Papers are grouped into general studies, regional studies, and national and institutional studies. Included papers are: (1) "Management of Global and Educational Change: Challenges for Higher Education and Graduate Studies" (Gustavo Lopez Ospina); (2) "Accountability for More Efficiency and Effectiveness in Higher Education" (Klaus Huffner); (3) "Training for Planning and Management: Improved Management Systems in Higher Education in Developing Countries" (Kevin M. Lillis); (4) Improving Effectiveness of Higher Education Institutions: Studies of the Management of Change" (International Institute for Educational Planning); (5) "Higher Education: What Procedures for Evaluation?" (William B. Dockrell); (6) "Planning and Management of Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean: An Introductory Study" (Jose F. Silvio); (7) "Management and Administration of Higher Education in a Market Economy" (8) "Some Issues and Trends Relevant for Planning and Management of Higher Education in Arab Countries" (Al Awd Galeleldin); (9) "University Governance, Autonomy and Accountability in Brazil: A Couple of Challenges for the Decade" (Jacques Velloso); (10) "Management of Innovation and Change in Higher Education in Developing Countries; Experiences from Tanzania" (I. M. Omari); (11) "Planning and Management of Education in a Period of Crisis: The Example of Higher Education in Rwanda" (Joseph Kalinganire); (12) "Planning and Management for Excellence and Efficiency in Higher Education in India" (T. V. Rao); (13)

"Higher Education in Czechoslovakia: Problems and Prospects of Management" (Jana Hendrichova and Ian Kouckij); and (14) "Planning and Managing for Excellence and Efficiency in Higher Education in Britain" (John Eggleston). (Some individual papers contain references.) (DB)

Planning & Management for Excellence & Efficiency of Higher Education

Planning and Management for Excellence and Efficiency of Higher Education

Division of Higher Education and Research

Regional Centre for Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean
UNESCO - CRESALC

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Foreword

THE PRESENT VOLUME, published jointly by the Division of Higher Education and Research and the Regional Centre for Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (CRESALC), is based on the Proceedings of the Round Table on "Planning and Management for Excellence and Efficiency in Higher Education" organized on the occasion of the International Congress on Planning and Management of Educational Development (Mexico City, 26-30 March 1990). The participants in the Round Table strongly recommended UNESCO to prepare a publication on these highly topical issues of present-day higher education and to assure its distribution to university administrators and researchers on higher education. While most of the papers included in the present volume are based on contributions to the Round Table, it was felt necessary to include a number of additional studies in order to cover an area which had been insufficiently dealt with at the Mexico City Round Table, namely evaluation procedures and performance indicators in higher education. The second concern has been to cover, in a balanced manner, the various regions of the world.

The papers included in the volume can be grouped, accordingly, in terms of two criteria: thematic and regional or national coverage.

While some of the papers are more theoretical in nature in the sense that they make attempts at conceptualizing an area of research on higher education, which is obviously under-conceptualized, other contributions represent regional overviews or national case-studies.

Contributions by Gustavo López, Klaus Hüffner, Kevin Lillis, Willliam Dockrell and the HEP research proposal enter in the first category, while also being, at least in a number of cases, regionally based in coverage.

There are three contributions (José Silvio, the proceedings of the Plovdiv consultation on "Higher Education in a Market Economy" and A.A. Galaleldin) which are clearly of a regional nature.

The remaining contributions represent national case-studies.

Readers will certainly be struck by the wide variety of views expressed in the search of solutions for improving the quality and efficiency of higher education through better planning, management and evaluation policies, techniques and practices. This is quite natural, given the great diversity of situations refferred to in the contributions and the different backgrounds of their authors. UNESCO is of the opinion that only through the confrontation of views can adequate policies emerge to meet the needs of individual institutions and of national systems of higher education.

Special thanks for the preparation of this volume are due in the first place to professor Klaus Hüffner of Freie Universität Berlin who chaired the Mexico City Round Table and prepared one of the major contributions to the volume. Professors Eggleston and Dockrell were helpful during the preparatory stages of the publication as well as with some editing. IIEP and particularly Dr. Bikas Sanyal have kindly agreed to let us include in the volume a presentation of the Institute's research programmes on higher education management.

The Division of Educational Policies and Management allowed the inclusion in the publication of an abridged version of the report of the Europe region consultation on Management and Administration of Higher Education in a market economy. That report, together with the special contribution obtained from Jana Hendrichová and Jan Kouckij tackle the highly topical issues of reform in systems of higher education in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, under the impact of deep-going economic, social and political changes.

D. Chitoran
Chief, Higher Education Section
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and Research

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National and Institutional Studies

Preface

FROM 26 TO 30 MARCH 1990, the International Congress on "Planning and Management of Educational Development" was held in Mexico City. It was organized by UNESCO, in collaboration with the Government of Mexico. There were 402 participants, including 323 national specialists from 113 countries attending in their individual capacity, three observers from three Member States and 76 observers and specialists from 12 non-governmental organizations, 11 intergovernmental organizations and 9 organizations of the United Nations system. (See List of Participants, Annex V to this report.)

The purpose of the Congress, which followed on from the International Conference on Educational Planning held by Unesco in Paris in 1968, was to start up a wide debate and foster a broad exchange of experience and information in order to formulate suggestions and recommendations at a professional level on:

- how to revitalize the planning and administration of education so as to improve the management of education systems;
- the new forms that might be assumed by international co-operation in the context of the democratization of basic education and the worldwide elimination of illiteracy at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The Congress also examined the possible implications for educational planning and management of the decisions adopted during the World Conference on Education for All (Jomtien, 5-9 March 1990), this being the first follow-up meeting at an international level of educational planning and administration professionals. (The agenda is reproduced in Annex I to this report.)

The exchange of experience and information, the formulation of suggestions and recommendations and the identification of new forms of international co-operation concerned:

1. The role of educational planning and administration in the context of the renewal and universalization of basic education and the eradication of all forms of illiteracy throughout the world.
2. Educational planning and the development of human resources.
3. Modernization and development of educational administration and management systems.
4. What type of educational planning and what type of educational management in a time of crisis?

Themes 1 and 4 were discussed during the plenary sessions of the Congress while themes 2 and 3 were discussed by two commissions.

Concurrently with the Congress, six round tables were devoted to the following themes:

- Planning and management for excellence and efficiency in higher education.
- Planning and management of non-formal education.
- The uses of microcomputers in educational planning and management.
- Educational planning and management in small States.
- Evaluation and follow-up of educational policies, plans and reforms.
- Educational planning and the planning of educational facilities.

Finally, a special group was made responsible for drafting the Recommendation of the Mexico Congress, which stressed the need to bear in mind the following general considerations when formulating national policies and strategies for education:

a) The right to education as a factor in personal development and in preparing the individual for participation in the political, social and productive processes must be ensured.

b) The conditions must be created for education to become available for all, especially by democratizing access to and improving the quality of the education offered; obtaining significant results by ensuring that students complete their studies at each level of education; promoting special supporting measures to ensure access to and effective participation in the learning process by women in rural areas, refugees, the disabled and other disadvantaged groups.

c) Steps must be taken to meet the growing demand for better social services by making education into a continuing lifelong process and by taking into account the profound changes in the economic, information, communication, science and technology sectors.

The Congress also suggested that the following basic requirements be emphasized in national planning processes:

a) Forward-looking scenarios need to be constructed in order to explore the future and initiate processses of social change through education, while encouraging the use of the various ways and means available in formal and non-formal education.

b) The planning and management process should be democratized, with greater participation by all the relevant social actors, in order to improve strategic planning and management capabilities, mainly with regard to consultation, supervision and guidance and to the formulation of more precise standards of quality and performance.

c) Planning activities at the intermediate, local and institutional levels need to be strengthened or introduced in the process of reforming State institutions, by incorporating programmes that are better adapted to the diversity of regional and local situations, thereby promoting decentralization and social participation.

d) Training and further training programmes for planners and managers need to be re-examined, updated, strengthened and institutionalized in the light of the new demands on educational planning and management.

c) Better working conditions must be provided for teachers and, given the diversity of the actors directly affected by the processes of planning and management, an attempt must be made to develop in teachers a mental attitude which is receptive to the working methods and procedures specific to educational planning and management.

f) Information systems should be strengthened through the construction of new indicators, more systemic use of data and more extensive development of qualitative analysis.

g) New avenues of research must be developed and ongoing studies on the improvement of the learning process, better knowledge of learning outcomes, the preparation and introduction of incentive measures in both formal and non-formal education and the evaluation of innovative paradigms for planning involving new actors and systems must be consolidated.

Finally, the Congress recommended that UNESCO should:

a) *Intensify and diversify* its regional and international co-operative efforts in the field of educational planning and management, especially in the strategic areas identified by the International Congress on the Planning and Management of Educational Development, namely:
- educational planning and management in the context of the renewal and universalization of basic education and the eradication of all forms of illiteracy throughout the world;
- educational planning with reference to the human dimension of development;
- the modernization and development of educational administration and management systems;
- educational planning and management in a time of crisis.

b) *Encourage* the setting up of flexible co-operative networks in order to establish links among educational researchers, planners, decision-makers and the relevant institutions with the object of ensuring a regular exchange of information and experience and providing access to the latest information on the subject of educational planning, policy-making, administration, monitoring and evaluation; and, with due regard for regional networks, *organize* a worldwide network of specialists and institutions involved in training, research, information and innovations in educational planning, management and evaluation;

c) *Undertake and encourage* activities that strengthen analytical and managerial capabilities in the field of education, from policy analysis and planning through administration and financial management to the preparation and introduction of specific programmes and projects, for example in relation to the planning of educational facilities or planning in small States;

d) *Devote special attention* to co-operation for the wider application of new information technologies;

e) *Assist* Member States in achieving the goals set forth in the World Declaration on Education for All and the Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs by contributing to the planning and monitoring of programmes involving all forms of education;

f) *Strengthen* its training and research activities in the fields of educational planning, management, evaluation and research, taking into account future needs, through its substantive division at Headquarters, Regional Offices, IIEP and other units, acting in close liaison with specific projects, programmes and bodies pursuing the same objectives at the national, subregional and regional levels;

g) *Undertake*, in co-operation with Member States and international governmental and non-governmental organizations, studies on the key themes examined by the Congress, in order to enrich the international store of information and experience, mainly in respect of new concepts and renewed practices in educational planning;

h) *Seek* innovative formulae in order to overcome the main financial constraints affecting education, by stimulating and mobilizing financial and other forms of external aid to developing countries and by encouraging an increase in national contributions based on an assessment of the various domestic possibilities.

A total of 132 documents prepared for the Congress by the organizers and participants were distributed to the participants; they included 6 information documents, 4 reference documents, 8 working documents, 65 discussion documents and 49 documents dealing with the subjects considered at the round-table meetings. A detailed list of these documents, with the names of their authors, is to be found in Annex IV of the Final Report of the Congress.

Likewise a publication's plan aiming at two fundamental objectives was foreseen:

a) to make available to the international community, especially the experts and those responsible for educational planning and administration, the documentation produced by the Congress.

b) To be used as reference documentation in research and training activities in educational planning and administration.

The publications foreseen are the following:

a) Survey results and regional studies on the situation and perspectives of planning and management of education in the world.

b) Texts selected:
   - the role of planning in Jontiem's orientation follow-up
   - Educational planning and the human dimension of development.
   - Up-dating of the Education Administration and management system
   - Education planning and management in times of crisis.

c) National experiences in education planning and management

d) Monographs:
   - Education, crisis and the role of the State
   - Educational aspects and development in Europe
   - New aspects of educational planning and management training
   - Educational policies for marginal groups
   - Higher Education planning

- Non-formal education planning
- Micro-informatics in planning and management of education
- Educational Planning and management in small size countries
- Evaluation and follow up of educational policies, plans and reforms
- Planning of educational spaces and infrastructure.

e) A special issue of the journal "Perspectives" on new trends in planning.

f) The Congress's final report.

It is in this context that the proceedings of the Round Table N° 1 *Planning and Management for Excellence and Efficiency in Higher Education* are published as a separate volume. It includes the major contributions presented at the Round Table and the Record of its discussions. Also included are several articles which have been contributed by specialists who, while not being present at the Round Table, have expressed their interest in its debates.

International Congress on Planning and Management of Educational Development

Mexico (26-31 March, 1990)

Round Table

Planning and Management for Excellence and Efficiency in Higher Education

A ROUND TABLE ON PLANNING and Management for Excellence and Efficiency in Higher Education, organized within the framework of the International Congress on Planning and Management of Educational Development (Mexico City, 26-30 March 1990) brought together some 50 participants, including 7 panelists on 28 March 1990.

The panelists and the numerous other speakers (there were more than 30 interventions during the three-hour discussion) singled out a number of basic issues facing higher education today, which they considered to be relevant for the two major topics of the Round Table, i.e. *excellence* and *efficiency* in higher education:

a) how to cope with increasing students numbers; that is managing growth and the accompanying increase in diversity and complexity of systems and of institutions of higher education;

b) how to raise the quality of teaching, training and research programmes;

c) how to do both (a) and (b) above more efficiently and more effectively, under conditions of severe financial constraints;

d) how to secure optimal employability of higher education graduates.

Planning and Managing for Excellence in Higher Education

At this time of crisis for higher education, the search for excellence is crucial to its role as a main source for highly skilled human resources develop-

ment. In adopting strategies for reaching excellence, there are not and there cannot be ready-made rules and measures which would have general applications to all systems and to all institutions. The way to start –the participants agreed– was to develop awareness, among all factors and actors concerned, of the need to attain excellence: decision makers, university administrators, teaching, research and support staff and, not the least, the students themselves.

Mention was made of the following possible approaches and requirements for excellence in higher education:

- the need to redefine certain *goals and functions* in higher education so as to strike the right balance between *expansion* (which is largely determined by external factors –demographic, social, economic and political) and the reinforcement of *quality* and value of teaching, training and research. Many speakers agreed that, while no institution can hope to attain internationally recognized excellence in all areas of scientific endeavour, and that centres of excellence will continue to exist and to strengthen their positions, new centres of excellence can be created through persistent effort and support, and a more balanced international distribution of such centres can be achieved;
- the need to promote and to impress upon public opinion *a new, fresh, image of the university* and of higher education in general, an image in which the traditional values of academe are complemented by an opening up towards the basic needs of society. The central axis of that image resides in the role of higher education institutions as guardians and creators of new values, as critical judges and fomentors of change in all spheres of life. This role is becoming more important than ever before;
- the need to redefine *contents and methods* in higher education, to develop greater responsiveness to societal demands, with due emphasis on the constant and fast changing nature of such demands;
- the need to strengthen *internationalization* in higher education, to develop a spirit of solidarity, of belonging to the world-wide academic and scholarly community. The search for excellence in one's own institution must be complemented by the wish and readiness to help build up excellence in institutions of higher education everywhere, particularly in the developing countries where it is most needed. This spirit of solidarity does not preclude –on the contrary it implies– not only partnership but also the competitiveness and questioning attitude inherent in all true scholarship, in all endeavours to advance science and to search for truth.

The essential condition and the best guarantee for the achievement of excellence in higher education is the reinforcement of autonomy and freedom in research and in teaching. Several participants pointed out that there is a new interpretation of autonomy which is emerging from the present close

link between higher education and society. Never before have higher education institutions been required with such stringency to justify their freedom and autonomy by assuming clear responsibilities *vis à vis* society in the broadest sense of the word.

Efficiency in Higher Education

It is imperative –the participants agreed unanimously– to take bold, imaginative steps in order to improve institutional management and governance in higher education. Universities and other higher education institutions have been, perhaps justifiably, criticized from various quarters for their loose management. What is needed is to develop *managerial professionalism* at various levels of the organizational structure of higher education systems and of their institutions. In this enterprise, better knowledge of how this is achieved in other sectors, including the economic one, acquires particular importance. In fact, in this trading-off of knowledge, universities, as large non-profit institutions may themselves have something to offer from their own experience in imparting a sense of common mission to all their members: teachers, students and researchers.

On the other hand, what universities can and must learn from the economic sector are the norms and styles of governance, management and administration which are inherent to large organizations. They imply concern for cost-effectiveness, accountability, constant assessment and evaluation based on clearly defined performance indicators.The belief that these matters are restricted to spheres of life outside the academic world is no longer tenable. They are increasingly becoming realities and concerns of the everyday life of higher education institutions. They must be examined from the specific perspective of higher education so that adequate answers to the problems they pose can be found.

Considerable experience has been gained in various countries in the use of new information technologies in the management and administration of higher education institutions. The stengthening of information systems, of data bases and of various measurable indicators could, with the help of computers, turn into valuable instruments for qualitative analysis of higher education systems and institutions.

It was agreed by most participants that managerial issues affecta wide range of actors in higher education, some of whom had not been aware of their implications in the past. Hence the need to bring about a shift of attitude regarding such concerns. The most convincing way towards developing this new mentality is to undertake soundly based and systematic research on the complex issues involved in the planning, governance and management of higher education institutions.

Recommendations to UNESCO:

In the improvement of planning and management of higher education, co-operation at all levels –national, subregional, regional and international– is particularly important with regard to the gathering and exchange of *information*, to *research* and to *training*. The participants were unanimous in pointing out the role that UNESCO can play, especially in this field, and greatly appreciated the Organization's initiative in launching a concerted plan of action for research and training on governance, management and administration in higher education.

Their recommendations for this plan included the following:

- to systematically *gather and disseminate information* on new developments, and on techniques and practices for the planning, management, administration and financing of higher education;

- to encourage *research on planning and management* of higher education, and to help establish links and active co-operation among researchers in this field internationally. The creation of co-operation networks at the regional level, and, on that basis, of a possible world-wide network of institutions and individuals actively engaged in research and training programmes, were considered to be areas in which UNESCO could bring a most important contribution, acting in close co-operation with specialized NGOs and IGOs;

- to undertake an international, *comparative study on excellence and efficiency in higher education*, based on micro-level analyses of individual institutions, as well as on broader approaches aimed at identifying new developments and trends at the national, subregional, regional and international levels. Particular attention should be paid not only to cases of recognized success, but also to cases of systems and institutions which encounter difficulties. One other topic for comparative study could refer to ways and means for securing non-governmental financing for higher education, including also an analysis of the implications of privatization for the future of higher education, its potential benefits and also its potential hazards;

- to organize *training programmes* (workshops, seminars, modular courses, etc.) for key university administrators and to help set up expertise and institutional self-supporting mechanisms for systematic and permanent training at such levels, acting in close co-operation with national authorities in charge of higher education as well as with international governmental and non-governmental organizations;

- to encourage and to facilitate *international co-operation* in higher education, through direct institutional arrangements and through subregional, regional and inter-regional networks;
- to undertake *research on inter-university co-operation*, with particular emphasis on the planning, management and implementation that such co-operation involves.

General Studies

Management of Global and Educational Change: Challenges for Higher Education and Graduate Studies

Gustavo Lopez Ospina
Director
CRESALC – UNESCO

OVERVIEW

WHAT IS AT STAKE in this last decade of the century in the Latin American and Caribbean region is the ability to ensure the existence of vocal groups of highly trained and creative intellectuals, committed to the processes of change and development, aggressive and dynamic in their action, and in charge of thought and the vision of the future in society and prospective management in the region and in each country, forging the right kind of links with the international community and encouraging the firm expression of democratic societies aspiring to a decent future for all. In this context, the university, as a privileged social institution and centre in which intelligence is concentrated in each country, acquires an important role and faces an inevitable challenge. Its response to society is all the more complex in that, in all spheres, times are very confusing and promising, and the structural adjustment of the economies have particularly adverse repercussions on the social order. The political and technical outlook that orders day-to-day life in a society (planning) therefore becomes one of the most promising tools and dimensions of concertation and negotiation between the various social sectors.

Giving priority to the development of the intellectual ability of a society begins with the strategic implementation of measures to raise levels of education (basic, ethical and civic education) and culture (supporting pluralism and solidarity) for all. Building highly thinking societies, in the short term, will guarantee the modernization of states, the strengthening of democracy and, above all, will create greater possibilities for individual and collective self-realization, based on the ability to propose and implement. There is the need for

a radical change in mentality, which would instill a work ethic, which is a projection of: individual or collective knowledge or goals put efficiently and effectively at the service of full progress, now facing severe and fundamental restrictions; living in community; a sense of justice; human rights; and respect for the free expression and circulation of ideas, contact with other cultures, the international and future dimensions, etc.

Rising to the intellectual challenge is not an easy task in the West. The culture of consumerism and image is a threat to this global task of raising the cultural level of any population, as is the insistence on standardizing and reducing thought to technical units (software, kits, etc.) in the midst of worldwide trends towards globalization and interdependence. Scientific and technological research, without which the university would not exist, are in grave difficulties in the region, and the usual international requirements and competitiveness are further complicating and distancing factors. At the same time, the economic and social crisis of recent years has caused a lowering of standards in many spheres of life in society and, in the case of intelligence, what was available was concentrated on shortsighted reflection on the present situation and stopgap measures and mechanisms. Fortunately, it is now acknowledged that thought is a very special and demanding activity and that one must be constantly aware of all the consequences of its application, in order to rethink and rework paths taken, creatively and innovatively. It is an unending task to visualize the future, to rethink it in the present and ensure that new generations are trained in a context that facilitates their constant creative integration in and adaptability to a society full of uncertainty and fast-paced change.

The university, like all education institutions, is forced to rethink its role in order to meet the demands of a rapidly changing society, at a time when these institutions have serious academic, scientific and technical shortcomings and are questioned from all angles. But education of a society and its scientific and technological growth requires, more so than any other field, a long-term approach and a view of society that would permit it to clearly define its key areas, in branches of learning and the production of know-how and techniques. However, the idea of greater order in political and technical matters and in each of the sectors and fields of activity in the countries of the region, was also undermined by the results of planning processes and the type of instruments used (plans, programmes, projects). The differences and gaps between political statements, the technical organization of plans, resource end uses and management, have caused uncertainty and discredit. At the other end of the scale are pragmatism and the search for efficient measures and (a restricted, not global, concept of society) and the conjunctural control of events which point to a general change in direction; this only makes things worse. In that context, there is a certain amount of faith and confidence in the

future, given the region's enormous human and natural resource potential. UNESCO, aware of this and faithful to the noble principles of its constituent act of the 40s, has decided, within the framework of its Third Medium-Term Plan *1990-1995* and its proposed regional action for the present decade, to begin preparing to launch a great *intellectual movement to save the leadership of Latin America and the Caribbean, by building new thought, generating new ideas, models, instruments and mechanisms, which would be immediately employed in the management of global and social change.* This task will be coordinated by CRESALC and constantly supported, linked to and complemented by the actions and efforts undertaken by the Organization, through its various offices and units throughout the region. This initiative requires the open, generous and full consensus of a wide range of international, regional, national and local institutions. UNESCO, as an organization committed to world thought and the expansion of knowledge, and considered to be the "world's conscience," offers its assistance and its concertation and mobilization potential in this noble pursuit, which seeks the total up liftment of all people and societies, by giving equal consideration to their material, spiritual and intellectual needs.

Basic Observations

The future demands that organizations which allow all societies to survive and progress be developed; organizations based on strategic, plans, programmes and projects, having the intelligence, instruments and mechanisms to yield the desired results. The organizations have proved to be incapable of changing themselves using the information they produce on their own aims and interests. In order to achieve this change, they have to resort to their surroundings and draw information from outside, where the agents of change are men and women involved in far-reaching processes with repercussions in different areas and directions. All basic change proposed is related to a "project" or "projects" which, if viable and suited to specific situations, may cause irreversible changes in the organizations and institutions. The culture of each organization states objectives and achievements and, therefore, permanent projects of change and adjustment which facilitate management by those in charge. In the final analysis, *organization is the constant goal of all human undertakings;* and projects, inspired by society's greater goals (plans of guidelines), are the instruments for achieving concrete results. Against this backdrop, management and leadership ability in achieving objectives and results in environments and spaces which are more and more uncertain, complex, vague and linked to futures that are more abstract and imaginary than tangible, will be obliged to resort to intelligence to compensate for the growing lack of natural inputs, which were previously an easy base for industrial and technological expansion and revolution. In organizations of thought and action, projects must be viewed as strategies transversing future global and social change in

the region, in each country, in each field of activity or sector, in the institutions of higher education themselves. In this way, management becomes a transverse strategy, with planned processes which take into account the environment, alliances, design, implementation, leadership, control and the capacity for constant reexamination. Management should be centred on a new culture capable of understanding and relating every situation within the framework of international evolution and ideas, in order to selectively decide on actions to efficiently achieve success, in societies which are increasingly more interdependent and global. This type of management must be inspired by permanent reflection on scenarios, and by the development of specific skills in the "*management of ideas*," which would help to structure strategic thought and "enterprises" that respond to the great challenges facing the region. The foregoing is proof of the ever more patent need for new management in our organizations and project methodologies for more realistic management of the processes of change. This is undoubtedly true in the case of higher education, graduate studies and education in general in the region.

The region is now rationalizing its economies and policies at great social cost. The structural adjustments pose a challenge to the very stability of the democratic order in the future and the goals of more advanced human development. The quest for solutions to the serious problems besetting the region and its integration and realistic and efficient participation in the international community are efforts that are currently being undertaken at great sacrifice and using energy and potential that could also be employed in more imaginative scenarios full of emerging new options. But, this requires that thought in the region be once more informed by rationality, aware that the choice of means is always a decision which seeks results that have not been proven by practice, and that this can only occur if there is broad scope for freedom of action. All this requires greater emphasis on the responsibilities that the different actors must assume. It is obvious that the crisis has plunged the region into a cycle of short-sighted thinking about means, primarily functional and pragmatic. Fantasy, utopias and farsightedness that are a source of strength in the struggle for different and improved conditions have been cast aside. Hitherto, access to universal knowledge, especially in economics and technology, has stifled creativity and innovation, and has often been tied to big "package-agreements" which try to respond to burning social issues. Furthermore, this approach militates against the improvement of the quality of higher education and graduate studies, research and development in science and technology in the region. The gaps that have opened in our societies, in various areas, call for urgent action in the specific field to eliminate them: gaps between folk culture and enlightened culture, mass culture and traditional, elitist culture, between science and technology and folklore, between community organization centred on the individual and the complex systems

of social order, between the mysticism of things local and the internationalization of life, etc. We are facing one of the most patent examples of the schism between the soul of a people and its social reality. Luckily, populations do not live forever and what they leave is "reproduced." Hence, there is an urgent call for starting processes of change to eliminate extreme inequalities and imbalances but, most of all, for placing emphasis on *how this is to be done*, because "speeches" and "guidelines," or merely saying what has to be done, are not enough. The design of the social fabric that will allow cultures and societies to move closer towards fully consolidated nationhood and firm regional integration in the near future shall be achieved if, along with economic and technical concerns, education is accorded its true importance.

Priority must therefore be given to efforts to:

- reconcile the individual and nature, in a process of humanization;
- reconcile culture and reality, the daily life of each individual, thereby facilitating integral and harmonious development.

The world is evolving in a climate of uncertainty, especially in regions like Latin America and the Caribbean, due to the destabilizing effect of problems such as the familiar states of violence and the pressing need to achieve lasting peace; the value and conservation of natural resources and the environment in general; the elimination of regional economic imbalances; the replacement of certain resources for production; the eradication of certain diseases; balance in international economic relations; and the strengthening of the international community's organizations. In this context, the problems that directly affect each individual and the prevailing social order must be solved, i.e. the need for food and basic medical services; guaranteed human rights; access to all cultural values, education, housing; productive employment; a lower crime rate, etc. In order to meet these needs certain choices must be made: pooled or scattered efforts and resources? The human being as the centre of attention or a new situation resulting from a spontaneous evolution of society? Within what political system?

Social reality portrays the subjective, selective and historical aspects of humanity; it is inside the individual, making it difficult to separate the subject from the object. Reality is determined by historical options marked by ideological interests, which signal the qualitative dimension of the social sciences. Social issues do have an explicit content, linked to elements of social inequality, regional discrimination, comparative disparities. Work in the area implies facing social inequalities but also refers to challenges such as "*quality*," "*participation*" and how to generate "*processes of change*." Hence, in today's world, "*optimal social structures*" (efficient, development with a human face) and "*rational and balanced consumption structures*" are basic *social conditions*.

In respect of integrated social policies, it is acknowledged that they should continue to seek to *reduce inequalities*, as an effort on the part of the state; and from the viewpoint of communities and individuals, *self-promotion* should be sought. The trickle down and self-promotion effects are fundamental.

At present, the political will of governments and the aspirations of the people of the region are expressed first and foremost in: the transformation of democracy in formal terms and the growing conviction that the state will inevitably have to be modernized; the basic trend towards forms of local democracy, with real organization at the community level and effective participation; management based on pragmatism in the future; the rehabilitation of economic sectors, with industrial policies aimed at capturing a greater share of international markets; and the pressing need to eliminate critical poverty and cushion the shock of economic restructuring. The environmental problem is once more of primary importance in the region; another major concern is technological change based on a clear concept of and serious work in science and technology. Privatization –in its more positive connotation, "private and socially oriented," seems to be a policy that can ensure efficiency, better quality of services and products in many spheres of life and the possibility of creating more concrete options for resuming growth and eliminating basic social problems. In this context, the higher education and graduate studies institutions must play a fundamental role in creating the intellectual and technical conditions required to give rise to new social spaces for concertation.

University, to a certain extent, always goes beyond the civilian society, in order to carry out more global and comprehensive activities. The university therefore does not exist merely to meet the demands of the civilian society. The university and the society have complementary and conflictive relations. The university queries conventional positions that place many divergent principles on an equal footing (dictatorship or democracy, rights or segregation, wealth or poverty, enlightenment or ignorance, etc.) It is through criticism, research and broad reflection that it can play its role in fulfilling the region's aforementioned aspirations.

The education system, in most of the countries, has not been able to become an articulated whole with clearly defined objectives and results. In the process that envisages various levels and possibilities, the space reserved for the lower or poorer classes and the ones occupied by those who have greater opportunities and resources are easily identified. It is a constant clash of complex realities in which many factors come into play content (quality), resources (space-material, laboratories and teachers), continuity in the process and productive linkage with society. To a large part of the population, higher education has been raised to the level of a high ideal, so much so that it is almost a

"*myth.*" Hence, "higher education became the paradigm of social progress." However, the highest levels of education were not sufficient to keep down unemployment and, for some, education became one of the factors that worsened the current social crisis. Moreover, a high percentage of those admitted to higher education do not finish their studies and do not acquire a mastery or expertise that would allow them to play a proper role in society. The maladjustments and gaps between several essential elements have widened, making it difficult to achieve the desired results in education, i.e. the transition from elementary to secondary and to career-oriented education; the coordination between secondary and further education and admission to the latter; the entry of university graduates into professional life; the training of academic staff for the various levels of education; the evolution of content in the various stages of the education process; the position of full-time students as opposed to those who have to study and work (night school); the location of education institutions in relation to the most populated and developed towns and capitals; education establishments, particularly official ones; the availability of training and research units in basic and advanced science (engineering, etc.), and those that require less funding (humanities, in general). All this creates the most varied, complex and unbalanced conditions of development for higher education and graduate studies in the region. A look at over 537 universities in the region and over 3,300 higher education institutions reveals a wide range of situations and varying results.

The quality of education has not been a major concern, neither has it been turned into aggressive policies at the various levels of education. The higher education institutions do not perform a didactic, pedagogic role. Content at the different levels of education, like the training programmes for instructors, do not take full account of the global aspects of society and the economic and social dimensions. Hence, many higher education courses train professionals who are out of touch with priority needs.

As a general conclusion, planning education and human resource training for development with a human face should be more flexible and indicative, focusing the attention of universities on "*quality*" and "*efficiency/effectiveness,*" based on a model that respects diversity and attempts to provide equal opportunities, regardless of who offers higher education. It would therefore be a question of creating very specific and planned spaces of a high level academically, scientifically and technically, etc., which respond to the need to train the professional staff required to face the new challenges posed by this development with a human face.

Possible Future Scenarios

Any future scenario for the region should be based on the specific content provided by and derived from the internationalization of life. In that context, the community acquires a special value and strategic bent, i.e. globalization and interdependence; efficiency; risk and experimentation; continuity of effort within the framework of broad-based solidarity and consensus; specialization as opposed to mass-oriented values; pragmatism accompanied by definite and encouraging achievements. This calls for management of change, decisions, follow-up and control of situations, in other words, great potential for a timely grasp of the *"stages of a situation,"* in complex environments, at the different levels of various processes. But, it also implies closely coordinated work among analysts, futurologists, planners, politicians, economists, academics, programmers, executors and entrepreneurs, systems engineers, agents in communities and professional groups, etc. To move from technical *"discourse"* to the real control of determined or foreseen situations, implies an enormous effort of thought and cultural evolution in the region, which totally involves higher education and intelligence in Latin America and the Caribbean. In terms of the future, perhaps the great challenge for higher education institutions will be to acquire a real ability to *"manage ideas,"* an essential step towards helping to stimulate new thought on which the region's "possible futures can be built."

A strategic view of the future should be a part of any picture society might have of the future. In respect of the human resource training the region requires in the coming years, higher education institutions will have to be able to cope, and dynamically so, with events in the world of work. At the same time, the future society will require the reconciliation of desired social goals and highly developed models of human, scientific and technological quality. Development and growth are not attributes of certain societies; they are the fruit of the joint and solidary labour of whole populations. Consequently, *it will always be possible in the future to reconcile academic excellence and social equality, growth and quality, cultural pluralism and cultural identity, the international and the local dimensions, folklore and the more sophisticated knowledge of science and technology.* The management of higher education and graduate studies institutions should rise to these challenges in the future.

In the 70s, high technology gave rise to a new TECHNO-INTERNATIONAL system that affects the future through: a greater generation of information on techniques and technological processes for the production of goods and services; *strategic and systematic organization;* easier coordination of all activities and control of inputs and *absolute quality; flexibility in production,* with a view to meeting the needs of individuals, groups, and achieving specialization (rather than mass). This new system planetarized the economy. It has

caused changes that have had a forceful impact on the immediate future, such as: the detachment of the industrial economy from raw materials; the real economy of goods and services; and movements of capital, credit and exchange rates. Today, mass monetary movements more than goods and services are the engine of the world economy. *The new system has placed emphasis on intelligence* in the industrialized countries causing raw material prices to drop from the late 70s onwards.

For several years, the prices of many raw materials have been lower than they were in the 30s. Industrial production will become increasingly independent of the use of raw materials. These changes will also have astounding repercussions on employment in the industrialized countries, where it is expected that workers will account for only 10% of manufactured production in 2010. In view of this, the efficiency of an economy will in the future be expressed in terms of how little unskilled labour it uses. The longer there is a high unskilled labour component, the higher the risk of increasing unemployment levels will be. Knowledge will be the natural substitute and quality education and training services its natural tool, in an integrated social management strategy.

There are certain hypotheses about international events that will affect decisions on the future, such as:

a) in models of possible futures, science and technology will be essential factors with a decisive influence on changes in ethics, ideologies, production structures and social organization. *"Viable social plans"* or *"projects"* will be based on interdependent international strategies, which will make self-realization and the host of operations that will take place feasible;

b) science and technology strategies in countries like those of Latin America and the Caribbean should be geared towards problem solving and furthering knowledge, with a view to high levels of scientific and technological production over the long term;

c) a new ethic will emerge, which is different from the present materialism that seeks individual and collective interests by practising a seemingly limitless consumerism;

d) integration in the region will require the governments to forge alliances that will lead to wider and more genuine processes of integration within the region, to negotiate new, future international scenarios which include raising the general well-being of the whole population. In the case of science and technology, teaching sciences, education, and the environment, integration is urgently needed. *Quality higher education in many more specialized fields of learning will only be viable through the joint action of countries and important circles of academics, scientists and experts.* In that context, there is a

need, in the short term, for considerable mobility of scientists, experts, professionals and technical personnel in the region, without red tape or particular economic or cultural influences. The wide circulation of materials, models, techniques, instruments and equipment in general must be considered priority in agreements between the leaders and different parliaments of the region. Tariff and other policies must, in any future scenario, be geared towards raising the level of knowledge in the region and the joint and solidary planning of societies, which are more centred on human beings and the reconciliation of their material and spiritual-intellectual needs.

The uncertainty that any contemplation of the future arouses should be controlled. Here is where higher education institutions can provide society with a great service. Uncertainty can have a wide range of social repercussions, which may be very adverse and contradictory, and may cause negativism and indifference in populations.

Any future scenario will require clear policies and decisions in social issues, education as a whole, and higher education in particular. In the short term, a structured concept of education and the direction it should take must be adopted. Today, and in the near future when resources will be more limited and demands greater, processes need to be more rationalized. Higher education institutions –bearing in mind their links with society, the way in which they are organized and the need to work within the framework of certain objectives and achieve results– are obliged to rapidly start changing, modernizing and acquiring strategic management skills.

Towards Creative and Farsighted Management in Higher Education and Graduate Studies

CRESALC/UNESCO, a regional pluridisciplinary and multisectoral entity, is making headway, at this writing, with direct contacts with the central planning agencies of the governments of the region, with ministries of education, science and technology, industry and development, state reform and modernization (in some countries there are specialized ministries and commissions in the office of the president), culture, social planning, and especially with boards of university rectors and planners of higher education and graduate studies, graduate professional organizations, representatives from the field, unions and various associations, in order to gather elements, views and principles that could assist UNESCO in its task of supporting the countries' policies, plans, programmes and projects, and, primarily, in reflecting on *the prospective work of higher education*. This is being done according to the guidelines of the UNESCO 1990-1995 medium-term plan, expressed in concrete actions in its biennial programme-budgets, the first of which covers the 1990-1991 period. That plan outlines measures that deal mainly with higher

education management; relations between the state/civilian society and education; education in the processes of state modernization and consolidation of democracy; decentralization and participation; quality and the training of instructors; *its relations with:* the world of work, science and technology, social demands, integrated management of education systems, the projection of the countries of the region in the international community via knowledge and a greater ability to analyze and make interrelated global proposals, and the contribution to defining the view of the future in the countries of the region; information and communication through the strengthening of regional labour networks and the consolidation of a data base and the promotion of international co-operation and contact with other regions of the world. In this framework of this action, *support for the following is essential: the contruction of new Latin American and Caribbean thought, the emergence of ideas, models, methods, technical tools and other instruments that can be used for change in the region;* this through the emergence of a great intellectual, academic and scientific movement, which should act and work in real political and decision-making processes in the countries and the international community as the software in the design, negotiation and implementation of possible scenarios. Work is therefore oriented towards both higher education and graduate studies per se –their upgrading and updating and projection towards the future– and the same alternative, new models of order and management, by their direct contact with and by offering their potential and installed capacity to societies and governments that increasingly need the backing of *organized and increased intelligence* to solve the great problems of the region and confront the future. All this is occurring in the midst of a strong process of international concertation with organizations directly involved with higher education in the continent, such as, UDUAL, OUI, CSUCA and UNICA; and others outside the region, like CRE (European rectors) and other industrialized countries, as well as countries in Africa, Asia and the Arab world. *There is an international effort to pool experiences and knowledge and, primarily, to launch projects and specific activities in the countries of the region, which can be evaluated and can have a great multiplier effect, but which can form part of a coordinated global concept that is being consolidated in its most global and strategic dimensions.* This calls for the intellectual and technical support of all the participants at this meeting.

CRESALC/UNESCO is aware of the number of efforts being undertaken in the region, in all the countries, to find the right path and the answers in the aforementioned fields. The intellectual, academic, scientific/technical, business and political communities are progressively taking keen interest in these issues. In addition, significant advances have been made in communications and consultation between higher education and graduate institutions and between groups of researchers and thinkers. Considerable ground is being ned in concerted action with central state agencies and firm alliances are

being forged between higher education institutions and communities. More and more, realism, "intellectual generosity," individual and collective commitment are being felt, and the borders of countries are being erased by the great desire for collective growth of the whole region. It is hoped that this will be accompanied by political processes and more dynamic and outward-looking negotiations and concertation. *There is one major concern* in the somewhat optimistic picture painted here: *can the region preserve its intelligence in the short term (5-10 years), when it is attracted by the international current of specific demands by the more advanced countries facing a severe shortage of engineers, scientists, thinkers, technicians and academics? This will not even be a so-called "brain drain" as in the past, but a massive international displacement of the great intelligence capital of the countries of the region.* The region is just beginning to grasp this reality, which will threaten any concept of the future and efficient management in the countries. This urgently needs to be studied and decisions taken on it by the governments of the region.

Political, intellectual and technical attention, within the orderly framework of higher education and graduate studies in the region, is attracted by placing particular emphasis on: the need to have a *culture of peace;* the emergence of firm and permanent *collective solidarity;* the achievement of outward-looking *regional integration; the elimination of critical poverty* and major social injustices; *the return to nature and the environment;* the availability of *future scenarios;* new ways of *interpreting the problems and challenges facing the region; raising the cultural and educational level of the whole population*; creating greater *scientific and technological capacity* committed to processes of strengthening democracy and new social scenarios; and the availability of proven *management skill.* This is ambitious (one should recognize the complex reality in which we live); at the same time *it is acknowledged that only with very well designed projects aimed at precise results, with continuity in decision-making and the implementation of specific processes can better situations than the present one be created.*

Accountability for More Efficiency and Effectiveness in Higher Education

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INTRODUCTION

In Recent Years, many concepts originally related to the field of economics entered the discussion on alternative higher education policies in OECD countries. "Accountability" and "performance indicators," "efficiency" and "effectiveness," more "competition" these are some of the key words which govern the present debates about the future of higher education. After the "golden years" of higher education of the 1960's, which led to an enormous expansion of those systems, slow economic growth, recession and incisive cutbacks of resources followed and will, most probably, lead to far-reaching consequences for the restructuring and the management of higher education institutions in many OECD countries.

The past expansion in terms of student numbers confronted the universities with completely new problems and challenges. Most national systems of higher education dealt with expansion problems primarily through the widening of the systems, i.e. by founding new universities, constructing new buildings, hiring additional personnel, and pouring additional money into them without designing new and appropriate structures and organizational forms. Now, when it is no longer possible too spend ever increasing amounts of money for the system, it is becoming obvious that "mass" university systems still organized like "elite" institutions cannot work and function in a proper way. Therefore, the present wave of criticism is mainly concerned with the "devaluation" of formerly high standards in teaching and in research as well as with national problems of competing technologically and surviving economically on the world market (OECD, 1981; OECD, 1983; OECD, 1984).

Politicians as well as administrators in OECD countries –and increasingly also in Eastern European countries –are searching for new solutions and are referring to the U.S. system of higher education which they perceive as flexible, efficient, competitive, variable, accountable, and highly differentiated– in short, as a model for solving all their problems. They assume that they have found a pattern for the successful enrolment and training of huge numbers of students and, at the same time, for the prize-winning pursuit of research.

Bureaucratic vs. Market Models in Higher Education

The issue centers around the question of whether political-administrative control exercised through state-bureaucratic coordination or market responsiveness results in better (— "more effective") institutions of higher education. Or, to put it in more concrete terms, should market forces –and if so, to what extent– replace the state control decision-making apparatus in higher education?

Those who advocate institutional reforms shifting away from more or less direct state control and towards a decentralized system based on "consumer choice" implicitly assume that public governance in higher education interferes with effective self-organization within a market system because it imposes restraints on university-level autonomy and flexibility.

In 1983, Burton Clark developed his famous "magic triangle" in which he demonstrated three potential dimensions or tension fields of co-ordination characterized by the angles "state authority," "market," and "academic oligarchy" (Clark, 1983, pp. 136 ff). Each of the three sides of the triangle represents one dimension which can be discussed as a continuum between two ideal-type system models, namely dimension I: state authority model versus academic oligarchy model dimension II: state authority model versus market model, and dimension III: academic oligarchy model versus market model. Each dimension can be discussed under a different focus: namely dimension I under political-legal, dimension II under programming-planning, and dimension III under pedagogical-sociological aspects.

Although our further discussion will have to concentrate on dimension II, the two other dimensions will always have to be kept in mind. In fact, any evaluation of system change must take into due account the interrelatedness of all three dimensions.

It is well known that the U.S. system "remains the most heavily endowed with characteristics of autonomous choice and market exchange" (Clark, 1983, p. 139). By referring to the research on, the discussion about, and the policy implementation of performance indicators and quality measures in the

United States, two different policy strategies for systems of higher education can be distinguished: Whereas strategy "A" implies a total system change from one angle to the other of the continuum II, namely the replacement of state bureaucratic coordination by market-type coordination, strategy "B" requires only the introduction of more competitive elements in terms of less rigid state bureaucratic coordination and more institutional autonomy and flexibility.

The distinction is of utmost importance because it implies different decision-making rules for the allocation of resources based upon performance indicators. It also means that more competition in higher education does not necessarily demand the adoption of a market model à la United States. Although it is true that the U.S. market type interaction in higher education has led to extensive and long-standing academic research activities in the field of performance indicators in terms of institutional (self-) research about self-reflexive mechanisms, the reverse conclusion that the use of performance indicators automatically implies a "market model" with clear-cut decision rules is not correct. Overall political decisions leading to a transparent system change in higher education are necessary; otherwise, the application of performance indicators remains an ambivalent tool in decision-making processes.

We shall return to this problem in section 4 in which we discuss some recent policy change trends in higher education in some OECD countries. In the following section, some of the methodological issues related to the "economic perspective" in higher education will be discussed. In section 4, some of experiences made in the definition, development and use of performance indicators in national systems of higher education are reported. Since the financing of higher education can also be closely linked with the use of performance indicators, some of the issues related to the two alternative angles of dimension II are further elaborated in section 5.

Accountability, Efficiency and Effectiveness in Higher Education

All social systems, including the higher education system, are also confronted with economic problems. Two basic problems can be distinguished: a) the problem of securing resources (– external orientation), and b) the problem of allocating resources (– internal orientation). Calls for accountability in higher education are most often heard, when, due to economic recessions, public resources are in short supply. Then, governments attempt to freeze or even to reduce the overall volume of expenditure for higher education which, in turn, would force the institutions of higher education to re-think their traditional mechanisms of external resource securing as well as of internal resource allocation.

Accountability has to do with efficiency and effectiveness, with the identification and measurement of the outputs and inputs of higher education. According to Bowen, "the efficiency of the system is measured by comparing the outcomes with the resources employed. And accountability is achieved when the outcomes, as well as the resources used, are identified and measured" (Bowen, 1977, p. 7).

However, the application of the concepts of efficiency and effectiveness of higher education, of input-output analyses, of different forms of cost-benefit analyses poses many methodological problems. It will be impossible to apply such concepts in pure economic terms vis à vis institutions of higher education, especially universities. Therefore, ways and means have to be found to apply such concepts in a less rigorous, less straight-forward way because:

1. in higher education, the objectives can neither be clearly defined nor is there agreement on them. On the contrary, there are multiple objectives, both inside and outside institutions of higher education;
2. some objectives may be mutually inconsistent;
3. given the variety of objectives, it will be impossible to apply any simple criteria for measuring the success or failure in achieving the objectives;
4. the time horizon for assessing the different outcomes differs, depending upon the level of the actors; and
5. there are no absolute criteria against which to measure efficiency and effectiveness; they are matters of judgement which often involve "trade offs" between effectiveness and costs (CTEC, 1986, p. 2).

"Nevertheless, the concept of efficiency has a place in all human endeavours ... At present, educators know very little about their results and next to nothing about the effects of changes in their procedures and methods on their results... there have been few systematic ongoing efforts to assess outcomes, and certainly few cases where the study of outcomes has been linked with managerial decisions. Such studies are urgently needed if higher educational institutions and systems are to have better information for management and accountability, and if educators are to learn more about the consequences of alternative procedures and methods. Without such knowledge, higher education is destined merely to follow tradition, or to do what is expedient in the light of prevailing pressures of the market and of politics, or to be vulnerable to every fad that sweeps through the educational community, or to manage solely by intuition" (Bowen, 1978, pp. 132-133).

Corresponding to the notion of level-specific accountability the concept of efficiency can also be applied at different levels and related to different functions whereby various efficiency indicators can be used.

With regard to the overall level of the higher education system, e.g., it can be said that: "An efficient system is one which enables given outputs to be met at the lowest possible level of inputs or cost. However a system which is efficient in this sense will not be worth much if what is achieved is only of limited value. Hence, the effectiveness of a system –the extent to which the output achieves specified objectives– is also important. The phrase 'efficient and effective' is thus used to mean the achievement of the best, or most desired, outcome as economically as possible" (CTEC, 1986, p. 1).

As already indicated, the definition and use of concepts of efficiency and effectiveness cannot and do not mean a simple application of "business principles" to institutions of higher education which embrace multiple activities and have multiple objectives. Due to the enormous conceptual and methodological difficulties no simple accounting scheme is available in order to assess properly the diverse and complexly interrelated outcomes of higher education. But, as in the case of Australian higher education: "None of this removes the need for improved management. Above all, university communities must expect that, with the increasing size of the institutions and complexity of the system and with external pressures they face, their institutions will have to operate in a mode closer to the managerial than the collegial end of the spectrum. Universities will have to become more performance oriented. They will need to establish strategic plans through which objectives are enunciated, strategies to achieve them specified, and against which performance is tested. They will need to seek alternative sources of revenue and greater community support, especially from their graduates. There will have to be better academic management: heads of departments need to accept responsibility for the well-being and performance of their colleagues. This will require academic staff development not only to improve performance in teaching and research but also to improve management" (Karmel, 1989, pp. 20-21).

Moreover, if governments continue budgetary policies of retrenchment institutions of higher education will have to look for additional resources which would no longer come only from the public but also from the private sector –a new strategy for financing higher education still unknown to many national systems of higher education (e.g., not only in Eastern, but also in Western Europe). This, in turn, would necessarily lead to a redefinition of both, the "input" as well as the "output" side which are already rather complex in terms of composition, interrelatedness and problems of measurement. With regard to costs Lourié assumes that "accountability measures ... may become considerably distinct, and probably stricter, than those generally appli-

cable to disbursements by the Ministry of Education" and continues: "Cost must be lowered through source diversification and stricter accountability of resources while effectiveness cannot be held purely quantitative notions but must respond to both a socio-cultural as well as labour market dimension" (Lourié, 1986, p. 1.)

Experience with the Development and Use of Performance Indicators in Higher Education

In recent years, not only in Australia but also in many Western European OECD countries several attempts of introducing information systems based upon performance indicators in higher education can be observed. They are supposed to increase the transparency about inputs, processes and outputs in higher education, to serve as a decisional base for the redistribution of financial resources within higher education institutions, and to lead to more competition-oriented systems of higher education. Initiatives were undertaken either by government authorities directly, as in the cases of Finland (Jäppinen, 1987) and the Netherlands (Bormans et al., 1987), or by "buffer institutions" –often under heavy pressure from their governments– as in the cases of the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission (CTEC) in Australia (Bourke, 1986; Karmel, 1989), the University Grants Committee (UGC) inthe United Kingdom (Cave et al., 1988), and the Science Council in the Federal Republic of Germany (Hüfner, 1988; Wissenschaftsrat, 1985).

In some countries new "buffer institutions" were founded in order to fulfil this task, e.g., the National Evaluation Committee for Higher Education (1985) in France (Staropoli, 1987) and the Council of Higher Education (1981) in Turkey (Dogramaci, 1987), several of these institutions were abolished in the late 1980s such as the CTEC and the UGC in the United Kingdom to be replaced by bodies serving primarily government interests. The Science Council in the Federal Republic of Germany also went through a period of crisis during which its character as buffer institution between "the two worlds" was highly questioned.

OECD Activities

During the 1980s, when systems of higher education have suffered retrenchment as resources available to them have declined, an intensive discussion on the applicability of performance indicators took place in many OECD countries around the world. The Institutional Management in Higher Education (IMHE) programme of the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) of OECD Educational was the major promotor of this trend. The

IMHE programme has given high priority in its activities to the sponsoring of research, conferences and publications on the development of performance indicators for systems and institutions of higher education. In fact, the discussions on performance indicators, e.g., in Australia, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom can be easily traced back to IMHE sources. In the United Kingdom, e.g., the Jarrett Committee listed in a brief annex what it considered to be common performance indicators which were drawn substantially from the IMHE work.

In 1985 a survey of the development and use of performance indicators in higher education was undertaken under the auspices of the IMHE programme, covering seventy institutions in fifteen OECD member states. Performance indicators were defined "as numerical values which provide a measurement for assessing the quantitative or qualitative performance of a system and which can be derived in different ways" (Cuenin, 1987, p. 118). The questionnaire divided indicators into four categories without intending to prescribe the way the universities should answer:

1. internal performance indicators: these are based on information available within the institution;
2. operating indicators: these describe certain aspects of the internal functioning of the system;
3. external performance indicators: these are based on information available outside the institution; and
4. indicators related to research: these are used to assess research activities in the institutions.

For each of the four categories, a few examples were mentioned and commented in order to give the respondents an idea of what was considered to be a performance indicator for the purposes of the IMHE survey:

1. internal performance indicators: success rates, graduate rates; market share of applications; number of dissertations accepted; average length of study, and student evaluations of teaching;
2. operating indicators: student workload; student/staff ratio, unit costs; class size; diversity of options offered to students; staff workloads; staff ratio;
3. external performance indicators: acceptability of graduates in employment; first destination of graduates, reputation as judged by external observers;

4. indicators related to research: number of publications; citation indices; share of contract research; applications for graduate study; number of dissertations accepted; consultancies, inventions, and/or patents; invitations to high-level scientific conferences; election to membership of learned academies; award of prizes and distinctions.

The IMHE survey was set out to provide a general overview of the development and use of performance indicators by selecting in those OECD countries that agreed to participate a small number of institutions willing to fill in the questionnaire. Although attempts were made in some countries to contact and engage all the universities, the results were rather disappointing. Although the IMHE survey was undertaken as an attempt of stock-taking without asking for specific numerical information concerning the performance indicators applied, the resistance to answer was rather high, e.g., in Germany where only 23 out of 65 universities filled in the questionnaire (Hüfner, 1988). Also, at the international level the quality of replies differed from one institution to another; quite often the universities simply mentioned those performance indicators which were given examples in the questionnaire mentioned above.

In sum, it can be said that the IMHE survey contributed to the transparency of the problematique of the use of performance indicators in order to increase accountability in higher education. In some countries, (e.g., in Australia, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom) the IMHE survey contributed *per se* to the political discussion about performance indicators in higher education. Especially in Australia and the United Kingdom the national buffer institutions got heavily involved in the further elaboration of the concept of performance indicators whereas at the university level the *a priori* resistance often increased.

United Kingdom

In the United Kingdom, the Jarrett Committee made jointly to the University Grants Committee (UGC) and the Committee of Vice-chancellors and Principals (CVCP) the recommendation that "a range of performance indicators should be developed, covering both inputs and outputs and designed for use both within individual universities and for making comparisons between institutions" (CVCP, 1986, p. 1). The joint CVCP/UGC working group agreed that "sound management information", is necessary for the effective running and financing of universities: "Among such management information, performance indicators, as an aid but not a substitute for judgement, are essential" (CVCP, 1986, p. 1). This emphasis that performance indicators should serve as signals or guides rather than absolute measures left much room for speculation and led to a very controversial discussion in many British professional journals.

The joint CVCP/UGC working group developed some characteristics of sound performance indicators such as: they must relate to stated teaching, research and other objectives of the university: they must be specific, quantifiable and standardized so that valid comparisons within and between institutions of higher education can be made: they must be as simple as possible and consistent with their purpose; they must be acceptable and credible in the sense of being free of systematic bias; and they must be useful and capable of acting as signposts to areas where questions concerning operations can and should be asked (CVCP, 1986, p. 2). The working group proposed the introduction of 24 specific performance indicators of which 16 were mentioned for immediate application. Those indicators were differentiated according to an implementation time-table (short, medium-and long-term) and potential users (department, cost centre, institution).

Australia

In Australia, a paper prepared by Paul Bourke and published by CTEC in 1986 provoked a rather vivid discussion, although the author limited himself to an accurate description of the "state of the art" in the United Kingdom, the United States and of the OECD/IMHE programme on performance indicators (Bourke, 1986).

At that time, a committee was appointed to review efficiency and effectiveness in higher education: among its recommendations several dealt with problems of internal institutional management emphasizing more flexible academic employment conditions, the systematic review and evaluation of the performance of departments as well as of individual academics, the importance of strategic planning, and the preparation and implementation of research management plans involving the competitive allocation of resources and concentration of research funds on work of national importance (CTEC, 1986).

In 1987, the Australian Government started to see higher education as an important instrument in its national economic policy. In 1988, a policy statement (White Paper) set out a strategy for the long-term development of Australia's higher education system which involves a major expansion in enrolments as well as new funding arrangements for teaching and research and changes to the internal governance and management in order to improve institutional efficiency and effectiveness and to increase the responsiveness of individual institutions to Australia's economic and social needs. In this connection also new funding approaches were planned to be introduced: e.g., institutions should be funded for teaching purposes on the basis of a formula to be applied to student load, having regard to its mix among faculties operating at different costs.

According to Karmel this strategy "represents the most determined move for change ever in the history of higher education in Australia." He continues: "Behind the reform lies a conviction that the higher education institutions have only a limited capacity to promote change internally and to adjust to changing external forces, and that change will have to be imposed on them. Although determined leadership in some institutions has shown that some internal reforms are possible, it must be conceded that the institutions do not display much capacity to change themselves" (Karmel 1989, p. 24).

France

Already since 1976, Le Monde de l'Education has published an annual report in which the institutions of the French system of higher education are evaluated and ranked. The universities, although highly critical of the methodology applied, are nevertheless taking into account this evaluation as an important decision base: all five universities involved in the OECD/IMHE study mentioned "evaluation by the press" as a performance indicator.

Almost ten years later, in 1985 the National Evaluation Committee for Higher Education was founded which is regarded, according to President Mitterand, as "an innovation with far-reaching consequences." The Committee has a unique position within the French setup: each year it must report directly to the President. The Committee is independent so far as the selection of the institutions to be evaluated is concerned; furthermore, it can freely decide whether or not to publish its results for the public audience and if so, in what form. Peer reviews are expected to become the most important form of assessment (Staropoli, 1987, p. 129; for further details see also Schwartz, 1987). In 1988, the National Evaluation Committee published a methodology of evaluation as a reference document in which the criteria and indicators for the evaluation of individual institutions of higher education are laid down (Bulletin du Comité National d'Evaluation N° 6, May 1988).

Finland

In Finland, the State Council decided in 1986 that:

- all higher education institutions should develop a standardized evaluation system in order to offer comparable information about the results of teaching and research activities and the costs involved;
- all higher education institutions should deliver activity reports in regular time intervals which will be summarized and compared in the four-year development plans for higher education to be adopted by the government;

- past results in research and teaching must be taken into account for the future allocation of resources.

A working group set up by the Finnish Ministry of Education discussed in detail the necessity of evaluating the research results of the institutions of higher education in a comparative manner. It required that those evaluations of individual research areas already begun by the Finnish Academy be continued and expanded so as to cover up to eight areas per annum. It also ruled that those evaluations having been started earlier by foreign experts ("peer reviews") be broadened by bibliometric research efforts.

In 1989, the national budget included 6 per cent of additional resources allocated on the basis of formula budgeting, thereby taking into account the number of examinations per teacher at the diploma and postgraduate level. Meanwhile, most of the institutions use own performance indicators for the internal process of resource allocation, some faculties even apply "impact factors." However, the institutions do not publish the results.

The National Council of Higher Education set up a data bank using about 12 performance indicators for 20 institutions of higher education, differentiated according to 19 subject areas. These indicators are used as background information for the planning of higher education at the national level. Since 1988, also data about the research activities of institutions in higher education are collected (Hüfner, 1989).

Germany

In 1983, the Federal Minister of Education published some guidelines for a revised higher education policy for the 1990s demanding more market-oriented mechanisms and less state intervention. The whole system of financing should be revised in favour of implementing more competition, differentiation, and self-regulation, thereby granting the institutions greater financial autonomy (Hüfner, pp. 135-136).

In 1985, the Science Council suggested to shift the framework conditions towards affective competition through greater transparency so as to increase quality in research and teaching, flexibility in adopting to new tasks, and efficiency in utilizing resources. The Council demanded as a first step self-examination by the individual institutions to be followed by an evaluation by the academic community, whose results would then be the determining factor in the allocation of resources. For the purpose of self-assessment the Science Council elaborated a standardized catalogue of 9 possible performance indicators to be applied in order to guarantee "more active competition." In addition, the Council also recommended the comparative evaluation of performance of individual disciplines through various scholarly bodies and journals (Wissenschaftsrat, 1985).

The Science Council also recommended the retrieval, continuation and regular publication of this information under the auspices of the West German Rectors' Conference which, however, did not appreciate this proposal and expressed reluctance towards any kind of ranking.

Meanwhile, many researchers developed and published examples of ranking on selected disciplines/faculties or activities of the German higher education institutions. In 1988, the Science Council started to publish a comparative overview of ranking concerning the institutional differences in the length of studies for selected degrees, thereby stressing the institutional responsibility for these differences. At the end of 1989, the German weekly magazine *Der Spiegel* published the results of a survey among students concerning the conditions of teaching and learning in German universities. The result of this ranking showed the big old universities at the bottom and the new ones at the top of this list and caused a heated public debate.

Netherlands

In 1985, the Dutch government proposed a concept of self-regulation as a new mechanism for steering higher education in the Netherlands. The elaboration of a formal quality control system was regarded as an important precondition for the transition from central guidance and regulation to a self-regulating system, thereby giving greater institutional autonomy to the system of higher education.

Closely linked to a new financing mechanism (cf section 5), the new system of ex-post evaluation of quality will use various forms of evaluation. Performance indicators should be developed for an institutional quality control system at three levels (department, faculty, and the institution as a whole). Besides that, committees consisting of representatives of higher education institutions, of the professional field, and of the state administration should be engaged in the evaluation process of disciplines with an explicit vocational character. Finally, the government itself intends to set up independent expert committees which should undertake regular evaluations of individual institutions as well as of disciplines. The government asked for biennial institutional development plans which should act as a guide for the evaluation activities. All the documents should be made public.

"The government expects public evaluation reports to have direct consequences for institutional enrolment figures, and hence for the amount of government finance for institutions. It assumes that institutions will act in response to the outcome of evaluations, whether positive or negative. If an institution fails to do so, the government will have to take action: positive (e.g., specific incentives) as well as negative (sanctions)" (Maassen, 1987, p. 164).

In order to co-ordinate the institutional quality control activities the Dutch Association of Universities has set up a steering committee which, *inter alia*, developed a set of six kinds of performance indicators as proxies for the measurement of quality.

Under the new 1986 law for University Education inspectors were appointed for the universities in order to monitor the internal and external institutional evaluation activities. "Clearly, however, all institutions of higher education still seem to be rather suspicious about the inspectorate, which they tend to regard as the big stick wielded when governments are displeased by events or developments in higher education. It remains to be seen whether or not this attitude will stand in the way of a fruitful cooperation between the institutions and the inspectorate" (Maassen, 1987, p. 168).

Summary

In sum, it can be said that the national debates in Australia and Western Europe on the introduction of performance indicators are at different stages. The primarily political motives underlying their introduction (although "overlapping" with serious methodological-technical discussions on their development and impact) are clearly tied to the notion of better accountability and management; they are closely related to attempts of restructuring the relationships of and criteria for decision-making between the state authorities, the buffer institutions, and the individual institutions of higher education. The overall tendency is towards more "market" and institutional self-regulation.

The key words are "greater transparency" and "more competition," combined with the intention of increasing the quality in research and teaching in higher education. It is difficult to anticipate the final outcomes of the national debates, but it can be said already now that the official introduction of performance indicators implies a major decision of educational policy which will have important implications for the future organisation, management and also content of work of national higher education systems.

The Financing of Higher Education

The "resource squeeze" in the higher education sector forced the institutions to increase competition for funding and to examine possibilities of better utilizing existing resources on the one hand and of looking for other sources of finance on the other.

Since the internal orientation of a more efficient allocation of resources, of improvements in efficiency and effectiveness, of increased accountability and the use of indicators for the assessment of quality in teaching and re-

search performance cannot be isolated from attempts of broadening and diversifying the financial base. those issues will be further discussed in this section. In the following, the discussion will center around questions such as: Who should pay for what education? Should the public money be given to the institutions or to the students? If so, what should be the criteria and mechanisms to do so?

We know that ideal type descriptions of different models are, at the same time, expressions of political-normative positions: corresponding to the extreme distribution of tasks between private and public activity we find at both ends of the continuum the model of perfect competition and the model of a total state planning. Earlier, we discussed a confrontation of these two models with its corresponding implications in terms of coordination in and of higher education. In the following, we are interested to find out the differences concerning the modes of financing higher education.

In the case of the market model, private finance is seen as an advantage: consumer's sovereignty of those demanding higher education implies that they also influence the supply of institutions of higher education. The market model assumes a flexible mechanism of adaptation vis-à-vis the demand which would lead, *inter alia*, to a variety of different study offers in terms of content and organization. Because of the rational behavior of the demander. the average study time is supposed to be short thereby decreasing private study costs. Teachers are paid according to the demand for (and supply of) teaching and research services.

In this market model all transactions are coordinated via "prices" in terms of monetary positive and negative incentives: institutions of higher education attempt to secure –especially from the private demand side (students, industry)– the necessary financial resources via a differentiated, competition-oriented supply of teaching and research activities. The institutions behave like "enterprises" with a high degree of autonomy; their management is characterized by a high degree of administrative flexibility in order to prevent "bankruptcy."

The role of the state authorities is one of a "nightwatchman": they are, if at all, setting the framework conditions in order to guarantee the observance of certain quality standards on the one hand and the highest degree of information transparency for all market participants.

In other words, the less the state authorities intervene, the better the market forces can develop themselves, striving for –via a process of self-regulation– the "optimal solution.".

Since the students profit from a successful investment in higher education they are also supposed to bear the full costs of the supply. As a consequence,

the state authorities, will be no longer the financing agency of higher education. The student will be treated the same way as an entrepreneur who invests in physical capital. Basically, there will be no reason to subsidize him or her.

In the case of the market model the private financing of higher education has consequences for both, the teachers as well as the students. The teachers will be induced to adapt to the demands of the students. If they are not in the position to do so they will either begin to earn less than those suppliers who meet the demand or disappear from the market.

At the other extreme of the continuum we find the model of state authority where the institutions of higher education are fully subordinated within a multi-level hierarchy. Although the institutions are financially completely dependent, there will be no transaction processes via positive and/or negative financial incentives. In this model the state authority develops detailed instructions demanding the production of "public goals" and binding the institutions of higher education with regard to the number of students to be admitted in different subjects, the number and type of research projects, the salary structure of the teachers, the teacher-student ratios, etc. All participants in the "production process," teachers, administrators, and students are fully controlled and, of course, financed by the state authority.

Obviously, both ideal type models are not to be found fully realized in the real world which offers a complex mix of different solutions to the problem of financing higher education.

In Western Europe, the systems of higher education are still based more closely upon the ideology of the state authority model than that of the market model.

Access is generally granted to all qualified students, even if in some subjects it is restricted by numerus clausus measures. Local and/or central state authorities cover the costs of study through institutional grants and the costs of living of students, either directly through grants and/or low-interest loans or indirectly through tax compensations or social security benefits for their parents.

Since the institutions of higher education rely almost completely on public funding, the state authorities exercise full financial control and are also able to influence heavily the institutional policies through earmarked grants for specific purposes. In general, only a marginal private sector of higher education exists which often also relies on public financial support.

Much more closely related to the ideology of the market system is the system of higher education in the United States which is characterized by a wide variety, both public and private, at different levels and by a high degree of competition in order to attract fee-paying students. Although public institu-

tions receive grants from state authorities, they also have to rely on tuition fees and other financial resources. Private institutions are financed primarily through fees paid by students, but also receive some public money for different activities.

Induced by a period of serious financial retrenchment and accompanied by an increased pessimism about the capacity of higher education to serve the needs of society and economy, a heated public reform debate took place in Australia as well as in many Western European OECD countries. It is hoped that the introduction of new funding mechanisms will lead to a more efficient and effective performance of higher education institutions in terms of teaching and research processes and outputs. The basic rationale is a move away from the state authority model towards the market model.

The main question is whether public subsidies should go to institutions or to students. Institutional support can take two forms, either as block grants or on a contractual basis. If the public support is given to the students it is assumed that the institutions charge fees covering the full costs of their services and the students get either grants or subsidized loans.

In the case of institutional support an increasing use of "formula funding" (e.g., in Australia, Finland, and the Netherlands) can be observed whereby public finance is directly linked to specific inputs or outputs of higher education such as the number of students or graduates or the type of courses being offered.

This type of financing is also applied to research funding. In the Netherlands, for instance, the national government developed a new financing mechanism called "conditional financing." With the help of some special steering procedures, the government intended to prevent proportional financial cuts for all universities. The central Ministry used the economic lever of drastic budget reductions in real terms in order to change the existing structures. The intention is to realize the forthcoming process of reallocation of resources within the context of a "co-operative planning model" providing for a "dialogue" between the government and the universities. Since 1983, the financing of university research is partly based upon an agreement between the Ministry for Education and Science and the universities. About 30 per cent of the total university personnel costs, through 1990, were to be financed via this mechanism. Research financing according to the mechanism of "conditional financing" will be adopted if the government and the universities reach a consensus as to the content of the research programme which, however, may consist of several projects to be undertaken by larger research units (5-10 researcher years). Two important conditions must be fulfilled: 1) the project design must be reviewed by external peers, some of them suggested by the institution in question; 2) if an agreement covering a maximum of five years can

be reached, the financing of the research programme must be internally guaranteed by the given university.

The aims of the government are obvious: on one hand, a step-by-step reduction of the research shares allocated to the universities via block grants; on the other hand, an overall planning of the research activities of the universities within the framework of an inter-university competition-oriented system operating through the mechanism of "conditional financing."

Although economists advocated a shift from institutional to student support (with arguments in favor of the introduction of loan schemes) and the charging of tuition fees (based, first of all, on the "token user charge" argument) no major reform changes are yet fully implemented in Western European higher education. It would be unfair to blame only the institutions of higher education for that resistance to change. Two other, equally important reasons should be mentioned here. One is related to the thinking of economists in terms of "pure" models and "optimal" solutions which are ignoring the institutional-political constraints of and differences in Western European countries and their systems of higher education. The other reason is related to the political-administrative implications of a shift away from the state authority model towards the market model. Although it is often claimed that more financial autonomy for the institutions within a competitive system is a better way of influencing their activities than administrative interventions, it is often ignored that such a shift implies a *de jure* and *de facto* delegation of administrative competences which governments hesitate to do. After all, funding mechanisms are not only merely technical devices for resource allocation purposes, but also systems of political power, control and co-ordination.

Conclusions

The debates on accountability, efficiency, and performance indicators reached its first peak during the middle of the 1980s. During that period of retrenchment in higher education, the political as well as the methodological-technical discussions led to a still increasing amount of literature in professional journals. The appealing concept of accountability in higher education also caught the interest of the public in general as well as of state administrators and politicians who have to decide upon the allocation of public resources on higher education as part of public spending.

Since in most countries institutions of higher education are almost entirely funded from the public purse no one denies that state authorities have the right to financial accountability in fiscal terms. In fact, it is "simple" accountability because it refers to the actual expenditure of funds and the appli-

cation of the legal-administrative procedures by which that expenditure is accounted for. In that sense, it is "book-keeping" accountability and public auditing applied as a traditional tool of budget control.

However, in recent years politicians as well as responsible state bureaucracies have begun to ask for broader concepts of "external" accountability. They ask institutions of higher education (which they fund) to render accountability of their efficiency and effectiveness not only in fiscal terms but also of their performance in educational and social terms. In other words, accountability of the national system level becomes, first of all, a political process in which goals of higher education as well as the outcomes are discussed. However, there are different goals and each constituency has a different mix of goals in mind. Therefore, different expectations about the outcomes of higher education are the result since the government in office, the opposition in parliament, the tax payers, the parents, the employers' organizations, all of them have –implicitly or explicitly– different goals. Moreover, since the political responsibilities for higher education in decentralized/federal national systems are often divided between different levels of governance, conflicts in terms of priority and goal definition among the various actors make it difficult to identify whether institutions of higher education are accountable or not.

As mentioned above, the case of performance indicators is closely related to the concepts of transparency and competition whereby an increase of the quality in teaching and research is implicitly assumed. However, during a period of retrenchment, the opposition of institutions of higher education increased because they feared further financial cuts and/or a further narrowing of the institutional margin of decision-making which could occur in such a situation. In fact, in the case of fully state-controlled university system (as, in Finland, the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany) this reluctance implied a rational behaviour since information based upon those performance indicators did not have a clear-cut signalling effect for them.

In more market or competition oriented national systems of higher education, the use of performance indicators serves as a built-in function: this is also the reason why in the United States much more weight is given to the importance and relevance of the evaluation of the performance of higher education institutions. It is well known that these specific features of the national system of higher education in the United States has stimulated the development of a wide variety of methods and procedures for the measurement and appraisal of the performance of faculties, colleges and universities. As a result, the number of studies on and analyses into the activities of higher education institutions is much higher than in any other part of the world.

However, a mere transfer of those research results and policy tools as applied in the United States cannot lead to the expected results without changing the overall conditions in which their national systems of higher education operate. Other countries are, therefore, confronted with two different policy strategies, namely either with a total system change in terms of replacing state bureaucratic coordination by market-type coordination (= strategy "A") or only with the introduction of more competitive elements in terms of less rigid state bureaucratic coordination and more institutional autonomy (= strategy "B"). Whereas the discussions, e.g., in Australia and the United Kingdom are centered around strategy "A," the discussions, e.g., in Finland, France, and the Netherlands are more related to strategy "B."

The intrinsic value of the use of performance indicators differs, therefore, tremendously between those two policy options. In the first case, performance indicators become an integral feature of the national system of higher education, in the second case the introduction of performance indicators without explicitly defining the "rules" must necessarily fail. In other words: strategy "B" ("less state" and "more market") will only function if a) a *de facto* delegation of functions/power in favor of more institutional self-regulation takes place and if b) not only the set of performance indicators of the introduced accounting scheme but also the "reaction functions" of the state authorities are clearly defined.

At present, most of the national systems of higher education briefly described in section 4 are in a painful transition period. Some argue that despite all conceptional and methodological problems the plea for more accountability in higher education is good *per se* because it asks for more clearly defined responsibilities within institutions of higher education, it challenges the thinking about inputs and outputs, resources and outcomes, efficiency and effectiveness, it requires further progress in the development and application of more sophisticated systems of performance indicators to activities whose goals are complex, but also ill-defined. In my view, this remains an academic exercise which will sooner or later be replaced by other topics –if there is no clear decision by the government.

However, since the past developments indicate that in many countries some fundamental system changes in higher education can be expected, the institutions of higher education would be well advised to use already at this stage their intellectual potential in their own interest because if they do not start to elaborate a still needed, comprehensive list of clearly defined, practical and commonly accepted performance indicators and if they do not contribute to the improvement of the quality of measurement, "external" accountability will take place at a much lower level of mutual understanding between two worlds."

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Training for Planning and Management: Improved Management Systems in Higher Education in Developing Countries

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THIS PAPER ADDRESSES ISSUES associated with improving the management of systems and institutions of higher education in developing countries. Its more particular focus relates to Commonwealth Africa, although wider perspectives are called upon.

Much of the discussion relates to universities, although these are not necessarily synonymous with the overall higher education sub-sector.

Key Issues and Perspectives

The notions of management, management capacity and capability, management training and within the sub-sectors of higher education in developing countries are under-conceptualised. Clearly, however, there is a crisis of management within higher education which reflects the wider crisis in educational management, itself reflecting the much wider crisis in the quality of public administration in developing countries. As management capacity and capability narrow in relation to further dwindling of already scarce resources and in relation to escalating across-the-board management problems, the bleak contemporary management context threatens an even bleaker future.

As governments and institutions embark upon enforced policies of structural re-adjustment and upon formal policies of reduced central funding, the

issues foremost in the minds of those engaged in university planning and management are: the harsh fiscal environments in which universities operate; the lack of funds for teaching and research; the high rates of attrition of local staff; across-the-board qualitative deficiencies (intakes, facilities, infrastructures, staff); improved systems of access (including entry formulas, quotas) and accreditation; support for teaching, learning and local staff development; and the search for indicators of internal and external efficiency.

A major consistent outcome of qualitative deficiencies in higher education is reflected in high wastage rates. There are high rates of drop-out, repetition and failure; there are low intake standards, low quality of instruction, and inappropriate promotion and graduation standards.

Obviously there is a wide range of determinants of low levels of efficiency in higher education. But ineffective utilisation and development of available resources (human, material and financial) is in part attributable to the scarcity of quality management, the scarcity of trained administrators, to poor organisation and planning, and to the lack of incentives for cost-effective management.

Hitherto, significant attention has been directed towards issues such as student activities, student fees/loans, university funding, expansion, student access and flows, and the consequences of the brain drain, rather than to institutional and systems management in the higher education sub-sector. Many, if not most, aid projects are targeted at pedagogical and curricular reform rather than support for improved management. Consequently, issues relating to "management" are hidden away in broader discussions. Aid agencies themselves admit that, although management is a key issue, they have rarely developed an explicit strategy towards the processes concerned with it. Management of projects has been a key concern, not management of higher education per se.

The autonomy of higher education institutions has often meant that institutional leaders can short-circuit departments of higher education in ministries of education, whose strictures they wish to avoid but who might otherwise be expected to develop strategies for improving the quality of management in the sub-sector as do their sister departments for other sub-sectors of the educational system. The nature of the inter-relationship between the institutions in the system and ministries of education is often one of friction and conflict.

Many institutional leaders (principals, rectors, vice-chancellors) are erstwhile or existing academics upgraded or promoted on the assumption that they inherently possess the necessary repertoire of management skills and that intensive programmes of orientation or training are not necessary.

Management concerns clearly cut across every component of institutions and systems. Equally clearly, there are common problems within the regions, as well as specific ones. A major, albeit axiomatic issue that needs to be stressed, is the inter-relationship between "management" and "pedagogy" as well as the interrelationship between "management" and "policy" and the consequent need to strengthen dialogue within and across all subsectors if the quality of management in higher education is to be maintained and enhanced.

It is important to stress that in some contexts, where inordinate political commands influence or even dictate university intakes, on top of massive demographic pressures and the consequences of structural reform of the school system, rational planning and management is virtually impossible, and the task is faced with extreme trepidation. Whilst student management is a university problem, the issue of entry standards, admission criteria and quota rationales is a macro-policy decision. The absence of a political rationale for a realistic restriction on entry in tune with the universities' staffing and infrastructural capability precludes a management rationale for delivering quality education.

Equally, the political turbulence that spills over into the university domain (especially during periods of civil upheaval and student unrest which result in university closures) precludes a coherent planning and management rationale.

Problems Associated with Managing Higher Education Systems

Discussions of systems management cannot be isolated from discussions of the nature of policy-making in higher education. Degrees of complexity vary with the nature of the state, its ideological orientation and the size of the higher education system. The nature of the dialogue and decision-making mechanisms within and between federal and state ministries, the institutions themselves and intermediary agencies (Universities Grants Committees, National Universities Commissions, Matriculation and Admissions Boards) is complex and little explored from the outside. Tanzania, for example, reflects a small and monolithic system. Decision-making is Party-centred, implementation of policy the responsibility of the two existing university institutions. In Nigeria, there is a complex inter-play between the federal policy, state policy, the National Universities Commission, the Joint Admissions and Matriculation Body, and the Universities.

Despite the variety of policy-making cultures, there are in common five major systems management areas.

i) Financing Mechanisms

Management and financing are inextricably inter-related, and fiscal pressures are dictating re-adjustment strategies. The mechanisms for disbursing government funds to the sub-sector and increasing the proportion of funding from private sources are major issues. This raises the whole question of how resources are made available within the sub-sector and how resource flow mechanisms are organised (within private as well as public universities) and the role of, and inter-relationships with, ministries of finance, etc. The World Bank innovation of providing funding through the Nigerian Universities Commission is one example of a search for a new funding mechanism, as is the Bank's consideration of assistance for foundations, endowments and so forth.

Also under consideration are the introduction of loans, fees, cost-recovery and cost-sharing mechanisms, despite their widespread unpopularity. The search for new financing mechanisms as well as the mobilisation of extra-governmental sources of finance and the proliferation of non-budgetary funding raise questions of university/industry/commerce links, and the acceptable forms of industrial/commercial support for institutions, professorships, lectureships and research.

All these considerations obviously impact upon the internal financial management of institutions and the roles that might be played by business managers (in addition to finance officers) to mobilise, deploy and manage funds.

ii) Costs

Given demographic pressures, and intensive and escalating social demand for higher education (as well as attempts to stem it), control of costs obviously lies at the heart of the reform agenda in all systems, and higher education communities have not always confronted economic realities. One economic reality (which is often perceived as a capitalist imposition) surrounds the question of who pays and the question of "user charges." Better staff: student ratios, limitations on the years of study, issues of self-financing institutions as well as the reduction of government subsidies in the sub-sector are all policy issues dictating the ways in which systems and institutions are managed in contexts of austerity.

A critical question is whether ministries and institutions know what the real capital and recurrent costs are within their own systems –a sine qua non if unit costs are to be reduced and contained.

It is increasingly government policy to encourage universities to generate their own funds, although basic funding is perceived as the role of the state.

Catering, bookshops, boarding ("deboardingisation") are seen as activities that must be cost-covering and open to privatisation. The search to reduce the numbers of ancillary staff and reduce non-academic: academic staff ratios as well as staff: student ratios are high on the agendas of cost-saving policy discussion, relating to the wider agendas of sectoral resource allocation, distribution and utilisation.

iii) Governance

The traditional autonomy (or perhaps semi-autonomy) of universities is under scrutiny as demands for accountability become more overt. Managing links between institutions and government is a major issue, especially given fierce defence of academic autonomy and the degree of tight academic (even professoriate) control over university decision-making. Equally under scrutiny is the role of University Grants Commissions (and/or similar) as buffers between Governments and Universities. This raises key fundamental issues of governance which are also reflected within institutions:

- Which is the appropriate controlling authority to establish the rules, laws and regulations of governance: state, private, government, regional, local?
- What is the inter-relationship between ministries and universities?
- Who are the key agencies in the co-ordination and rational development of tertiary education?
- What is the appropriate level of state support?
- What is the appropriate level of encouragement of private universities (open encouragement subject to state control as in Kenya, or banned by law as in Nigeria)?

iv) Efficiency Indicators

No objective model of the internal and external efficiency of higher education systems (or institutions) exists, although comprehensive models of higher education have been contemplated which take into account costs, staffing, occupational structures, curricular diversity, etc. in the search for optimal planning and management capability. Up-to-date data on the range of internal efficiency indicators provided in the UN Statistical Year Book, for example, may not be readily available within all tertiary systems (data on a) enrollment per 100,000 population; b) students per graduate total; c) student: staff ratios; d) % science and technology students; e) students on first degree courses; f) Expenditures per graduate; g)salary per teacher (and as % GNP capita); h) expenditure per student as % GNP per capita; i) expenditure

per graduate as % per capita, and so forth). Nor are basic external efficiency data readily available on successful graduate placements and earnings.

All are basic data without which systems cannot be planned or managed efficiently.

v) Evaluation

Despite the widespread clamour to ensure institutional efficiency, there appear to be few formal system-wide attempts to evaluate national systems and policies –difficult though this is in practice. Yet systematic evaluation of the total system in terms of its costs and benefits, inputs and outcomes, student access, learning attainments and labour market placements is necessary to justify decisions about investments in the sub–sector.

Institutional Management

The complexities of problems related to institutional management can be summarised in nine key task areas, although the specific competencies and skills required in each are not portrayed, nor are the strategic ways in which to evolve integrated management programmes for institutional planning and development, departmental planning and development, and staff planning and development that are effective for improving quality and efficiency in higher education.

i) Managing Financing and Costs

Achieving more with fewer financial resources is the common requirement in the face of austerity, which university chief executives and finance officers cannot escape. Each individual institution is under pressure to diversify its financial sources, the structures and processes of budgeting, to control unit costs, to cut expenditures on students, departments, staff, food, boarding, infrastructure and resources (including libraries, journals, laboratories and so forth) to such an extent that their physical infrastructures are decaying (enforcing strategies of preventive maintenance) and programmes of quality learning are almost impossible to deliver.

Fees and loans policies need managing and intensifying as cost-sharing bites deeper in higher education (even in countries with stronger economies). Individual inter-relationships with commercial, industrial, philanthropic, charitable and alumni organisations are a component of the arena of financial management in the era of austerity in which business management is as great a premium amongst "senior management teams" as academic management nd organisational control.

ii) Defining Institutional Leadership

Given the intensive calls for closer and more accountable systems of management as well as intense political scrutiny of the sub-sector given the central role of universities in national development, the issue of institutional leadership is a critical one as a pre-condition for successful organisation development. The procedures by which the chief executive (vice-chancellor, president, rector) is identified and appointed, the structures within which the process occurs, the length of mandate and type of responsibilities exercised by the leadership is a major determinant of the effectiveness and efficiency of the institution. Equally, it determines the legitimacy or otherwise of the academic leadership and the ways in which it is enhanced and, in part, the relative degree of autonomy and command of decision-making power of the institution. Who is eligible? Traditionally, academics have been appointed to become Vice-chancellors (except perhaps under military regimes). Changing financial circumstances may well have changed the pool from which the leadership may be appointed. What is the nature of the "electoral college" or "electoral constituency"? Frequently, in Africa, as elsewhere, there is controversy over the nature and expertise of the leadership.

iii) Developing Leadership Effectiveness

Linked to the above issues (and thus part of the question of how to train in the competencies of leadership) are others relating to the responsibilities of the chief executive within the overall functions of universities for teaching, research and development: public representation of the institution and its image; presiding over the highest decision-making bodies (senates, academic boards and so forth); evolving the decision-making structures of the institution as they relate to staff, students, curricula, finances, regulations. Obviously, there are different models of leadership depending upon specific ideological, cultural and institutional contexts. Demands upon the leadership are to achieve not only academic goals but also planning, budgeting and marketing outcomes. Given the multidimensional complexity and nature of universities as organisations, this places severe demands and expectations upon the leadership. Do leaders command the necessary repertoires of skills and competencies to formulate and implement institutional corporate plans and to manage the people and programmes within them?

iv) Structures and Effective Management

Concerns about the strategic management of institutions (as well as the strategic management of change within them) raise questions not only about the nature, powers and qualities of the leadership but of the design and in-

stitutionalisation of effective structures for management. Most pre-independence and first-generation Anglophone African universities inherited a familiar organisational structure. In many cases (but not always) this has been replicated by second-generation universities, although alternative structures have been introduced, especially by those trained elsewhere than in Britain. The critical issue is the search for alternative institutional models and/or structures that fit contemporary conditions. It is impossible (albeit desirable) to summarise existing structures and structural reforms as well as their impact and inter-relationships with contents, methodology and curricular reform. A variety of structural patterns, involving actors at a number of levels (administration, faculty, department, students) exist. Some structures work for the benefit of effectiveness, efficiency and reform. Others have paralysed universities. So many issues are involved: the nature of participation, the interface between the institution and its constituent components (especially its academic departments), the interplay between the complex set of organisational characteristics, degrees of centralisation/decentralisation, that it is impossible to lay down an optimal model of structural development. Significantly, however, within the African (and Least Developed countris -LDCs- context generally) universities are perceived as inefficient utilisers and developers of financial and human resources. Managing planned change and structural re-organisation in these contexts of organisational complexity is a hazardous business. Are existing structures appropriate to goals, processes, objectives and tasks?

v) Organisational Structure and Basic Units

A range of questions similar to those above concern the functioning and organisation of the disciplinary departments (whatever terminology is used) that are both the basic units of management and the delivery mechanisms for the focal work of teaching, research, scholarship, development and community-interrelationships. Local cultural, organisational and political contextual features determine effectiveness and efficiency. Management of these basic units and their activities, especially in terms of maximising student performance, is a complex organisational behaviour. The professoriate and departmental chairpersons are most frequently appointed on the basis of traditional, academic expertise and disciplinary values and rarely upon management capability and skills. Obviously, problems of departmental management vary with context and with changing demands. Departmental management (for which no specific training for specialised responsibilities is offered) which is inefficient is only a reflection of a wider deficiency of management expertise. How can heads of department be supported and appropriately trained?

vi) Staff Development and Management

Severe financial constraints force institutional management to analyse academic staffing policies and management. Academic tools ("staff appraisal and departmental review") available for this purpose enable managers to assess technical requirements as well as staff performance. Many institutions are concerned with pursuing strategies for personnel management that enable them to cut staffing according to financial stringency. Others attempt constructive policies of organisational improvement, staff development and management as well as the improvement of teaching and learning. The precise problems are, once again, context-defined. Given the critical nature of the teaching faculty as the major delivery mechanism and given the extremely under-resourced environment within which teaching and learning takes place (dearth of books, journals, supports, libraries, laboratories, publication systems and university presses), appropriate staff management and development policies within a framework of efficient and effective organisation development are critical. The widespread disaffection, dissatisfaction and alienation of university teaching staff in many countries indicate that such policies do not exist. What mix of employment conditions, integrated staffing policies, incentives, recruitment patterns, staff utilisation patterns, career possibilities and resource provision to counter-point staff cost-reduction measures are required to enable universities to maximise student learning?

vii) Curriculum Managment

Stringent financial conditions have imposed new demands on curriculum decision-making as individual departments and faculties are forced to justify themselves economically as well as academically. Departmental budgeting, class sizes, and staff: student ratios determine the survival of particular entities, and the atrophy of others. Equally, despite the desire of departments to establish new courses (especially at post-graduate level–an unrealistic attitude in the face of the austerity required), consolidation and retraction rather than expansion have become basic curriculum management principles, given that excessive curriculum diversification leads to higher unit costs. What is the appropriate science/arts/technology mix that satisfies institutional and national needs?

Part of the curriculum management question is the appropriateness of the nature and length of the degree courses on offer. Are three or four-year degree courses the most appropriate degree level delivery mechanisms? Are two-year associate degrees (on the American-style community college model) a more viable and legitimately certificated alternative?

viii) Managing Examination Reform

Final examinations in Anglophone African universities conform by and large to the inherited model of autonomous control by faculties and departments, with monitoring through systems of external examiners. For the most part, university accreditation processes and mechanisms have remained unreformed, although there are spectacular exceptions (Indonesia for example). The reported low quality of much of the output calls into question the quality of teaching and, given the backwash effect of many traditional styles of assessment, argues for a scrutiny of the possibilities of examination-led reform. Equally, given the proliferation of University institutions (cf Nigeria, Kenya) and the need for standardisation and control of the quality of output, a Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) style central accreditation agency might, especially in larger systems, prove a feasible mode for managing accreditation reform.

ix) Evaluation

Whilst processes of evaluation –of institutions, either by outsiders or through processes of self-evaluation, of staff ("staff appraisal"), of research– are critical for determining the impact and quality of universities' outputs, little systematic evaluation appears to be undertaken within universities in the African region.

Activities and Strategies which Enhance Management Capacity

Three possible strategies are suggested for enhancing management capacity.

i) Training

There is a significant deficiency in the training of administrators, managers and policy-makers within both institutions and ministry departments. The career line of ministry of education officials concerned with departments of higher education is unclear. Further, universities traditionally promote successful academics to positions of academic leadership who, once appointed, tend to rely on intuition as a basis for decision-making. Precise training needs, of course, require specific diagnosis and identification, for needs obviously differ from one managerial cadre to another -teachers- as administrators, bursars, finance officers, and decision-makers in various levels and roles. Management training is undeveloped and significantly in need of intervention models, for it is arguable, if not empirically demonstrable, that training will significantly enhance capability, capacity and expertise.

Illustrations of LDC-based training programmes are given below 5, together with examples of metropolitan-based programmes that may be used as adaptable models. No attempt is made here to suggest a training curriculum for specific target groups, but it is important to suggest that programmes be underpinned by sound rationales for course design and management.

ii) The Search for Efficiency: The Development and Use of Institutional Performance Indicators

The search for cost-efficiency and demand for institutional accountability have provided the basis for the development of performance indicators across the wide spectrum of universities' activities. Such indicators are identified as simplified quantitative information required for management and organisation within a university. No such schema has been discovered (by the author) operating in developing countries, (although the Australian Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission has been developing quality measures in Universities at the request of the Australian Universities Council). Performance indicators are perceived as useful tools for improving university performance, and are used in a multiplicity of ways both in decision-making within institutions (for allocation of human and financial resources: making grants to faculties and/or departments; allocating posts; in student planning; in course management) as well as in relations with outside bodies. Given more precise definition, particularly over the structures of management that guarantee the freedom of academic development, such a tool might be useful as a management instrument in LDCs. At the same time, the question of incentives efficiency to be offered to institutions, to departments and to individuals is part and parcel of the same issue.

iii) Management Information Systems as a Base for Planning and Management

Management information systems, underpinned by information technology and computerised systems, are leading to the introduction of more efficient, easier and less labour intensive, more systematic and more reliable working methods of data collation, storage, retrieval, analysis and utilisation. They have been instrumental in evolving a new approach to management problems.

Although this experience has not been fully evaluated, and although the transfer and application of information technology is in its infancy in developing countries, micro-computers and systems of networking have the potential to open up new possibilities for more efficient streamlining of management support systems within both universities and ministries of education and for decentralising decision-making. Equally, information technology can impact upon teaching, research and academic support.

Within management, computer support has the potential to satisfy two major requirements: firstly, the development and implementation of professional data processing systems to support the daily operations of individual offices and to provide management information to management teams to facilitate the process of decision-making; secondly, to assist administrative automation covering a range of activities from word processing to electronic mailing and filing.

Clearly, there are many possibilities, but wholesale implementation cannot be recommended without examination of potential disadvantages, especially within the financial and human resource climates of developing countries. Utilisation of management information systems needs to be predicated upon improved coordination between units responsible for different application systems. Increased possibilities for access and for wide and extensive use of data require institution-wide and system-wide policies for safe-guarding operations, protecting sensitive data and conforming to legal and other safeguards.

Cost is an obvious constraint. Large investments in equipment, software, technical infrastructure, support services, training, and organisational implementation and adaptation require careful cost-benefit analysis. Equally, cost considerations dictate integrated and consistent policies. Given the rate of technological innovation in this area, higher education institutions are forced make choices over developments and strategy in a rapidly and constantly evolving technological environment. Such choice must relate to available financial and human resources, in such a way that the pace of innovation does not render obsolescent any investments in such technology.

Equally important are training considerations, and this implies not only initial training (awareness, skills, organisation) but considerable investments in follow-up training and organisational support, including team development. Monitoring information technology performance is another crucial issue.

The above brief scenario indicates a high-cost investment. To justify such investments, information systems development should be considered an important and integral component of the general enhancement of management capability and efficiency. Securing funding becomes a matter of national and institutional policies priorities politics and probably aid agency and commercial support.

Management Training Capacity

Lack of financial resources and inadequate human resources, both qualitatively and quantitatively are major constraints in developing effective man-

agement training capacities in Africa. Many countries have made no attempt to train university administrators. Others have institutions that are moribund. Others attempt to train on limited scales. Sierra Leone for example has recently mounted its first ever locally managed and resourced course.

Training institutions within the region fall into six categories.

i) national development management institutions strictly concerned with less political and more technical training in development management, like the Institute of Development Management (IDM) serving Lesotho, Tanzania, Swaziland;

ii) institutions involved in economic research and policy analysis in macro-economic and sectorial issues such as trade, currency, health, like the Institute of Development Studies, Nairobi and the Bureau of Economic Research, Dar-es-Salaam;

iii) regional cross-sectorial training institutions including the Eastern and Southern African Management Institute (ESAMI), in Arusha, Tanzania;

iv) national institutions established to improve the quality of training within school systems and funded by substantial international support (often through the World Bank) like the Kenya Education Staff Institute (KESI), and Management Training of Educational Personnel (MANTEP) in Tanzania;

v) regional training of trainers programmes, targeted at materials development, primarily the UNESCO Regional Office for Science and Technology in Africa (ROSTA) project, supported in part bythe Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), for training school system managers;

vi) programmes for policy training, like that proposed at a World Bank/EDI meeting held in Mbabane in 1988, to focus on "Regional Capacity for Training and Research on Education Policy" and incorporating two types of African institutions –those focusing exclusively upon education (like CIRSSED in Lome) and those with general management policy research experience (like IDS in Nairobi, ERB in Dar-es-Salaam).

A major initiative that might suggest the basis for a future management training programme is a UNESCO/UNDP proposal to provide region-wide assistance to training institutions, through "Regional Technical Co-operation for Education in Human Resources in Africa". This will aim to improve the quality and focus of training and to integrate indigenous management training institutions into an international programme.

Further potential may lie with the Consultative Committee for Higher Education in Africa. Modelled on other UNESCO regional committees (CEPES in Bucharest and CRESALC in Caracas), it comprises higher educa-

tion specialists, mainly administrators. In 1987, its recommendations formed the basis for a comprehensive report to the UNESCO General Conference *(the Special Programme for the Improvement of Higher Education in Africa)* which identifies the strengths and weaknesses of systems of higher education in Africa and strategies for their improvement. This document is now under scrutiny by UNDP for funding. As part of this Programme, UNESCO has initiated, with UNDP and other agencies' support, (such as the Commonwealth Secretariat and the Agence de Cooperation Culturelle et Technique -ACCT) and in close co-operation with the Association of African Universities as the executing body, a project for the training of key administrators of higher education institutions in Africa.

It would be wrong to be excessively optimistic about the capacity or capability of any of the existing networks, initiatives or institutions, as at present constituted, staffed, resourced and conceptualised, to deliver a programme of the quality, level, expertise and sensitivity required to upgrade the quality of management capacity and capability in the higher education sub-sector. The national training institutions like KESI and MANTEP make little impact upon school administrators. Nationally-based DMIs may prove fruitful locations for future collaborative policy analysis and research and training. So indeed might ESAMI, though there is the problem of overstretching the capability of these institutions at the expense of preserving their status and credibility as advanced management training institutions in specialised spheres.

There remain a number of critical planning questions:

- How can the institutions analyse, define and respond to training needs at this level?
- Can they anticipate and respond to new kinds of needs? How?
- On what basis would they be funded?
- what intra and international co-operation is desirable and possible to pool and share resources and expertise?

The position of international agencies and organizations; possibilities for international co-operation.

Various international agencies and organizations are involved in international aid for the improvement of higher education in the developing countries. Management training per se, cuts across a wide range of these activities and projects aimed at institution build-up or human resource development.

i) World Bank

The World Bank has used different strategies to improve institutional planning and management in higher education through various projects in

the developing countries. Its 1988 policy study *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion* outlived a strategy which caused quite a stir, particularly in the academic community of Africa, because of its argumentation to swing away from investment in higher education. Its policy stance remains that university financial needs obviously exist, but the solutions do not lie in absorbing greater proportions in Nigeria (about to be appraised) involve putting new money into universities through the Nigerian Universities Commission (as opposed to allocations through the centralised ministries), in itself an innovative way of financing higher education which may be applicable outside Nigeria.

A recent review by the Bank of its loans to higher education over the last twenty-five years suggests that in the past, support was often directed at specific component aspects of a university system. An overall education loan containing support for all levels of the sector would include funding for the construction, furniture and equipment necessary for the expansion of a particular university faculty. Administrative, managerial, cost and financing concerns were addressed only in the context of each component. Often different projects would address different sets of issues: access, external efficiency, quality, management, costs. However, this component-based lending strategy is being broadened in both structure and scope. Lending in support of single faculties (science, engineering, agriculture, education) or institutions has been widened to general university development projects. In the present sectorial approach, system-wide assistance is provided to address the full range of issues confronting university education.

The World Bank is currently undertaking a number of *research activities to determine management capacity in Africa with a view to establishing a data bank*, including information relating to management and financing or organisations, incentives, and so forth. This includes an inventory of existing national and regional institutions and programmes and their strengths and weaknesses, *to be compiled for the Economic Development Institute (EDI).*

The Bank has commissioned a study from the Association of African Universities to examine issues associated with efficiency, cost-effectiveness, and resource mobilisation in ten universities of three different kinds (those established pre-Independence; the first generation and second generation post-Independence) in both Francophone and Anglophone Africa.

ii) UNESCO

Support of higher education is a concern of a number of divisions or departments within UNESCO, including the Division of Higher Education and Research, the Educational Policies and Management Division, and the Science

Sector. UNESCO's regional offices for education and for science also carry out activities meant to improve cooperation in the field of higher education. UNESCO has been especially concerned with developing faculties and strengthening specific departments as well as assisting the planning of particular universities (including, for example Moi University in Kenya) and providing human and material resources for these ends. Issues of management are seen as constants in all programmes and projects. Its existing Medium-Term Plan (1989-91) requests the Director General to consider budgetary allocations to tackle the problem of training university administrators (as well as faculty members). Part of UNESCO's budget provides funding for NGOs. For example, under this scheme, the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) has approached UNESCO for assistance to *run training seminars for university personnel.*

The International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) which, while preserving its independence links its activity closely to that of UNESCO, has launched a research programme for improving the managerial effectiveness of higher education institutions. The main themes for the case studies envisaged by this programme will be admissions, examination systems, facilities management, staff management and reorganization of courses.

A major initiative of UNESCO in the field of higher education is Project UNITWIN, launched recently as a concerted international plan of action to strengthen Inter-university Co-operation and Academic Mobility, with particular emphasis on support for higher education in the developing countries. Assistance in its implementation will be sought from the universities, from United Nations Agencies –including the United Nations University–, from intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, from funding agencies and from the economic sector.

A major component of UNITWIN concerns the improvement of planning, management and evaluation of higher education, as a key issue for enhancing quality, relevance and efficiency of higher education in the developing countries.

iii) The Commonwealth Secretariat

The programme of the Commonwealth Secretariat in the field of higher education has a long standing tradition. It is carried out in close cooperation with the Association of Commonwealth Universities. Activities in three key areas (staff development, institutional management and higher education libraries) are to be bolstered considerably via the new project CHESS (Commonwealth Higher Education Support Scheme) approved at the last ministerial conference in Barbados (June, 1990).

iv) The Africa, Caribbean and Pacific Programme of the EEC

The Lomé Conventions include provisions for assisting the States of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific in areas which are directly related to higher education. Thus in the Lomé IV Convention, there are provisions for enhancing indigenous capabilities for scientific and technological development, drawing up and implementing research and development programmes, setting up and expanding training and educational establishments, imitation of associations, twinning, exchanges of and transfer of technology between universities and institutions of higher education in the African, Caribbean and the Pacific states and in the Community. Possibilities of cooperation with programmes launched by other international organizations in similar or related fields could be explored fruitfully.

v) National Development Aid Agencies and Foundations

Many programmes for support to higher education are initiated by various national development aid agencies and foundations from OECD Member States. The Overseas Development Administration (ODA) and the Higher Education Group of the British Council in the United Kingdom are active in many institutional and staff development programmes particularly in Commonwealth Member Countries. More often than not, such activities are agreed upon on a bilateral basis with the respective countries, while involving in their execution British universities or the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Presidents (CVCP).

Joining forces with similar foundations in other countries (such as the Deutshe Stiftung für Internationale Eutwicklung (DSE) have proved very fruitful in developing a collaborative strategy for a staff development programme in Eastern and Southern African Universities.

In Canada, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) focuses overtly upon institution building and human resources development in Africa and elsewhere in the developing world. It works closely with the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC), through which linkages are developed betwen Canadian and Third World Institutes.

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID), as well as the Rockefeller, Ford and Carnegie foundations have a long history of involvement in developing elements of higher education institutions in developing countries. Mention should also be made of Scandinavian foundations, in particular the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and the Finnish one (FINNIDA).

vi) Potential for International Collaboration

With so many international organizations working in the same or related fields, the need for better information on various programmes, and of collaboration in order to pool resources and thus increase impact of action, is increasingly being felt as a necessity. Many joint activities have been developed on this basis, although the benefits of closer coordination are far from being fully utilized. A few examples of collaborative efforts are presented below.

UNESCO's Regional Offices (BREDA in Dakar, and ROSTA in Nairobi) act as centres for training. BREDA, whilst recognising the importance of supporting management training for the tertiary sub-sector, remains denuded of financial resources and unable to launch initiatives. ROSTA is the locus of the SIDA/BREDA materials development and training programme mentioned.

The Organisation Universitaire Interamericain, a network of universities throughout Latin America which functions with Canadian support, accords high priority to the training of university administrators. It has organized a series of seminars to provide elements of management training for senior administrators, (rectors, and vice-rectors). With funding from CIDA, and support from UNESCO, OUI undertakes to provide Canadian consultants, and to disseminate publications germane to the training programmes.

Co-ordinated through a Puerto Rico base, with part funding from CIDA, and working collaboratively with international NGOs, a Caribbean Regional Association of Universities (that also includes the constituent campuses of the University of West Indies) runs regular task-focused seminars, internships and training strategies (like shadowing partners, for example) including a focus upon management.

An important example of collaboration is illustrated by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) which, although obviously concerned with the development and dissemination of research rather than with management, does provide training and support through its programmes and networks for research management skills (including budgeting, accounting and control). Overall, IDRC's thrust is to strengthen local research capacity, through research policy related training.

In the Africa region, there are few examples of successful cooperation. There are more of disintegration especially of 'externally-conceived' initiatives like the University of East Africa, and the University of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland. Clearly, given the costs of management training and the reality of the resourcing problem, co-operation must be seen as desirable. On a small scale, the exchange of staff and consultants enhances capability. More important however, despite national imperatives, the potential networking features of adequately resourced and targeted programmes and/or institutions have the potential to create regional capability to backstop existing na-

tional programmes. However, this involves a wider political issue of countries defining for themselves the terms under which collaboration can be revived or initiated.

Since Africa itself does not possess significant management training and support capacity, it is important to look at the potential of models developed within other contexts or regions with sensitive awareness of the cross-cultural implications of transfer.

One potential model for a collaborative programme may lie in a study the World Bank is contemplating in the SADCC region to determine the complementarities of university education in the region. The focal point will be the potentiality of graduate programmes to serve regional rather than national needs. This will be a collaborative effort to examine efficiency, economies of scale and quality. A question is whether this kind of endeavour can be replicated in relation to management in higher education.

Another potential model for collaboration may lie in the type of networks UNESCO has sought to establish. REDESLAC in Latin America, for example, has a goal of involving academic staff in a network to tackle questions of improving quality. CRESALC in Caracas catalyses research into higher education in the Latin American and Caribbean Regions, including the University of West Indies. A similar initiative might be directed at networks of African administrators, working on improving management.

A further model is suggested by the UNESCO and EEC– supported *Project Columbus*, an initiative of the Standing Conference of Rectors, Presidents and Vice-chancellors of the European Universities (CRE) to act as a bridge between universities and scholars in Europe and Latin America. Project columbus is aimed primary at improving university management. Its emphasis is upon excellence of teaching and research, upon the management of computerised data and upon university/industry links rather than as a project for offering management training, although UNESCO is seeking to promote this dimension, targeted especially at young university administrators. The programme is one of co-operation and information exchange not of technical assistance, although in an African context resources would be required to stimulate the adaptation of such an idea.

The Regional Co-operation Programme for Higher Education in Asia (supported and co-funded by UNESCO and UNDP, the only region where this is so) has programmes of activities in distance education, and planning and management, inter alia. In particular, it has produced an evaluation of management methods in higher education, taking into account the rapid advances in communication technology. The various initiatives in Asia are linked to the UNESCO Regional Office in Bangkok, although distance teaching not management is the major developmental priority.

The potential of the British Council/DSE style of collaboration in promoting staff development has been illustrated above.

A further fruitful model of collaboration may well lie in elements of OECD's IMHE programme. It suggests ways of developing a collaborative training and support model for managers in Africa (although there are clear contrasts in the resource base of the two regions a –crucial issue for aid agency consideration).

A major development which opens up new prospects for inter-agency co-operation in Africa is represented by the establishment of the Working Group for Higher Education of the Task Force of Donnors to African Education (DAE). Management issues ranked high in the discussions held during the first meetings of the Working Groups (the last was held in Acera, in 1990). The World Bank acts as coordinator of the group's activities.

Improving Effectiveness of Higher Education Institutions: Studies of the Management of Change

An IIEP
Research Proposal*

INTRODUCTION

EDUCATION FACES INCREASING FINANCIAL constraints in both developed and developing countries, as a result of economic pressures which have led to cuts in public expenditure and declining budgetary allocations for education. A major concern is the efficiency of resource utilization and of institutional management as educational planners and administrators struggle to satisfy and respond to changing demands from governments, the labour market and from students, as a result of economic, technological and demographic changes, while at the same time their available resources, particularly the purchasing power of institutional budgets, is declining.

These problems are particularly severe and widespread in higher education. The high costs of universities, colleges and other tertiary institutions in relation to primary and secondary education, together with concern about the increasing problem of graduate unemployment in many developing countries, have resulted in mounting pressure to reduce budget allocations for higher education and efforts to increase private funding to replace or supplement government funds. Concern about high unit costs is particularly acute in Africa, where the ratio between unit costs in higher and in primary education is about 30:1 or even 50:1, compared with about 10:1 in Asia or Latin America (Hinchliffe 1987). However, in both Asia and Latin America, the result of economic austerity has been that higher education faces increasing fi-

* IIEP: International Institute for Educational Planning (UNESCO).

nancial constraint, and in industrialised as well as developing countries, governments are demanding greater efficiency, cost-effectiveness and improved managerial effectiveness and accountability on the part of higher education institutions.

As a result of financial stringency, combined with demands for improved efficiency, higher education institutions have been forced to reduce expenditure, seek new sources of funding and improve the utilisation of existing resources. All this requires changes in the mechanisms, techniques and styles of institutional management. At the same time there have been changes in curriculum and teaching methods in many higher education institutions and increased diversification of higher education, to meet the needs of new types of students, including adult learners and minority groups, to meet the changing needs of the labour market and foster closer links with industry, and to widen participation through the introduction of distance education or open learning. Many of these changes have also led to innovations or changes in institutional management.

The implementation of innovation and change in institutional management, however, often faces obstacles and problems, including internal resistance to change, inadequate staffing or financial resources to make the change effective, or inadequate time devoted to preparing and planning for change. The purpose of the proposed programme of research by IIEP is to increase understanding of the process of planning, introducing and implementing management changes in higher education institutions, in order to improve effectiveness by the better utilization of resources. The project aims to identify factors associated with success or failure, explore ways of overcoming obstacles or problems, and suggest ways of improving institutional management and increasing the responsiveness of higher education institutions to changing financial, economic and social pressures.

The context: Innovation and Change in Institutional Management in Higher Education

i) Previous Research on Innovation and Change

There has been considerable research in the past 20 years on the process of planning and implementing innovation and the management of change. There has been a growing interest and rapidly expanding literature on the general issues associated with innovation and change. Innovation can be defined as the introduction of something new into a system or organisation, including new processes, structures, mechanisms or products. Change can be accidental, haphazard or planned, and much of the literature on innovation and change is concerned with the planning and management of change, al-

though research has also focused on the responses of individuals or organisations to externally imposed or accidental change. Research in many different fields, including psychological studies of motivation, organisational analysis and the application of political models, have yielded insights into the factors associated with successful innovation and change, or with obstacles and barriers to successful implementation and reasons for resistance to change. Much of the research on the management of change has taken place in industrial or commercial rather than educational settings, but there have also been many studies of educational innovations and reforms both in schools and in higher education. UNESCO, IIEP and OECD have all conducted research programmes on educational innovation and there have been several studies and reviews of innovation in higher education, for example Dill and Friedman (1979), Levine (1980), Cerych and Sabatier (1986) and Van Vught (ed., 1989.)

Much of the previous research on educational innovation and the implementation of higher education reforms has tended to concentrate on major changes at the national level, such as major reforms of admission procedure, the creation of new institutions, or introduction of new methods of teaching, such as distance education, or national reforms of the curriculum or examination system. The overall aim of such studies was to increase understanding of the process of educational change and the factors associated with success and failure in innovations in the system as a whole.

Analysis of reforms and innovation affecting the system as a whole are crucial for understanding changes in the relationship between government and higher education (see for example, Neave 1988, Van Vught 1989). However, many important changes take place at the institutional rather than the national level. One study of innovation in higher education (Becher and Kogan 1980) differentiates between four levels in higher education: a) the system as a whole b) the institution c) the basic unit within the institution (e.g., department) and d) the individual. Examples of innovation and change can be found at all four levels. There have been research studies of innovation at the institutional and departmental level as well as studies of the response of individuals to changes in their department or institutions. However, many of the case studies conducted at the institutional or departmental level were carried out at a time of expansion in numbers and increasing resources. Much of this research is of limited relevance for a period in which institutions face increasing financial stringency and may face contraction, as a result of economic or demographic changes. Moreover, most case studies at the institutional level have been conducted in developed rather than developing countries.

In the last ten years, as higher education in Europe and North America has been subject to increasing financial pressures, there have been a number of studies of how institutions have responded to cuts in funding or other fi-

nancial constraints. For example, studies in Canada, United Kingdom and the U.S.A have examined the various ways in which universities, polytechnics and colleges have responded to financial stringency, and there have been a number of attempts to examine response to declining resources from an international perspective, for example through the programme Institutional Management of Higher Education (IMHE) of OECD. Such studies have revealed a variety of strategies for coping with financial crisis, including purely defensive strategies as well as attempts to restructure internal organisation, decision making, resource allocation and the range and type of academic activities in order to use existing resources more effectively and find new ways of generating income. Many of these have involved changes in institutional management, but analysis of the way such changes have been implemented and their effects on the efficiency and quality of higher education is still in its early stages, and is also mainly confined to developed countries.

In summary, despite the considerable interest in recent years in the process of innovation and the management and implementation of change, including research on changes in institutional management in higher education, existing studies are often of limited relevance to institutions of higher education in developing countries, for the following reasons:

a) many of the studies relate to periods of expansion, rather than declining resources;

b) they are concerned with large-scale innovations rather than changes in institutional management;

c) they are mostly confined to developed countries, and some of the conclusions from such studies may be inappropriate for institutions in developing countries;

d) many studies of management change relate to industrial or commercial activities, and the conclusions may be of limited applicability for higher education institutions.

Previous research has been valuable, however, in identifying factors associated with success or failure in innovation, in emphasizing that effective implementation is often the key to achieving innovation and reform in education, and in providing frameworks for analysing factors that may prevent or facilitate successful implementation at the macro or micro level.

ii) The Need for Improved Managerial Effectiveness

The severe financial constraints facing higher education in developing countries mean that the effectiveness of management at the institutional level is more vital than ever before.

International agencies, including UNESCO and the World Bank, national governments and higher education institutions themselves have all recognized the need for improved managerial effectiveness, in order to make the best possible use of existing resources, mobilise new resources and respond to changing social and economic needs. Much of the advice on improving efficiency in higher education has been directed at government, but there is a growing realisation that problems of low efficiency and poor utilisation of resources have to be tackled at the micro, as well as the macro level.

The Proposed Research

The proposed research will concentrate on a series of case studies of planning and implementation of changes designed to improve institutional management and the effectiveness of higher education in institutions in developing countries. The focus will be on the management implications of attempts to improve the efficiency through the better use of existing resources – human, physical and financial. The main emphasis will be on developing countries, although the project will draw on experience in developed countries where this has clear relevance for developing countries.

The research will focus on individual institutions as the unit of analysis, rather than on national bodies, planning units or Ministries of Education. There are a number of reasons for concentrating on the micro rather than the macro level:

a) there is evidence that it is due to strengths or weaknesses in implementation at the institutional level that many changes in management policies and practices ultimately succeed or fail;

b) in many countries, higher education institutions have a greater degree of autonomy than institutions in lower levels of the education system;

c) in several countries it has been noted that during periods of expansion and growth, the main adaptation and changes in systems of higher education take place as a result of the creation of new institutions or programmes, whereas periods of contraction and financial retrenchment require greater changes at the level of individual institutions, which have to decide where to concentrate cuts or allocate declining resources more selectively.

The analysis will be concerned with the three stages of introducing a change in institutional management:

i) The *initiation* of a change in management structure or practice. Implementation of a change depends to a great extent on initial prepara-

tions for its introduction. An analysis of this phase will highlight the importance of planning and will examine *why* the change was proposed (i.e. was it designed to overcome a specific problem or to achieve a specific objective?), and *who* proposed the change (i.e. was it initiated as a result of internal decisions or external pressure, was it the idea of an individual or group, or a collective response to external pressure, constraints or demands?) and how was the change planned and introduced?

ii) The *implementation* of the change. Irrespective of the extent of planning and preparation, implementation may face many difficulties. Analysis of this phase will help in understanding a) what kinds of problems and difficulties were faced; b) how they were overcome, and c) under what conditions adaptations of the original proposals were made.

iii) the *evaluation* of the change. Has the change been internally or externally evaluated to assess whether it was successful in overcoming the problems identified when the change was introduced, or in achieving its original objectives? How far did such evaluation influence decisions about whether the change in management policy or practice should a) be accepted and institutionalised; b) be modified to overcome weaknesses or meet new objectives; c) be abandoned as impractical or as a failure?

Examples can be found in various countries of all the following types of change:

i) *Organisational changes*, for example the creation of new forms of administrative or decision-making structure, new ways of managing information flow, the merger of separate institutions, or departments or units, the abolition or closure of parts of an institution, the creation of a multi-campus institution, or new separate or "satellite" institutions or self-managing units within an institution, the creation of new forms of organisation to promote external cooperation, or more simply the redefining of administrative responsibilities and tasks, in order to streamline routine management.

ii) *Changes in the sources and mechanisms of finance and resource allocation.* These include changes in both the sources of funding, for example, a change in the balance between public and private funding, through the introduction or increase in tuition fees or charges for accommodation or meals, the introduction of student loans, or changes in the balance between grants and loans, and changes in the mechanisms of funding, for example, the introduction of new forms of formula funding, changes in the balance between block grant and specific or earmarked grants, competitive bidding for funds, as well as changes in the system of internal financial allocation and management.

iii) *Changes in teaching methods and delivery systems,* including the introduction of open learning, distance teaching, increased use of new media, modularisation of courses or the introduction of credit transfer, the development of "split site" courses or other forms of institutional links. Although there has been considerable study of the pedagogic implications of such changes, the management and administrative aspects of organising such changes have received less attention.

iv) *Changes in staff management,* for example, changes in methods of selection of staff, staff assessment, development and promotion procedures, changes in terms and conditions of employment of academic and non-academic staff, in order to increase flexibility or link pay more directly with assessments of performance.

v) *Changes in the organisation or funding of research and development activities.* These include the creation of new forms of research unit, centre or organisation, joint funding of research by government and private sources, efforts to encourage collaborative research, changes in the balance between teaching and research in higher education institutions, and various measures designed to promote cooperation between higher education and industry.

Objetives of the Research

The overall objectives of the research is to contribute to increased effectiveness of higher education institutions. More specifically, the research aims:

i) To study in institutions of higher education in different countries, the management of change designed to improve efficiency and the utilisation of existing resources.

ii) To trace the process from the initiation of the idea to its implementation and evaluation.

iii) To evaluate the effectiveness of the change in terms of its original objectives and its effects on the efficiency of the institution.

iv) To identify factors associated with successful introduction and implementation of management changes in higher education.

v) To draw practical lessons about ways of improving efficiency and utilisation of resources in higher education, and their management implications.

Research Approach

Two approaches have been adopted in previous research on the implementation of innovation and change. The first attempts to define a particular model, or implementation strategy, and test the applicability of this model by means of a series of hypotheses. One study (Hogwood and Gunn 1984), for example, identifies eight pre-conditions for "perfect implementation."

Such an "ideal model" could be tested by means of a number of specific hypotheses, for example:

i) the implementation of institutional change will be more successful in institutions with highly centralised systems of management and control than in highly decentralised systems.

ii) implementation of change will be more successful when a consensus in favour of the proposed change exists, or is developed prior to the introduction of the change, than in cases where there is little prior agreement on objectives.

Another comprehensive review of the characteristics associated with the success or failure of innovations (Rogers and Shoemaker 1971) identifies five critical characteristics:

i) the compatibility of a new idea (i.e. the extent to which the innovation is consistent with the existing objectives and values of an institution).

ii) the profitability of the change in terms of the perceived advantages or disadvantages, or benefits and costs.

iii) the complexity of the innovation.

iv) the "triability" of the proposed change (i.e. the extent to which it is possible to test it in an experimental or pilot stage).

v) the observability of the results of the innovation.

These characteristics have been examined in some studies of innovation in higher education (for example Van Vught 1989) and found to be important in some but not all cases of successful introduction and implementation of change.

The problem of analysing innovation and change in terms of specific hypotheses is that it requires a large number of case studies in order to generate generalizable results, and there is always the danger that the limitations of the hypotheses will lead to the neglect of important factors or differences between institutions.

An alternative approach was proposed in a recent study of institutional change in the U.K. The approach "sees the outcomes of the policy process in terms of the impact of policy on a particular organisation or society, and ... how the policy actually worked out in practice." Rather than testing a series of specific hypotheses, this approach "takes the policy makers' intentions as a hypothesis to be tested" (Pratt and Silverman 1988). Such an approach requires a careful analysis of the objectives of any proposed changes in institutional management, and the problems that the change is designed to overcome as well as an analysis of the actual outcomes, including unexpected as well as predicted effects. Evaluation of the implementation process involves detailed analysis of the extent to which the objectives are achieved and the initial problems overcome. This "problem-solving" approach takes as the hypothesis that a particular managerial change will solve a specific problem, and success or failure in solving that problem is the crucial test.

This approach, with its emphasis on analysis of objectives and the problems which policies are designed to solve has much in common with that used by Cerych and Sabatier to study the implementation of reforms in higher education. Their study (Cerych and Sabatier 1986) examined the implementation of policy in terms of the following questions:

i) How did the reform originate and what were its official goals?

ii) To what extent have those objectives been attained over time? What other significant impacts has it had? Have additional objectives emerged? If so, with what effects?

iii) What principal factors influenced those objectives?

There is plenty of evidence, however, that the objectives of managerial changes are often loosely or ambiguously specified. Indeed, this may be a necessary part of the process of building a consensus in favour of the change, which previous research has demonstrated is an important determinant of success. Thus, Cerych and Sabatier conclude that "higher education policy implementation is increasingly complicated by its ambiguous and multiple goals ... reforms of higher education in general, whatever their degree of success or failure, represent a mixture of achieved, partially achieved and unachieved goals, with intended and unintended effects as well as positive and negative results."

In view of these difficulties, it is likely that case studies which rely either on testing of a limited number of specific hypotheses or on detailed analysis of objectives and the extent to which managerial changes solve previously identified problems, will by themselves prove to be inadequate. Previous studies of institutional change suggest that while there are a number of im-

portant factors associated with successful innovations, there is no single strategy that will ensure success, and what will work in one institutional setting may fail in another.

This suggests the need for more intensive qualitative research, involving detailed case studies of particular institutional settings, which will generate practical lessons about the planning and implementation of managerial change designed to improve efficiency. Initially, a small number of case studies will be selected, where universities or other higher education institutions in developing countries have attempted to improve efficiency and the use of resources through management change. The three stages of planning, implementation and evaluation of the management change will be analysed in detail, to discover:

i) the objectives of the change,

ii) the strategy adopted for planning and implementing the change,

iii) the obstacles encountered, and how they were overcome,

iv) how far the change succeeded in its objective of improving efficiency and utilisation of resources.

On the basis of the experience of these pilot case studies, a wider spread of case studies will be selected, which will aim to:

i) focus on a number of key issues, rather than generate purely descriptive studies;

ii) cover a broad range of institutional settings and types of management change;

iii) yield practical advice for institutional managers and administrators, rather than theoretical models of institutional organisation and change.

Research Methodology

The initial stage of the research will concentrate on a detailed case study of the introduction and implementation of management change in one or two selected higher education institutions in developing countries, in order to identify factors and strategies associated with successful innovation and change, and obstacles and problems to be overcome. On the basis of the pilot case studies, a larger sample of institutions will be selected, to provide a broader spread of types of managerial change.

Criteria for Selection of Case Studies

The case studies will be selected to provide:

i) a range of types of management change introduced to improve efficiency and resource utilisation;

ii) an appropriate balance between different levels of development and between different regions;

iii) examples of managerial changes that are being considered, or are regarded as potentially important in a number of developing countries;

iv) changes that are introduced as a result of both internal and external stimulus.

The case studies will consist of a descriptive account of the process of planning, introducing and implementing the management change, written by a local researcher/academic/administrator with detailed knowledge of the institution concerned and an evaluation of the effects of the change on efficiency and resource utilisation. The case studies will draw on internal documents and quantitative data of the institution, supplemented where necessary, by interviews with the staff responsible for planning and implementing the change, and evaluating its effects.

Case Study Outline

Each case study will consist of the following sections:

1. *Background* description of the institutions, their place in the national system of higher education.
2. The *problem* identified (e.g., need to reduce unit costs, expenditure, improve utilisation of buildings, staff, etc.)
3. The *proposed solution*. Who formulated the proposal (e.g., was it a central or a departmental decision; was it proposed internally or by an external agency)?
4. The *objectives* of the change (these should be specified as precisely as possible, e.g., changes in student staff ratios, room utilisation rates, etc.)
5. The *planning* of the change (What period of time was involved; who were the members of the planning committee/group?)
6. The *implementation* of the change. Who was responsible? What were the costs in terms of staff time, etc?

7. *Problems and obstacles* What difficulties were identified at the outset? How were these overcome? What new problems emerged during implementation?

8. The *effects* of the change. Did it achieve the original objectives? This should be concerned with explicit measures (e.g., effects on unit costs, student-teacher ratios, utilisation of buildings, etc.)

9. *Evaluation* of the experience. Is it judged to be successful in terms of:
   a) explicit objectives
   b) attitudes and judgements of those affected by the change

   Did it lead to new problems (i.e., reductions in quality?)

10. *Conclusions*. What can be learned from this experience about:
    a) ways of improving efficiency and utilisation of resources
    b) the planning and implementation of changes in institutional management?

On the basis of the detailed case studies of experience in selected developing countries, together with lessons drawn from previous research in this area, the IIEP research team will prepare an analysis of experience of implementing management change in order to improve efficiency and resource utilisation in higher education.[1]

Organisation of the Research

The project will fall into three stages:

i) Initial stage (1990)

Review of previous research and literature on institutional management and the planning and implementation of change in higher education; selection of institutions for pilot case studies; preparation of general outline for case studies; pilot case studies in one or two developing countries; compilation of inventory of management change in higher education institutions in developing countries.

ii) Main case study stage (1991–1992)

On the basis of the inventory of management changes, a sample will be selected of higher education institutions which have introduced management changes in order to increase efficiency and resource utilisation.

1. The aim will be to draw from this analysis of experience some practical lessons and guidelines for administrators and managers in higher education institutions in other developing countries.

Case studies will be conducted in four or five developing countries, using local researchers who are well acquainted with the higher education institution chosen, and who will examine the change in management structure or practices, in an objective way, under the guidance of IIEP staff or consultants.

It is suggested that at the completion of each national case study, a national review workshop should be held within the country involving different agencies and institutional heads to discuss the results of the study and the implications for institutional management.

iii) Analysis and conclusions (1992–93)

The third stage will involve the preparation of a general report which attempts to draw lessons and guidelines for succcessful planning and implementation on the basis of the case studies and national workshops.

Expected Outcomes of the Project

In view of the large number of factors that determine success or failure in implementation, it will not be possible to produce fully generalisable "rules" for successful implementation, that will be applicable in all types of higher education institutions, but previous research in this area suggests that carefully selected case studies of institutions in the process of change, will yield some valuable insights and practical lessons to help improve the efficiency of institutional management in higher education, particularly in developing countries, where the need for strong and effective institutional management is currently an urgent priority.

The conclusions of the research will be presented through the following:

1. Detailed case study reports of specific managerial changes
2. A synthesis report which summarises the main lessons from the case studies in order to increase understanding of:
   a) factors contributing to successful planning and implementation of managerial change
   b) ways of improving efficiency, resource utilisation and management effectiveness in higher education
3. National and international workshops to discuss the results of the research
4. A series of training materials to be used by institutional managers and decision makers

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Higher Education: What Procedures for Evaluation?

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INTRODUCTION

THE ISSUE FOR HIGHER EDUCATION is not whether there will be evaluation and accountability. Evaluation is inevitable. The question is what form it will take.

There is a kind of evaluation in the pages of newspapers. Today (26 June 1990) both Le Monde and Liberation have articles asking penetrating questions about universities. Articles frequently appear in the press questioning the structures of higher education, the balance among the different teaching programmes and the forms of instruction. Some of these articles are soundly based on an understanding of the purposes of higher education and the nature of the institutions and make a valuable contribution to the debate about the future. Others are mere polemics without any substantive basis designed to attract only a fleeting attention. Both, however, are important for they influence public opinion.

It is public opinion, or perhaps more precisely the opinion of the taxpayers, that is the second vehicle for evaluation. There is a growing demand in many societies for value for money. Many activities and organisations, including the broad spectrum of institutions that provide higher education, which were formerly supported from public funds without question, are now being subjected to ever closer scrutiny.

* Reflections arising from an international study on *Evaluation Procedures Used to Measure the Efficiency of Higher Education Systems and Institutions*. (The article is based on the author's contribution to a Round Table on *Higher Education: What Procedures for Evaluation*, organized by the Division for Higher Education and Research of UNESCO, in Paris, 26 June 1990).

This concern about higher education arises from a number of causes. The first and most obvious is its increasing scale in many countries which puts a greater demand on the public purse. Consequently, questions are being asked, even in countries as wealthy as the United States, about how the cost of meeting that demand should be met. In the case of some developing countries. the question is whether higher education, however limited the provision, is making a disproportionate demand on limited resources.

A second factor is a result of the increase in enrollments. Higher education now impinges on many more families. What was previously the preserve of a small minority, now, in many countries, involves many more and, in some countries virtually all, of the articulate members of society from whatever social stratum. Consequently, there is a more widespread public interest in questions about the value to society and to individuals of higher education, and particularly non-professional studies.

The debate about the value of non-professional studies is most conspicuous in countries like France where access to some courses is limited by quotas but admission to the other, non-professional, courses is open to all qualified candidates. Paradoxically, the concern in Colombia, a country where demand determines supply, is that too high a proportion of the students in institutions of higher education are following programmes of business education. There seems to be much less public concern about these issues in countries like the Netherlands where the law requires that provision be made to meet demand and in other countries where provision is demand-led, like the U.S. and, increasingly, the U.K. The question about the appropriate use of resources is however, no less pertinent in those countries simply because the decision is made by the students and not by the state.

Public discussion of the value of higher education is widespread. In wealthier societies the desirability of higher education may not be questioned but its cost and its patterns are. This questioning cannot simply be ignored for the result will inevitably be the imposition of evaluation in some form with the risk of a process that is more harmful than beneficial.

Governments too, partly in response to public concern, are giving more active consideration to higher education and to their own responsibilities. There is for example a much bigger and more prestigious discussion of higher education taking place in Paris this week than the one we are involved in. Mr. Mitterand and Mr. Rocard as well as Mr. Jospin are participating in "Université 2000." Similar discussions are occurring in other countries asking what the role of government should be, what it should fund and what it should not, how it should ask about the effectiveness and the efficiency of its investment in higher education. Would society as a whole benefit more if the money devoted to higher education were spent on technical training, on bet-

ter transport, on health care or even on weapons of war? Governments must speak the language of priorities. They will rightly ask those of us who are engaged in higher education what they are getting for their money.

The question then is not whether there will or should be evaluation of higher education but what form it should take.

The Issues

The first issue to be clarified is what is expected of colleges and universities. What are they for? What contribution are they expected to make to society? Are they still primarily social institutions which provide a liberal education for the young, which foster a national, regional or linguistic culture and which facilitate disinterested scholarship? Or, are they now to become mainly technological organisations where advanced vocational education is provided, where research which will make a direct contribution to the economy is carried out and where the emphasis is on the transfer of expertise to local industry or agriculture?

Until recently the first approach predominated in many countries. Higher education was funded largely by the state to provide a cadre of educated people who would later acquire specific occupational skills and to be the home of fundamental research in the physical, biological and social sciences and of scholarship in the humanities pursued at the discretion of individual academics. This approach is now widely questioned.

In the Netherlands for example, though a deliberate attempt is made to ensure that all qualified students can pursue the subject of their choice, unemployment rates among graduates in different disciplines are carefully monitored. The great majority of research in universities is subject to review and to "conditional funding" which assigns priorities ostensibly in the light of significance and social relevance as well as academic quality. There is though concern on the part of some academics as expressed in a publication of the association of Dutch universities that "directing research is not applicable to the pure sciences" and that a system based simply on "quality considerations will solve the allocation problems" (Acherman et al., 1989).

Other countries too are groping towards a similar though so far less explicit redefinition of the functions of higher education. There remains, though, in most countries a great deal of ambiguity in what is expected from the university system by students and by society as a whole..

It is not merely a question of replacing a largely mythical never-never land of "dreaming spires" as portrayed in *Brideshead Revisited* or *The Student Prince* with a more contemporary approach based on greatly increased enroll-

ments, or of replacing "Guadeamus Igitur" as the anthem of students with an Anthem for Doomed Youth more in tune with the dreary spirit of Samuel Smiles. It is much more.

If the perception of the purpose of higher education which was accepted fifty or a hundred years ago is no longer appropriate what is the vision that will replace it. What new balance is to be struck? In the current cliché, what is the mission of higher education for the next century?

A second question arises from the first. If universities and colleges are no longer to be allowed to go there own ways who is to evaluate them? Evaluation in this context is not simply a question of ensuring that standards are maintained but of directing public funds. To whom should responsibility be confided for deciding what resource should be available to the various disciplines and institutions, what new programmes should be developed and what old ones discontinued?

In some countries it is the responsibility of a government minister operating through a system of "inspecteurs d'enseignement superieur" who initially had the responsibility for ensuring quality but are now also being asked to monitor programmes for social relevance and for their contribution to the development of the economy. In others there are national committees representing a range of interests which provide an intermediary structure between the Ministry and the universities which are comparable to the former British University Grants Committee. In the Netherlands the association of universities has itself developed systems for monitoring teaching and research. This Dutch system is an ambitious attempt to combine internal monitoring and external accountability.

The different systems do not simply reflect particular historical practices or academic traditions. There are conscious efforts in some countries to develop new strategies and structures which are appropriate to different needs and new circumstances.

A third question is the basis for the evaluation. Should there be a "hard nosed" system of quantitative performance indicators? If so, what should be counted? The total number of graduates produced? The fields in which they graduated? Completion rates? Graduate unemployment or under employment? All of these figures are gathered in different countries.

What are the appropriate criteria for research? The number of publications or patents? The number of pages published as in Britain? The number of words published as in some American universities? The number of citations?

Another quite different criterion of success which is used in some places is the amount of money earned from research grants, from consultancies or

from participating in professional training. In some British universities each academic staff member is given an "earnings target."

These are all hard measures but do they tell us what we want to know? Do they define what we want from higher education? The procedures of evaluation must be appropriate and comprehensive. For one thing is certain, whatever measures we use to evaluate higher education will, in the long run, determine what we will get from it.

We are familiar with the concept of gross national product as a hard measure of the success of an economy. However, UNDP has recently proposed a modification which takes into account not only the volume of goods and services produced but also a number of indicators of the quality of life, such as adult literacy, life expectancy and the gap in income between rich and poor. Are there similar qualities that should be taken into account in measuring the contribution of higher education?

What importance is to be attributed to the extension, adult education or continuing education departments of universities in the British tradition? How do we take into account university radio stations where they exist? What significance do we give to public lecture series such as the Reith lectures given this year with such *élan* by Jacques Darras? How do we take them into account in our evaluations?

Many universities have major museums and art galleries. Music departments have their orchestras and choirs or sponsor recitals. Departments of literature provide a base for poets and other writers by having "writers in residence" or produce magazines of contemporary writing and literary criticism. Drama departments produce plays that would not otherwise be available or provide auditoria for visiting companies. In some places colleges or universities are the major source of these and many other cultural activities. These responsibilities may be adequately fulfilled in richer countries or in large urban centres in other ways but in some communities without the college or university to sponsor them they would not exist. Do they matter? If they do, how do we take them into account in our evaluations? Is it simply a matter of counting attendance at museums, concerts and plays or is there a "high culture" to be encouraged and supported even though it reaches only a minority?

Some institutions have a specific role in a community. The University of Jyvaskylla, for example, is proud that it provided the first higher education in Finnish. By providing education in Finnish and not Swedish it opened up university studies to a large group who might not otherwise have had access to it but also, it is asserted, by making Finnish an acceptable language of science and culture that contributed to the formation of a modern national iden-

tity. The Celtic Studies Department at Glasgow University might be thought to have a similar responsibility with respect to Gaelic culture. At a different level, Brasov boasts of the first gymnasium using Romanian and not German as a language of instruction. Many universities, and not only in developing countries, are faced with this issue. Is it the responsibility of higher education to preserve and foster linguistic communities and their cultures? If so how do we take it into account in our evaluations?

What responsibilities do the institutions themselves have for ensuring equal access to higher education for women, for people from different communities or ethnic groups, for those from different socio-economic backgrounds, for those from different geographical regions or more remote areas? The Dutch publish data on some of these issues but appear to dismiss them. Can countries with sharper social divisions afford to be so cavalier? How should evaluations take these and other similar issues into account?

For some, the philosophical or religious contribution of an institution is important. In some countries in the study there was concern to ensure the Islamisation of higher education. Some time ago I attended a conference at the Charles University in Prague where it turned out that one of our concerns was to report on how education could contribute to producing the "new communist man." In two of the countries in the study, and in many others, particularly but not exclusively in South America, there are Catholic universities with a responsibility for religious formation. We may have doubts about the efficacy of these different commitments, particularly in the light of recent developments, but if they are a part of the purpose of a university should they be ignored in a programme of evaluation?

Some forms of evaluation can provide straightforward, unambiguous answers to clear, simple questions but are they the questions that we want to ask? If the purposes of universities are manifold and complex then we need evaluation procedures that can address those complexities. Oversimplified procedures will not only mislead, they will risk producing unintended and unwelcome distortions to the system.

Conclusion

The different systems included in the study had different purposes, different structures and used different criteria. Evaluation is carried out in a specific context and has to take account of particular circumstances. It is unlikely that the same approach would apply to the various national systems, yet there is much we could learn from each other. For example, in the northeast of England where I work there is a rich oral tradition. Perhaps one of our aims should be, like that of some African universities, to record and preserve a vanishing local culture before it is lost in global homogenisation.

The preservation of the cultural patrimony is important to us all but has a greater urgency in some places because it is a part of nation building in a post colonial era. It is not only a linguistic responsibility that some universities might embrace. In Sri Lanka for example, archaeological work at Poloonaruwa reveals a rich cultural past antedating by centuries the artefacts of the three successive colonial powers. The old civilisation that is being laboriously dug out of the jungle provides the basis of a national identity that makes it easier to face the present and the future with greater confidence and self-respect. In other countries the study of history, literature or music has done much to create a nation. There is not a single set of purposes for higher education that can be applied blindly everywhere. Each system must articulate its own priorities.

There are though some common concerns. One of them must be to preserve the freedom for "curiosity-motivated" research. It is true that much "normal science" in colleges and universities consists of careful, detailed, routine activities very like those carried out for commercial purposes in industrial laboratories. However, a young colleague in medical research told me that he had refused a much more highly paid post in a pharmaceutical company and stayed in the university even though it involved very similar work because of the opportunity to pursue his own line of thought, the excitement of an original discovery. He valued the creative opportunities available to him. We must ensure that such opportunities and such enthusiasm are not smothered by a mechanical system of performance indicators.

Such research operates on a long-time scale. It does not produce the quick returns that industry demands and is not easily judged. At the very time that Watson was conducting the studies at Cambridge which led to the discovery of the double helix, the University of Chicago was abandoning the accelerated programme for able students in which he had participated because it had failed to produce the anticipated crop of distinguished scientists. Some outcomes of universities take time to mature. Any system of evaluation which is concerned too closely with short-term returns runs the risk of failing to recognise the most significant contributions that universities can make.

Many systems of higher education face similar questions about the education that they provide. There is concern in many countries about the lack of vocational relevance of some programmes of study. There must everywhere be some match between what colleges and universities teach and what society requires. It would be a mistake though to assume that a degree defines a career. Among the young graduates that I know are a physicist who is a banker, an economist who is a counsellor, an analytic chemist who is a business manager and an English graduate who is a systems analyst. A university is not a technical school teaching a specific range of skills. Graduates should be, and

in my experience increasingly are, flexible in the use that they make of their education and abilities. Conversely, graduates from very disparate disciplines may, in the long run, make very similar contributions to society. The voice of the national conscience can as easily be a Russian nuclear physicist as a Czech playwright.

Efficiency is about cost as well as about effectiveness. Cost is an important component of the cost benefit equation. Evaluation, however, is by definition about questions of value. As was pointed out by Oscar Wilde, an Irishman who had the good sense to come and live in Paris when the English let him out of gaol, it is the cynic who knows the price of everything and the value of nothing. There is a risk that by focusing our evaluations too narrowly on cost we may lose just those outcomes that are of most value.

As higher education expands and costs escalate, increasing public and governmental concern is inevitable. Everywhere the purposes assigned to higher education are being questioned, new structures are being developed, more sophisticated criteria are being articulated and there is a demand for greater efficiency. The universities and colleges should be at the forefront of a rational redefinition of their role and functions, the careful redesigning of higher education to meet future needs, the definition of comprehensive standards and adequate procedures by which they may be judged. They should, as in the Netherlands, be leading in these fields and not merely taking a defensive stance in the debate. They should be helping to determine national priorities and thus the pattern and scale of support for higher education. A slavish adherence to the merely familiar is likely to be disastrous. Nor does each country have to make these discoveries for itself. Each of us could benefit from considering carefully what aspects of the systems which are described in the report would be of relevance to ourselves.

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Regional Studies

Planning and Management of Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean: an Introductory Study

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INTRODUCTION

THIS STUDY WAS MOTIVATED BY REQUIREMENTS of the International Congress on Planning and Management of Educational Development held by the Public Education Secretariat of Mexico and UNESCO, in Mexico City, from 26 to 30 March 1990. It was one of the documents submitted and discussed in the Round Table on Planning and Management for Excellence and Efficiency in Higher Education, organized as part of the Congress.

It is an attempt at a regional survey, with the main objective of determining the features, problems and trends in higher education planning and management in Latin America and the Caribbean, based on information taken from national monographs and the "Data Base on Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean" Project carried out by the UNESCO Regional Centre for Higher Educational in Latin America and the Caribbean (CRESALC), as well as other information available from different sources.

As the title indicates, this paper is an introductory study and has led to an initial assessment of the situation in the Latin American and Caribbean region, and likely prospects for its future development. In accordance with these objectives, the text has been divided into three parts. The first, (the first

4 sub-headings) elaborates on some of the conceptual and methodological elements of higher education planning and management on which the study was based. The second part, (the following 3 sub-headings) attempts to describe the general background of higher education planning and management and analyzes the region's experiences in this field. The third part is a single section (the last sub-heading), which attempts to formulate and discuss a series of conclusions and working hypotheses relevant to the study of the future prospects of higher education planning and management in the region.

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Planning and Other Related Concepts

Anyone who has perused the literature on any kind of development planning will have noted that there are other closely related terms, which are sometimes confused with planning, notably, programme, project and policy. The confusion generally arises from the fact that these terms describe the products of activities and processes, which are very similar to the results of planning. In reality, there is a hierarchy among them. Moving from the specific to the general, one might say that the hierarchy is as follows: *tasks* are grouped to form activities, *activities* are in turn grouped to form a *project*, which is the smallest management unit in the hierarchy. Projects are grouped under a *programme* to form another wider and more complex management unit. Programmes are, in turn, grouped under a *plan* and the plans under a *policy*. The policy is the broadest management unit, within which the general normative guidelines for a whole series of less general levels of the hierarchy are formulated.

This hierarchy is made up, as seen above, of more or less complex units which manage decision and are, or should be, different expressions of a strategy designed by first drafting policies, at the highest and most aggregate level, then refining them into more specific guidelines as one moves down the scale. Unfortunately, it has often been proven that few plans meet these requirements.

Planning and Management

From another angle, which could be called functional, planning is the beginning of a process, the first product of which is a plan to be subsequently executed, monitored, evaluated and possibly reformulated. It is a sequence

which includes planning, execution, coordination, follow up, evaluation and control of the series of measures and decisions referred to above.

This sequence generally has two interpretations. For some, the stages of planning range from design to final evaluation, after implementation. This group usually includes those who see planning as a separate activity, relatively independent of management. For others, it is a stage of the management or administration process. This group includes those who consider planning to be the first step in management and, therefore, inseparable from it.

We share the view that planning should be part of that more comprehensive activity, management. In this respect, we could be identified with the second group, though not totally. Planning should be an integral part of management, but not as a stage in a sequence, since management is not, or should not be, a sequence of activities. Planning is a function that should be exercised at any stage of the process, like any other management function (See Wren and Voich, 1984. pp. 5-9).

To paint a more complete picture, the situation becomes more complex when we consider research and its relations with the activities of planning and management. Research has been even more detached from management than planning. It has been considered by many organizations as an academic activity which can contribute little to action. Despite the fact that it is acknowledged that research is a necessary support for planning and management, in practice, it is relegated to a secondary level. Research must, therefore, also be included as a function of management.

Are we attaching more importance to management than to planning? No, we are not placing one above the other, but simply bringing them closer to the real situation in which we live. If we analyze our behaviour, at any level or in any area of our social relations, we find that we are always planning, acting, making decisions, coordinating our activities to achieve a higher level of efficiency and evaluating the results of what we have achieved in order to reformulate our plans. This happens in our family life, our professional life and appears in a more structured form in the organizations in which we develop within society. We are all to a certain extent managers and planners (even researchers), whether or not we have been specially trained for this. The professional training of an administrator or a planner is only the honing and systematization of a skill we acquire in our life in society. It is therefore clear that, according to the concept we have adopted, we shall treat planning as one of the functions of the more global and comprehensive process of higher education management. We shall separate them for analytical purposes only.

The Actors in Planning and Management

Another important factor in the process of planning and the wider process of management is the presence of different actors playing different roles. This aspect is often disregarded by many of those who study and exercise management, and its influence is particularly important. The role of actors within organizations was systematically outlined some time ago by Michel Crozier in his analysis of their strategies in organizational processes, which is not always fully compatible with the positions they occupy in the organizational structure (See Crozier, 1977. pp. 197-203.)

On the planning and management stage, the following actors appear: planners, administrators, researchers, directors and policy makers. The success of planning and management processes will depend on the degree of interaction between these actors, the coherence of their objectives, the perception of their role in the organizational structure within which such processes take place, communication languages and styles, and the work logic of each in relation to the others. Unfortunately, especially in the educational field, there have been great divergences in concepts and styles of work between planners and the other actors in the scenario, as well as minimal interaction between them. As a result of this problem, the original design of a plan by a group of planners is eventually converted into an unrecognizable caricature. This separation between planners and executors has caused the failure of many plans, programmes and projects in higher education, and in other areas of development. This statement may seem commonplace and a very simplistic reminder, but, unfortunately, communication and interaction among the actors who participate in the processes of planning and management are still far from ideal.

The specific role of the planner in this complex interplay of strategies is, or at least should be, particularly important and significant. The planner is responsible for initially making the goals, objectives and general normative guidelines of the policy makers operational. These guidelines may at first be vague, as are the strategies whereby such guidelines are to be implemented at more specific levels of decision making and action, further down the scale of plans, programmes, projects, activities and tasks. Hence, communication between the planner and the other actors mentioned is crucial to the success, not only of the design of the plan, but also of its functionality and subsequent execution.

These general considerations about actors, and those on planning and its relationships with management, will be useful in other sections, when we discuss the characteristics of higher education plans implemented in Latin America and the Caribbean, and the role of planners and planning units at the national and institutional levels.

Dimensions of Planning and Management in Higher Education

Higher education planning in Latin America and the Caribbean can be said to have three basic dimensions: a *regional or geographic* dimension; a *structural* dimension (meaning the specific, distinctive characteristics of higher education as opposed to other levels of the education system); and a *functional* dimension (inherent in the different operational spheres of higher education). These dimensions have a series of features which may have different effects on activities related to higher education planning and management.

In the *structural* dimension we shall include certain features that make higher education different form other levels of the overall education system, which are particularly important to planning and management.

Higher education, as a group of institutions, has a greater degree of *structural heterogeneity* than other levels. When universities were the only institutions at this level there was more homogeneity in the overall higher education system. Universities have a more or less similar organizational and academic structure. Since the 70s, when there was a call for higher education to be diversified, a wide variety of other institutions began to spring up in Latin America and the Caribbean; they offered short-term higher education and teacher training and were different from the traditional universities. Today, as a result of this process of diversification and mass education in the region, we find three sub-levels in higher education: short courses, at the professional level of technologist or highly trained technician; long courses for a first degree; and post-graduate studies, which in turn have two sub-categories –Masters and Doctorate. The latter has grown considerably, especially in the 80s.

The second feature, which is a result of this heterogeneity, is the *products* of higher education. Higher education institutions, especially universities, typically offer a variety of products, as a result of processes of teaching-apprenticeship, research and service to society. They are multi-functional institutions which go beyond the theoretical concept of mere educational institutions.

Because of this heterogeneity large amounts of *resources* of all kinds are needed for this complex apparatus to function, be they financial, human, material resources as support for teaching, research and information sharing.

At the same time, in higher education *actors* play a variety of roles. A university professor is expected not only to teach but to do research and extension work, whereas in institutions at other levels of education the requirements are much more uniform: the teacher limits himself almost exclusively to teaching, he does much less research and even less extension work.

Another specificity has been and continues to be a source of controversy and protest in higher education: the *functional autonomy* of the institutions, especially universities, and the exercise of *institutional joint management*. In primary and secondary education institutions the concepts of autonomy and joint management do not exist. The institutions are governed by a central authority, the ministries of education.

Another important factor for higher education planning and management is the lack of *continuity* between higher education (including the postgraduate level) and other levels. There is no other level above higher education. It is the end of a long road that leads only to the labour market, and this is undoubtedly very significant for planning and administration. Planning must study both the social demand generated by the expansion of secondary education and its pressure on admission to higher education, and the needs of the labour market, the economy and the society in general.

A superficial comparison of higher education with other levels of education shows huge differences in the structure and functioning of institutions. Institutions at the primary and secondary levels are far less complex, however, although, in reality, this is not strictly true. There are variations from one country to another and from one institution to another.

All the structural features of higher education institutions individually and as a group at the national level should affect the types of planning and management practised in them. However, there are also paradoxes here, because planning and management concepts, methods and techniques from other levels of education are frequently transposed to higher education where they are inoperable and unsuitable.

These features are variable and constitute factors that the planner must evaluate before drafting plans, and even analyzing the status of the higher education system. The effect of each feature on a plan and the way each one should be taken into account, should be thoroughly researched, as it is evident that their impact could change the details of the plans drawn up for and applied to higher education.

The *functional* dimension covers a series of areas of planning and management in higher education. They are areas and levels of decision making and action that may vary according to different criteria listed below:

1. *Spatial or geographic scope of plans*
   The make up of development plans for higher education may vary according to the following spatial or geographic level to which they correspond:
   - International
   - Regional

- Sub-regional
- National
- Sub-national
- Institutional
- Sub-institutional

2. *Higher education subsystem*
   - University subsystem
   - Non-university subsystem
   - Global system
3. *Institutional sector*
   - Public sector
   - Private sector
   - Both sectors
4. *Levels of institutional management*
   - Strategic level
   - Tactical or intermediate level
   - Operational level
5. *Timeframe of plans*
   - Short-term
   - Medium-term
   - Long-term
6. *Areas of management of higher education institutions*
   - Teaching
   - Research
   - Extension or service to society
   - Administrative support
   - Technical support
   - Global
7. *Elements of the higher education system involved*

   Planning and management may cover:
   - Products and services of the system
   - Resources or inputs
   - Processes
   - Structures
   - The system's relations with its environment

Any analysis of planning and management in higher education might be the result of a complex combination. It is in fact a multidimensional function; there are many cases of plans and planning and management situations with different features and requirements with regard to decision making and ures to be taken.

The General Environment of Planning and Management of Higher Education in the Region: the Regional Dimension

Analyzing higher education planning based on a regional dimension in Latin America and the Caribbean is not an easy task. Besides the peculiar structural and functional features of higher education, mentioned earlier, there are other regional specificities. The regional dimension includes the general environment in which higher education planning and management has developed and its influence may be very significant in future.

The region is composed of 33 countries with a total population of 411 million (1987 figures), of which 19.7% is in Mexico, 5.3% in Central America, 5.7% in the Caribbean and the remaining 69.3% in South America. The relative territorial space of these countries is more or less proportional to the population breakdown (Table 1). It should be noted that the Caribbean subregion includes only those countries with an organized and institutionalized higher education system and not all the Caribbean island countries. For this reason, Table 1 and the following tables show only 26 countries.

The countries of the region were the product of five different types of colonization: Spanish, Portuguese, English, French and Dutch. As a result of this colonization, the population was divided into the following linguistic groups: 63% Spanish speaking, in 18 countries; 34.4% Portuguese-speaking, concentrated in Brazil; 1.3% English-speaking, in the three countries included here, but in reality there are 14 English-speaking Caribbean countries altogether; 0.2% Dutch-speaking, in the Netherlands Antilles, Aruba and Suriname.

Apart from the linguistic and cultural differences caused by the different colonists, throughout their history the countries of the region have been influenced by their contact with each other and with other countries outside the region. The universities and other higher education institutions are the result of this wide range of influences, both from Europe and the United States of America. It is now rather difficult, unless special research is done, to ascribe the features of higher education to a particular influence, or to intra-regional exchanges, but this would be an interesting subject for future study.

If, together with this historical, cultural and linguistic diversity, the heterogeneity inherent in the higher education system and the different factors involved in the functional dimension are taken into account, planning and management of higher education becomes extremely multidimensional, as does the variety of planning and management situations that may arise in different countries.

At a more specific level, we shall describe some of the aspects of higher education in the region, which could be important to planning and manage-

ment of the system, based on some indicators of certain elements of the functional dimension described above. Unfortunately, the lack of information, especially from a qualitative point of view, on the organization and structure of national higher education systems, as well as the fact that information is not systematized for research purposes, allows us to give only a partial view of the problem.

In the region there are approximately 3357 higher education institutions, or more generally, institutions which offer formal professional training programmes at the post-secondary level. Among these are a mere 536 universities (16%) and the other 84% is made up of institutions that are not as multi-purpose as universities, which generally organize intermediate and short-term professional training programmes, from 2 to 3 years long (Table 2.)

By contrast, the student population and teaching and research staff are inversely proportional to the number of institutions: 80% of the student population and 78.8% of the teaching and research staff are concentrated in universities (Tables 3, 4 and 5.)

The overall average enrollment of higher education institutions is 1.879 students, but there are great differences between universities and non-universities. Universities have an average enrollment of 9.057 students while that of non-university institutions is 515 students (Table 5).

These indicators also show sectoral variations for these institutions, whether universities or non-universities. The number of higher education institutions in the public or official sector (43%) is slightly lower than in the private sector, but they account for a greater percentage of student enrollment and teaching staff (62.3% of students and 62.2% of teachers) and are on average more than twice as large (2,705 students in the public sector and 1,237 in the private sector). This difference in size is also reflected in the university subgroup. Public universities have an average student population of 12,432, whereas the figure for private universities is only 5,553. By contrast, in the non-university subgroup variations in size are considerably less (448 students in the public sector and 548 in the private sector) (Table 5.)

There are also differences between the public and private sectors in the concentration of student population and teaching and research staff. Although, as stated, there is a greater concentration of students and teachers in the public sector, in the university subgroup these figures are somewhat lower: public universities account for an average of 69.9% of the student population and 68.2% of teaching staff. On the contrary, in non-university institutions the private sector is predominant: 645 of the student population and 58.8% of the teaching staff (Table 5).

These disparities are greater at the national level (Table 6). The proportion of universities varies fron 6.4% to 71.4%. The concentration of the student and teacher populations in universities varies from 33.2% to 96%. The share of the student population in the public sector ranges from as little as 5% to as much as 96.3%, and even 100% in the case of some countries like Cuba. The overall average size of institutions varies between 533 and 14,971 students. There are great differences in these variations between university and non-university institutions. Universities have anywhere between 709 and 38.740 students, whereas the disparities are smaller, though still significant, in non-university institutions, with figures ranging from 89 to 2,204 students.

If we examine the situation within each country, we shall undoubtedly discover even greater differences, but these are beyond the scope and objectives of this study. It is enough to indicate that, as to the size of institutions, there are universities that have a student enrollment of 170,000 (e.g. the University of Buenos Aires) and even 300,000 (the unique case of the "Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico").

Another element important to higher education planning and management in the region is the diversity of types of institution, in terms of academic structure, objectives and authorities. We can outline four basic types of higher education institutions. First, universities, which form a more or less homogenous group in terms of objectives, academic and administrative structure and functioning. Then, there are three other types of institution belonging to the non-university group or subsystem. This group is much more diversified than universities and includes teacher training institutes, technological institutes or centres of advanced training for technicians and other centres for training professional and para-professional middle-level staff.

Universities are usually governed by a collegiate body, with proportional participation by students and professors in the institutional decision-making organs. This participation may span the ranks from the higher organs at the strategic level (e.g. university boards and the like) to the most operational level, school or departmental boards, including intermediate decision-making levels such as faculty boards. It should be noted that over time other universities have emerged which do not follow this basic management model, in which there is limited joint management; there are even some which do not use this form of management at all. Furthermore, universities are generally self-governing and do not fall under a central state authority. Some universities, as discussed below, have a special legal status granting them full autonomy in certain countries and have even been established under laws exclusively applicable to them (CRESALC–UNESCO, 1984-89).

The situation is very different in the non-university group of institutions. There is generally no joint management and they are under the central au-

thority of the ministries of education, which have created special administrative units to coordinate and monitor their functioning.

The private sector, both university and non-university, is a special case and enjoys almost complete autonomy in most of the countries of the region, and even receives state subsidies. These institutions are only supervised by certain units, sometimes especially created for them.

Further on we shall examine how these characteristics of higher education have been able to and might in the future influence the forms and practices of planning and management at various levels and areas of management. For the moment, let it be said that it is a very complex environment in which there is no established national model for planning and management principles and practices. The development of higher education, as shown by the few indicators on which it was possible to collect data in the region, has been characterized by its spontaneous rather than systematic nature.

Infrastructure for Higher Education Planning and Management in the Region

The great institutional diversity in higher education and other aspects related to its development over the last 20 years, some of which were described in the previous section, call for coordination, both in higher education institutions, especially universities, and in central government. The concept of integration is now very much in vogue in most of the countries of the region. There is now the possibility of creating a truly integrated higher education system composed of institutions which interact, rather than maintaining the relative anarchy that reigns in the group (Granados, 1984 and Liprandi, 1984). This also calls for greater cooperation and communication.

This has given rise to national bodies to coordinate higher education in the majority of Latin American and Caribbean countries. Most of them after the seventies, which coincides with the peak of the institutional diversification process mentioned earlier. There are now agencies of this type in 17 of the 26 countries of the region with an organized higher education system (Table 7). It is significant that 9 countries do not have agencies of this kind, but a very marked trend towards their future establishment has been observed in all of them. (CRESALC/UNESCO, 1984-89.)

This group of coordinator bodies is far from homogenous. They differ greatly in terms of objectives, scope, regulatory framework, functions, administrative authority and management powers. Where we find more homogeneity is in their objectives. They have all emerged as a response, to a certain extent, to the need for coordination, concertation and promotion of

inter-institutional cooperation, though they only partially cover higher education.

With regard to the scope of these bodies, only 5 of them cover the whole range of higher education, that is, both university and non-university education. They are: the Higher Education Secretariat of Brazil, the ICFES of Colombia, the Ministry of Higher Education of Cuba, the ANUIES of Mexico and the National Higher Education Council of Nicaragua (Parra, 1985; University of Havana, 1985; Ibarrola, 1986; Nicaragua, 1988). The first of these was established in Mexico in 1950, as a non-corporate association called the "National Association of Universities and Higher Education Institutes" (ANUIES), which has exclusive legal status and works in close coordination with the Under-Secretariat for Higher Education of the Public Education Secretariat of Mexico (Ibarrola, M., 1986). In 1954, the National Council of Rectors of Chilean Universities was established to cover universities and, unlike the ANUIES, does not coordinate the activities of non-university institutions (Brunner, J.J., 1987.)

These national coordination agencies differ somewhat, but they all cover all higher education institutions and are in some way linked to state education ministries or secretariats, though they have a certain level of autonomy of action. Cuba is a special case as it is the only country in the region which has a Ministry of Education totally independent of the other government ministries (University of Havana, 1985.)

After a relatively long period, in the 70s most of the present agencies were established. The most recent ones appeared in the first half of the 80s (Table 7.)

Most of these organisms (12 in all) cover only university education, and among them there are also numerous differences in functions, powers and institutional coverage. Many cover universities, are managed as collegiate or semi-collegiate bodies, and have some sort of technical consultation unit for carrying out research, plans and programmes for cooperation and information exchange. Some are also linked in some way to the central education authorities. In certain countries, such as Argentina, Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic, there are separate coordination bodies for public and private univeristies (See FLACSO, 1985; CONARE, 1989; and Silié, R., 1989.)

The main feature of this type of university coordinator body is that, even though it has collegiate management, it generally does not have decision-making and executive powers over all the university institutions. Its decisions are therefore more like indicative recommendations for each university to execute based on its own policy and operational norms.

One striking point worthy of note is that 15 universities in 14 countries of the region have a special status, different from that of the other universities and higher education institutions in general (Table 7.) With very few exceptions, the older universities were established under special laws and decrees granting them special status within the group. There are also cases in which these universities co-exist with coordinator bodies but, by virtue of their special status, have greater autonomy than the other universities. This is, for example, the case of the "Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo" and the "Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra" in the Dominican Republic. Another special case is the "Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Honduras" which, by law, has the authority to coordinate all university education in that country.

Despite the fact that non-university institutions are a more heterogenous group, their coordination is more homogenous. They generally fall under the supervision of ministries of education, which have established special units for them, usually higher education divisions and the like. They therefore do not tend to have collegiate management of coordination; the higher education divisions of the central education authorities take the relevant decisions on the establishment, structure and operational regulations of these institutions. However, in some countries (e.g. Argentina), non-university education is supervised by more than one authority and even by ministries other than the Ministry of Education (FLACSO, 1985, pp. 24-28). This is a special case of relative autonomy in the university subsystem in which each unit tends to create its own non-university higher education sector.

As far as we have been informed, there are no associations that group these institutions at the national level, as in the case of universities. The latter tend to establish different types of associations (of rectors of universities, etc.), which function as "think-tanks" and research centres and coexist with university coordinator agencies. The following institutions are examples: the Board of Rectors of Brazilian Universities (CRUB), the Colombian Association of Universities (ASCUN), the Dominican Association of University Rectors (ADRU).

Another significant fact, indicative of an effort at transborder cooperation, concertation, coordination and exchange in higher education, is the emergence of *regional and subregional institutions,* which cover universities and other higher education institutions. The Union of Latin American Universities (UDUAL), established in 1949 with headquarters in Mexico, is the oldest of them. More recently, the Confederation of Central American Universities (CSUCA) was established in 1960 with headquarters in Costa Rica; the Association of Caribbean Universities and Research Institutes (UNICA) was founded in 1976 with headquarters in Puerto Rico; the Inter-American University Organization (OUI) was established in 1978; it was incorporated in

Costa Rica but has its administrative office in Quebec, Canada (UDUAL, 1989: OUI, 1987); and the Inter-University Development Centre (CINDA) was established in 1978 with headquarters in Chile (formerly called the Andean Inter-University Development Centre.)

UNESCO established in 1978 the Regional Centre for Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (CRESALC), with the aim of promoting and implementing research, development, technical cooperation, concertation and information sharing programmes. CRESALC is different from the other institutions mentioned in that it has no concept of membership or affiliation. Since it falls under UNESCO, all the countries of the regions which are members of that organization may request and use its services (CRESALC/UNESCO, 1989.)

As a result of the activities of this group of organizations, "hierarchy" crises and the transborder element, numerous *institutional networks* of various types have also emerged, with the aim of carrying out different programmes of mutual interest to their members. Many of these networks have been established to implement specialized higher education programmes within the framework of the organizations mentioned above. The idea of planning and management of programmes and projects through networks has spread to the national level, some of them being the national counterparts of regional networks. Management through institutional networks opens channels for smoother and more effective communication among members, respecting the organizational features of higher education. Some of the networks go far beyond the scope of many national coordination bodies. Many universities join these networks individually, but not as a national bloc.

The following are examples of institutional networks linked to CRESALC: Association of Amazonian Universities (UNAMAZ), Network for Improving the Quality of Higher Education and Advanced Training for Teaching and Research Staff (REDESLAC), and Distance Higher Education Network (REDLAED) (See UNAMAZ, 1988; CRESALC/UNESCO, 1988.)

Although these regional and subregional institutions, like their networks, do not have decision-making or executive powers or any direct influence on decisions taken on the formulation and execution of national higher education policies, they have to a large extent helped to develop the concept and practice of cooperative management among higher education institutions and to implement many projects in priority areas for the development of higher education. However, it must be recalled that the activities these networks perform, or help to perform, are not integrated plans and systematic reforms at the regional level. They are only programmes and projects for research development, cooperation and technical assistance, exchange of information and people. This in no way detracts from their value. On the contrary, their

action may be significant and may help to make planning and management at the national level more flexible because of the participatory and cooperative nature of their management.

In the region there has also been a trend towards subregional integration in higher education. They are not networks or university organizations based on the principle of affiliation or membership, but *subregional universities*. There are in fact two cases of this type of institution. The oldest one is the University of the West Indies, established in 1963, with its main headquarters in Jamaica and other campuses in Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago; but it provides educational services to 14 countries and islands in the English-speaking Caribbean. The university has a Central Coordinating Board in Jamaica and similar boards and vice-chancellors in each campus. In 1984, it was restructured to give each campus greater autonomy in planning and management, but maintained a Central Board in Jamaica for the purposes of exchanging information and coordination (See Nettleford, 1989 and Layne, A., 1989.)

Another example is the Simon Bolivar Andean University, based in Bolivia and established in 1985 by the Andean parliament. This university, which is still in the organizational stage, will provide training and research services at the post-graduate level using the existing institutional infrastructure in the five countries in the Andean Group, i.e. Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela (See Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, 1986.)

At the institutional level, many universities and non-university higher education institutions in the region have organizational units for *institutional planning*. At present, we do not have sufficient information to estimate the number, but we can state that they do exist in most of the large, long-standing universities in the region and that those which do not have such units have the firm intention of establishing them.

Like the coordinator bodies at the national level, these institutional planning units differ widely as to their organizational position, objectives, scope and powers. Their role in the institutional management process is not clear. Some emphasize material planning, others financial planning and management, others curricular planning. They may fall under the rectors's jurisdiction or that of administrative or academic vice-rectors. The distinctive feature of these planning units is that they have arisen out of concern by the institutions about rationalizing and systematizing their operations and decision making but, in practice, they are still separate from the normal management process. In other words, there is a predominant trend for them to perceive planning as an activity or function separate from management, as mentioned in the second section of this study. Moreover, their decision-making and execu-

tive powers are still very limited. They generally play a mere advisory role in planning and research.

Another significant factor in higher education planning and management at the national or institutional level is *legislation*. Laws, per se, do not guarantee rational planning and management, despite the fact that they have often raised "great expectations" about their potential to bring about change in the region (Casas Armengol, M., 1988.) However, it is important to study them because they are the expression of the will of the governments of Latinamerican and Caribbean countries to unify, integrate or regulate the functioning of higher education institutions, based on uniform principles. They may also include decisions and actions involving more specific activities than national plans, like partial reform programmes and projects. Many of these legal instruments have emerged as a complement or support to reforms and innovations, and have been considered by many countries as reforms and innovations in themselves (Parra, R., 1985.)

Integrated legal frameworks in higher education emerged along with the national coodinator bodies. Only 5 countries have organic laws governing all of higher education: both university and non-university (Table 8). Nevertheless, there has been a recent trend towards drawing up these organic laws in other countries, Venezuela, for example (Venezuela, 1988.) These organic laws coexist in some cases with other more specific laws pertaining to the university or non-university groups, an even some institutions in particular. They are recent, dating from 1976 to 1980, and have been passed in the same countries which have national coordinator bodies for higher education as a whole.

In the other 21 countries there are separate laws for universities and non-university institutions. The laws governing universities predate, as might be expected, those governing non-university institutions. The recent emergence of other post-secondary education institutions has given rise to other special legal instruments to regulate their functioning, but which are mostly separate from those regulating universities.

Another point that must be highlighted is that there are 21 universities in 14 countries of the region with special legislation, which grants 15 of them a special legal, organizational and functional status within the university group (Table 8.) This special status is very significant for coordination, planning and management at the national level.

What role can laws play in the planning and management of higher education at the national level? We have already advanced some elements of a response to this question. They are frameworks for decision making and action, which can give consistency and coherence to planning and management activities. They may be used by higher education coordinator bodies as instru-

ments for regulation, rationalization and integration. But, paradoxically, in most of the countries of the region, these agencies do not have the power to execute or enforce those laws, because they operate in a fundamentally consultative and advisory capacity. The central education authority therefore has to apply the laws to a group of institutions that are not directly under its jurisdiction or the jurisdiction of the aforementioned bodies. Hence, in many cases, higher education is self-sufficient in many countries. In others, it is simply not known who has the authority to apply those legal mechanisms, and this creates uncertainty and confusion in planning and management.

Experience in Planning Higher Education in the Region

In the previous sections we examined the environment in which higher education planning and management has evolved in the region, its organizational and functional infrastructure and the regulatory framework supporting it. Now, at a more specific level, we shall examine the direct results of all these factors and elements. This analysis, like that of the previous sections, shall be based on national monographs on higher education produced by CRESALC and other information available at the Information and Documentation Service of this Centre.

The analysis of this information showed only 7 national plans for higher education development concentrated in 4 countries in the region: Colombia, Cuba, Mexico and Nicaragua (Table 9.) They are all relatively recent (1976-1988) and have emerged along with the national coordinator bodies covering all of higher education in those countries.

In two countries (Cuba and Mexico), more than one plan has been drawn up: three in Cuba and two in Mexico. Cuba's higher education plans have been part of the five-year integrated development plans of that country (University of Havana, 1985.) In Mexico, the plan coincided with the National Higher Education Coordination Act, which gives the ANUIES and the Higher Education Under-Secretariat, besides other powers, the authority to draw up and execute two plans: one for the 1976-81 period and the other for the 1982-92 period (See: Ibarrola, M., pp. 24-29; Mexico, 1982; ANUIES, 1981.) In Colombia, the ICFES drew up an initial plan for the 1982-86 period, and since 1989 it has been preparing another five-year plan to cover the whole higher education system (ICFES, 1982.) In Nicaragua a transitional plan for higher education for only two years (1980-81) was designed, the intention being to prepare more long-term plans subsequently, but work on this was not continued due to the country's economic and political situation since then (CNES, 1980.)

In the university group there are only 5 plans in just 2 countries: three in Costa Rica and two in Brazil. In Costa Rica, the practice of drawing up five-year plans for university education, which integrate the institutional plans of the universities in the country, has been institutionalized by the National Board of Rectors (CONARE) (CONARE, 1989, p. 59.) In Brazil, the plans have coincided with the processes of university reform, the first of which began in 1965 and had a decisive influence on university life in Brazil. The second, in 1976, included the post-graduate level as a result of the steps taken by the Higher Education Secretariat and CAPES (both of which are dependencies of the Ministry of Education and Culture) in cooperation with the Board of Brazilian University Chancellors (CRUB) (CAPES, 1977). At present, CRUB has put a national system of information on higher education on stream, which will be of great help in drafting and managing plans.

There were more plans at the institutional level, especially in universities. We have recorded only 8 institutional development plans, but we are aware that many more exist, though the exact number could not be determined due to the scattered information available on the whole higher education system in the region (Table 9.) These institutional plans are mainly concentrated in Argentina, Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago and Venezuela. It should also be noted that in the countries which have integrated plans, either for higher education as a whole or for universities alone, there are also institutional plans. In Venezuela, in particular, there is a proliferation of institutional plans, as well as systematic attempts to arrive at a national plan.

The situation is very different in non-university higher education; there is no evidence of a particular systematic plan here. Plans have been drawn up for establishing certain types of short-term higher education, both in Colombia and Venezuela, but have not encompassed all non-university education.

Although there have been relatively few plans, the same is not true for partial reforms and specific projects. We were able to identify 70 reforms and projects, 8 of which covered all higher education, 30 universities, 3 non-university education, and 29 concentrated on certain institutions, all of them universities (Table 10.) A more exhaustive study of the region would probably show a higher number of projects and reforms. Many of these innovations and reforms have coincided with the passing of a law, the establishment of an institution, some partial structural change or the external dynamics or projection of existing institutions.

The scope and location of the plans, reforms and projects in time and space have been determined but what have their content and main objectives been? As can be seen in Table 11, most of the reforms and projects identified have been concentrated more on organizational aspects, curricular structure

and administrative matters. The most numerous are curricular type reforms, which change study programmes and academic organization. In some countries the introduction of a law or the establishment of a training or research institution has been considered an innovation. There are very few innovations or reforms in the relation between higher education and its environment; for example, the links between higher education and secondary education, and between higher education and the working world or the goods and services producing sector. However, with regard to the latter, there is a clear trend in most of the countries towards promoting links between higher education and the productive sector, with a view to broadening horizons and seeking new alternatives for solving the critical financial problems faced.

These results are consistent with those of another study we carried out on a group of countries in the region, which focused in particular on the relationship between research and educational reform, from the perspective of the research-development link. The study showed that there was no link between research in and on higher education and reform projects. First, the reforms concentrated on the internal structural aspects of the system and, to a far lesser degree, on other aspects related to the projection of their activities towards the outside world. Second, it was shown that researchers hardly participated in planning and management activities. Their participation was essentially on an individual basis, but not part of a structured programme at the institutional level (Silvio, J., 1987.)

The links shown between research and development and reform programmes could also be compared to relations between planning and the other management functions of higher education. The study cited also revealed a gap between planning and execution and its control thereof within the framework of plans, programmes and projects.

Based on the information available on plans and reforms and recalling the elements of the functional dimension of planning listed in Section 4 above, it can be stated that planning and management of higher education in Latin America and the Caribbean has been characterized by its predominantly institutional scope, concentration on universities, public sector bias, short or medium-term duration, basic orientation towards teaching and general organizational aspects, and emphasis on the internal teaching and administrative –but basically teaching – structure of institutions.

Conclusions, Suggestions and Prospects

Based on the evidence presented and other considerations arising from our direct experience in Latin America and the Caribbean, we have drawn up a series of conclusions and suggestions, and a number of hypotheses concern-

ing the prospects of higher education planning and management in the region. Many of the conclusions reached here have been only partially confirmed by the data available. More thorough testing would require more systematic and further research than the preliminary analysis attempted in this paper.

On Infrastructure for Planning and Management

The complexity of higher education in the countries of the region and its probable further complexity in future, would suggest that the mechanisms for planning and management in this area should be increasingly effective, on the one hand, and, on the other, should be able to offer varied, flexible and change-inducing responses to the problems. One could assume that the growth in the student population in higher education will stabilize in most of the countries and that there will not be an explosion like that of the 60s or 70s. On the other hand, it can be reasonably assumed that it will be more qualitatively diversified, based on the evidence we have shown and the natural trend of that system to offer more and more new specializations, new sub-levels and to assume new functions. For example, the growth of the post-graduate level is indicative of this trend towards complexity and diversity (Klubitschko, D., 1986.) The same can be said of new functions and the revitalization of the hitherto nominal functions of universities, such as active participation in the process of goods and services production.

There are, on the other hand, another series of factors derived from the environment within which higher education planning and management activities shall have to be conducted in the region, which will profoundly influence them in future. In addition to the historical and cultural influences of the first colonists of the region, there will be others from intra-regional exchanges, as indicated in Section 5 above. But, there are indications of new interregional exchanges in future. Some countries, like Brazil, Cuba, Venezuela and island states of the English-speaking Caribbean have begun cultural cooperation, especially at the university level, with some African countries. Recently, also, a big project for academic exchanges between European and Latin American universities, called "Project Columbus", has been put on stream under the coordination of the Conference of European University Rectors (CRE, 1989.) At the same time, electronic communication networks between universities and academic institutions have been emerging –in addition to the existing ones– which allow more frequent, smoother and more dynamic communications, even beyond national borders. This will introduce further elements of diversity into the already complex amalgam of higher education in the region.

The same can be said of the university vs. non-university dichotomy. Although most of the student population is still concentrated in the big universities, future trends will be towards distribution among smaller universities and various types of non-university institutions. This will be compounded by the disparity in the size of institutions and the growth of the private sector which, though it is still smaller, will probably increase its share of the student population in future.

All these factors demand that concepts, infrastructure and planning and management methods in higher education be rethought. Should there be a type of planning and management adapted to each kind of institution, to each sector, and to institutions according to size? Or, should there be a common and uniform model for all? The higher education planner shall have to answer questions like these and other more complex ones.

We have noticed that national higher education coordinator bodies are still in their infancy in a great number of countries. Nevertheless, it is quite likely that they will become stronger in the future for two reasons. First, they have emerged as an expression of a need felt in higher education circles and not only as attempts by central education authorities to control. Second, there is a trend towards greater integration, cooperation and communication among higher education institutions, which creates the conditions for the rise of a new supra-institutional body capable of the inter-institutional coordination no single higher education institution can provide.

However, the role of these agencies in the group of higher education institutions at the national level must be specified. The differences between these agencies in scope, coverage, functions and powers, as mentioned, makes them unequally representative and influential.

Defining their functions is not an easy task. First, there is a difference of opinion as to whether these bodies should have decision-making and executive powers or whether they should only be instruments of concertation, coordination and consultation. Tipping the scales one way or the other would depend on the particular conditions, context and development needs of each country. However, all indications are that a balance between both extremes would be the most desirable path. It should be recalled that universities have a deeply rooted tradition of autonomy and that, despite the fact that in many countries the central authorities have succeeded in exercising greater control over them, sometimes to the detriment of their autonomy, there is a resurgence of this autonomy as a functional need and not only a mere formal principle inherited from the famous Cordoba movement of 1918. The idea of functional autonomy has also spread to the non-university higher education institutions, which are growing to be more and more like universities in their structure and functioning.

It is not easy to strike a balance between executive control and coordination of diversity because it is precarious and requires continuous adjustment and very dynamic coordinating agencies able to adapt to the changes higher education will undergo in the future in its fight for survival as an institution and its search for a new identity in society. Moreover, there is every indication that higher education will be far from homogenous in the future; the trend is definitely towards further heterogeneity. It will therefore be difficult to attempt to homogenize in a world inclined towards diversity, not only in higher education but in all walks of life. Similarly, the trend towards democracy and participation is increasingly accentuated. At the same time, as indicated earlier, institutional networks of universities and other academic institutions will emerge, whose activities will, in many cases, transcend national borders and which will grow much faster with the development of electronic communication potential. What role can these agencies play in the face of these new realities? The answer requires deeper reflection. One certainty is that those agencies must be more dynamic than the institutions they coordinate and able to offer a greater variety of responses to different types of changes; if not, they will simply be absorbed and overtaken by events, losing their legitimacy and functionality.

Another problem to be solved in future in the composition and coordination of the higher education system is the relationship between universities and the other non-university higher education institutions. In some countries, such as Venezuela, the trend is towards a single integrated system; but this trend is not clear in all the countries of the region. We have observed that in most of the countries of the region there are separate coordinator bodies for each institutional group. What will the situation be in the future? As far as we can see, it is also probable that the coordination of both groups will remain separate. If this trend is maintained and consolidated, there will be greater differentiation between universities and the rest of the system and they will develop as relatively unrelated parallel systems. What would be the ideal situation? The trends towards integration and cooperation observed in many countries suggest that common coordination of all higher education is desirable. However, one should be aware that any coodinator body or mechanism implanted in a country will have to do a job that cannot be accomplished individually: to be, as mentioned earlier, more dynamic than the group it coordinates and, at the same time, to guarantee the functional autonomy the institutions need to ensure academic freedom and freedom of research.

The relationship between higher education coordinator body and the national education policy-making and executive bodies is another sore point in the infrastructure and functioning of planning and management. Irregularity has predominated in those relations within the countries and inequality among the various countries of the region, because there is no clear definition

of these bodies, as indicated before, and a lack of integrated national education development plans.

This is an attempt to connect two worlds that have hitherto functioned separately. The dispersion and diversity of higher education as a whole comes up against the uniformity and centralization of planning and management in the rest of the education system. Is it wise to integrate higher education policies, plans and reforms with the rest of the education system? The response from the higher education community and the whole education community will undoubtedly be yes. But, in attempting to put this coordination into practice, the enormous differences between planning and management in the university world and the rest of the education system may rise to the surface. On the one hand, as stated, a uniform model for functioning cannot be transposed to the higher education system. On the other hand, there seems to be agreement on the need to link higher education development with that of education as a whole. A compromise solution would be hard to achieve unless the legitimacy and functionality of higher education coordinator bodies are reinforced and their role in the group of higher education institutions clearly defined in the countries.

Together with the linkage of these bodies with the central authorities for national educational policy, it is considered desirable to try to forge closer ties between them and the national agencies responsible for science and technology policy. In most of the countries of the region there are national councils, institutes and even ministries in charge of these policies. But their relationship with the higher education coordinator bodies has not been very clear. It is paradoxical that the universities, which are the natural storehouses of scientific and technological knowledge and research, do not have a close relationship with the science and technology bodies in drafting and implementing development plans. However, cooperation in this area is much more viable than for the rest of the education system. The national science and technology bodies have in one way or another been spawned by the universities, have drawn on them, and have conserved much of their operational style, which is not the case with ministries of education.

With regard to the internal structure and functioning of the coordinator agencies, one should ask the question: apart from the role they should play, what services should they provide and what activities should they carry out. It could be said that this should be the automatic result of the definition of their role and legal and functional status, but, in practice, this is not quite true. There are very few agencies capable of providing the wide variety of services higher education institutions need, such as, technical, academic, administrative and functional support. In some cases, we find agencies that have an elaborate infrastructure for providing these services, but in others they exist

in name only. They should be consolidated in order to be truly of assistance to higher education institutions in their functioning, with support services for teaching, research, extension, planning, management, concertation and information sharing.

Another very important point is the relationship between these agencies and those of other countries and other governmental and non-governmental organizations, whose activities have a direct or indirect effect on higher education. The establishment of networks of national agencies should be promoted, and this would facilitate regional cooperation, without undermining the importance and functionality of the existing or future international networks in which universities and other higher education institutions participate directly.

On Plans, Reforms and Laws

The trends towards greater cooperation, coordination and integration in higher education will create a need to draft and execute integrated national plans for its future development. To date, as noted, plans have been very limited and specific projects and reforms have predominated, concentrated in particular on certain innovative institutions. There has not been a strategic, long-term view, but this is beginning to emerge (Llanos de la Hoz, 1983; Kotler and Murphy, 1981; Morrison et al., 1984).

To what extent should there be national planning? Should there be integrated national plans or joint institutional plans? Here again, the problems of centralization vs. decentralization and uniformity vs. diversity come into play. The planner, accustomed to planning for homogenous situations which respond to a number of variables that are relatively easier to control –like those of the rest of the education system–, is faced with quite a difficult task. The concepts and techniques of planning in education have not been developed for higher education but for the rest of the education system. Many concepts and techniques have been transposed to higher education and have come up against a dynamic entity, more unpredictable than the education system at the primary or secondary levels. It is therefore necessary to also reformulate concepts and methodologies for planning at the higher level, in order to adapt them to its specificities.

The mere amassing of education plans does not seem advisable, neither is "downstream" planning a viable solution. Here again, a precarious balance must be sought and this is the challenge higher education planners and administrators will have to face in future. Planning has been conducted at the institutional level and unsuccessful attempts have been made to transfer concepts and techniques to the national level. These two levels of planning and

management have their particularities and, although many experts have acknowledged this, there is great uncertainty as to how to proceed when pressing and unforeseen problems arise which require immediate action by the planner or professional administrator.

At a more specific level, it is necessary to reformulate the functional scope of plans. Hitherto, planning and management has covered teaching functions and, to a lesser extent, research and extension. Higher education planning and management is associated with organizational, curricular, administrative and financial aspects. Furthermore, one does not think of management in central administration, teaching and research. A suitable combination of administrative with academic planning and management would be ideal.

Legislation on higher education is another aspect which calls for the attention of planners and administrators. The existing normative frameworks, as seen earlier, are the reflection of the diversity and heterogeneity of higher education in the region. A more integrated approach to the problem is required in order to study the type of legislation that would be suitable. First, it would have to be decided whether legislation for all higher education is appropriate, or separate legislation for university and non-university education, or for each higher education institution. In keeping with the trend towards the integration of higher education in a coherent system, some countries, such as Venezuela, have shown a marked inclination towards organic legislation for all higher education (Venezuela, 1988). Organic legislation seems desirable, but it should be, like other organic plans, sufficiently flexible to allow variety and institutional diversity. This again requires a special approach, very different from the approach to legislation for other levels of education, and the lawmakers should be assisted by professionals in different disciplines performing different functions in the field of higher education.

On Relations Between Higher Education and Society

Universities and other higher education centres are becoming gradually aware of their environment, the fact that they need it and can contribute to its development. They have also become aware of the need for more funding for their operations and of the fact that they have potential scientific, technical, social and humanistic skills that they can offer to society. These are the grounds and motivation for the new trends in higher education, especially in universities, towards closer links with the outside world, but especially the sectors producing goods and services.

What implications could these links have for planning and management? The absence of reforms, plans and projects which envisage, in particular, the linkage between higher education and its environment has been discussed. This is a result of the well known "inward-looking" orientation of institutions.

University planners and administrators do not have proven experience in relations between institutions and the outside world.

Universities have developed and consolidated a structure for teaching and research, but not for production and cooperation with the outside world. The links with the productive sector may help to revitalize them, but must be carefully handled. Some institutions have already established foundations, cooperation units, firms and various types of mechanisms to ensure this linkage. However, there is the danger of putting new parts into old, rusty organizational machinery, whose function has not been innovation but conservation. Two parallel organizations might emerge, one for dialogue with the outside world and the other for continuing the same internal teaching and research practices. If this does occur, one of the two could eventually compete with the other and the winner would in all probability be the one that preserves tradition, because it is structured and tested and therefore easier to maintain. The new structure for institution environment dialogue would therefore be submerged and finally absorbed by the old structure, becoming a part of it and an efficient mechanism for preserving inefficiency and conservatism.

Higher education planners, administrators and policy-makers should be capable of reformulating management concepts and practices in order to assimilate and handle that innovation and try to extend it to all levels of institutional life, especially teaching and research, the aim being to facilitate its dissemination, and should ensure that it does not come into conflict, or even compete, with other functions of normal institutional life but help to revitalize them. This will be a new challenge for planners and administrators, which should be immediately addressed, since the links between universities and the productive sector in various countries of the region are already being forged. Apart from the initiatives of various universities, projects with regional scope, such as CRESALC and the Conference of European University Rectors (CRE), the latter under the aforementioned Project Columbus, are already being developed.

This linkage will be an opportunity to tap the potential of higher education institutions in relation to society that the institutions cannot miss. The productive sector will be watching out for expressions of quality and efficiency in higher education institutions. Any shortcoming in this area will cause this sector, which is by nature hesitant to use any university service, to withdraw.

One of the effects linkage with the productive sector, in the broader sense, may have on teaching and research is a result of the very structure of that sector. Development projects usually contain many elements and components that cannot be managed by experts in a single branch. There are multi-

sectoral components which require various types of knowledge. By the same token, in the scientific world, there has been a growing trend towards disciplinary cross-over or plurality, which is the academic counterpart of economic multisectoral trend. It seems logical to think about trying to achieve convergence between these two trends, which have appeared in two hitherto unrelated worlds. This opens a new area for planning and management which, if well handled, may be very promising for higher education and the productive sector.

On the Role of Information and Communication in Planning and Management

One of the most sore points in decision-making and practising planning and management in higher education in Latin America and the Caribbean is the lack of information, its poor quality, partial coverage, and dispersion, on the one hand; and, on the other, the technological media used to try to process this data and disseminate it. This vital element is often forgotten and it is taken for granted that information exists and automatically circulates. This mentality was logical in the first half of this century, when the circulation of information was restrticted to a small group of people and institutions, and had not assumed the mass proportions of today. The problem with information also occurs with knowledge, which is the most sophisticated level of processing of information and the key to scientific and technical expertise that runs organizations and the application of the product of their activities to the economic and social world.

With the objective of helping to solve this problem, CRESALC has been working on statistical data since 1980 and on qualitative data since 1984, and has taken various steps towards improvement and systematization. These relatively specific activities have been integrated since 1987 in the project "Data Bank on Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean" which, besides envisaging the development of quantitative and qualitative data bases at the regional level, shall include national data bases and information systems to support planning, research and management.

CRESALC's efforts may be complemented by those of UDUAL, which is developing a project called SIESALC (Information System on Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean), whose main objective is to facilitate the exchange of information on academic activities in higher education in the region. Similarly, OUI is implementing a project to establish an inter-American information and communications network (RICIU), aimed mainly at management. At the national level, several countries such as Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Mexico and Venezuela have developed national information systems which should be improved. In other countries like Ecuador and the Dominican Republic, efforts to this end are also being made (Silvio, J., 1989).

Information as a support for planning and management is more important today and will be increasingly so in future, with the current availability and development of information technologies and telematics, which will greatly facilitate the handling and circulation of information, especially through the institutional networks already in operation at the regional and national levels.

However, it is not enough to develop good data bases and information systems which is not technically difficult with the development of modern technologies cited. One must also understand the intrinsic and extrinsic value of information; the relationship between information itself, how it is communicated, how decisions are made and action taken within the framework of development plans, reforms and projects in higher education. Although many planners and administrator fully recognize the importance of these relations, they do not make rational use of the information and the technological media available. This point will also have to be emphasized through systematic of training and consciousness raising.

On the Role of Institutional Networks in Planning and Management

As indicated in Section 6, there are various institutional networks in the region in the educational and scientific fields, which cover institutions from different countries and have been built up around a project or field of action considered priority by the members of the network. Various international, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations also participate.

There is a notable absence of higher education coordinator bodies in some of them and relatively limited circulation of information to other higher education institutions at the national level. In others, activity at the regional level has been complemented by national networks but, in certain networks, participation has been limited solely to the particular member national institution.

The action of these regional networks should be spread to more specific areas of the different countries in order to reach a larger number of beneficiaries and to pool efforts. To this end, the coordinator bodies could play a very important role if they collaborate with the networks, giving the institutions freedom to participate and avoiding centralization of activities, since this would be contrary to the form of management of the network which, by definition, must encourage participation not a pecking order.

Networks, because they are not hierarchic or centralized, are the ideal mechanism for planning, introducing and managing innovations in higher education. Here also, with farsightedness, the efficiency of these networks can be significantly increased by using new telecommunication technologies, since they function basically on communications.

On Training Planners and Administrators for Higher Education

Although many planners have been specially trained for higher education, this is not the case with administrators. Higher education institutions have academic staff who perform management functions without being specially trained for this. There are professional administrators, but usually at the level of middle-management in universities.

Should these directors be professional administrators? How highly trained should they be? Recently, in Latin America and the Caribbean two concern have been aroused as to the academic staff in higher education. The first is teacher training of staff with a view to improving the quality of teaching and apprenticeship; and the second, which is more recent, is the need to train administrators for higher education in order to achieve more efficient management.

Both concerns have given rise to projects and institutional networks designed to promote programmes in this field. The CRESALC-coordinated network, REDESLAC, has already been mentioned. It was established to improve the quallity and efficiency of higher education and has been in operation since 1984; 16 universities and a number of countries of the region participate.

With regard to training administrators, the OUI has launched a programme (and has also established institutes) on university leadership and management to train those officers (OUI, 1989). Similar efforts are being made by the Conference of European University Rectors (CRE) under Project COLUMBUS, which also envisages exchanges between Europe and Latin America and other similar activities (CRE, 1989).

All these initiatives face a common problem: should we train a type of professional who could be called a university administrator or should academic staff be given further training? In the latter case, what level of administrative or management training should the academic staff have? Who should be given this type of training: higher education authorities, high-level or middle-management staff? All these questions must be answered before generalizing any training activity in higher education management. Another question to be answered is whether or not management training should be offered to university, faculty or department heads who will not hold these posts for long? Many university authorities in the region are elected and their direct assistants are usually appointed for the duration of their term in office. In these circumstances the question is whether this staff would have sufficient time to be trained in the basic principles of management and whether they would be motivated to learn.

Our personal opinion is that staff who have to divide their time among other fundamental areas of higher education should not be turned into professionals, but should have some basic training. A university professor and researcher cannot be obliged to be a pedagogue and administrator in addition to his work of keeping up-to-date in his discipline, doing research and helping to service the productive sector. They may however be given some basic training as part of post-graduate courses or special short courses, together with permanent advisory services to the university authorities and all the staff involved in university management. For example, advisory units on university planning and management could be established, made up of highly qualified staff in the field which could help to solve any planning and management problem that the decision and policy-making staff might face. This would ease the burden on the officers with multiple decision-making and management functions in universities.

However, the problem of rationalizing higher education management will not be solved merely by training administrators and creating management advisory units. If the present structures are maintained, these innovations and efforts may, as stated before, be stifled by old and rigid machinery. The movement towards rationalizing management and training administrators will undoubtedly have an innovative effect on higher education institutions, whatever the approach. The effectiveness of the impact will depend on how the innovation develops and takes root within the institution. The institution will therefore have to become more permeable and flexible.

On the Role of Regional and Subregional Organizations in Higher Education Planning and Management

Are regional and subregional higher education plans possible? A difficult question to answer. To date, most of the countries of the region have had difficulties in drafting and implementing national plans. It would be even more difficult to envisage regional plans in an apparently homogenous region, but very heterogenous upon more detailed analysis. Combining national and regional plans could be very complicated. A questions also comes to mind: how far should planning go? If we place too much emphasis on the need for planning, we could introduce rigidity and regulations into an area like higher education which should be dynamic. However, it is possible to think of flexible programmes for regional action that take due account of national plans based on the countries' needs.

There are several governmental and non-govermental organizations in the region active in the field of higher education, as indicated in Section 6 above (UDUAL,OUI,CSUCA,UNICA and CRESALC).The potential of these organizations and their programmes should be tapped and closer relations

developed between them and the national higher education coordinator bodies, notwithstanding the promotion of institutional participation. All the programmes and projects carried out by these organizations may be very valuable in injecting dynamism into cooperation in the world of higher education. However, they must not be allowed to substitute or unnecessarily duplicate initiatives at the national or institutional levels, should these organizations claim to usurp the role of national institutions. The result could be an unfortunate and unnecessary duplication of efforts and overlapping of competence. In such cases the best strategy would be to help the national agencies and institutions, and the institutions interested in a project, to carry it out, providing them with the necessary cooperation and technical assistance. This is the best role these organizations can play, besides their coordination, mobilization, concertation, stimulation and exchange functions.

Planning and Management for Excellence and Efficiency in Higher Education

How can excellence and efficiency in higher education be planned and managed? All the reflection and resulting debate has helped, in one way or another, to answer this question. Nevertheless, some other fine points must be added.

Excellence in higher education is linked with quality, the achievement of which is affected by other factors like those indicated in the previous sections, which are based on the components of the structure of higher education and its dynamics. Improvement of the quality of higher education will depend basically on the improvement of its products, processes, structures, actors, technologies and relations between higher education institutions and their environment. The products of higher education are varied and are the result of the activities of higher education institutions in teaching, research and professional services to the economy and the society in general. There are also processes through which these products are produced, which are carried out within a certain structure, using different technologies or methodologies in the broadest sense, and with the participation of different types of actors. At the same time, institutions establish a number of links with their environment, through different processes, structures and actors, but especially those who participate in providing services to the community.

Joint action on all these factors and elements will, undoubtedly, ensure planning and management for achieving excellence and quality. As complex and utopian as this aim and the tasks involved in its achievement may seem, higher education institutions have the potential for joint and coordinated action to this end. What is lacking is motivation and innovation, an injection of dynamism into stagnating institutions to make them rekindle their desire for and faith in development.

There are currently two aspects that could ignite the flame of innovation in higher education in the region. One of them allows action on its internal structure, in order to improve the quality of the processes of teaching-apprenticeship and research, and the other its outward projection towards its environment by progressive and effective linkage with the goods and services production sector. In this way two complementary aspects of excellence are combined: internal or academic excellence and quality, and external excellence and quality.

Along with the effort to outwardly project the scientific, technical, social and humanistic potential of higher education, which has been largely wasted by society, steps must be taken to improve the internal quality of the processes, structures and actors, which allow that expetise and skill to be created, for example, research, professional training, creation and application of technologies. If not, there is the risk of projecting something that does not exist. If there is no internal quality, the potential of higher education institutions will have a negative image. But, at the same time, the external image, regardless of its initial quality, may help to considerably dynamize and motivate latent factors of internal quality improvement. These forces of internal quality do exist in higher education. Their latency is, to a large extent, the result of a lack of appropriate conditions for their effective use, particularly, archaic and rigid structures, processes and mentalities. There are academic staff, technologies and research potential to be tapped, which can motivate the academic world of higher education by showing that it performs one of the essential missions of higher education institutions: being the storehouse of knowledge and its appplication to economic and social progress.

Efficiency is related to quality, but it is not synonymous with it, nor is there necessarily a direct or proportional relationship between the two. We can have quality in higher education and use it inefficiently, as has been the case so far. Similarly, higher education institutions may be very efficient in carrying out their activities but their products may be of poor quality. In the first case, we have inefficient use of good quality. In the second, efficient management of poor quality. Neither extreme is desirable.

Efficiency can be compared to the optimum use of scarce resources to achieve objectives and goals in the shortest period of time possible, taking time to be a resource too. Unfortunately, the financial crisis besetting higher education institutions has led many policy-makers, planners and administrators to think that efficiency can be achieved with more funding. This is a partial view of the concept, criteria and conditions for efficiency. This narrow concept therefore needs to be reformulated, in order to construct a more compenhensive frame of reference for planning and management, which would include all economic, human, academic and material factors.

Efficiency is related to other concepts besides quality, which are also parameters for the functioning of higher education and a gauge of its value in society. They are: coverage (or scope of action of higher education), fairness or relevance. It would be ideal to have a broad higher education, with equal opportunities for all, and very relevant to the needs and particularities of the society in which it functions, and of high quality. However, it is rather difficult to fully ensure that this objective will be met, and planners and managers will, in future, have to know how to intelligently handle a suitable combination of these parameters.

There are the necessary conceptual and technical elements for achieving appropriate planning and management for excellence, efficiency, coverage, fairness and relevance in higher education, and there is the qualified academic and administrative staff, but they have been seriously limited by anachronistic and rigid structures. Structural change must be promoted along with a change in mentality. There is a wealth of innovative forces in higher education which, if well used, can make it possible to achieve the planning and management goals we desire for the region.

On the need to Further, Generalize and Systematize Research on and for Planning and Management of Higher Education in the Region

As mentioned earlier, research in education, like planning, has been separate from the management process. According to our view, they should be combined.

This study is a modest contribution and an example of research *on* planning and management, which has proved certain points and given an overview of the situation of the region in this regard. It has also allowed us to formulate certain hypotheses on which further and more systematic research could be carried out in future. We will therefore have achieved half of our objectives in this initial approach. Many problems still need to be thoroughly examined. This study has put forward some of them which, for lack of available information, time and space, we have not been able to develop. The shortcomings of this study are the best indication of what is needed to further research on planning.

Similarly, steps should be taken to more effectively integrate research *into* planning and management processes. Research has hitherto been used in planning as a resource to obtain a superficial view of phenomena or situations on which decisions and urgent action will be taken. Research, planning and management have all been of and for crises, and are only put into action when a problem arises.

The region lacks good systems and practices of farsighted management. Prospective research, planning and management must be developed, in order to genuinely help to identify real and potential problems and, at the same time, solutions, which could be transformed into plans, programmes and projects to solve these problems more effectively and prevent many of them forme occurring. Unfortunately, forecasting has also been relegated to an inferior position and, even though many planners, policy-makers and administrators, consider it necessary, in practice it ends up being viewed as an elegant form of thinking out and constructing future scenarios and does not have a significant impact on decisions and action. It is therefore necessary to include research and forecasting in the frameworks for decision-making and action in higher education.

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Table N° 1 – General Data on Countries of Latin America and the Caribbean

Country	Population (1987) thousands	%	Area (thousands) Km2	%	Demog Density Habs/Km2	Official Language	Enrolment Rates 20-24 years
Argentina	31,494	7.7	2,799	13.7	11	S	38.4
Barbados	254	0.1	0.4	0.0	635	E	19.9
Bolivia	6,797	1.7	1,098	5.4	6	S	19
Brazil	141,452	34.4	8,512	41.8	17	P	11.4
Chile	12,536	3.0	737	3.6	17	S	15.9
Colombia	29,729	7.2	1,142	5.6	26	S	13.1
Costa Rica	2,781	0.7	51	0.3	54	S	23.8
Dominican Republic	6,716	1.6	48	0.2	140	S	19.3
Cuba	10,288	2.5	111	0.5	93	S	22.5
Ecuador	9,923	2.4	276	1.4	36	S	33.1
El Salvador	5,009	1.2	21	0.1	238	S	14.1
Guatemala	6,380	1.6	109	0.5	58	S	8.6
Guyana	989	0.2	215	1.1	5	E	2.1
Haiti	5,438	1.3	27	0.1	201	F	1.1
Honduras	4,656	1.1	112	0.5	41	S	9.5
Jamaica	2,409	0.6	11	0.1	219	E	4.2
Mexico	81,163	19.7	1,958	9.6	41	S	15.7
Netherlands Antilles	253	0.1	1	0.0	231	D	
Nicaragua	3,502	0.9	128	0.6	27	S	8.7
Panama	2,274	0.6	77	0.4	29	S	28.2
Paraguay	3,922	1.0	407	2.0	10	S	9.7
Peru	20,207	4.9	1,285	6.3	16	S	24.6
Suriname	386	0.1	163	0.8	2	D	7.7
Trinidad & Tobago	1,223	0.3	5	0.0	245	E	4.2
Uruguay	3,058	0.7	176	0.9	17	S	41.6
Venezuela	18,272	4.4	916	4.5	20	S	26.1
Totals	**411,111**	**100.0**	**20,385.4**	**100.0**	**20**		

Sources: United Nations. *Demographic Yearbook* 1987/UNESCO. *Statistical Yearbook 1988*

D – Dutch, E – English, F – French, P – Portuguese, S – Spanish.

Table N° 2 – Number of Higher Education Institutions by Type of Institution and Institutional Sector

Country	Universities Public	Universities Private	Sub-Total Univs.	Non-Universities Public	Non-Universities Private	Sub-Total Non-Univ.	Sub-Total Public	Sub-Total Private	General Total
Argentina	29	23	52	404	354	758	433	377	810
Barbados	1		1	5		5	6		6
Bolivia	9	1	10	27		27	36	1	37
Brazil	52	31	83	181	607	788	233	638	871
Chile	14	9	23	6	274	280	20	283	303
Colombia	48	81	129	21	75	96	69	156	225
Costa Rica	4	4	8	3	5	8	7	9	16
Cuba	6		6	40		40	46	0	46
Dominican Republic	1	19	20				1	19	20
Ecuador	15	6	21	39		39	54	6	60
El Salvador	1	28	29	12	11	23	13	39	52
Guatemala	1	4	5				1	4	5
Guyana	1		1	6		6	7		7
Haiti	1	1	2		7	7	1	8	9
Honduras	1	2	3	3	1	4	4	3	7
Jamaica	1		1	4		4	5		5
Mexico	35	25	60	152	183	335	187	208	395
Netherlands Antilles	1		1	3		3	4	4	
Nicaragua	3	1	4	10	1	11	13	2	15
Panama	2	1	3				2	1	3
Paraguay	1	1	2	27	10	37	28	11	39
Peru	27	16	43	161	81	242	188	97	285
Suriname	1		1	1		1	2		2
Trinidad & Tobago	1		1	8	3	11	9	3	12
Uruguay	1	1	2	24	5	29	25	6	31
Venezuela	16	9	25	40	27	67	56	36	92
Totals	**273**	**263**	**536**	**1177**	**1644**	**2821**	**1450**	**1907**	**3357**

Source: CRESALC-UNESCO. *Monographs on Higher Education on Latin American and Caribbean Countries*. 1984-89.
Note: Data correspond to different years depending on the country considered.

Table N° 3 – Number of Students in Higher Education Institutions by Type of Institution

Country	Universities Public	Universities Private	Sub-Total Univs.	Non-Universities Public	Non-Universities Private	Sub-Total Non-Univ.	Sub-Total Public	Sub-Total Private	General Total
Argentina	635,192	71,824	707,016	134,585	61,281	195,866	769,777	133,105	902,882
Barbados	1,902		1,902			3,725	1,902		5,627
Bolivia	86,883		86,883	11,679		11,679	98,562		98,562
Brazil	451,428	318,812	770,240	133,923	599,397	733,320	585,351	918,209	1,503,560
Chile	70,656	50,352	121,008	19,000	56,435	75,435	89,656	106,787	196,443
Colombia	136,948	187,395	324,343	11,933	38,794	50,727	148,881	226,189	375,070
Costa Rica	55,639	9,650	65,289	2,208	4,181	6,389	57,847	13,831	71,678
Cuba	256,619		256,619				256,619		256,619
Dominican Republic	67,122	84,776	151,898				67,122	84,776	151,898
Ecuador	151,906	34,547	186,453	6,570		6,570	158,476	34,547	193,023
El Salvador	29,983	36,532	66,515	5,246	2,703	7,949	35,229	39,235	74,464
Guatemala	54,496	16,359	70,855				54,496	16,359	70,855
Guyana	2,137		2,137	2,589		2,589	4,726		4,726
Haiti	5,187	187	5,374		1,648	1,648	5,187	1,835	7,022
Honduras	28,266	839	29,105	3,706	377	4,083	31,972	1,216	33,188
Jamaica	5,088		5,088			7,335	5,088		12,423
Mexico	715,198	476,799	1,191,997	59,473	72,690	132,163	774,671	549,489	1,324,160
Netherlands Antilles	709		709	1,423		1,423	2,132		2,132
Nicaragua	21,009	3,421	24,430	2,880	1,691	4,571	23,889	5,112	29,001
Panama	39,715	5,097	44,812				39,715	5,097	44,812
Paraguay	20,343	8,688	29,031	2,138	1,159	3,297	22,481	9,847	32,328
Peru	234,882	109,586	344,468	59,122	33,292	92,414	294,004	142,878	436,882
Suriname	1,305		1,305	2,204		2,204	3,509		3,509
Trinidad & Tobago	3,728		3,728			1,716	3,728		5,444
Uruguay	74,707	2,773	77,480			10,227	74,707		87,707
Venezuela	242,960	42,825	285,785	69,657	28,095	97,752	312,617	70,920	383,537
Totals	**3,394,008**	**1,460,462**	**4,854,470**	**528,336**	**901,743**	**1,453,082**	**3,922,344**	**2,359,432**	**6,307,552**

Source: CRESALC-UNESCO. *Monographs on Higher Education on Latinamerican and Caribbean Countries.* 1984-1989.
UNESCO. *Statistical Yearbook.* 1988

Table N° 4 – Higher Education Academic Staff by Type of Institution and Institutional Sector

Country	Universities Public	Universities Private	Sub-Total Univs.	Non-Universities Public	Non-Universities Private	Sub-Total Non-Univ.	Sub-Total Public	Sub-Total Private	General Total
Argentina	30,121	13,917	44,038	16,268	10,393	26,661	46,389	24,310	70,699
Barbados	242		242			302	242		544
Bolivia	5,695		5,695	390		390	6,085		6,085
Brazil	60,561	19,241	79,802	9,899	35,782	45,681	70,460	55,023	125,483
Chile	14,593	9,884	24,477			3,528	14,593	9,884	28,005
Colombia	15,721	21,025	36,746	1,477	5,004	6,481	17,198	26,029	43,227
Costa Rica	4,343	498	4,841				4,343	498	4,841
Cuba	15,053		15,053				15,053		15,053
Dominican Republic	2,036	3,660	5,696				2,036	3,660	5,696
Ecuador	9,234	3,286	12,520	744		744	9,978	3,286	13,264
El Salvador	1,496	3,242	4,738	560	139	699	2,056	3,381	5,437
Guatemala	3,993	1,356	5,349				3,993	1,356	5,349
Guyana	390		390	137		137	527		527
Haiti	527	125	652		429	429	527	554	1,081
Honduras	1,622	138	1,760	230	49	279	1,852	187	2,039
Jamaica	423		423			605	423		1,028
Mexico	65,160	43,440	108,600	3,286	4,016	7,302	68,446	47,456	115,902
Netherlands Antilles	92		92	148		148	240		240
Nicaragua	3,044	512	3,556	377	256	633	3,421	768	4,189
Panama	3,080	395	3,475				3,080	395	3,475
Paraguay	1,296	763	2,059	228	238	466	1,524	1,001	2,525
Peru	14,165	5,104	19,269	3,856	1,529	5,385	18,021	6,633	24,654
Suriname	193		193	297		297	490		490
Trinidad & Tobago	403		403				403		403
Uruguay	4,409	166	4,575			613	4,409	166	5,188
Venezuela	18,494	2,297	20,791	5,830	2,575	8,405	24,324	4,872	29,196
Totals	**276,386**	**129,049**	**405,435**	**43,727**	**60,410**	**109,185**	**320,113**	**189,459**	**514,620**

Source: CRESALC-UNESCO. *Monographs on Higher Education on Latinamerican and Caribbean Countries*. 1984-1989.
UNESCO. *Statistical Yearbook*. 1988

Table N° 5 - Some Global Indicators About Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean

Institutions	% of Total
– Universities	16,0
– Public Universities	50,9
– Public Non-Universities	41,7
– Higher Education Institutions in general (public)	43,2
Students	
– In Universities	80,0
– In Public Universities	69,9
– In Public Non-Universities	36,3
– In Higher Education Institutions in general (public)	62,3
Academic staff	
– In Universities	78,8
– In Public Universities	68,2
– In Public Non-Universities	41,2
– In Higher Education Institutions in general (public)	62,2
Average Size of Institutions	**N° of Students**
– Public Universities	12,432
– Private Universities	5,553
– Universities (global)	9,057
– Public Non-Universities	448
– Private Non-Universities	515
– Higher Education Institutions in General (public)	2,715
– Higher Education Institutions in General (private)	1,237
– Higher Education Institutions in General (global)	1,879

Sources: – CRESALC-UNESCO. *Monographs on Higher Education on Latinamerican and Caribbean Countries*. 1984-1989.
– UNESCO. *Statistical Yearbook*. 1988
– Author's calculations.

Table N° 6 - Some Global Indicators on Higher Education by Country

Country	Concentration in Universities		Concentration in the Public Sector			Average Size of Institutions	
	% of Universities	% of Students in universities	% of HE Pub. Inst.	% of students in Public HE institutions	Global	Average N° of students in: Univs.	Non-Univs.
Argentina	6.4	78.3	53.4	85.2	1,115	13,596	258
Barbados	16.7	33.8	100.0	?	938	1,902	745
Bolivia	27.0	88.1	97.3	?	2,664	8,688	432
Brazil	9.5	51.2	26.7	38.9	1,726	9,280	930
Chile	7.6	61.6	6.6	45.6	648	5,261	269
Colombia	57.3	86.5	30.7	39.7	1,667	2,514	528
Costa Rica	50.0	91.2	43.7	80.7	4,480	8,161	798
Cuba	13.0	?	100.0	100.0	3,217	?	?
Dominican Rep.	100.0	100.0	5.0	44.2	7,594	7,594	
Ecuador	35.0	96.6	90.0	82.1	3,217	8,878	168
El Salvador	55.8	89.3	25.0	47.3	1,432	2,293	245
Guatemala	71.4	?	20.0	76.9	?	14,171	?
Guyana	14.3	45.2	100.0	100.0	675	2,137	235
Haiti	22.2	76.5	11.1	73.9	780	2,687	255
Honduras	42.8	87.7	57.1	96.3	4,741	9,701	1,020
Jamaica	20.0	40.9	100.0	58.5	2,485	5,088	1,834
Mexico	15.2	90.0	47.3	58.5	3,352	19,866	394
Netherlands Antilles	100.0	33.2	100.0	100.0	533	709	474
Nicaragua	26.2	84.2	86.6	82.3	1,933	6,107	415
Panama	7.7	100.0	66.7	88.6	14,937	14,937	
Paraguay	5.1	89.8	71.8	69.5	829	14,515	89
Peru	15.1	78.8	66.0	67.3	1,533	8,010	382
Suriname	50.0	37.2	100.0	100.0	1,754	1,305	2,204
Trinidad & Tobago	33.3	68.5	75.0		453	3,728	156
Uruguay	33.3	88.3	80.6		2,829	38,740	353
Venezuela	27.2	74.5	60.9	81.5	4,169	11,431	1,459
Global	**16.0**	**77.0**	**43.2**	**62.2**	**1,878**	**9,057**	**515**

Source: CRESALC-UNESCO. *Monographs on Higher Education on Latinamerican and Caribbean Countries.* 1984-1989. (Author's calculations)

Table N° 7 – Institutions for the Coordination of Higher Education at the National Level*

Country	For Higher Education as a Whole	Date of Creation	Only for Universities	Date of Creation	Special Statutes
Argentina			CIN, CRUP	1973, 1973	
Barbados					UWI(*)
Bolivia			CEUB	1978	
Brazil	SESU, CAPES	1976	CRUB	1966	
Chile			CNR	1954	
Colombia	ICFES	1976	ASCUN		
Costa Rica			CONARE, CONESUP	1974	
Cuba	Min. Educ. Superior	1976			
Dominican Republic			CONES, ADRU	1983	UASD, UCMM
Ecuador			CONUEP	1982	
El Salvador			COSUPES	1980	UNES
Guatemala			COES	1978	USC
Guyana					UG
Haiti					UEH
Honduras			UNAH	1966	UNAH
Jamaica					UWI
Mexico	ANUIES, SEP (SSES)	1950			
Netherlands Antilles					UNA*
Nicaragua	CNES, ME (Dir.ES)	1979, 1979			
Panama					UP
Paraguay			COSUP	1980	
Peru			ANR	1960	
Suriname					USUR
Trinidad & Tobago					UWI
Uruguay					UREP
Venezuela			CNU-OPSU	1970	

Source: CRESALC-UNESCO. *Monographs on Higher Education on Latinamerican and Caribbean Countries.* 1984-1989.

* See description of abbreviations in Table 7-a.

Table N° 7-A - Abbreviations used in Table N° 7 by Country

Argentina
–CIN: Consejo Inter-Universitario Nacional
–CRUP: Consejo de Rectores de Universidades Privadas
Barbados
–UWI: University of the West Indies
Bolivia
–CEUB: Comité Ejecutivo de la Universidad Boliviana
Brazil:
–SESU: Secretaría de Educación Superior
–CAPES: Coordenaçao para Aperfeçoamento do Pessoal do Ensino Superior
–CRUB: Consejo de Rectores de Universidades Brasileras
Chile
–CNR: Consejo Nacional de Rectores
Colombia
–ICFES: Instituto Colombiano para el Fomento de la Educación Superior
–ASCUN: Asociación Colombiana de Universidades
Costa Rica
–CONARE: Consejo Nacional de Rectores
Cuba: Ministerio de Educación Superior
Dominican Republic
–CONES: Consejo Nacional de Educación Superior
–UASD: Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo
–UCMM: Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra
–ADRU: Asociación Dominicana de Rectores de Universidades
Ecuador
–CONUEP: Consejo Nacional de Rectores de Universidades y Escuelas Politécnicas
El Salvador
–COSUPES: Consejo para la Educación Superior
–UNES: Universidad Nacional de El Salvador
Guatemala
–COES: Consejo de Educación Superior
–USC: Universidad de San Carlos
Guyana
–UG: University of Guyana
Haiti Université d'Etat d'Haiti
Honduras
–UNAH: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Honduras
Jamaica
–UWI: University of the West Indies
Mexico
–ANUIES: Asociación Nacional de Universidades e Institutos de Educación Superior
–SEP/SSES: Secretaría de Educación Pública/Subsecretaría de Educación Superior
Netherlands Antilles
–UNA: University of the Netherlands Antilles
Nicaragua
–CNES: Consejo Nacional de Educación Superior
Panama
–UP: Universidad de Panamá
Paraguay
–COSUP: Consejo de Educación Superior
Peru
–ANR: Asamblea Nacional de Rectores
Suriname
–USUR: Universitat van Suriname
Trinidad & Tobago
–UWI: University of the West Indies
Uruguay
–UREP: Universidad de la República
Venezuela
–CNU: Consejo Nacional de Universidades
–OPSU: Oficina de Planificación del Sector Universitario

Table N° 8 – Laws on Higher Education by Country

Country	For Hig.Ed. Global	Date Issued	For Univers.	Date Issued	For Some Univs.	Date Issued	For Non-Univs.	Date Issued
Argentina			2	1967, 1984			1	?
Barbados					1	1960	1	?
Bolivia			1	1978			1	?
Brazil			2				1	?
Chile			1	1980			3	1980
Colombia	1	1980						
Costa Rica					5	?	?	?
Cuba	1	1976						
Dominican Republic					2	?	?	
Ecuador			1	1982		?	?	?
El Salvador	1	1987	1	1980	1	1965	1	1970
Guatemala			1		1	1947	1	?
Guyana					1	1963	5	1928, 1951, 1963, 1970
Haiti					1	?		
Honduras			1	1957	1	1957	1	1966
Jamaica					1	1963	?	?
Mexico	1	1978	1	1973	1	1980		
Netherlands Antilles					1	1978	1	?
Nicaragua	1	1980						
Panama			1	1965	1	1935	1	1972
Paraguay			1	1980			1	?
Peru			1	1972			1	1983
Suriname					1	?	1	?
Trinidad & Tobago					1	1963	1	?
Uruguay					2	1958, 1984	1	1985
Venezuela			1	1958			1	1973
Totals	**5**		**14**		**21**		**24**	

Source: CRESALC-UNESCO. *Monographs on Higher Education on Latinamerican and Caribbean Countries.* 1984-1989.

Table N° 9 – Development Plans for Higher Education

Country	Whole Higher Education		For Universities		For Non-universities		For Some Universities	
	N°	Period	N°	Period	N°	Period	N°	Period
Argentina								
Barbados							1	1984-88
Bolivia								
Brazil			2	1965, 1976				
Chile								
Colombia	1	1982-86						
Costa Rica			3	77-80, 81-85, 86-90				
Cuba	3	77-80, 81-84, 85-88						
Dominican Republic								
Ecuador								
El Salvador								
Guatemala								
Guyana							1	?
Haiti								
Honduras							2	1978-83, 85-89
Jamaica							1	1984-88
Mexico	2	1976-81, 82-92						
Netherlands Antilles								
Nicaragua	1	1980-81						
Panama							1	1984-87
Paraguay							1	1975-85
Peru								
Suriname								
Trinidad & Tobago							1	1984-88
Uruguay								
Venezuela							7	
Totals	7		5				15	

Source: CRESALC-UNESCO. *Monographs on Higher Education on Latinamerican and Caribbean Countries*. 1984-1989.

Table N° 10 – Reforms, Innovations and Development Projects on Higher Education

	Whole Higher Education		University Education		Non-university Education		Some Universities	
Country	N°	Period	N°	Period	N°	Period	N°	Period
Argentina			1	1984				
Barbados							5	77, 79, 84
Bolivia								
Brazil			1	1965				
Chile			2	65-73, 74-80				
Colombia	2	1980, 1983						
Costa Rica							3	77, 85, 85
Cuba	4	?						
Dominican Republic			1	1983				
Ecuador			6	?				
El Salvador	1	1983	1	1980	1	1980	2	1950, 1968
Guatemala							5	?
Guyana			5	?			2	?
Haiti								
Honduras								
Jamaica								
Mexico							7	70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76
Netherlands Antilles			1	1978				
Nicaragua	1	1984	4	80,81,82,84				
Panama								
Paraguay					1	1974	2	1975, 1981
Peru			1	1986				
Suriname								
Trinidad & Tobago								
Uruguay								
Venezuela				58, 62, 74, 75,				
			7	79, 83, 85	1	1973	3	78,78,80
Totals	**8**		**30**		**3**		**29**	

Source: CRESALC-UNESCO. *Monographs on Higher Education on Latinamerican and Caribbean Countries*. 1984-1989.

Table N° 11 - Reforms, Innovations and Projects in Higher Education According to the main Aspect Covered

Aspect	N°	%
-Reserarch results	7	8.1
-Financing	7	8.1
-Physical resources	1	1.2
-Teaching structure and processes	39	45.3
-Administrative structure and processes	8	9.3
-Research structure and processes	1	1.2
-Structure and processes for academic support	3	3.5
-Legal aspects	4	4.6
-Academic Staff	7	8.1
-Students	4	4.6
-Relationships between universities and the productive sector	5	6.0
Total	**86**	**100.0**

Source: CRESALC-UNESCO. *Monographs on Higher Education on Latinamerican and Caribbean Countries*. 1984-1989. (Author's calculations)

Management and Administration of Higher Education in a Market Economy*

Plovdiv, Bulgaria
20-23 November, 1990

CONTEXT

THE EUROPE REGION CONSULTATION "Management and Administration of Higher Education in a Market Economy" was organized by UNESCO in cooperation with the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of Bulgaria from 20 to 23 November, 1990 in Plovdiv, Bulgaria.

The Consultation, attended by participants from both Eastern and Western European countries, was held within UNESCO's Europe Region Network of Specialists and Institutions Working in the Field of Educational Policy and Reform Evaluation. The link of the consultation to the deep going changes which had taken place in Easter and Central Europe and with their impact on higher education need not be emphasized.

The theme of the Plovdiv Consultation was not chosen by chance. The question of how market forces influence the education process is of interest to many parties concerned. In "old market economies" and "emerging market economies" (or in countries in transition), the interest in these questions does not necessarily have the same basis. This theme can evoke different associations, beliefs and attitudes depending on the country and its particular experience, as it can evoke different attitudes amongst researchers or decision-makers.

* Report on the Europe Region Consultation organized by UNESCO and the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of Bulgaria. (The abridged version of the Report of a European Region nsultation of experts. held in Plovdiv. Bulgaria, 20-23 November, 1990).

In Western European countries the discussion of the problematics of the relationship between market forces and higher education has deep roots. Many questions have been thoroughly elaborated and a rich literature exists on the subject. The situation is not the same in the Eastern European countries where the market conception is penetrating rapidly in all spheres of society, including education, bringing with it all the consequent advantages and problems.

Summary of the Discussion

The Consultation spent considerable time clarifying, in concrete cases the assumptions which particular societies were making about the role of the state in the active reform, management and evaluation of educational systems, and in clarifying the varied meanings –in different national contexts– of the concept of "the market."

It was noted (for example, in the case of the U.K.) that strenuous state intervention in the reform of higher education systems might be intended to lead to a reduction in the control of the state over the system it had just reformed. It was also noted that, in at least one extreme version, the state had, to a surprising extent, withdrawn from the formal direction of the higher education system but still retained the ability through various means (cash, indirect legislation, and declaration of national need) to re-direct the system of higher education quite rapidly, In contrast, in Finland, Sweden and Norway, the state had not fully abandoned its traditional role of protector and guardian of welfare provision. The state was still very concerned about the provision of education in the regions and to minorities, although contemporary reforms of the Scandinavian systems of higher education were trying to find ways to combine higher educational quality with increased responsiveness to market forces and pressures. These pressures were coming from the labour market, from the market as a set of demands for continual research and development, or from the market seen as a set of part-time and full-time consumers of education of a variety of ages.

This pattern was somewhat different from the East European, and notably the Bulgarian, concept of "the market." The "market" as a concept in its Bulgarian usage was being interpreted to mean the whole social transition process to a pluralistic democratic society characterised also by a demand economy. In contrast, for some parts of Western Europe, it was questioned whether the idea of " the market" was merely a device of rhetoric and ideology used to justify particular policy proposals designed to disturb and reform one of the major institutions of society –the university. It was, however, accepted that fundamental imbalances had begun to emerge in most societies

between rapidly changing economies and unreformed higher education and university systems. Questions such as how to disturb university systems, and what impact that disturbance was having on universities and higher education systems were at the center of the discussion.

In a large number of educational systems, the initial point of disturbance could be identified through a particular law, or commission report, or advisory document. Most typically, the law or the report was a reaction to an earlier expansion period in higher education, combined with contemporary rapid changes in the economic system in an internationally or regionally competitive world.

Almost always the proposed reforms aimed at two things simultaneously: making the higher education system more flexible and making its product more measureable. In a large number of the classical continental European systems, making the university more flexible has involved according more institutional autonomy to each university, thus easing the legislative and bureaucratic modes of control. Thus, perhaps paradoxically, market demands – or market attraction– have had a tendency to increase institutional autonomy within centrally controlled systems, but this has included the price that more administrators have to be recruited or retrained by individual universities.

Making institutions more measurable has seen the creation of widespread reforms to measure staff publications, degree graduation rates, student flows, and even teaching. While measures of the product of the universities have been used for some time, measures of process have been more difficult to establish. Nevertheless, there is an intimate inter-relationship between measurement and management. Once management (of finance, of product and of process) moves down to the institutional level, then it is necessary to measure outcomes in order to manage them. This process is perhaps at its most extreme in the U.S.A, but recent developments, for example, in the U.K. and in Norway have stressed both the public measurability of the higher educational system, and the difficulties of selecting criteria of measurement appropriate to the university environment.

As institutions of higher education become simultaneously more autonomous, more flexible and apparently more measurable, there is a tendency for them to be caught between two modes of internal self-governance. One mode of internal self-governance stresses the academic collegium, perhaps consultative and slow and cumbersome, but also participative and democratic within the hierarchy of academic ranks. The other mode of internal self-governance increasingly stresses pro-active leadership, whether at university, institute or departmental level. At the university level, we see the entrepreneurial vice-chancellor or university president advised by a small team of experts; at the faculty level, we see a director or dean advised by specialized adminis-

trators; at the departmental level, we see newly trained line-management chairpersons who understand finance, entrepreneurship, and the criteria of successful departmental performance.

The academic collegium is clearly being restored in Central and Eastern Europe at a time when systems of higher education, very responsive to market pressures in Western Europe, are moving to the pro-active model: the concept of the chief executive officer of a university. In fact, it is possible that neither model is the best mode of governance for the individualistic, talented and creative personnel characteristic of universities. The first model –the academic collegium– suffers from the occasionally dead-hand of the full chair holder; the second –the managing director model– is perhaps based too much on models of industrial leadership which are now outdated. Something like the management styles of the Swedish or Japanese qualitative and supportive work circles should be experimented with.

To get these modes of management wrong in a market-influenced higher educational system means a high price. A "market influenced" or "market-driven" higher educational system means the collapse of some institutions and the growth of others. At one extreme stands the United States, which sees the birth (and the death) of several hundred higher educational institutions in a decade. But away from the extremes, measurement of output permits academic drift to be turned into academic competition. The central characteristic of each academic institution and of the academic system becomes its ability to survive in an unstable environment. That is to say, how to plan, how to react, and how to manage in a turbulent social universe becomes the core institutional problem.

This idea of a turbulent social system, and a higher education or university system struggling to adapt to rapidly changing market forces emphasizes the unpredictability of the signals to the university from outside. For example, the point was well made in the Consultation that it is not one market, but several markets sending messages. Even with one market (e.g., a narrowly conceptualised notion of a "demand for labour"), there may be no clear signals coming from the market. Or if employers make demands on the higher education system, the employers may get their guesses wrong. Equally important, and equally discontinuous, is the problem that "the market" lives, or may live, by short-term demands. Higher education or university systems are difficult to start up, but once in momentum are difficult to stop. Higher education is a long-term phenomenon; "the market" frequently a short-term one.

This kind of problem of stabilities and of uncertain and conflicting messages to the university or higher education system produced one suggestion which was of interest: that the higher education system might have a "pro-:ected sector." For example, certain kinds of academic work are crucial in all

societies for the preservation, transmission and re-creation of important parts of national or cultural identity, especially in rapidly changing times. Perhaps there is then, in such areas, a case for refusing to permit the rapidly changing demands of several markets to invade such territories. Maybe some things are too important to be left to markets.

These latter themes brought up the co-related questions: what happens to departments, faculties, individual career patterns, disciplines or to fields of study under the impact of market forces? What happens inside institutions at the micro-level? How do different publics (parents, employers, students, the major bureaucracies in a society) perceive and use the higher education system in a market economy? There is partial knowledge in particular cases, but this knowledge should be broadened and systematized.

And, finally, what are the exact arenas, the exact areas which government policy should address, if higher education systems need rapid reform for a market economy. Destabilizing the higher education system by making its financial base uncertain may be a useful first step. Being aware of the probable need for an emphasis on different levels, new centres of gravity, in the management of the system is probably important. But there are several other things which are uncertain. For example, should tenure be abolished; should the professoriate be undermined; should, and if so, how, should academic communities be governed; and should, and if so, how, should the "productivity" of academic communities be measured? And who will measure the measurers?

It was noted that we do not know these things, and we probably ought to. The issues are simultaneously very practical and very policy-specific, and central to our vision of the "good society" and the role of higher education systems in the act of creating such visions.

Conclusions and Recommendations

1. The Consultation reviewed, often in comparative perspective, a range of reactions by higher educational systems to pressures from the market economy. Many of the difficulties and tensions of a period of transition were noted, and some of the specifics –the different roles of the state, different forms of finance, different patterns of status within higher education– were identified.
2. From these analyses, a number of practical policy areas were noted as crucial in systems of education and societies in the transition period.
3. However, it was felt that at least two other layers of policy analysis were required to tighten up the range of practical policy advice. These layers are the MACRO and the MICRO level.

4. At the MACRO level, one analysis which the Consultation advanced involved an examination of the impact of major reform legislation upon higher education such as has taken place recently in France, Germany, the U.K. and other countries.

5. These major reform proposals, framed in educational law, normally illustrate the aspirations, assumptions, and directions of change in societies and their educational systems. In analysing a range of such proposals the emphasis would not be on legal details, but on capturing the STRATEGIC CHOICES which societies are making through their educational options. This perspective can be taken as a sensitive "bird's eye" view of efforts to alter education in times of rapid social and economic change.

   Therefore, the Consultation submits to UNESCO the suggestion that an analysis of such reform in legislation be undertaken with a view to ascertaining the key points which are perceived as central in the form of higher education systems as they move towards a market-driven system of education.

6. The MICRO layer of the analysis –the "worm's eye" view of the same process– is how under pressures from the market, do PARTICULAR DEPARTMENTS and DISCIPLINARY FIELDS change, react and adapt. Therefore, the Consultation submits to UNESCO the suggestion that investigation be undertaken based on a number of case-studies of departments involved in areas sensitive and vital to contemporary directions of reform. It is proposed that these Departments be LAW; INFORMATICS; and ECONOMICS. These three disciplines have been identified on the basis of their central importance to the social stability and technological development in those countries moving toward a market economy. In market economy systems of higher education the base unit is a key element in reform. Market-based systems of higher education are, as the Consultation noted, "bottom heavy" and change and innovation are rooted at the level of the department.

7. Between these two extreme perspectives –the "bird's eye" view and the "worm's eye" view –a number of other areas, crucial for policy review, policy decision and action, are emerging. These are as follows:

   – It is a fundamental characteristic of higher education in a market economy that differentiation between establishments takes place, and is seen to take place. Normally, differentiation also exists between establishments of higher education in a pre-market economy. It is a matter of public importance to understand exactly how changes in different types of differentiation, and the social and cultural values that give rise to them, are themselves in process of transformation.

– Such differentiation will be characteristic of all levels of the higher education system, from the national, down to the individual department. It is important, therefore, to develop means of demonstrating the emergence of the new measures of quality that will operate between and at various levels of one system. These levels will include an analysis of the quality measures used by governments, universities, departments, and the market. In addition and in particular, if students are to plan their careers in keeping with changes in the labour market, they need the best information available about the quality of higher educational institutions.

– The transition towards a market economy in higher education implies that the system of higher education should be made as transparent as possible for students, for those providing other sources of finance in addition to the state, and for the State itself. All this requires a careful comparison and assessment of the information available in a statistical form in a number of countries, to establish the trends of statistics which are most useful to the several groups involved.

– Overarching these policy areas, and holding the process together, is the issue of the State as an active agency. How active should the State be in higher education systems which are adapting to the market economy? Which areas of higher education (finance, curriculum, appointment of staff, etc.) should the active state seek to influence? In what areas is state intervention normally dysfunctional? What is the role of the State in relation not merely to longheld and traditional views on institutional autonomy and academic freedom but also in relation to the generation of creative energy and enterprise in relevant research?

8. The Consultation reminded itself that any research undertaken or recommended must be conceived in terms of realistic outcomes.

9. The transition to a market economy is especially delicate. More needs to be known about the way in which key basic units and disciplines are meeting these challenges. More needs to be known at an operational level about the way problems associated with these transformations are perceived by these same bodies. We therefore strongly emphasize the desirability of a grounded investigation into these issues, with UNESCO's assistance, along the lines outlined above.

Some Issues and Trends Relevant for Planning and Management of Higher Education in Arab Countries

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ENROLMENTS AND ADMISSION

ENROLMENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION in Arab countries increased from an average of about 7% a year during 1970-1975 to around 9.5% a year during 1975-1980 to more than 11% a year over the last ten years. There are however, considerable variations among Arab countries in the expansion of university education as well as in expansion in higher non-university education. For example, enrolment as a proportion for every 10,000 of the population increased in Bahrain from about 14 in 1970 to 103 in 1984 while it increased during the same period from:

15 to 81 in Saudi Arabia
14 to 53 in Algeria
20 to 56 in Tunisia
10 to 17 in Sudan
45 to 85 in Egypt
68 to 161 in Syria
70 to 159 in Jordan

In many Arab countries, particularly the non-oil countries, this rapid expansion in student enrolment has not been adequately paralleled by expansion in both the physical (buildings, equipment... etc.) and human resources. It is not surprising, therefore, that the rapid expansion has led to over-crowding, insufficient facilities and recruitment of less competent and qualified staff.

The rapid expansion of higher education compared with lower levels has of course led to more distortion in the allocation of financial resources among

different levels and types of education. As higher education is more expensive and financed mainly by the governments, the percentage of educational public expenditure going to higher education has been increasing systematically and rapidly during the past two decades. In Egypt the percentage spent on higher education increased from 12% in 1956 to 26% in 1973 and to 38% after 1980. In an increasing number of countries (including Sudan, Syria and Jordan) this percentage is now over one-third and it is about one-fourth in most other countries. The expenditure per student in higher education for the whole region is about 70 times higher than that, at the primary level.

In some Arab countries (mainly the Gulf countries) just over the "pass marks" in the secondary school examinations can qualify the students to enter the university (a score of 60% for Kuwait University and 50% or 53% in Qatar or U.A.E. University) and less than these for non-university education.

Of course, it is admitted by some officials and recognized by many researchers that quality has been sacrificed in the process of this expansion. But governments claim that they are planning to improve the quality of higher education. They justify the policies of expansion not only because of increasing demand but also because of great need of qualified manpower. However, the *actual* growth of some universities exceeded the *planned* growth by more than 50% and in some cases by more than 200 or 300%. Of course, in many countries, especially the oil-rich Arab countries, the increasing demand for university education is not mainly for the pursuit of knowledge or learning but rather for social prestige or having a "University Degree." The mounting pressure for university education is so strong that many university authorities are forced to lower admission requirements to accept all interested applicants (as happened in Kuwait during 1980-85).

Diversification

As a result of decreasing quality of university education and decreasing external efficiency including increasing unemployment of graduates, it has been widely recognized that different types of education adapted to the needs of individuals and society are required. In spite of this recognition, expansion of existing universities or building new ones, similar or identical to the existing ones, still continues and is likely to continue in the future. For example, it has been planned that when the number of students at Kuwait University exceeds 20,000, a new university will be established. The question whether there are enough students with proper reasonable qualifications and positive motivation or attitude, has never been asked seriously.

All Arab countries have, however, introduced and developed short-cycle higher education institutions particularly during the last decades. But these

institutions are far from being able to compete with the universities in spite of all encouragement and generous allowances and grants to the students, particularly in oil-rich countries. For the Arab region as a whole only 13% around 1985 were recruited in these non-university higher education institutions. The fundamental planning problem is whether this type of higher education should respond to the pressures of social demand for higher education, including pressures for upgrading short-cycle institutions to university status, or should they assume the role of diversification and innovation. Although the majority of non-university higher education institutions in the Arab countries are terminal in nature, in some of them outstanding graduates can be allowed to enroll in universities. In the case of The College of Engineering and Business in Bahrain, all students enroll first in the first phase of study for a period of three years after which the majority or about 80% graduated as technicians or middle-level managers. The remaining 20% who are selected on the basis of their grade point average can proceed to the second phase to graduate after two years with a "B" degree in Engineering or Business Management.

However, it seems that The College of Engineering in Bahrain is facing a problem as a result of the fact that an increasing number of its students are women who are usually scoring better averages in the secondary school examinations and at the same time have less opportunity than men in studying abroad. But many women graduates don't work in the field of specialization and prefer either desk work or a teaching profession.

In Kuwait, short-cycle institutions whose duration is about two years faced increasing pressure from parents and students and its managers themselves to be turned into four years instead of two but this has been rejected by the government. In this case it seems there is some justification in the government's decision to enforce its higher educational policy as those who are authorized to innovate and develop do so to serve their own purposes and ambition. However, diversification and development of higher education should encourage and allow students to choose the type of higher education according to their qualifications, ability and interest and to acquire knowledge and skills at their own pace.

Governance

In most Arab countries, the Ministry of Education and more recently the Ministry of Higher Education, supervised higher education. However, the policy making is authorized by the government to a higher education or University Council chaired by the Minister of Higher Education. This council nominates the Vice-chancellor who is to be approved by the Council of Minis-

ters and then confirmed through a Presidential or Royal Decree. But, as most Arab countries are not governed by a widely democratic government, usually the Vice-chancellor, his deputies and in some cases even the Deans, if not the heads of departments, are imposed from the top rather than the other way around, except in a few cases. In most Arab countries, universities enjoy some autonomy in establishing faculties and departments and appointing their academic staff. However, in some universities there is a very weak connection between faculties and to a less extent between departments within the same faculty. For this reason we find many faculties and sometimes departments teaching the same courses or subjects and conducting research studies identical to those taught or researched in the same faculty and without exaggeration some staff members in the same departments might be teaching the same course under different titles.

The short-cycle institutions usually enjoy far less autonomy when compared with the university as they are under much stronger government control than the universities. Recently there is increasing demand for more independence. But when more independence is given, the authorities move quickly to turn this type of education to a university type as happened in Kuwait two years ago. It was the Council of Ministers which stopped this development.

In general it may be said that genuine independence of universities or other higher educational institutions are neither the policy nor the practice in the Arab countries. For these reasons, full academic freedom of expression and opinion through class or public lectures, writing and literacy criticism is rarely found.

In short, we can conclude that while forces of change and sustained development require a democratic education, the forces of tradition in most Arab countries are still keeping all types and levels of education including higher education under an authoritarian governance.

More often than not, the government would enforce its policies by giving, for example, instructions to higher educational institutions to enroll a minimum number of students irrespective of a student's qualifications or facilities available in higher educations.

As higher education is financed by the government, it seems that collaboration between government and higher education authorities can be more constructive and productive rather than confrontation. However, decision-making should be based on logic and scientific knowledge rather than political influences or motives and/or self-interest. Universities also need to define clearly their objectives and role, and to understand and stick firmly to them.

More importantly the political leadership and/or strong and influential religious or socio-economic groups interfere in the academic freedom includ-

ing freedom of teaching, inquiry and publications. The government interference, is either directly or through its allied groups and supporters.

Research Needed for Planning and Managing Higher Education

In connection with higher education and development of high-level human resources, recent research in Arab countries particularly the oil-rich countries is concerned with the quantitative and qualitative needs of the labour markets for professionals (university graduates) and semi-professionals and technicians (graduates of short-cycle institutions of higher education). There are tracer or follow-up studies of graduates meant to help in rationalizing the admission, policies and developing or modifying educational and training programs (including balance between theory and practice, the use of workshops, laboratories... etc.) in order to make the academic environment simulate the real work environment of graduates.

In view of wide unemployment of graduates and the very low external efficiency of higher education, further systematic research is needed in this area.

However, the internal efficiency should also be examined more systematically. The traditional admission standards can be used to predict student's academic performance. The results can also help in drawing new admission policy and justifying resistance of unacceptable social and political pressures for higher education. In fact, Kuwait University was able to stop its dramatic growth in 1984/1985 with the results of such a study. Enrolment expansion was restricted by raising admission standards.

Financing of higher education is another major issue which is expected to be of increasing importance to non-oil Arab countries. Research on the allocation of resources between the educational sector and other competing sectors as well as between levels and types of education should be examined in order to allocate the resources in a way that achieves the long-term objectives of development and democracy.

Other issues in connection with reform, planning and implementation of plans and management of higher education should all be based on increasing systematic and scientific research.

In order to reform higher education and to overcome the crisis it is facing, planning is needed to increase efficiency and to utilize the resources in a way that transforms the existing institutions and/or creates new ones to serve the individuals and society. For planning to be effective, we must be able to know whether the government has the will and the ability for reform. And if so, what societal, cultural and religious constraints may prevent implementa-

tion of plans for reform. This would mean that contradictions of the social system (forces of change versus traditional forces) must be sought identified and examined in their relevance to action or inaction of reform.

Results of research should be communicated in an effective way to decision-makers and top managers through policy seminars or workshops.

National and Institutional Studies

University Governance, Autonomy and Accountability in Brazil: a Couple of Challenges for the Decade*

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INTRODUCTION

DURING THE SIXTIES, typical planning for the higher education system used to involve designing, implementing and evaluating a set of envisaged policies, strategies and operational actions for the sector in the medium and long run. This sort of planning usually assumed neutrality regarding politics, intended to be based on a techno-rational perspective to educational problems (Hallak, 1978) and implied a management approach to social change (Levin, 1980). As such, it was doomed to failure in societies in which the interplay of political forces denies the predominance of that sort of rationality or imposes the interests of dominant groups and strata.

In Brazil, this sort of planning for the higher education system was virtually abandoned about several decades ago and replaced by short-term policies. This was partly a result of the mentioned interplay of political forces. It was also a consequence of political options in which the expansion of public higher education was not a priority; more recently, the slowdown of economic growth rates and an increasing foreign debt additionally contributed to that effect (Velloso, 1989).

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Policies adopted by the government during the last two decades did not deal adequately with a number of the problems faced by the system. In addition, it generated several other problems. Some of these have to do with the governance, autonomy and accountability of public universities. This paper succintly discusses a few of the relevant aspects pertaining to these topics. While the discussion is centered on Brazilian higher education, some of the issues addressed here are pertinent to other Latin American countries as well.

The following section briefly reviews the policies for the higher education system in Brazil in the recent past, outlines the profile of the system and indicates that the following discussions will address public universities. The third section discusses some features of the relationships of public universities with the state in regard to governance, autonomy and accountability, with an emphasis on governance issues. The role of faculty associations in governance and in the related issue of autonomy is tentatively analyzed. It is suggested that populism in governance, which tended to predominate in a number of institutions in the past, seems to be decaying in the face of new circumstances in the national political-institutional scene and within universities. It is argued that the accountability of public universities by means of open evaluations of their performance is a promising path to obtain the required autonomy for their adequate development.

The final section addresses a couple of challenges that are posed by rendering public universities accountable to society. One of these challenges has to do with the definition of a concept of academic excellence that is both socially legitimate and pertinent to the tasks of universities. Another is related to the development of research performance indicators, taking into account that science development does not follow universal standards and that currently available indicators, unable to cope with the problems that they were designed to face in industrialized nations, need to be rebuilt and obtain academic legitimation in scientifically peripheral countries in order to be able to contribute to effective evaluations of universities.

Past Trends and the Current Scenario

A brief review of the evolution of higher education in Brazil over the past few decades may help explain current policies and dilemmas of the sector as far as governance, autonomy and accountability are concerned. Planning for higher education at the national level started in the mid-sixties, after the *coup d'état* in 1964. A ten-year plan for all levels of schooling was designed by the authoritarian regime but it was short-lived and replaced by a three-year plan, a few years later (Velloso, 1980). Both plans established manpower targets for

higher and vocational education. Before the end of the decade attempts to pursue manpower forecasting had actually been abandoned. For one thing, the expansion of enrollment in higher education and that of college graduates surpassed all possible targets.

In Latin America, planning for higher education often served as an ideological cornerstone of attempts to refrain the fast expansion of enrollments, taken to be disorderly and conducive to turn educational services into a mass-consumption product (Cano, 1984). This rationale was underlying the first ten-year Brazilian educational plan and the one that followed it. But soon it was defeated by the policies actually adopted by the regime.

Policies responded to mounting pressures from owners of private schools and colleges as well as from other entrepreneurs, for whom higher education was becoming an investment of high returns. Those pressures found a fertile field in the recommendations of a federal government committee in charge of preparing a reform of Brazilian higher education. For this committee, enrollments should expand but public expenditures should not (Cunha, 1988a; Martins, 1989). The reform was approved by the National Congress and enacted in 1968. One of its basic guidelines defined the university as the standard for the expansion and organization of higher education. Those very pressures, however, soon would lead to public policies quite different from those suggested by that basic guideline.

Policies that were adopted since the turn of the decade brought profound changes in the higher education scenario. Enrollment in the private sector grew at extremely fast rates until the mid-seventies (170% between 1970 and 1974, for instance), while vacancies in public universities and colleges expanded very slowly. Accordingly, the share of the public sector in total enrollment dropped sharply from 60% in the late sixties to the current 40%.

Enrollment increases in the private sector were stimulated by the state, satisfying a rising demand from the middle classes and thus contributing to give some legitimacy to the authoritarian regime. The small proprietary, typically in the humanities and social sciences, which did not need high capital investments and yielded fast profits: institutions that flourished usually offered night classes only, they catered to students that worked during daytime, requirements to create new private colleges and courses were lowered by the government and often the newly established institutions did not meet minimum academic standards. Academic mediocrity tended to predominate. A striking illustration of this scenario was the result of a survey conducted by the Council of Rectors of Brazilian Universities (CRUB), in which it was revealed that out of the 600 small private institutions about 1/3 offered classes during the week-ends only (Velloso, 1986).

Graduate education followed a different path. The modernization project carried out by the state promoted a vigorous expansion of graduate education, starting in the mid-seventies. With growing quality standards, it was geared to the development of science and technology in the country as well as to the training of new faculty, with a strong component of study abroad. Graduate programs in the country were developed mostly in public universities. More than 85% of the current enrollment in M.A. and doctoral programs are in public universities.

The modernization project also included financial incentives to promote a gradual replacement of part-time faculty by full-time teaching staff in the public sector. Its effects over time contributed to additional and substantial changes in the higher education scenario. In about fifteen years the share of full-time faculty in federal universities, for instance, jumped from 1/3 to the current 3/4. Private higher education changed very little in that regard; by the mid-eighties the corresponding share in the sector was a meagre 8%.

As a result of these processes the present scenario of higher education is extremely heterogeneous. The public sector, which is predominantly financed by the federal government, enrolls 3/4 of its students in universities. In the private sector, only 1/3 of its students attend universities. In spite of the fast enrollment growth in the past, the total number of higher education students in the country is still small, relative to the population. An enrollment of approximately 1.5 million corresponds to about 10% of the 20-24 age group, a proportion which is significantly lower than that observed in other Latin American countries like Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Venezuela.

Heterogeneity also has to do with differentiated quality. There are universities –all but one in the public sector– whose research is comparable to good international standards. And there is a large number of small institutions, mostly in the private sector, whose teaching is certainly unacceptable by any academic standard. One common indicator of academic performance is the proportion of faculty publications. If this criterion is used, one finds that more than 90% of what is published by the faculty of Brazilian graduate programs originate in public universities. More reliable indicators of academic performance are the results of the evaluations of Brazilian graduate programs. These are routinely conducted every two years by members of the academic community under the coordination of an agency of the Ministry of Education.[1] Available data show that out of the 12 universities in which at

1. Evaluations of graduate programs are made by committees composed of faculty members from different institutions across the country. Each committee deals with one of the various fields of knowledge (e.g., architecture, agronomy, biology, computer science, economics, education, etc.) according to the standard breakdown adopted.

least one-third of their graduate programs were classsified as excellent, 11 belonged to the public sector (Figueiredo and Sobral, 1990).[2]

The preceding should have indicated the relevance of public universities —as compared to the private sector— for the advance of science and technology in the country as well as for the development of highly qualified human resources. given this relevance, the following discussion on governance, autonomy and accountability of universities will address the institutions of the public sector.

Public Universities and the State: Governance and Autonomy

Public policies for higher education along the last two decades or so have essentially followed, in regard to the autonomy of public universities, the standards set by the university reform enacted during the authoritarian regime. Regarding governance the same was true during the seventies and the early eighties but since then the scenario has undergone some changes. The model of university defined by the reform was centered on concepts that are typical of private business instead of public university administration (Cunha, 1989a). It was not concerned with the democratization of governance nor with autonomy. Rather, the reform was designed to reduce the autonomy of public universities, to increase their political dependency *vis à vis* the state as well as to foster and to implement financing practices that should simultaneously diminish the allocation of public funds and require growing shares of private resources (Velloso, 1987).

Governance

Regarding governance, the reform established procedures that increased the likelihood of the alignment of the institution with government politics and policies and simultaneously reduced its autonomy. Before the reform, presidents and vice-presidents of public universities were chosen by the head of state[3] from a list of three candidates. The new rules, requiring twice as many candidates, allowed choices more attuned to the dominant political forces within the state. The list of candidates was to be –and currently is– prepared by upper-level academic councils, in which deans or directors of schools par-

2. It should be noted that this aggregate result has illustrative purposes only. Original evaluations of graduate programs refer to a set of programs in each field of knowledge (see note 1 above) and do not purport to provide a summary of the performance of any particular university as a whole.

3. Presidents and vice-presidents of federal universities were chosen and nominated by the President of the Republic; presidents and vice-presidents of state universities were chosen and appointed by the respective governor of state.

ticipate, often with the majority of seats. Deans or directors and their respective vices, in turn, were to be nominated by the head of state from expanded lists according to analogous procedures.

The new rules served a number of purposes, especially during the early seventies when authoritarianism reached its peak. Presidents closely aligned with government politics were useful to facilitate interventions by the state in public universities. They were also useful to help firing or determining an early retirement of faculty members who were outspoken critics of the regime. About the mid-seventies political repression progressively began to decrease. By then, previously timid or repressed civil movements for the defense of human rights and democracy gradually started to emerge and grow. The second half of the decade was also a period in which new social movements started to flourish, encouraged by the results of the elections for the Congress, in which the government party was defeated by a landslide. Soon these movements reached higher education. Several faculty associations were founded, followed by staff associations. The eighties were a time in which faculty, staff and student associations pressed for an enlarged participation in the governance of public universities, especially in during the period that succeeded the formal end of the military regime, usually termed the New Republic of democratic transition.

It seems that since the last decade Brazilian public universities have witnessed three distinct trends regarding their governance. A very tentative outline of these trends indicates that they do overlap somewhat over time but that they also have an approximate correspondence to periods in which they have been most salient. Althoug they did not apply to all public universities, they did represent noticeable changes affecting a substantial fraction of these institutions.

The first trend, the quest to alter the restrictive rules of governance, unfolded in connection with the struggle for the democratization of the country. It may be said to have been initiated in the late seventies, at least as faculty associations are concerned. The second, which corresponds to the "university populism," when corporatist demands often were preeminent in relation to academic perspectives in the governance of a number of public institutions, had its heyday in the second half of the eighties. The third, involving reactions against university populism, followed two paths. A few of these reactions begin to come to light in the literature shortly after the birth of university populism. But reactions seem to be effectively noticeable among the faculty and in society at large at the turn of the decade.

i) Faculty Associations: A Background

The role played by faculty associations in Brazil cannot be underscored, as much as the role of faculty and teacher unions in Latin American education in the last few decades.[4] Faculty associations in Brazil led by the National Association of Higher Education Faculties (ANDES), performed an ample spectrum of roles in their brief history.[5] These included typical union roles like a continuous struggle to protect faculty salaries from high inflation rates, which have been the norm rather than the exception, and to face goverment economic policies in which the distribution conflict underlying inflation rates[6] periodically ends up with the reduction of real salaries. It also included efforts to protect public university budgets from high inflation rates as well as from educational policies that envisaged to reduce government funds and to require growing shares of private financing.

The roles performed by ANDES have covered many other areas. Following its foundation in the late seventies the association fostered or led debates on the strict governance rules inherited from the university reform. It made an invaluable contribution to abort four attempts by the military regime to issue partial university reforms. In society at large, in association with other organizations of the civil society, ANDES had a noteworthy performance in the nation-wide campaign for the redemocratization of the country which led to the inauguration of the New Republic (Pinguelli Rosa, 1990). In the follow-

4. For a brief review of these roles see Núñez, P. (1989). For a different perspective, dealing with faculty unions especially in the Venezuelan case, and discussing some issues similar to those that will be treated in this text, see Albornoz (1988).

5. This ample spectrum of roles also applies to other teacher and faculty unions in Latin America. It may be conceptually illustrated by the distinctions among different categories of teacher and faculty organizations as proposed by Núnêz, P. (op. cit.). Two of the basic categories of organizations in the educational sector are those of "union organizations" and those of "professional organizations." Union organizations in education are concerned with the salaried character of the teaching activities. Their modes of operation are typical of working unions. Professional organizations, in turn, are based on the specific character of the teaching function, as it requires professional degrees and performance. Their modes of operation emphasize educational dimensions, based on the professional legitimacy (or expertise) of their members; often in interaction with society and with the state. A complementary classification proposed by the author, which is not as amenable to sharp definitions as the previous one, is that between "legal" and "illegal" or "free" organizations. The distinction is made with reference to the laws pertaining to labor organizations. For purposes of this text it suffices it to say that the latter often applies to organizations whose activities surpass their respective frames of legal reference, although enjoying legitimacy due to specific socio-political circumstances. Roles performed by faculty associations in Brazil fall in two of the above-described categories: that of unions and that of free organizations.

6. For a discussion of the distribution conflict underlying inflation rates and its relationship to government income policies see, for instance, Andrade et al. (1990).

ing years its behavior has been increasingly patterned after a corporatist perspective, thereby reducing contributions to most issues faced by public higher education. During the debates that preceded the enactement of a new Constitution in 1988, as it participated in a Forum concerned with public education, composed of civil organizations from the educational sector as well as from other areas, many of its proposals derived from this perspective. The association eventually changed its status into that of a faculty union in 1989.[7]

Given the socio-political and economic constraints under which ANDES and faculty associations have operated, it may be said that over time they have had a successful performance in a large number of their endeavors. But this does not usually apply to issues related to university governance and other academic matters, particularly in the second half of the eighties, when a corporatist perspective has been increasingly guiding the demands set forth by ANDES and by most of the faculty associations. This has to do with the contradiction underlying the roles of unions and the roles of universities as teaching and research institutions, as pointed out by Gianotti (1987). Interests of union members usually have a corporatist character. Interests of the faculty as members of an academic community are supposed to reflect academic concerns. Although both interests may sometimes coincide, often they do not. Thus, a defense of corporatist interests of the faculty may be detrimental to the attainment of the goals of a university as a research and teaching institution. It seems that in the path followed by ANDES and faculty associations in Brazil this contradiction has not been adequately dealt with.

ii) From Enlarged Participation to University Populism

Demands for an enlarged participation in the governance of public universities were led by ANDES in the early eighties. Soon it was joined by the Federation of the Staff of Brazilian Universities (FASUBRA) and by several student associations. These demands provoked varied reactions. They were welcomed in some sectors of the faculty and of society at large. In others, they spurred much debate and some criticism.[8] A part of these demands later would become *de facto* changes in the norms of governance. In several institutions, mostly during the second half of the decade, the number of seats for faculty in academic councils was increased and they were occupied by representatives chosen by peers. This often altered the network of internal power

7. Henceforth the expressions faculty associations and faculty unions will be used interchangeably in the text.

8. A vivid illustration of these debates was a seminar sponsored by ANDES, held in 1983, involving oustanding university researchers from different areas as well as leaders of faculty associations. See ANDES (1986) for the proceedings of the seminar with some additional texts and criticisms.

relationships, corresponding to a healthy enlargement of participation in university governance. Those changes sometimes included additional seats for student representatives as well.

Changes also occurred in the contribution of the national faculty association toward the democratization of university governance. With the formal end of the military regime, the actual and symbolic contributions to democracy, built in the demands put forth by ANDES, dropped sharply. In addition, as the association slowly but gradually approached its status of a faculty union, its demands progressively responded to narrower corporatist interests.

As a result of those demands and of the strength of the pressures stemming from faculty and staff unions, a new trend emerged in the governance of public universities.[9] In a number of institutions, mostly those of the federal system, *de facto* changes in their norms of governance went beyond the increase in the number of seats for the faculty in academic councils. One of these changes had to do with the processes of selection of faculty members for the administrative positions (from heads of department to president of universities). Lists of candidates for these positions, instead of being independently made by the pertinent academic councils, turned out to be the outcome of voting processes with the participation of faculty, staff and students.[10] The three constituencies –if the term may apply– were referred to as the three segments of the "university community." In the voting processes, a so-called "parity" rule typically applied. "Parity" was reached by means of weights assigned to the votes so that each segment –faculty, students and staff– shared 1/3 of the final counting of ballots. The lists then were submitted to the relevant academic councils formally in charge of preparing them. Seldom an elected list was altered or rejected.

The very origins of those demands were well founded. Rules to choose and appoint presidents and vice-presidents of public universities, essentially inherited from the university reform (and still in force), certainly were (and are) inadequate, as it has been pointed out. Moreover, there are no sound reasons to have deans or directors appointed by the incumbent head of state, except as an intent to violate university autonomy and to subordinate the institution to the state. Elections to choose administrators by means of artificial "parity" rules, however, represent another sort of violation, namely that of the concept of the university as a research and teaching institution.

9. A presentation of the arguments underlying these and other related demands is found in ANDES (1986).

10. The voting processes were officially termed "consultations of the university community" and were termed "elections" in colloquial language. The later form is used here since it reflects more accurately the political meaning of these processes.

This so-called "parity" rule produced some startling outcomes in the ballot processes. In the large Federal University of Minas Gerais, for instance, in the mid-eighties, fierce competition among candidates for the presidency was decided by the relatively very large staff of its university hospital, who massively voted for the hospital director.[11] The winner was appointed president of the university. In a number of other federal universities similar results were observed over the years.

The trend under discussion involved two other major corporatist demands regarding governance. One of them pressed to alter the rules for membership in the academic councils. The other had to do with the process of appointing university administrators. According to the former demand, in the name of democracy all academic and governing councils should be composed of equal proportions (1/3) of staff, students and faculty. This demand was not as often satisfied as that whereby administrators were elected by the artificial "parity" rule mentioned above. Both demands implicitly assume that a public university is a miniature replica of society. Being a member of the university community, i.e., being a member of the staff or faculty, or being a student, implies citizenship in this peculiar republic. For ANDES (and also for FASUBRA) it seemed that an adequate governance of the university would be achieved by building a corporative state within its walls. This peculiar perception, of course, implicitly denies the specific aims of a university, namely research and teaching, which obviously cannot be manned by staff or students.

The latter demand argued, in the name of university autonomy, that the election processes within the institution should necessarily lead to the nomination of the winners. Government interference in the processes should be virtually null and limited to appointing the winners. This kind of demand implicitly and additionally assumes that members of the university community are full fledged delegates of Brazilian citizens, apt to choose university administrators without state interference. This, of course, blurs the profound distinctions that exist between autonomy and sovereignty. An informal satisfaction of this demand, i.e., the appointment of winners by the government, also was less frequent than the occurrence of voting processes for the president under that "parity" rule. Its satisfaction depended, among other variables, on the local political circumstances of the time and on the profiles of the candidates *vis à vis* the government.

The phenomena under discussion, along with the prevailing climate in the election processes, in which unions often had a strong say, have been ap-

11. The staff of university hospitals in the federal system of higher education roughly corresponds to 1/5 of the total staff employed by the system, although in some institutions this fraction is considerably larger.

ropriately termed as "university populism" (Cunha, 1988b; Gianotti, 1986). Its effects on the academic life of several institutions have not been negligible. As described by Romano (1989), races to the executive positions of the university are not interrupted when an administrator takes office. As soon as a president or dean initiates his term, a potential candidate is ready to run for the position in the near future. Campuses are periodically stirred by the races to the executive positions, at increasingly smaller intervals of time.

> "There exists litle concern with the progress of knowledge... University senates, other decision-making bodies and academic councils loose prestige and are viewed as places where discussions are centered on "bureaucratic" and other insipid issues." (Romano, *op. cit.*, 47).

Under the prevailing climate of the election processes, in quite a few institutions potential candidates to administrative positions tended to yield to union demands in exchange for votes. Opposing candidates frequently upheld the same union demands. In the battle for votes, faculty members, for whom the norms that rule the academy should prevail –the academic power as it is termed by Gianotti (1986)–, often ended up defeated or co-opted by the union power. Once an elected candidate was appointed, previous commitments to their client voters frequently tended to prevail over those norms. It is true that in some other institutions different outcomes were observed (Cunha, 1988b). A new generation of presidents, modern and competent, stimulated and promoted the improvement of their universities. On balance, however, in the federal system of higher education as a whole it is likely that these processes hindered rather than fostered the pace of advance of research and teaching standards. In a number of public universities they also tended to submit their governance to the corporatism of its three segments –faculty, staff and students. Both trends probably provoked some reduction in the credibility of public universities before society at large. They risked affecting the autonomy which society may have wished to grant the institution.

iii) A New Context and University Populism

The heyday of university populism in the second half of the eighties was partly an outcome of the political-institutional scene of the time. Brazil faced a governance crisis and the legitimacy of the new administration was questioned. At the turn of the decade, however, new developments had changed the context in which demands by faculty (and staff) associations were voiced.

In 1984, on the eve of a change in government that would end the authoritarian regime, public opinion favored a constitutional amendment establishing that all citizens would vote for the Presidency, according to the liberal tradition that sometimes prevailed in the past. But for the dominant forces in

the military regime the democratic transition should have progressed at a slower pace. The amendment eventually approved by the Congress established that the Congress itself would elect the President. The elected President died before taking office, being replaced by a Vice-President who in the recent past had presided the political party which supported the regime. Both events affected the legitimacy of the new administration. The perception that it enjoyed at best a partial political legitimacy was widely diffused among ANDES and FASUBRA leaders and had a varied degree of diffusion among the faculty, students and staff.

This issue was but one of the multiple facets that defined a larger legitimation issue which, in turn, was a part of the governance crisis of the democratic transition. As discussed by Schmidt (1987), from the legitimation standpoint the governance crisis involved an insufficient social consensus on legal, institutional and political-representation issues. Such circumstances in the national scene naturally influenced the development of the demands voiced and of the governance practices adopted in public universities, favoring the expansion of university populism. Additional help in the same direction was indirectly provided by the agenda of the new administration. This agenda comprised, among other items, the promise to implement ample debates with different segments of society, in order to adjust public policy models to requirements of effectiveness and efficiency as well as to democratic management (Castro and Faria, 1987). These promises led to expectations of an enlarged participation of civil society in the governance of the country. One of the outlets found for such expectations within higher education was university populism.

By 1988, the enactment of a new Constitution was introducing meaningful changes in the national political-institutional context. The new Constitution resulted from and brought about some minimum consensus on legal, institutional and political-representation issues, thereby tending to reduce somewhat the governance crisis, at least in its legitimation dimension. The legitimation issue was futher affected by the prospects of a Presidential election in the coming year. This would, as it did, reestablish the principles of political democracy in the country.

The new context in the national scene probably was one of the factors affecting the apparent decrease in university populism and the strength of corporatist demands. But such changes seem to have had other origins as well. They had to do with experiences in governance faced by public universities and with the relationships between these institutions and society at large. At the end of the decade, experiments that were developed in university governance were ripe to show their results. While some Presidents chosen under the "parity" rule revealed themselves to be academic leaders, modern and suc-

cessful administrators, others have had exactly an opposite performance. Furthermore, outstanding public institutions which resisted the trend[12] maintained or upgraded their academic standards.

Recent debates on the future new education law seem to be influencing the relationships between public universities and society and, therefore, affect the space available to corporative demands. This new law, which will give operational meaning to educational principles stated in Brazil's new Constitution, is expected to establish bases and guidelines for the goals, organization, management and financing of the schooling system in the country. Debates on the contents of this future law, which have been carried out within the Education, Culture and Sports Committee of the House of Representatives, started soon after the new Constitution was enacted. At the same time, the Forum concerned with public education in the Constitution reoriented its discussions in order to formulate proposals for the new education law. The national associations of faculty, staff and higher education students participated in the Forum. There was also close interaction between the Forum and several Representatives, members of the Education Committee. In these discussions, the corporatist demands that have been previously voiced within university walls, began to face new interlocutors and different reactions.[13] For many of these new interlocutors, universities are, above all, teaching and research institutions.

iv) Governance: New Prospects

As a new decade began there were signs of recovery from the overdose of populism in higher education in the years before. It may be too early to register the demise of university populism, but there are some meaningful signs of change in the scenario. One case in point is recent events at the University of Brasilia. Another is represented by a number of principles contained in the basic education law project recently approved (June, 1990) by the Education Committee of the House of Representatives.

At the University of Brasilia, in 1989 a congress met to discuss proposals regarding the new bylaws for the institution. Its composition followed the so-called "parity" rule. Each third of the delegates were chosen by the faculty,

12. These include, for instance, universities of the state system of São Paulo; two of these, the University of São Paulo (USP) and the University of CAmpinas (UNICAMP), are among the best higher education institutions in the country and certainly in Latin America as well.

13. In spite of this new context, ANDES has been pressing within the Forum –with little success– for its corporatist perspectives. For a brief but highly pertinent analysis of some of its proposals for the new education law, made by a faculty member who has been actively engaged in the union's activities, see Pinheiro (1989).

staff and students, respectively. In spite of strenuous efforts on the part of some faculty delegates, most of the proposals approved reflected a neat corporatist perspective of the institution, especially in governance matters. In the following year the project for the new statutes was submitted to a plebiscite. This showed how strong the faculty feelings were about the university populism perspective built in the project. Faculty members overwhelmingly turned down the project originating from the congress, firmly rejecting its corporatist perspectives on governance.[14] It is true that the case of the University of Brasilia cannot be taken as a sample of federal universities. But the results of its plebiscite probably are a meaningful sign of latent changes in other institutions as well. Until recently, in this university ANDES and the local faculty association exerted a strong leadership on some very active segments of the faculty, and corporatist demands and university populism had reached peaks not attained in most other institutions.

More relevant signs of change certainly are the university governance principles stated in the mentioned education law project, which is based on Brazil's new Constitution. According to the constitutional text, the governance of public educational institutions should follow democratic principles, and universities are autonomous institutions from the academic, organizational-administrative and financial management standpoints. Based on these constitutional norms, the education law project often takes due account of the specific character of universities, delineating a governance framework in which space available to university populism is small although there is still some room for its development.

One important principle contained in the project is that the faculty should hold the majority of seats and votes in all university councils. It is up to each university, enjoying its autonomy, to define in its bylaws the proportions of seats for the faculty and for the other segments, provided that the proportion corresponding to the faculty is larger than 50%. This principle buries one of the supports of university populism, namely the demands for the so-called "parity" rule in the composition of university councils.

On the other hand, the project yields to university populism when dealing with the processes of choice and appointment of university presidents since it endorses the misconception which identifies autonomy with sovereignty. As stated in the project, presidents of public universities should be elected by the votes of the faculty, staff and students and the winning candidate should be appointed by the incumbent head of state. It is up to each uni-

14. Approval of the proposal required a majority of ballots from all three voting segments. Rejection by one single segment implied rejecting the proposal and dissolving the congress. Results for the faculty voting (May, 1990) were as follows: 70.6% "no"; 19.4% "yes, provided some changes are made"; 9.7% "yes." Attendance was very high (61.3%).

versity to define in its respective statutes the weights to be assigned to the votes of each segment. This means that, if the current version of the project is eventually approved by the Congress, the so-called "parity" rules in the elections processes probably will have little chances of prevailing in the future. Since faculty members will hold the majority of seats in university councils, which in turn define the bylaws of each institution, weights to be assigned to votes certainly will assure a similar predominance of the faculty in the election processes. There remains the issue of appointing university presidents. Chances are, however, that as the debates on the project proceed. Congressmen other than those from the Education Committee, whose constituencies are not concentrated in the educational sector, would be less prone to yield to corporatist pressures arising from unions in higher education.

In short, as these debates proceed, the remaining elements of university populism in the current version of the law project are likely to be dealt with as the other elements have been. Future rules for university governance will most likely discard corporatist demands. They will probably contemplate an enlarged participation of the faculty, staff and students while retaining the paramount notion of public universities as research and teaching institutions that enjoy autonomy but not sovereignty.

The development of populism in the governance of public universities often occurs at the expense of rendering them accountable before society. The issue of accountability of educational institutions before society can be traced back to the early seventies in industrialized countries, originating in the U.S. The debate on accountability, which initially addressed the performance of elementary and secondary schools, later involved higher education as well. In Brazil, the issue of accountability of public universities, emerging in the last few years, is commonly viewed as having to do with academic performance. But the scope of the relationships that public universities keep with society,[15] so that the former may be able to claim the required resources for their maintenance and development, is supposed to encompass its governance as well, among other variables (Velloso, 1986). Thus, an adequate and enlarged concept of accountability has to do with the full network of these relationships, which include the roles society plays and should play –directly or mediated by elected representatives– in the governance of public universities.

15. The term society, as it is used here and elsewhere in the text, is not to be understood as representing a homogeneous or harmonic whole, nor as a mere aggregation of individual preferences. For purposes of this text, and as used in the discussions of governance, accountability, autonomy and related issues, the term is understood to represent a given social organization pervaded by the conflicting interests of its different social classes and groups in a given historical moment in time. It does not refer to any society in general, but to the current Brazilian society, although with additional qualifications, as required, it may also refer to other Latin American societies.

One of the challenges that public universities face in the years to come is how to be accountable to the society that maintains them. A couple of questions related to this will be taken up in the final section, with an emphasis on academic performance, but before addressing them it is useful to briefly discuss a few issues related to autonomy.

Autonomy

The issue of the autonomy of public universities is closely connected with that of governance. It involves, for instance, the debate on the processes of choice of university administrators *vis à vis* the state. But there are other facets of autonomy which are equally relevant.

The autonomy of public universities defined by the higher education reform of the authoritarian regime in the late eighties is very limited, as has been mentioned. Regarding academic autonomy, for instance, public universities are allowed to offer courses for additional careers without previous authorization by the state. But existing and new courses of study have to follow minimum *curricula* defined elsewhere, at the Ministry of Education. This requirement limits innovation and denies the academic competence of the faculty members involved. Arguments in favor of such a requirement often assert that it is a guarantee against poor teaching standards, although experience has shown that it was not able to prevent the drop in the quality of teaching that has been observed in a number of undergraduate programs in the recent past.

From an administrative standpoint, public universities –especially those maintained by the federal government– are subjected to virtually all rules and norms that apply to civil service. This represents a severe limitation to their efficiency and effectiveness. Faculty hiring, for instance, should be a function of the specific needs of each institution and of the available resources in their budgets. But it actually depends, first and foremost, on the existence of vacancies in plans that are approved by the state and that specify the number and types of faculty and staff according to inflexible rules which are not germane to the needs of the institution.

Faculty salaries are uniform for all federal universities, in spite of substantial variations in the cost of living among cities and regions and despite the differences in the characteristics of the various institutions. In the early eighties two different salary schedules applied to two kinds of organizations of federal universities, foundations and autarchies.[16] Soon after the New Re-

16. Older federal universities are usually organized after the autarchy pattern. This gives their administration a few additional degrees of freedom relative to the public service in general. A couple of additional degrees of freedom are allowed to their counterparts organized under the foundation pattern, typically followed by newer universities.

public was inaugurated, faculty associations, led by ANDES, intensified their pressures for a single salary schedule. Based on equity considerations, these pressures counted upon vast support on the part of faculty members that were underpaid relative to their colleagues, eventually leading to the adoption of a single schedule in the following year. From the standpoint of ANDES as a union, a single salary schedule was and is politically useful since it increases the union's bargaining power in salary negotiations. And from the equity viewpoint, certainly one single schedule should apply to similar tasks performed. But this equity argument is misleading. The real issue is what are the adequate salaries for faculty members performing diverse tasks, in distinct institutions, under different working conditions and in various cities and regions of the country. Salary schedules are expected to foster competitiveness in the career, thus contributing to a continuous rise in academic standards. The autonomy of public universities, therefore, implies that the institution should have ample degrees of freedom to determine, within its budget limitations, its own salary schedule as well as the number and kinds of faculty and staff required to meet specific needs at a given moment in time and over time.

Autonomy does not mean sovereignty and thus public authorities should exercise some control over public universities. The use of the expression "ample degrees of freedom" rather than "total freedom" in the last sentence of the preceding paragraph intends to reflect exactly this distinction between autonomy and sovereignty and the derived need of some kinds of public control. Current controls, however, are formal and bureaucratic. They are exercised over means for achieving aims and not over performance. Results of performance evaluation, when publicly conducted, have the advantage of rendering the institution accountable to the society which maintains it. But there are further reasons to recommend periodic evaluations of public universities.

Universities, Society and Accountability

The current version of the education law project contains a number of adequate operational definitions of the university autonomy principle stated in the Constitution. Prospects regarding the permanence of these definitions in future versions of the project are difficult to be appraised, since autonomy is a very controversial issue and pressures to enlarge as well as to restrict it are quite intense. But these future legal definitions, whatever their scope, will not suffice. Actual autonomy needs to be conquered in the day-by-day relationships that public universities maintain with society. A promising path to obtain the autonomy that public universities need in order to adequately perform their tasks is to make them accountable to society.

University Status and Accountability

Granting university status to a higher learning institution implies autonomy. This, in turn, implies a large margin of independence in the pursuit of its aims. Autonomy is granted because, among other reasons, the relative independence that it commands will presumably enhance rather than limit the pursuit of the institution's aims, which involve the search for excellency in all domains of its academic activities. As far as public universities are concerned, the counterpart of autonomy is a continuous response to society's demands, within the prerogative inherent to autonomy.[17]

University status and the autonomy that it implies usually are granted for good. It happens, however, that adequate performance and satisfaction of academic standards observed at the time the institution obtained its university status may or may not have been maintained over time. If adequate performance, which involves the search for excellence, has not been maintained for some period of time, the institution has actually ceased to be a university in the strict sense of the term. Then the autonomy implied by the university status should be no longer valid. That institution, in order to adequately fulfill its aims, requires close supervision and advice instead of the relative independence commanded by autonomy. If the preceding is true, it follows that the decision to grant the university status –and the autonomy that goes with it– should not have permanent effects. Rather, it should depend on periodic evaluations of the institution's performance.

This approach to granting university status to a higher learning institution has some good chances of becoming one of the salient features of the future new law of education. Arguments in favor of it (e.g., Cunhã, 1989b, Durham, 1989) have been and are being the subject of intensive and extensive debates in several quarters. As a result of these debates and of the social and political pressures that have accompanied agreement with those arguments, the current version of the education law project often deals adequately with the issue. If this approach to university status, is eventually included in the law to be enacted by the Congress in the near future, this will represent a significant contribution to the advancement of public universities in the country. However, as it occurs with the related issue of university autonomy, there are strong pressures for and against it; the former originate particularly in academic quarters and in some sectors within the state while the latter stem especially from corporatist interests.

17. This is meant to say that society's demands upon the institution are mediated by the university's expertise and academic standards before they eventually become an academic activity.

Autonomy and Accountability

The substantive contents of the autonomy of public universities hinge upon the answers to a wide variety of very specific questions. Which are the norms of public service that will apply to public universities? Are these institutions going to be able to define their own *curricula*? Will they be permitted to hire faculty according to their specific needs and budget limitations? What sort of diversity will be allowed in salary schedules for faculty and staff? Answers to these questions and to many others are the elements of a substantive and operational definition of university autonomy. Every answer entails a certain distance from sovereignty as well as certain duties to be fulfilled.

Answers to these questions indicate how far the relative independence that society wishes to grant public universities goes. This depends, in turn, on whether autonomy will enhance or hinder the performance of the institution and on how far the institution is accountable to society. This is why the approach to university status as discussed above contributes to a substantive definition of autonomy that will help public universities attain their aims. The approach requires periodic evaluations of performance, enhancing the institution's accountability. It is likely that society wishes to go farther in the relative independence that is granted to public universities if it can be assured that autonomy, implied by university status, will remain in force only as long as it helps the institution attain its aims, rather than serving other purposes. Periodic evaluations of performance that may eventually revoke the university status granted in the past are one of the paths to this assurance.

Evaluations conducted with that purpose are likely to lead to a change in the status of a few existing universities. This applies to some of the universities that were established during the last ten years or so, since at the time they obtained their status the required academic standards were not actually met. If the approach under discussion is included in the new education law, becoming one of the basic elements of future policies for higher education, the expectations regarding those changes in status are likely to contribute to society's assurance that autonomy will be in force only for those institutions which are able to properly benefit from it.

While this approach is expected to foster the development of public higher education, its adoption poses quite a few challenges. Tradition, as well as corporatist and other vested interests in the maintenance of privileges, present some serious obstacles to its adoption. Here a relevant role may be played by the professional competence of educators and their professional associations[18] in discussing the issues involved with society, particularly with con-

18. The expression professional associations is used in the sense described by Núñez (op. cit.); see note 5 above.

gressmen, as well as by their ability to countervail the political pressures stemming from those corporatist and other vested interests.

Performance Indicators: Problems and Prospects

A number of challenges of a different kind are entailed by the implementation of the approach. Evaluating the performance of universities is a task plagued with all sorts of difficulties. Experience in Third World countries is rather small and recent in this area and so is the literature coverage of the issues involved. In Brazil, several preliminary efforts and initial experiments in this direction have been initiated in the last few years. About 20 universities, most of them public, presently develop some sort of evaluation-related activities. These range from occasional surveys to enlarge the existing body of knowledge about the institution, with a view to promote marginal improvements or internal reforms in the university, to more systematic and permanent follow-up efforts involving the development of performance indicators[19] sometimes connected with evaluation projects.[20] Two of the various challenges that will arise from the implementation of that approach are related to the concept of excellence and to the development of adequate indicators to evaluate research performance.

i) The Meaning of Excellence

Performance indicators are useful if they can tell us how distant a given set of activities stands in relation to certain standards or goals. Excellence is frequently viewed as an overriding standard to be followed in all domains of academic activity by universities. While few would disagree with this latter statement, agreement is not as easily obtained when the definition of excellence is being discussed.

Excellence may be defined as an outstanding performance in the development of an activity or in the attainment of a goal. As noted by Vessuri (1989), academic excellence has been typically related to the performance of elite universities. Major components of that performance are academic titles and professional accomplishments of the faculties and student achievement as

19. A recent survey and classification of these activities is found in Paul *et al.* (1990). These comprise efforts concerned with the institution as a whole as well as activities addressed to specific dimensions like undergraduate teaching or specific courses/careers.

20. Among the few projects concerned with actual evaluations of the institution as a whole, that of the University of Brasilia perhaps should be singled out due to its ambitious scope and to the systematic character of the activities being carried out. See Belloni *et al.* (1988) for a brief description of the project, which addresses undergraduate teaching, graduate teaching and research, organization and decision-making.

suggested by some indicators. In the concept of excellence implied by this view, the assessment of cognitive performance is based on meritocratic values and presumably follow universal standards. This assumes that scientific knowledge is universal and the same applies to the activities of knowledge production and diffusion. The rather wide acceptance of this view, which has social origins, may be but one of the dimensions of the concept of academic excellence. Other dimensions may be equally relevant. Higher education institutions may have additional goals to those of elite institutions or they may give priority to different aims. Judgments regarding excellence in performance to attain given aims, in turn, cannot be universally determined but depend on the perceptions of the social groups involved. A few sketchy examples, will illustrate other possible dimensions of the concept of excellence, as it may apply to Latin America.

Faculty members of a higher learning institution may be deeply involved in providing a high quality training to students from marginal regions, who could hardly compete with their colleagues from wealthier areas. Another institution, located in an underdeveloped area of a developing country, may take disadvantaged students and give them basic undergraduate and advanced technical training, in addition to developing their competence and a sense of commitment to community services in the region. A third kind of institution may select highly qualified secondary graduates and prepare them to compete according to the international standards of academic performance.

The third institution of this simple example is immediately associated with the usual concept of academic excellence. In Brazil (and also in other Latin American countries), its characteristics are often taken to represent a major feature of a university, in spite of the fact that not many of the existing institutions that bear this title actually correspond to the description. But the first and the second institutions roughly outlined in the example could conceivably correspond to additional dimensions of the concept. An exceptional performance in their activities, leading to the achievement of their goals, would reveal academic excellence. The second hypothetical institution also illustrates how excellence may be differently valued. Being located in an underdeveloped region of a developing country, its performance may be valued higher in the region than that of its elite counterpart located in a wealthy area.

One of the challenges posed by evaluations of universities is, therefore, defining the concept of excellence and obtaining social agreement and legitimacy regarding the definition.

Brazil's new Constitution already defined that teaching, research and extension services are inseparable functions of the university.[21] But this principle helps very little. It simply –albeit correctly– bars from university status those three hypothetical institutions mentioned above which restrict their activities to teaching, excluding a major involvement in the production of knowledge. Thus much remains to be defined regarding excellence as applied to Brazilian universities. Academic excellence may depart from the notion that research is the distinctive trait of universities as compared to other higher learning institutions, as it has frequently been argued in literature.[22] But then the challenge of defining the concept still persists. Outstanding research carried out by universities, as discussed below, does not necessarily mean satisfying usual international standards. Answers to that challenge, while requiring some contribution of experts in evaluation, will by and large depend upon the outcome of the interplay of academic perspectives and other legitimate social concerns.

ii) Indicators of Research Performance

Another challenge posed by evaluation of universities is the assessment of research performance. There are a number of indicators commonly used for that purpose. They typically take into account publications (articles and periodicals), citations and authors (individuals or projects, departments or institutes). Different sorts of aggregations of this material presumably measure scientific activities in different fields. Since research is a major task of universities, evaluations of academic performance are often based on these indicators or on some of their correlates, both in scientifically hegemonic nations and in scientifically peripheral countries.

Citation indexes are among those widely diffused indicators. They attempt to measure the impact of published scientific material essentially taking into account how often an article is cited in other publications, such as papers appearing in scientific journals that have wide circulation in the pertinent field. Citation indexes presumably would be useful to appraise the relative performance of different academic institutions within one country as well as between countries. Citation indexes, as well as other kinds of scientific development measurement that are typical of scientometrics, share a number of

21. The latter should be presumably understood as a university function that is subordinated to the other two.

22. On this distinction see, for instance, Cunha (1989a; 1989b); Durham (1989), Gianotti (1986; 1987); Velloso (1986). Favero (1989) discusses research as an institutional project of universities as compared to activities carried out by some of their departments, schools and institutes.

common assumptions. One of these assumptions, among others, is that the goal of science development is to produce new scientific knowledge, following its own internal logic. Another relevant assumption is that the product of science and its corresponding quality can be adequately identified in written documents commonly used for scientific communications, particularly in journals (Velho, 1989).

Research reports that are not published have much smaller chances of contributing to science development than others that do appear in journals and books. This is a truism which hardly can be denied. But the observed frequency distribution of publications and citations of articles –or other more sophisticated indexes therefrom derived– hardly can be said to be an adequate indicator of relevance of and impact on scientific development. The rationale underlying these indexes apparently is that of the organization and dynamics of a free market economy. Mainstream journals supply relevant articles. These, in turn, are widely consumed because there is a high demand for their contribution to science development and, therefore, they are often cited. Symmetrically, irrelevant texts presumably come to light –if they ever do– in peripheral periodicals and are seldom read and much less cited. But as we know free markets work nicely in textbooks, not in real life. As a matter of fact, the keen perception of Kuttner when discussing the pervasiveness of orthodox economic perspectives in articles and books seems to apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the rationale underlying typical scientific indicators. As he argues:

> "The economic orthodoxy is reinforced by ideology, by the sociology of the profession, by the politics of who gets published or promoted and whose research gets funded. In the economics profession the free marketplace of ideas is one more market that doesn't work like the model." (Kuttner, 1985:84)

Scientific indicators and their widely diffused usage have been the subject of intense criticisms. They implicitly view scientific statements and science development as being rather detached from the wider social context in which they occur. Their theoretical background, fitting Merton's paradigm, implicitly takes science to be universal. One of the implicit starting points of this is the fact that natural phenomena are the same everywhere. Thus, the "social, cultural and political contexts in which they occur are irrelevant to an objective evaluation of the truth contained in scientific statements." But this evaluation in fact depends upon its social context. A given society provides support for the development of science as a social system as long as it perceives scientific truths as valuable for it (Vessuri and Díaz, 1985: 10).

As researchers in the social studies of science have pointed out, current scientific indicators suffer from a number of conceptual and methodological problems. They usually do not account for the substantial heterogeneity that

exists in the organization of science or in the academic communication networks in different countries, i.e., in different socio-cultural and political settings. Moreover, they do not take in due consideration the diverse nature of basic and applied research nor the behavior pattern of scientists belonging to different branches of knowledge. Even within one single branch of knowledge the quality of published papers presents substantial variations.

The recourse to citation indexes attempts to circumvent this differentiated quality problem. Nevertheless, these indexes suffer from the consequences of self-citation practices as much as from other practices with similar effects, like the usage of citations almost as an element of the decoration of papers, partly added after the research report has been virtually finished. In addition, language barriers provoke quite biased results in citation indexes. The scientific production of former British colonies in Africa, for instance, tends to be overestimated in relation to that of other African countries simply because, being published in English, they are more visible in the international setting (Velho, *op. cit.*).[23] The same applies to comparisons involving former British colonies elsewhere and other developing countries. Bibliometric results comparing India and Brazil are a case in point. As reported by Castro (1986: 85), available data would indicate that Brazil, as he puts it, currently is the "vice-king of science" in developing countries, following India that holds the first place. When attempting to interpret these results some hypotheses are raised and India is said to be "a very special case"; but the author neglects altogether that some of the measured distance may be simply due to language differences.

In short, given the current state of the art, scientific indicators are of little help in decision-making in science and technology and, for that matter, to map out problem areas in scientific development and to reveal reliable differences in the performance of our universities. As far as scientifically peripheral countries are concerned, there is an acute need for further studies on the behavior pattern of science and scientists as well as on the nature and organization of academic communication networks. This is a pre-requisite –or at best a concomitant requirement– to potentially successful evaluations of our universities.

One of the challenges posed to higher education in Brazil in the decade ahead (and for that matter to other Latin American countries as well) is the development of adequate scientific indicators to appraise research development and thus contribute to university evaluations.[24] The academic and social

23. The bibliography provided by the author offers a varied menu of these and other criticisms developed and published in scientifically hegemonic nations.

24. See, for instance, Vessuri *(op. cit.)* for a discussion of some of the differences in criteria to evaluate universities in Latin America and industrialized countries.

legitimacy that these indicators should enjoy is relevant in itself. But it is particularly so when the performance evaluations in which they are going to be used will help defining whether the university status (and its respective autonomy) will be granted or not to a higher learning institution. The task of developing scientific indicators is not one to be carried out exclusively by experts. It is not to be merely patterned after models where technical rationality dominates. It has both scientific and socio-political dimensions. Major roles have to be played by other actors as well. To be carried out effectively, as it has been suggested,[25] this endeavor should originate in department faculties and, in the following stages, involve the university as a whole, scientific associations as well as government agencies and representatives of society at large. Within the range of possible courses of action this certainly is one that would lead to potentially successful efforts to appraise research development and contribute to the evaluation of universities. Other paths may be envisaged, with similar chances of success, provided that they combine high standards of professional expertise with the search for the academic and social legitimacy that scientific indicators ought to enjoy.

Research and development on scientific indicators, in peripheral countries, is an area in which further work is badly needed if due consideration is given to the academic and socio-political context of each nation, among other relevant variables. This is also an area in which international cooperation has its limitations, given the scarcity of studies on scientific indicators in peripheral countries conducted in hegemonic nations. But at the same time the cooperation may be valuable, since available expertise in the area, in spite of its theoretical and methodological deficiencies, is concentrated in hegemonic nations. The challenge here, as it often happens in the field of international cooperation, is to view and conduct it as a process in which expertise will not simply be brought ready-made from abroad, but one in which some knowledge basis originally developed elsewhere is to be built anew in another country.

25. As proposed by Velho *(op. cit.)*

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Management of Innovation and Change in Higher Education in Developing Countries: Experiences from Tanzania

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BACKGROUND TO THE INNOVATION

AT INDEPENDENCE, IN THE EARLY SIXTIES, all developing countries of Africa, irrespective of size or colonial heritage, had an eye on three overt status symbols of disengagement from the metropolis: a national flag, an airline and a university. Virtually each and every country established its own university immediately after independence and somehow, automatically, the president of the country became the first chancellor of the university, even in cases where these presidents had never seen the inside of a library and could not communicate in the language of instruction of their own universities. It did not matter whether one was educated or not, or whether one was a military leader, a dictator, or an elected leader. This medieval practice of making kings chancellors of universities was based on the fact that the church and the state were one and the same and universities were basically religious institutions. The chancellorship later assumed rather ceremonial and symbolic functions and was ultimately abandoned in developed countries as universities extricated themselves from the church. However, the practice has been retained in many developing countries of Africa and the chancellors have assumed a more functional and authoritative role in the management and administration of higher education.

The chancellors, as heads of state, have powers to appoint and to fire the Vice-chancellors, who are the chief executives of universities. They can choose to sanction resources for the university or remain passive and let the university collapse for lack of public support and resources. They appoint the

Chair of the university council, which is the highest policy formulation organ of the university. They confer degrees on university graduates, and can choose when, where and how to address the university community. Thus, with the two hats (presidency and chancellorship), they can have tremendous influence on the character, development and management of a given university.

In general, the political leaders and policy makers' conception of a university have been purely utilitarian, short-term, and at times naive. For instance, universities were expected to first and foremost produce a critical human resource to help and cooperate in the ruling and management of the newly independent countries, and thus to quickly replace a horde of cynical expatriates, many of whom were neither convinced nor committed to the social goals of a newly independent country. Secondly, the universities were expected to be relevant and responsive to the needs of a developing country and helpful in fostering national awareness and unity in the interest of stability and progress in national development. Even highly educated political leaders like Julius Nyerere of Tanzania deliberately chose and articulated a utilitarian, narrow and short-term view of the purposes and ideals of a university, as his writings reveal (Omari, 1980).

In developing countries, the pressures on universities to be more practical, responsive, development-conscious and the locus of change have been particularly severe, as they come from heads of state and their ilk, to what in many of these countries is the one and only university. For instance, in Tanzania, Nyerere, in his inaugural speech as Prime Minister and Honorary Fellow of the newly created University College of Dar-es-Salaam with only 13 students in a faculty of law said: "Our young men and women must have an African oriented education. That is, an education which is not only given in Africa but also directed at meeting the present needs of Africa... our present plans must be directed at reaching the village." (Nyerere, 1961). The College was an affiliate of the University of London and formed the nucleus for the establishment of the University of East Africa in 1963, composed of three constituent colleges of Makerere (Uganda), Nairobi (Kenya) and Dar-es-Salaam (Tanganyika). These disintegrated in 1970 to form structurally separate and independent universities, hopefully free from the "sympathetic" tutelage of the University of London. Some of the reasons for the disintegration included the country's wish for more radical reforms at the university. It was expected to be responsive and at the forefront in the socialist transformations taking place in the country. These kinds of expectations were common and central to the establishment of national universities in most developing countries. How far these expectations have been fulfilled is a matter of debate in most countries, and in part the current crisis in higher education can be explained by frustra-

tions resulting from failed expectations. Indeed, at independence too many expectations of the university's contributions were raised, some of which can only be fulfilled in a concerted long-term strategy.

The Crisis of Confidence in University Education in Tanzania

The growth in enrolments at the University of Dar-es-Salaam has been rather stunted, starting from a humble beginning of 13 students in 1961 to enrolments of 1,592 in 1970, and 2,989 in 1985, and relapsing to 2,839 students in 1989. A new university specializing in agricultural sciences has now been established since 1984, and has an enrolment of only 488 students. Thus a country of over 25 million people has university enrolments amounting to only 3,327 students (Ministry of Education, 1990). Obviously there is something wrong here, either with the planning process or with the thinking of the political elite. Indeed, since independence in 1961, the country has never been self-sufficient in high-level human resources, even in basic sectors such as teaching, medicine, transportation and agriculture. Yet all the frustrations, hopes, despair and struggles for influence and control in the whole country were based on these small numbers of students. Just by sheer numbers, the university remained highly elitist, competitive and the only route to access middle-class privileges and positions. Only a very small proportion of the school population can make it to the university. It is important to note that education in Tanzania is free from primary to university, so it is such a fortune to have all of one's education paid for by the state, and hence the strong utilitarian stance.

It was not long, though, before the country realized that the university as a status symbol was both an asset and a liability, as the students more that often proved the point that education made people easy to guide and govern but difficult to enslave, manipulate, or subjugate spiritually or otherwise. In 1965, the university students –who did not exceed 400– caused a stir in the country when they demonstrated in the city of Dar-es-Salaam in support of the government's policies against apartheid in Southern Africa and especially against the unilateral declaration of independence in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe).

Ironically, however, the country picked up the wrong cues from the students' militancy. The government had designed a voluntary national service scheme, basically for non-university students, but after this incident it was announced that it would be compulsory for all those going to or graduating from institutions of higher learning, and especially the university. This service entailed spending three months in military camps and three months doing community work in the spirit of nation building without pay, and after

graduation, students would get only 40 percent of their salaries for up to two years. The rest of their salaries was to be retained by the state as pay back to the workers and peasants who sacrificed to send them to study. It must have been reasoned that if the students' militancy was a sign of patriotism, then they would appreciate the military training and, of course, in the process be tamed against unbridled militancy but be prepared to defend their nation in case of a crisis or attack. However, the students violently protested in the streets of the city again in 1966 against this intrusion in their progression towards higher education and the world of work. They particularly disappointed the President/Chancellor when they branded his regime "worse than the colonial one." In outrage, the President ordered the military to forcefully bundle all the students who demonstrated out of the university, and rusticated them for more than one year.

This, in a way, was the first attempt to introduce innovations in higher education in Tanzania. There was a search for relevance and responsiveness in higher education, but the students were hoping for more courtly and special treatment. The political elite was attempting to mould the academic elite according to the national ethos, bring them closer to the realities of a primarily rural country. In fact, during the period of rustication, in 1967, there was a large national conference on the theme "The Role of the University in An Independent Tanzania" in which many issues were raised but the bottom-line message was that the government would not tolerate the existence of a detached, defiant, arrogant institution in its midst. It became quite clear that the concepts of university autonomy, freedom of expression, and organization were always at the pleasure of the Chancellor.

Nyerere's writings particularly continued to emphasize the utilitarian and control motives in education and culminated in the production of the famous policy document called "Education for Self-Reliance" (Nyerere, 1967). The policy was highly prescriptive and castigated elitism, arrogance, theoretical education and the anti-rural attitudes among school and university populations. It glorified manual work and instructed that all schools, including the university, had to engage in productive and menial labour. It stipulated that each educational tier would be complete and terminal as opposed to being preparation for the next cycle. In the meantime, and as a result of this policy, the university continued to be re-defined until its disengagement from the federation of the University of East Africa in 1970, which was expected to pave the way for more revolutionary reforms and delinking from the metropolis and bourgeois ideological apparatuses.

In many ways the re-defining of the university was linked to the more global social movements and knowledge transformations in which a dependency theory was being propounded (Hayhoe, 1989). Universities were being

perceived as proxies for the process of domination and exploitation of developing countries. Thus, in several progressive developing countries, it was assumed that revolutionary de-linking from the global capitalist system would make it possible for the development of more endogenous, creative, practical and relevant economic and educational structures and forms of knowledge. This process of de-linking had to occur on two levels. The first was cultural, political and ideological. As Mazrui (1978) would contend, the university is held to be "the epitome of the pinnacle of the structure of cultural dependency" so it should be levelled alongside the economic, social and political transformations. This line of reasoning was later to achieve a respectable thrust, focusing on education for liberation from cultural imperialism and economic dependency worldwide. The second level was technological, and here issues of curriculum, technology, staff training, and program mix became important. However, articulation of issues at this level has not been as vocal as at the other. There seemed to be a misconception that once the superstructure had been taken care of, then everything else would fall into place.

In the case of Tanzania, the approach was to have a revolutionary transformation of the university. There was a rapid process of Africanization and localization of key management positions such as vice-chancellorship, registrars, deanship and departmental chairmanship. However, by 1970 the majority of the Tanzanian teaching staff was western-trained, but with varied ideological and tribal affiliations. There was an assortment of staff from more than ten nationalities, ranging from Americans to Hungarians. Therefore, what Young (1981) called decolonization of the universities through Africanization may not be sufficient for success of more radical reforms, although it may be a necessary condition for any protracted struggle for relevance and legitimacy of a university. Western university ethos, standards, values and procedures were deeply ingrained in most of the staff at the university. For these, their research paradigms were quantitative, with a hypothesis-testing orientation. But there were also many who were in the Marxist and qualitative traditions of research and frames of thinking. By the early seventies, the University of Dar-es-Salaam had become what Nahdi (1987) called a "seething cauldron of militancy and radicalism and new ideas. Academics streamed from all over, looking for the revolutionary Mecca of their dream." In fact, it was the clashes, ideologies, paradigms and traditions that fuelled radicalism which became a threat to the state. On the other hand, internally the university lacked cohesion and common vision due to tribal, class, ethnic, and religious chauvinism and bigotry. And this was the context of the new innovation.

The University as a Workers' Institution

In November, 1974, Tanzania's ruling political party, called CCM, directed that henceforth, institutions of higher learning such as universities and colleges would no longer recruit students directly from schools but rather take experienced adults from work places. This change of policy can be attributed to three converging forces and tensions. First, there had always been an ongoing struggle for control and influence of the political events in Tanzania in general and on students' politics at the university in particular. The political elite on the one hand wanted a subservient university, closely following and obeying party and government policies without overt contradictions. Yet this was quite an antithesis of the culture of a university which had accumulated an international reputation for being the centre of developmental debates (Nahdi, 1987). Some of the radical, famous scholars such as Dr. Walter Rodney were proving to be quite an irritant to the polity, as they challenged it on its version of socialism and one-party democracy. While Nyerere himself would encourage the university to be a place where "people's minds are trained for clear and independent analytical thinking" (cited in Mosha, 1986), the party did not particularly like the kind of academic freedom existing at the university, where students were establishing their own newspapers and associations challenging his Party on the left and right. The Party in fact had argued that there should not be independent student unions at the university and in schools. Instead, the Party Youth Wing should be the official students' union in all institutions of higher learning. This was supposed to curb student activism and unrest, which had been rampant (Peter and Mvungi, 1986).

By 1970/71, it was quite obvious that the Party would do anything to make the university realize where and in whom was the power for running the country. It thus seized the opportunity during the inauguration of the national university in 1970 to appoint one of its own to be the Vice-Chancellor. The academic and highly respected principal of the Dar-es-Salaam campus, Dr. W.K. Chagula, who was expected to be the first Vice-Chancellor, was unceremoniously replaced by the Executive Party Secretary, Mr. P. Msekwa, who had no academic experience, as the Vice-Chancellor of the University. Another senior civil servant from the Ministry of Education, Mr. A. Mwingira, was appointed as the chief of university administration. The new team of administrators went ahead and imposed the party youth wing on the university as the only student organization, and curbed freedoms of speech, publications and student associations on the campus. This was met with violent student protests in 1971, as they accused the university of bureaucracy, corruption and high-handedness. There were class boycotts and standoffs for several days during what became known as the Akivaga crisis (Peter and Mvungi, 1986). Thus during the years 1970-73, the relationship between the politicians and the academic staff at the university would, at best, be characterized

by mutual suspicion, mistrust and confrontation, which was not unusual, as Rathgeber (1988) observed the same phenomenon in other African universities.

The second force was the genuine search for alternative forms of higher education in which countries such as China, Cuba, North Korea and some Scandinavian countries such as Sweden had attempted to change some universities into workers' institutions but apparently for different reasons (Cerych, 1981; Sidel, 1982). Even some western countries such as the United States, Canada and Britain had allowed the evolution of community colleges, polytechnics and open universities which admitted students who didn't initially qualify for or follow a university track and those from work places, and offered them highly vocational and professional programs, either as preparation for some university programs or as an end-goal. The rationale for the creation of such institutions had to do with democratization of and access to higher education in the context of equity and mass higher education rather than the cultural and ideological rationale used in such countries as China and Cuba. Indeed, previous to 1974 Tanzania had sent delegations to some of these countries in search of a higher education model that it could adopt. Thus what was at one time called the "Chinese Virus" cannot be ruled out, given the country's affinity for the cultural revolution ideas in China.

The third tension was the evolution of the national education philosophy in which it had been stipulated that each educational tier would be functional, complete and terminal rather than preparation for the next stage. Secondary schools had already been instructed in 1973 to vocationalize their programs into agriculture, technical, commercial and domestic science streams. Secondary school leavers were thus expected to join their respective employment sectors, although this program did not quite succeed due to conceptual and resource limitations (Omari, 1990). Yet it was only logical to the policy makers' and politicians' minds that the university should recruit students from places of work rather than directly from secondary schools. Thus the 1974 new policy was neither structurally nor historically out of step with these earlier developments, but because it was formulated secretly and announced abruptly, it was quite unexpected by the university community, although it was understood that the top university administrators were informed of the new policy initiatives. Understandably, there was no applause for this lack of participation of the wider academic community, which increased tensions and mutual suspicions between academics and administrators and made the implementation of the stipulated innovation difficult and an up-down, top-heavy operation.

The New University Admission Conditions

The main stipulations of the innovation which affected the university and other institutions of higher learning were that before a student got admitted to any such institution the following conditions would apply:

- Complete 13 years of schooling with a minimum of two passes at graduation in Form Six examinations.
- Complete a modified national service course of six months' military training and six months of community work.
- Work for 2 years on a "permanent basis" in places where experiences relevant to further education could be gained.
- Obtain a positive report and recommendations from the employer with respect to character and work habits.
- Obtain a positive report and recommendations from the relevant organs of the ruling political party with respect to character, political consciousness, cooperation, work habits, party membership and participation in its activities.

Apart from reports from official visits to some selected countries, there is no evidence of any technical and feasibility studies done to give the rationale and the implementation procedures for the new innovations. As one of its architects and protagonists who later became the Vice-Chancellor of the University said:

> "...the experiment was derived from a political decision ... to relate university education closer to the needs of Tanzania. ...Politicians viewed the existing practices inadequate since they were based on models which placed great weight on theoretical training at both the school and university levels." (Mmari, 1980, p.2)

These indeed were the official public pronouncements regarding the rationale of the innovation. They were at that time quite powerful politically loaded arguments for educational change. It was an attempt to bring the university world close to the world of work, in the hope of thus increasing the social returns of higher education, whose unit costs were rapidly increasing. On an ideological plane, there were no overt efforts to link the innovation with the creation of a socialist intellegentia through proletarianization of higher education as happened in the Soviet Union after the revolution (Dobson, 1977). It may have been assumed, however, that such an innovation would, in the long run, forestall unemployment problems of graduates, which was a growing phenomenon in some Asian countries such as India, Pakistan and the Philippines (Sanyal, 1981). Yet there were no projections and rationalizations to support this simplistic linear reasoning. It is not, however, unreasonable to speculate on the real motives for the innovation, and Sanyal (1977) raised some of these speculations.

Rationale for the New Policies

Anti-elitism. In a country where less than one percent of secondary school populations enter universities, formal education naturally produces an elite group at the apex which can easily be associated with arrogance and alienation from realities of a poor, primarily agricultural country. It must have been expected that the training in the national service and places of work would socialize students along egalitarian lines and mitigate the development of unrealistic expectations and negative attitudes towards productive labour.

Better Educational and Career Choices. Tanzania's school system has no formal guidance and counselling services. Students somehow filter into educational and career paths naturally. The pre-university work experiences could give individuals an opportunity to reflect and decide on the kind of education and career prospects that are desirable and attainable. Yet no explicit provisions were made and no mechanisms were developed for linking the pre-university work experience, university training, and the subsequent job opportunities. Thus, many students after arrival at the university could change their programs of study and career choices at will. On the other hand, a rigid, one-to-one correspondence in the transition arrangements would have been neither desirable nor feasible.

Democratization of Higher Education. Tanzania had become quite popular in adult education circles for its progressive adult education policies, both at literacy level and in folk (community) development colleges where short and long courses were offered to middle-level professional and semi-professional adults. It was only the university which was not easily accessible to working adults. Hitherto, there had existed a university mature-age entrance examination but very few students got into the university through this route and some faculties never accepted students via this examination. Adult educators and some politicians had in fact complained about the restrictiveness of this route to university education. It must have been assumed that change of admission procedures would broaden the base for the pool of aspirants and thus placate and give a chance to workers, who were growing jittery and restive to the socialistic policies being advanced by the party.

Impact on University Programs. Given the complaints that university education was too theoretical, it might have been assumed that the new breed of students, coming from work places, would exert direct and indirect influence on staff so as to design or give courses practical orientations to further prepare them for the jobs they knew. This could have been wishful thinking, as adult students keen to earn their degrees are never keen to push this point too far.

Managerial and Control Mechanism. The university had in 1971 experienced violent student protests against the new university administration of

civil servants and party people. Specifically, the students accused it of bureaucracy, corruption, overbearing and unilateral ways of introducing change without due consultation with the student body. The protests and opposition must have come as a surprise and a shock to these senior civil servants, who were not used to dissent, and worse still, dissent from students. It could have been assumed that the new breed of students would have the discipline of civil servants, family obligations and career commitments such that student crises would abate. Likewise, the university would be less critical of the national situation. The new administrators were specifically appointed to forestall the university being used by both students and staff as a centre of agitation.

In a review of university administration in Africa, Young (1981) makes similar observations when he says, "to pre-empt the risk of the university as locus for antiregime activity, and to ensure the responsiveness of universities to government defined priorities, the choice of administrative leadership becomes particularly important" (p. 151).

Policy Formulation in Tanzania

The style of policy formulation, pronouncement and implementation in general has to be understood within the context of one-party democratic centralism in which the party formulates and announces most policies and asks or coerces the government to implement them without recourse to parliamentary or judicial processes and procedures. In an ideal world, one would expect major policies to be subjected to systematic policy analysis which entails the identification and measurements of the impacts of competing options, assessment of trade-offs, preparation of coherent, well-reasoned choices, and procedures for their implementation. In a bivariate scheme of analysis, one can examine both the desirability and the feasibility of a given policy initiative in a matrix as follows:

Policy X

	Desirable	Undesirable
Feasible	1	2
Not feasible	3	4

With this approach, a policy can be evaluated *a priori* to enhance its success. A policy could be in any of the four cells. The worst scenario is when a policy is both undesirable and not feasible. It is not self-evident as to where the new policy in Tanzania would fall. Overall, however, the policy formulation style in Tanzania is classically confrontational. One individual or a caucus of converted individuals is courted and asked to write a paper for the Party. The paper is written secretively without wide and open consultation with ex-

perts and no debates are allowed in open forums (Omari and Mosha, 1986). The Party will discuss the document mainly at the higher levels, make the major decisions, and then the policy will be announced in the form of resolutions or declarations of a party congress in a dramatic manner to create a sense of urgency, national awakening and unity. This is exactly how this new innovation was announced. The announcement came out in November 1974 and was to be implemented with immediate effect, which meant the University had no first-year students for June 1975 entry. In the meantime, work had just started on explaining the policy to the wider public, analyzing the impact of the policy, and working out modalities for making it a success.

The policy formulation style was based neither on what the majority of people wanted nor on some form of parliamentary consensus, since it did not emanate from there. Interested groups such as employers, parents, students and academicians were not consulted, conflicts were not resolved, and consensus was not arrived at through consultation and compromises. It is not self-evident that consensus prevailed even within the party conference either, as many members of the meeting could not explain it to their own constituents when challenged by educators, parents and students.

Indeed, the new educational policy in Tanzania has never been sanctioned by law, as there were no commission reports or parliamentary Acts associated with it. When some students, who just stayed in their homes helping their parents in private business applied to join the university, the requirement of "relevant work experience" arose but the university had no basis for rejecting such applicants. Likewise, it did not matter how the recommendations were written by the employers and party organs, which were notorious for delays. The university accepted them as a matter of routine to oblige the party requirements rather than taking them as serious pieces of information for decision-making processes. The admission system thus remained meritocratic without any consideration for equity other than gender issues.

Assessment of Impact

The way the innovation was introduced did not lend itself to the evolution of tight and public mechanism for both formative and summative evaluative events. When it was announced in November 1974 that the innovation would take effect in June 1975, all actors scrambled into actions lest they be construed as being against the party directive, which could cost them their jobs. The university had to decide whether to close or just to put a hold on first-year intakes until after two years, or go around fishing in the labour market for whoever seemed to qualify. It opted for the latter so it designed a system of weighting the entry qualifications. Traditionally the performance in form six examinations was evaluated as follows: A=5; B=4; C=3; D=2; E=1; Sub-

sidiary Pass=1/2; F=0. People were admitted on the strength of total grade points earned in at least two subjects, provided faculty quotas and other specific requirements were met. The new admission mechanism added a system of equivalences and compensations such that one earned additional points or half a point on the basis of post-secondary courses, diplomas and certificates undertaken. The evaluation of these experiences proved cumbersome and at times subjective so there were fears that standards were being lowered and that the stay in the cold for three years would lead to knowledge decay and rusting. Some faculties felt they would not get enough qualified students. In the meantime, advertisements went out into the press and employment offices with these stipulations or new university admission requirements.

Employers, on the other hand, had a different set of issues to consider.

- First, there was the issue of whether to release their employees if qualified, or whether to negotiate and reschedule.
- If one released employees, could the vacancies be filled, or should they be left empty for the employees' return in three of four years?
- If the jobs had to be done anyway, who would pay for keeping two employees? (i.e., one in the job and the other in school).
- Could the government, which is the main employer of the educated people, pay full salaries to those released to join the university?
- Would schools be without teachers, since they constituted the major group of potentially qualified candidates?
- Could the Ministry of Education put together clear policy guidelines for employers, parents, applicants and the university all to be ready in six months?

Indeed, the start of the innovation ended up being ad hoc and tense. Many emergency meetings were held to try to rescue the first year of the innovation.

In any attempt to evaluate an educational innovation, one needs to reflect on both the explicit and implicit objectives, intended and unintended effects, positive and negative impacts. The currently enforced dichotomy in evaluations of educational innovations is that between internal and external efficiency issues. These procedures, being marketed by the World Bank, tend to be narrowly focused on econometric parameters and psychometrically quantifiable outcomes. They do not adequately tap the qualitative aspects and the management of the processes and internal dynamics of institutional innovations. Therefore, issues such as demographic interplay, staff morale, managerial tensions, environmental impact, curricula changes, institutional image perceptions and risks and threats posed to the primary ideals of an institution receive very little attention. These are often better addressed qualitatively.

In the Tanzania case, the *prima facie* motives for the innovation were (a) bridging the gap between the university world and the world of work; (b) making university education more practical and relevant to national realities; (c) making the students more committed to the national ideology of socialism and self-reliance and having them develop more favorable attitudes towards work. It is quite self-evident that all these are ultimate objectives and politically loaded. They belong to the external efficiency criteria which deal with employability, earnings, job satisfaction and productivity, while internal efficiency deals with issues such as demographic changes, enrolments, wastage, academic achievement, capacity utilization and management dynamics. These are in part discussed below, as more studies and data are still being collected for a much more elaborate evaluation of the innovation.

a) Managerial and Demographic Dynamics

The University of Dar-es-Salaam was built as a residential university for single students, with a centralized cafeteria system. The new breed of students included married adults who preferred to live off campus, shunning pure student life on the campus. There was no reliable public transportation system to bring these students to the campus in time and get them out as late as 10:00 p.m., when the library closed. Soon the university realized that the 8:00 a.m. classes and those after 6:00 p.m. had poor attendance, so the timetable had to be compressed to accommodate the off-campus students. This also meant removal of free periods on the timetable and use of Wednesday afternoons, which were traditionally reserved for leisure (e.g., physical education), faculty consultations, and visits outside the university. Some classes had to be on Saturdays too. Thus, both staff and students were quite pressed all week long. The impact of this is hard to quantify, but complaints were quite recurrent regarding the lack of time for revision, reflection, experimentation, leisure and consultation. Hence the primary ideal of a university started to be eroded. The university timetable remained rigid and group-oriented rather than individualized. The basic curriculum was the same. The university made no provision for part-time studies and no non-degree courses were available. The students could not combine work and studies. Flexibility, which is so central to adult learning, was not provided for. This meant that academic pressures were the same for both adults and the younger students, although the former had to budget more time for family chores.

On the other hand, the university started to become colorful, as students from different social backgrounds and age levels flocked to the campus. For these students, the primary motive for attending university courses was related to job security, prestige and promotion in places of work infested with the diploma disease. They were to obtain their degree by all means, including

what Malekela (1984) called "horizontal tapping," meaning to copy and plagiarize assignments from other students and sections from books.

The university had no lower or upper age limit for admission so students could be doing their first degrees in their thirties, forties and fifties. The age factor remained one of continued contention among university staff and administrators, with complaints by the staff of the lack of interest in ideas and theoretical works among the older students and the diminished social returns to education, given their advanced age in a heavily subsidized education system. Yet the social pressure from adult educators was so great that no age limit was imposed even when model countries such as Sweden, Yugoslavia and China were considering putting age limits on admission to first-degree courses in their key universities (Cerych et al., 1981).

b) Enrolments

The first-year intake under this innovation (1975/76) had reduced enrolments in the range of 30 percent for male students (from 728 to 511) and 41 percent for female students (from 85 to 50) (Gallabawa, 1984). It was a shock. The hardest-hit faculties and departments included the sciences, mathematics, medicine, statistics, geology, engineering and accounting. In fact, the enrolment in science plummeted by 50 percent (Figure 1). As the Dean of Science then observed, "In one swift stroke... the university science students intake plunged down to a half of the previous year intake" (Vitta, n.d.). The Ministry of Education woke up to realize that it would not have science teachers for the next decade (Table 1) while there was an ongoing innovation in secondary education involving a diversification and vocationalization of the curriculum, but tipped in favor of the sciences (Omari, 1990). The womens' organizations protested against the innovation as it was differentially affecting females. The Ministry sought exceptions from the Party which promised to consider exceptions on an annual basis for science and female students. Finally, all women students were given an umbrella exemption from the 1977/78 intake onwards, but the general sciences were not. The engineering faculty, which was new and modern, built with assistance from Germany, was guaranteed good quality students each year, probably due to pressure exerted by the German government. Throughout the period of the innovation until 1984 when it was abandoned, enrolments fluctuated greatly as some students:

- got into new commitments during the three years' intermission and so were not ready for the university yet. This was particularly applicable to girls who got married or pregnant but even males got family commitments too;
- got scholarships or money to go abroad through their employers or parents, as waiting for two idle years had proved exasperating;

- found their jobs interesting, and they were making enough money, especially in the informal sector, so they were not in a hurry to join the university;
- joined tertiary training institutes not included in the definition of higher education.

Table 1

Pattern of Output of Education Students*

Degree	69/70	70/71	71/72	72/73	73/74	74/75	75/76	76/77	77/78	78/79	79/80	80/81
B.A. Ed.	194	128	119	100	125	108	103	114	88	92	108	101
B.S. Ed.	80	84	95	83	100	107	111	122	63	93	64	73

* Source: Faculty of Education Proposal, 1981.

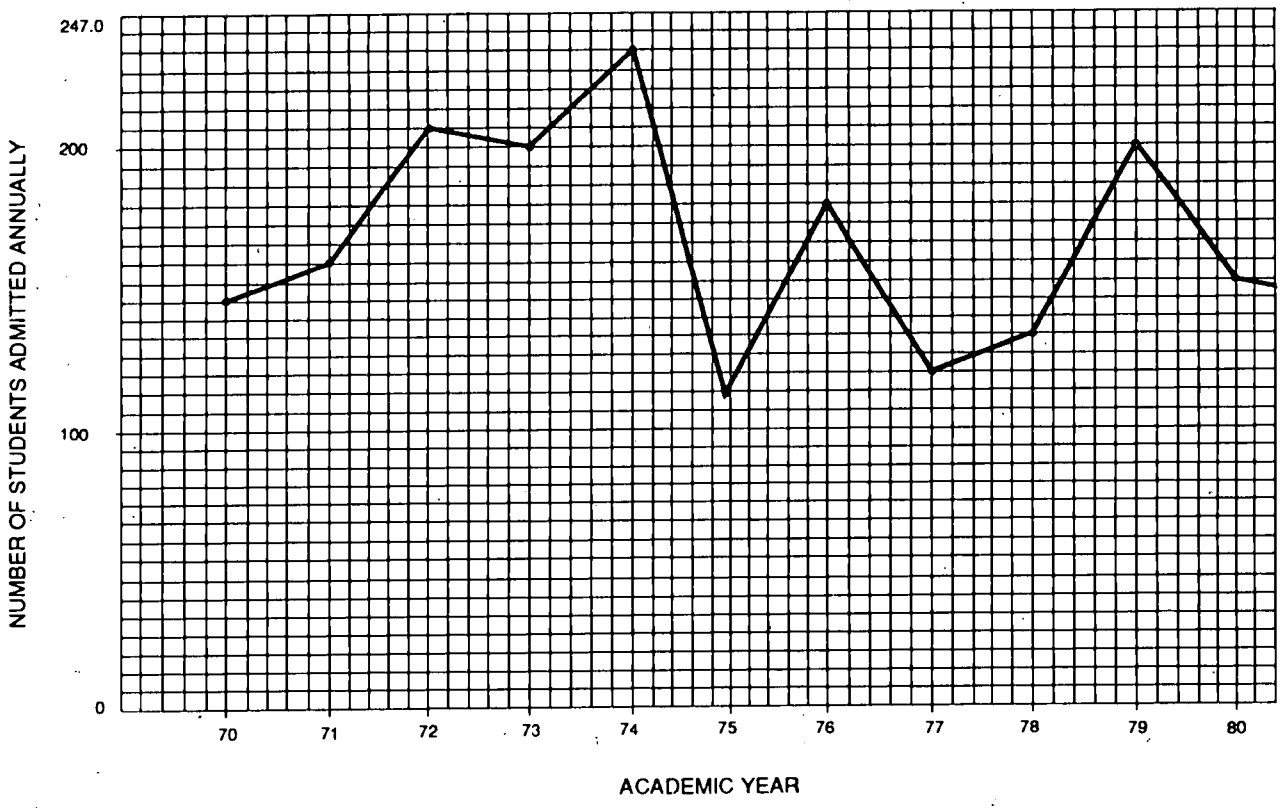
Table 2
1975 Quality of Students Accepted, Combining Form Six Passes and Diploma Weights*

	Points										
	0 - 3		4 - 6		7 - 9		10 - 12		13 - 15		
Degree	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Total
B.A.	43	37.4	56	48.7	9	7.8	5	4.4	2	1.7	115
B.Comm.	15	33.3	26	57.8	4	8.9	–	–	–	–	45
B.A. Ed.	53	30.1	67	38.1	45	25.6	10	5.7	1	0.0	176
Total	**111**	**33.0**	**149**	**44.3**	**58**	**17.3**	**15**	**4.5**	**3**	**0.9**	**336**

* Source: Faculty of Arts Paper ASS 15/16 of 22/05/81.

It seems that these enrolment fluctuations would not have been so severe if there had been an excess supply of students. Countries which democratized and expanded access to higher education, such as Sweden, had experienced massive expansion in the lower levels and were experiencing unemployment of university graduates. The Tanzania situation was quite different, as there was no expansion of secondary schools and no unemployment of university

Figure 1
Enrolments in the Faculty of Science, 1970-1980*



* Source: Faculty of Science Internal Paper, 1981.

graduates –and it seems that these fluctuations were quite unexpected. Thus, innovations which involve change of admission procedures need to carefully examine the enrolment projections so as to anticipate these problems. Likewise, a flexible system of implementation could have accommodated these fluctuations through a system of automatic exemptions. It is to be noted that even after the first three years of the innovation, the university administrators, who were from adult education circles themselves, insisted that mature, experienced students get priority in admission, a policy which created all kinds of tensions.

Table 2 (preceding page) gives the distribution of students by quality at entry in three degree programs. Previously, students with three points were hardly admitted but with the new procedures, such students constituted more than a third of the enrolments in two of the three programs. Obviously these were low-quality students, who by definition were slow learners, and hence higher failure rates resulted, as there were no changes in teaching styles or program content and duration. Members of staff were not particularly convinced why they were deprived of good-quality students.

c) Wastage

Gallabawa (1984) gives exhaustive wastage figures for 1977-81. In a university where the annual attrition rate had remained between 3 and 10 percent for quite long, the new admission policies were a disaster. Taking into account repetition, discontinuation and remedial programs, the impact was even more phenomenal. The attrition rate remained consistently above the 10 percent mark with some fluctuations, causing student protests against what they called "mass failures." True to the fears of the science faculty, their students were hardest hit by the intermission.

Table 3
Wastage Rates by Faculty and Sex

	Percentage Failure Rates						
	B.S.		B.S. Ed.		Highest Dropout		
	M	F	M	F	Course	Rate	Sex
1974/77	14.0	—	5.7	8.3	LLB	50.0	F
1975/78	33.3	—	3.6	7.1	B.S.	33.3	M
1976/79	30.0	—	12.7	11.5	B.A. Ed.	53.3	F
1977/80	20.0	9.1	12.8	—	B.A.	44.0	F
1978/81	27.8	25.0	11.1	11.5	B.S. Agric.	32.3	F
1979/82	30.8	6.5	25.1	24.3	B.S. Geo	33.9	M
1980/83	5.6	—	14.1	34.4	B.S. Ed.	34.4	M
1981/84	31.8	5.9	23.1	24.5	B.Comm.	23.1	M

These failure rates were considered quite high by any university standards and were considerably high for those students admitted through the new procedures. Typically, the average ratio of failures between direct entrants (old breed) and the new breed was 4:21 (Table 4). For instance, in the medical faculty, in 1980, the pass rate for the direct entrants was 85 percent on the first sitting, and after the supplementary examinations only 3.6 percent got expelled, while for the new breed of students, only 62.6 percent passed in the first sitting and about 20 percent got discontinued almost every year. When 30.1 percent of 1979 medical students failed their first-year examinations, there was a public outcry against what was called university snobbish adherence to international standards.

Table 4
Performance by Type of Profession of Mature Entrants Compared to Direct Entrants, 1975-1980 (Percentages in Parentheses)

Type of Profession	Total Admitted	PERFORMANCE Number Passed Straight	Number Supplemented and Passed	Number Discontinued
A.M.O.	8 (4.3)	5 (62.5)	2 (25.3)	1 (12.5)
Medical Assistants	104 (64.6)	68 (63.8)	16 (15.2)	21 (20.0)
Health Officers	37 (19.0)	24 (64.9)	6 (16.2)	7 (18.9)
Lab. Technicians	15 (8.9)	9 (60.0)	4 (26.7)	3 (13.3)
Nurses	6 (2.5)	3 (37.5)	1 (37.5)	2 (25.0)
No specific qualifications	4 (2.5)	3 (75.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (25.0)
Dental Assistants	1 (0.6)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)
B.A.	1 (0.6)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (100.0)
M.S. and B.S.	5 (1.3)	2 (40.0)	1 (20.0)	2 (40.0)
Mature Entrants	4 (100.0)	N/A	N/A	N/A
Subtotal	185 (100.0)	114 (62.6)	30 (16.5)	38 (20.9)
Direct Entrants Subtotal	83 (100.0)	71 (85.5)	8 (9.6)	3 (3.6)

Source: Faculty Paper M.1/2/11/111 of 27/8/81

By early 1980 staff started to get quite hostile to the whole innovation, and Senate discussions got more rancorous. Faculties wrote papers and did internal evaluations of the innovation, and deputations were sent to the government appealing for change. The innovation was held responsible for the mass failures in the faculties of science and medicine in March 1980. Characteristically, the teaching staff branded the new breed of students as indifferent to theoretical work, too much worried about their families, more controlled –bordering on timidity– in debates, more interested in getting a degree than in understanding a subject, more hypocritical and likely to copy

from others and books rather than producing original works. These are characterizations obtained from a questionnaire to staff in 1982, asking for opinions on what was the problem with the innovation.

d) Academic Achievement

The high wastage rates and admission qualifications tend to point towards low achievement scores but yet the data for actual student achievement did not show a systematic and conclusive downward trend in distribution of scores and classes of degrees. However, in considering the quality of instruction, learning and outcomes, two issues need to be considered. First, the innovation was initiated and introduced from above. The staff knew it was not the students' fault so while they tried not to appear vindictive, they did not let go the opportunity to make the point that the innovation was undesirable. Second, the innovation had encouraged examination by course work rather than formal examinations, so in many faculties examinations accounted for about 50 percent of final grades and the rest was accumulated from essays, take-home examinations and fieldwork (projects and practicals), which are less efficient in differentiating any group of students. Gallabawa (1984) gives data to show that the pass rate for first-class students decreased and the percentage of lower second-class increased. This showed a trend towards mediocrity or regression towards the belly. Given the high number of dropouts, pressures not to let people fail, and adjustment of standards and expectations among some staff, one is safe to infer deterioration of standards of instruction, learning and outcomes. The comments from staff are quite indicative, as all were pointing towards poor quality students and how teaching had become less interesting. Of course, most of the staff were not adult educators and the university was not designed as such, so most of them retained their traditional teaching methods involving lectures, seminars and practicals.

Capacity Utilization and Costs

The assessment of capacity utilization and cost implications is best done when an institution keeps accurate records on specific units and ratios. For instance, one would have liked to get data on staff-student ratios, utilization factors for the library, cafeteria, lecture theatres, play facilities and laboratories. However, as Lillis (1989) observed, most universities in developing countries do not keep such data on a regular basis. The data that was available compared global admission trends and intake capacity for teaching facilities only. It is quite evident that the enrolment fluctuations lead to under-utilization of capacities in teaching facilities (Figure 2). Thus the utilization rate was around 0.75 from 1974/75 to 1980/81. The hardest-hit facilities were again science and agriculture, which operated at 60 and 50 percent, respectively, for several

years, in a country experiencing a shortage of science teachers. Given that teaching staff remained the same, unit costs must have been going up. Given the pressures to increase the student allowance so as to meet family commitments of the older students, the total operating cost must have increased. Indeed Gallabawa (1984) shows that recurrent costs increased greatly from TSHS 37,771,000 in 1970/71 to TSH 185,730,000 in 1980/81, while capital expenditures either stagnated or dropped down and student enrolments less than doubled in the same period from 1,666 to 2,678 and capacity grew from 2,440 to 3,440 in the same period, calibration for currency devaluation notwithstanding.

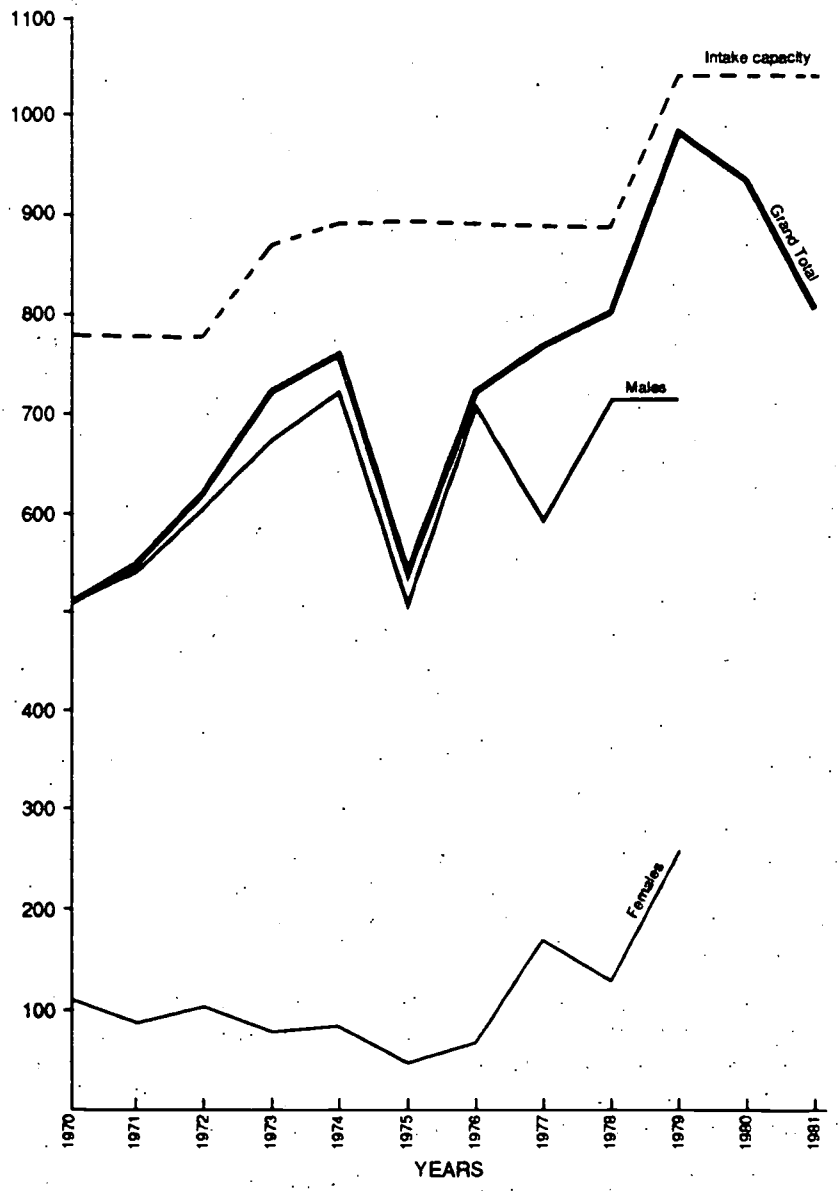
Struggles and Collapse of the Innovation

Over the years from 1974 to 1984 when the innovation was formally abandoned, various features and objectives had evolved. Apart from the formal admission requirements elaborated earlier, features such as a relaxed examination system relying on essays, take-homes, open-book tests, vacation projects and practical work and attachments had become part and parcel of the innovation. In fact, in each faculty, during the long vacation (3 months), students were assigned to work places and asked to work, research and write a project report required for their graduation. When the innovation was abandoned in 1984 it meant that students could now join the university immediately after the national service. Apparently even the long vacation field assignment was dropped, but for lack of funding rather than being undesirable.

The main areas of concern were the fluctuations in enrolments, the failure rates and the delays in getting people into the labour market in a country experiencing high-level human resource shortages. The early cracks in enrolments in the sciences and for women students provided a hostile staff with ammunition to point out the flaws in the innovation. Early exemptions had to be made which again gave critics an opening to point out inconsistencies. The Ministry of Education as the custodian of the innovation found itself in a predicament as there were too few teachers, especially in the sciences, mathematics and languages. Thus the Cabinet Committee meeting of 7 January 1978, chaired by the Minister of Education, Mr. N.K. Kuhanga, had to decide to send a delegation of senior ministers to the President to ask for exemptions for science students and that exemptions for woman students continue (Ministry of Education, 1981). However, the President directed that exemptions would be given on an annual rather than general basis, which gave him and the Minister a control mechanism against violations.

By 1980 it was obvious that within the government there were serious concerns about the impact of this innovation on the country's realization of

Figure 2
Trend of Students Admission, 1970/71 - 1981/82



Source: Senate 101st Meeting Paper from Education Dept.

self-sufficiency in high-level workforce. The Parliamentary Economic and Finance Committee report of 1980 recommended direct entry for the Faculty of Agriculture, where classes designed for 70 students had 9 only (Kamati, 1980). Again, exemptions were granted only on an annual basis, which meant that each year the university had to prove to the government that all efforts were made to recruit students according to the new regulations and that even those who were remotely qualified had been admitted, before exemptions could be granted. This meant that the issue of quality of students had not been resolved, so wastage rates remained quite high.

In the meantime, other countries such as China and Sweden, which had introduced similar admission policies favoring students with work experience, and thus provided inspiration to Tanzanians, were experiencing policy reversals after the death of Mao in China and the change of government in Sweden (Cerych, 1981). They were admitting students directly, using academic criteria rather than work merits. Likewise, in other developed countries, a distinction was being made between non-degree and degree university courses, and some universities were to remain elite while others were open for experimentation with all forms of adult and recurrent education (Abrahamsson, 1986). More and more educators started to realize, worldwide, that what became known as adultification of higher education was not meant to be adulteration of university education but rather a search for different forms of higher education to meet individual educational needs and labour market demands. Evidence was accumulating to show that the euphoria with mass higher education, democratization of higher education had ended in what Trow (1978) and Kim (1982) described as a caricature of failures, disillusionment, distortions and idealism. Apparently the experimentation did not lead to equalization of educational opportunities and outcomes, and definitely had no impact on class structure and differential opportunities. Yet for countries which had several universities, the experimentation was quite worthwhile, as one could tinker around with some universities, while others retained their traditional practices, thus minimizing the negative impacts of innovations while reaping the marginal benefits, such as the impacts of adult students on life-styles, teaching styles, definition of knowledge, and experiential sharing (Abrahamsson et al., 1980).

In Tanzania, where there was only one university until 1984, the impact of the innovation meant total and absolute collapse of higher education due to all kinds of multiplier effects. By 1982/83, the whole university seemed to be suffering from experimental paralysis, with all eyes of the whole country watching the Party choke and suffocate the only university the country had.

On the other hand, key employers who responded to a questionnaire by the Department of Education, which was commissioned to evaluate the inno-

vation, revealed total confusion regarding the merits of the innovation. They did not see the relationship between the pre-university work experiences, university training and the post-university work placement and experiences. Hiring for senior positions was by advertisement and by competition, and employers did not maintain any contractual relationship with employees who quit and joined the university. In fact, all graduating students went back to a common pool for posting by the Ministry of Manpower, unless a particular employer wanted to maintain a particular employee. In addition, apart from a few highly specialized professions such as medicine, engineering and teaching, the job opportunities for other graduates were wide open and indeed defined broadly, just as university education emphasized broad analytical skills rather than vocational skills. In fact, it was evident that employers were more concerned about vocational training than university education, and complained of shortages in the work force created by departures of individuals who were just starting to be useful. Even senior government officials, like one Regional Development Director who is an employer for a whole province, thought the two years of work experience were "a waste of precious time," as such experience could be gained through a few practical courses, field assignments and on-the-job training after graduation.

The total university environment started to generate a feeling that the university had been turned into a humanitarian closet catering to a variety of personal and emotional needs instead of the central concern of the university, which has to do with scholarship. It was difficult for a student to fail, let alone be discontinued because of failure to cope with academic work. It was difficult for the university to discipline staff, let alone to take away their tenure or jobs because of poor performance and absconding from duty. The institution lost moral authority to stand up to its ideals and started to recycle mediocrity. All these cannot be explained by the adultification phenomenon but by the series and pattern of actions, including the imposition of a non-academic administration, over-democratization of academic administration such that deans and chairmen of departments could be elected on popularity and not academic strengths, and appointment and retention of faculty on the basis of ideology, tribalism and patriotism rather than academic criteria. All these factors contributed to the internal weaknesses that made attacks on the innovation quite pointed. Indeed, the evaluation of this innovation cannot be complete without consideration of the contextual variables and the wider environment, both within the university and outside, which surrounded the decision-making processes.

Conclusions

The evaluation of this innovation cannot be complete without considering external efficiency issues such as the ease with which the new breed of stu-

dents choose their future careers, how the innovation helped employers to identify and place employees, job performance, satisfaction, productivity, mobility, consumers' satisfaction with the university services, and the performance of the new breed of students. There is no doubt that the innovation facilitated more contacts between the university, industry and other places of work. During the practical exercises and fieldwork, many members of staff visited students for supervision, and read their reports. The growth of interest in university-sponsored work experience was phenomenal and staff and students became convinced it was an essential component of the university curriculum. Some students with lots of work experiences must have brought new perspectives to the more theoretical courses offered by the university. The field visits must have helped the teaching staff to develop more relevant and realistic courses. Research interest in vocational education was rekindled, and students got enthused about research; some of their works were so good that they found their way into university libraries. Thus the impact of the innovation in these interactive experiences cannot be underestimated and the policy debate regarding the relationship between work experiences and university education should not cease with the abandonment of the innovation. Rather, more discussions are needed that focus on the evolution of more rational, manageable, cost-effective methods for incorporating work experience into higher education, making staff and students stay close to the world of work without sacrificing the primary university ideals of scholarship. Data on the impact of the innovation on the job market is yet to be collected. Likewise, data on the impact of the innovation on equity issues such as gender, religion, ethnicity and geographical balance has still to be analyzed. What is true is that during its initial years the innovation succeeded in reaching a variety of students who would never have benefited from university education. These are students who, for one reason or another, did not join the university in the first instance after graduation from secondary schools. For some it was out of choice and for some it was due to marginal qualifications. Some were highly motivated and knew how to operate in bureaucracies, so have ended up in senior positions such as ministerial appointments, and some got into the university teaching profession. Indeed, the open-door policy for university admission should be continued in order to give a chance to late bloomers, and flexibility to individuals of varying circumstances. But all these have to be done without sacrificing the quality of higher education.

The main contentious area has to do with the policy of delaying individuals for three years before they join the university. This is the area that policy makers and researchers in human resources need to concentrate on. There is no evidence that this intrusion into individual careers and educational progression produces a better breed of workers with respect to motivations, attitudes, and productivity. Conceptually, the assumed linearity sounds too

simplistic and counter-productive. The pre-university national service and work experiences were mainly menial, clerical and mechanical, as students knew that was not their final destination and employers knew the students were only "waiting" for their turn so never took them seriously. It is quite different from adult workers who choose to join the university to better their job opportunities and security of employment. These know what they should get out of the university and for what. This is what is happening in developed countries, where open-door policies enable workers to benefit from both degree and non-degree university and college courses at both graduate and undergraduate levels, but it is highly questionable whether secondary school leavers benefit similarly.

In general, university first-degree programs take the form of liberal education designed to give broad analytical skills different from vocation-specific skills. In fact, university graduates do not end up in jobs closely related to what they studied. Hughes (1987) traced the characteristic tasks given to graduates from the University of Nairobi (Kenya) and found out that only 20.4 percent of the 1983 cohort occupied first jobs where the primary tasks were somewhat or highly related to their fields of study, except in a few professions such as medicine, teaching and engineering, where people practised what they studied. The corresponding figures for 1979 and 1975 were 39.1 and 39.3 percent, respectively. Even in centrally planned economies, the labour market dynamics are quite powerful unless individual freedoms are grossly curtailed. In a way it is a misconception of the role of universities in developing countries to assume that they are there for job-specific training. In a hurry to produce usable results (people), policy makers adapt thinking frameworks quite antithetical to the university ideal. They would be better advised to concentrate on a system of comprehensive technical and industrial arts colleges which prepare people for specific occupations and let the university concentrate on producing the high-level personnel with broad, flexible, analytical skills, conceptual frameworks, attitudes, imaginative minds and management capabilities to undertake tasks that cut across sectoral confines (Court, 1980).

When the new education policy was abandoned in 1984, the country was facing an acute economic recession and the university had serious budget cutbacks. In addition, the socialistic policies were facing great strains and the leadership was on the retreat, as some of the economic hardships were attributed to these policies. The innovation was rather unceremoniously abandoned without a commission or a task force to examine the total package more comprehensively. Thus even the long vacation field work experiences were also unfortunately abandoned instead of the national service which is far too long and more costly to the system. It could easily be reduced to three months and thus no student would lose a year before joining the university. Therefore, while educational innovations seem to be intimately connected to

a political initiative and rise and fall with a given political regime (King, 1985), human resource concerns necessitate a more comprehensive analysis of the whole issue of interlinkages between secondary schools, national service experiences, tertiary institutions, work experiences, and the nature, purpose and structure of higher education in Tanzania.

It seems that universities in developing countries can learn a lesson from the experience of the University of Dar-es-Salaam. They should not easily succumb to what Schmidt (1985) called short-term, narrow, careeristic, professional, vocational concerns of parents, politicians and students alike. These concerns, while valid and deserving, should not be allowed to destroy the primary and long-term ideal, which is scholarship, and which in turn gives the university a sense of community, direction and hence the vitality and authority so essential for its credibility and legitimacy. This may be frowned at by those who espouse the concept of a developmental university (Barry, 1988; Matte, 1990), but yet it is these same people who should be aware that any reforms in universities need to be rooted in a scholarly tradition and policy makers should be educated about this fact. It is only through a strong and firm scholarly tradition that a university can establish excellence in teaching and service, and can be a source of stability, vision, and stimulation for the society. Universities cannot cease to be the source of criticism for all spheres of policy and practice, for this would be suicidal. Similarly, it would be wasteful to invest in universities and expect them to just regurgitate political slogans, clichés and platitudes without subjecting everything to debate and critical analyses. It is only logical that politicians and policy makers should be advised to develop tolerance, patience, and learn how to handle criticism and channel it to productive use so as to get their money's worth. As the famous African scholar, Ndulo (1986) cited, "A university should serve society without being subservient to society." It should learn how to raise and channel its criticism for better social use but this requires reciprocity from governments and policy makers.

In this respect, universities in Africa have a long way to go in establishing excellence and mutually workable mechanisms with their clients. Thus in the short run they will be expensive and appear like ivory towers. Policy makers complain that the universities consume more than 40 percent of education budgets in most countries (Nahdi, 1987). Yet they should also think of the cost of illiteracy, maintaining an ill-trained national work force, reliance on expatriates who have been increasing in numbers, reaching 100,000 and costing Africa 4 billion dollars in 1990 (Jayox, 1989). Thus instead of abandoning universities to degenerate or imposing quick fixes and reforms that will not work, mechanisms should be evolved so that they can constantly and continuously conduct internal evaluations so that they may carry out truly legitimate reforms and give excellent service to the society.

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Planning and Management of Education in a Period of Crisis: The Example of Higher Education in Rwanda

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INTRODUCTION

Correlation Between Planning and Management in a Time of Crisis

IN ORDER TO IDENTIFY PRIORITIES and problems in the planning of education it is imperative to situate it within its socio-economic and political context. A system that works in one context might have no effect at all in another, where different factors have to be taken into account.

The general context for the least developed countries (LDCs) is one of obvious needs, and the conditions for meeting these needs are easily identifiable, but there is a dearth of the resources that would make it possible to carry out the various actions set out by planners. Certain aspects of such planning are thus unlikely to result in any form of implementation.

Realism is thus an essential ingredient of any planning effort, otherwise the best-laid plans will result in failure.

It would thus be good strategy, when identifying priorities, to consider the parameters within which planning is carried out, first by devising a more rational use of existing resources and second by identifying new sources of funding.

Unless attention is given not only to the activities governed by planning but also to the resources needed to carry them out, the resulting confusion

may well pit political decision-makers, who want results whatever the means made available, against educational administrators, who feel they are in the clear because they have not been given the resources they need, and planners, who are likely to be accused of constructing aesthetically pleasing idealizations with too little reference to the real world.

Outline of the Crisis and Its Repercussions on the Funding of Education

Without going into detail, the crisis can be summed up as follows:

a) Over the past ten years the growth rate for agricultural production, particularly crop-raising, if it has not decreased, has increased only slightly, in any case by less than the demographic growth rate of 3.7 per cent. It can thus be concluded that the standard of living of communities working in the primary sector is steadily deteriorating, indeed that they are going hungry.

b) The industrial sector has been a consumer of foreign currency, its activity as a manufacturer of import-substitution goods has in fact increased demand for imports, and in the final analysis it has made a very small contribution in terms of added value.

c) A country which exports mainly coffee and tea finds that the slump in world prices for these commodities and the contribution it has to make to the Equalization Fund have increased its indebtedness and eaten into its foreign reserves, which have now dropped below the level which is considered essential to guarantee a country's security of supply with regard to imported goods and services.

d) Examination of the evolution of GDP and GNP also reveals growth rates that are negative or only slightly positive, but always lower than population growth, which means that the population must be gradually growing poorer.

The implications of this crisis for the funding of education in general and higher education in particular

While educational administrators point out that material resources are no use without human resources, and that the lack of educational privision and consequently of skills is holding back the nation's endogenous development, the political decision-makers, probably rightly, retort "mens sana in corpore sano" or "an empty stomach has no ears..." Thus health, nutrition, etc., are presented as prerequisites for education, and more and more sectors are identified as having higher priority than education.

The government's job as distributor of resources is thus made very difficult, and the funds allocated to education are not substantial enough.

Strategies for the development of higher education

If the financial means available (sources and movement) are the only criterion, there can only be stagnation, if not a free fall, in the quantity and quality of development of higher education in Rwanda. In strategic terms, this means greater value must be accorded to other criteria, more specifically to the rational administration of existing resources.

Careful scrutiny of the sector indicates that the services rendered by higher education today could be provided at lower cost; or alternatively that services could be expanded without increasing expenditure. How could this be done?

a) Material and human resources

Material resources have so far only been partially exploited: on the one hand, the level of occupancy of facilities remains fairly low, and on the other, the dispersal of equipment among the various units means a proliferation of secondary administrative services, to which must be added ever-increasing investment and maintenance costs.

To remedy this situation, strategies currently on the drawing board are directed towards centralization and the pooling of facilities and equipment; optimum use of these facilities according to the "time" (of utilization) and "space" (maximum occupancy of facilities) criteria; the judicious combination of these data could indicate the optimum daily utilization of existing facilities and orient plans for their development.

The optimum scenario indicates that the UNR (Université Nationale du Rwanda) could have taken 4,414 students in 1989/90, when in fact it only took in 2,025. This survey also makes it possible to identify the year in which it will be necessary to begin investing in new facilities. For example a generous estimate is that in the year 2002-2003 the UNR could cater for 12,874 students by investing no more than 338,548,500 FRW in the construction and equipment of an additional 9,813 m^2 of lecture room space.

This examination of possible ways of rationalizing material resources, which indicates that more studens could be catered for with existing facilities, also shows that better use could be made of the human resources of higher education by increasing the number of students. This would improve the teacher/student ratio, currently only 1/7, and thereby rationalize the "educator" factor, which was expensive for such a small number of students.

We must, however, ask why such a limited number of students are accepted for higher education.

b) Rationalization of admissions and retention policy in higher education

Studies in this area have shown that restrictions on admissions for the first years of higher education are mainly due to two factors: the policy of study grants and the practice of housing students in on-campus dormitories.

Since the founding of the UNR, admissions have always depended on the availability of study grants. Only holders of scholarships granted by the Rwandan Government were attending UNR courses. The budget allocated for study grants determined the number of UNR admissions, and fluctuations in this number were directly proportional to variations in the budget for grants. Since the upper limit was reached, however, there has been a stagnation in admissions from 1981 to 1987.

Coupled to this first constraint is the problem of on-campus accommodation, which offers a limited number of rooms in student hostels. Thus the University's capacity is determined by the number of places available in student hostels, even though the lecture rooms and laboratories could take a larger number of students.

Once these constraints had been identified and brought to public attention, the various national bodies recommended encouraging the development of off-campus accommodation and the revision of policy concerning study grants.

Policy directives and instructions have been given to the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, which is expected to examine ways and means of bringing a system of off-campus accommodation into operation and thus achieving:

- an increase in higher education student numbers, by-passing the restrictive effects of on-campus accommodation;
- a reduction in the operating overhead of services linked to students' board and lodgings: 13 per cent of UNR's allocated budget is spent on student services. The initial result of this policy of off-campus accommodation was that between 1986/87 and 1987/88, following a period of stagnation, admissions to the UNR jumped 12.39 per cent.

At the moment off-campus accommodation is being evaluated and when this process is complete, fees for student hostels will move into line with market prices. The policy as regards study grants is that they should gradually be phased out.

A policy of this kind must indeed be implemented gradually, since it requires accompanying measures. Given that the population as a whole is becoming poorer and poorer, it would surely be totally unreasonable to expect it to shoulder the financial responsibility entailed by a form of education in which the unit cost of tuition is 536, 724 FRW as against a per capita GNP of 24,180 FRW (U.S. $310).

The strategy recommended in this connection is the progressive phasing out of study grants as follows:

- Changing of 20,000 FRW tuition fees; this in fact would involve a 20 per cent reduction in the usual study grant. This measure was introduced three years ago and is generally accepted.
- At the second stage, having noted that students have 1,800 FRW/month more than is needed strictly for study, it appears logical to deduct this amount from their grant, since this would not have any adverse effect on their academic activities. All that would remain of the grant would thus be a sum equivalent to that needed to cover basic living needs and the usual university fees.
- At the third stage, it would be necessary to eliminate this remaining amount, because the beneficiaries of secondary education are required to pay these fees themselves. Having said this, in order to ensure that students from economically underprivileged classes are not debarred from higher education, the establishment of a Fund for the promotion of Higher Education (Fond pour la Promotion de l'enseignement supérieur, FOPES) would offer loans to students in case of hardship.

Obviously, the problems of administering and recovering such loans have not been taken lightly. The experience of other countries in this area was examined[1] and the conclusion was that even self-funding of 16 to 20 per cent represents a significant reduction in the 100 per cent usually granted without any expectation of a return.

This measure would ensure equal opportunities for all candidates meeting the entry requirements, and there would no longer be a limitative factor causing admissions to fall below the institution's capacity.[2]

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1. -System of student loans in Scandinavia (Maureen WOODHALL, IIEP, 1972).
   -The ICITEX in Colombia.
   -The student assistance system in Japan (Yoko KAWASHIMA, IIEP Occasional Paper N° 48), 1977.
   - The case of the United States of America (cf. J. BODELLE, G. NICOLOAN, Les universités américaines - dynamisme et traditions, technique & documentation, Lavoisier, Paris 1986).
2. Methods of constituting and managing these funds will be outlined below in connection with new sources of funding.

c) *Rationalization of educational quality*

Educational quality is determined in the first place by the qualifications of teaching and academic staff.

From 1963 to 1972 approximately 81 per cent of the teaching and academic staff at the UNR were foreigners. During this period, however, there was talk of higher education courses for the cadres who were to shoulder responsibility for the new requirements of a nation recovering its independence.

The courses offered had to be socially relevant. What was required was a type of training specifically geared to understanding and orienting the future of individuals and society in Rwanda within a context of rapid change at both national and international levels.

The foreign teachers on the UNR staff (81 per cent) had no experience of Africa and no particular feeling for the new socio-political and economic situation in Rwanda, and they could not be expected to provide an education adapted to the needs and problems of the Rwandan people.

In order to correct this imbalance, Rwanda has made an immense effort to "Rwandize" the teaching staff. In 1985/86 it had brought the percentage of Rwanda educators up to 83.3 per cent, with only 16.7 per cent of foreign teachers. Unfortunately, however, this effort raises another challenge, which needs to be dealt with urgently: *the problem of the qualifications of teaching and academic staff*. In 1986/87, out of a total of 250 teachers and researchers, only 94, including 64 Rwandan citizens, possessed a doctorate or equivalent diploma, while 156 others, of whom 138 were Rwandans, had only a diploma corresponding to a first degree level.

Studies currently under way indicate that the cost of a programme aimed at providing 165 teachers and researchers with qualifications over a period of ten years would be around three thousand million FRW (U.S. $ 38 million). This sum represents 300,000,000 FRW per annum, in other words more than 30 per cent of the budget earmarked for higher education.

Since the programme involves Ph.D. level studies abroad, with an annual unit cost of U.S. $25,000 (1,950,00 FRW), according to UNDP estimates, for

16.5 grant-years, this means paying out 32,175,000 FRW and thus sacrificing 32,175,000 — 60 places in higher education in Rwanda.[3]

536,785

What strategy should we adopt to keep the 60 places and still train 16 Ph.Ds?

We realized that bilateral co-operation, which used to bring in a substantial flow of funding for higher education, was tailing off. Political considerations resulting in a change of priorities (redirection of capital towards new priorities), and concern for efficiency (administration) and profitability (not very tangible in the education sector as far as sponsors are concerned) account for this downturn.

In order to turn the situation more to the advantage of higher education, co-operation is now negotiated in terms of "study grants" and "institutional co-operation."

What new elements do these two new forms contribute? Study grants are negotiated within the framework of the development of human resources, in sectors considered to be a priority for the country and in respect of training courses which are not offered by the national higher education system. The reasoning is that the overall result of the various projects is negative, due to a lack of the knowledge and professional skills required for flexible planning and effective implementation. Grants are therefore negotiated for higher education in general, and within the framework of existing projects emphasis is laid on the inclusion of a training component as a heading in the breakdown of the budget.

Institutional co-operation involves the exchange of experience in research, teaching and scientific documentation, with a training and further training component for educational and academic personnel. The main sources of funding for such institutional co-operation agreements are, on the one hand, the internal resources of the institutions concerned, and on the other, the contributions of the respective governments and the donations of various non-governmental organizations. This form of co-operation seems to

3. -At present, the unit cost of courses at the UNR is 536.785 FRW, calculated as follows (1987-1988):

Item	Cost	N° of students	Cost per student
1. Operating fund	566.268.648	1.675	338.071
2. Study grants	160.474.578	1.550	103.532
3. Investment	159.326.942	1.675	9.512
Total			**536,724**

inspire greater confidence among (state and private) sponsors, who are no longer apprehensive of poor administration and inefficiency.

The advantages of this system are obvious:

- the universities taking part offer places to Ph. D. candidates from the teaching and academic staff of our higher education establishments and provide them with training until they obtain their doctorate.
- there is no need to engage replacement staff during their absence since, "educational missions" will bridge the gap. These educational missions are financed within the framework of institutional co-operation, and in exchange Rwanda offers the accommodation of the absent Ph.D. candidate and a number of allowances which cannot exceed the usual salary for a Rwandan staff member. It would therefore seem that the system continues to operate with its usual budget, although gaining a number of "grant-years", "expert" tuition (since the teaching missions are carried out by teachers selected for their competence and experience), scientific documentation, and even a logistic back-up for educational purposes.

d) Rationalization of existing financial resources and mobilization of new resources

The running costs of a public higher education system represent a very heavy burden for the State budget and funding sources are not sufficiently diversified. It has already been emphasized that study grants and on-campus accommodation account for an excessively large part of expenditure and of the time devoted to the administration of services for students. Off-campus accommodation and the gradual reduction of study grants are already operational.

At the same time, as efforts were made to rationalize existing resources, other measures were being taken to identify new resources. Thus consideration of the proposal to establish a Fund for the Promotion of Higher Education (FOPES) made it possible to identify certain new sources of income.

The State will have to continue to subsidize the development of higher education, but in order to assist the State the direct beneficiaries of this level of education will have to make a more active financial contribution. It is indeed true that education in general and higher education in particular represent a sound investment for the individual, and the immediate or future benefits (a well-paid job, socio-economic status) must be proportionate to the capital invested.

In view of this, it appeared reasonable to require a contribution from parents of students and from students themselves, while not forgetting the various bodies (private companies) which recruit graduates from higher education into their management, or which in one way or another derive a benefit from the research carried out by higher education establishments, reaping a

return on an initial investment to which they may not have made an explicit contribution.

Since it has financial autonomy and is a separate legal entity, the FOPES can invest at profitable rates and generate its own income; it can also receive subsidies and miscellaneous income (donations and legacies).

Efforts to identify new resources have also focused on the establishments themselves, not with a view to making them consumers of funds, but to making them to some extent self-financing. Efforts have been made to enable certain services to generate income, without detracting from the objectives of higher education. Certain services, such as the printing press, the student hostels, the laboratories (tests and analysis), the university library, university extension courses, have been identified as services which can and must generate income.

To this can be added the products of research and teaching and university expertise, one example being the fish-breeding centre at the Faculty of Agronomy, which is currently self-financing and making a profit, and another the promotion of consultations with teaching and academic staff as part of external services.

The institution could charge a certain percentage of the overall contract for the use of its facilities.

e) Promoting private initiative

It has no doubt been noted that only four of the nine higher education establishments in Rwanda are public. Private initiative did not begin to appear in this sector until 1984, with the Université Adventiste d'Afrique Centrale [Adventist University of Central Africa] (UAAC), the Institut Supérieur de Gestion et d'Informatique [Institute of Management and Computer Science] (1985), the Institut Supérieur Catholique de Pédagogie Appliquée [Catholic Teacher Training Institute] (1986), etc.

Since tuition fees paid by students constituted one of the sources of financing for these establishments the Rwandan Government encouraged them by offering scholarships for students attending them. In this way the Institut Supérieur de Gestion et d'Informatique, for example, received 4,074,000 FRW in 1985, 9,938,000 FRW in 1986, 10,305,000 in 1987, 16,494,000 in 1988 and 16,605,000 in 1989 from the Rwanda Government.

Now that the policy on study grants has been oriented towards their elimination, the Government of Rwanda intends to continue encouraging private initiative by acting as guarantor in the negotiation of bank loans, by retroceding multilateral loans at preferential rates of interest and by helping students meet the conditions required for the official recognition of their diplomas, thereby increasing their credibility.

Conclusion

During the present period of crisis, the financing of higher education in Rwanda has been affected by the discontinuation of external subsidies, and the government contribution which, while it is becoming predominant, is in the process of change involving negative variations.

In the final analysis, the available financial resources cover only part of the demand for higher education, and the great problem is how to bring the upward curve of operating and development budgets which are aimed at improving the quality and quantity of higher education into line with the inexorable downward curve of incomes.

Strategies for a more rational use of existing material, human and financial resources have been formulated. Those in operation have already made it possible to provide more services than before with the same resources. Others currently under examination give grounds for hope of the creation of new resources, in spite of the restrictions imposed by the crisis, which would allow sustained development of the quantity and quality of higher education.

International assistance has been enlisted in order to support and supplement the efforts of Rwandan experts. In order to control the sector's development more effectively the Department for the Planning and Renewal of Higher Education at the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research has completed, in collaboration with the Ministry of Planning and the UNR, a study on the rational use of UNR infrastructures and resources and the future financing of higher education in Rwanda.

The goals of the study are as follows:

- to identify the actual capacity of UNR facilities and recommend measures to improve their utilization;
- to ascertain whether the administrative, academic and research structures are such as to allow the optimum use of the human, material and financial resources invested;
- to identify ways and means of cutting the unit cost of tuition, regarded as too high.

The conclusions of the study will be checked by means of expert assessments by the World Bank, within the framework of Education Project IV, and by Canada, within the framework of the Programme d'Appui Technique et de Perfectionnement [Programme for Technical Support and Further Training] (PATP). The expert assessments will involve:

- a comparative study of the expenditure structures of the higher education establishments in Rwanda with recommended administrative guidelines for more rational use of human, material and financial resources;
- an exploratory study of the scope for diversification of funding for higher education in Rwanda, indicating the respective weighting of each source identified within the overall financial package;
- an item by item breakdown of the fees required of students in respect of educational services at the UNR (enrolment fees, tuition, board and lodging, medical costs, insurance, etc.) and their impact in a context of self-financing;
- within the framework of charges for educational services, and with a view to the increased democratization of higher education, identification of the optimum level of State intervention with regard to the establishment of a loans system and also the allocation of selective study grants, with estimates of costs in the short, medium and long term;
- assessment of the effectiveness of the UNR and, in particular, of the extent to which the UNR supplies Rwandan society with the senior managers needed to develop the country, and at what cost;
- with a view to strengthening the efficiency of the UNR and other higher education establishments in Rwanda, draft scenarios for the establishment of an academic and vocational guidance service operating at university level, indicating the staffing level, operating methods, initial installation costs and overhead in the medium term.

Planning and Management for Excellence and Efficiency in Higher Education in India

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"HIGHER EDUCATION PROVIDES people with an opportunity to reflect on the critical social, economic, cultural, moral and spiritual issues facing humanity. It contributes to national development through dissemination of specialised knowledge and skills. It is therefore, a crucial factor for survival. Being at the apex of the educational pyramid, it has also a key role in producing teachers for the education system. In the context of the unprecedented explosion of knowledge, higher education has to become dynamic as never before, constantly entering uncharted areas."

(National Policy on Education - 1986, Government of India, Ministry of Human Resource Development, page 14.)

There are three important roles assigned to higher education in the above quotation from the Indian National Policy on Education: (i) character building for social development, (ii) skill building for national development and (iii) teacher competency building for education development.

Current Scene of Challenges in Higher Education

Like in many other countries, higher education in India today faces many challenges.

i) there is demand for establishing more and more educational institutions concomittantly with growing unemployment among those coming out of colleges and universities.

ii) higher education institutions are not able to cope with the knowledge explosion taking place outside them, particularly with fast changing technologies. As a result many non-formal and informal centres of education outside the system have appeared. Short duration courses, offered in the field of computers and management, are good examples of the growing non-formal higher education. The characteristic of the informal systems is that they are flexible, provide good quality of skill training and cater to the needs of the learners. A challenge therefore, is to learn from these "skill development centres" and to incorporate such flexibility in higher education.

iii) the need for a system of internal governance that encourages innovativeness among its faculty rather than reinforcing conformity and rule boundness. Faculty, students and staff are much more sensitive and observant. They have high expectations from each other and react fast to non-participative or autocratic styles of administration.

iv) the need to reorient structures and systems of governance so as to facilitate efficiency and excellence. At present they are heavily examination-oriented. We have not yet developed the capacity to measure the impact of inputs provided by higher education, besides measuring information acquisition. Where higher education institutions are aware of the methods of assessing their impact in terms of less easily measurable goals (i.e., qualitative goals like values, personality development, social concern, professional competence etc.), they lack the courage to use these indicators due to fear of criticism and lack of support from the government.

v) there is both growing interest and simultaneous reluctance of the client groups, like the industry, to participate in the improvement of higher education. Many users of the products of higher education are increasingly getting disillusioned with the kind of products they are able to get from the educational institutions. They have a desire to influence the educational systems but find that the educational systems are very rigid and resist change, instead of promoting it. In the field of management education some industries have started their own induction programmes to reorient the students they select from management schools and departments;

vi) some successful institutions face a challenge in ensuring that their products do not become egoistic and stop learning after graduation because of the high level of confidence and self image they have developed in these institutions;

vii) about 10 years ago some universities started departments of continuing education, meant to provide short-term courses for those who are out of

the university. Most courses have failed because the faculty who manned these departments could not cater to the needs of their clients. Faculty competency development and enhancing the responsiveness of educational institutions is an important challenge;

viii) irrelevance of course-programmes, particularly in the social sciences, to societal needs. Revamping the social science curriculum and bringing drastic changes, including the use of the society as a laboratory, is needed. Universities have stressed, rather over-stressed, learning from books and have ignored learning from the realities that exist in the communities next door;

ix) an important challenge facing higher education today is attracting, developing and retaining leaders and institution builders who can bring change in education systems. A few decades ago heading an educational institution was considered as a most prestigious job. Today heading an institution is considered as a way of inviting trouble and wasting one's creative, professional talents. Very few people of excellence and competence are willing to take up administrative jobs in education;

x) balancing academic freedom and accountability is another challenge educational administrators face today;

xi) there is a good degree of sickness in some educational institutions. In industry sickness is detected fast. When an industry goes sick it cannot sustain too long. Unfortunately in educational institutions a lot of sickness goes unnoticed and some of it is tolerated for a long time. Very rarely an institution that is performing poorly is closed down.

In this paper I would like to argue that Faculty Development and Institutional Leadership are the two important keys to excellence and efficiency in higher education. Both these keys are being neglected in the developing world and, as a result, higher education suffers badly. Planning and management in education have also neglected these important dimensions. Planners are too busy finding and allocating money and material resources for the educational systems, while grossly ignoring the human resources. Human resource development which is the most critical area for bringing a qualitative change in education cannot be planned fully by federal governments through budgets alone. Unfortunately in most developing countries the planners seem to be content by allocating a negligible portion of their resources for competency building of the chief agents of education. This can do little good for promoting efficiency and excellence. There is practically no concern and, as a result, very poor monitoring of faculty development and institutional leadership.

Higher education all over the world is administered through "institutions." These institutions include colleges, universities, departments, faculties, schools and institutes. In India for example higher education is imparted through 150 universities, about 5,000 colleges and several other national, regional and local level institutions. The University Grants Commission (UGC), a federal body, is the agency mainly responsible for monitoring and developing standards in higher education. The UGC also provides financial support of various forms to universities and colleges for undertaking research and developmental activities including faculty development.

The real education takes place in the institution through the main agent the teacher (lecturer, professor, etc.). If the main agent of imparting education or bringing about change in the learner is "weak" the quality of education becomes poor, thus affecting both excellence and efficiency. If the teacher is not provided with an atmosphere to develop himself and if he is not guided in the right direction the quality of education suffers. It is here that the leadership abilities of the institutional head and the structural mechanisms that govern the institution become important.

Current Practices of Educational Planning and their Limitations

Educational planning in most countries today is limited to macro-level planning. Although every institution is required to prepare an annual or in some cases a five-year plan of the institution, most often the parameters on which these plans are prepared have a limiting effect on excellence than promoting excellence. The national level planning limits itself to budget allocations, starting of new institutions, addition of faculty, location of institutions, intended employment generation, changes in enrollment rates, upgraing of research and other facilities, provision of infrastructural facilities and capital investments, opening of new types of institutions, courses and curricula, etc. Very understandably, macro-level planning is limited to direct planning of inputs with the assumption that certain output will be achieved if the inputs are provided. What is *visible* and *quantifiable* (measured in numbers) is planned but what is *important* in *not* planned as what is important cannot be easily measured. For example, efficiency and excellence are important but are difficult to plan. The various processes of management that influence them like the institutional leadership, quality of faculty, institutional governance, faculty improvements, innovations, qualitative curricular improvements are not given the importance they deserve. This is illustrated by the low level or total lack of budgetary allocations for faculty improvements and curricular changes.

At the micro-level, the institutional plans should reflect a concern for excellence and efficiency. Most often institutional plans are prepared as instru-

ments to get resource allocations made and at the instance of the state or the funding agency. In some cases the plan documents brought out by the federal government become the guide posts for preparation of institutional plans rather than the concern for providing quality education efficiently. Thus the chief motivating factor for institutional planning is the budget rather than the search for internal improvements. Unfortunately therefore, the institutional plans also focus on staff additions, buildings, equipment, research and other facilities. Very rarely do institutional plans focus on faculty development, staff development, curricular improvements, internal process improvements, methods of achieving excellence, etc.

If excellence and efficiency has to be achieved, "quality" factors need to be given equal importance. Both at the institutional and at the national levels, educational planning should include "quality" planning.

At the institutional level the following dimensions need to be included as part of quality planning:

1. *Planning for Curricular Renewals and Environmental Linkages:*
   It is important for every institution to review its curricula once in three years or at least once in five years. In those institutions that deal with fast changing knowledge-base, three-year reviews may be useful. This is in addition to annual improvements. Similarly, educational institutions should plan for periodic assessment and renewal of their links with the environment and client systems they serve.

2. *Planning for Faculty Development:*
   Institutions should also plan systematically various methods by which they intend to develop the competencies of the faculty. Such competency development may be by way of learning about new developments in their subject matter, teaching technology, research and their environment.

3. *Planning for Monitoring Quality Education and Accountability:*
   Institutions should look at ways in which they can improve the quality of inputs they provide to their students. This may include developing mechanisms to assess and monitor faculty performance and accountability.

4. *Planning for Participation of Client Systems to Provide Feedback and Assistance to Improve Quality:*
   This may include conducting periodic workshops and interactions between the institution and its client systems (employers of students, parents, alumni, governing body members, etc.)

5. *Planning for Efficiency in Institutional Governance:*
   This may include improvements to be made in the administration of the institution covering areas like library management, hostels, time-table,

placement, office administration, sports, etc. In large institutions it may include improvements in various administrative systems.

6. *Planning for Administrative Staff Development:*
This may include efforts to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of administrative and other support staff.

The macro-level plans should also pay attention to these aspects. In addition the macro-level planning should include the following:

1. Planning for closing institutions, or phasing out those that have outlived their utility and that have thus become redundant.
2. Leadership training of the institutional heads.
3. Changes in the administrative structures and processes to ensure support for quality education and continuous improvements.
4. Provision of autonomy and freedom to institutions that are pursuing excellence and that have demonstrated their capabilities to provide quality education.
5. Renewal exercises to overhaul the systems or institutions that need drastic changes.
6. Participation of various groups like the industry and practitioners in improving the resource base as well as the quality of education.

An exercise conducted about five years ago by the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, illustrates a step in this direction of planning for quality improvements. The following extracts taken from the "National Policy on Education" as well as the "Programme of Action" illustrate that at least a few of the dimensions raised above are capturing the attention of policy makers.

Excerpts from the National Policy on Education

"5.28 In view of mixed experiences with the system of affiliation, autonomous colleges will be helped to develop in large numbers until the affiliating system is replaced by a freer and more creative association of universities with colleges. Similarly, the creation of autonomous departments within universities on a selective basis will be encouraged. Autonomy and freedom will be accompanied by accountability.

5.29 Courses and programmes will be redesigned to meet the demands of specialization better. Special emphasis will be laid on linguistic competence. There will be increasing flexibility in the combination of courses.

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5.30 State level planning and coordination of higher education will be done through Councils of Higher Education. The University Grants Commission and these Councils will develop coordinative methods to keep a watch on standards.

5.31 Provision will be made for minimum facilities and admission will be regulated according to capacity. A major effort will be directed towards the transformation of teaching methods. Audio-visual aids and electronic equipment will be introduced; development of science and technology curricula and material, research, and teacher orientation will receive attention. This will require preparation of teachers at the beginning of the service as well as continuing education thereafter. Teachers' performance will be systematically assessed. All posts will be filled on the basis of merit.

5.32 Research in the universities will be provided enhanced support and steps will be taken to ensure its high quality. Suitable mechanisms will be set up by the UGC for coordinating research in the universities, particularly in thrust areas of science and technology, with research undertaken by other agencies. An effort will be made to encourage the setting up of national research facilities within the university system, with proper forms of autonomous management."

"10.1 An overhaul of the system of planning and the management of education will receive high priority. The guiding considerations will be:

a) Evolving a long-term planning and management perspective of education and its integration with the country's developmental and manpower needs;

b) Decentralisation and the creation of a spirit of autonomy for educational institutions;

c) Giving pre-eminence to people's involvement, including association of non-governmental agencies and voluntary effort;

d) Inducting more women in the planning and management of education;

e) Establishing the principle of accountability in relation to given objectives and norms.

10.5 Special attention will be paid to the training of educational planners, administrators and heads of institutions. Institutional arrangements for this purpose should be set up in stages."

Excerpts from the Programme of Action

"a) Certain norms of performance must be laid down for observance by the administration (government as well as management of educational in-

stitutions), teachers, students and educational institutions. It should be made clear that these norms are non-negotiable, and not conditional on fulfilment by any other category of organization or individual of their obligations.

b) Non-observance of these norms should inevitably lead to certain consequences, and neither fear nor favour should affect it.

c) Some immediate measures have to be taken to improve the working conditions of teachers and the conditions in which students study and live. Similarly, the essential conditions which enable educational institutions to effectively play their role have to be fulfilled. The faith manifested by the nation in the teachers and students, as reflected in NPE, implies that they will be systematically consulted at various stages of planning and implementation of Making Systems Work. Indeed, much of the responsibility for this will rest on teachers and students."

Teachers:

"A comprehensive, open, participatory and data-based system of teacher evaluation will be established. This system will take into account the work of teachers in the area of research and innovation, regularity and attention to teaching, and extension and social service activities. While each State Government or university or management may create a system of teacher evaluation as may be appropriate, it would, generally speaking, include self-evaluation, evaluation by peers and, in appropriate cases evaluation by heads of institutions/departments and by students. It will not be open for teachers not to undertake self-evaluation where such evaluation is prescribed. Selection of teachers to higher positions and promotions will take these evaluation instrumentalities into consideration. The small number of nonperformers and negligent teachers will be isolated, and where necessary, subjected to appropriate penalty".

Institutions

"Without under-emphasising the importance of democratic and participatory functioning of educational institutions and university departments, persons having administrative responsibility will be given necessary authority for them to be able to discharge their responsibilities.

Central and State organisations –such as UGC, AICTE, NIEPA, NCERT, State University Grants Commissions, SCERTs, etc.– will set criteria for assessment of performance of educational institutions. These criteria will include:

- number of days of instruction in a year,
- number of days of forced closure,
- regularity in conduct of examinations,
- regularity regarding declaration of results,
- regularity of academic sessions,
- quantity and quality of research,
- number of teachers, with reference to number of days, who absented themselves.

These institutional evaluations will be brought out in the form of an appropriate annual report of the institution."

Policy, Programmes and Strategies for Implementation

"The National Policy on Education visualises that higher education should become dynamic as never before. The main features of the programmes and strategies to impart the necessary dynamism to the higher education system will consist of the following:

i) Consolidation and Expansion of Institutions
ii) Development of Autonomous Colleges and Departments
iii) Redesigning Courses
iv) Training of Teachers
v) Strengthening Research
vi) Improvements in Efficiency
vii) Creation of Structures for Coordination at the State and National Levels.

Teachers' Training

"The present system does not accord teachers a proper economic and social status, opportunities for professional and career development, initiative for innovation and creative work, proper orientation in concept, techniques and value system to fulfil their role and responsibilities. Motivation of teachers is important for implementation of the policy.

In order to achieve this, it is proposed:

a) to organise specially designed orientation programmes in teaching methodologies, pedagogy, educational psychology, etc., for all new entrants at the level of lecturers.

b) to organise refresher courses for serving teachers to cover every teacher at least once in five years.

c) to organise orientation programmes by using the internal resources of universities and by bringing a number of colleges together.

d) to encourage teachers to participate in seminars, symposia, etc."

Thus the intentions expressed by the Ministry of Human Resource Development indicate that there is an effort to move towards decentralisation, encouragement of autonomy and involvement of some of the client groups to improve the education systems. However, the Indian experience in the last few years has indicated that there is a big gap between policies and plans and their implementation. The major obstacle is lack of appropriate structures, systems and processes for effective implementation. This itself is a major challenge for higher education.

In managing higher education particularly in large countries it is important to pay attention to the implementation issues. One of the major problems of implementation is the desire of the government to bring excellence and efficiency in *all the institutions at the same time.* In order to do this the overenthusiastic government or ministry may think that formulation of rules, procedures and systems is the best way to bring change. In the process even the few who would like to innovate get discouraged. Therefore, an important strategy may be to start with a few institutions and have a spread effect over a period of time. As the political system does not have the patience and willingness to promote such long-term changes and they want immediate results, excellence becomes difficult to get.

Professionalisation of Management and Administration of Higher Education

In the context of the above discussion in my view there is a great need for professionalising management of higher education. By professionalisation I mean developing professional competencies in those who administer or manage higher education. Today most of them (Principals, Directors, Vice-chancellors, Heads of Departments, etc.) have no preparation to perform administrative roles. The training facilities are meagre and the knowledge base is also smaller. We have rather few success experiences of effective management of educational institutions. Not much effort has been made in the past to learn from these experiences and develop a body of knowledge relating to educational management and administration.

In most countries administrative positions are being held by people who are specialists in their fields with no administrative experience or those who have only administrative experience in sectors other than education with little or no familiarity with education or the unique problems of education. Although the former category of administrators are more in number than the latter category both have competency gaps in providing leadership. Educational institutions require leader-managers for transforming them and for achieving excellence and not mere administrators who can maintain status quo or make marginal improvements. Specialists may have problems of not

understanding the complexity of administrative issues, systems, procedures, organizational dynamics and so on. Professional administrators have problems due to lack of appreciation of the education systems and their requirements.

Managing educational institutions requires some unique competencies. These include:

a) An understanding of the nature of education and education systems and the tangible and non-tangible, visible and less-visible goals of education.

b) An appreciation for students, respect for faculty, administrative staff and client groups and an ability to facilitate mutual support among these constituents and build excellence with their help.

c) An ability to insulate or protect the institution from external interferences that may affect its quality and performance (e.g. from those who provide financial support including the government, vested interests from students, faculty, staff, management board, etc.)

d) An ability to create an open and motivating culture where the faculty initiative and creativity is encouraged and nurtured.

e) Ability to carry the competent group of specialist faculty and use their potential for achieving institutional objectives.

f) An ability to generate resources from a variety of sources and to make the facilities available for the faculty to do good work.

g) An ability to inspire faculty with vision for the future of the institution.

h) An ability to create a learning environment in the institution.

i) Courage to institute self-renewal mechanisms and to revitalise the institution.

j) An ability to invest in developing faculty and other staff.

These are all referred to as institution building skills. In order to develop these competencies the training of educational administrators and managers should include the following inputs, in addition to the traditional management/administration inputs.

1. Goals and purposes of higher education.
2. Defining the mission and vision for the institution.
3. Structuring of educational institutions with particular emphasis on educational institutions as largely hierarchy free and flat structures and the complexities in managing these structures. Developing an enabling culture among faculty.

4. Methods of building a learning culture, creativity and innovation, dynamism, competence and self-regulation among faculty.
5. Mechanisms of evaluating faculty.
6. Faculty development strategies.
7. Finances and other resources for education and mobilising educational resources.
8. Institutional autonomy, faculty freedom and leader as a protector of autonomy for facilitating excellence.
9. Process mechanisms and systems mechanisms for creating accountability.
10. Organizational diagnosis and organizational development. OD as a tool for self-renewal of educational institutions. Self-renewal techniques.
11. Role of institutional head. Leadership role and leadership styles of the institutional head and their impact on faculty.
12. Dealing with poor performance of faculty as well as students.
13. Managing the Board of Management and other governance systems of the institution. Defining the role of various agencies and agents that constitute the governance system of the institute.
14. Managing and mobilising the external environment including alumni, client groups, donors, community, etc.
15. Managing support facilities like the library, computer centre, administration, hostels, etc.
16. Process evaluation of educational programmes and institutions.

Most of these skills/competencies need to be developed on the job through action and periodic review and reflection of actions. However, a good knowledge base could be given in the form of short-term training programmes.

Training in educational management may take the form of initial classroom training followed by periodic short-duration programme to strengthen select competencies. Correspondence courses and distance training has serious limitations in training educational managers.

Effective professionalisation of management can go a long way in improving the efficiency and bringing about excellence in education systems. For this purpose specialised institutions of educational planning and management need to be set up in each country or for smaller countries in their respective regions. These institutes of educational planning and management should have as their mission "professionalising educational planning and management" through research, training, education, publications and consulting

programmes. Special attention should be paid to ensure effective management of these institutions themselves. The advantages of professionalisation should be reflected in the way these very institutions are managed. They should set examples for others by their own excellence, efficiency and leadership. They should have multi-disciplinary faculty, flat structures, built-in self-renewal mechanisms and a culture that encourages participation, openness, flexibility, innovativeness, collaboration and a professional way of doing things. UNESCO has already sown the seeds three decades ago by starting in some regions institutes of educational planning and management. On the basis of current needs and recent advantages in management technology the already existing institutions should be strengthened and made more dynamic centres of excellence. Their activity mix, organizational structure and internal processes may need renewal. An illustration in this direction is provided through a recent review done for the National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration in India which was earlier known as the Asian Institute of Educational Planning and Administration.

Role of International Cooperation

There is a need to develop a body of knowledge to professionalise management of higher education. International cooperation can go a long way in facilitating this. The following steps are being suggested for ensuring the same:

1. Preparation of case studies of excellently managed institutions in higher education. The case studies should highlight the competencies of the administrators in effectively managing these institutions and lead to the development of a knowledge base.
2. Research studies comparing excellently managed systems of higher education and those that are poorly managed and developing hypothesis and generallisations.
3. Case studies of effective turn-around of educational institutions and drawing lessons.
4. Studies of institution-builders and leaders in education.
5. Studies of institutions that have used modern management technology for promoting efficiency in managing education.
6. Exchange of research information, case studies, training designs and such other materials between different countries.

7. Periodic conferences, seminars and publications to share the knowledge generated is an important step to be taken. A Professional Sopciety of Educational Planning and Management may be started in each country with affiliation to an international society supported by UNESCO.

Higher Education in Czechoslovakia: Problems and Prospects of Management

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SUMMARY

THIS PAPER PROVIDES A SURVEY of the system of Czech higher education management, as well as its internal and external relations in the period of transition from a bureaucratically functioning economy to a market one. Contemporary higher education management is characterized by the development of democratic approaches sanctioned by the new Higher Education Law adopted in May 1990 on the one hand, and by shortage of state financing on the other hand. Stronger economic mechanisms of the higher education management will probably be applied in the near future, which should help the system to cope both with its financial problems and with the needs of the labour market. The process of evaluation should be subject to this tendency.

In this framework the need to introduce a non-university sector and to broaden access to higher education is considered.

The opinions of foreign researchers on the Law are added.

Introduction

Czechoslovak political and economic systems have been highly centralized for a number of years. This situation led to inefficient economic and socio-cultural development and to a lack of an adequate interconnection between these two spheres.

Higher education was profoundly influenced by this state of affairs. Its relations to the economic sector were purely formal –the numbers of graduates were planned according to the requirements of individual branches of the national economy on the basis of purely administrative criteria and there was almost no direct intervention on the part of economic bodies into the contents of the study. Political pressures did not allow institutions of higher education to develop any kind of academic freedom.[1]

The present reforms in Czechoslovakia are strongly oriented towards liberalization of the economy and politics. Their impact upon the system of higher education is obvious –more academic freedom together with a pressure on it to help cope with the changes in national economy. The situation is more complicated since decreasing financial assistance can be expected from the State, which has to overcome its economic difficulties.

In the following text the contemporary problems of the higher education management in Czechoslovakia and their possible solutions are discussed, taking into account the probable development of the evaluation process. For support, also the opinions of foreign experts on the Czechoslovak Higher Education Law adopted by the Federal Assembly in May 1990 are summarized. A basic characterization of the Czechoslovak higher education system, and its relation to the labour market is provided in the following chapter.

System and Its Outputs

Institutions

In Czechoslovakia, there are 29 institutions of higher education, of which five are universities which offer programmes in several fields of study, six are veterinary and agricultural universities, ten are technical, two are economically oriented, and the other six offer liberal arts. In addition, military institutions and seven separate pedagogical faculties are part of the system. Most of these institutions are situated in larger towns (eight of them are in Prague, five in Bratislava), and the regional decentralization is not sufficient.

Presently five new universities should open in principle in 1991 in Bohemia and Moravia (they will mostly bring together existing faculties). In Slovakia a project of an open university is in preparation. Also the development of the non-university sector of higher education is under consideration in the Czech Lands (see Pavel Zelenij 1990). In the beginning it is planned that the new institutions will offer short courses of 3 or 4 years.

1. For a comprehensive analysis of the devastating effect of the repressive state politics in the post-war period on the performance of higher education system see Jan Kouckij, 1990.

Although the existence of the 5 new universities (offering bachelors' study) has been approved by the Czech National Council, there probably will not be enough state funds to support them. At a time when the whole system of higher education is showing a tendency to expand, the shortage of funds has a restraining influence. New faculties are being founded and new staff hired; increasingly higher numbers of students are being accepted without substantial adjustments in the previous organizational structures or in the bureaucratic methods.

From this point of view the most reasonable solution to the expansion of the system and its development by region seems to be in development of a non-university sector. This should emerge from high-quality, secondary schools with a vocational orientation, using existing post-secondary courses.

A similar evolution occurred in the Netherlands, where the non-university sector was founded more than 30 years ago. During the initial phase of such a non-secondary sector, and at least until the institutions can be accredited, it could be financed from the secondary education budget. One can expect some financial resources could be found within the allocation for secondary education in view of slowing population growth and corresponding smaller age groups entering secondary education.

The non-university sector could function as a counterpart to the highly theoretically-oriented study provided by most of the existing institutions, especially since there is a growing need for highly professionally qualified labour power, and growing competition in the labour market.

Length of Study

Under the previous system the length of higher education study was uniform. Full-length study was 4 or 5 years, and 6 years for medicine. It was not possible to study in stages. The reason was that the contents and structure of study were totally managed by the state, and the highly unified length of study could be easily controlled. The result was that there was no intermediate qualification between secondary education and the mostly theoretically-based higher education.

Nowadays some of the institutions are afraid of introducing bachelors' courses, which could, in their opinion, damage their status. They are slowly getting used to the idea of the need to diversify not only the length but also the content of courses. In the future, shorter courses with a more vocational orientation should be established which would differ from the more academically-oriented full-time study. Such an arrangement could also better respond to the demands of a diversified labour market.

Students

There is a total of 140,000 students in Czechoslovak institutions of higher education. In recent years only 14-15% of the respective age group (18-year-olds) has been accepted to institutions of higher education and almost one-half of the applicants have been rejected each year. Institutions still are not able to accept many more applicants, due to their low capacities and lack of funds for expansion. In early 1990 the Government announced that access to higher education will be democratized, but this democratization concerns mostly the access criteria. Political criteria have been abolished and applicants have been accepted according to the results of entry exams and their performance in secondary schools. Still, for the academic year 1990-1991, there was an increase in the number of students accepted into higher education of only 20%.

If high numbers of people are rejected, the access procedure cannot always be quite fair and many talented people can fail to obtain access to higher education.

In most of the more developed countries access to higher education institutions is at least twice as high as it is in Czechoslovakia. The reason is that the society needs for its good performance and future development not only a highly trained labour force but also an educated population with wide personal interests and a capacity for innovation.

The creation of shorter courses of study would enable enlarged access to higher education and to some extent serve as a screening for further education. The numbers of graduates from the first level of higher education would increase, and fewer students would continue to the next stage after completing the first three years of study. Better organization of the structure of the system can generate economies necessary for the extension of access.

Access should be broadened not only for the young people who have just finished secondary education, but also for adults. Adults currently represent only one-fifth of the student body, and their numbers are decreasing. The expansion of continuing education will require additional places in the higher education system.

In the past most of people only appreciated in higher education the possibility of obtaining a degree which could help them obtain a more prestigious occupation. The reason for this was that real knowledge was not applicable under undemanding economic conditions and very often it was not attainable through higher education. Even now, the value of the contents of higher education is not among the highest personal values of the population, since in a shortage economy personal contacts and the capability to "get through" the system are more useful.

In the conditions of central management of society the differences in education and even in performance at work were not adequately expressed in the system of wages. This situation tended to lessen the importance attached to the standard of higher education and real knowledge and skills and their use at work.

Teaching Staff

The ratio of teaching staff to students is quite high in Czechoslovakia. There is one teacher for 8 to 9 students. The teaching and administrative duties of teaching staff are too high; the quality of the teaching personnel is not high enough. Both the choice of teaching staff and the system of promotion were based on strongly political criteria in the past. Even now new staff are often taken on because they suffered under the previous system, without adequate attention to their competence.

High professional standards of higher education personnel should be required in the future, and should be linked to salaries; presently salaries of higher education personnel are in comparison with those of intellectuals from other branches of the national economy and from the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. This can also explain the limited development of research in institutions of higher education.

Graduates

Only 9% of the working population are higher education graduates of which 40% are women. Thirty per cent of the total graduated in humanities, 37% in technical sciences, and only 11% in economics. The rest are graduates from medical and natural sciences and agriculture.

Ten per cent of graduates do not work in positions where higher education is required.

Most graduates from technical sciences are employed in energetics, mining, metallurgy, chemistry and other branches in which employment will be reduced as a result of structural changes in the national economy. The tertiary sector, including informatics and managerial positions do not receive a high enough proportion of higher education graduates. Here the challenge for reshaping the structure of the contents of study is obvious.

There has been growing unemployment among higher education graduates since early 1990, which can be seen to be linked to structural changes as well as to the inadequacy of the contents of existing higher education.

It can be expected that in the future the demand for human resources will be more oriented towards real knowledge and skills and that the officially

stated requirements for the level of education for each type of employment will be mostly abolished. Institutions of higher education will have to provide the best conditions for obtaining high qualification, which will be adequately compensated in terms of income.

Problems of Management

Organization and Management

The present system of higher education consists of individual institutions, most of which are divided into faculties. Each institution can adopt a less rigid organizational structure than that of faculties, but most of them have not done so. Both institutions and faculties are self-regulating organisms which constitute their own representative bodies (academic senates and scientific councils). Their structures and activities are specified in statutes designed by the institutions and approved by the Ministries of Education. Czechoslovakia has two Ministries of Education–Czech and Slovak.

The Czech and Slovak Councils of Higher Education Institutions and Accreditation Boards serve as the mediating organization between the State, that is the Ministries, and the institutions themselves.

The role of the Ministry is to create the conditions for the development of higher education institutions and higher education itself, to coordinate the activities of the institutions, to allocate the budget among institutions, to establish research or information institutes to serve the entire system (with the agreement of the respective Council of Higher Education Institutions) and to determine the right of the institutions to award academic degrees (according to the proposal or acknowledgement by the Accreditation Boards).

Accreditation Boards are advisory bodies established by the National Governments and they recommend constitution, joining, division or abolishing the institutions and/or faculties and evaluate their capabilities as to exercising exams or awarding academic degrees. Their membership consists of highly prestigious experts from diverse areas of economy, education and culture.

The Czech and Slovak National Councils of Higher Education Institutions and Accreditation Boards are formed by the delegates of individual institutions or faculties. They review all important proposals and measures concerning higher education including the proposals by the Ministries for the allocation of funds to individual institutions. Under the new Law their role in the internationalization and international recognition of Czechoslovak higher education is omitted, as is provision for their actual functioning.

All the activities of the individual parts of the higher education system are currently in the process of development. There is no previous experience

with the transition from the central planning to self-regulating mechanisms. In the countries whose politics are, similar to Czechoslovakia, committed to liberalizing their previously centrally planned economy –i.e. mainly in Hungary and Poland– the range of academic rights and freedoms was, at least during the seventies and the eighties, wider than in politically rigid Czechoslovakia.

Consequently, institutions are quite willing to practice self-management but very often they do not know how to go about it. They reject external intervention, but on the other hand they are aware of the fact that at the very least they need to develop some common strategies. They need a common information base both on their own functioning and on external social and economic conditions, such as possibilities of the contacts with enterprises, and regional representation, level and type of demand for human resources, employment of graduates. A central registration of the applicants and of available places in individual institutions is needed so that those who fail entry exams to one institution could try elsewhere. For these purposes, the need for Ministries of Higher Education to play a role should be better understood. Existing research institutes in the field of higher education, which have so far proved relatively ineffective, need to be assigned very specific tasks by the Councils of Higher Education Institutions and the Accreditation Boards and/or by the Ministries. These institutes could also play valuable roles in providing comprehensive information about systems of higher education abroad.

It is assumed that there will be a much less administrative form of state management and planning than there was in the past. Presently, a more stimulating system of finance is being prepared.

Largely at the initiative of the Czech Ministry of Education, an OECD project on Analysis and Evaluation of Higher Education in Czechoslovakia has been started (the coordinating bodies of the project are the Czech and Slovak Ministry of Education and Charles University).

Financing

The State, given the current economic situation, is not able to substantially increase the funds for higher education. Presently 7.5 billion Czechoslovak crowns are earmarked for higher education from government expenditure, which is not more than 2% of the budget and much lower than the expenditure of most developed countries.

The budget of Czechoslovak higher education will rise by 16% in the year 1991, which is not sufficient, considering the tendency of institutions to expand. At the same time it is necessary to extend the access to higher education, to increase staff salaries, to decentralize the institutions and to equip them technically.

There are two complementary solutions to these aims: 1) restrictive financial policies, and 2) funding from other sources.

a) Restrictive Financial Policy

Overall institutions tend to develop existing branches of study which were connected with the previous, ineffective focus of the national economy on heavy industry. Furthermore, they tend to rebuild and sometimes extend the theoretical side of their studies. To take into account the probable needs of a diversified labour market, financial allocations will favour prospective fields of study, such as management and busines administration, informatics, light engineering and social services. Shorter, vocational (bachelors) courses and those directly linked to the economic sphere will be preferred.

In addition it is necessary to consider the longer-term social and cultural development of the country, which will have obvious influence on the economy. Reorganizing fields of study to move from a highly theoretical orientation with emphasis on humanities towards a vocational orientation is advisable.

Restrictive financial policy will try to discourage ineffective behaviour of the institutions - abundant administration, inefficient organization and non-prospective fields of study.

Financial policy will also concern the system of student support. While at present it is the parents of student who receive family allowances, and scholarships are quite low, a system of loans and grants must be introduced. A larger share of the expenses of higher education, concerning production or purchase of books, boarding and accommodation of students could be paid by the students themselves. The establishment of a student bank is presently under consideration, –so that the funds earmarked for these purposes are not misused.

This system could lead to more responsible decision-making by students concerning their fields of study. Academic performance could be improved if there were financial incentives for academic achievement.

b) Diversified Funding

Courses paid for from the economic sector will represent the main source of money. The other sources that can be tapped are funds earmarked for retraining (from the Ministry of Labour); diverse religious or other social organizations and private foundations. Institutions will have to develop economically-oriented activities to obtain this additional money, which will help them to understand the logic of their connection to the social and economic needs of society.

Value of Higher Education

In the past, in a situation in which there was only a vague relationship of the system of higher education to the national economy, the value of higher education was not assessed objectively. The only control was over the fulfillment of administrative criteria concerning the contents and organization of study and the number of students and graduates. Now, a comprehensive system of evaluation is needed, with the aim of improving the standard of instruction and orienting the contents of study towards development needs. In addition, it is essential to reach international standards for higher education and international recognition.

Highly sophisticated accreditation mechanisms should be used, and probably diversified accreditation boards (or sub-boards) should be introduced. More vocational fields of study would need their own system of accreditation (which would concern the whole non-university sector), as opposed to the already established one, which is more suitable for academic study.

The main results of higher education, that is the performance of graduates in jobs, are not directly measurable. Nevertheless, case studies on graduates employment and of qualifications are possible.

Cooperation with foreign researchers can contribute substantially to the overall evaluation of the system of higher education. The project "Analysis and Evaluation of Higher Education in Czechoslovakia" obviously will be helpful.

Discussion of the New Law

Basic Characteristics of the Law

The adoption of the new Czechoslovak Higher Education Law by the Federal Assembly in May 1990 only confirmed the democratic changes in the system of higher education that were initiated by the political changes in December 1989. The most significant feature of the new law is that in it academic rights and liberties are codified. The institutions have the right to constitute their representative bodies (academic senates and scientific councils), to establish their own internal structures and functioning, the numbers of accepted students, the criteria for access and distribution of their financial means. They also can practice economic activities and seek additional sources of money. Their income is not taxed.

Students can participate in the representative bodies of the institutions and share in their decision-making. They are allowed to form their own representative bodies.

The teaching and research staff will henceforth be hired on a competitive basis, and academic senates and scientific boards will participate in decisions to award high academic degrees and fill leading posts. Professors and rectors are nominated by the Czechoslovak president on the basis of proposals made by the individual institutions.

New institutions of higher education can be founded and legally approved by the decision of Czech or Slovak National Councils.

The most innovative aspect of the Law is that it allows the possibility of stages of study, which was not possible, in the past. The shorter study, if accredited, is completed by the bachelors degree. The Law also mentions the possibilities of post-graduate study and lifelong education.

The relations between institutions of higher education and the state management, represented by the Czech Ministry of Education and the Slovak Ministry of Education, are ensured by the respective Councils of Higher Education Institutions and the Accreditation Boards.

The Law has only 45 articles and it is expected that a more detailed and revised amendment will be elaborated early in 1992. By that time the analysis of the system of Czechoslovak higher education, with the help of OECD experts, will be completed and reveal some of its strengths and weaknesses.

Comments of the Foreign Experts

Even now it is evident that some articles of the Law need further clarification. This has been confirmed by the independent expertise of foreign researchers who have submitted their comments on the Czechoslovak Law (see Comments 1990–. The most important ones are mentioned below.

The system of higher education management seems to be too complicated, giving too much autonomy to individual faculties. The confusion between the roles of the faculties and institution senates and scientific councils is mentioned by Ed Prosser and Frans van Vught. Ladislav Çerych adds: "I don't pretend that faculties should be abolished but I feel that their powers should be more limited (unless they represent virtually independent higher education institutions)." The present diffusion of power can, in their opinion, substantially limit the decision-making capacities of the institutions.

The degree of participation of students in these bodies is not mentioned; this is a rather delicate issue and should be spelled out more concretely (Ulrich Teichler).

Teichler objects to the absence of external management of the institutions on the basis of specified overall state strategy performed by the Ministry of

Education, "representing all societal interests directed to higher education." The need to place academic rights in the context of broad governmental regulation and to make clearer the relation between ministry and the institutions is mentioned by van Vught. Teichler also points out that individual institutions of higher education cannot decide objectively on the number of students they should accept without preliminary guidelines for selection (the absence of access rules is criticized by L. Çerych). Çerych and van Vught also feel that the obligation to hire staff on a competitive basis should be made clearer.

Several commentators (especially Çerych) point out the need to develop common Czech and Slovak strategies for the management of the higher education system and its evaluation.

Several comments concern the status of bachelors' degree studies. In a more demanding labour market it needs to be made clear that the bachelors' degree will represent a kind of vocational qualification (Çerych and Teichler stress the need to introduce the non-university sector and thus the diversification of the system into Czechoslovakia.) Van Vught, on the contrary feels there is a need to ensure the basic academic orientation of the system.

More encouragement should be given to the economic activities of the institutions (Ed Prosser), which are only "enabled" by the Law, and to lifelong education for retraining or completing qualification courses. The connection between secondary and higher education is too rigid if completing of secondary education is a necessary condition for entering higher schooling. The development of adult education should overcome this condition (Çerych).

Teichler regrets that it is not specified if income earned by a given faculty will be given to the institution or can be used by the faculty. It should be stressed in the Law that "the financial means provided to or earned by an institution should be used to fulfil their basic academic tasks", says Frans van Vught.

The appointment of professors and rectors by the Czechoslovak president is criticized by Prosser - normally the Minister of Education should suffice, in his opinion.

One inadequacy of the Law is the fact that the possibility of private higher education is not mentioned (which "does not seem very supple for a country wanting to move into free economy", as Teichler, who also mentions the lack of provisions for distant teaching, notes).

The role of research is not properly specified in the Law according to Teichler. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that in Czechoslovakia the Academy of Sciences has a much stronger role in research than the institutions of higher education and there are no direct links between these two sectors.

It is evident that the Law was prepared under political conditions that were not conducive to strict definition of some of its items. Its vagueness can to some extent enable the institutions to learn how to perform democratically. More regulation will be needed in the future as concerns their relation to the national economy.

Conclusion

In Czechoslovakia the system of higher education suffers from insufficient experience in the sphere of academic freedom. The new Law provides the basic conditions for exercising democratic self-management of the system. Nevertheless it does not adequately spell out the responsibility of the institutions to the labour market, their necessary diversity, and the principles of their management structure. The amendment to the Law to cover these aspects is expected in 1992.

The shortage of financial means will necessarily lead to some economic control over higher education management and self- management, mainly in the form of a restrictive financial policy which will support the fields of study which are promising for social and economic development. Direct contracts with economic bodies and search for additional funds will also become a part of these mechanisms.

As concerns the students, grants and loans would probably be more stimulating than the present scholarships and they could also enable students to maintain a certain economic independence.

More than before, the orientation of study and the interest of students will be shaped by the development of the labour market. Evaluation of the performance of both institutions and students will take this fact into account.

Under the influence of economic management, all the agents of the higher education system (the institutions, the teachers as well as the students) should achieve more economically rational and responsible decision-making.

The diversification of the system in terms of the theoretically versus practically oriented education, and the introduction of diversified periods of study, should be linked to broader access to higher education - if we take into account the demand for highly qualified persons, continuing education, and retraining, which are necessarily connected to social and economic progress.

The most promising innovation in expanding the system is the introduction of the non-u niversity sector, that is to upgrade high-quality secondary vocational institutions. Here the example of the Netherlands is of interest.

The foreign experience and consultations with foreign researchers are useful for the development of Czechoslovak higher education. Naturally, these should not be adopted as models, but one should learn from their successes and failures. In this respect also, the comments on the Czechoslovak Law by foreign experts quoted in previous chapters are highly valuable.

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Planning and Managing for Excellence and Efficiency in Higher Education in Britain

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EXCELLENCE IS BELIEVED TO BE the characteristic of all aspects of British Higher Education so there is a widespread assumption that, there is therefore no need to plan for what already exists –only a need to guard it and preserve it! For this reason there is widespread support for frequently presented arguments that the system must be preserved from dilution, that access of students must be restricted to the most able and the most motivated and that, generally, *the elitist aspects of the system be maintained.* In fact there is a wide range of excellence and efficiency between students and staff, between and even within every institution.

Planning

The main planning issue has been an attempt to maintain and enhance levels of excellence and efficiency at a time of expanding numbers of students and institutions which has occurred since the mid nineteen sixties. Since that time the number of universities has increased by a third, some fifty polytechnics and colleges of higher education have been incorporated into the higher education system and the number of students has more than doubled. This has been associated with a wide diversification of courses and staff.

Three strategies have been adopted to attempt to ensure standards of excellence and efficiency:

1. The continuance of a select admissions policy whereby candidates have to achieve a high level of examination success at the end of their period of schooling (at age 18+) usually in a form of advanced level General Certificate of Education Passes (A levels). These subject examinations are

graded A-E (the lowest pass) and usually only the highest grades A and B are accepted in the most sought after subjects and institutions.This restriction to highly able students has been seen to be the best guarantee of excellence and the efficient use of places. This policy however has left Britain with relatively low-age participation rate –some 10-12% of the age group– and leaves the country with an increasingly severe shortage of young people educated at the highest level and below what is deemed appropriate for a modern technological society.

2. The continuance of short intensive (3 year) First Degree Courses with intermediate appraisals to select out unsuccessful students. In this way "efficient use of the plant" is encouraged. Experiments with four-year Degree Courses have proved unpopular on grounds of higher cost and delayed completion by student. Somewhat similar strategies apply to postgraduate studies with considerable financial administrative pressure on students and institutions to ensure completion of courses within tight time schedules.

3. Strong pressures on staff of higher education institutions to undertake research and publication -particularly of books and referred journals. Successful achievement in this is a prerequisite for promotion in virtually all institutions. With the recent removal of life tenure in institutions it is highly probable that successful research and publication may become a requisite for the renewal of tenure throughout the system. However it must be emphasized that the focus on excellence in research and publication can lead to a distraction from excellence in teaching for two reasons a) staff are encouraged to devote a disproportionate amount of time to research and publication and to reduce their involvement in teaching b) as teaching is seldom a primary criterion for promotion it becomes a relatively unrewarded activity.

More generally there are predictable elements of competition between and within institutions to achieve recognition, funding (from government and private funds) research contracts to attract students and staff and to achieve a generally positive self-image. But these are reordered and overshadowed by the new management strategies that have been introduced in the past five years.

Management

The British Higher Education system has two components.

1. The "autonomous" self-governing universities largely funded by National Government grant through the University Grants Committee and, since

1990, through the University Funding Council which has replaced the UGC.

2. Polytechnics and Colleges of Higher Education which up to the 1st April 1989 have been mainly funded by local government but which since this time have mostly become autonomous, receiving direct National Government funding through the Polytechnic Funding Council which exercises similar functions to the University Funding Council.

The Government, through the University Funding Council and the Polytechnic Funding Council is now able to involve itself much more directly in the management resourcing and staffing of all institutions of higher education. Institutions now have to "bid" for student numbers to these bodies and their allocations of students and associated resources are determined by judgements of the quality and efficiency of the institution and its relevant departments and sub-faculties. Moreover both bodies now have rating schemes in which departments and faculties of each institution are assessed on a multipoint scale of excellence and efficiency and the level of resources allocated to students in such departments and faculties by government is related to these ratings. This provides a substantial financial incentive for excellence and efficiency as judged by the two bodies.

A further strategy has been the introduction of compulsory Staff Appraisal in universities and, imminently, in the polytechnic sector, whereby the individual excellence and efficiency are assessed and appropriate diagnosis and in-service training programmes are determined to remedy deficiencies and enhance strengths. Appraisal, strongly resisted by university staff and their unions, was achieved by the Government's refusal to award a salary increase prior to agreement and implementation of appraisal.

There is also very strong encouragement by Government to institutions to seek funding from industry and the private sector. In this way, it is believed that a "market judgement" on excellence and efficiency is being made. Government policy offers enhanced government funding to institutions that are most successful in obtaining non-government funding –a kind of "multiplying effect."

Most institutions are now concerned by the "demographic downturn" – the falling numbers of 18-year-olds in the 1990s– a phenomenon which characterises much of Western European society. This has sharpened the enthusiasm of universities and polytechnics to find new ways of attracting and identifying categories of students who are currently less fully represented in admission - mature students, ethnic minority students, women and those from the lower socio-higher economic groups. The prospect of a broader spectrum of age, experience and culture offers an exciting project for ex-

panding the range of excellence and the development of new strategies for efficiency. However the evidence for the outcome of such policies has yet to be presented.

International Comparison

British institutions have good international relations with other English Speaking countries –notably in North America and Australia and much exchange occurs. There are also many links with "ex-colonial" institutions although there are still unfortunate relics of patronage therein. British links with Europe are slowly growing through EEC funded programmes such as Erasmus and Comett programmes and there are already signs of enhancement of excellence and efficiency thereby. Projects have been jointly undertaken with the Council of Europe, OECD and the European Institute of Education and Social Policy which has led to increasing exchanges of understanding and cooperation. Tragically Britains departure from UNESCO has denied it many of the opportunities for mutual gain in worldwide links despite the participation of a number of individual members of the British Higher Education Community in maintaining UNESCO connections. It is much to be hoped that this national deficiency can be overcome in the very near future and that British institutions can develop full and effective partnerships with their colleagues to all countries that are not distorted by irrelevant political considerations.

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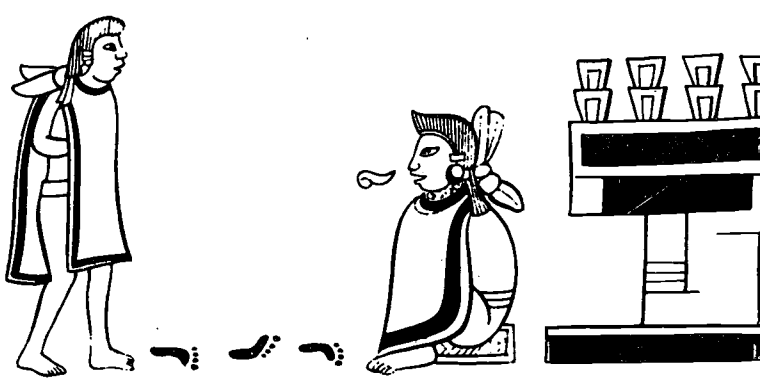
Detail of the *Códice Mendocino* showing a young man approaching the *Calmécac* (from the náhuatl *calli:* house and *mécac:* cord or row.

The *Cálmecac* was one of the schools of ancient Mexicans, where young men were trained to perform high public activities. For this reason the Centre offered training in religion, history, painting, music, law, astrology and poetry.



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