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CONTENTS**Volume 8 Number 2 2003**

Tribute to Edward W. Said: 1935-2003 / <i>Joseph A. Buttigieg</i>	1-6
Stratified students, stratified teachers: ideologically informed perceptions of educational reform in Egypt / <i>Nagwa M. Megahed and Mark B. Ginsburg</i>	7-33
<i>Social capital in a historic context of modernisation: its effects on choice-making in education</i> / <i>Marios Vryonides</i>	35-58
Can clusters theory help realize Cyprus's desire to develop centres of educational excellence? / <i>Paul Gibbs, George Christodoulides and Stavros Pouloukas</i>	59-73
The impact of supervising teachers: are they really competent in providing assistance to teacher candidates' professional growth? Reflections from Turkey / <i>Ercan Kiraz</i>	75-93
School climate and student achievement in Greek higher secondary schools (<i>eniaia lykeia</i>): a hierarchical statistical analysis / <i>Athanasios Verdis and Thanos Kriemadis</i>	95-108
The relationship between state and higher education: the case of Mulkiye College in Turkey / <i>Ahmet Aypay</i>	109-135
Teaching critical thinking in the English language classroom: the case of Palestine / <i>Dua' 'Ahmad Faheem' Jabr</i>	137-162
Book Reviews	163-169

TRIBUTE TO EDWARD W. SAID: 1935-2003

Edward W. Said: intellectual, humanist, scholar, author of seminal books, prolific essayist, teacher, musician, exile, inveterate traveler, champion of the dispossessed, enemy of dogma, relentless critic of the arrogance of power, and proud Palestinian. To those who knew him, he was a warm, forthright, generous man of exquisite taste and boundless curiosity; he expounded his views passionately and defended them tenaciously, even obdurately; brilliant in conversation, he was openly disdainful of triteness and sycophancy. To those who admired him from afar, he was a courageous dissident who gave voice to what they often thought or felt but could never so well express. Needless to say, he had—or, perhaps, I should say, he made—more than a few enemies, both political and professional. It could not have been otherwise, given his unwavering adherence to the vocation of the critical intellectual. In his words: ‘Least of all should an intellectual be there to make his/her audiences feel good: the whole point is to be embarrassing, contrary, even unpleasant.’¹ And further: ‘At bottom, the intellectual, in my sense of the word, is neither a pacifier nor a consensus-builder, but someone whose whole being is staked on a critical sense, a sense of being unwilling to accept easy formulas, or ready-made clichés, or the smooth, ever-so-accommodating confirmations of what the powerful or conventional have to say, and what they do. Not just passively unwillingly, but actively willing to say so in public... even though it doesn’t make one particularly popular.’²

Edward W. Said departed on his final journey on Wednesday, September 24th, almost exactly twelve years to the day after his physicians told him of the deadly disease that had invaded his body—‘this ‘sword of Damocles’ . . . hanging over me.’³ News of his death spread quickly across the continents, for ever since the publication of *Orientalism*, twenty-five years ago, Said’s fame and visibility had continued to grow and spread worldwide. His major works have been translated into more than thirty languages. At the time of his death, Edward W. Said was generally regarded as one of the most learned and prominent public intellectuals of his generation and the Palestinian intellectual nonpareil.

Said’s disappearance should not have come as a complete surprise, at least not to those who knew of the severity of his affliction and who could not have failed to notice its increasingly debilitating physical effects. Yet, I have a sense that few were prepared for this devastating loss. Had we not all become accustomed to his resilience, his irrepressible energy as his books, essays, and newspaper articles kept appearing regularly, almost faster than we could read them? His joint initiatives with Daniel Barenboim; the interviews in print, on radio, and on television; his documentaries; the lecture series, talks, and formal speeches that

had him travelling constantly all over the world—who would have thought, or who would have dared think, that they would all come to such an abrupt end?

‘Don’t give up,’ was a motto that Said’s austere and demanding father sought to impress upon him during his rebellious childhood.⁴ With willful determination, remarkable stamina, and exemplary self-discipline, Said engaged in a brave and, until the very end, defiant battle with leukemia. He worked harder than ever, producing greatly influential works of scholarship and criticism, such as *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) and *Representations of the Intellectual* (1994); a profound and moving memoir, *Out of Place* (1999); numerous essays on the most diverse topics and issues—several of which have now been gathered in such volumes as *The Politics of Dispossession* (1994), *Peace and Its Discontents* (1996), *The End of the Peace Process* (2000), and *Reflections on Exile* (2000); a steady stream of articles for newspapers and weeklies in Egypt (*Al Ahrām*), Britain (*The Guardian* and *the London Review of Books*), Pakistan (*Dawn*), France (*Le Monde Diplomatique*), the U.S. (*The Nation*), and elsewhere; as well as other major writings, including *Freud and the Non-European* (2003), a superb new introductory essay for the fiftieth-anniversary edition of Eric Auerbach’s *Mimesis*, and, in collaboration with Daniel Barenboim, *Parallels and Paradoxes* (2002). At the same time, he remained engaged in Palestinian affairs with undiminished intensity, notwithstanding his disillusionment with the PLO leadership and the dispiriting setbacks repeatedly suffered by the national cause as a result of Israeli intransigence, US bias, and Yasser Arafat’s incompetence. In the face of an increasingly grim situation, Said redoubled his efforts; so much so that he became—in the words of Mahmoud Darwish, the poet and compatriot Said so greatly admired—‘the Palestinians’ envoy to human conscience.’⁵

It is important to remember that Edward W. Said’s identification with the Palestinians’ quest for the restoration of their homeland stemmed from a deliberate choice on his part rather than brute necessity—though he did regard active resistance to injustice and barbarism obligatory. To be sure, during his boyhood in Cairo, he had witnessed first-hand the misery and despair of the victims of the *nakba*; in *Out of Place*, few memories are as poignantly evoked as that of his admirable aunt, Nabihah, who ran what amounted to a one-person refugee assistance agency. Still, he could have opted for the material rewards, security, and private pleasures of professional academic life, especially since even prior to the publication of *Orientalism* he had already made his mark as an outstanding literary critic and theorist. Furthermore, his privileged upbringing and schooling left him ill-equipped to speak authoritatively about the plight of his much less fortunate compatriots. As he explained in one of his retrospective reflections: ‘I grew up apolitically, my family being quite determined to shield us from the real world, the fall of Palestine, revolutions and wars, and so forth. Having become an

expatriate in the US in 1951 (I was 15 at the time), I had to work hard many years later to redevelop my attachment to the Arab world: my education ironically enough taught me more about the West than it did about my own culture and traditions, and this I later felt had to be remedied by self-education after I had become a professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University in 1963.⁶

By embarking on the research project that culminated in the publication of *Orientalism*, Said was amalgamating the knowledge of Western culture and history that he had acquired through his formal education and his scholarship with the insights generated by the studies he was conducting as part of his effort to ‘redevelop [his] attachment to the Arab world.’ The importance and value of *Orientalism*, however, the heated controversies it generated, the enormous impact it has had, and its continuing influence in virtually every branch of the human sciences stem from something else; namely, the distinctive critical and theoretical positions Said had already started to stake out and to elaborate more or less systematically in his earlier book, *Beginnings* (1975). Written at a time when many of the proponents of the new currents of theory and criticism in the United States, following the lead of the (mostly French) structuralists and poststructuralists, were turning back to Saussure by way of querying the stability of meaning in language, *Beginnings* proposed instead a careful reconsideration of the eighteenth-century Neapolitan philosopher, Giambattista Vico. (Said’s interest in and interpretation of Vico were inspired, to a very significant extent, by his reading of the works of the Romance philologist, Eric Auerbach—a decidedly unfashionable figure in the mid-1970s.)

From his close study of Vico’s texts, Said derived certain axioms that underlie most of his subsequent work: human beings make history (what Vico called ‘the world of nations’) which they can interpret and understand precisely because they make it; the philosopher or secular intellectual, like Vico’s ‘gentile,’ does not have access ‘to the true God’; it is the duty of the intellectual, then, to controvert the claims and refute the authority of those who purport to possess a ‘Truth’ and a ‘Knowledge’ that are absolute and incontrovertible (because they precede or are independent of history made by humans).⁷ In *Orientalism*, Said drew attention to, among many other things, the fact that our received ‘knowledge’ of the Orient and the Oriental has been historically produced; that the critical study of the vast field encompassed by *Orientalism* does not so much enable one to grasp the ‘essence’ or ‘nature’ of the Orient and the Oriental as it reveals the complicated cultural processes through which the West has fashioned its own self-representation; and that, far from being innocent or harmless, these cultural processes are hegemonic—that is to say, they legitimize and reinforce the West’s sense of ‘intellectual authority’ over the Orient, and can also help validate other thinly disguised modes of domination. Describing *Orientalism* in this manner, however, may convey the

mistaken impression that the book's central argument is constructed around a series of theoretical abstractions, whereas in fact the entire exposition consists of extensive and detailed analyses of texts and of the culture that simultaneously produced them and was, to a very significant degree, shaped by them.

Several critics attacked *Orientalism* and what Said described as 'its sequel,' *Culture and Imperialism*, for being anti-Western, while some others celebrated it for much the same reason. Entrapped within the binary logic of 'us' versus 'them' (where 'us' is synonymous with civilization and 'them' with barbarism) both sets of critics either could not or did not want to move beyond the ethnocentrism, the nativism, the politics of identity or of 'warring essences'⁸ that the two books criticize so strenuously. The misguided as well as the willful misreadings of Said's major works stem, more often than not, from the habit or the conscious decision to view cultures as distinct, self-contained, and self-sufficient monoliths that periodically clash with one another—whence the so-called 'clash of civilizations' theory of history. Said responded eloquently to these misinterpretations and instrumental appropriations of his work in his afterward to the 1994 edition of *Orientalism*. He had, however, already anticipated them and tried to forestall them in the concluding sentences of *Orientalism*: 'Above all, I hope to have shown my reader that the answer to Orientalism is not Occidentalism. No former 'Oriental' will be comforted by the thought that having been an Oriental himself he is likely—too likely—to study new 'Orientals'—or 'Occidentals'—of his own making. If the knowledge of Orientalism has any meaning, it is in being a reminder of the seductive degradation of knowledge, of any knowledge, anywhere, at any time. Now perhaps more than ever before.'⁹

Neither Orientalism nor Occidentalism—that would be a fair characterization of Edward W. Said's position, but only if it were not taken to imply an attitude of aloof neutrality. In reality, Said was, as everybody knows, the engaged intellectual par excellence, the antithesis of what Antonio Gramsci calls the 'traditional' intellectual whose prestige and authority depend on affecting a posture of Olympian detachment and an air of impartiality vis-à-vis, the querulous disputes taking place in the agora. This is how he described the function of criticism and, by implication, the character of his work as an intellectual: 'Were I to use one word consistently along with *criticism* (not as a modification but as an emphatic) it would be *oppositional*. If criticism is reducible neither to a doctrine nor to a political position on a particular question, and if it is to be in the world and self-aware simultaneously, then its identity is its difference from other cultural activities and from systems of thought and of method. In its suspicion of totalizing concepts, in its discontent with reified objects, in its impatience with guilds, special interests, imperialized fiefdoms, and orthodox habits of mind, criticism is most itself and, if the paradox can be tolerated, most unlike itself at the moment

it starts turning into organized dogma. . . . Criticism must think of itself as life-enhancing and constitutively opposed to every form of tyranny, domination, and abuse; its social goals are non-coercive knowledge produced in the interests of human freedom.’¹⁰

The notion that criticism is ‘oppositional’ has now become a commonplace. Indeed, in the field of literary criticism and theory, at least, ‘oppositionality’ is, much too often and paradoxically, an orthodoxy or ‘a habit of mind.’ Far from exhibiting an ‘impatience with guilds,’ much of the putatively oppositional criticism produced today seems content to reside and circulate exclusively within the confines of a relatively small fiefdom in academia. For these, as well as for other reasons, it is largely ineffectual. What distinguished Said’s criticism was, precisely, its ‘difference from other cultural activities and from systems of thought and of method,’ which is why it has perplexed and frustrated the efforts of both his adversaries and some of his self-declared admirers to find a label for it, to place it within the map of established and recognized schools of thought, to identify it with some specific political ideology. Was Said a ‘Western’ or an ‘anti-Western’ thinker? Was he or was he not a ‘postmodernist’? Was he Marxist or was he an anti-Marxist? Did he or did he not remain a ‘humanist’? And in Palestinian politics, did he belong to the ‘rejectionist’ camp or was he a ‘moderate’? These questions are products of the very mentality that Said’s criticism relentlessly assailed, showing it to be pernicious and disabling—a mentality that wittingly or unwittingly reinforces the status quo, that works in the service of hegemony.

Because he defied not only labels but the mentality of labeling, because he resolutely refused to belong to any party, or system, or school of thought, Said was, in a very real sense, a lonely intellectual and a lightning rod for fierce attacks from right and left. In figurative terms, this is the oppositional intellectual’s condition of exile that Said embraced. Much has been said and written about Said’s description of the critic as ‘exile.’ Unfortunately, however, there has been a tendency to romanticize the exilic condition, a tendency that not only runs directly contrary to Said’s rigorous and unsentimental reflections on the topic, but is positively deplorable because it ‘banalizes’ the horrendous ‘mutilations,’ the crippling sorrow that exile engenders. ‘Exile,’ Said wrote, ‘cannot be made to serve notions of humanism. On the twentieth-century scale, exile is neither aesthetically nor humanistically comprehensible.’¹¹ Exile, moreover, is as likely to result in a closed mind as in an open, generous one. This is how Said described some of the debilitating effects of exile: ‘There is the sheer fact of isolation and displacement, which produces the kind of narcissistic masochism that resists all efforts at amelioration, acculturation, and community. At this extreme the exile can make a fetish of exile, a practice that distances him or her from all connections and commitments. To live as if everything around you were temporary and

perhaps trivial is to fall prey to petulant cynicism as well as to querulous lovelessness. More common is the pressure on the exile to join—parties national movements, the state. The exile is offered a new set of affiliations and develops new loyalties. But there is also a loss—of critical perspective, of intellectual reserve, of moral courage.¹²

In his life and work Edward W. Said achieved a difficult and rare balance between unwavering commitment and unsparing critical rigor. With moral courage, he used his formidable intellectual skills to stand in opposition to ‘the status quo at a time when the struggle on behalf of underrepresented and disadvantaged groups seems so unfairly weighted against them.’¹³ He engaged in a struggle which he knew would never bring him the rewards of ultimate victory. If worldly success and approbation were his goal he undoubtedly could have secured it by giving his allegiance to ‘the elite, dominant, or hegemonic class’; instead, he willingly affiliated himself with ‘the much greater mass of people ruled by coercive or sometimes mainly ideological domination from above.’¹⁴ Now that he is gone, the struggle seems even harder; and the disadvantaged and the dispossessed have been rendered even more destitute by the permanent silencing of a voice that spoke truth to power with unmatched eloquence.

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Notes

1. Edward W. Said (1994) *Representations of the Intellectual* (New York: Pantheon), p. 12.
2. *Representations of the Intellectual*, p. 23.
3. Edward W. Said (1999) *Out of Place* (New York: Knopf), p. 215.
4. See, *Out of Place*, p. 9.
5. *Al Ahram*, 2-8 October 2003
6. Edward W. Said, ‘The Hazards of Publishing a Memoir,’ *Al Ahram*, 2-8 December 1999.
7. See, Edward W. Said, *Beginnings* (New York: Basic Books, 1975), pp. 350 and 378.
8. Edward W. Said (1993) *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf), p. 229.
9. Edward W. Said (1978) *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon), p. 328.
10. Edward W. Said (1983) *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), p. 29.
11. Edward W. Said (2000) *Reflections on Exile* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), p. 174.
12. *Reflections on Exile*, p. 183.
13. *Representations of the Intellectual*, p. xvii.
14. Edward W. Said (1988), ‘Foreword’ in *Selected Subaltern Studies*, ed. Ranjit Guha & Gyatri C. Spivak (New York: Oxford University Press), p. vi.

STRATIFIED STUDENTS, STRATIFIED TEACHERS: IDEOLOGICALLY INFORMED PERCEPTIONS OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN EGYPT¹

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Abstract – *The study draws on focus group interviews with 12 teachers working in academic and commercial secondary schools in Egypt. Attention is given to these teachers' perspectives on the implications of a 1997 educational reform, which proposed to convert many vocational/commercial schools to academic schools and to reduce the need for extra-school, private tutoring. The interviews were conducted during the implementation of the first phase of the reform in 2001, a period of a public debate regarding the possible consequences of this reform for students as well as teachers. Of particular interest are teachers' perceptions of the reform's likely impact on: (a) the quality of secondary education and the post-secondary educational and occupational opportunities for students from different socioeconomic backgrounds and (b) the social status and income for teachers working in different types of secondary schools. It is furthermore noted that teachers' views of the effects of the reform differ depending upon (1) whether they conceive of schooling as promoting social mobility or social reproduction and (2) whether their ideologically informed conceptions of professionalism emphasize remuneration or the service ideal.*

Introduction

In 1997 the Government of Egypt developed a twenty-year secondary education reform program. The first stage of this reform consists of a seven-year project (1999-2006), known as the Secondary Education Enhancement Project (SEEP) (see Megahed, 2002). The 1997 reform and the 1999 SEEP were framed, at least in part, as a move to reduce inequities in education and society. For example, the reform sought more equitable access to higher education by converting 315 vocational/commercial secondary schools to academic (general) secondary schools (Ministry of Education, 1999; World Bank, 1999a).² This conversion, it was argued, would extend educational and economic opportunities for at least some of the students from lower socioeconomic status (SES) families who disproportionately enrolled in vocational secondary schools; by attending academic secondary schools they would be in a better position to gain access to

higher education. Because they tended to score lower on the Basic Education Certificate Examination (which is used to determine admission to academic secondary schools) and because the quality of the education they received was considered (by themselves, their parents, and the society) to be ‘second-class’ (Richards, 1992), students enrolled in vocational secondary schools were viewed to be ‘losers’ (Sayed & Diehl, 2000). Moreover, graduates of vocational secondary schools were (and are) unlikely either to attend higher education or to find employment in the formal economy (Gill & Heyneman, 2000). In contrast, a majority of academic secondary school graduates have been guaranteed access to university or non-university higher education, which is seen to give them a better chance of getting a good job.

The 1997 reform and the 1999 SEEP were also directed toward reducing the need for out-of-school, private tutoring provided by teachers (for a fee) to supplement the instruction that students received in public schools in regular classes or in ‘Reinforcing Study Groups’ sessions.³ This was to be achieved by (a) developing common core courses (Arabic, English, mathematics, science, and social sciences) for academic and vocational schools, (b) training teachers how to incorporate technology in their instructional activities, and (c) instituting a system of curriculum-based assessment and student report profiles (Ministry of Education, 1999; World Bank, 1999b). Out-of-school, private tutoring was considered necessary – at least prior to the reform initiative – because the teaching-learning processes in secondary schooling tended to be organized around infrequent, high-stakes exams, which required students to memorize material included in textbooks or teachers’ lectures (Program Planning & Monitoring Unit, 1998).

The ‘need’ for private tutoring in secondary education in Egypt – and other societies (see Bray, 1999; Chew & Leong, 1995) – introduces a strong source of socioeconomic bias in education, since families are not in equal positions to pay the tutoring fees.⁴ The Egyptian Ministry of Education has stated that the widespread practice of out-of-school, ‘private tutoring partly defeats the democratic purpose embedded in the constitutional provision of ‘free’ public education’ (Program Planning & Monitoring Unit, 1998, p. 5). While school attendance in Egypt has never really been free, in that parents have always ‘had to pay a tiny entry fee, buy a school uniform, provide a bite of food ... what is disastrous is the need for private tutoring’ (*Economist*, 1999, p.11). For example, in 1992-93 rural and urban families of students attending academic secondary schools spent on average 14.3% and 10.6%, respectively, of their annual incomes for tutoring and additional ‘required’ books. Indeed, because of the costs of private tutoring, families’ per-child expenditure on education is higher than the cost borne by the government, especially in grades 11 and 12 in academic secondary school (Fawzey, 1994).

While the discourse associated with the 1997 reform and the 1999 SEEP raised explicitly issues of (in)equity and social stratification in relation to students, the reform also could be seen to have implications for hierarchically differentiating the social and economic status of teachers. For instance, teachers of core academic subjects (Arabic, foreign language, science, mathematics, and social science) whose employing organization is converted from a commercial/vocational to an academic secondary school may experience both social and economic mobility. They could increase their social status because academic subjects and schools are more prestigious than vocational subjects and schools (Connell, 1985; Herrera, 2003; Lortie, 1975), because academic schools are more likely to prepare students for exam performances that lead to higher education (Hargreaves, 1997), and because of the more general hierarchical conception of mental versus manual labour (Fussell, 1983; Heeti & Brock, 1997; Willis, 1977). With respect to their economic status, it is important to note that academic school teachers have more opportunities for private tutoring than their vocational school counterparts, because vocational school students not only place less priority on exams but also are less likely to be from families that can afford to pay for tutoring. Thus, to the extent that private tutoring persists after the implementation of the 1997 reform and the 1999 SEEP, *some* academic teachers – those who are shifted from vocational to academic secondary schools – may be able to increase their income.

At the same time the 1997 reform and the 1999 SEEP may reduce the social and economic status of *some* teachers. Clearly, part of the prestige of academic school teachers has derived from them and their students being – or at least being perceived to be – a select group. By increasing the number and proportion of academic schools (as well as students and teachers) these reform initiatives may deflate the average social status of academic secondary school teachers. Also, to the extent that the need or demand for private tutoring is reduced as a result of these government initiatives, at least some academic school teachers may lose a significant source of income and, thus, suffer reduced economic status.

Finally, commercial teachers of specialization subjects (i.e., accounting, basics of commerce, statistics, and insurance law) may be employed in another commercial school or work in an administrative staff position in the converted schools; neither of these options would significantly improve their social status or income.

Because the 1997 educational reform and the 1999 SEEP are likely to have different effects on different groups of students⁵ and teachers, we assume that the reform may be perceived differently by different teachers who were employed in academic and commercial schools prior to the reform. Teachers may celebrate or criticize the reform depending on whether or not they view the reform as

expanding educational opportunities for their own or other students from various social class backgrounds. Their appraisal of the reform may also be related to how they perceive it to affect their own and other teachers' social status and income. Moreover, their analysis and evaluation of these government initiatives may vary depending on the ideologically informed perspectives through which they view educational and societal dynamics.

Conceptions of social stratification and education

Existing literature concerning the causes and effects of educational reform offers varying explanations of the relationship between schooling and social inequality. For functionalists, educational reforms are initiated when there is a need to realign the system to better match the requirements of the changing economy, with changes in the economy and in education seen as benefiting the society generally (see Ginsburg *et al.*, 1991; Sedere, 2000). In contrast from a conflict perspective, educational reform is undertaken in order to protect or increase the educational, political, and economic benefits that certain groups enjoy at the expense of other groups (see Ginsburg *et al.*, 1991).

These contrasting views of educational reform derive from two major theoretical perspectives on social stratification and education. At the core of both perspectives on 'stratification is...the notion of inequality' (Arum & Beattie, 2000, p. 6), but the two perspectives differ in whether they interpret extant inequalities in wealth, power, and status in society, respectively, as meeting the needs of the entire society (e.g., Parsons, 1959) or as serving the interest of elites (e.g. Bowles & Gintis, 1976). Both perspectives also view educational systems as being stratified, in the sense that different schools or tracks/programs (e.g., academic versus vocational or honours versus regular) provide different content and processes related to differences in students' abilities and predicted future educational, occupational, and income attainments; however, the two perspectives differ in whether they primarily view such inequalities in education, respectively, as merit-based or as class-biased (see de Marrais & LeCompte, 1995; Hurn, 1978).

From a functionalist perspective social stratification exists because 'there is a generally fixed set of positions, whose various requirements the labour force must satisfy ... [in order to meet] the needs of society' (Collins, 2000, p.98). Thus, educational stratification is functional because it serves to differentiate and prepare individuals who have different native abilities and/or levels of motivation necessary for the performance of the given, hierarchically organized occupational roles (Arum & Beattie, 2000; Sorokin, 2000). From this viewpoint,

schooling provides a meritocratic mechanism for allocating individuals to occupations, allowing for upward social mobility of capable, motivated children of parents with lower socioeconomic status groups (Collins, 2000; see Amin, 2000). For example, some Egyptian scholars emphasize the importance of stratifying secondary schools into different tracks, arguing that admission to secondary schools should be based on student abilities and that the division between academic and vocational schools is necessary in order to meet the requirements of the economy specifically and the society generally (see Shaban, 1981).

In contrast, conflict theorists highlight that existing inequalities in wealth and power among social classes (or socioeconomic groups) primarily serve the interests of elites. Furthermore, such inequalities are reproduced – perpetuated and legitimated – through schooling (Morrow & Torres, 1995). The content and process of schooling are biased in favour/against those with different levels of economic capital and/or those with different forms of cultural capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Bowles & Gintis, 1976). As Arum & Beattie (2000, p. 4) observe: ‘Privileged members of society...[are] rewarded by both school personnel and employers, who code these [members] as being more worthy and deserving... [And this leads to] inequality in educational achievement and related occupational attainment.’ Ability measures that are employed to track students into stratified programs and schools are viewed to be culturally biased in favour of higher and middle class students and against lower class students (Hallinan, 2000; Oakes, 1985). For instance, in Egypt a strong, significant correlation has been found between a student’s track placement into an academic or a vocational secondary school and her/his father’s occupational status (El-Shikhaby, 1983) and some Egyptian scholars criticize strongly the tracking system in secondary schools, arguing that the stratification within public schools contradicts the ideal of equal educational opportunities, which the government has promoted at least rhetorically since the 1952 revolution (Ali, 1989).

It is not only scholars who differ in their perspectives in analyzing schooling and educational reform. Teachers also vary in viewing schooling as promoting social mobility or social reproduction, while at the same time they differ in their personal and professional ideologies and occupational statuses (Connell, 1985; Ginsburg, 1988; Ginsburg, Meyenn, & Miller, 1980). Because teachers are key actors in the implementation or ‘appropriation’ (Levinson & Sutton, 2001) of educational reforms, it is important to understand how they perceive reforms in terms of their consequences for students and educators, because such perceptions may shape their strategies for coping with or responding to educational reforms.

Conceptions of professionalism in relation to teaching

The status, power, and income of teachers differ from those of other occupational groups but also vary over time; such differences and variations can be understood in relation to the concept of *profession* (see Abdal-Haqq, 2001; Ginsburg, 1996; Kale, 1970; Legatt, 1970; Lortie, 1975; Nagwu, 1981; White, 1981).⁶ Historical changes in teachers' work may be conceived as the result of struggles between teachers, state elites, and other groups, and have been described in terms of *professionalization* versus *deprofessionalization* or *proletarianization*⁷ of teaching as an occupation (Dove, 1986; Filson, 1988; Ginsburg & Spatig, 1988; Grace, 1987; Laudner & Yee, 1987; Ozga & Lawn, 1981; Reid, 1974).⁸ In this context organized teachers and other groups have sought to support their claims and demands by drawing upon what some have term the ideology of *professionalism* (Ozga, 1988). And on a daily basis individual teachers make use of different versions of this ideology to interpret and articulate their work and lives (Ginsburg, 1987; Ginsburg & Chaturvedi, 1988; Ginsburg, Meyenn, & Miller, 1980; Hargreaves, 1980; Wright & Bottery, 1997).

According to Larson (1977, p. xviii), professionalism 'has become an ideology – not only an image which consciously inspires collective or individual efforts but a mystification which ... obscures [or only partially represents] real social structures;' this is because despite the fact that 'the conditions of professional work have changed,' we still witness '[t]he persistence of profession as a category of social practice ... [framed in reference to] the model constituted by the first movements of professionalization.' There are a number of elements of the ideology – or, more accurately, ideologies – of professionalism, some of which appear to be contradictory. Most relevant to the current study of secondary school teachers in Egypt is the apparent contradiction between the element of professionalism that highlights (a) that professions deserve high levels of pay or *remuneration* and (b) that the activities of members of professions are motivated primarily by an *ideal of service* to clients and society.⁹

Intra-occupational stratification within teaching

Teaching, like other occupations, is stratified with respect to status, working conditions, and material rewards, and such differences in their work and lives have implications for how teachers experience and evaluate educational reforms (see Ginsburg, 1991 and 1995). For example, Pritchard (1993, p. 355) notes the 'strongly-marked prestige hierarchy' among school teachers in Germany, with the highest status assigned to teachers in *gymnasien* (i.e., academic secondary schools); Hargreaves (1978, p. 129) points to status differences among teachers in

England, at least during the existence of the ‘tripartite system’ in England (1944-1970s), with the highest status accorded to ‘grammar’ (i.e., academic secondary) school versus ‘secondary modern’ (i.e., non-university preparation oriented) teachers; and Connell (1985, pp. 163-67) observes that as a result of the ‘politics of the curriculum’ in Australia academic secondary school teachers are seen to be ranked above non-academic (especially vocational subject) teachers. Similarly, Herrera (2003, pp. 192-93) detects that in Egypt ‘vocational teachers, holders of diplomas from technical secondary schools rather than universities, and teachers of technical, as opposed to the core academic, subjects occupy the lowest professional strata of teachers and receive the lowest salary.’

The above-discussed dimensions of stratification among teachers – and the hierarchical relations between teachers and administrators – are related to differences in gender and social class backgrounds of educators (Addi-Racah & Ayalon, 2002; Connell, 1985; Ginsburg, 1988; Grace, 1978; Herrera, 2003; Schmuck, 1987; Strober and Tyack, 1980). Such differences have implications not only for teachers’ situations in the workplace but also for their experiences in family and community contexts, and thus need to be considered when examining how teachers interpret and respond to educational reforms. For example, given that the dominant gender roles in most societies emphasizes women’s domestic (versus career/income) responsibilities (Hochschild & Machung, 1996; Mackintosh, 1988; Reskin & Padavic, 1994; Walby, 1986), we might expect that women teachers would be more likely than their male counterparts to draw upon the service ideal (versus the remuneration) element of the ideology of professionalism as they analyze the (potential) impact that an educational reform may have for teachers’ work.

Method

In this study, 12 teachers, having five to more than twenty years of experience working in academic and/or commercial secondary schools, were interviewed in Cairo, Egypt in August 2001. The interviewees were selected to represent cases of core/academic subject teachers working in both types of secondary schools as well as commercial/specialization subject teachers employed in commercial schools. The study included three interviewee groups:¹⁰ (a) five teachers of Arabic, Chemistry, Philosophy and Sociology, Social Sciences, and Biology courses who had always worked in an academic secondary school; (b) three teachers of English, Mathematics, and Arabic who previously taught these courses in commercial secondary schools before getting positions in an academic secondary school;¹¹ and (c) four teachers, including two teachers of Commercial Studies and two teachers of Computer Science who were working in a commercial secondary school (see Table 1).

TABLE 1: Interviewees by Gender, Subject, Experience, and Type of Schools

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* Teachers are identified by a letter and a number, indicating a specific teacher (1-5) who have a particular employment history: academic teachers continuing to work in an academic secondary school (A), academic teachers who worked in commercial schools before becoming employed in an academic school (AC), and commercial teachers continuing to work in a commercial/vocational school (C).

The interviews were conducted in August 2001, just prior to the first 100 commercial schools (out of the 315) beginning the process of being converted to academic schools in the school year 2001–2002, which constitutes the first phase of implementing the 1999 SEEP. A ‘standardized open-ended interview’ (Martella, Nelson, & Marchand, 1999) was designed and used to conduct the tape-recorded group interviews of two-to-five participants each. Two group interviews were conducted in ‘Shopra al-Thanawiyya al-Aama,’ public academic secondary school. The first group included five participants (A1 – A5) and the second included three participants (AC1 – AC3). In addition, two group interviews were conducted in ‘Shopra al-Thanawiyya al-Tijariyya,’ public commercial secondary school; each group included two participants (C1, C2 and C3, C4). Both academic and commercial schools are located in north Cairo in the ‘al-Sahel’ district and surrounded by urban, suburban and rural areas, from which their students are drawn.

Interviewees were asked to describe and evaluate how, if at all, the following might be affected by the 1997 reform and the 1999 SEEP: (1) the secondary and postsecondary educational and occupational opportunities for students in their own and other schools, (2) the quality of secondary education provided to students from different socioeconomic backgrounds, and (3) their own and the teacher colleagues’ social status and income. Data were analyzed following a qualitative approach through which the transcribed interviews were read carefully, coded systematically, and interpreted in relation to extant theoretical and grounded theory concepts (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998).

Teachers’ perceptions of the reform

The findings of the study are organized into four sections focusing on (1) teachers’ perceptions of the reform’s impact on the quality and equity of education provided for academic and commercial secondary school students, (2) explanations teachers’ perceptions: work situation and ideologies of social mobility/reproduction, (3) teachers’ views of the impact of the reform on the social and economic status of academic and commercial secondary school teachers, (4) explanations of teachers’ views: ideologies of professionalism.

Perceptions of the impact of the reform on educational quality and equality for different students

How do these academic and commercial/vocational teachers in Egypt interpret the 1997 educational reform and the 1999 SEEP, especially with respect to its likely impact on the quality of education provided to students of different socioeconomic background attending different types of secondary schools? Do

they agree or disagree with the Egyptian government's claim that this reform will enhance and equalize educational opportunities for all students?

In general, the academic and commercial school teachers interviewed considered the proposed reform initiative as not being sufficient to achieve educational equity for their own or for other students. The academic teachers who had previously worked in commercial schools did not have much faith that the rhetoric of the proposed reform would become a reality, doubting that any real changes in educational quality or equality of educational opportunities would occur. The others (Teachers AC2 and AC3) agreed with the cynical statement of their colleague (Teacher AC1) that the reform is 'an old song, which no longer excites teachers or their students.' These teachers viewed the reform as superficial or cosmetic, in that it would not fundamentally redesign curriculum content, instructional strategies, and assessment methods; reduce the importance of being able to pay for private, out-of-school tutoring; or open up more places for students wishing to pursue higher education. Thus, they believed that educational opportunities for students from poor and rich families would continue to be unequal under the reform. According to these teachers, who were working in an academic secondary school but had previously taught in commercial secondary schools:

'The reform should combine a substantial modification in the current education system, focusing primarily on the curriculum and assessment methods. The curriculum should develop and measure different learning skills [i.e., problem-solving, critical thinking, creativity, etc.] and not only memorization. Otherwise, any [projected impact of the] reform on educational equity and quality will be an illusion.' (Teacher AC1)

'[T]he curriculum depends on textbooks and memorization-based assessment method. Reclassifying academic courses in both types of secondary schools or using technology in the classroom practice will not improve educational quality or reduce students' reliance on tutoring.' (Teacher AC2)

'Even if some students from lower class families enroll in academic school, they will not be able to compete for a place in the university, because the majority of students in academic schools need [private, out-of-school] tutoring to obtain high grades and because there are limited places available at the university.' (Teacher AC3)

Commercial teachers also did not perceive that the reform initiative would equalize educational opportunities for all students. While they speculated that some students, who otherwise would have attended vocational schools, might

increase their chances of enrolling in higher education because they would attend academic schools, these teachers were not convinced that this would open up real opportunities for many students. Moreover, they believed that the consequence of converting some commercial schools to academic schools would actually exacerbate the inequalities in educational and socioeconomic opportunities for students who would continue to enrol in commercial schools, because the reform would reinforce the negative view of the commercial/vocational school as occupying the bottom tier of a stratified secondary education system. As can be seen in their comments below, these four commercial teachers recommended providing equal access to higher education for both vocational and academic graduates and/or restructuring secondary education into a comprehensive system:¹²

‘Though the reform may promote a kind of equality, it will not change the social perception of vocational [commercial] school as a second-class education. To be realistic, educational equity and quality within and between academic and vocational schools would be achieved through restructuring secondary education and changing its admission policy. It is not enough to just increase the enrolment in academic schools or integrate the use of technology [in instruction and assessment activities].’ (Teacher C1)

‘The reform does not include any changes in [upper secondary school] admissions policy. Even under the reform students with the lowest grades will enrol in vocational schools. The 50% of graduates from preparatory school, who under the reform enrolled in vocational schools – and particularly commercial schools, will continue to be the poorest students, both academically and economically.’ (Teacher C3)

‘Secondary education should be restructured. The Ministry of Education should change this tracking system, involving academic versus vocational schools, [and develop] a comprehensive education system.’ (Teacher C4)

‘Graduates of the four types of secondary schools [academic, industrial, agricultural, and commercial] should have equal access to (university and non-university) higher education ... based on each type of school’s specializations. But to make the academic school the major gate for entering the university and increase its enrollment ... merely re-emphasizes the low [status] ... of vocational schools, especially [those offering] the commercial program.’ (Teacher C2)

Academic school teachers, who have never taught in a commercial school, share their other colleagues’ disbelief that the 1997 reform and 1999 SEEP would expand significantly educational opportunities for students from lower

socioeconomic status background and/or students who have previously been identified as having lower academic abilities. From their perspective the main result of the reform's would be to reduce the quality of academic schools, because they believe that the only way that the proportion of students enrolled in academic schools could be increased is by decreasing the score required on the final preparatory level examination that is required for entering academic schools.¹³ Indeed, as the following remarks indicate, these educators seemed more concerned about the status or quality reputation of the type of schools in which they worked than they were about the limited opportunities for certain types of students:

'In most cases the reform will decrease the quality of academic schools by increasing enrolment [by] ...lowering the final grade at the preparatory level that would be required to attend academic schools.' (Teacher A4)

'Increasing the enrolment in academic schools means accepting students with poorer learning skills and abilities. These students will not be able to obtain high grades or compete [successfully] for a place at the university. This definitely will reduce the quality of academic schools.' (Teacher A1)

'More than 20% of academic students are weak academically; this percentage will increase under the Reform, [and this] will affect negatively the quality of academic schools.' (Teacher A2)

'In my school, the majority of lower class students usually obtains poor grades, drop out, or transfer to one of the vocational schools. Increasing the proportion [of such students in academic schools by converting commercial schools] will not change these facts; rather it will put [more of] such students under pressure by admitting them to a type of education that is not appropriate for their learning ability.' (Teacher A3)

Explaining the differences in teachers' perceptions: work situation and ideologies of social mobility/reproduction

The discussion above indicates that all academic and commercial secondary teachers interviewed doubted that the 1997 educational reform and the 1999 SEEP would equalize educational opportunities in Egypt. However, the different groups of teachers articulated their dubiousness in different ways. Part of the differences can be explained in terms of the type of institutions in which they work and the perceived background and ability of the students with whom they interact. For example, academic secondary school teachers perceived that on average 70.7% of their students were from 'upper class,' 'upper middle class,' or 'middle class' families, while commercial secondary school teachers reported that on average

85% of their students were from ‘lower middle class’ or ‘lower class’ families (see Table 2).¹⁴ With respect to academic ability, academic school teachers on average characterized 67.5% of their students as being ‘outstanding,’ ‘above average,’ or ‘average,’ while commercial school teachers on average categorized 80% of their students as being ‘below average’ or ‘weak’ (see Table 3).

However, such differences in perceptions of (or even actual differences in) socioeconomic status backgrounds and academic abilities of their students cannot account for the differences in views expressed, particularly between those academic school teachers who had previously taught in commercial schools and those who had not. What seems to be an important source of explanation in how different categories of teachers analyzed the impact of the proposed reform are the differences in their ideologically informed views about the functioning of the education system in terms of promoting social mobility or social reproduction.

Some teachers viewed the stratification within the education system (i.e., the hierarchical arrangement of academic and vocational/commercial schools) as necessary because there are real – and significant – differences among students with respect to learning abilities. From their ‘functionalist’ perspective, they viewed (a) schools as institutions through which upward or downward social mobility occurred depending on students’ ability and effort and (b) students in the academic secondary schools as having higher levels of ability and exerting more effort than their commercial school peers. Note that the following statements representing this perspective – and similar statements not quoted here (by Teacher A3 and Teacher A5) – are all made by academic school teachers who have no experience working in commercial schools:

‘Students in vocational school [generally] do not have the learning skills that would qualify them to enter an academic school or to continue into post-secondary education.’ (Teacher A2)

‘Most students in vocational school are careless about their educational progress. They have not concentrated on their schoolwork from the time they were in the preparatory school; therefore, they did not enrol in academic [secondary] school. [In contrast,] most students in academic school are more responsible for their school work, concerned about their future, and eager to enter the university.’ (Teacher A1)

‘Students in vocational schools have poor academic standards. They do not value education, especially the academic subjects, and maybe this is why many of them are not able to enter the university.’ (Teacher A4)

In contrast, all other teachers in the study perceived the educational system as structured in ways that basically insure that inequalities in students’

socioeconomic background are reproduced as disparities in educational and occupational attainment. They saw family socioeconomic status, more than student ability, as the primary determiner of a student's success. This is especially the case, they argued, because the strong emphasis on exam performance for entry into academic secondary school and into higher education institutions make private, out-of-school tutoring (and being able to pay for it) a requirement for academic success.¹⁵ The following statements represent the ideas expressed by all of the former and current commercial school teachers:

'The curriculum [and the assessment system] promote inequality. ... Beginning in preparatory school [grades 7 to 9], students realize that without [private, out-of-school] tutoring they cannot compete for a place in the academic secondary school and (then) in the university. Free education does not really exist. Students of parents with higher socioeconomic status are able to enroll in academic schools and (then) universities ... not only because they have [better] learning ability but also because their parents have the ability to pay [for] ... tutoring fees.' (Teacher AC2)

'Most students in commercial/vocational school work ... after school ... to improve their own and their families' income. They do not have the time or the money to spend on [private, out-of-school] tutoring or the Reinforcing Study Group program. ... In contrast, ... academic school students[, who tend to come from higher socioeconomic status families,] ... do not work at all; [instead] ... they spend their time in ... [private, out-of-school] tutoring so they can continue their education after secondary school, [preferably attending] ... the university.' (Teacher AC1)

'Students in my [commercial] schools ... [who] need tutoring, ... cannot pay for it. ... [In part because of the economic challenges they face], exam performance and tutoring are not high priorities among students in commercial schools.' (Teacher C2)

'Students from lower income families cannot pay for tutoring, improve their exam performance, and get good grades. Consequently, they are not qualified academically or economically for academic [secondary] schools and, of course, the university.' (Teacher C3)

Teachers' views of the reform's impact on teachers' socioeconomic status

Teachers were asked about the likely effect of the 1997 reform and the 1999 SEEP on teachers' socioeconomic status. In general, academic school teachers, regardless of whether they had previously taught in commercial schools, were not

optimistic about witnessing any significant or widespread improvements in this regard:

‘[G]enerally, it seems improving teachers’ social and economic status was a missing element [in] ... the reform. The in-service training program is important to enhance my performance as teacher, but I need a suitable payment for my experience, efforts, qualifications and basic needs.’ (Teacher AC1)

‘[T]he reform [does not] include any improvement in teachers’ salaries. ... The increase in enrolment in academic schools should [have been associated with] increasing teachers’ wages.’ (Teacher A1)

In contrast, at least one commercial school teacher anticipated that the reform could have a positive impact on her and other commercial school teachers’ economic and social status:¹⁶

‘I do not expect any problem with shifting teachers from a commercial school to another. I was among the last group of teachers who were hired by the Ministry of Education in 1994. Since this time, there have been no employment opportunities in commercial schools except for computer science teachers.’ (Teacher C2)

And a former commercial school teacher also mentioned the potential benefits for ‘academic teachers who would work in the converted commercial schools [noting that they] will have higher social prestige and obtain higher incomes through increasing their opportunities for tutoring when they work in academic schools.’ (Teacher AC1)

Explaining teachers’ views: ideologies of professionalism

Academic and commercial school teachers are seriously concerned about salary increases and opportunities for private, out-of-school tutoring because of their low salaries. Said to be among the lowest paid public sector workers in Egypt, teachers’ monthly salary starts at LE120 and increases gradually to LE430 after twenty years of service.¹⁷ Not only do low salaries undermine the status of teaching as an occupation,¹⁸ but ‘teachers’ low salaries constitute a pressure for practicing [private, out-of-school] tutoring as a way to improve their income and provide for their own basic needs’ (Fawzey, 1994, p. 32). Indeed, most academic school teachers interviewed have been involved in private tutoring,¹⁹ whereas teachers in commercial schools have had to depend on family resources or work

at another (non-teaching) job.²⁰ The monthly income from private tutoring among the academic school teachers in the study varied from LE1,425 to LE3,325, while the external monthly income of commercial school teachers in the sample varied from LE150 to LE350.²¹

Thus, academic school teachers (at least) were generally critical of the government's rhetoric and action directed at limiting or curtailing the practice of private, out-of-school tutoring. However, teachers appeared to ground their criticisms in what can be seen as different elements in the ideology of professionalism. For instance, some teachers (all males) argue in favor of tutoring because of the financial benefits that accrue to teachers, framing their argument with reference to the notion that professionals deserve a high level of remuneration:

'The Ministry of Education should respect teachers' efforts to improve their income and should stop its campaign against [private tutoring] ... because it cannot pay [teachers] the salary they deserve.' (Teacher A4)

'The government uses all its power against tutoring. At the same time it does not provide any substitute, which would improve teachers' socioeconomic status. ... I believe this is a legal and honest thing to do, since I do not force my students for tutoring. ... As a teacher, I'm equal to any professional: I'm able to do my duties at school time and give private tutoring after school.' (Teacher AC1)

Other teachers (all females) appeared to frame their argument in favour of private, out-of-school tutoring in relation to the service ideal element of the ideology of professionalism. As evidenced below, they state that tutoring is a form of 'external academic assistance for their students' [Teacher A5], especially for those who are unable to comprehend the subject matter in the classroom:²²

'Students have different learning abilities [and] many students ask me for tutoring so they can obtain better grades and make progress. What is wrong with being paid for my efforts? I give them my time, knowledge, and the help they need... Why is it viewed as ... against the law?²³ Since this occurs without pressure [from me as a teacher] and as a result of students' [and families'] choice and request, I consider tutoring an honourable form of work.' (Teacher A3)

'Private tutoring in Egypt became a social phenomenon that is constructed under the pressure of educational competition. ... Even outstanding students ask for tutoring, not because they need it to understand the material but to ensure that they perform at least as well on exams as their classmates. ... Students and their parents take pride in being able to pay for the private tutoring.' (Teacher A2)

For some women teachers the emphasis on the service ideal is articulated in gendered terms, that is, they state that they are not primarily responsible for their standard of living, because they believe that this responsibility rests with their husbands or their fathers:

‘I define my socioeconomic status in the upper-middle class because of my husband’s high income; otherwise, I would be economically in the lower class. My salary alone cannot provide for the basic needs of my family, but as a woman I’m not responsible for [supporting financially] ... my family. This is my husband’s responsibility. Therefore, I’m practicing tutoring just because my students ask for and need my help.’ (Teacher A2)

‘I’m not married and my salary is not enough for my personal expenses. I always get money from my father at the end of the month... I do tutoring for free because I know that my students need extra help and they cannot pay for tutoring. I’m willing to help my students obtain high grades in order to enable them to compete for a place at the university and continue their education.’ (Teacher C2)

Finally, two male teachers, both academic school teachers who previously taught in commercial schools, draw upon both the ‘remuneration’ and the ‘service ideal’ elements of the ideology of professionalism in framing their argument against the government’s attack on private, out-of-school tutoring:

‘The government thinks teachers are responsible for the tutoring. This is not true. ... If the government increases my salary, I’ll refrain from being a tutor. But will that stop students’ needs for tutoring? Teacher’s low income is a reason for tutoring but it is not the only reason.’ (Teacher AC3)

‘I am not a criminal and I should not be punished because I improve my low income by helping my students obtaining a high grade. Both students and I are victims of a barren education system and rote learning at all levels. ... I do tutoring because it improves my income, but even if I’m rich and some students ask me to tutor them, I will agree for [their] ... benefit.’ (Teacher AC2)

Conclusion

During a period of implementing the first phase of the 1997 educational reform and the 1999 SEEP neither teachers in academic and nor teachers in commercial schools were optimistic that the reform would enhance the quality of education or would provide equal educational opportunities for students. Their explanations for their pessimism varied, however, and such differences in

teachers' perspectives were associated, at least in part, with whether they primarily conceived of schooling as promoting social mobility or as reproducing social inequalities.

All five teachers who had only worked in academic secondary schools seemed to draw upon a functionalist perspective, highlighting that schooling provides a meritocratic mechanism for allocating individuals to occupations and allows for upward social mobility of capable, motivated children of parents with lower socioeconomic statuses. For these teachers stratification within the education system (i.e., the hierarchical arrangement of academic and vocational/commercial tracks) is viewed to be a necessity because not all students have the same level of learning abilities. In contrast, three academic teachers, who had previously worked in commercial schools, and three commercial teachers seemed to draw upon a conflict perspective, emphasizing that inequalities in wealth and power among social classes are reproduced through schooling (e.g., tracking, curriculum differentiation, and testing). For these teachers, the stratified secondary school system, which hierarchically differentiates academic and secondary school programs and makes it more likely that academic school students who can pay for private, out-of-school tutoring can succeed on high stakes exams, perpetuates and legitimates social inequalities through schooling.

This finding – that teachers who previously taught or who were teaching in commercial schools tended to have views that were more in line with a conflict perspective, while teachers whose experience was limited to academic schools articulated more functionalist inspired viewpoints – is interesting. It raises the question of whether the type of students one teaches influences one's conception of schooling and society or whether individuals with certain conceptions are more likely to pursue teaching in certain types of institutions.

Teachers also varied in their views of the reform's impact on their and their colleagues' socioeconomic status. These differences in views were linked to their occupational status (commercial or academic secondary school employee), their gender (male or female), and the version of the ideology of professionalism (remuneration or service ideal) they highlighted. Interestingly, male academic teachers accorded more importance to economic benefits of being a teacher and engaging in out-of-school, private tutoring, while female academic and commercial teachers frame their lives as school teachers and tutors in line with an ideal of service. Such gender differences in teachers' ideologically informed views are likely due to the fact that in Egypt, as well as in other societies, males are generally viewed to be 'responsible' for families' income, even if women (wives or daughters) are employed outside the home. Although increasingly females' economic participation has become a more important, if not essential, contribution

to families' income, culturally such participating and contribution are viewed as an option.

Examining this small sample of teachers' perceptions of the potential impact of educational reform on students and on teachers enables us to see some interesting combinations of viewpoints. For example, male academic school teachers tended to filter their interpretations of the 1997 reform and the 1999 SEEP through lenses that emphasize schooling as an avenue for social mobility and professionals as deserving high levels of remuneration. These lenses seem to fit well together in that they both provide a focus on individuals being rewarded for their ability and effort. For female academic teachers, however, they combined the lens that emphasizes schooling as an avenue for mobility with one that highlights the service ideal of professionalism. The seemingly poor fit between the lenses used by female academic teachers – students are to be rewarded for ability and effort in their studies but teachers should not be primarily motivated by material rewards to excel and work hard as tutors – is smoothed over by reference to the special role played by (some) women: serving others' social needs, while depending on males to obtain material resources. It is also worth noting that two of the academic school teachers (both males) who had previously worked in commercial schools combined a lens that emphasized schooling as a mechanism for social reproduction and one that highlights both the remuneration and service ideal elements of professionalism. One might speculate that this particular combination of lenses is 'grounded' in their experiences of working with different groups of students (in terms of socioeconomic status and 'ability') in institutions that occupy different levels of the stratified secondary school system.

Nevertheless, we should note that whether they legitimated their (and other teachers') involvement in out-of-school, private tutoring by drawing on the remuneration and/or service ideal elements of the ideology of professionalism, academic school teachers who previously taught in commercial schools seemed to contradict themselves in that they also criticized such tutoring as contributing to social reproduction (in favour of the more economically advantaged students). This contradiction, though, arises because of the difference consequences that private tutoring has for different groups of students and for different groups of teachers. It tends to aid the academic achievement and educational attainment of middle and upper socioeconomic status students (who populate academic schools) more so than lower socioeconomic students (who populate commercial schools), while it tends to provide 'needed' material benefits for (at least some) academic subject teachers working in academic schools to a much greater extent than is the case for academic and vocational subject teachers working in vocational/commercial schools.

In any case, we suspect that teachers' perceptions and reactions to the 1997 educational reform and the 1999 SEEP will be even more complex – and more important to investigate – as the initiative moves from the stage of anticipation to the stage of implementation.

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Notes

- ¹ This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Comparative and International Educational Society conference, New Orleans, Louisiana, USA, 12-16 March 2003. We would like to thank the twelve teachers who participated in this study and the two anonymous colleagues who reviewed and provided helpful comments on an earlier draft of this manuscript.
- ² In the 1997 reform and the 1999 SEEP commercial schools, rather than the other two types of vocational secondary schools (agricultural and industrial), were targeted for conversion because it was argued that there was less demand for commercial school graduates (i.e., service workers) and there was a greater supply of public and private commercial schools in Egypt. In contrast to these reform initiatives in the late-1990s, the Egyptian government's educational reforms during the 1980s and early-1990s sought to increase the proportion of vocational versus academic schools, based on the assumption of an increased demand for skilled workers stemming from the economic transition toward privatization. Under the system in place before 1997, approximately 65% and 35% of students at the end of the preparatory level (grades 7 to 9) were streamed into vocational and academic secondary schools, respectively, while the goal of the 1997 reform and the 1999 SEEP was for 50% of the students to attend each type of secondary school (Ministry of Education, 1999 & 2000; Megahed, 2002).
- ³ According to Fawzey (1994), the Egyptian Ministry of Education began in 1968 to organize additional classes known as 'Reinforcing Study Groups' for students from low-income families who needed extra help but could not easily afford to pay for private tutoring. Initially, these classes were free, but beginning in the 1970-71 school year a small fee was charged. Fee increases continued, so that by the early-1990s many students from low-income families could not afford to pay either for either private tutoring or Reinforcing Study Groups sessions (Fawzey, 1994). In effect, private tutoring became a 'parallel school' (Fawzey, 1994, p. 22) that operates outside and inside the walls of the public school.
- ⁴ A possible indication of the biasing effect of private tutoring is that 80% of students from lower socioeconomic status families, compared to approximately 50% from upper and middle socioeconomic status families, got low scores on the Academic Secondary Certificate Examination, which determines access to university education (World Bank, 1991, p. 76).
- ⁵ Although the discussion above focused on how the social, educational, and economic opportunities could be increased for students who shift from vocational to academic schools, we

should keep in mind that the implications of the 1997 reform and the 1999 SEEP might be less than positive for those students who remain in the reduced number of commercial/vocational schools.

- ⁶ Rather than being neutral concepts, ‘the words ‘profession,’ ‘professional,’ and ‘professionalization’ are [usually] charged with laudatory meaning’ (Metzger, 1987, p. 10); the ‘term professional [is] ... an honorific one in our society today’ (Sykes, 1987, p. 10).
- ⁷ Some scholars (e.g., Friedson, 1973; Halmos, 1975; Jackson, 1970; Toren, 1973; Vollmer & Mills, 1966), working within a Weberian tradition, use the term *deprofessionalization*, which ‘constitutes an opposite movement to professionalization through which workers remuneration, status, and power/autonomy are diminished relative to other groups of workers as well as managers, employers, and state elites;’ other scholars (e.g., Braverman, 1974; Derber, 1983; Johnson, 1977; Larson, 1980; Oppenheimer, 1973), adopting a Marxist perspective, employ the term, *proletarianization*, which involves ‘(1) separating conception from execution of work tasks, 2) standardizing and routinizing work tasks, 3) intensifying the demands of work, and 4) reducing the costs (salaries, benefits, training, etc.) of workers’ (Ginsburg, 1996, p. 134).
- ⁸ Reid (1974, p. 25) observes that, historically, the ‘professions in Egypt had three distinct branches, one dominated by Europeans, another by Egyptians with a modern education, and a third by practitioners with only traditional [*al-Azhar*] training.’
- ⁹ The elements of the ideology have been documented (and disseminated) by scholars, sometimes characterizing these as objective characteristics that differentiate professions from other occupations that are labeled semi-professions or non-professions (see Becker, 1962; Dingwall, 1976; Esland, 1980; Johnson, 1972; Parsons, 1954; Roth, 1974; Wilenski, 1964). Besides remuneration and service ideal, elements highlighted include: ‘performing an essential service or task; ... engaging in work involving a high level of expertise or judgment, thus necessitating extensive preservice education; ... operating with autonomy in the workplace; ... having colleagues (versus nonprofessionals) in control of selection training, and advancement in the field’ (Ginsburg, 1996, pp. 133-34). Pickle (1990, p. 82) makes the interesting observation that ‘[w]ith the possible exception of the service ideal, ... professional cultures have been studied largely through a patriarchal lens. The work norms that have accompanied the public as opposed to the private worlds of work ... are associated with men.’
- ¹⁰ The focus group interview was chosen as a methodology because it allows the interviewees to express themselves in relation to their relevant social context (Barbour & Kitzing, 1999; Krueger, 1994).
- ¹¹ They worked in commercial schools in the late 1980s, almost a decade before the 1997 reform was announced.
- ¹² During planning discussions for the 1997 Reform plan, the option of merging the vocational and academic streams, which commercial teachers asked for, was rejected as inappropriate by the Ministry of Education for three reasons: 1) there is a lack of resources in the education system; 2) despite the fact that many nations have implemented a comprehensive secondary school system, based on core and elective subjects with vocational/academic programs incorporated a single school, there continues to be considerable debate about the effectiveness and efficiency of such a system. (Program Planning & Monitoring Unit, 1998); and 3) merging the vocational and academic streams would not be politically feasible (World Bank, 1999b, p. 5), because ‘any major change in the system structure would inevitably affect hundreds of thousands of families and could provoke political resentment’ (Richards, 1992, p. 10).
- ¹³ The Ministry of Education determines annually the minimum score (65% or 70%) required to enter academic secondary schools. Students with lower scores are assigned to vocational (agricultural, commercial, or industrial) secondary schools.
- ¹⁴ The relationship between family socioeconomic status and type of school attended could be explained by differences in economic capital. For instance, Teacher C4 stated that ‘parents’

abilities to pay for [private, out-of-school] tutoring ... [helped students] to obtain higher grades at the preparatory level [grade 7 to 9] and to enroll in a public academic secondary school' and Teacher C1 noted that 'students of parents with high socioeconomic status did not enroll in commercial school because their parents could enroll them in a private academic school if their final grade did not qualify them for public academic school.' As we will see below in the discussion of academic ability differences between students in the two types of schools, the concept of cultural capital (see Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) is also relevant.

15 For example, academic school teachers reported that the 85% of their students who receive private tutoring come from upper, upper-middle, and middle class families, while 15% of their students who do not get private tutoring are from lower class families. Thus, teachers who charge for tutoring may be considered responsible, partly, for the unequal achievement between the rich and poor students.

16 It is worth noting that while the two commercial school teachers of computer sciences (C3 and C4) assumed that their social (but not economic) status would be elevated if they shifted to an academic school, they expressed concern about the future of their commercial/ specialization subjects colleagues: 'There is no clear plan undertaken [or declared] by the Ministry of Education that would lay out alternative positions and schools for teachers of commercial/specialization subjects employed in the [converted] schools.'

17 In addition, teachers receive a 'subsidy' equivalent to an additional 25% of their basic monthly salary, paid every three months if they are not absent more than two times per month. Nevertheless, a teacher's monthly salary (plus the subsidy) is not sufficient to provide three meals per day for a small family and the annual increase in a teacher's monthly salary (plus the subsidy) lags behind the rate of inflation (al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, 1991, p.529).

18 Both academic and commercial school teachers complained about their current salaries and the negative implications it had for their occupation's social status:

I have been a teacher for more than 16 years. ... I also have a master's degree in Education. My salary is not commensurate with my professional and academic experiences. This low salary indicates that the Ministry of Education ... [does not view teachers as] highly qualified professionals but as low paid workers. (Teacher A5)

The low pay for teachers reduces the social prestige of the teaching profession, especially in vocational education. After spending years in the pre-service and in-service education, my income is equivalent to a worker with high school diploma, and it does not cover my basic needs. (Teacher C3)

19 Academic teachers distinguished between their official and actual socioeconomic status. They classified themselves officially as belonging to the lower class because of their monthly government salary, but when they considered their tutoring (or other sources of) income, they categorize themselves as being in the upper-middle class.

20 For example, a computer science teacher does data entry at a private company and other commercial school teachers work as taxi drivers, cashiers, and salespersons.

21 This leads to substantial inequalities in the living standards between the two groups of teachers. For example, of those interviewed, more than 90% of the academic school teachers and less than 5% of the commercial school teachers possessed a car, computer, cell phone, etc.

22 They mentioned several reasons why students needed private tutoring: a) the overcapacity of classrooms (an average of 55 students); b) the extensive amount of course content to be covered in a class period (during 45 minutes); c) differences in learning skills among students; and d) the importance of achieving a high grade in academic secondary final exam as a requirement for entering the universities.

23 Private tutoring for a fee is forbidden by a ministerial law and is considered an illegal practice since the mid-1990s. In the past teachers, who obtained permission from the Ministry of Education to offer private lessons, were required to pay taxes on their income from tutoring (Fawzey, 1994).

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SOCIAL CAPITAL IN A HISTORIC CONTEXT OF MODERNISATION: ITS EFFECTS ON CHOICE-MAKING IN EDUCATION

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Abstract – *This paper examines the socio-historic roots of social capital in Cyprus. Social capital is seen as a major resource that can explain the unequal pattern of choices regarding post secondary school destinations. The application of social capital to accomplish social goals ('mesa' in Greek) is an 'institution' that has historically developed in Cyprus since the Ottoman era. This development has cultivated an 'ethos' of legitimacy in practices involving the utilisation of social connections and networks to achieve social aims among contemporary Cypriots. The above takes place within the context of a 'modernising' society where traditional and modern perspectives of how social relations are perceived co-exist and often are sources of social tension. The data presented are drawn from an empirical investigation, which used a mixed method approach combining quantitative and qualitative methodologies in a complimentary manner. The findings of the empirical study indicate that social capital appears to act as a hidden mechanism of social selection in modern Cyprus allowing some students, to make far reaching and daring decisions, whereas at the same time 'forcing' others, to make 'pragmatic' choices, which often mean making compromises in their ambitions to achieve social success.*

Introduction: choice-making in education

This paper examines the socio-historic development of a familial non-monetary capital: social capital, and the ways with which it influences processes of choice making for post school destinations. The family and its resources shape the immediate context, as well as the wider relations within which educational choices are made in modern Cyprus.¹ Family resources include a variety of entities and processes.² Primarily they consist of financial resources but they also include other non-monetary resources such as knowledge, social relationships and social connections that can be of potential use to provide access to social goods such as support, encouragement and access to opportunities for their expansion and application. Other non-monetary resources include the possession of the knowledge of how the educational system operates, the ability to engage successfully with it and the ability to cope with the demands of schooling.³ The

way family resources are used, invested or mobilised for making choices regarding post secondary school destinations is done in relation to different structural 'elements'⁴ that constitute for individuals and their families a space or a 'horizon for action' (Hodkinson, 1998, p.558). An individual's 'horizons for action' consist of the 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1990) that individuals and families form as part of their socialisation process but also by changing social structures that provide or restrict resources for utilisation to promote social objectives. *Habitus* is a cognitive system of preferences, a dispositional sense of action that 'directs' individuals to an appropriate response at a given situation. *Social capital* available to individuals and their families consists of a major determinant of the *habitus* of individuals and their families and facilitates their choice-making in education.

This paper begins by providing a definition of what the concept of social capital entails. It then moves to describe its historic development throughout the past century to its present form. Finally, it discusses how it influences the way young individuals and their families make their post secondary school choices drawing from an analysis of an empirical investigation of 404 secondary students and a sub-sample of 24 parents.

Defining social capital

Generally speaking social capital refers to social networks and the reciprocities that arise from them which, depending on where they are located, may produce outcomes for individuals at group or community level. Where positive, these outcomes emerge through involvement and participation in social networks. Like other forms of capital (economic, cultural), social capital makes possible the achievement of certain ends that would not have been possible without its presence as a resource, not only for individual and collective action, but also as a structural context with possible unintended consequences.

In the literature referring to the contemporary usage of the term social capital in the social sciences, one can easily distinguish three approaches among others. These come from Bourdieu (1986, 1990), Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1993, 1995, 2000). Social capital as used here is mostly associated with the works of Bourdieu (1977, 1986) and Coleman (1988). This approach is in agreement with Portes' (1998) assertion that the greatest theoretical promise of social capital lies at the individual level exemplified by the analyses of Bourdieu and Coleman but also in Putnam's conceptualisation of social capital as a 'private good'.

The first, most widely acknowledged, analysis of social capital comes from Bourdieu. He defines social capital as 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less

institutionalised relationships of mutual relationship and understanding' (1986). Social capital is not a natural given and is constructed and maintained through strategies involving the conversion of economic and cultural capital. All forms of capital are used to provide maximum accumulation of social profits. In other words, individuals need to actively strive to build and maintain their social networks through employing financial resources (economic capital) or cultural knowledge, language, taste, inclination, credentials, etc. (cultural capital). The amount and the quality of the social networks an individual can potentially mobilise are very important in the relative outcomes that they can offer. For example lower class networks may be as plentiful and varied as middle class ones, but less productive of socially and economically outcomes. Their differential 'profitability' lies in the 'quality' of the networks and the potential gateways to which they can offer access. For Bourdieu social capital is a form of capital, which, along with economic and cultural capital, determines an individual's social position and power. Through social capital individuals may gain access to economic resources (increase their economic capital) and also increase their cultural capital, for instance through contacts with experts or accessibility to institutions that confer valued credentials -institutionalised cultural capital.

Coleman (1988) defines social capital by its function. He states that social capital 'is not a single entity but a variety of different entities with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspects of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors within the structure' (1988, S98). From Coleman's perspective social capital is useful for describing the actions of actors in social systems. The denser and closer the relational ties in the system, the greater the likelihood that information that provides a basis for action will be communicated. For Coleman, as for Bourdieu, social capital is an individual asset but it is socially constituted and its value arises as an emergent property of the collective world, which is different from each of the other forms of capital. Baron *et al.* (2000 p.7) write that 'in much of his analysis, Coleman shared marked similarities with Bourdieu, including ... a concern for social capital as a source of educational advantage'. For Coleman the social capital that exists outside the family among parents and in parents' relations with institutions of the community has value for influencing the educational prospects of children (Coleman, 1988, S113). Using data from an empirical study with Catholic and private schools in the U.S. he showed that the presence of this latter form of social capital had positive influences in reducing the drop out rate among secondary school students.

A third approach that takes social capital at the community level is the one proposed by Putnam. According to Putnam (2000, p.19) social capital refers to connections among individuals (social networks) and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. Social capital is different from other forms

of capital such as physical capital, human and cultural because it has an element which has been called ‘civic virtue’ which is an intrinsic element of a ‘healthy’ society, whereas the other forms of capital refer to properties of individuals. For Putnam social capital can be simultaneously a ‘private good’ and a ‘public good’. The different approaches to the term of social capital indicate, for Putnam, that ‘social capital has both an individual and a collective aspect’ (ibid.). Individuals form connections that benefit their own interests, one of the most important being finding a job and advancing in their careers. At the same time social capital has ‘externalities’ that affect the wider community. When the members of the community are well connected then the benefits for a well-connected individual would be greater than in a social context where the community is poorly connected (2000, p.20). Social capital is necessary for a healthy civic community to be prosperous and efficient.

Stanton-Salazar (1997) argues that the value of social capital as a concept lies in the fact that it identifies properties of social structure that are available to be used by actors to achieve their interests. From the definitions cited above it can be seen that social capital can be a social resource for individuals and at the same time it can be a collective social resource that may be mobilized to promote the general interests of the community. Rather than examining social capital at a community level, here social capital is examined as an individual/family resource that influences young people’s aspirations about their future and their choice-making regarding future educational and occupational outcomes. Social capital in Cyprus is a product of a history that spans more than a century. So, next the historic development of social capital in Cyprus is examined.

The development of an ethos for using ‘social networks’ to secure social profits

In this section the historic roots of using social networks to get access to social goods are examined. It is important to demonstrate the historic development of this ‘institution’ because it will make clear the cultural climate that is present in Cyprus today, which informs and influences the strategies that parents employ in an effort to maximise their children’s educational and occupational prospects. The use of social networks and connections to promote personal social objectives has also been referred to in Greek as using ‘*mesa*’.

The root of ‘mesa’: clientelism and patronage

The use of *mesa* can be viewed as a product of patronage and clientelistic relationships that have existed in Cyprus for a very long time. It dates back to the

Ottoman period when clientelistic relationships existed between people of different social status. This is often referred to as patronage. 'Real' patronage according to Gellner (1977, p.3) is 'a system, a style, a moral climate ... It is an ethos: People know that it is a way of doing things.' Clientelism and patronage are two terms used to mean similar things. Gellner (ibid.) describes patronage as follows:

'Patronage is asymmetrical, involving inequality of power ... it possesses a distinctive ethos; and whilst not always illegal or immoral it stands outside the officially proclaimed formal morality of the society in question.'

Similarly, Choisi offers a definition of clientelism (cited in Faustman, 1998) with particular reference to the case of politics in Cyprus. According to Choisi, clientelism is 'a reciprocal relationship between two persons or groups of persons of different social status in a small or traditional agricultural society.' On the one side we have the patron who provides money, posts, promotions and protection for his client, while he gains power, wealth and social prestige from the client who has to support, work and vote for his patron. Favouritism, nepotism, corruption and *rusfeti*⁵ are what characterise patron-client interaction. The client supports his patron politically in exchange for *rusfeti*.

There were many reasons that favoured the development of this kind of relationship between people. According to Gellner (1977, p.4) the incompletely centralised state, the defective market or the defective bureaucracy seems to favour patronage. It could be the case, however, that when a state is in the process of development and during this time remains unintelligible to a large part of the population, they would need brokers (lawyers, politicians or both) to obtain benefits. It could also be the case that when the state is a large or the main employer (or a prestigious employer, in the case of Cyprus) and brokers, such as politicians, bureaucrats and others, control (or influence) access to employment, people would be 'forced' to resort to using their social connections to access social benefits.

The historic source of clientelism: the Ottoman period

The historical roots of clientelism in Cyprus lay in the period of the Ottoman rule. The way the Ottomans ruled their provinces gave rise to the economic dependency of the peasants upon moneylenders. The Ottomans chose local clergymen or laymen to administrate and manage the villages and towns for them by collecting taxes and by resolving disputes within their communities. They gave these people much authority and power to carry out their duties. This was

particularly true for the Greek Orthodox Church in Cyprus. Part of the power that was granted to the Church was the power to allocate and collect taxes. Clerks were sent out by the Bishops to collect the money sometimes diverting money to their own pockets (Attalides, 1977, p.139). These people often became rich enough to lend money to their fellow villagers when in need in bad years and also to pay the various taxes. This ultimately increased dependency on the tax collectors themselves. This patron-client structure based on money lending according to Faustman (1998) was the main source of clientelism and became a common feature in all countries of the former Ottoman Empire, including Greece and Cyprus. Cyprus was then a traditional agricultural society whose Greek Cypriot community was dominated by a small elite of influential families and the high clergy. 'This small and closed society provided an ideal ground for patron-client relationships' (Faustman, 1998).

The British era

When Cyprus was taken over by the British in 1878 after almost 300 years of Ottoman rule, economic dependency of the peasants on the few rich moneylenders was an important element of the island's social and political life. Many of the peasants were often sued for their debts leading to either losing their land or imprisonment (Loizos, 1977). In the years that followed, however, this situation went through different phases. The British colonialists through the introduction of several economic measures and sometimes for their own political reasons tried to reduce this form of dependency. This economic dependency was often transformed by the Greek Cypriot elite to political dependency in an effort to promote anti-colonial and pro-Hellenic nationalistic ideals. During the British administration, an Elected Legislative Council was introduced in 1882. Election to the Legislative Council was an important means of consolidating power and prestige for a few Cypriot notables according to Loizos (1977). Many of the elected members in the Legislative Council were moneylenders, or landowners who were also moneylenders⁶ (*ibid.*). Choisi (1995) mentions that the Greek Cypriot ruling class not only managed to control the election behaviour of the population through the economic dependency but also could effectively isolate those who refused to submit to these social power conditions.⁷

Except from the above reason that made the British try to break this circle of dependency from early on, there was another reason that drove them to do so. The second reason must be attributed to their effort to transform the economic culture from a restraining situation that was holding down further development and modernisation to new forms of legal rationality, which was less personalistic. One of the first measures that the colonial government took was to reduce the

frequency of imprisonment for debt. Later, however, during the 1930's they introduced other more radical measures the most important of which was the establishment of co-operative credit societies in the villages and a co-operative central bank. These institutions helped to reduce the networks of clientelistic relationships based on money lending⁸ and consequently the influence of those power brokers within the Greek Cypriot community whose power was based on it.

After the influence of the old political rulers was substantially limited due to the economic measures taken by the British, a new potential source of clientelism emerged. After 1941 the constitutional system allowed for political parties to form freely.⁹ By this time the large electorate were no longer bound by the traditional clientelistic relationships that had become insignificant under British rule. However, despite the breaking of relationships based on economic dependency the British did not appear to break the clientelistic 'ethos' among those seeking favours and the perspective providers. At first the political parties had only limited power to distribute favours at an administrative level since the British controlled employment in the civil service and the state expenditure. This prevented them from creating clientelistic relationships on a large scale. They could only offer favours on a small scale at the level of municipal politics. The political parties became sources of new clientelistic relationships after the Independence in 1960 and the radical restructuring of the social order that was brought about in the Cypriot society.

The Independence period

By the end of the British rule (1960) clientelistic structures based on money lending had faded. According to Faustmann (1998), after Independence clientelistic structures re-emerged around the new power holders most of which were former EOKA¹⁰ fighters. The way that these new structures developed is very interesting because here lay the roots of the way contemporary social networks and connections began to be used to promote social objectives.

During the anti-colonial struggle EOKA created a powerful network, which was necessary for the organisation of its movement. These networks offered young people, most of whom came from rural or lower middle class backgrounds, the possibility for recognition and advancement. Despite the fact that the young EOKA fighters had not been part of the traditional elite they gained political power and influence. Bourdieu (1986, footnote14) argues that it is often the case that membership of a national liberation movement allows members to take advantage of redistribution of a proportion of wealth and the recovery of highly paid jobs. To these potential economic profits one could add the very real and immediate social

and symbolic profits that derive from membership of such a movement (accumulation of social capital.¹¹ Similarly, Coleman (1988) argues that it is likely that once an organisation is brought into existence for one set of purposes, it can also aid others, thus constituting the proliferation of social capital available for use in other contexts. According to Coleman there are several examples in many social contexts of organisations set to lay claims or to serve specific purposes but later served as social capital available to individuals to serve other goals. This was evident in the case of Cyprus with the creation of the EOKA organisation. The intense and tight networks and the relationships that were created by the Church and Greek Cypriot nationalists for the anti-colonial struggle served later as available social capital to those who participated one way or another in the movement. After the Independence the people who came into power under the leadership of the Greek Cypriot Archbishop, who became the first president of the newly established republic, used the social capital that was created to secure positions for themselves and for the member of their families in the general public sector. Many of the EOKA fighters who were actively involved in the struggle retained the title of *agonistes*¹² (fighters) even after the end of the struggle and many times capitalised on this title of distinction. It provided, among other things, access to social privileges as they enjoyed the support, and recognition of many Greek Cypriots. Government posts and senior posts in other public and semi-public institutions went to those that were leading members of EOKA. According to Christodoulou (1995), as most of them were of lower middle-class and rural backgrounds, this constituted a radical re-ordering of the social structure. In the first cabinet of 1960 and in the House of Representatives many members were leading EOKA members (Faustman, 1998). According to Loizos, 'when Independence started EOKA became briefly an informal duplicate government, and enabled patron-client relations, as well as weaker exchanges, to take place' (1977, p.127).

Finally, it must be noted that different 'forces' dominated different sections of the Independent state. For some sectors some politicians or agents were powerful whereas in others they were powerless to intervene. This gave rise to a mentality whereby people, in order to be successful in making use of this institution and have, according to Loizos (1977, p.127), a 'fighting chance', had to have as many options open as possible (friends, kin, fellow-villagers, parties, trade unions, etc.) and mobilise the appropriate social networks (if they had them) in order to achieve a certain goal. Part of the success in mobilising social networks, lies in the ability of individuals to maintain various kinds of social connections. This situation cultivated an 'ethos' of 'exploiting' any available social network to achieve social goals.

In the following decades the establishment and the strengthening of the party political system offered a significant source of social capital based on party

patronage. Many who actively belong to and support a political party expect that if at one point they require the assistance of their party to promote the interests of their family members they should get it. However, as was noted earlier, apart from social relationships based on political party patronage, there is a widely held perception that middle class families have access to effective social networks based on 'mutual recognition and understanding' that lower class families probably do not have. These connections tend to be more effective in relation to connections based on party patronage, for example, because of the kind of reciprocities that they generate. Middle class families would more likely be in a position to 'reciprocate' better benefits that they get from social connections because they would most likely have the means to do so (economic, cultural and social). It is at this level that the use of *mesa* is particularly effective when used to advance social goals such as favourable treatment for accessing state services or more importantly securing the occupational prospects of family members. It can be argued that the greatest advantage that they offer lies in the fact that they make possible the strengthening of a particular 'habitus' that potentially facilitates social action in decision-making in relation to future educational and occupational pursuits if one knows that their family is well positioned to enter an 'exchange process' in an environment where such practices are widely regarded as being extremely effective for social success.

To sum up we could say that those people who found themselves in power at the time of Independence, old and new political classes used their social status and influence to gain competitive advantage. They not only helped their own families but they established clientelistic relationships with people or groups seeking advantages and opportunities. Facets of this are of outstanding relevance and central to the contemporary usage of social capital for educational advantage. Namely, because there is, today, a very influential *modernist* attitude, which regards the process of offering and seeking access to social networks, as an anachronistic (and thus pre-modern) procedure to advance social goals and calls for meritocratic and transparent procedures.

Modernist and traditional approaches in the application of social capital

The Cypriot society is often seen as a society that progresses between two 'worlds' often in an ideological conflict with each other (traditional versus modern). These worlds signify different ideological perspectives and approaches in the everyday way of life of modern Cypriots. This had been the fundamental argument behind Argyrou's (1995) study of the way marriage is celebrated in modern Cyprus where he described this conflict as an ideological conflict between the different social classes who appear to adhere to a certain ideology in an effort

to appear affiliated with a particular identity that would distinguish themselves from the others. In this 'conflict' the middle classes are keen to be seen as endorsing an ideology that sees Western/European culture, values, institutions and practices as being modern, something that carries an underlying connotation of superiority, in contrast to lower social classes who appear to adhere more to traditional Greek Cypriot values who many view as anachronistic and backward. In everyday social and political life and discourse one frequently comes across incidences, which demonstrate this 'conflict'. During the past twenty or so years the introduction of many innovations and practices in social life has often been accompanied with the label of European (=modern) in an effort to be successfully introduced into the Cypriot society.¹³ The simplistic but often quite effective rationale behind this practice is that if Cypriots wish to be viewed as Europeans then surely they should adopt the practices and the institutions¹⁴ that are found in Europe. This, as was said earlier, had been the driving force behind the introduction of a number of modern innovations in Cyprus and has been intensified as Cyprus seems to be coming ever more closer to becoming a full member of the European Union.¹⁵

This ideological conflict should not be seen as causing polarising effects. What appears to be happening, is the emergence of a combination of elements of both traditions in the practices of most Cypriot families. In contemporary Cyprus one comes across an amalgam of traditional and modern practices concerning the application of *mesa* (social connections and networks) to achieve social objectives. The traditional attitude towards the use of *mesa* advocates that their use is a *legitimate* practice. Its legitimacy emanates from the fact that it has been historically embedded in the practices of Cypriots. This perspective sees the use of *mesa* as part of 'Cypriot' identity. The notion 'that is how we [Cypriots] do things' is used frequently by supporters of that view and expresses vividly this position. On the other hand the *modern* approach sees the use of *mesa* as an anachronism, as an outdated practice that holds the society back and that it constitutes an obstacle to the adoption of meritocratic procedures. The modernist position tends to identify itself with meritocratic procedures and calls for legitimacy through 'objective' and 'transparent' procedures. In fact, for the modernists, objectivity and transparency are fundamental qualities of meritocracy. Findings from the empirical study presented in the next section, have indicated that it is very difficult to associate a particular social group with one or the other perspective. For example there is a proportion of the middle classes that regards the use of social connections and networks as backward, anachronistic and pre-modern. Yet, when it comes to the 'cruel reality' (this was the way many parents in the empirical study described the reality of people seeking to mobilise networks and connections), the rhetoric against this institution is forgotten and these parents

clearly declared that they would resort to this resource because not doing so would deprive their children from the chance to compete on ‘equal’ grounds in a competitive labour environment. Willingness to resort (or not to resort for that matter) to the use of *mesa* is an element that had its consequences for the kind of choices that are taken for future educational and occupational destinations. The unequal way with which social capital becomes available for use between social classes acts as a selection mechanism that clearly favours some groups and disadvantages others. Thus, it constitutes one of the main sources of social injustice in Cyprus today and raises questions about the current state of social justice in Cyprus.

Social capital facilitating choice making in education: evidence from an empirical investigation

To investigate the way social capital influences the process of choice making in education we now turn to the findings from an empirical investigation carried out among students graduating secondary school in Cyprus in the summer of 1999 (Vryonides, 2003). Questionnaires were completed by 404 students attending all kinds of secondary schools in Cyprus in the Nicosia town and district namely public Lyceums with their different specialisations, public technical schools and English speaking private schools. Twenty-four parents from three social class groups (professional middle class *PMC*, lower middle class *LMC* and working class *WC*) were interviewed (see Table 1 for a summary of cases).

Students’ expectations for receiving help from their families

Students’ answers from the questionnaires relating to the kind of support that they expected their family to provide to them in order to materialise their occupational aspirations point to *social capital* as a primary potential resource. This consequently has implications for the kind of educational choices that students make. The students’ responses indicated that 72.3 percent of them expected their family to help them to secure employment. The higher the family social class background of the students the more they expected help from their families (Table 2). The differences in the ways students responded to that question were significant. This was confirmed by the Kruskal-Wallis test, which showed that students’ responses varied significantly in all three groups:

Chi-square = 6.727; df = 2; p<0.05

TABLE 1: The educational aspirations of students in relation to the familial social capital

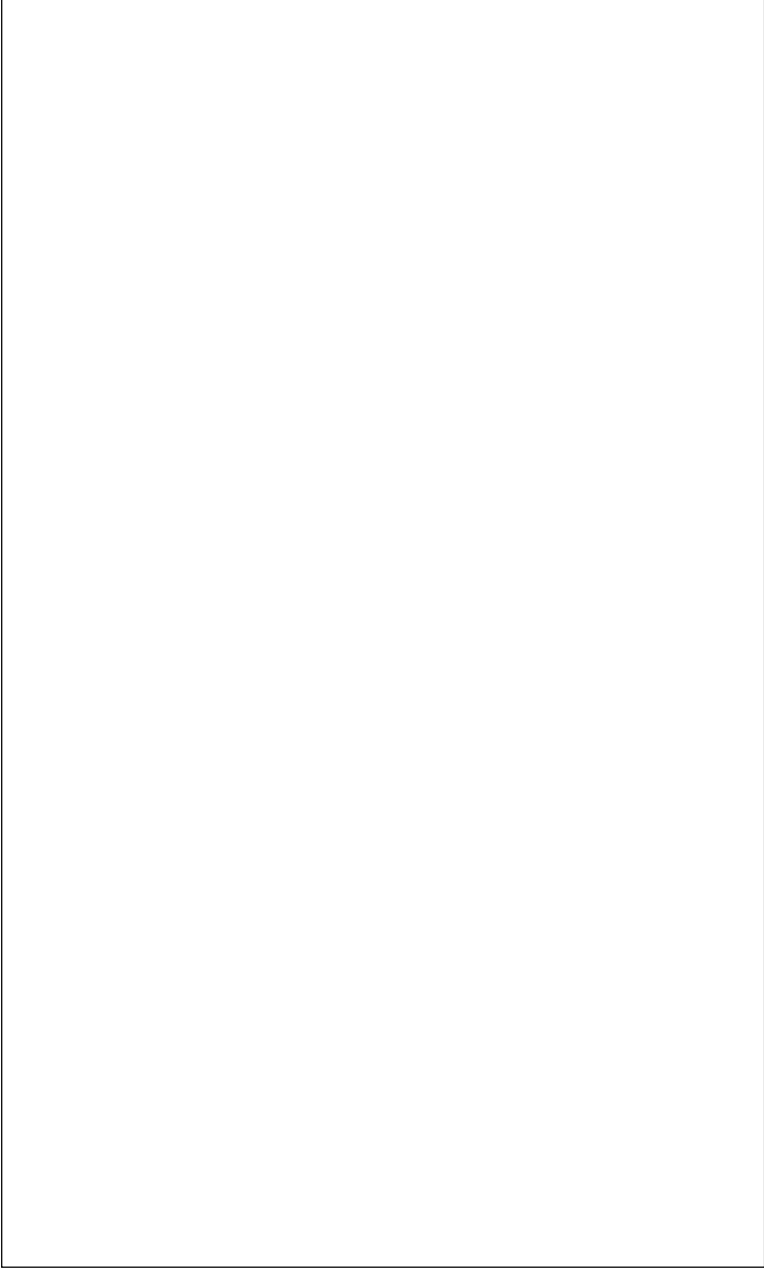


TABLE 2: Students' expectations for getting help from their families

I expect my family to help me find employment...			
	YES	NO	TOTAL
1. <i>PMC</i> students	61 (83.6)	12 (16.4)	73 (100)
2. <i>LMC</i> students	113 (72.9)	42 (27.1)	155 (100)
3. <i>WC</i> students	118 (67.1)	58 (32.9)	176 (100)
TOTAL	292 (72.3)	112 (27.7)	404 (100)

PMC: Professional middle class

LMC: Lower middle class

WC: Working class

When students were asked, 'How do you expect your family to help you find employment?' their answers provided a clear link with familial social capital. Table 3 presents a summary of the different answers that the students gave. It can be seen that the most common answer (nearly half of the answers given) was the one that referred to the family's social capital (social networks, connections, friends, acquaintances etc.) In total 102 answers pointed to help from sources directly connected to their family's social capital (in terms of inter-familial networks) whereas other answers (Table 3) indirectly connected to other aspects of familial social capital (i.e. join family business, work with parents). Of the 102 responses directly associated with social networks and connections, 22 (nearly 20%) used words such as *meso* or *rousfeti*. The use of these words clearly point to the kind of social capital students and parents alike regard as being of the kind being mostly effective in the field of materialising occupational aspirations.

One other interesting point that may be made is that students from all social class family backgrounds were expecting help from their family's social capital. The question is, however, which students have the best chances of successfully benefiting from that resource. This connects to the 'quality' of the networks available to different social class families and to the parents' willingness to resort to the networks they associate themselves with. This is an issue that is explored below.

Familial social capital and choice-making in education

Social capital necessary to promote social goals referring to the future employment prospects of the children is not perceived as being equally available to all by the parents interviewed in the empirical study. In fact parents' responses from the interviews indicated that both the 'quantity' as well as the 'quality' of

TABLE 3: Ways with which students expected their families to help them

I expect my family to help me...	PMC	LMC	WC	Total
1. With their connections/acquaintances	19	47	36	102**
2. Money/financially	7	6	15	28
3. Moral support	5	8	6	19
4. Join family business/work with parents	5	8	5	18
5. Guidance/advice	3	7	0	10
6. Help me look for a job	0	0	15	15
7. Not sure/Don't know	2	3	4	9
8. Other answers	7	16	16	39
TOTAL	48	95	97	240

* Note: These are numbers of answers and not of respondents. Some respondents cited two or in few cases more than two ways they expected their families to help them in their employment.

** Note: In 22 cases the words *meso* or *rousfeti* were used.

social capital differed substantially among the parents from different social classes. The family social capital takes a variety of forms and includes various social connections and networks with the extended family, parents' colleagues, personal friends and acquaintances etc. A strategy that many parents adopt is to try and create as many possibilities for using different social networks as possible to promote their interests. Even though networks based on the extended family, relatives of some kind and personal acquaintances are commonly used, the most acknowledged form of effective social networks is that with political parties and politicians in general (clientelism and political patronage). Also, equally effective can be social connections with high government officials or people holding important posts in the economic and social domains. Other sources of social capital can be the Church, trade unions etc.

Table 1 presents a summary of the kinds of networks parents associated themselves with which they thought could be beneficial for materialising the educational aspirations of their children. Other important issues that are also presented in the same table are: parents' perceptions of whether their social capital (ASC) could become available for use, their willingness to mobilise it (WSC) and the educational aspirations of their children (EDASP).

Gender and choice-making

During the interviews a gender pattern appeared in the relationship between educational aspirations and social capital. Parents' answers during the interviews

about whether their expectations were influenced by their children's gender reveal a picture that cuts across the social class division. Parents' social class did not prove to be distinctive in the pattern of answers. The parents could be roughly categorised into two main groups in terms of their attitudes to the role of gender in the choices made. On the one hand there is a group of parents who appear to adhere to a traditionalist position that advocates that men and women have a different position and 'purpose' within the society and as a result the choices that they make should reflect that. On the other hand there is a group of parents who seem to support a modernist position, which argues that there should not be different expectations of children on the grounds of their gender.¹⁶ Parents' attitudes in relation to gender had implications for the way parents 'utilised' their available resources (among which social capital) to facilitate their children's choice making. Let us look more closely into these different positions as expressed by parents.

Characteristic examples of the traditionalist position can be seen in the views of Mr Paris (*PMC 3*) and Mr Nikolaou (*LMC 9*) who expressed similar views.

Inter: Would you have different expectation if your child was a girl?

Mr Paris: Yes there is a differentiation in the choices of education and sector. But it is not a rule.

Inter: What would you personally have done if your child was a girl?

Mr Paris: It is a matter of character I think. That is if it's a son you push him towards your business activities. For a daughter I believe you put her on a different level. You see her tendencies and wishes as well. You are not so demanding of a daughter. Because, for the financial needs of a future family we still see that the weight still falls primarily on a man rather than on a woman. Anyway, a woman may contribute but the main responsibility is in the hands of a man. That is how we still see this ... so, the plans could be different for a girl.

(Mr Paris, PMC 3)

Inter: Did the sex of your child play a role in the choices that you made?

Mr Nikolaou: Yes definitely. I would never send my daughter to become a Civil Engineer.

Inter: Why not?

Mr Nikolaou: Not that it is bad, but it would sound strange to me. It would be one of the things that you rarely hear about... There is a difference between boys and girls. For a girl it doesn't matter if she earns £300 a month. It is a bonus for her family. The fewer qualifications she has the easier it is to get employment. She doesn't have the pressure that she should support a family. If she has her house [*he refers to the issue of dowry*]... For a son things are different. He cannot support a family with a salary of 300 and 350 pounds. I would not accept this for my son. The son is under a lot of pressure.

Mr Nikolaou (LMC 9)

The above parents' attitudes express a position that supports that male children have priority over female. And this is because, as this line of argument supports, there are more expectations from men at the end of their educational trajectories. This is something that is bound to make families who adopt this position to be willing to 'invest' more resources for male students. In the sample interviewed there were other examples of this position. Mrs Andreou's son (*LMC 10*) but not her daughter attended a private English-speaking private school and she and her husband had different plans for their children. For her son she said:

'Yes sending my son to the English school meant future studies in Britain but because he was a *son* and you think a bit differently ...'

Whereas for her daughter she commented:

'If she follows economics for me a Bank is ideal [*place for employment*] for a *woman*.'

Mr Simou (*PMC 7*) had this to say about the issue when talking about the fact that both his son and daughter followed primary school teaching. He seems to suggest that primary school teaching is more suitable for a daughter rather than a son.

'I honestly tell you I would prefer my son to choose something else, one other study to go and study abroad since he is a *son*. Now you will tell me: How about your daughter? She was an excellent student as well but ... she is a *daughter*.'

Mr Simou (PMC 7)

The above views reflect what might be characterised as traditionalist attitudes towards the role of men and women in society. That is that men should be in a position that they should have the responsibility of being the primary wage earners, whereas the financial contribution of a working-woman in a family is a bonus but not a necessity.

The parents who expressed 'modern' views on the issue more or less expressed the idea that even though in the past there might have been discrimination against women nowadays they would respond equally to both sons and daughters. It has to be said that these parents were the minority in the parents interviewed. Mrs Dimou's (*PMC 1*) comments are typical of the answers that these parents gave.

'I believe that it is unfair what some parents do ... to distinguish between boy and girl. I believe that parents should give the best educational provision to their children whether they are boys or girls.'

Mrs Dimou (PMC 1)

Another example is Mrs Litsa (WC 21) who expressed similar views towards giving the same opportunities to her daughter and she appeared determined to back her daughter to the highest levels of education.

Inter.: Up to what level of education would you be prepared to push your daughter?

Mrs Litsa: I won't deprive her if she wants to. If she succeeds in passing as a teacher, she plans to work for a few years and then study history or political science. She is telling us that she will be studying until she is 30.

Inter.: If your child was a boy would you have different expectations?

Mrs Litsa: I don't think so. It is not as it used to be some years ago when you would push the son higher and give priority to a son. I see all of them the same way.

Mrs Litsa (WC 21)

From the above it can be seen that in today's Cyprus there are different attitudes that connect students' gender with the various kinds of post secondary school destinations and, as will be shown next, with the way available social capital resources are utilised to facilitate (directly or indirectly) the process of educational choice making. At the same time it has to be said that the data from our study have not indicated that these differences in the way parents perceive gender roles affected female students' overall opportunities to move into higher education. Students' gender, though, affected the kind of strategies families developed to facilitate the educational choice making of their children. Among the strategies affected were the ones that connected to available social capital resources.

Familial strategies in relation to the availability/unavailability of social capital

The availability of social capital offers some families a sense of security for making ambitious educational choices. As can be seen in Table 1 the families who had available social capital (ASC) and were willing to resort to its support (WSC) were making choices such as Law, Business Law, Applied Mathematics and Engineering (*PMC 2, PMC 3, PMC 6, LMC 10, PMC 14*). These kinds of choices have the potential to lead to high status professional positions. In some cases it is highly likely that in order for such educational credentials to materialise in the Cypriot labour market they would require the support of social networks and connections. Hence, if these networks and connections are not perceived as being available to some families, different choices may have to be considered by them.

There are interesting observations that may be made in relation to the strategies that families employed to cope with the unavailability of social capital. Some middle class families appeared not willing to resort to the support of the kind of social capital needed for materialising their children's occupational aspirations. These families, though, appeared to be better able to cope with this 'disadvantage' than others. Basically, these families, due to their position, even though they could potentially access effective social networks were planning not to do so because they did not want to create outstanding obligations towards the various 'providers' of the required support. Thus, they were developing strategies that would allow them to avoid seeking the help of these networks. Among these strategies, one was the pursuit of high quality education (cultural capital in its credentialised form) with the help of their financial capital in the hope that the prestigious credentials gained would require minimum support from *mesa*. Alternatively, some families were opting for choices in areas where resorting to *mesa* was non-essential.

Mrs Dimou (*PMC 1*) is characteristic of parents seeking high quality education for their children. Specifically she talked of her family's plan to send her son to Britain to get what is widely regarded in Cyprus as prestigious education.

Mrs Dimou: ... we made it clear to him that whatever job he decides to do either on his own or with an organisation we will not be prepared to go and ask 'beg' anybody so that he is employed.

Inter.: Is that why he has to get the best credentials?

Mrs Dimou: Exactly.

Inter.: How do you see the employment prospects of a young person coming from studies today?

Mrs Dimou: It is difficult. Very difficult.

Inter.: Does this worry you?

Mrs Dimou: Yes it certainly does. Because you spend a fortune and in the end you are not sure if the money you spent will be paid back or not but ... I suppose money is not the issue ... the important thing is that he will feel capable to overcome *mesa*.... because, to tell you the truth, because he himself wouldn't want to beg he may not even come back to work in Cyprus after his studies.

Mrs Dimou (*PMC 1*)

However, resorting to the support of financial capital was not an option available to all. Other families saw as a way to avoid the need to seek the support of social networks and connections the pursuit of education that in the end would not require the help of *mesa* to produce employment opportunities. One such kind of education was school teaching (*PMC 5, PMC 7, PMC 8, LMC 9, LMC 10, LMC 13, LMC 15, LMC 16, WC 21, WC 24*). School teaching (particularly primary school teaching) has become a favourable higher education destination, especially

for female students, and it has been in demand for the past ten years or so among those who intend to pursue studies at Greece and at the University of Cyprus. This is often attributed to the fact that it is regarded as an occupation that offers prospects for immediate employment along with many other benefits (job security, relatively high earnings in relation to the private sector, etc).

For the working class families whose children indicated no intention to pursue higher studies, the lack of social capital was often accompanied by shortage of financial capital. These parents clearly indicated that they could not afford to send their children to higher education. Here one may make the assumption that for families who lacked social capital any investment in their children's education coming from a tight family budget would not be a 'sensible' investment. And this because such an investment would not offer any tangible prospects for future employment since there is a prevailing attitude that suggests that social networks and connections (*mesa*) is one of the most important elements for securing a 'good' job. So, for those working class families whose children intended to pursue higher studies, such as case *WC 21*, primary school teaching seemed to be one of their limited options. Mrs Litsa (*WC 21*) had the following to say:

'That is why all children want to become teachers. Because they feel that the only thing that if you manage to enter, there aren't any mesa, is to become a teacher. And then the competition is very fierce. And what kind of job is a teacher? It is not that important. My daughter has so much knowledge and ability that her teachers don't agree that she should go to become a teacher. Because she went to Practiko, she did not do Classics, because she likes those lessons. She should have gone into political studies. But who is going to help her from then on?'

Mrs Litsa (*WC 21*)

It can be argued that for some parents the lack of social capital entails making compromises, as to the level of education that their children might aim. The comments of Mr Nikolaou (*LMC 9*) are very telling.

'If my daughter has all the requirements, at least at a bank I should be able to get her employed. But if she goes for further studies it would be very difficult for me then because she would be aiming higher where the positions are limited. But for lower positions I don't think it would be very difficult for me.'

Mr Nikolaou (*LMC 9*)

For many working class parents resorting to *mesa* was not a realistic option. The unavailability of social capital was in most cases accompanied by shortages in other forms of capital (financial, cultural) (*WC 17, WC 19, WC 20, WC 22*).

Thus, the choices that these families were making portrayed a feeling of acceptance that their children's chances of succeeding in the labour market were limited. Some were expressing importune remarks such as: 'If we can get any kind of *meso* to help our daughter it would be more than welcomed' (WC 20). In comments such as the above, one may detect traces of fatalism transcending, which inevitably 'impose' on young people coming from such families a restricted horizon for educational choice making.

To sum up we could argue that there are different strategies to deal with the unavailability of social capital. It has to be said however, that middle class families appear to be better able to adopt compensatory strategies and to cope with this shortage compared with working class families. And this, because middle class families can draw support from other resources, primarily financial capital but also cultural capital in the sense that they appear to have a better understanding of educational processes and opportunities available that do not require the help of social networks. Moreover, there is a distinctive characteristic in some middle class families' lack of social capital. This 'deficiency' is the product mainly of their unwillingness to resort to the help of available social networks for various reasons (rejection of such practices, unwillingness to engage in processes that create outstanding obligations etc.) and not due to absence of social networks and connections. In any case, social capital offers to those who have it a sense of empowerment; it generates a *habitus* of security for making choices with better prospects. On the other hand, for those who lack it things are different. The unavailability of social capital generates feelings of helplessness about the future; a *habitus* of compromise and of setting lower aspirations. This is particularly true for lower class families who do not have many alternatives to consider because often they do not have alternative resources to draw support from.

Choice-making in relation to post secondary school destinations takes place within different 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson & Sparkes, 1997, and Hodkinson, 1998). Social capital appears to be a fundamental part of each individual's horizons within the Cypriot social and cultural context. Cultural and social factors influence the nature of dispositions, which in turn both enable and constrain particular decisions through different horizons for action. Effective social capital, when present in ample amounts, not only constitutes a major recourse that facilitates educational choice but it also constitutes a compensatory resource or safety net against possible setbacks. On the other hand, for those who do not have it, it constitutes a serious impediment that restricts the opportunities to pursue social success. Either way it contributes to the formation of individual and collective *habitus* for choice making and thus affects the life chances of young individuals.

Conclusion

Education is deeply affected by intrinsic inequalities that are present in society which relate to the unequal distribution of various resources. Outside the family there are social dynamics and institutions that limit the opportunities of some families to take advantage of what the educational system has to offer. The social capital of the family, in the form of social networks and connections can provide the vital context for the educational credentials to be exchanged in the labour market for social positions. But these social networks have differential consequences for different families. This is happening for two reasons: (a) Social capital is unequally distributed among families in different social classes (b) The lack of social capital is dealt with more effectively by the middle classes in the sense that they have the possibility to adopt compensatory measures (by mobilising their cultural and financial capital) whereas families from lower classes do not have similar options to consider. The lack of social connections and networks compromises some students' ambitions and the aspirations that they may have for future educational plans.

Throughout the past century the use of social connections and networks has gone through many stages and developed accordingly. The 'ethos' of using social networks and connections to achieve social objectives has been deeply embedded in the cultural identity of many Greek Cypriots and it appears that they would continue to seek its utility in the short-term future. There is strong resistance, however, towards such practices by people who call for modern and rational practices to replace this traditional and anachronistic practice. These people, for instance, support that young people should aim for their preferred positions with the determining criterion being 'who they are' and not 'who they know'.¹⁷ In this way young individuals and their families from all social backgrounds will have the confidence that would allow them to make choices within extended 'horizons for action'. This would inevitably lead to the better utilisation of the resource that many regard as the primary source of prosperity for a country with limited natural resources: its people.

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Notes

- ¹ When reference to Cyprus is made we will refer to the Republic of Cyprus and the Greek Cypriot community of the island. Since the Turkish invasion and occupation of the northern part of the country (1974) the two communities of the island have been forced to live separately. One hopes that the forthcoming entrance of Cyprus to the EU (May 2004) would prove to be a step towards the reunification of the island thus allowing future research to include the Cypriot population as a whole.
- ² The institution of the family in its 'traditional' form is considered to be very cohesive. This was shown in the empirical part of a PhD study whereby in a sample of 404 families 94% consisted of families where both parents were present in the household (Vryonides, 2003).
- ³ The ability to cope and make use of the educational system is viewed in sociological rather than psychological terms.
- ⁴ Structural elements constitute the cultural and social environments within which individuals are located.
- ⁵ *Rusfeti* comes from the Turkish word 'rusvet' which means the favourable treatment by a ruling party of its supporters/clients in exchange for the clients' support or services.
- ⁶ This is something that was noted by Governor Storrs who was in office from 1926 to 1932 in his report of the Legislative Council (Loizos, 1977, p.116).
- ⁷ For a detailed analysis on the issue of the Greek Cypriot elite- its function and legitimisation see Choisi (1995).
- ⁸ Among other measures that the British took to limit the clientelistic relationships based on money lending was the establishment in 1940 of a 'Dept Settlement Board' and 'Rural Debtors Courts' which enforced fairer interest rates on old debts. For a detailed analysis of clientelism under the British rule see Faustman (1998).
- ⁹ After 1941 the restrictions in political liberties imposed following the 1931 uprising began to relax.
- ¹⁰ EOKA, (Ethniki Organosi Kypriou Agoniston = National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) was the nationalist organization that carried out the anti-colonial struggle from 1955 to 1959.
- ¹¹ Of course in the case of Cyprus it is widely accepted that these profits for the EOKA members came without being the initial goal of EOKA members. The primary goal of the EOKA movement was ENOSIS (Union of Cyprus with Greece).
- ¹² This is a title being used even today 40 years after the end of that struggle.
- ¹³ Some would argue that the label 'European' replaced the label 'English' although it has to be said that for many middle class people the two are inseparable as to most Cypriots the most familiar impression of Europe relates directly to Britain, possibly because of the colonial legacy and the special ties that have been retained with the former colonial ruler or to the use/adherence of British symbols and practices as distinction signs. This must be seen within the context of what has been often characterized as Anglophilia of a part of the middle class, which regards everything English as superior. Part of this may be attributed to the fact that many innovations and institutions were often 'transplanted' into Cyprus from the West often, as Attalides (1993) remarks, without proper social critique 'imposing' thus an impression that their legitimacy/superiority lies in their origin

(England/Europe). Also, Argyrou (1993, pp.171-183) argues that Modernity, Europe and the West have emerged as the primary idioms through which a series of relations of symbolic domination have become legitimized in Cypriot society.

- 14 Examples include a variety of issues affecting many aspects of everyday life, from these of public transport, to parking practices, environmental issues and many more.
- 15 Under the Treaty of Accession signed in Athens on April 16th 2003, 10 European countries including Cyprus will become members of the EU on May 1st 2004.
- 16 There were, of course, those who were advocating for one position but in practice doing the opposite.
- 17 The leading expression of this approach has been passionately advocated by the newly elected president of the country.

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CAN CLUSTERS THEORY HELP REALIZE CYPRUS'S DESIRE TO DEVELOP CENTRES OF EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE?

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Abstract – *This paper aims at exploring the various factors which could play a synergic role in the formation of a cluster system to support the development of higher education services as a competitive business endeavour. It proposes that Porter's cluster dynamics might be applied to education in Cyprus in order that it might grow a regionally competitive sector within the Region. This is a goal set out in the Government's Strategic Development Plan (1999-2003) and is brought into clearer focus with the accession of Cyprus to the EU in May 2004. Indicative evidence of clustering is presented based on the UK's Research Assessment Exercise and policy issues are discussed for the Cyprus Government.*

Introduction

This paper considers the economic notion of clusters as proposed by Porter (1998) has relevance if higher education is the subject of the clustering rather than a contributor to an industrial cluster. We develop such an idea, tentatively, as a potential way of realising the economic and political goals of Cyprus to be a centre for higher education in its region (Strategic Development Plan 1999-2003). This development of the cluster concept is discussed within the wider context of clusters and their growth and sustainability but we acknowledge that we are only viewing education through one lens and ignoring, only for the purposes of this paper, discussion on higher education from a humanistic, liberal or existentialist perspective.

The paper discusses the potential to create compatible government initiatives to encourage educational clusters as identified by Porter's analysis. This creates supplemental problems of defining the nature of tertiary education, the notion of States' involvement in education and the role of private education. In the Cyprus context this is discussed against the heritage of Greek politicised higher education and the development of an educational region able to support the competitiveness of the European Union.

The paper has four sections. In the first, Cyprus's higher education history and current situation is considered. In the second we consider how the development of

a higher education cluster might be facilitated and the conditions for the flourishing of an educational cluster where education itself is the competitive value-added outcome of the cluster. The third section offers indicative statistical support for our proposition based on UK's Research Assessment Exercise (REA). The fourth section considers the wider implications of the paper with regard to the major elements and factors of a cluster relevant to Cypriot higher education system.

Until relatively recently Cyprus has had a tradition of educating its young people in higher institutions outside the country; predominantly in Greece and the UK. The Island now has a well-regarded State university (University of Cyprus) in the south and a number of private higher education colleges and universities throughout the Island. In the occupied North the growth in higher education provision has been through private institutions with considerable encouragement from the government of Turkey. However, things are changing for Cyprus. The country's accession into the EU is agreed and negotiations on UN sponsored settlement proposals are under consideration. Although these issues are of international importance we take a more myopic view of the changes and focus on how a unified Republic of Cyprus might be able to build a cluster of higher education excellence.

Cypriot higher education

Cypriots like, or at least attend, higher education.

The current structure of the higher education sector is summarized in the Government booklet, 'Higher Education in Cyprus'. The central role is given to the Department of Higher and Tertiary Education within the Ministry of Education and Culture. This Department covers registration, supervision and accreditation of all the private institutions and certain aspects of the University of Cyprus¹ and, in association with appropriate other ministries, the public institutions of non-university higher education. This structure, however, is radically changing in preparation for Cyprus's accession to the EU. The government has already approved two new universities – the University of Applied Sciences and Arts and an Open University – and accreditation criteria have been devised to turn some of the existing private institutions into universities. The Greek Cypriot desire for higher education seems to be as much driven by intrinsic desires for higher studies as well as an instrumentality of employability (Menon, 1997). This has led to a mismatch of graduate skills with labour needs, resulting in an over-supply of graduates.

In the South the demand for higher education has risen considerably over the last 20 years and at present over 60% of all secondary school leavers continue in post-secondary education (Department of Statistics and Research, 1999). This figure is based on a 130% increase in student numbers in tertiary education from 1970/

71 to 1998/99. The local market of secondary school students is static and numbers about 8,000 in the Republic. Although this demand is larger than the State can accommodate it has led to the development of an effective private sector which, since the 1970s has had more students than the public sectors mainly vocational provision (Koyzis, 1989). This influenced special measures to be introduced in 1987 to accredit private institutions, which eventually ensured the recognition of higher education programmes, by the Government of Cyprus. The three major private colleges in Cyprus have each experienced increased numbers as the Government legitimized them by offering grants to students on their recognized programmes. This leaves the private colleges to fight for a market share in a biased market where support from the government confers status on an institution. In this paper, we will not be making the case for private versus public institutions in this paper but we follow Zumeta (1992) who, when referring to the USA, concludes that non-profit higher education 'is valuable to the nation.'

The Republic's policy toward foreign students entering their higher education institutions seems to be a peculiarity in that it makes entry difficult for students and also inhibits them working during their studies. Notwithstanding the signing by Cyprus of the Bologna Declaration, its participation in the European Research Area and its emphasis on transferability, a coherent strategy to facilitate students attending Cypriot tertiary education is yet to emerge. This lack of governmental coherence runs contrary to the developments in France, UK, Germany and many other EU member states who have recognized the importance of competitive positioning of their national education systems. Haug & Tauch (2001) have noted, 'the issue of competitiveness is seen as an important priority for an amazingly high number of countries.'

In the North the infrastructure is similar to that in the Republic. Each has a predominant university; in the south is the University of Cyprus and in the North it is the Eastern Mediterranean University that is also the largest, accounting for nearly 50% of all students. The remaining six universities tend to specialise; all teach in English. The number of Turkish Cypriot students pursuing higher education has steadily increased since 1979. Then, only just over 100 Turkish Cypriots attended university in the North. The number today is over 9,000, and mirrors that in the Republic. In 2001/02 the percentage of Turkish Cypriot students studying in the North was about 36% of the total student population. Foreign students account for 7%, and the remaining 57% are Turkish. The total number of students studying in the North is nearly 26,000 and students from 33 countries attend the universities there. Overseas students come mostly from Turkey, and other Middle East countries. Most of the universities offer graduate studies leading to master and doctoral degrees.

As Koyzis (1997) indicates, European accession and the inevitable harmonizing within the European *aquis communautaire* will mean that the higher education sector

will have to examine these realities, which may result in repositioning the roles of the public and private providers. The prevailing argument is that higher education should be allowed to develop along the lines of free market pressures, which embraces the private as well as the public sector providers of higher education (although there appears to be opposition by some of those in significant positions of authority). This poses a dilemma for those private organizations that want to pursue university status, for they need the legitimacy of university status to compete both internally and internationally.

International competitiveness through clusters

Education has value. This might be intrinsic and/or in the more commercial models of education extrinsic accounted for in terms of human capital and takes the form of abilities and skills that lead to increased production and economic growth (Stiglitz, 1999). A formal higher education is becoming a prerequisite for an increasing number of careers and occupations and because of this educational institutions are responding to a shift from a supply-driven to a demand-driven market. As Meyer suggests given a, 'dramatic increase in knowledge-rich companies, higher education institutions no longer enjoy the quasi-monopolistic position of the past' (2002, p.549). The extrinsic human capital link has become a justification for the expansion of higher education and produced an extensive literature that makes variously claims as to the strength of the link between higher education and productivity and higher wages (Blundell *et al.*, 2001; Kane & Rouse, 1995; Trostel *et al.*, 2001). A comprehensive higher education review is that of Chevalier *et al.* (2002). For our study we adopted the human capital model in our discussion of higher education for it provides the transfer medium to discuss clusters in education and clusters in industry. Our concern here is not the intrinsic value of higher education, which we support, but how institutions of higher education could better provide students in national, regional and global markets with a wage incremental definition of the worth of their education resulting from attendance at certain higher education institutions. The discourse used is that of the economists where human capital is the consequence and justification of state investment and capital accrued is reflected in the wages it can attract. We will assume this perfect relation in our discussion and the type of education it would encourage. However, we recognize that wages fail to reflect the full value of the capital accrued for it fails to reflect the full extent of the benefit which firms enjoy when the workers have a higher education degree (Chevalier *et al.*, 2002). This surplus value accrues to firms often for no financial cost or obligation and is, in our view, a scandal of state education that is avoided in private institutions.

The case for treating higher education as a business is evident as state systems embrace managerialism and performativity that have become the dominant educational business philosophy (Readings, 1996; Ortmann, 2001). This is currently illustrated in the case made by the UK Government in their recent White Paper *The Future of Higher Education* (2003). In particular, the emphasis is on research excellence leading to viable economic returns development through elite 6* research departments. It is also seen in the emerging models of corporate universities for instance (El-Tannir, 2002; Prince & Stewart, 2002), which might well be a form of such higher educational institutions as will be the private universities built on a derivation of the Humboldt model. More generally, we see higher education responding in ways close to Latchem & Hanna's (2001) suggestion that alongside the traditional universities growth will include institutions which are for-profit, adult-centered universities (e.g. *Phoenix*), distance-based universities (*Open*), corporate universities (*McDonalds*), university/industry strategic alliances (*Cambridge/Microsoft*), competency-based universities (teacher training in the UK) and global multinational universities (*Universitas 21*).

Many authors from the early studies of Marshall to Porter have studied industrial clusters. Many of these studies provide ample testimony to the importance of regional and national concentrations of particular industries and the link between them, innovation and growth. The mechanisms that give rise to clusters have been elegantly discussed by Porter in his books and papers (e.g. 1990, 1998a, 1998b) where he has suggested a paradigm for national competitive advantage which differs from that grounded in the economic philosophies of Smith and Ricardo. Although his analytic work is not without its critics (O'Shaughnessy, 1996) its application is still having an impact (see Jasmuddin, 2001; Neven & Dröge, 2001). Neven & Dröge (2001) compared the Porter's Diamond with two competing paradigms of flexible specialization (Piore & Sable, 1984) and collective efficiency (Schmitz, 1995). They conclude specifically, because of the dynamic nature of the Porter model, that it is the more robust of the two models to explain not only industrialized nationals but also the dynamic of developing nations. We thus adopt it, if not uncritically, here.

Central to its application is the notion of clusters and their productivity. Porter himself claims his articulation of this phenomenon had immediate impact on academics and practitioners (Aisner, 2002). He goes further to claim that its flexibility is the crucial ingredient and that the proximity of clusters allows this flexibility without formal ownership or legal relationships. Moreover, they foster the more productive use of inputs that requires continuous innovation and it is here that the environment outside the innovative company is important. The impact of globalization seems to have little impact on the benefits of location clustering (Porter, 1998). Clusters are 'geographic concentrations of interconnected companies

and institutions in a particular field. Clusters encompass an array of linked industrial and other entities important to competition. These include, for example, suppliers of specialized inputs such as components, machinery and services, and the providers of specialized infrastructure' (1998, p.78). For our purposes we will concentrate on the three ways in which clusters affect competition: by increasing the productivity of companies based in the area; by driving the direction and pace of innovation which is linked to productivity growth; and by stimulating the formation of new businesses, which expands the strength of the cluster. There is further evidence of the importance of clusters in a regional context. In a recent article Bergman (2002) presents some tentative data that indicates that clusters might 'play key supplemental roles in weak regions, providing important services, scale-effects and synergy found lacking in the region'. However he cautions, 'the value of cluster supplement to firms may diminish as regions develop, advance and agglomerate naturally such that adherence to a cluster may inhibit firms from becoming valuable members of a complex and sustainable region' (Bergman, 2002, p.19).

To summarize, the Porter model consists of four core determinants of a nation's competitive advantage. These determinants are:

1. The factors conditions – specifically specialized factors of production such as skilled labour (and hence education), capital and infrastructure;
2. Demand conditions – sophisticated and demanding domestic market which fuels competitively robust organizations;
3. The presence and/or absence of supporting industries where the forces of competition encourage survival and sustainability through an organization's creative innovative approach to market demand; and,
4. The national character of the firm strategy, structure and rivalry – career opportunities, innovative pressures and flexibility of regulation and capital markets.

Statistical analysis of the UK's Research Assessment Exercise with partial emphasis on Business and Management Studies

Some form of clustering is already evident in universities. It is not uncommon for departments within universities to attract well-qualified research staff to work with others of similar status in their field. This might encourage growth in certain programmatic activities (research, doctoral programmes, university-corporate centres, and so on) but it is done within institutions that might be geographically distant. It is the students who have to travel to enjoy the benefits of such innovation. The introduction of league tables in the USA and the UK not only direct student

application but also highlight centres of excellence in particular universities. The centres of excellence and their competitiveness are encouraged by the State through the REA and this tends to lead to grouping within universities, intra-clustering, whilst the clustering effect of increased competitiveness through innovation is difficult to detect. If we look at the RAE for UK higher education announced in 2001 (the example is based on the selected 5*² departments which applies to 11 % (up from 6% in the previous study, 1996) of 2001 submissions in the 69 subject areas used in the REA by higher education institutions in the UK, (<http://195.194.167.103/Result/all/all.xls>). The results reveal high quality research in a large number of institutions: 61 institutions have one or more 5* rated departments, and 96 have a department rated 5. A total of 173 institutions took part in the 2001 RAE. However, the concentration of these grades is within relatively few universities, with the majority receiving less than 5.

They also reveal that over 20% of 5* academics are concentrated in London and nearly 45% in the Oxford, Cambridge London triangle. From the HCFCE³ data only six universities secure 10 or more departments with the 5* ranking. These are Cambridge, Oxford, Imperial, UCL, Kings Colleges (London), Manchester and Bristol and Birmingham. Of these Bristol is geographically local to Bath and the University of West of England but their combined 5* rating does not reach that of Oxford or Cambridge. In Birmingham a number of universities are grouped around the city, with Warwick responding well but with little impact on the Aston and the modern universities of Coventry and Wolverhampton. In the North West the grouping of Manchester UMIST Salford and Metropolitan all of which can boost 5* departments, might indicate clusters in the same way as London.

For the purpose of our project we selected from the 1996 and 2001 Research Assessment Exercise only Business and Management Studies (Unit 43) where 70 English universities rankings were considered. These universities were separated into two groups, on the criterion of regional proximity, with group 1 consisting of 13 universities: the London School of Economics, the University of Greenwich, the University of North London, Kingston University, the South Bank University, Birkbeck College, the City University, the Imperial College, London Guildhall University, Brunel University, Kings College, the London Business School, East London University. The remaining 57 universities were placed in group 2 and were used as the control group. Details of the Data Processing are shown in Appendix A.

As far as the independent sample t-test is concerned the *p*-value was 0.047, therefore the null hypothesis was rejected in favour of the alternative at the 5% level of significance. That is, the two mean improvement scores are unequal. Looking at the sample statistics, we observe a mean improvement score of 0.6044 for the London group and 0.1003 for the control group. Also, the raw difference

for the London group is 1.08 and for the control group 0.61. Note that the Levene's test for the equality of variances was not significant at the 5% level (p -value = 0.158) therefore the t-test was performed under the assumption of equal variances, thus making the test more powerful.

The 13 universities in the London area form a cluster with respect to improvement in the assessment of business and management studies. This is evident from the result of the independent sample t-test above. That is, the sample mean improvement score for the London group is 0.6044, much higher than the sample mean improvement score for the remaining universities, which is 0.1003. Another major indication that the 13 London universities may form a cluster with respect to the RAE assessment is that the coefficient of variation of their sample improvement score is 117% much lower than the coefficient of variation in the control group (830%). The high coefficient of variation in the control group may be an indication that within these 57 universities there may be one or more regional clusters. We conclude, albeit tentatively, that a cluster effect has benefits all the universities within the geographic are of London. We do not offer a reason for this and would point to the need for more information in this area.

How might this be done?

To be energized, the 'cluster effect' requires the interaction of a number of factors and the facilitation from a series of relevant infrastructural support measurers.

Our proposal is that a cluster of higher education institutions designed to develop human capital in these terms would create competitive advantage for the institutions that were clustered at a speed faster than more traditional development based on servicing geographic populations. The flexibility to act in such a way and with such a restricted notion of higher education leads, we believe, to clustering of private rather than a state controlled system.⁴

We, propose, therefore, if cluster-like characteristics are to be deliberately constructed, quickly, they are most likely to be found amongst private and technologically-orientated institutions⁵ that are freer to seize and deploy assets than mass public universities, which are often obliged to locate and expand in peripheral areas in order to service geographic areas.

We acknowledge that this is a controversial position for some European countries although centrally not for some of the new members (Poland and Czech Republic for instance) where private education has helped achieve economic and education goals. However we suggest that current EU guidelines are based on the preservation of what is good about State education in a monopolistic environment

but applied in a market environment. For instance the role of quality assurance is not left to the market but to the interventions of State bodies. The Council of Europe has made provision for private education under Recommendation No R (97) 1 where private higher education is defined as:

‘Institutions set up entirely or largely outside the existing public system of higher education, regardless of the legal status or personality of their founders. It does not refer to established institutions of a partly private-law character which are in practice already integrated within the national higher education system from the point of view of recognition, funding and where appropriate evaluation.’ (1997).

The European Council of Ministers offers guidance. They suggest that the procedure for the approval of private higher education institution should be guided by the following criteria:

1. The legal protection of terms such as university and academic titles;
2. Criteria for the recognition of private institutions of higher education and their qualifications;
3. Quality Assurance;
4. Authorization of foreign institutions and programmes;
5. Language to be used for qualifications; and
6. Exchange of relevant information.

The law of the specific country in which the institution is created of course governs all of these recommendations. So it is the specific law that Cyprus must address so as to encourage high quality private institutions. It must also attend to making the environment more receptive to private institutions and do this without lowering the reputation of qualified students from the Island. If it does so then by combining the beneficial effects predicted by Stiglitz to be gained from ‘pluralism and competition, often associated with openness’ (1999, p.16), innovation and the growth of knowledge will be encouraged and clustering might achieve the goals of the government.

Given that the structural objection to private and corporate higher education can be resolved we believe the follow requirements for the case of the promotion of tertiary education services in Cyprus could be itemised as follows:

- a) *The operation of a demand-supply chain of services to the main competitors in the education business game.*

Such services, which can be linked through a vertically integrated flow, could relate to: the availability of education equipment, of library services, the availability

of academic texts, of scientific and professional magazines, the access to an efficient system of telecommunications and of computerized information, to the supply of furniture and other campus equipment, to printing and photocopying services, to student leisure facilities, to housing for students and faculty, to good international travel links etc.

b) The presence of a creative competition among the main tertiary education institutions that would energize the demand-supply chain and improve its efficiency and responsiveness.

The catalytic effect of the competition could be enhanced by the presence of both public and private Colleges-Universities but, more so, by the presence of local and foreign sponsored private competitors whose survival and growth could be related to the existence of a cost-effective supply chain.

c) The existence of a characteristic(s) economic/business/social activity which could act as a cradle for the uniqueness of the intended major education enterprise of the cluster system

Teaching and research activities pursued by higher education institutions could acquire a special relevance by reference to the uniqueness of the specific economic/business/socio-political environment within which they operate. For example, Cyprus with its reliance on a flourishing tourist industry, its strong financial and accounting sectors and its geopolitical positioning in an area which is not only a good potential source of students, but which is also characterised by conflict and survival could utilise these attributes through the introduction of special courses for conflict resolution and peace studies. These are examples upon which Cyprus could build a niche and its higher education reputation. Although, as Porter point out, these attribute are not a necessary prerequisite for successful clustering they could form the basis of competitiveness in the delivery of educational service to the region and beyond.

d) The provision of state provided support services and monitory/quality control systems.

Facilities such as tax incentives that would encourage a ‘cooperate to compete’ business mentality among the education providers, the granting of student visas (including summer-work permits), the granting of work permits to visiting and other faculty, the operation of funding schemes for scholarships, for research and for student loans etc. would be some of the expected support services by the state. Other state involvement could be the operation of an accreditation system and of appropriate quality controls as well as the sponsoring of national campaigns to promote the education services.

e) *The existence of a 'friendly' public opinion about the social benefits to be derived by these business activities.*

The consequential effects of a growth in educational service might be of public concern, particularly could be the increased number of students, both local and overseas, which could cause an appreciable impact on the housing supply / cost of rentals as well as on the social customs. There are issues upon which the local population might tend to take a negative view under certain circumstances. Other novel influences on the public might be the difficulty of accepting the practical manifestations of the academic freedom in the search for truth, especially when the society takes a parochial view of what is right and what is wrong. Public opinion-formers would have an important role to play in the successful promotion of schemes for the development of the education services sector.

Conclusions

Cyprus has a geo-political advantage, has good climatic conditions, has a high level of English competency but lacks a reputation for higher education and has no natural competences in the provision of higher educational disciplines (say in tourism), and limited state funds. If it is to achieve its goal of educational excellence (and the Kelly report of 2002 shows the economic advantages of doing so) it will have to look to its own infrastructure to support new, corporate, specialist universities focused on the region and find ways of recognizing them which retains the international concept of the term universities.

There have been a number of recent studies (Collins, 2001; Duguet & Greenan, 1997) which show that clustering of firms near to universities are amongst the key indicators of success for industrial innovation but we have found little written evidence where education is the purpose of the cluster of firms rather than a concentration in one. To be able to concentrate in the sense of the new 6th research centres as suggested in the UK's White Paper on higher education based upon previous organic growth is unlikely to be an option to grow educational excellence in Cyprus. It does not have the critical mass, resources or the history to do so. However, the analysis we have undertaken makes, we believe, an interesting argument for the case of educational clusters as a viable strategy for the pursuit of Cyprus's stated goal of developing, within its domain, centres of educational excellence. Although we only provide indicative arguments and these mainly grounded in the Cyprus, we believe there is sufficient equity in our argument to warrant further investigation and research.

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Notes

1. The character of the university is international rather than Greek for, as Persianis (1999) observes, a university after the Greek model would be almost redundant for Greek Cypriots who could easily attend universities in Greece.
2. 5* = Quality that equates to attainable levels of international excellence in more than half of the research activity submitted and attainable levels of national excellence in the remainder (REA definitions).
3. This is now held on the HERO website.
4. We recognise the implications of state policy on private college as suggested by Thompson & Zumeta (2001) and Zoghi (2003) and deal with them in the final section of the paper.
5. This insight was offered in a private correspondence with Professor Bergman.
6. As proposed in the UK government's White Paper *The Future of Higher Education* (2003).

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Appendix A

Data Processing

In the RAE the 70 universities were rated as 1, 2, 3a, 3b, 4, 5 and 5*. These scores were recoded from a low of 1 to a high of 7 for each year. Their score in 1996 was subtracted from their score in 2001 and the raw difference was observed. This raw difference along with their potential for improving their 1996 score was combined to compute the 'improvement score' for each university as shown in equation (1) below:

$$(1) \text{ Score of improvement} = \text{raw difference} - (7 - \text{score in 1996}) \div 7.$$

Note that the division by 7 was necessary in order to standardize the effect of potential for improvement.

For example, if a university had a raw difference of -1, it was penalized by more negative decimal points if the score in 1996 was lower since the potential (room) for improvement was higher thus there was missed opportunity.

If the raw difference for a university was 0, then a university with a 1996 score of 1 received a score of for improvement, one with a 1996 score of 2 received a score of for improvement etc. That is the more the space for opportunity the higher the penalty. Finally a university with a 1996 score of 7 received a score of 0 for improvement, thus not being penalized at all for not improving, as there was no room to do so.

On the other hand, all universities that had a positive raw difference achieve a positive improvement score. For example, if a university had a raw difference of +1 with a 1996 score of 2 it was rewarded with an improvement score of, one with a 1996 score of 3 with, etc. Thus the higher the score in 1996, the lower the room for improvement hence the higher the reward.

Table I below presents the effect of equation (1) for computing the standardized improvement score inside each cell. Only the cases that appear in the data are mentioned.

TABLE 1: Standardized Improvement Score

Score in 1996	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	-0.857	0.143	1.143	2.143			
2	-1.714	-0.714	0.286	1.286	2.286		
3			-0.571	0.429	1.429		
4			-1.429	-0.429	0.571		
5					-0.286	0.714	
6					-1.143	-0.143	0.857
7						-1	0

Hypothesis testing was performed on the improvement score. Let μ_1 be the population mean for the improvement score of the universities constituting the London group. Let μ_2 be the population mean for the improvement score of the universities constituting the control group. Then we test $\mu_1 = \mu_2$ versus $\mu_1 \neq \mu_2$. That is, under the null hypothesis, the mean improvement score of the two groups are equal, and unequal under the alternative. The independent samples t-test will be used at the 5% level of significance.

In order to use this test the data sets of the two groups should follow (approximately) the normal distribution. Indeed individual tests of normality for the data in the two groups showed that the assumption of normality was not rejected. Specifically, for cluster 1, since the sample size, the Shapiro-Wilk test was used. The p -value for this test was 0.527, therefore the assumption of normality was not rejected. In the control group, therefore the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was used. The p -value for this test was > 0.2 hence the assumption of normality is not rejected at the 5% level of significance.



THE IMPACT OF SUPERVISING TEACHERS: ARE THEY REALLY COMPETENT IN PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO TEACHER CANDIDATES' PROFESSIONAL GROWTH? REFLECTIONS FROM TURKEY

ERCAN KIRAZ

Abstract – *This study investigates how teacher candidates assess their supervising teachers' supervisory competence in Turkey. Through a questionnaire and an interview schedule specifically developed for this study, teacher candidates were asked to assess their supervising teachers' competence in terms of preparation for supervision, instructional planning and reflection, and collegial supervision and effective mentoring. Data were gathered from 690 teacher candidates, who went through practice teaching in their last year in college. The results indicated that most teacher candidates rated their supervising teachers as 'poor' or 'partially competent.' Although no main difference was found between supervising teachers' competence in 'preparation for supervision,' and in 'collegial supervision and mentoring,' supervising teachers were deemed to be less competent in 'instructional planning and reflection.' Results showed that supervising teachers need to understand their role and responsibilities to demonstrate better supervisory skills for an effective practicum.*

Introduction

The improvement of pre-service teacher education has been embraced by reformist educators all over the world. Hence, many professional organizations such as the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE), the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU), and groups such as the Holmes Group, the National Network for Educational Renewal, Project 30, and the Renaissance Group, have issued influential reports making a case for, and pointing the way to, the improvement of teacher education. In addition to these reports, other countries have made efforts to reform their teacher education programmes. In 1989, for instance, France initiated an important teacher education reform (Bonnet, 1996). Turkey too has restructured its teacher education programmes through the launch of a Pre-service Teacher Education Project (PTEP) in the mid-1990s.

The professional growth of teacher candidates has been an important aspect of many of these reform movements. Almost all of the reports mentioned above

highlight the importance of the field practicum. Most also express the conviction that school-university partnerships are essential for the organisation of satisfactory internship experiences. For this reason, the Holmes Group (1990) emphasized establishing professional development schools in which university faculty and supervising teachers work in a collaborative manner for better-educated professionals in the field of education. On their part, national groups have identified the practicum period as one of the most important components of teacher education (Arnold, 1995; Carnegie Forum's Task force, 1986; Kettle & Sellars, 1996; Murray, 1986). The Carnegie Forum, for instance, proposed that the creation of professional development schools infuses teacher education with a reflective approach to teaching. Though the concept of school-university partnership, with a significant emphasis on school experience, has been around for many years, it has been heavily criticized due to its foundations in an apprenticeship model, and for the lack of a theoretical base (Guyton & McIntry, 1990; Shantz, 1995). The reason for this critique is related to both teacher education institutions and cooperating schools. That is, while teacher education institutions tend to be innovative in their approach to student teaching programs, and make efforts to improve the prospective teachers' vocational portfolio, cooperating schools still struggle with their assignment of providing effective supervision for student teachers. Shantz (1995, p. 339) in fact asks:

'What is the purpose of preservice education programs? Should they be developed to perpetuate the current system and utilize the field experience as an apprenticeship where preservice students imitate their cooperating teachers, or should they be programs that teach and encourage students to think beyond the present and be innovative? Many faculties of education design curricula that espouse new and innovative methodology and then place students in field experience situations that are traditional in nature. In some cases the preservice student can become the victim trying to satisfy both the cooperating teacher and the faculty instructor.'

Clearly, the traditional role of supervising teachers should undergo major change. Many supervising teachers who are expected to take on the role of a coach or a mentor rely on craft-centred traditional approaches that favour practicing and delivering congruent with their own. Levine (1992) urges that 'the traditional view of teaching includes a linear relationship between knowledge and practice, in which knowledge precedes practice and the practitioner's role is limited to being either a user of research or the subject of it' (quoted in Darling-Hammond, Bullmaster & Cobb, 1996, p. 102). That is, in some practicum settings, though the knowledge of supervising teachers in real teaching serves as an important benefit for the teacher candidate, in many instances, supervising teachers do not realize

the real value of the teacher candidate's professional knowledge. Hence, for the teacher candidates the practice becomes artificial and they try to satisfy the supervising teacher instead.

Supervising teachers might have a strong influence on student teachers' professional development, but the Kettle & Sellars' study (1996) reported that there was no evidence to suggest that supervising teachers were encouraging students to consider the broader ramifications of their field experiences.

Researchers in the field frequently discuss the importance of effective supervision or mentoring during practicum and the role of classroom teachers in this process. Therefore, placement of teacher candidates in schools, and selection of teachers with mentoring ability are important issues that require close attention.

Today, most institutions require certain criteria for teachers to serve as mentors. But as Phillips & Baggett (2000) stated, most institutions use the requirements as mere guidelines. It is important to choose mentor teachers 'who share the institution's philosophic and pedagogic goals' instead of merely making a random selection (Lemlech, 1995, p. 210). Interestingly, in most of the cases, supervising teachers are chosen on the basis of the recommendation of school administrators. Purkey (1995) criticizes such a selection method, stating that, for school administrators, the 'concept of a *good* teacher may be essentially one who maintains good discipline and control, and not one who is student centred' (p. 14). Theoretically, teacher education institutions should select classroom teachers based on their expertise and ability to mentor or guide a novice teacher. However, in reality, many teacher education institutions cede this privilege to the cooperating school districts. Although initial contacts may be made with public schools, many school districts do not communicate with participating schools or supervising teachers until the day of the student teachers' arrival for the student teaching (Beebe & Margerison, 1995).

The criteria for the selection of the supervising teacher is unquestionably of great importance for the professional growth of the student teachers. Instead of selecting supervising teachers whose times and locations are considered as convenient to the teacher education program, the method of selecting supervising teacher should be based on promoting expertise and development opportunities for student teachers. Lemlech (1995, p.211) made a set of suggestions for the selection of supervising teachers:

'Select experienced teachers who either model the behaviors consonant with the university teacher education program or who are considered *flexible* in their teaching style so that student teachers can practice what they are learning...Verify that the room environment arranged by the teacher and the teacher's classroom management skills are appropriate for new teachers to experience. The master teacher should *never* be selected

without a previsit to validate the aforementioned and to confirm the teacher's interest in preservice education. University based educators should not rely on school district placement of the student teachers; teacher education and the student teachers are the university's responsibility.'

Lemlech (1995) raises an important issue for the appropriate selection of supervising teachers. Among the many caveats to keep in mind, Lemlech highlights the following: What sorts of supervisory help do teacher candidates need? What type of supervisory skills should supervising teachers carry? The literature indicates that teacher candidates require supervisory help in different segments of the practicum. Tomlinson (1998) and Lemlech (1995) define the areas of supervisory need and propose a shift from the traditional supervisory role of the classroom teacher to more collegial roles. They argue that most teachers tend to focus on traditional aspects of supervision. However, Tomlinson (1998) indicates that teacher candidates need supervisory assistance in lesson planning-implementing, in the analysis of teaching, in reflecting before, during and after teaching, and in providing appropriate feedback. Another important aspect of supervision is whether the supervising teacher possesses the necessary skills in effective supervision. Lemlech (1995) states that, in the traditional way of supervision, many teachers assume a role similar to that of evaluators. However, collegial supervision creates positive relationships and opportunity for mutual exchange of perceptions and expertise.

As the world is rapidly shifting toward the development of all aspects of teacher education, Turkey, too, has also felt the need to restructure its teacher education institutions and licensing requirements. The late 1990s became the age of transformation or reform in the Turkish teacher education system. Full promulgation of the Basic Education Law in 1997 extended compulsory education to eight years nationwide, and, as a consequence, the universities felt obliged to increase their capacity to train more primary school teachers (for detailed information on pre-service teacher training reform in Turkey, see Simsek & Yildirim, 2001). Increasing the number of teacher candidates in Turkish universities resulted in poorer quality in teacher training.

Some brief information may be useful to further explain the pressure on Turkey to attend to the quantitative aspect in teacher education. According to data gathered from the Ministry of National Education (MONE), the total number of students in all teacher education programs in Turkey in the academic year 2001-2002 was 197,643, and of the total 53,695 fourth-year-students were sent to schools for practice teaching (MONE, 2002). This figure is expected to increase in the coming years.

Both quality and quantity issues led Higher Education Council to restructure the existing teacher education system. Within the restructuring process that took

place in 1997, two-semester school experience and one-semester school practice – both of which prioritize knowledge application at school site – were two major changes initiated in teacher training institutions.

Today the main emphasis on teacher education in Turkey is educating prospective teachers for K through 8 grades and there is a substantial focus on the teaching practicum. As it was stated earlier, prospective teachers need a great deal of support and assistance from their supervising teachers during the practicum period. Although school practice is considered an essential component of pre-service education in Turkey, educators still struggle to provide adequate pre-service education for all due to the great number of prospective teachers at the universities. Placing large numbers of student teachers in practice schools and assigning them with supervising teachers who have a clear understanding of the role of the practicum are difficult tasks for many teacher education institutions. In addition to the quantity issue is another important matter, namely whether the supervising teachers are competent enough to accept the responsibility of facilitating the professional development of teacher candidates.

The focus of this particular study is indeed an investigation into the extent to which supervising teachers in Turkey fulfil their supervisory duty, from the perspective of teacher candidates. In line with the relevant literature on this area of study, the supervising teachers' role completion is assessed in relation to three domains: initial preparation, instructional planning, and collegial conduct. The following research questions guided this study:

- How do teacher candidates assess their supervising teachers' initial preparation for effective supervision?
- How do teacher candidates perceive their supervising teachers' competency in relation to instructional planning and reflection?
- How do teacher candidates evaluate their supervising teachers' collegial conduct in relation to promoting effective supervision?
- What are other factors that affect competence in supervision?

Method

To answer the research questions in this study, both qualitative and quantitative research approaches were used. The investigator was interested in getting opinions of a diverse group of individuals who are currently affiliated with the field experiences and have solid experiences with practicum. Miles & Huberman (1994) suggest that a triangulation of various types of qualitative instrumentation be used to validate data and to provide rich descriptions of the study group.

Therefore, the researcher personally becomes situated in the subjects' natural setting to be able to understand the nature of the practicum and its effects on teacher education.

The initial data were gathered through qualitative techniques from thirty teacher candidates. Then, the qualitative data were analyzed and the results were used to develop an instrument. The aim was to reach a larger population and to triangulate quantitative findings with the qualitative ones.

Participants

Participants were teacher candidates selected as convenience sample from four leading teacher education institutions, all of which are in the capital city, namely Ankara University, Hacettepe University, Gazi University, and Middle East Technical University. Teacher candidates were in the last semester of their bachelor degree program and pursuing credentials for teaching in Early Childhood Education, Elementary Education (1-5), Elementary Mathematic Education, Social Sciences Education, Foreign Languages, Turkish, Computer and Instructional Technology. Six hundred ninety teacher candidates participated in this study. Of the 690 teachers candidates, 30 were selected for focus group interviews and the remaining 663 candidates filled out the questionnaire. Although the sample may have limitations in terms of its representativeness, the selected teacher education programs from four different universities and the number of teacher candidates were considered representative of assessing supervising teachers' competency in Ankara Province. The findings of this study could be partially generalizable since all teacher education institutions follow the same teacher education program as set out by the Higher Education Council.

Data collection and analysis

The study focused on investigating supervising teachers' competence in supervision through the perspectives of teacher candidates. In order to gather accurate data, the investigator combined different research techniques. Data collection started in May 2001 with qualitative approach, continued by analyzing the qualitative data between June and November 2002, and concluded by transforming the results into an instrument in quantitative format to gather more generalizable data from a larger group of teacher candidates, in June 2002. This procedure enabled the researcher to verify previously collected qualitative data, to triangulate the finding of the qualitative and quantitative ones, and, eventually, provided opportunity for presenting more robust results in the area of supervision. The following delineates the qualitative and quantitative data collection processes.

First, an announcement was made to teacher candidates to share their experiences related to practicum. Among them, 30 teacher candidates volunteered to participate. After the first big group meeting, respondents were separated into two groups. 13 of the teacher candidates, who were satisfied with the supervisory help of classroom teachers, constituted Group 1. The remaining 17 were dissatisfied with supervision, and these became Group 2. Five sub-groups were randomly formed, 2 from Group 1 and 3 from Group 2. A focus group approach was used to gather information based on the methodological suggestions of Krueger & Casey (2000). A semi-structured, open-ended interview technique was employed. In order to get the opinions of teacher candidates related to their experiences with the supervising teachers, the investigator predetermined the areas (i.e. supervising teachers' preparation for supervision, the relation between experience and the quality in supervision, communication skills, and so forth) to be discussed, but did not formulate specific questions to refrain from leading the interviewees. This allowed the investigator to gather information from the different perspectives and to focus on the complete picture in a more holistic manner. All group-interview sessions were audio-recorded. A typical interview lasted approximately 90 minutes.

The content analysis technique (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 1990) was used to analyze the data. Verbatim transcript of each interview text was manually analyzed by using a thematic content analysis technique. Each interview transcript was searched for themes on supervision. Each theme was tagged with an appropriate name and with a short descriptive statement. Later, these themes were combined under various categories. Data gathered through semi-structured interviews were analyzed in order to find out how supervising teachers complete their supervisory roles and duties. Next, additional interviews were conducted with eight teacher candidates. These were from among the 30 teacher candidates who had previously volunteered to take part in the study. The additional interviews focused on the areas that arose during the semi-structured sessions carried out previously, and had, as a purpose, the clarification of grey areas in the data set. Qualitative data were gathered through the second round were analyzed based on the procedures highlighted by Marshall & Rossman (1999). First, the researcher read through all the interview data, observation notes, and documents to identify meaningful units based on the research questions and appointed descriptive codes to the units. For instance, codes like 'planning,' 'instruction,' 'model,' 'activity,' 'teaching,' 'information-flow,' 'collegial,' and 'preparation' were used to describe the data with respect to student teacher-supervising teacher interaction.

Second, the descriptive codes that fitted together meaningfully were grouped into categories such as 'planning skills,' 'maintaining discipline,' 'collegial interaction,' 'instructional planning,' and 'professional talk.' The categories

enabled the researcher to identify the present themes in the data. Later, thematic coding was employed and five general themes appeared to be more related to effective supervision. These were 'instructional planning,' 'competency in reflection,' 'collegial behaviours,' 'effective mentoring', 'being prepared for supervision.'

Third, based on the findings of the first and the second rounds of open-ended group interviews, the investigator developed a five-point Likert type instrument containing 74 close-ended and two open-ended items based on the themes developed earlier in qualitative data collection stage. Next, and in order to achieve content validity, the draft questionnaire was delivered to faculty members who were affiliated with a teacher education program and had experiences in practicum. The faculty members were asked to examine the items to determine whether they were reflective of the competency level, to ensure coverage of the themes, to eliminate unnecessary items, to revise any confusing items, and to provide general feedback that would assist in developing items crucial to supervising teachers' supervisory competency. Based on the feedback received from the experts, the instrument was revised and pilot tested with 39 teacher candidates. They were asked to provide feedback and opinions in terms of the clarity and comprehensiveness of the items. Later, the 46-item questionnaire was sent to teacher candidates in four universities and 663 of them were returned. The Supervising Teacher Competency Scale (STCS) was rated on a 5-point Likert type scale. Participants (teacher candidates) rated their supervising teachers' competency in a scale where 5=definitely competent and 1=definitely not competent. Higher scores indicated high level of competency (230 is the highest score) and lower scores indicated poor competency (46 is the lowest score).

A principle-components exploratory factor analysis was conducted with Kaiser Normalization to the instrument. The final form of the instrument consisted of 25 items. The first factor, labelled 'Instructional Planning and Reflection' (IPR) consisting of 11 items. The second factor, consisting of 7 items, was titled 'Collegial Supervision and Mentoring' (CSM). The last factor, titled 'Initial Preparation for Supervision' (IPFS), consisted of 7 items. The following internal consistency reliability estimates (Cronbach Alpha) were calculated for the instrument and for each of the factor with the total sample: IPR, .95; CSM .91; and IPFS, .86, and overall reliability of the scale was .96.

Descriptive statistics were used to analyze the data collected through close-ended questions. Mainly percentages and mean scores were used to assess supervising teachers' competency in three domains stated earlier. In addition, open-ended responses were analyzed according to categories established through the interviews. Then, open-ended responses categorized according to the main themes and presented in the results section of this study as the qualitative results.

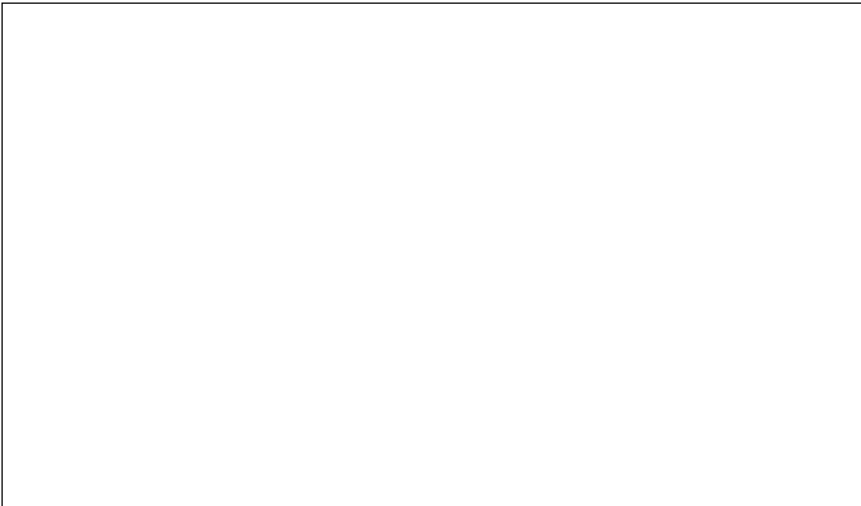
Results

The results were organised under two main sections. First, the analysis of quantitative data collected through the 25-item questionnaire from 663 teacher candidates was presented. Second, the analysis of qualitative data collected through initial group interviews and open-ended questions with teacher candidates was presented to provide explanations for quantitative results as well as to describe other factors that have an impact on supervisory competence.

Initial preparation for supervision

During the interviews with the teacher candidates, an important issue in supervision appeared to be supervising teachers' preparation for supervision. In order for the teachers' candidates to go through a successful teaching experience, all provincial educational directorates, administrators, and teachers are informed in advance so that teaching practicum can be organized before teacher candidates' arrival. On the first part of the instrument teacher candidates were asked to rate whether their supervising teachers were really ready for supervision. Table 1 presents their responses.

TABLE 1: Initial Preparation for Supervision (IPFS)



In this table and the following ones, the data are presented in percentages and means, and N's for each item may vary due to missing responses. DC=Definitely competent, C=Competent, PC=Partially competent, P=Not competent, DN=Definitely not competent.

Though two items ('organizing physical environment' and 'informing about the nature of practicum') slightly deviate from the others, the responses indicate that the teacher candidates rate their supervising teachers' preparation for supervision as 'partially competent.' The time and environment management duty is completed to a certain degree but not as sufficient as expected. It is assumed that the supervising teachers have adequate knowledge in terms of their roles and responsibilities and the purpose of supervision. However, the results indicate that only 16 percent of teacher candidates rated their supervising teachers as 'definitely competent' whereas 18.1 percent rated as 'definitely not competent.' This finding shows that almost one-fifth of the teacher candidates feel that supervising teachers do not possess adequate knowledge about their roles and responsibilities. One item related to advance material preparation for the teacher candidate to review has the lowest mean, 2.84. It is possible to conclude that supervising teachers may not have the necessary skills required to prepare materials as well as lesson plans. The responses also indicate that results presented in Table 2 might be a good determinant for this last item. It is clear that supervising teachers' competency in instructional planning (see Table 2) is rated between 'poor' to 'partially competent.' Lacking in skills in instructional planning may result in not being able to provide the sources or materials for the teacher candidate.

Instructional planning and reflection

With regard to competency in instructional planning and reflection, teacher candidates were asked to comment on the extent to which their supervising teachers' competency in instructional planning and whether they were capable of reflecting on instructional planning procedures. The results are presented in Table 2.

Supervising teachers' competency in this part is far from what is expected. According to teacher candidates' responses, supervising teachers' overall competency in instructional planning and reflection is between 'poor' and 'partially competent.' Although items that were mostly related to instructional planning (e.g. demonstrating competency in different design strategies, helping teacher candidate to prepare the first lesson plan, informing about the rationale for planning, providing assistance in selecting teaching strategy, guiding in establishing goal and objectives) are at the edge of partial competency level, from the results it is possible to conclude that they are rather at the poor level. Only one item with the mean score of 2.96 deviates little from others. This item is related to reflection on instructional planning but a careful focus underlines the fact that the item is related to teacher candidates' instructional planning, not the supervising teachers'. The responsibility of the supervising teacher in here is to gather lesson

TABLE 2: Instructional Planning and Reflection (IPR)

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plans prepared by student teachers and to reflect on it. Two points should be clarified in this context, namely that teacher candidates may regularly plan the instruction, and the supervising teacher may feel or be forced to reflect on the lesson plans. So, if the teacher candidate fulfils his/her responsibility, so does the supervising teacher. Moreover, one of the most pertinent aspects of supervision is demonstrating expertise, for instance, in lesson planning and sharing knowledge. It would be important for the teacher candidate to see how others plan the instruction. For this reason, the supervising teachers' lesson planning approach for the specific topic may be useful for the teacher candidates. In addition to that, both supervising teacher and the teacher candidate may plan the lesson separately and later compare their work. This approach may be beneficial for the teacher candidate since they seek approval for their own approach. This issue was also

raised during the interviews. Teacher candidates thought that seeing the instruction planned by different individuals may provide opportunities. However, responses indicate that 42.4 percent of the teacher candidates feel that supervising teachers are weak in the areas highlighted in this item. Also, one-third (35.3%) of the supervising teachers do not present their lesson plans prior to actual teaching. For the teacher candidate, it is important to observe phases of the lesson and how lesson plan helps the teacher, unfortunately most of the supervising teacher lack in providing this chance to their supervisees. Another important issue is helping the novice in lesson planning. Teacher candidates may demand help in planning their first instruction. Responses indicate that more than one-third (39.1%) of the teacher candidates do not feel that supervising teachers provide them with much help. One reason might be that supervising teachers either lack necessary skills in lesson planning or do not believe in benefits of supervisory help in relation to first lesson planning.

Collegial conduct and mentoring

The demand to be treated as a colleague and a part of a teaching team may be a very natural instinct among teacher candidates. Although some supervising teachers attempt to see their supervisees as inexperienced or novice, the literature indicates that creating a collegial environment increases the communication among pupils in a positive way. Thus, this may result in quality in mentoring. As summarized in Table 3, it is possible to report that, to a limited degree, teacher candidates have a feeling of being treated as colleagues and mentoring was partially effective.

Deviating from the pattern in previous tables, Mean scores of Table 3 show that supervisors' competency in behaving as a colleague and as an effective mentor is slightly higher. For example, the mean score of 3.73 indicates that teacher candidates are given an opportunity to explain the reasons behind their actions. Professional talk is effective if it is conducted in a two-way format. One of the notable indicators of effective mentoring skills is giving a chance to teacher candidate to talk (or in some instances to defend him/herself). Collegial supervision, however, requires constructive feedback. Even unintended results of practicum should be critiqued in a constructive manner so that the teacher candidate does not develop a negative attitude toward the supervising teacher and the teaching practicum in general. Although the mean score of 3.56 is far below what is expected, it is still promising when it is compared with other items in the scale. On the other hand, teacher candidates' prior knowledge that comes from the college education and supervising teachers' attitudes toward this seemed to be a problematic issue to some degree. This perception may have negative impact on

TABLE 3: Collegial Supervision and Mentoring (CSM)

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what the teacher candidate is trying to employ. Thus, most of the teacher candidates begin to copy or mimic what the supervising teacher does without questioning.

The aforementioned responses explained under three tables indicate that the supervising teachers' competency in providing effective supervision is far from what is expected. Especially, in the second part, instructional planning and reflection, considerable number of teacher candidates rated their supervising teachers' supervisory skills as either definitely not competent or poor. The reason for this may be that supervising teachers establish their own teaching repertoire in advance and are not very receptive to the idea of changing their existing routines. Also, lack of supervisory skills may cause dysfunction in supervisory process. Hence, the teacher candidates may face a dilemma whether to plan the instruction congruent with their own and unique approaches taught at the college, or try to adopt what is already used by the supervising teacher.

Qualitative findings on teacher candidates' perceptions of their supervisors' competence

The responses from the teacher candidates indicate that supervising teachers' ability in providing effective mentoring is not as expected. Although quantitative findings may provide some evidences in relation to current supervisory activities, supervising teachers' ability, and the level of fulfilling supervisory duty in Turkish

practice schools, it might be necessary to focus on these issues from a holistic perspective. Hence, qualitative results may contribute a richer picture of teacher candidates' perception in relation to treatment by their supervisors.

'*Being seen as an apprentice*' was the first issue to be underlined during the interviews. Nearly three-fourth of the teacher candidates focused on supervising teacher-teacher candidate relationship from the perspective of '*demonstrator-copier*.' That is related to the notion of '*expert knows and shows* and novice is in a position to *emulate* expert's behaviour.' Respondents indicated that in many areas of expertise, teacher candidates were considered as *apprentices* and their antecedent knowledge in teaching turned out to be '*invaluable academic jargon*.' In addition, many teacher candidates frequently focused on '*feeling of intruders*' into the classroom environment and had difficulty to practice as they once expected they would. Eventually, unexpected occurrences in teaching practicum alienated many teacher candidates from the school experience and started to perceive the nature of student teaching or practicum as artificial. In a similar vein, teacher candidates generally stated that being seen as an apprentice or intruder resulted in diminishing the value of learning to teach during practicum.

'*Inhibiting attitudes*' was the second issue. A pertinent issue was '*resentful or sarcastic attitudes*' of the supervising teachers toward teacher candidates' academic background. Teacher candidates frequently mentioned that supervising teachers are in a position to undermine the theoretical work being done at the college. Complicating the situation was the traditional setting and traditional behaviour. As candidates witnessed, supervising teachers tended to perceive their role as demonstrators and coerced the candidate to conduct what the supervising teacher had already established. This eventually caused a dilemma among teacher candidates, as to whether to practice in accordance with the college training or with guidance of the supervising teacher.

By the same token, respondents' complaints were common in terms of having difficulty in establishing a unique teaching style or in developing a personal teaching portfolio. Most of the candidates feared that they would not be able to develop a teaching repertoire that corresponded with their academic knowledge; instead they tended to become '*duplicator*' of their supervising teachers' traditional approaches. From the statements of the respondents, it can be clearly seen that as teacher candidates tried to implement their cognitive ability in teaching, they encountered the supervising teachers' negative attitude toward it. Inevitably, this type of behaviour causes dissatisfaction and most teaching practices become mediocre. Qualitative data were significantly congruent with the quantitative results in relation to Collegial Supervision and mentoring. The

qualitative data underlined the fact that most of the supervising teachers lacked in providing effective mentoring and assumed teacher candidate as novice, coming to their classroom to gain teaching skills from them. However, in reality, the ultimate goal of the teaching practicum is to provide teacher candidates with the critical skills congruent with their own academic knowledge.

'*Haphazard selection of supervising teachers*' was the third issue. The responses of the teacher candidates may clearly present the lack of appropriate arrangements for supervisory duty. It is essential to point out that in Turkey all teachers are considered to be potential supervising teachers regardless of their willingness or the quality of supervision they can provide. This was one of the major concerns for teacher candidates. Around sixty percent of the respondents indicated that unsuccessful supervisory practices among supervising teachers was a consequence of *feeling mandated* to complete the duty given by school administration. Another concern that came through from the respondents was that many supervising teachers assumed their role as an additional responsibility to their existing workload without sufficient compensation at all. Thus, in general, supervising teachers perceived their role in supervision as temporary and did not want to devote their time, energy, and expertise to teaching practicum. It can be concluded that selection of a teacher for a supervisory duty should not be a random assignment but teacher educators should employ rather careful criteria before hiring supervising teachers.

'*Professional Talk and Collegiality*' was the last issue derived from the teacher candidates' responses. This last issue is related to interaction patterns between supervising teacher and teacher candidate. Professional talk between parties of practicum is thought to greatly contribute to the establishment of collegiality and to the promotion of professional relationships by teacher educators around the world as well as in Turkey. Improved collegial behaviour and appropriate communication skills encourage supervising teachers to work with others and create a professional culture in their institution. Teacher candidates who participated in this study generally complained about the way their supervising teachers communicated with them. Teacher candidates who completed the practicum with supervising teachers who had 15 to 20 years of experience behind them usually felt put out by the supervising teachers' approach. They were often described as being unable to '*talk at the same level.*'

Another point that came to the surface was the perception of an experienced classroom teacher toward mentoring. Respondents concluded that some experienced teachers demonstrated signs of *burnout* and limited their conversations with the teacher candidates in terms of time as well as of content. Their perception was that a professional can find his/her own way when entering the profession and they did not value the practicum as part of professional development for the novice.

As mentioned earlier, teacher educators suggest that teaming teacher candidates promotes reciprocal growth and serves as a professional development opportunity. However, large number of teacher candidates sharing the same supervising teacher and the classroom may decrease the amount of collegial interaction and professional talk. Though teacher candidates may not complain about the size of a teaching partner team due to finding an opportunity to observe and to reflect on different perspectives in teaching, the supervisory assistance they demand from their supervising teachers may not be as intended.

Discussion

Prospective teachers' perceptions of their supervising teachers' competence in relation to their practicum experiences appear to be disappointing. Although teaching practice in schools may be affected by several external factors, such as class size, duration of practicum, and attitudes, most of the discussions about practicum centred on questions toward supervising teachers' role in public schools. What are the roles of supervising teachers? A friend, a colleague, a mentor, an evaluator, an expert, or a demonstrator? Are they really aware of their professional responsibilities in nurturing today's teacher candidates and tomorrow's colleagues? Research in teacher education underlines the fact that supervising teachers should cooperate with teacher education institutions so that future teaching generation can be educated to be not only competent in theoretical aspects of teaching but also be capable of applying theory into real life teaching (Kiraz, 2002).

Unfortunately, this cooperation among public schools and teacher education institutions is seen only too rarely. In many instances, many university curriculum committees 'categorize' and 'compartmentalize' the pedagogical content and deliver the conceptual knowledge, skills, and dispositions in 'three-credit-pieces' over four to six semesters. 'After a quick review of the conceptual knowledge, instructors in schools of education advise the pre-service students, supply them with student teacher handbooks, assign them supervising teachers, and explain to them what is expected' (Barone *et al.*, 1996, p. 1121). Moreover, at the other side of the spectrum there are public school and supervising teachers most of whom do not know what is expected from them. Teacher candidates are negatively affected by lack of collaboration. Inevitably, supervising teachers play the most important role in collaboration process. Their principle responsibility is to work with the teacher candidate and guide him/her to develop an appropriate teaching repertoire. Today, the emerging problem in field experiences is not how knowledgeable the student teacher is but how the

supervising teacher guides student teachers to apply their knowledge to certain teaching situations. In their review of the literature on student teaching, Borko & Mayfield (1995) found substantial disagreement with the notion of guided relationships:

‘... little is known about the student teaching experience, guided teaching relationships, or their influence on the process of learning to teach. ... Teachers constantly rate student teaching as the most beneficial component of their preparation programs. On the other hand, scholars have cautioned that student teaching can have negative as well as positive consequences for prospective teachers’ (Guyton & McIntyre, 1990, pp. 502-503).

Browne (1992) investigated the nature of the supervising teacher-teacher candidate relationships and found little evidence of ‘guiding.’ It was noted that many supervising teachers undermine the knowledge of the candidate and are determined to demonstrate that their way is the best way to teach. Although supervising teachers may have a broad knowledge of curriculum and instructional methods, often they do not share their knowledge probably because there are few supervising teachers appropriately trained for supervision of the teacher candidate. Especially, supervising teachers do not appear to provide appropriate feedback to teacher candidates (Browne, 1992). Everhart & Turner (1996) claimed that only very few supervising teachers exhibit effective supervision skills in terms of feedback. Louis, Kruse & Raywid (1996) reasoned that one of the underlying causes for lack of feedback may be that most teachers do not have the abilities to engage in conversations with their colleagues and skills to engage in team teaching or peer coaching.

Turkey has taken up the challenge of improving its teacher education programmes, considering that well-designed school-university collaboration is an important asset in the overall enterprise of educational reform. In this study we have seen how attempts have been made to distribute responsibilities and decision-making processes among higher education institutions and public schools. We have seen how, at the site of practice, classroom teachers took on the main responsibility of mentoring. However, the extent to which these classroom teachers were prepared for such a responsibility is still a question mark. While collaboration does exist among schools and colleges, the results of this study underlined the fact that the nature of this collaboration should be gone into in greater depth, and indeed immediate action should be taken to improve the quality of supervisory practice at the school site. To do this, program designers and implementers of the practicum should work together to discuss internal and external factors that affect the targeted outcomes and standards expected during practicum.

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SCHOOL CLIMATE AND STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT IN GREEK HIGHER SECONDARY SCHOOLS (*ENIAIA LYKEIA*): A HIERARCHICAL STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

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Abstract – *This paper examines the relation between the academic achievement of Greek ‘eniaio lykeio’ students and their teachers’ views of school climate. It has been found that this relation, important as it may be, is being obscured by other factors found in the organisational and social domain. ‘Eniaio lykeio’ (EL) is the Greek comprehensive higher secondary school which was established in 1998 by the latest educational law. Initially the authors discuss the main characteristics of the Greek school system, emphasizing on special issues like the shadow educational system of ‘parapaideia’. The issue of ‘school climate’ is then approached in its historical development both from an organizational and a psychological perspective. In terms of research design 223 teachers from 38 Athenian ‘eniaia lykeia’ participated and completed the Confidential Teacher Questionnaire. Exploratory Factor Analysis (GLS, oblimin) yielded the following five factors: (a) director’s effectiveness, (b) self-regulation, (c) collegiality, (d) job satisfaction, and (e) keenness. These factors have had small impact on students’ achievement (normalised mean grade in the EL leaving certificate) as the impact of parents’ socioeconomic status is much larger. Finally the hierarchical linear analysis yielded a very small value for the intra-school correlation coefficient ($\rho = 0.025$).*

Introduction

The purpose of this study is firstly to identify aspects of school climate in Greek schools and secondly to measure the association of climate factors with students’ academic achievement. By ‘academic achievement’ we refer to the final grade in the leaving certificate of *eniaio lykeio*, the comprehensive higher secondary school which was established in 1999. The main questions in the study are:

- Do teachers’ opinions and beliefs constitute broader theoretical constructs of school climate?
- Are factors of school climate significantly correlated with students’ academic achievement?

The idea of investigating the relation of school climate to student achievement was initiated by readings in the academic field of School Effectiveness Research (SER). Many researchers who have worked within the SER tradition have noted the contribution that teachers' opinions have made to the 'effectiveness' of the schools (see Scheerens, 1990; Levine & Lezotte, 1990; Sammons *et al.*, 1995; Cotton, 1995, and Reynolds *et al.*, 1996). A standard methodological practice in many similar studies is to use teachers as informants about the schools in which they participate. Researchers usually ask teachers a series of questions and teachers' responses to interrelated items are combined to yield a scale for each teacher on one or more dimensions or factors. Teachers' answers then form larger interpretative frameworks and that is how notions such as 'school climate', 'school ethos', and 'school organisational culture' have been constructed in the literature.

Historically the search for school climate reached its heyday in the 1950s. After the Second World War educators and economists all over the world had hoped that education could become the tool for economic prosperity and equity. For many decades 'school climate' was approached from a 'systemic' or an 'organisational' perspective. This was quite logical. After all, in the 1950s and at the beginning of the 1960s, schools were considered to be 'input-output' systems. Thus, in the first decades after the Second World War educational researchers produced school climate questionnaires (Boyan, 1988).

During the 1970s the interest in school climate came from social psychologists. At that time school climate was studied not as a means but as a goal in itself. Schools needed to be democratic and attractive. In practice school climate was being approached by various researchers either qualitatively, i.e. with 'thick description' or quantitatively, i.e. with the use of statistics. In both cases the researchers used to enter the 'field' – the school – by approaching the teaching personnel and seeking individual opinions. Different researchers constructed different research instruments. This resulted in serious fragmentation of the notion of school climate.

Nowadays, discrepancies in research findings on school climate are rather the rule than the exception. For Hallinger & Heck (1998) this may be explained by the fact that different researchers employ different conceptual and methodological tools. Anderson (1982) distinguished the four following aspects of school climate research in the literature:

- (a) *ecology* (the physical and material environment of the school)
- (b) *milieu* (the composition of the population of a school)
- (c) *social system* (relationships between individuals) and
- (d) *culture* (beliefs and values of the individuals in a school).

The theme of the current study falls in the third and fourth aspects in Anderson's list: the beliefs and values of teachers as well as the relations between them. Before proceeding with our own research findings we must present some key elements of the Greek educational system.

The background of the Greek high school system

The structure of the Greek school system is relatively simple and linear. Its compulsory part consists of six years of primary school (*demotiko scholeio*), followed by a three-year comprehensive lower secondary school (*gymnasio*). After *gymnasio*, most Greek students continue their studies to the higher secondary school, the *lykeio*. Until 1998 there were five types of *lykeia*. Since 1998, however, as a result of the Law 2525 of 1997, almost all types of *lykeia* have become *eniaia* i.e. comprehensive. One of the most important characteristics of an *eniaio lykeio* is that it comprises three programmes or 'directions' of studies (the *katefthinseis*): the 'humanities' direction, the 'scientific' direction, and the 'technical' direction. *Eniaio lykeio* students attend a number of common core subjects and a number of 'direction' subjects.

In the latest OECD report on Greek education (1997) a number of basic features of the system have been identified. Firstly, Greek education serves a traditional highly homogeneous society, sustained by its deep-rooted Hellenic and Byzantine traditions, by a cohesive, state-supported religion, and by strong family solidarity. Secondly, education in Greece operates within a context of great geographical contrasts and variety, with corresponding differences in the distribution of population between urban and rural areas, as well as great socio-economic differences between these two areas. School building space in cities is hard to find, and schools in rural areas are regarded as functioning at high cost. Thirdly, education in Greece has never been connected with the world of work. This is because by serving a traditionally agricultural country the Greek economy has shifted rapidly from the primary production sector to a secondary and tertiary level. Fourthly, education in Greece is extremely politicised. Politicisation is logically a characteristic of centralised education systems because teachers and administrators are directly accountable to the governments. Few other countries have experienced the extent of educational discontinuities that Greece has suffered as a result of political turmoil in the post War period.

Another important characteristic of the Greek education system is the existence of the parallel or 'shadow' education system. This can take either the form of a *frontisterion* or of an *idiaitero*. By *frontisterio* we refer to the lessons that take place in an organised way in specially equipped buildings. *Frontisteria* target groups of

students and offer extra help with everything that is being taught in schools during the day. Most *frontisteria* have been recognised by the Ministry of Education. On the other hand, *idiaitera* are the private lessons that take place in students' homes on a one-to-one basis. An *idiaitero* is usually a covert activity and no receipts are issued. For a normal teacher to offer private lessons to the students of his or her class is strictly prohibited. However, there is essentially no control on the part of the Ministry of Education with regard to this activity and no teacher has ever suffered any serious consequences as a result of offering *idiaitero* lessons (Verdis, 2002).

In terms of background and working conditions secondary school teachers in Greece are subject specialists with very little pedagogical training. Until recently they were appointed to schools through an official waiting list, known as *epetirida*, which was based on seniority. In 1998, however, objective and centrally steered selection examinations replaced *epetirida*. This policy met with strong resistance from those close to be appointed. After appointment Greek teachers become civil servants. Their posts are secured after two years' work in their 'organisational post'. Teachers are not allowed to have any other occupation apart from teaching. Their promotion and salary progression is essentially dependent on seniority as there is no evaluation of their work in the schools. Seniority has also been the most important criterion for the selection of education administrators and school consultants. This is supposed to have changed lately with the introduction of objective selection criteria. However, political considerations have always played a large role in the appointment of administrative personnel at the national, regional, and local level (including the school level). Usually, any change in government leads to a massive replacement of school directors, school consultants and other administrative personnel in education.

In terms of administration the Greek educational system has always been centralised and bureaucratically organised. All decisions pertaining to curricula, textbooks, school timetables, the appointment, salaries and promotion of teachers, the establishment, equipment and operation of the schools, are made by the Ministry of Education and are uniformly introduced into all the schools. The issues that are left undefined by the Ministry of Education are settled at regional and local level by teachers themselves in a democratic way. However, as Kassotakis (2000) and Kazamias (1995) point out, Greek teachers' have only limited discretion on what to teach and how to teach it. This is more evident in the third year of *lykeio*, when teachers and students together focus their attention to the final examinations.

Officially Greek schools are governed by their teachers' association. Decisions regarding the security of the students, the organisation of the classes, the rules, the educational visits, and the participation in extra-curricular activities are taken democratically by voting. The school council and the school committee, two bodies which include parents, deal with a number of issues not of essential

importance, the most important of these being the allocation of some of the resources at local and regional level. Through these two bodies parents have a minor role to play in the administration of the schools. In higher secondary schools there is a director and a deputy director, both of whom are appointed by the regional education councils with a number of objective criteria. The director and the deputy director are ordinary teachers with no special training in educational administration. Until recently their payment had not differed significantly from the payment of their colleagues who have no administrative tasks. Until today the directors' small administrative role has been restricted both by the higher levels (the powerful Ministry of Education) and the lower levels (the vote of the teachers' association within each school). It is thus evident that collegiality among teachers is a very important issue with regard the administration of the Greek schools.

In terms of educational evaluation and the assessment the Greek educational system has currently no monitoring mechanisms. School inspections are not being carried out and there are no agreed educational standards to be achieved. School inspectors were abolished in the early 1980s and the school consultants who replaced them have never had any evaluational authority over teachers and schools. Only recently a number of objective 'indicators' for the evaluation of teachers were introduced by the Greek Pedagogical Institute and voted in by Parliament. However, these indicators have not yet been implemented.

An additional but not valid source of information for the quality of the Greek education system are the 'bases' i.e. the necessary lower grades for university entrance. The bases are published every year in the pages of quality newspapers. In the final year of *lykeio* (around their 18th year), Greek students take the national examinations (*paneladikes exetasis*) which have a double function in Greece: both certification and selection. Regarding certification, students' mean grade is used as their final mark in the certificate of the *eniaio lykeio*. Regarding selection, students' grades in the common core and directional subjects are differentially weighted for different sets of academic fields and transformed into a final score (usually from 0 to 200). The formula for the calculation of the final score as well as the weights of the common and directional subjects usually change as a result of changes in educational policy. The issue of grading for university entrance, important as it may be, is beyond the scope of the current study.

School climate and student achievement in the literature

Teachers opinions have in many cases been associated with student achievement. In a relevant study, Heck & Marcoulides (1996) examined in the field of education the relevance of an organisational culture model that had been

developed and validated by the same authors three years before (Marcoulides & Heck, 1993). Heck & Marcoulides (1996) collected data from 156 teachers which had been previously selected at random from 26 secondary schools in Singapore. The authors designed a questionnaire through which they measured 42 strategic interactions between principals and teachers, focusing on how the school was structured and governed, how it was organised instructionally, and how teachers perceived elements of its culture and climate. The Confirmatory Factor Analysis (LISREL) resulted in a model which fitted well with the data. Personal and school level variables, like gender, teaching experience, academic background, and school size and type were not included. The authors (*op. cit.*) stated that ‘how school staff and parents are able to organise and co-ordinate the work life of the school ... shapes not only the learning experiences and achievement of the students, but also the environment in which this work is carried out’ (p. 77). The school outcomes which were used as a measure of school performance in Heck’s & Marcoulides’ (1996) study were the national standardised tests for Reading and Mathematics. The other Factors in the model were arranged by the authors in three groups: (a) the *socio-cultural subsystem*, which includes the organisational structure and the managerial processes; (b) the *organisational value subsystem*, which included the organisational values and the organisational climate; and (c) the *individual belief system*, *i.e.* the teacher attitudes. Heck & Marcoulides (1996) interpreted their findings as supporting the notion that positive social and professional relations in the schools are related to learning.

Another study in which the social climate of the school has been connected to academic outcomes is that of Battistich *et al.* (1995). The authors used hierarchical linear modelling to examine relationships between students’ sense of school community, poverty level, student attitudes, motives, beliefs, and behaviour. The authors (*op. cit.*) used a diverse sample of 24 elementary schools. Within schools, individuals’ sense of school community was significantly associated with almost all of the student outcome measures. Between schools, school-level community and poverty were both significantly related to many of the student outcomes (the former positively, the latter negatively).

The most important study concerning the relation between school climate and educational outcomes is the Programme for International Student Achievement (PISA). In this study, which was carried out by (OECD, 2001), students, teachers and school principals from 35 countries were asked to evaluate the student- and teacher-related factors that affect school climate. From the answers of the principals OECD researchers constructed the following five indexes:

- (a) teacher support and performance,
- (b) student related factors affecting school climate,
- (c) disciplinary climate,

- (d) teacher-related factors affecting school climate, and
- (e) principals' perceptions of teachers' morale and commitment.

These indexes were later associated with the academic achievement of 15-year-old students in literacy, mathematics and science. The results that will be presented in the following paragraph concern the achievement of 15-year-olds in Greek language.

In terms of 'teachers' support' (students' self-reports) Greece stands slightly above the OECD average. The effect of this factor on the combined reading literacy score of the Greek students is not statistically significant (OECD, 2001, p. 295). In terms of 'student related factors affecting school climate' (based on reports from school principals and reported proportionate to the number of 15-year-olds enrolled in the school) Greece has the lowest point of all the 35 OECD countries (-1.05). However, this factor does not appear to be significantly correlated with achievement (*op. cit.*, p.296). Greece has the lowest score in the index of disciplinary climate of all the OECD countries. The effect of this factor is also not statistically significant in 'explaining' student achievement in Greece (*op. cit.*, p.297). Another negative first place for Greece is in the index of 'teacher related factors affecting school climate (based on reports from school principals). The score for Greece in this index is -1.18 but still its effect is not statistically significant in explaining student achievement (*op. cit.*, p.298). Finally, concerning 'principals' perceptions of teachers' morale and commitment', Greece is around the OECD average. As in every other case, this index has no statistically significant effect on student achievement (*op. cit.*, p.299).

Research methodology and findings

Rather than translating a foreign research instrument for investigating school climate the researchers of the current study have used the 'Confidential Teacher Questionnaire' (CTQ). The basis for the construction of CTQ has been the literature on the climate and social environment of the school and the knowledge of the local conditions in the *eniaia lykeia* of Athens. In CTQ teachers are asked to show how much they agree or disagree with certain propositions using scales from -3 to +3. The scales are directional and the point '0' is not included. For the current study 223 teachers from 38 *eniaia lykeia* were selected to act as participants. The 38 *eniaia lykeia* were randomly selected from the population of *lykeia* in the greater area of Athens. The schools have been proportionally selected from the city centre and all the suburbs (apart from the eastern ones). Six to seven teachers from each *lykeio* have acted as informants. The informants have been

selected on the basis of being neither too closely colleagues or being ‘peripheral’ in the teachers’ association. The participants are also neither new to the profession nor close to retirement. Finally, the researchers have access to the records of the students.

Teachers’ responses in the confidential questionnaires have been analysed and a number of statistical entities (factors) have been constructed with the help of Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA). In EFA the factors are linear combinations of individuals’ responses to a number of directly posed questions. In our case we used *generalised least squares* method and the *direct oblimin* algorithm for the extraction of the factors and their rotation. The following five factors have been identified in the analysis: (a) ‘directors’ effectiveness’, (b) ‘self-regulation’, (c)

TABLE 1: *Pattern matrix of Factors derived from teacher questionnaire*



Note: the Greek letter ‘ α ’ indicates Cronbach’s *alpha* coefficient of reliability

‘collegiality’, (d) ‘job satisfaction’, and (e) ‘keenness’. The factor analytic model has had a good fit. The value of the chi square test, which tests the hypothesis that the factor loadings can reproduce the original correlation matrix is 158. This value is not statistically significant for 131 d.f. ($\rho=0.054$). The description of the factors and their loadings are presented in Table 1.

The complexity of the factor analytic solution in Table 1 is equal to 1 because each variable correlates strongly with only one Factor. It must however be noted that Table 1 presents the ‘pattern’ matrix *i.e.* the unique contribution of each variable to the rotated factor analytic solution. This means that the loadings in Table 1 do not take into account any possible correlation between the five Factors. The role of Table 2 is to present the correlation coefficients among the initially extracted Factors.

TABLE 2: Correlation matrix of the five Factors

	Director’s Effectiveness	Self-Regulation	Collegiality	Satisfaction
Director’s Effectiveness	1			
Self-Regulation	0.115	1		
Collegiality	0.216	0.078	1	
Satisfaction	0.123	0.089	0.105	1
Keenness	0.169	0.379	0.215	0.226

After Exploratory Factor Analysis, the authors tried to connect the climate factors of Table 1 with student achievement. For this purpose, a hierarchical regression model has been fitted to the data in which Y_{ij} is the achievement of the i^{th} student in the j^{th} school. It is important to state that the dependent variable Y refers to the normalised mean grade in the *lykeio* leaving examinations. The transformation of the scores was decided on the basis that the distribution of student outcomes deviated significantly from the normal distribution (skewness = -0.2, kurtosis -0.8). Thus, Y has mean 0 and standard deviation 1.

In the same model, the explanatory variables at student level have been denoted with an X, whereas the explanatory variables at school level have been denoted with a Z. There are 10 explanatory variables at student level and 5 explanatory variables at school level. The hierarchical model is of the following form:

$$Y_{ij} =$$

In the model the regression parameters of the explanatory variables (the γ terms) have the same interpretation as non-standardised regression coefficients in Ordinary Least Squares multiple regression models. The term γ_{00} is the intercept. Note the random part of the model inside the parenthesis. The U_{0j} refers to school level error, and R_{ij} refers to the student level error. The population variance of U_{0j} is denoted by τ^2_{0j} and the population variance of R_{ij} is denoted by σ^2 . As the two error terms in the parenthesis are uncorrelated the correlation coefficient between student i and student i' in the same school j is given by the formula:

In the above formula, the ρ parameter is called the *intra-school correlation coefficient*. The values of the multilevel multiple regression coefficients, the variances, the corresponding standard errors, and the intra-school correlation coefficient for the model are given in Table 3.

TABLE 3: Fixed and random part of Model 1

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As we can see in Table 3, seven coefficients, all at student level, are statistically significant. The higher absolute value is for the coefficient $\gamma_{2,0}$ (having repeated a grade). This means that the students who for some reasons have been left behind in their normal school course, never recover. Those who are left behind achieve on average 0.881 standard deviations below the mean achievement of all the students in the sample. The factor ‘programme of studies’ also plays a very significant role in explaining student achievement. Specifically, the students who follow the scientific direction achieve higher grades than the control direction, the humanities. On the other hand, those who follow the technical direction achieve lower grades than those who follow the humanities direction. The socioeconomic status of the family is also a very important factor in explaining student achievement (see coefficients $\gamma_{6,0}$, $\gamma_{7,0}$, and $\gamma_{10,0}$). The *frontisterio*, a form of shadow education in Greece, is also a very important factor (coefficient $\gamma_{9,0}$). Specifically, those who attend frontisterio achieve on average 0.145 standard deviations above the mean achievement. On the other hand, *idiaitero* does not seem to play such a statistically important role in explaining student achievement. The school climate variables (coefficients $\gamma_{0,1}$ to $\gamma_{0,5}$) do not appear to be statistically important at 0.05 level.

Discussion

This study set off to answer two research question. In the question that examines if teachers’ opinions and beliefs constitute broader theoretical constructs of school climate the answer must be affirmative. As it has been shown in Tables 1 and 2, teachers’ answers can be combined to construct factors of school climate. Of course, the validity of this procedure must be considered in the ‘reality’ of a quantitative study in which factors are purely statistical constructs. The research instrument which has been used in the current study should be considered as a single example of a larger and undocumented universe of similar research instruments. The current study did not aim at the construction of a generic research tool for investigating school climate in different educational contexts. The meaning of the factors may also be different in the context of different educational systems.

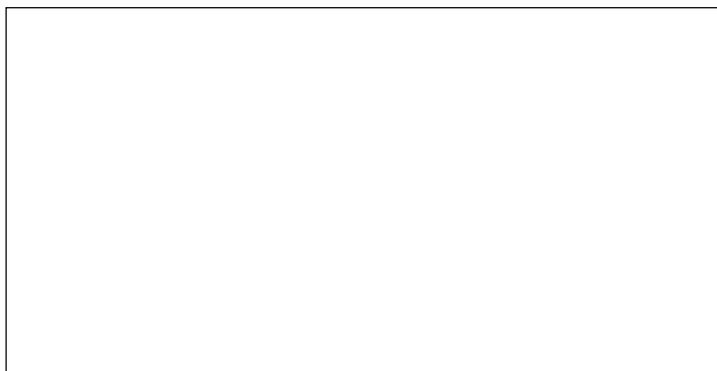
In the question that examines whether the effect of school climate factor is significant in explaining educational achievement the answer must be negative. The current study has failed to connect school teachers’ opinions with students’ examination results. This finding is consistent with the findings of PISA 2000 that were presented in a previous section. A general discussion on the factors that affect student achievement in Greece is beyond the scope of the current study. The lack

of support for the significance of climate factors, however, does not mean that teachers' opinions are totally unconnected with student outcomes. Put simply, other variables, like students' socio-economic status and *frontisterio* attendance may be much more important. There are however some other reasons which may explain the small effect of school climate factors.

The first reason may be that the original examination scores of the students have been ranked as a first step for their normalisation. This was necessary in order to overcome the problem of skewed distributions in the examination results. However, the normalisation procedure may have affected the power of the statistical analysis. A second explanation for the small effect of the coefficients $\gamma_{0,1}$ to $\gamma_{0,5}$ in the hierarchical model may be the value of the between-school variance τ^2 . In the hierarchical model, school level variance τ^2 appears to be very small in comparison to the within school variance σ^2 (a fact which also explains the limited value of the intra-school correlation coefficient ρ). When the differences between schools in the sample are not large, one can expect that the effect of the school-level coefficients in the model are not large either.

The lack of striking findings from a statistical point of view does not make our study less significant from a theoretical point of view. Teachers' opinions may seem uncorrelated with student achievement but in the final analysis this may mean that students' background variables like parents' socio-economic status, a computer at home or *frontisterio* attendance are much stronger. A possible conceptual map showing how school climate affects educational achievement could be presented as in Figure 1. In this map, effect of student background characteristics (line *a*) is much stronger than the effect of school climate characteristics (line *b*). A third line (*c*) presents the effect of student background characteristics to school climate factors. An example of this relationship would be

FIGURE 1: Explanatory variables at student and school (climate) level



the difference in school climate when in a school there are many students with specific socio-economic background (either lower or upper). In that case school climate could have been affected by the compositional structure of the school. This interesting hypothesis could be the theme of further research.

In conclusion, we have investigated the relation between school climate factors and the educational achievement in a number of comprehensive higher secondary Greek schools (*lykeia*). The Factors presented in Table 1 deal with some very important issues in the Greek education system. The perceived effectiveness of the school director, the collegiality among teachers and their degree of satisfaction are especially important issues in the present context of Greek educational policy. The statistical analysis has failed to yield coefficients that are statistically significant at the 0.05 level. However, this does not mean that the school climate factors are insignificant from an educational perspective. Further research is needed on this interesting topic.

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STATE AND HIGHER EDUCATION: THE CASE OF MULKIYE COLLEGE IN TURKEY¹

AHMET AYPAY

Abstract – *This article describes the special relationship between the state and higher education in Turkey in the context of a case study of Mulkiye College, currently the College of Political Sciences at Ankara University. By focusing on the social and organizational context within which institutionalization takes place, it shows how conflict and functional factors each play a role in the process of institutionalization. The article demonstrates how attention to an organization and its field yields critical information about the macro processes that govern micro individual habits as well as taken-for-granted outcomes that contribute to our understanding of societal order. It is suggested that Mulkiye College presents a unique case study that contributes towards an understanding of the relationship between higher education organizations and the state in Turkey.*

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to describe and analyze two unique aspects of the Turkish higher education system. It will first focus on Mulkiye College and its social, political, and organizational context. Secondly, it depicts the relationship between this higher education institution and the state, arguing that that these two actors are intertwined to such an extent that it is impossible to appreciate one without also understanding the other. By focusing on political and organizational context at the national level, the study compares and contrasts classical (conflict) and revisionist (functional) approaches with a new theoretical perspective on institutions. Such a comparative exercise is directed at a variety of themes, including change, legitimacy, environment, formal structures, and persistence in the market.

The point is made that in their concern with causes, proponents of conflict/critical and functionalist perspectives have neglected what has been going on in a different type of interaction, between educational organizations and their environment. Specifically in relation to the higher education field, proponents of the two perspectives have been debating since the 1960's whether class or functional factors have the most explanatory power when considering the process of change in educational organizations. Although functionalists do not deny that

control in educational organizations is related to hierarchical structures, they assume that change occurs because of informal structures and conflict of interest. Those who support the 'conflict' perspective, on the other hand, see the relationship between stability and change as indicative of socially legitimate means of excluding people by social class, ethnicity, and gender.

Conceptual framework

Clark's work remains seminal in the consideration of these issues. Clark (1983) presented a conceptual framework regarding how national systems of higher education are integrated within state structures and interact with the academic profession, economy, and the state. Clark's framework includes three ideal types: the State System, the Professional System, and the Market System. When combined, these systems provide a powerful tool to illustrate a three-dimensional triangular space for comparative analysis of higher education systems and how higher education systems fit conceptually into the larger world.

Clark (1983) places the state in the center for its role in shaping the markets of higher education. In the State-Market interaction, some interest groups formed to limit the influence of state structures. Thus, state structures and higher education systems may be closely related and it may be difficult to distinguish the two. Institutions are divided into four groups based on their relationship to authority and exchange. The first group of institutions is integrated within state structures. The second group is united regarding control, with some sectoral independence granted. The third group is loosely situated between government control and sectoral interests. Finally, the fourth group has a market-based exchange relationship. Countries are located within this triangle based on the nature of their higher education systems.

Comparatively, state and market interaction in industrialized countries such as Russia, Sweden, Britain, Canada, US, France, and Germany may be explained by Clark's (1983) *triangle heuristic*. The Russian higher education system is characterized by extensive state control while Sweden has both tight control and highly inclusive coordination mechanisms within a relatively small system, capable of effective planning. In Britain, the system of state structures, federal control, and market mechanism coalesced, while that of Canada may be characterized as an amalgamation of provincial and national control. The Japanese higher education system is open to market interaction and has greater state involvement than the US system. Although somewhat tightened regarding control since the 1960s, the US system is the best illustration of market exchange within the industrialized world (Clark, 1970).

In comparing the systems in selected countries, relationships between the state and the academic profession can be illustrated as follows: Italy has the strongest professional academic body that exerts a strong coordination authority. The French and German systems of higher education include academic units that include professors. Britain remains relatively close to professional academic rule. The majority of national systems of higher education are characterized as a battleground between state bureaucrats and professors (Clark, 1983).

In an extensive review of the literature, Rhoades (1992) found that in higher education journals, in *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research*, and in classics of higher education treatment of 'the state' is different from what is common in sociology journals. Treatment of the state usually lacks a firm theoretical grounding or empirical investigation. Although the state has a formal authority, it is bureaucratic, politicized, and inefficient – it is considered as a separate entity. Rhoades (1992, p.137) concludes that 'we need to move beyond formal government to consider the broad range of apparatuses, status groups, and classes that are involved in governance. We need to look within the state at the inter-organizational relations among various state sectors, branches, and agencies. We need to explore dimensions and parts of the state and of ourselves that we have ignored.'

Review of the literature

In this section, the organizational literature is reviewed in the following order: First, the literature on new institutional theory is considered, followed by conceptualizations of organizational culture. From an institutionalist perspective, environments and organizations are mutually constitutive. Both environments and organizations can give form, legitimize, and constrain. Moreover, the boundaries between environments and organizations are blurred. Organizations may act like the agents of nation-states: they 'infuse' value, spreading the values and norms of modernity as in education, health, and reproduction of bureaucracies (Jepperson & Meyer, 1991; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Weber, 1947). The present study links a macro sociological phenomenon and a micro case study: How a change in the normative structure of a nation through a higher education institution constrains and changes the actions (perceptions) of individuals in a society. This is important because institutions 'regulate' the environment. In order to interpret these issues, one may look at the structural, political, symbolic, and systemic 'orders' of an institution (Birnbaum, 1988; Bergquist, 1992; Bolman & Deal, 1995) and the societal context (Callahan, 1962; Clark, 1970; Crozier, 1964).

A growing body of the 'new' institutional research demonstrates a variety of perspectives in sociology, economics, political science, and education. Therefore,

this theory is still developing. More empirical work is needed. There are studies that fail to find empirical support for this theory in some environments (Kraatz & Zajac, 1996). The research has overwhelmingly focused on institutions in a society (for example, in the US), or secondary schooling at the international level (Crowson, Boyd & Mawhinney, 1995; March & Olsen, 1984; Meyer & Hannan, 1979; Frank, Meyer, & Miyahara, 1995; Meyer, 1977; Meyer, Ramirez & Soysal, 1992; Meyer & Zucker, 1989; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991; Rowan & Miskel, 1999; Scott, 1995). Also, a vast body of literature focuses on the organizational culture within organizations (Bolman & Deal 1997; Bush, 1995; Schein, 1985; Sergiovanni, 1987; Weick, 1995) and specifically higher education organizations (Bergquist, 1992; Birnbaum, 1988; Cameron, 1985; Maxwell, 1987; Tierney, 1990). However, there is little research that shows the connections at national level between the state apparatus, bureaucracy, and the few higher education institutions that shape the World System at international level.

There are common aspects between institutional theories and world system perspectives and they may be helpful in understanding the relationship between state and higher education at the international level. Perhaps one of the most studied of these outcomes is the birth of modern nation-states and their economic-political implications from a World System perspective (Kasaba & Bozdogan, 1997; Kasaba, 1988; Skocpol, 1997; Wallerstein, 1984). Much of the World System literature emphasizes conflict and functional theories. Three major comprehensive models of the World System Theory emerged from the various theoretical perspectives on this phenomenon: Liberal (individual), Institutional (corporatists), and Ecological (etatists). Wallerstein's (1984) Marxian World System Model is similar to the Fernand Braudel's Life-world model except the Wallerstein model places greater emphasis on economic structure than does Fernand Braudel's model which emphasizes the practice of everyday life (Jepperson & Meyer, 1991). Meyer (1980, p.117) states that 'explanations of the world-wide state system that stress cultural factors are on the right track.' Moreover, while a liberal perspective assumes that when an individual is subjected to schooling, she/he is influenced, an institutionalist approach assumes that when a person is educated, especially in higher education, she/he has a potential to influence many persons. In the Mulkiye, this is more relevant since the study is concerned with the normative structure of a nation. Thus, the new institutionalist approach goes beyond these 'modernist', functional and conflict explanations.

While a similarity exists regarding the theories of state among the liberal, institutional, and ecological approaches, especially given the difficulty of isolation in the world (or the commonality of isomorphic structures), there is a variation in organizational structure. This variation provides two types of differentiation. Specifically, they are (1) differentiating authority over persons,

and, (2) differentiation and coordination of activities both horizontally and vertically (Jepperson & Meyer, 1991). These two types of differentiation separate the new institutionalism from both classical (conflict) and revisionist (functional) theories.

The grounds for differences

The argument here is that the case of Mulkiye College reveals a number of limitations in Clark's approach, specifically in relation to his conceptualization of the 'heuristic triangle'. The history of Mulkiye College provides a unique opportunity for a case study. The reasons for uniqueness are presented in the following paragraphs. The historical process of the development of philosophy of higher education, its structures, challenges, and the development of its character, follows a different path from Clark's (1983) framework as described above. Clark's conceptualizations are all based on American and European cases and therefore are limited when other systems of higher education are considered.

The first characteristic that gives the Mulkiye College case its special character is that it has developed a special relationship with the state. Musselin (1999, p.24) argues that 'state/university interactions have national bases that must not be seen in terms of culture, but rather societal (in the sense of Maurice *et al.* 1982) constructions of relationships.' If one accepts Musselin's argument, one cannot ignore the societal context. No other similar college sees itself as the sole defender of modernity in Turkey. Revealing the details of this special relationship will help in understanding the higher education system not only in Turkey but also in the Middle East. In addition, Rhoades (1992) found that there is a lack of research that focuses on the relationship between the state and higher education institutions, both in higher education and in sociology journals.

The second characteristic is that Mulkiye College is a public institution. Private higher education institutions have been very important in the development of higher education systems in the US and Canada (Jones, 1996). Clark's study and a majority of the literature do not distinguish public institutions and usually include all private institutions. This case focuses on a public institution rather than a private one.

The third characteristic is that the Mulkiye College is a secular institution. This is important considering the construction of the relationship between colleges and the state in Turkey. Colleges and universities in Turkey and the Middle East have to be seen in terms of their foundation and development because higher education institutions were the agents of a modernization project. Thus, they are considered as a part of the rationalization (secularization) of the world. For a long time,

religious higher education was suspended in the aftermath of the Turkish Revolution in Turkey in 1920s. While many institutions started with a religious orientation, the majority of them broke their ties later with their religious authorities in the West. The secular character of Mulkiye College is an important distinction while constructing its relationship with the environment.

The fourth important characteristic that deserves to be highlighted is that, for a long time, the college has practically been the only route for bureaucrats to gain entry into the state apparatus (Roos, 1978; Syzclikowicz, 1970). The students of Mulkiye College consider key bureaucratic positions as the natural extension of their schooling, as if their schooling continues beyond graduation. Moreover, students begin networking with alumni early in their schooling.

The fifth characteristic is that Turkish universities had never been entirely colonized (Landau, 1997). This is another distinction, because universities in the United States, Canada, and many other countries were either created by Europeans or by others. This can be seen as an external influence and it makes higher education systems more open to market interactions.

The sixth characteristic is that changes followed a revolutionary path rather than an evolutionary process. Radical changes took place because of close supervision by the state. Changes were introduced from the top down rather than bottom up. This is another important dissimilarity of Mulkiye College from the majority of higher education institutions in the world, since it has no foundational structure that has evolved over a long period.

Considering Mulkiye in a historical context

The historical development of Turkish universities may shed some light on the state of higher education today, not only in Turkey but also in the Middle East, since Ottomans controlled this region before World War I. 'Mulkiye' was the traditional name for 'the civil service' (Findley, 1989). Unable to prevent the decline and disintegration of the empire, Ottoman intellectuals realized that a European-type higher education might save it. In order to succeed, they saw modernization as an end in itself (Landau, 1997).

The ideal of the modernist project has always been to make Turkey 'a member of contemporary civilization.' 'Contemporary civilization' meant being at the same level as Europe as regards culture, economy, and technology (Mardin, 1992). Colleges became a crucial part of this broader agenda. In pursuit of this end, Ottoman rulers turned to European institutions for a solution to their problems and imported some of their institutions. Mulkiye is one of the first of these institutions and perhaps one of the most important, since the mission of the college was to train

bureaucrats to carry out the modernization project. The college was expected to be the equivalent of the French *École Libre des Sciences Politiques* (Suleiman, 1978) in the Ottoman Empire.

A set of institutions was adopted from Europe, such as an efficient war college, and scientific, medical, and other technical schools. 'Perhaps the most important of these was the Mulkiye, established in Istanbul in 1859 to train civil servants' (Landau, 1997, p.3). The Sultan who was also the Caliph of the Ottoman Empire, established Mulkiye College in 1859. The Sultan had two different sources of authority: he represented both secular authority in the empire and religious authority in the Islamic world. Both imperial and religious powers were abolished later during the republican era, specifically in 1924. The multi-ethnic and multi-religious empire had been losing power and territory from the 18th century on. Reform-minded officials suggested that sweeping reforms had to be introduced to stop the decline and to begin the process of recovery. They further suggested a set of social, cultural, and administrative reforms.

Europe had succeeded in building nation-states. Advanced technology and population growth helped to remove the barriers hindering the consolidation of the power of nation-states. However, there are two conditions for the creation of nation-states. The first one is a centralized governmental bureaucracy. The second one is a capitalist mode of production (Giddens, 1990; Wrong, 1970). Although there is a disagreement between Marx and Weber regarding the origins of capitalism, both argue that the capitalist mode of production necessitated the creation of centralized bureaucracies (Marx, 1843; Weber, 1947). The Ottomans needed such a centralized bureaucracy to transform the state from a weak empire to a stronger state with accumulation of much-needed capital.

A condition for the accumulation of capital is the presence of entrepreneurs (Weber, 1958). Since the Ottoman Empire had not been successful in developing an entrepreneurial class, it led leaders to believe that they might be able to change the social structure using the administrative apparatus, the state bureaucracy, as leverage. Thus, they tried to create a bureaucracy that would lead to the development of a capitalist mode of production.

This logic also led administrators to think that they needed a new type of administrator to carry out the reforms that had been introduced. As a result, Mulkiye College was established to educate the new civil servants who were expected to cope with the emerging challenges. Military-oriented administrators, trained in the 'palace school', were neither capable nor willing to handle the radical changes. Moreover, they resisted attempts to bring about change. Consequently, the establishment of the college reflected the anticipation of organizing a new type of bureaucracy – rational in the Weberian sense.

Courses were taught on politics, sociology, philosophy, and history at the college. However, the secret service of Abdulhamid II, who feared disloyalty to his regime, closely supervised the courses. By 1908, when the *Young Turk Revolution* took place, the number of graduates from these newly established colleges remained relatively small (approximately 2,500), but Mulkiye graduates constituted the majority, totaling 1,236 (Landau, 1997).

However, the school's influence was far greater than the administrators had anticipated. The college's graduates and teachers were among the leaders of the '*Young Turks*' movement. This movement, allied with young military officers, overturned the successor of the founder of the school, Sultan Abdulhamid II, in 1908. Thus, the school's involvement in this event might be considered a success since the graduates were trying to change the administrative structure. *The Young Turks* were convinced that without first limiting the imperial authority, social structure could not be changed. The rulers had certainly not anticipated such a result when they authorized the establishment of the college. Mulkiye's influence was immense.

The graduates of the college established an alumni association, and started to publish a journal, called *Mulkiye*. In this journal, they claimed that a new kind of professionalism was emerging and that they should be ready for the new phenomena. The beginnings of 'the spirit of Mulkiye' and 'the Mulkiye Family' were expressed in the journal. Some objectives of the society were to publish a journal for exchanging ideas, to serve the motherland, and to protect the rights of graduates (Cankaya, 1968; Kazamias, 1966).

The journal included news from the association and substantive articles written by members. The association pioneered the idea of looking out for the future of its members, rather than just serving as an alumni communication mechanism. Some articles of the journal implied that although the war (WW I) might cause the collapse of the empire, as a group they should find a way to survive. This was the first organized and reported experience of the empire with the 'old school tie' and persistence (Cankaya, 1968). Clearly, though, this was more than just that.

During World War I, most of the members spread throughout the empire. The society suspended itself until 1921. The school was itself shut down for three years between 1915 and 1918. However, the war and the collapse of the empire were unable to destroy the spirit of the school and alumni. They kept in touch from considerable distances. They discussed how to use the executive power that they were about to hold (Cankaya, 1968; Roos & Roos, 1971). With the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, the college's penetration of the bureaucracy reached its peak.

Following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey, was proclaimed as a nation-state in 1923. The college was eager to seize the

opportunity and to align its mission with the vision of Atatürk, the leader of the republic. As a result, the college has been one of the principal advocates of modernity in Turkey. In fact, as Syzlikowicz (1970) points out, the college shared this role with only one other college – namely *Harbiye*, the Military Academy. Syzlikowicz (1970, p.376) indeed puts this pithily: ‘*Harbiye plus Mulkiye equals Turkey.*’

Mulkiye College has evolved into a four-year, doctoral degree granting, public higher education institution, now located close to the downtown area of Ankara, the capital of Turkey. The college’s first location was in Istanbul, the capital during the Ottoman era. It was relocated to the new capital of the young state in 1937. The college has six departments, nine research centers, 166 academics (49 full professors, 9 associate professors, 19 assistant professors, 78 full-time research assistants, 4 instructors, 7 specialists) and 110 non-academic staff. There are currently 3,750 undergraduates (222 from abroad) and 530 graduate students in six departments, i.e. International Relations, Public Administration, Public Finance, Economics, Business Administration, and Industrial Relations (Mulkiye Web Page, 2002).

Statement of the problem

Systems of higher education have been faced with a myriad of challenges and engaged in restructuring throughout the world since the 1980s. The Turkish higher education system has also been confronted with similar problems that triggered higher education reforms around the world: quality vs. quantity, centralization vs. decentralization, unification vs. diversification, specialization vs. interdisciplinary approaches, and public funding vs. cost-sharing (Korkut, 1984; Simsek, 1999).

The majority of these efforts are related to change. Higher education institutions are renowned for their adherence to traditions. Contextual knowledge is critical for identifying traditions since they are formed over time. When reforming higher education systems, alternative approaches to change might be considered. One alternative is to use international comparisons. However, the first step usually is an accurate definition of the problem. Practically all modern higher education institutions in Turkey know their origins in the 20th century (Guruz *et al.*, 1994; Simsek, 1999), except for a few institutions whose histories can be traced to the 19th century. These exceptions include technical schools, medical schools, and Mulkiye. Mulkiye is practically the only higher education institution that has a relatively long history, has played a central role in the transformation of Turkey, and has developed a distinctive character.

Hence, the following questions are pertinent to the understanding of the relationship between the state and higher education: First, how does the culture of one higher education organization and its environment reinforce and create constitutive environments that persist, thereby enabling the college's power. Second, what are the reasons behind the relationship between the college and the nation-state that helps the institution persist? That is, how does the college continue to legitimize itself? Third, what are the challenges to the survival of the institution in an era of competition vis-a-vis declined nation-state power?

Methodology

This section presents a rationale of the methodology used in this study. The methodology used in this study is a case study. The study utilizes the interpretation of history and events, with the modernization project in Turkey presenting a unique case in many ways (Gellner, 1997; Skocpol, 1978). As has already been noted, Mulkiye College was chosen because it has been a crucial part of the modernization project since its inception. The case of Mulkiye College is a good one because it has both theoretical significance for sociological reasons and historical significance. Ragin & Becker (1992) argue that it is rare to find such cases. As a result, this case's uniqueness provides new evidence for the institutional analysis of higher education.

Different sources increase the validity of arguments. The results have face validity. Since there is little or no research available in the literature, face validity is required to justify further research. For example, a speech by Ataturk, the first president of Turkey, has been useful to identify 'the state ideology' and link the ideology with the college's mission. Furthermore, various sources were especially useful to identify the creation, institutionalization, crises, struggles, solutions, and persistence of the issues.

Although it is methodologically difficult to overcome the duality of structure and action, for the purposes of this study, the author uses both small (individual) and large (organizational) units because structure and individual choice are intertwined. Also, there is the difficulty of doing an in-depth interview of a formal organization (Ragin & Becker, 1992; Vaughan, 1992). Newspaper articles were helpful to learn about the political unrest of the college students and they included the opinions of Mulkiye's faculty on the issues related to the state. Changes in the college structure reflected the basic assumptions. The college curriculum has been a battlefield between the faculty, who consider themselves modernist, and the college presidents, who characterize themselves as conservatives (Cankaya, 1968).

Results

This section reviews the evidence that supports the special relationship between the state and Mulkiye. The first part of results presented quantitative data on the number of Mulkiye graduates in government. The second part focused on documentary evidence on a number of variables such as legitimacy, environment, individual activity, isomorphism, persistence, and formal structures.

Data on the number of graduates in government

The graduates usually hold high-level governmental positions. In the history of the Mulkiye College, four graduates served as prime ministers, five graduates served as the head of the Turkish Parliament, 260 graduates served as cabinet ministers, and 310 graduates served as members of parliament. The overall distribution into the three key government ministries where the Mulkiye graduates are concentrated is as follows: Ministry of Interior employed 1,261 graduates, Ministry of Finance employed 914 graduates, and in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs employed 547 graduates as of 1998. In comparison, the graduates of Mulkiye College held only 8.0 % of the positions in Ministry of Foreign Affairs between 1879-1922 (Findley, 1989). The distribution of graduates based on positions held was as follows: 584 sub-governors, 119 governors, 290 assistant governors, 209 academics, 130 ambassadors, 377 inspectors, 356 bank inspectors, and 252 accounting experts (Yavuziyigit, 1999).

The data supporting the central argument of this paper comes from five studies conducted by Mulkiye to follow the progress of alumni/alumnae that span almost forty years. Four studies were conducted, roughly one study per decade, from 1965 to 2001 (Mihcioglu, 1972; Mihcioglu, 1976; Mihcioglu & Emre, 1990; Emre, 2002). All four studies were carried out by the faculty of Mulkiye. The last study (Yavuziyigit, 1999), was sponsored by the Ministry of Interior. The researchers collected the data from the institutions that administered the exams. The first study covered a period of six years, from 1965 to 1970. The second one covered a five-year period between 1971 and 1974. The third one covered a three-year period, ranging from 1986-1988. The last study is not a study of graduates but a study of public service, which includes governors, deputy governors, subgovernors, in the Ministry of Interior. Nonetheless, the majority of these civil officials were the graduates of Mulkiye and therefore this can be considered as a study of graduates (Mihcioglu, 1972).

Mulkiye graduates in government: 1965-1970

The first study included results from 256 nationwide competitive exams. Of the 256 exams, Ankara University offered the largest number of positions with 37 exams, followed by the Ministry of Finance with 32 exams, and finally Ataturk University offered 15 exams. In the Ministry of Finance, where Mulkiye graduates are keen for employment, the success rate of graduates was almost 1/3 (29.29 %). The ratio of successful Mulkiye graduates to all successful graduates was 34.13 % while the ratio of attended graduates to successful graduates was 35.16 % in 1965 and 31.43 % in 1970. Needless to say, while the number of competitor colleges increased, the success rate of Mulkiye College graduates actually increased (See Table 1 for comparison of success rates between Mulkiye graduates and other institutions).

TABLE 1: Comparisons of Success Rates for Mulkiye and All Other Higher Education Institutions for Competitive Civil Official Positions in 256 Exams: 1965-1970

Institutions	No. of Graduates Attended	No. of Successful Graduates	Ratio of Successful/ Attended (%)	Ratio of Successful/ To All Successful (%)
Mulkiye	2,465	722	29.29	43.13
All other HE Institutions	8,969	952	10.61	5.68
Total	11,434	1,674	14.65	48.81

Source: Mihcioglu, 1972, p.45

When only key governmental bureaucracies that Mulkiye graduates were interested in for employment (the Ministries of Finance, Interior, and Foreign Affairs) were taken into account, Mulkiye graduates were more successful between 1965 and 1970. Within the Finance Ministry, for the positions of Assistant Public Finance Inspector, there is a considerable difference, 30 out of 37 positions (80 %), from Mulkiye graduates. For Assistant Finance Expert positions, more Mulkiye graduates were successful, with a 20.80 %. Although the 20.80% rate appears to be relatively lower, the number of students who attended this exam was higher. For Certified Banking Accountants, no other school graduates except for the Mulkiye graduates were successful in the exams in 1965, 1966, and 1967 (Mihcioglu, 1972).

The second group of key government positions is in the Ministry of Interior. These positions are for small district administrators (sub-governors), who will be promoted to governor over time. For positions in the Interior Ministry, the Mulkiye graduates lead with 61.54 % between 1965 and 1970. However, when the successful/attended rate was considered, it actually constitutes almost 25% of all attendees. The explanation here for the relatively lower success rate of the Mulkiye graduates was the conservative government and the fact that the Minister of Interior treated Mulkiye graduates unjustly because they were considered politically left following the 1968 student unrest (Mihcioglu, 1972).

The third group of key government positions is in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Successful candidates are promoted to the ambassadorial positions over time based on their performance in the Ministry. The graduates of Mulkiye constitute almost half (48.21 %) of all successful attendees. Traditionally, Mulkiye graduates made up 79.08 % of all successful graduates (Mihcioglu, 1972).

Mulkiye graduates in government: 1971-1974

Similar to the first study, the second study provided data for a decade, from 1965 to 1974. Although the study compared the rate of success of the Mulkiye graduates with the graduates of competitors on a yearly basis, only overall comparisons are included here. Four hundred fifty one (451) competitive exams were offered between 1965 and 1974. The ratios were calculated using two different criteria. The first one was the ratio of successful graduates to all graduates who attended the exams. The second criteria used the ratio of the graduates of specific institutions to all successful graduates (Mihcioglu, 1976).

Again, when the ratio of successful/all attended was used, Mulkiye was the most successful institution. The graduates of the college ranked highest (36.22 %). Mulkiye provided almost 1/3 (26.14 %) of the successful graduates when the successful/attended ratio was used within a decade, from 1965 to 1974. Therefore, Mulkiye had the largest number of successful graduates in these examinations. These figures remained stable between the period of 1965, 1970, 1971, and 1974, in the relative success rates for the institutions (See Table 2 for details) (Mihcioglu, 1976).

As mentioned previously, the Ministry of Finance was among the three key ministries where the Mulkiye graduates were concentrated. During the period of 1965-1974, in the exams for Assistant Public Finance inspector positions, the Mulkiye graduates were the most successful (10.81 %). When the ratio of successful to all successful is considered, the Mulkiye graduates appeared to be confronted with little challenge (77.77 %). For Assistant Accounting Expert positions, the Mulkiye graduates came in first at 17.72 %. Their graduates made

TABLE 2: Comparisons of Success Rates for Mulkiye and All Other Higher Education Institutions for Competitive Civil Official Positions in 451 Exams: 1965-1974

Institutions	No. of Graduates Attended	No. of Successful Graduates	Ratio of Successful/ Attended (%)	Ratio of Successful/ To All Successful (%)
Mulkiye	5,462	1,428	26.14	36.22
All other HE Institutions	25,619	2,515	9.80	64.78
Total	31,081	3,943	12.69	100.0

Source: Riproduced from Mihcioglu (1976), p.11

up the largest group within this professional examination (63.84 %) between 1965 and 1974. For Certified Bank Accountant positions, only four successful graduates came from other institutions. The Mulkiye graduates made up 86.21 % of all successful graduates in this period (Mihcioglu, 1976).

For Civil Official Positions in the Ministry of Interior Affairs, the graduates of the college made up a little over half of all attended (54.64 %). For positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the ratio of successful graduates to all attended was almost _ (48.62 %). Within the period of 1965-1974, out of 192 successful graduates, 158 were the graduates of the college (82.29 %) (Mihcioglu, 1976).

Mulkiye graduates in government: 1986-1988

A total of 642 exams were conducted from 1986 to 1988. Out of 642, 314 exams were for Research Assistant Positions (48.90 %) at various universities. The graduates of the Mulkiye College attended only 266 of these examinations. Overall, the successful/attended ratio, the graduates of the college led all other higher education institution graduates (8.54 %). When the ratio of successful/total successful is considered, the graduates of the college made up 28.72 % (See Table 3 for details).

When all examinations in the three key ministries were taken into account (the Ministry of Public Finance, the Ministry of Interior, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), the graduates of Mulkiye were more successful than those of other colleges. During the period 1986-1988 in competition, for Assistant Public Finance Inspector positions, the Mulkiye graduates made up the largest group

TABLE 3: Comparisons of Success Rates for Mulkiye and All Other Higher Education Institutions for Competitive Civil Official Positions in 266 Exams: 1986-1988

Institutions	No. of Graduates Attended	No. of Successful Graduates	Ratio of Successful/ Attended (%)	Ratio of Successful/ To All Successful (%)
Mulkiye	9,953	850	8.54	28.72
All other HE Institutions	43,890	2,109	.05	71.28
Total	53,843	2,959	5.49	100.0

Source: Riproduced from Mihcioglu & Emre, 1990, p.2

among the graduates (87.09 %). When compared to 1965-1974 period, the ratio of successful to all successful is considered, the Mulkiye graduates experienced very little challenge (77.77 %). For Assistant Accounting Expert positions, the Mulkiye graduates were almost the only source (98.27 %) from 1986 to 1988. There were few other position openings in the Ministry of Finance in the same period and the graduates of the college constituted the largest group (For details see Mihcioglu and Emre, 1990).

In the Ministry of Interior, for sub-governors (small district administrators), almost four-fifths of the graduates of the college were successful. They made up 77.86 % of all successful examinees for this position. The ratio of successful/attended was 15.03 % for the successful graduates of the college. In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the ratio of successful graduates of the college to all attended was more than half (53.62 %). In the period of 1965-1974, this same ratio was 54.64 %. During these years, in addition to these positions, the Prime Minister's office started to employ individuals for the new capital market and other positions. The graduates again led with 2/3 in the competition for the positions in the new capital market and 1/3 of successful graduates for other positions (See Mihcioglu and Emre, 1990 for details).

Mulkiye graduates in government: 1996-1997

Mulkiye supplied more than half (58.27 %) of all successful graduates in competitive high-end bureaucratic positions. This ratio remained stable. It was 56.44 % in 1996 and 59.39 % in 1997. These ratios show that although the

competitor institutions and number of students have increased over the years, Mulkiye graduates remained competitive.

Mulkiye graduates made up 50 % of successful graduates who were admitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs positions in 1996. For the Assistant Accounting Expert positions in the Ministry of Finance, Mulkiye graduates made up 90 % of all successful candidates. In the same ministry, 75 % of all Assistant Inspector Positions were filled by Mulkiye graduates. For three positions opened by the Prime Minister’s office, Mulkiye graduates consisted of 50 % of all successful for the Treasury, 29 % of all positions for the Capital Market, and 62 % of all positions in the Stock Market (Yavuziyigit, 1999).

In 1997, Mulkiye graduates constituted 55 % of all successful graduates for the positions in Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Mulkiye graduates employed in the 54 % of Prime Ministry’s Expert positions and 57 % of Foreign Trade Office’s positions. Furthermore, in the Ministry of Finance, 55 % of Assistant Accounting Expert positions, 55 % of Assistant Inspector positions, 62 % of Revenue Controller were the graduates of Mulkiye (See Yavuziyigit, 1999, p.380 for details and other positions).

TABLE 4: Comparisons of Success Rates for Mulkiye and All Other Higher Education Institutions for Competitive Civil Official Position Exams between 1996 and 1997

Institutions	No. of Successful Graduates	Ratio of Successful/ To All Successful (%)
Mulkiye	250	58.27
All other Institutions	179	41.72
Total	429	100.00

Source: Yavuziyigit, 1999, p.380

Mulkiye graduates in government in 2001

This section describes the positions held by Mulkiye graduates in the Ministry of Interior. This part of the study is based on a study of public administration in Turkey in 2001. The survey was conducted by a group of faculty of Mulkiye and was sponsored by the Ministry of the Interior. In addition to the central organization of the Ministry (including supervisory board, lawyers, and governors who have been currently working in the central organization of the Ministry), governors, sub-governors, retired governors and sub-governors were

surveyed. A total of 1,776 surveys were sent and 1,140 were returned, with a response rate of 64 % (Karasu, 2001).

The results show that over two-thirds of all governors, fifty three out of eighty governors (66 %), were Mulkiye graduates. This ratio has never been under 50 % except for once, when the Democrat Party was in power in 1955. The government and Mulkiye could not manage to have a good relationship. It was the only time the ratio was less than 50 % (45.9 %) since the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 (See Emre, 2001 and Karasu, 2001 for more information). Thus the quantitative evidence shows that the Mulkiye graduates constitute the largest group in the three key governmental bureaucratic positions.

Other evidence

This part reviews other evidence for the unique relationship between the state and the college. Themes to explain are legitimacy, environment, persistence, formal structures, and unreflective activity. There are studies that conducted interviews with the graduates and faculty. The topics of these interviews naturally included the Turkish bureaucracy and state. Although these interviews are secondary as a data source in this study, they provided valuable knowledge about the culture of the organization and the worldviews of the graduates. The interviewees included high-level bureaucrats. Moreover, the books on the history of the graduates of Mulkiye (Cankaya, 1968; Mihcioglu, 1972; Mihcioglu, 1976; Mihcioglu & Emre, 1990; Emre, 2002; Yavuziyigit, 1999) provided detailed information.

The unique relationship between the college and the state

In the modern world, there are three major competitors: nation-states, religious groups, and regional ethnic groups. States may prefer to play a relatively weak role, such as the U.S. (Kamens, 1977). In Turkey, however, the nation-state acted primarily as an agent in its own right. One consequence of this is that direct control of Mulkiye College was kept closely associated with the state. Thus, a principal-agent relationship has emerged between the two. Compared to other societies, official efforts to politically construct a 'new citizen' and to recruit national political elites have been strong. Administrative and political elites serve as gatekeepers (Karen, 1990). Furthermore, attribution theory is useful here rather than focusing on tasks and socialization, as in the classical tradition and norms of functional approaches.

Legitimacy

The college gained legitimacy by commitment to strong Western values in Turkey. No other college has stood firm in advocating Westernization in Turkey. The college has seen itself as the sole savior of Turkey. A crucial aspect of institutionalization is the concentration of power in the hands of people who believe in these values. The following quote is taken from Mulkiye's Web Page. It reflects the mission and the assumptions of the college (Mulkiye Web Page, 2002):

'The [Mulkiye] is one of the *principal* institutions in Turkey that offers intensive education in the fields of political science, economics, public administration, and international relations. The establishment of the school and its development are closely related to the Westernisation and modernisation movements which have been taking place in Turkey for more than a century. With the beginning of social reforms, the need for administrators trained according to Western standards was strongly felt in order to adjust the administrative procedure as a mechanism to the necessities of the day and to increase the efficiency of political and administrative organizations.' [*my italics*]

This quote refers to the college's reliance on formal structures rather than relying on hierarchical structures (conflict-classical) or informal structures (functional). Environments are interpenetrated with formal organizations directly: organizations exist as social ideologies with social (usually legal) licences (Jepperson and Meyer, 1991, p. 205). Therefore, while institutionalization is the historical preservation of values within organizations, an institution is defined as a structure and certain values to which some powerful individuals committed themselves. If one focuses on the relationship between institutions and the state, one finds out that the strength of institutionalization is in the correlation between commitment to that value and power (Stinchcombe, 1968). In the Mulkiye case, one expects this correlation to be very high.

Modernity means 'modes of social life or organization which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onward and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence' (Giddens, 1990, p.1). Two distinct organizational types of modernity are nation- states and the capitalist mode of production. Surveillance (control of information and social supervision) is one of the four institutional dimensions of modernity. The other three are capitalism, industrialism, and military power (Giddens, 1990). Mulkiye College has been controlling public resources and information through its 'clientele'.

Constitutive environments

The graduates of the college have held enormous executive power in Turkey. The prime minister and the president of a political party (the leaders of two out of four major political parties) who were actively engaged in politics were the graduates of the college. The graduates hold key bureaucratic positions: as governors, sub-governors, district administrators, diplomats, professors, experts, and CEOs of public institutions. Approximately eighty percent of graduates are concentrated in the three key ministries: Interior, Finance, and Foreign Affairs. Therefore, it is crucial to take *Mulkiye* into account if a study focuses on: the state, or bureaucracy in Turkey. Again, Szylikowicz (1970, p. 390) observed:

‘... A high degree of harmony apparently existed between the culture of the school and that of the administration, as students were effectively socialized into an acceptance of the values, attitudes, and patterns of behavior that were necessary for success within the administration. For this reason, any assessment of the performance of the Turkish bureaucracy, or at least of those ministries where *Mulkiye* graduates are concentrated, must take into account the culture of the school.’

Szylikowicz (1970) finds old institutional theories misleading and functionalist ones confusing; his study provides insights that might be considered complementary to the ‘new institutionalist’ theorizing. For example, his characterizations of the school point out to a strong connection between the college and bureaucracy. This argument supports Stinchcombe’s (1968) claim that a functional causation ‘implies’ an institutional-historicism, rather than competes with it.

Persistence

The college has demonstrated a great deal of persistence in the republican era. The following compelling story of the confrontation between the prime minister of Turkey and the dean of the college is part of the evidence college autonomy. With the multi-party system in the 1950s, a relatively liberal party came into power. The college, along with the military and other bureaucratic elites, were not happy with the liberalization and with government policies. There were student demonstrations resulting in student occupation of college buildings. The dean did not let the police intervene arguing that it would be a violation of academic freedom. The dean’s permission was required by law. The prime minister called the dean and asked him to stop the student demonstrations. The dean told the prime minister that he could not prevent students from protesting because he supported

the students. Needless to say, the prime minister was unhappy. Through the minister of education, the government tried to bring the college under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Education. In 1960, there was a military coup in Turkey. The prime minister and two ministers in the government were sentenced to death and executed. The dean of the college became a member of the constitutional assembly. The assembly was responsible for drafting the legislation. The college was protected by law from that point forward (Heper & Oncu, 1987).

Additionally, in at least two instances, prime ministers (the elected head of the executive branch) wanted to close or curb the power of the school. However, the school blocked these efforts and become even stronger (Heper & Oncu, 1987; Heper & Evin, 1988). These historical events show that change followed a revolutionary, top-down, and radical path rather than an evolutionary, bottom-up path, as in Western higher education systems.

Formal structures

‘Formal organizations act in accordance with other elements of rationalized society: modern actors and their interests, legitimated functions and their functionaries, and agents of the modern collectivity such as state elite and legal and professional theorists and practitioners’ (Jepperson & Meyer, 1991, p.205). Institutions like Mulkiye emphasize formal aspects of organizational life since they constitute a substantial part of state structures.

Expansion of an educational systems also contributes to the dissemination of the values and norms of modernity not only for students but also for citizens (Meyer, 1977). The concept of nation-states emerged in Europe following the development of rational bureaucratic structures in education and in health (Wrong, 1975). Rationalized formal organization is a necessity to show that extensive institutional structures exist in a rational society (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). The developments in the Mulkiye case illustrate institutional structures as they are related to state structures.

Unreflective activity

The Mulkiye college students are aware that prestigious careers lie ahead of them. They think that after their senior year at Mulkiye College, the fifth, sixth, and seventh years after graduation, their first few years in bureaucracy, are a formal extension or a part of their formal schooling at the college. The graduates begin networking with alumni in their freshman year at college. The following quote from the college’s web site points out this reality (Mulkiye Web Page, 2002):

'The Faculty graduates have strong ties among themselves and the alumni society of the Faculty, *Mulkiyeliler Birliđi (Alumni Association)*, is a quite prestigious organisation with many branches all over Turkey. The *Mulkiyeliler Birliđi* occupies an important position in Turkish intellectual life and organizes various courses, symposiums, seminars and exhibitions every year and publishes books as well as a monthly journal. Its Ankara branch provides the Faculty, alumni, and its fourth year students with a lively and homely place with a garden for eating and drinking in the centre of the town. In addition, it also runs a motel for its members visiting Ankara. Other branches of the *Mulkiyeliler Birliđi* in various cities also have similar facilities.'

Institutional isomorphism at national and international levels

There are institutional orders at both national and international levels. Historically, the European nation-state system influenced the world system. This is reflected in knowledge systems and religious organizations; shared goals, means, and resources for ends; and control structures. Thus, modern societies have two groups of collective agents who lead economic organization: bureaucrats and business persons. In modern societies, social action takes place by authorized agents of collective interests (Jepperson & Meyer, 1991). In this case, *Mulkiye* graduates take on the role themselves.

The historical case of *Mulkiye* College illustrates the explanatory power of new institutionalist theory. Evidently, the college has long been a symbol for modernity in Turkey. The new institutionalists argue that organizations and environments mutually influence and regulate one another. The creation of the institution by the state and later influence of the college over the state through bureaucrats in social life, politics, law, economy, and bureaucracy are all evidence of this reality.

Further evidence can be found in the decisions and actions of the state. At least in two instances, prime ministers (the elected head of the executive branch in Turkey) tried to curb the power of the college. However, they both failed in their attempts. As evident in interviews, most of the college's graduates have strong modernist attitudes. In order to understand the power of the college, note the following quote (*Mulkiye* Web Page, 2002):

'In the eyes of the Turkish nation, the Faculty has come to symbolise evolution, reformism, and academic freedom. Always conscious of its historical mission and responsibility to contribute to the intellectual and political evolution of Turkey, the Faculty today is jealously defending its right to criticise the governments' internal and external policies.'

Having enormous executive power makes the college's name, culture, and structure the envy of other colleges. For example, the Faculty of Political Sciences at Istanbul University modified its name to exactly the same one as at Mulkiye to comply with the legislation to secure their graduates admission to take the exams for prestigious positions in the bureaucracy (coercive isomorphism). The law specifically mentions the name of Mulkiye College, and therefore excludes other colleges that provide a similar type of education. Another fact is that the school is supposed to be the equivalent of a French college. This shows the existence of isomorphism in the international arena. Isomorphic tendencies created similar bureaucratic structures both at national and international levels. Globalization, liberalization of the economy, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and prevalent use of the internet have weakened the modernism and mission of the college to a certain extent. New competitors have emerged from private institutions.

In order to remain competitive, the college has to revise its functioning, and open up more to environmental influences. It is clear that the college will not have difficulty in regulating its environment. As Burton Clark (1970, p.259) points out, 'the ultimate risk of distinctive character is that of success in one era breeding rigidity and stagnation in a later one.' Similarly, the myths that colleges have about distinctiveness can haunt them in the periods of rapid social change (Kamens, 1977).

Discussion and conclusions

The study provided both quantitative and documentray evidence on the special and strong relationship between the state and Mulkiye in Turkey. The evidence reviewed in the results section show the limitatitons of conflict and functional theories in understanding the Mulkiye case. While it is still developing, the most recent theory on institutions provides a more complete explanation.

Rhoades (1992) contends that there has been no systematic study of the relationship between the state and higher education institutions. He also argues that higher education literature has overwhelmingly been based on a structural-functional framework. Structural-functionalism presents higher education institutions and the state as if they are separate entities. Moreover, Rhoades argues, it points in a direction toward political process rather than power structures.

In contrast to structural-functional conceptualizations, institutional theorists such as Brint and Karabel (1989) and Slaughter (1990) have studied the interconnectedness between higher education and the private sector. However, both structural functionalists and critical theories fail to take the role of institutions into account in such matters as using the state as an instrument outside of class

relations. They only look at the state's influence on higher education, not the other way around. The new institutionalist approach appropriately takes this point into account and therefore provides a more powerful framework.

Given 'modernity' as a technical project, it requires normative, economic, and political changes from the traditional toward the modern (Giddens, 1990), although there have been some positive changes in the social structure toward the goal of modernization. Moreover, modernity requires the separation of church and state. Almost all colleges and universities in Turkey remain secular. This is another dissimilarity between Turkey and the West.

It is clear that a unique relationship has developed between the higher education system, specifically Mulkiye College, and the State in Turkey. While Turkish policy makers have borrowed and adopted institutional structures, concepts, and policies from their French, German, and American counterparts, they were revised and modified to fit the state structures in Turkey. However, they developed a bureaucracy. The relationship has been characterized as a revolutionary process. Clark's framework (1983) has not been useful to explain the case in Turkey. Others also discussed the need for opening up the higher education system in Turkey to greater market interaction (Guruz *et al.*, 1994; Simsek, 1999). The Turkish experience is a unique one and it revealed itself in the relationship between Mulkiye College and the State.

New Institutional theorizing better explains the Mulkiye College case. The evidence may be found in the changes that had taken place, sources of legitimacy, such as Westernization, the separation between church and state, constitutive environments, persistent formal structures, and autonomy.

To reiterate, the review of the following variables shows limitations in Clark's framework that the actions of state and market largely determines higher education systems. Institutions like Mulkiye appear to have played an important role in shaping the higher education system in Turkey. The following variables support this argument. First, the college proved to be persistent. Mulkiye College embarked upon executive power through bureaucracy and persisted despite efforts from the external environment to change. This is a new approach that the new institutionalists have bestowed on the organizational literature. The college enjoyed great autonomy from its establishment until the 1980s.

Second, the college gained legitimacy advocating Western values and secularism. This is another dissimilarity between Mulkiye and higher education institutions in the West. The college created a collective identity around the clientele of Mulkiye. Other colleges tried to imitate this college. Moreover, the college worked against its reason for existence because the clients of the college enjoy enormous power, high status, and relatively good income. Again, Clark reminds us of the downside: 'for the organization, the richly embellished

institutional definition we call a saga can then be invaluable in maintaining viability in a competitive market' (Clark, 1970, p.262).

Third, Mulkiye College and the state have created 'constitutive environments.' Classical approaches conceptualize the environment as an important force that has regulative force over the organizations. However, the New Institutionalism conceptualizes both organizations and environments as 'constitutive' environments. As environments may penetrate into organizations, organizations may regulate environments as well.

Fourth, there has been a culture of negotiation in European and US cases but such a culture has never existed in Turkey. The findings suggest that further research is required on the college's influence on the state. This paper has focused on the interaction between the state and the college. Moreover, the effect of this relationship on academic freedom of the faculty may need further inquiry. Finally, the findings suggest further research is needed in the Middle East, the former Eastern bloc and Russia, where etatist influences have been strong.

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Notes

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TEACHING CRITICAL THINKING IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE CLASSROOM: THE CASE OF PALESTINE

DUA' 'AHMAD FAHEEM' JABR

Abstract – *Teaching critical thinking has become a major goal of contemporary education. In spite of this, few studies address the issue of teaching critical thinking in Palestinian educational institution; therefore, this study examines teachers' perception about teaching critical thinking skills in Palestinian schools. It employs different data collection tools, including a questionnaire, interviews, classroom observations, and the inspection of exams and worksheets. The study reveals that Palestinian schools do not teach critical thinking skills effectively and consistently. It discusses the following factors that impede the teaching of critical thinking: (a) Teachers lack training in critical thinking, (b) The classroom environment does not enhance thinking, (c) Most questions posed to students require recall of information, (d) Pupils are not given enough wait time to answer thoughtful questions, (e) Pupils are not trained to regulate their learning processes.*

Introduction

Teaching critical thinking has become an important goal of contemporary education. Despite this, few studies address the issue of teaching critical thinking in Palestinian educational institutions. The studies conducted so far are limited in scope as they examine the issue only as it relates to university and college students. There is a need to examine the role of Palestinian high school teachers in developing critical thinking skills among students. This requires carrying out an investigation to examine the existing pattern in schools, if any, and to discover the relationship between the teachers' beliefs¹ about critical thinking and their teaching behaviours and methodologies.

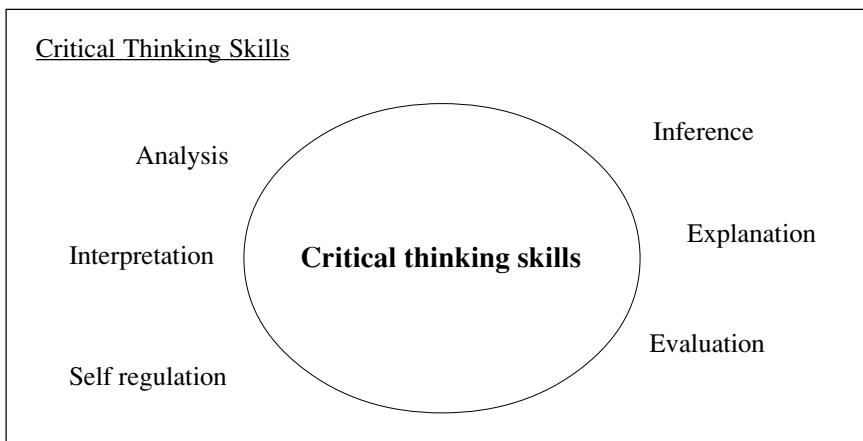
Concept of critical thinking

A review of literature in the field of critical thinking offers various definitions, including those of Kuhn (1991), Ennis (1989) McPeck (1981) and Paul *et al.* (1995). Kuhn (1991) defines critical thinking as the skills of argument. Ennis (1989) claims that critical thinking is skilful, responsible thinking that facilitates

good judgment because it relies upon criteria, self-correcting and is sensitive to context. McPeck (1981) similarly defines critical thinking as the tendency and skill to engage in an activity with reflective scepticism. Paul *et al.* (1995) define critical thinking as the intellectually disciplined process of actively and skilfully conceptualizing, applying, analyzing, synthesizing, and/or evaluating information gathered from, or generated by, observation, experience, reflection, reasoning, or communication, as a guide to belief and action. Paul *et al.* (1995) describe a set of basic critical thinking principals and strategies with suggested ways of developing these skills in daily teaching practices. Paul *et al.* identify critical thinking with moral critique. This involves not just thinking well, but thinking fairly. Paul *et al.* contrast critical thinkers with uncritical thinkers who are easily manipulated and with selfish thinkers who manipulate others. Paul *et al.* calls for focusing attention on both critical thinking skills and critical thinking values as well.

This study has adopted the ‘experts’ definition’ of critical thinking, which is presented in Facione (1996, P. 4-5):

‘Critical thinking is a purposeful, self regulatory judgment which results in interpretation, analysis, evaluation and inference as well as explanation of the evidential, conceptual, methodological, criteriological, or contextual considerations about which the judgment is based. Critical thinking is essential as a tool of inquiry. As such critical thinking is a liberating force in education and a powerful resource in one’s personal and civic life. While not synonymous with good thinking, critical thinking is a pervasive and self- rectifying human phenomenon.’



Source: *Critical Thinking: What It Is and Why It Counts* (Facione, 1996. p.7).

Critical thinking involves abilities as well as certain dispositions. The abilities include interpretation, analysis, evaluation, inference, explanation, and self-regulation. The dispositions include inquisitiveness, open-mindedness, analyticity, systematicity, cognitive maturity, truth seeking and critical thinking self-confidence (Facione, 1996).

How to teach thinking?

This century is characterized by wide use of technologies. The world is becoming smaller. Lifelong learning and responsible participation in society requires deeper thinking skills from students. Teaching thinking has therefore become an urgent mission for educators. The notion of teaching thinking is not new; Socrates laid the foundation for it through his method of questioning, which is known at present as *Socratic Questioning*. This method is considered as the best-known critical thinking teaching strategy (Paul *et al.*, 1995). Other strategies and models for teaching thinking are reviewed by Wilson (2000), who presents Nisbet's (1990) classification of thinking approaches, either through specifically designed programs and/or by infusion through the curriculum. Examples of the specifically designed programs are: *Feuerstein's Instrumental Enrichment*, *the Somerset Thinking Skills Course*, *Cognitive Acceleration through Science Education (CASE)*, *Philosophy for Children*, and *the Cognitive Research Trust (CoRT)*. An example of an infusion program is *Activating Children's Thinking Skills (ACTS) Through the Whole Curriculum*.

All approaches to teaching thinking emphasize the role of the teacher. Teachers who aim at teaching thinking skills create a thinking classroom ask divergent and thoughtful questions and help pupils to monitor their learning and thinking processes.

Many studies have been conducted to evaluate the effectiveness of the different thinking programs. Wilson (2000) reviews several of these studies. She concludes that some research studies present mixed findings regarding the effect of teaching thinking. Wilson writes, 'Evaluation studies are inconclusive. A number purport to link successful outcomes with teaching thinking skills but it is difficult to control for the influence of other variables' (p.39). It seems that teaching thinking is neither a well defined nor an easy process. Furthermore, it shows that there is not only one right thinking program.

Design

This is an exploratory research that aimed to describe English language teachers' beliefs about teaching critical thinking skills. For this purpose a questionnaire has been developed. Also, the study aimed to examine the

instructional strategies, if any, used by the English language teachers in teaching critical thinking skills.

Population

The population of this study is comprised of all the Arab English language teachers of the 10th and 11th grades who teach in the district of East Jerusalem (55 in total). All of these English language teachers completed the questionnaire that assesses English language teachers’ beliefs about teaching critical thinking skills. The population is distributed according to gender, type of school, academic degree and years of experience as the following:

TABLE 1: The Distribution of the Population of the Study According to Different Variables

Gender		
30 males	25 females	
Type of school		
26 private schools	29 governmental schools	
Teachers academic degree		
45 BA	4 MA	4 college diploma
Years of experience		
(1-5 years) 11	(6-10 years)	(10 years and above) 26

The focus group

A purposeful ‘in depth’ sample of eight English language teachers was selected as a focus group. These English language teachers’ lessons were observed, follow up interviews were conducted, and their assessment instruments were analyzed.

Instrumentation

One of the difficulties in examining teachers’ beliefs is the fact that they are not directly observable. It is unavoidable that teachers’ beliefs must be inferred from their instructional behaviour. For the purpose of this study, the following tools were used:

- A questionnaire
- Classroom observations
- An interview
- Analysis of assessment instruments.

A questionnaire containing 110 items was developed. The questionnaire was distributed to specialists in the field of education in order to test its validity. Modifications by the evaluators were taken into consideration, and the questionnaire was modified accordingly. To test the reliability of the questionnaire, test retest reliability was computed. A group of 13 English language teachers from outside the study population was selected for this purpose. The questionnaire was administered twice with a three week time lapse between the administrations of the questionnaire. A Pearson r was calculated to be .76. The final questionnaire consisted of 83 items distributed among 6 dimensions that assess English language teachers' beliefs about teaching explanation, inference, interpretation, analysis, evaluation, and self-regulation. (See Appendix no. 1)

Respondents to the questionnaire were required to place a tick under the frequency of their teaching behavior (always =5, frequently =4, sometimes =3, rarely =2, never =1).

Researchers have noted the inadequacy of the questionnaire as a measure of beliefs when used in isolation. Therefore a purposeful 'in-depth' sample of eight was also selected. These English language teachers' classrooms were observed. The classroom observations were carried out in the classrooms of the eight selected English language teachers. Each classroom was observed 4 times for a whole period (45 minutes). The purpose of the observation was to obtain an interpretative context for the questionnaire data. For this purpose an observation chart was developed (see Appendix no. 2).

The English language teachers in the 'in depth' sample were also interviewed. The aim of the interview was to probe beliefs about teaching critical thinking. The interview began with an open question to elicit the participant's perspective without sensitizing him/her to the hypotheses of the research. The interview progressed through mutual negotiation. (See Appendix no. 3)

Finally, a set of assessment instruments, which consist mainly of test papers and worksheets, were analyzed. The analysis aimed to identify questions that encourage critical thinking and require the students to analyze, evaluate, and apply information.

Results

Analysis of the completed questionnaires reveals that English language teachers believe that their instructional practices sometimes enhance critical thinking skills (the mean on the overall questionnaire is 3.2 while always =5, frequently =4, *sometimes* =3, rarely =2, never =1). English language teachers believe that they set the environment for teaching thinking skills more than they actually teach critical thinking skills.

English language teachers believe that their teaching practices enhance inference and analysis to the same extent and more than other critical thinking skills. English language teachers' beliefs about teaching explanation, interpretation, evaluation, and self-regulation are weaker respectively.

TABLE 2: The Population's Means and Standard Deviations for the Questionnaire and for every Dimension in the Questionnaire

	Mean	SD
Inference	3.37	.11
Self Regulation	2.73	.10
Analysis	3.37	.10
Explanation	3.35	.10
Evaluation	3.11	.50
Interpretation	3.33	.10
The Questionnaire	3.20	.11

These numbers mean that English language teachers believe that they sometimes help the students to think critically. Perhaps such is the case because teachers are not familiar with the notion of critical thinking. Teacher training programs at universities and colleges do not provide any courses on teaching critical thinking skills (see Sabri, 1997). If teachers were trained to teach critical thinking skills they would supplement existing textbooks by asking thought-provoking questions.

The following is an example from the classroom observations:

In the English language textbook for the ninth grade (Advance with English 3/ Oxford/ 1997 a unit about fire (unit 2). The lesson describes fire in areas an impoverished neighbourhood and there are the following lines:

‘...But the tragedy does not stop there. Women and children made homeless sit huddled under blankets, while the men gather together what they have been able to rescue from their burning homes.’

The teacher asked the students the following questions: What is the ‘tragedy’? Give the meaning of tragedy in Arabic. What did the men do? What did the women do?

These questions are closed questions that do not enhance communication or thinking. In the interview, this teacher was asked why she did not ask ‘deeper’ questions e.g. ‘The lesson states that women and children were made homeless, what about men’ ‘Were men made homeless too?’ ‘Is that mentioned in the lesson?’ ‘In your opinion, why it is not mentioned?’ ‘Do you know any women who help and rescue their families?’ ‘Do you agree with the writer, why?’ The teacher explained that she was not sure what ‘deeper questions’ mean. After a short discussion she added that her role is to teach English: vocabulary and grammar. She added that she asks similar questions to those at the end of the unit, the same type of questions that will be included in the national exam (Al- Tawjihi).

Some classroom observations show a few examples of teaching critical thinking skills, but most of these examples are surface ones. The following is the best example of teaching thinking in the English Language classroom for the 10th grade:

TABLE 3: An Example from the Classroom Observations

Teacher behaviour	Pupils’ thinking
One of the teachers introduced his lesson Helen Keller by putting a picture of her and her teacher on the board and saying:	Interpretation of the picture.
Teacher: Today, our lesson is about a special lady. Look at the lady in the picture, what is she doing?’	- Elicits pupils’ background knowledge
Pupil: Talking?	- Does not stop their thinking by providing an answer, instead he asks leading questions.
Pupil: Standing with a friend.	
The teacher: ‘Where is she putting her fingers?’	
Pupil: On her friend’s mouth?	
Pupil: On the lips.	

Teacher: Why is she doing that?

Pupil: It is not clear why.

Teacher: What exactly is not clear?

Pupil: May be they are playing.

Teacher: Do you agree- are they playing?

Pupil: There is not a game like this.

Pupil: They are too old to play such games!

Pupil: May be she is reading her friend's lips.

Pupil: She can read the lips without touching them.

Pupil: If she reads the lips then she cannot hear.

Teacher: What do we call pupils that cannot hear?

Various pupils: Deaf.

Pupil: Oh, yes- she is Helen Keller.

Teacher: Good! How did you know?

Pupil: She is deaf...she can't see sign language or read the lips because she is blind.

Pupil: That's why she puts her fingers on her friend's lips.

Pupil: I think that this is her teacher.

Pupil: Her teacher was her friend.

Teacher: Yes, this is a picture of Helen Keller and her teacher.

Pupil: I read a story about her.

Pupil: There was a program about her.

Pupil: There is a school for the blind named after her in Jerusalem.

Teacher: Why do you think the school was named after her?

Pupil: Because she was blind.

Teacher: What do you think?

Pupil: There are many blind people.

Pupil: Because she was deaf and blind.

Pupil: But the school is for the blind only.

Pupil: May be she gave them some money.

Teacher: What do you think? Do you agree?

Pupil: Many people give money to such schools.

Teacher: Let us see. What else do you know about her?

-Requires the pupil to clarify his thinking.

- Helps them to make plausible inference.

- The pupil realizes contradiction.

- Requires accurate answers.

- Requires explanation

- Understanding implications and consequences.

Pupils build on their background knowledge.

- Asks for explanations.

- Distinguishing relevant from irrelevant information.

Pupil: I read that her teacher helped her and she learned reading and writing. She even wrote some books.

Teacher: That is right.

Pupil: She was successful although she was deaf and blind.

Pupil: That is the reason why the school is named after her. - Requires clarification

Teacher: What is the reason?

Pupil: Because she was successful. - Drawing conclusions.

Teacher: And?

Pupil: She is an example for the blind to follow.

Pupil: Not only for the blind but also for all people.

Teacher: Does she remind you of anyone else?

Pupil: Yes, Taha Hussein.

Teacher: How are they similar?

Pupil: Both are blind. Both wrote books. - Noting significant similarities.

Teacher: Yes- both are achievers in spite of their disabilities.

How are they different? - Interpretation and clarification of ideas.

The teacher and the pupils continue discussing similarities and differences, then the pupils read and discuss the lesson.

The instructional behaviour of this teacher helps the students to think critically. The teacher could have talked and given a brief introduction about Helen Keller, while the pupils listened passively to him. Rather, he acted as a guide and allowed the pupils to take an active role in their learning. He did not talk much and most of his talk he raised thinking questions. The pupils felt free to express their ideas and the teacher helped them to clarify their thoughts. His responses encouraged the pupils to think. He did not say 'no that is wrong' or 'good.' Such a response would block the pupils' thinking process. Instead, when the pupils failed to answer, he asked leading questions to help them respond correctly.

The above is just one extraordinary example in a pattern that emerged from the observations. This English language teacher holds an MA in education and teaches in a private school. The interviews with teachers and the observations of the classroom reveal that English language teachers consider their roles in the classroom to lecture, tell, cover material and teach the subject matter. As one of

the teachers said: 'I have to finish the entire book, to cover the material. I want to explain the grammatical rules and to help the students to learn more vocabulary and reading skills. I have to talk all the time to make sure that students get the right answer. It will be difficult within 45 minutes to ask the pupils to express themselves and to answer open-ended questions'.

In general, the following can be concluded from classroom observations, teacher interviews and analysis of assessment instruments:

Teachers lack training in critical thinking

Classroom observations, interviews and analysis of assessment tools indicate that teachers are not familiar with critical thinking; they do not know what its skills are. The teachers do not provide pupils with sufficient opportunities to make inferences, analyze, interpret, evaluate, explain, or regulate their learning process. All English Language teachers in the study and most English language teachers in Palestinian schools are graduates of the English Language and the education departments in the local universities and colleges. Palestinian teacher preparation programs do not include a course or seminar on critical thinking (see Sabri, 1997). Al-Qattan Centre for Educational Research and Development (QCERD, 2001) evaluated teacher training programs and identified several problems including the duplication of field of specializations and programs, the absence of admission criteria agreed upon by the institutions, the lack of human resources, many programs are overly theoretical and neglect the practical dimension of real school settings. Teachers are trained in a way that focuses on coverage of theories and facts more than developing critical and reflective practitioners. Sabri, (1997) calls for improvements in the teacher training programs and indicates that competencies related to the practical issues of classrooms are more important than other theoretical issues of education. Teacher training programs in Palestinian universities should place more emphasis on class applications and teaching techniques rather than concepts and theories of learning. Teachers should be trained to think critically about their roles in the classroom, to integrate critical thinking skills with the curriculum and to enhance pupils' thinking.

The educational school system does not enhance thinking

In most observed lessons the students sit passively while the teacher is talking and explaining. Students are not asked to put into their own words what the author, the teacher or other students said. They are not given the chance to express their own views or to challenge each other's ideas and points of views. This picture in the classrooms reflects the patterns of governance in the entire

school system which is 'a highly centralized bureaucracy that operates on a strict hierarchical basis; it reproduces patriarchal roles in society; its real purpose is to domesticate and control' (Moughrabi, 2002, p.10). He describes a picture from the textbook National Education (2000) for grade one (the picture is on p.51) that shows: 'the school principal sitting around a table with some teachers. The heading of this particular lesson is 'Workers in our school'. Beneath the picture is a statement of the objective: 'to identify those who work in our schools and to deduce the nature of their functions.' What is striking about the picture is the fact that the principal (male, despite the existence of a significant number of female principals within the system) is sitting at the head of the table while the teachers (two males and two females) are sitting timidly on each side. The principal wears glasses, a coat and tie; his head is significantly bigger than the rest, and his finger is raised as if he is making a point' (Moughrabi, 2002, p.10). This description illustrates the relationship between teachers and school principals. So it is difficult for teachers to play the role of guides and facilitators of critical thinking in such an educational system which 'still concentrates on rote learning and memorizing, instead of developing self-learning, critical thinking and problem-solving skills that help in personal and social decision making' (Hashweh, 1999, p.24).

The classroom environment does not facilitate the teaching of thinking. All of the classrooms that were observed are set up with the desks in rows; the teachers' desk or table is situated in the front of the room. Such an arrangement does not enhance interaction. A better arrangement is to be in groups where pupils can work cooperatively. When asked about using teacher-fronted instruction and lecturing the entire lesson, almost all teachers gave the same reasons; time limitations, crowded classes, the activities in the textbooks do not lend themselves to group work, and teachers lack training on cooperative learning.

Teachers require from their students to 'pay attention' but they do not use thoughtful vocabulary (e.g. analyze, compare, provide evidence, speculate, predict) that helps them to focus their thinking.

Pupils are not given enough wait time to answer questions thoughtfully

The 'wait-time' is an instructional variable that defines the periods of silence that follow teacher questions and students' completed responses. Teachers in the study give pupils very limited time to answer a question before providing an answer themselves or turning the question to another pupil. Giving students more 'think time' to respond makes a marked difference in their thoughtfulness and in the whole intellectual atmosphere of the classroom (Stahl, 1994; Swift *et al.*, 1985).

Most questions posed to students require only recall of information

English language teachers generally test pupils' understanding by asking them to answer yes/no, true/false and traditional essay questions that do not require meaningful thinking or understanding. Most attention is given to facts and pupils are seldom challenged to think. Students are not trained to reason well or encouraged to make justifications for their opinions and beliefs. Teachers do not provide thought provoking questions. At the same time, pupils do not ask thoughtful questions. Similarly, the English language textbooks do not provide thoughtful questions or problems. The teachers' only goal is to prepare the pupils for the national test that does not require the pupils to think critically. Teachers should be trained to ask the right questions because the key to powerful thinking is questioning. Examples of questions that encourage critical thinking are: what does it mean? Is it true? If it is true, so what? What other alternatives are there? Put in your words what has been said? Support your claim.

Pupils are not taught self-regulation skills

Self regulation means 'to monitor one's cognitive activities, the elements used in those activities, and the results educed. Particularly by applying skills in analysis, and evaluation to one's own inferential judgments with a view toward questioning, confirming, validation, or correcting either one's reasoning or one's results' (Facione, 1996, p.11). Self-regulation is considered as the most remarkable thinking skill because it allows critical thinkers to improve their own thinking. Some educators call this skill 'meta-cognition,' meaning it raises thinking to another level (Facione, 1996). Following from this definition, teaching self-regulation means helping students to learn to think in the course of learning their discipline. The questionnaire shows that teachers' believe that they do not teach pupils self-regulation. In classrooms, the teachers do not help their pupils to become independent reflective learners, nor do they demonstrate effective learning strategies. Consequently, pupils do not take an active role in their learning process; they do not know how to set their own goals, plan for their own learning or monitor their progress. There are very limited instances where the teacher and the pupils discuss strategies for dealing with problems, rules to remember and time constraints.

Teachers use traditional assessment tools only

Pupils can regulate their learning process if they can assess their points of weakness and strength. However, teachers in Palestine tend to use only traditional tests to assess pupils' performance and understanding. Usually the assessment

takes place after completing a lesson, or completing a project. Criteria for assessment are not known to pupils prior to the test and it is not negotiated between the teacher and the pupils. Teachers do not provide opportunities for peer and self-assessment. Thus, pupils cannot find out for themselves what they know and what they do not know. Teachers lack training in using authentic assessment tools. Most teachers are not familiar with various types of assessment and their associated vocabulary (authentic, portfolio, self-assessment, rubrics, and so on). Empirical research shows that authentic assessment is a powerful measure of student achievement and teaching effectiveness (Herrington & Herrington, 1998; Zimmerman, 1992). Therefore, it is important to train teachers in the use of authentic assessment tools to help students to evaluate their learning.

The findings of this study reveal that teaching critical thinking skills is a challenging task. The Palestinian educational system does not teach thinking skills effectively and consistently. This, of course, is not a situation unique to Palestine. Tsai (1996) reached similar findings for Taiwan. He stated that the Taiwanese educational system does not help students to think 'better'. He examined secondary teachers' perspectives of teaching critical thinking in Taiwan. Teachers in Tsai's study confirm that students do not acquire critical thinking skills from Taiwanese schooling. There is indication from literature that teachers lack training in teaching critical thinking skills. Pithers (2000), reviewed the literature of critical thinking and presents evidence which suggests that not all students may be good at critical thinking; and not all teachers teach students 'good thinking skills'. Paul *et al.* (1995) stated that a statewide test in California demonstrated that many teachers and even some testing experts have serious misunderstandings about the nature of reasoning and how to assess it. Che (2002) described a critical-thinking skills project in Hong Kong suburban secondary school and analyzes teacher and student evaluation of the project, concluding that teachers find it difficult to abandon teacher-centred teaching because of inadequate training in teaching critical thinking. Ruminski & Hanks (1995) found that teachers believe they are teaching critical thinking, but they seem not to do so in a systematic or well-defined manner.

At present, Al-Qattan Centre for Educational Research and Development runs a collaborative action research project with elementary school teachers. The project aims at infusing critical thinking skills across the curriculum. Teachers in the project follow Richard Paul's model for remodelling existing lesson plans in a way that helps the children to think well. Paul *et al.* provides practitioners with a set of basic critical thinking principals with suggested ways of developing these skills in the daily practice of teaching. This action research project is a small but a serious effort that focuses on teaching thinking skills. There is a need for deliberate, better, and systematic attention to the teaching of critical thinking

skills. This requires building a more participatory and democratic educational system which aims to create active, critical, and reflective teachers and learners. Teaching critical thinking is the responsibility of all parties involved in the educational process. Teachers must learn to be reflective thinkers themselves before they are capable of teaching their pupils critical thinking skills. Therefore, teacher preparation programs should provide teachers adequate training in the skills and strategies involved in critical thinking. Officials of the Ministries of Education and educational NGO's need to adopt critical thinking as part of their educational policy. Critical thinking must be part of any strategy for strengthening the educational system. Teacher's manuals should encourage teachers to develop critical thinking skills in classrooms. In addition, textbook designers and material developers are recommended to include problems and questions that challenge the students to think critically.

Conclusions

Following from the results of this study a number of recommendations can be made regarding critical thinking in the educational system:

1. Developing a student-centred concept of teaching

Teacher training should focus on developing a student-centred concept of teaching. Teachers should view their roles as facilitators and directors of learning, not as lecturers and transmitters of knowledge. The Arab Human Development Report (UNDP, 2002) calls for a radical change in the methods of training teachers. The teacher preparation programs should familiarize teachers with self-learning, enable teachers to cooperate with parents and the local community and allow them to use new methods of evaluating students and providing education guidance.

2. Developing a solid foundation in critical thinking

Teaching critical thinking requires school teachers to have a solid foundation in critical thinking. Therefore, teachers should be required to take a course in critical thinking skills. Such a course will familiarize them with the components of critical thinking and help them to be critical thinkers themselves.

3. Setting the environment

The classroom environment should allow learners to be actively involved in the learning process. Students need teachers' support to find the means and the

confidence to express their new ideas. Teachers should encourage students and accept their mistakes, innovation, curiosity and risk-taking

4. Supplementing the current curriculum by posing thoughtful questions and using thoughtful vocabulary

Instruction should pose problems that are meaningful to students, while classroom activities should consist of questions and problems for students to discuss and solve. Some of these questions might arise directly from the curriculum, such as considering a historical decision, or evaluating evidence. Others may arise from students' experience, such as how to raise money for a newsletter. The role of the teacher is to help the students define the problem and facilitate discussion. In addition, teachers should use thoughtful language, using specific thinking skills labels and instructing students in ways to perform those skills. For example teachers should use phrases like: 'Let's compare the pictures, how can you classify...?' 'What conclusions can you draw?' 'How can we apply this?' Paul *et al.* offer a set of basic critical thinking strategies with suggested ways of integrating these strategies in the teachers' instructional practice. These strategies can be applied to any lesson by following Paul's model for remodelling lesson plans.

To enhance the teaching of critical thinking skills, English language teachers may use English language newspapers in the classroom. Using newspapers present a new and alternative type of reading. Students can be empowered by making personal choices about what to read. They can predict the content of articles and guess the meaning of new vocabulary. Students can be trained to think critically about the ideas they read and form their opinions and points of view about what they are reading.

5. Teaching self-regulation

Teaching self-regulation means helping students to learn to think in the course of learning their discipline. Teachers can do this by modelling ways of thinking, and scaffolding students' attempts to reflect on their points of strengths and weaknesses.

Teachers can help their students to regulate their learning by using authentic assessment tools, which require students to think critically while applying skills to solve real-world problems. Using authentic assessment tools such as the portfolio, rubrics and personal and peer checklists will help the students to be aware of inconsistencies and in a better position to comment on how they solved the problems.

In conclusion, this paper examined teachers' beliefs about and practices of teaching critical thinking in English Language classrooms in some Palestinian

schools. The findings of the study reveal that the Palestinian school system does not teach critical thinking skills effectively and consistently. The study recommends that critical thinking should be part of any overall strategy of strengthening the educational system and includes guidelines for teacher preparation programs.

Notes

1. Borg (2001, p.86) defines a belief as ‘a proposition which may be consciously or unconsciously held, is evaluative in that it is accepted as true by the individual, and is therefore imbued with emotive commitment, further it serves as a guide to thought and behaviour.’

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APPENDIX 1

The questionnaire

This questionnaire has been developed to assess teachers' beliefs about their practices of teaching critical thinking skills in the English Language classroom. Teachers are asked to place a tick under the frequency of their teaching behavior. 1= always, 2= often, 3=sometimes, 4= rarely, 5= never.

Item	1	2	3	4	5
1. I expose my students to real life situations such as responding to a letter, advertisement, inquiry, etc.					
2. I encourage my students to synthesize information from different sources.					
3. I encourage students to make guesses and predictions (e.g. about vocabulary meaning, story endings)					
4. I use thoughtful language when I speak to my students (e.g. what do you predict, compare, analyze, etc.)					
5. I give an element of choice among activities and within the same activity.					
6. I encourage silent reading with a purpose.					
7. I help my students to develop independent learning strategies.					
8. I help my students to develop strategies for self-evaluation.					
9. I consider the process as important as the product.					
10. I ask my students to evaluate the text they read or listen to.					

Item	1	2	3	4	5
11. I provide students with opportunities to learn how to learn (e.g. model to them learning and study strategies).					
12. I express my readiness to change my opinion in the light of new evidence.					
13. I encourage my students to express their opinions freely and voice their thoughts.					
14. I demonstrate to my students examples of the tentative nature of knowledge.					
15. I train my students to evaluate information produced by mass media.					
16. I help my students to reflect upon their learning process (e.g. write personal journals about their progress in learning)					
17. I sensitize students to the strategies that are most suitable to their particular learning style.					
18. In my teaching the focus is not only what to learn but also on how to learn.					
19. I encourage students to take responsibility for their own learning.					
20. I guide students through a process of discovery and drawing conclusions.					
21. I encourage students to reflect on the processes involved in language learning and to find out what works for them.					
22. I elicit from student-s responses about the effective ways of learning vocabulary.					

Item	1	2	3	4	5
23. I engage my students in discussions about using prior knowledge to define or describe specific vocabulary words. (Offering a physical description, what it is used for, or where it is found)					
24. I ask my students to analyze the qualities of a well-written text.					
25. I train my students to give accurate answers (e.g. I ask them to check and verify answers).					
26. I expect my students to be precise; I ask them to give more details and to be more specific.					
27. I encourage students to consider an issue from a broader perspective (e.g. I ask them 'what would this look like from a conservative, modern, religious, etc., standpoint?')					
28. I train my students to give logical answers. (I ask them how does that follow?')					
29. I encourage students to support their answers with evidence.					
30. I ask my students thought-provoking questions that require them to use higher-order thinking skills such as analysis, application and evaluation of information.					
31. My students feel secure enough to challenge each other's ideas.					
32. My students are encouraged to explore, test, search and predict.					
33. I encourage self-initiated and independent learning.					
34. In reading lessons, the focus is on how to read a text for understanding and comprehension, not on reading the text for the students.					

Item	1	2	3	4	5
35. I ask my students to describe to what extent their point of view of an issue is different from or similar to the point of view of an instructor, other students, and the author, etc.					
36. I encourage my students to make connections between related concepts and ideas.					
37. I require students to give examples to support or to clarify what they have said.					
38. The questions I pose require students to evaluate options and make decisions.					
39. I encourage students to discuss an issue with another student or with a group of students.					
40. I encourage students to generate their own questions on a reading text.					
41. In my exams I require justifications for answers to 'multiple choice' tests.					
42. I stimulate my students' background knowledge on topics/ concepts under consideration, e.g. by brainstorming.					
43. I encourage students to ask questions about what they don't understand.					
44. I model and demonstrate metacognitive strategies such as organizing, evaluating, and planning learning.					
45. I demonstrate understanding and empathy through listening to and describing the ideas and the feelings of others.					
46. I encourage students to think about thinking by asking them questions like 'what do you do when you memorize?' or how do you know that you are correct?'					

Item	1	2	3	4	5
47. I inform my students that their excuses of 'I can't' or 'I don't know how to...' are unacceptable behaviors in the classroom.					
48. I invite students to restate, translate, compare, and paraphrase each other's ideas.					
49. I use role-playing and stimulations and other activities that enhance social skills in my classroom.					
50. My students participate in considering alternative points of views and selecting and evaluating appropriate resolutions.					
51. I pose questions using hypothetical to signal divergent thought. (E.g. what would you do if you were he, what could happen if?)					
52. I ask my students to summarize the written and the oral texts they study.					
53. I ask students to compare events, content, characters, solutions, etc.					
54. I rephrase, paraphrase and translate my students' answers.					
55. I allow time for students to think before they respond to high- order- thinking questions.					
56. I allow for student-led interaction in which some topic, question, problem or issue is considered.					
57. I ask students to provide evidence to support their suggestions or answers.					
58. If my students face difficulty, I ask leading questions, paraphrase and clarify.					

Item	1	2	3	4	5
59. I subdivide my class into work groups or committees.					
60. I use different organizational patterns and instructional strategies in my classroom (lecture, group work, etc.)					
61. I allow my students to decide on strategies to solve problems.					
62. My students are encouraged to set their own goals and means of assessing accomplishment of those goals.					
63. During individual work I monitor students' progress and mediate their experiences.					
64. I turn students' everyday problems into an experience that encourages thinking.					
65. I present my students with many examples of a particular grammar point and expect them to work out and find the rules for themselves.					
66. I ask students to judge the grammaticality of some sentences and utterances.					
67. Students are asked to state grammatical rules in their own words.					
68. I give students some sentences that contain errors and ask them to correct the errors.					
69. I ask student to assess which mistakes are more serious than others, i.e., evaluate the gravity of mistakes of errors.					
70. I ask students to assess which mistakes impede communication and which don't.					

Item	1	2	3	4	5
71. I encourage students to take initiative in evaluating problem areas.					
72. I encourage students to take initiative in assessing methods that strengthen themselves in problematic areas in their learning process.					
73. I encourage my students to use grammatical patterns already covered in the class to construct sentences of their own.					
74. I encourage students to ask for clarification.					
75. I encourage students to ask questions.					
76. I use picture sequences and cartoons to engage my students in creating stories and dialogues around the pictures.					
77. I try to reduce anxiety in my classroom by being friendly, patient and cooperative.					
78. I show my students how to take control of the communication process by modeling clarification strategies such as 'could you please repeat that? Could you show me how to...?'					
79. I provide my students with examples of questions they can ask themselves in order to measure their own progress. (E.g. can you understand your English? Can you understand the speaker's language?)					
80. I teach learning strategies separately.					
81. I integrate learning strategies in the content of lessons.					
82. I invite the students to examine the relation between thinking and feeling.					
83. I break difficult tasks into smaller and easier parts.					

APPENDIX 2

Interview questions

1. How do you set the environment for thinking in your classroom?
2. Do you use different organizational patterns?
3. Do you encourage the students to express their feelings, how?
4. How do you stimulate your students' background knowledge about the topic of the lesson?
5. Do you train your students to monitor their progress in language learning, how?
6. Do you ask them to reflect on their learning progress, how?
7. Do you teach students learning strategies, what learning strategies? How?
8. Do you teach student different ways to deal with a difficult text? How?
9. Do you ask students thought-provoking questions that require them to use higher order thinking skills such as analysis, application and evaluation information? Give me examples please.
10. Do you pose questions that require students to evaluate options and make decisions, give me examples please?
11. Do you ask train students to evaluate texts that they read? Do you ask students to evaluate information produced by mass media?
12. Do you engage students in considering alternative points of view?
13. Do you engage your students in evaluating appropriate resolutions?
14. Do you invite students to put in their words what the author, you, another student has said.

APPENDIX 3

Evidence of Critical Thinking/ An Observation Chart

The Teacher

1. Encourages the students to synthesize information from different sources.
2. Encourages students to make predictions about vocabulary meaning.
3. Shows interest in effort and not only in correct answers.
4. Develop independent learning strategies, language awareness and self-evaluation.
5. Asks students to analyze the characters and the events of the story.
6. Models to the students learning and study strategies.
7. Encourages students to take responsibility of their own learning.
8. Asks students to support their answers with evidence.
9. Elicits from students background knowledge about the topic of the lesson.
10. Allows the students to think before they respond to questions.
11. Reduces anxiety in the classroom.
12. Asks high-order thinking questions.
13. Asks students to elaborate their answers.
14. Uses thoughtful language in the classroom e.g. I think, I assume, inference, conclude, analyze, etc.
15. Helps pupils to avoid generalizations.
16. Invites the students to examine relationships.
17. Helps the students to see inconsistencies and contradictions in arguments.
18. Helps the students to assess their points of weaknesses and strengths.
19. Requests the students to classify concepts, ideas, and teams, etc.

BOOK REVIEWS

Mohamed Mébarki, *Sauver l'Université*. Oran, Editions Dar El Gharb, 2003, 174 pp.

Est-ce que les enseignants algériens sont réconciliés avec leur université? Il semblerait que oui en lisant *Sauver l'Université*, le livre que vient d'écrire le Professeur Mébarki. Cependant, cet ouvrage se situe aux antipodes d'un autre livre écrit, il est vrai il y a de cela presque dix ans, par Dr. Liès Maïri intitulé *Faut-il fermer l'Université?* (Alger, ENAL, 1994). Dans ce dernier cas, la réponse à la question ne serait plus aussi tranchée. Néanmoins, les deux ouvrages établissent quasiment le même état des lieux. Si les deux constats faits par les deux universitaires sont assez complets, celui de Maïri est de par le ton adopté plus sévère, moins complaisant, plus tranché. Mébarki qui était ancien recteur de la deuxième université d'Algérie à Oran, et ancien député, se préoccupe plus, il est vrai, d'offrir des voies de sorties de la crise à l'Université Algérienne, alors que Maïri explique pourquoi il y a échec de l'université et donc nécessité de la fermer.

L'objectif premier de l'auteur de *Sauver l'Université*, est clair. Il s'agit moins de faire un état des lieux exhaustif de l'Université que de 'mesurer l'effort consenti, et le chemin parcouru depuis l'indépendance' (p.13). L'argumentaire est donc évident. Mébarki va dans un premier temps, dans une introduction assez longue, faire un constat, chiffres à l'appui, des difficultés auxquelles l'université a été confronté depuis sa création. Il est vrai qu'à la lecture de certains chiffres, l'université a accompli un réel exploit, sur le plan quantitatif tout au moins.

600 étudiants en 1962 (date de l'indépendance) ; près de 600000 en 1999-2000
1 université en 1962 ; 17 universités et 40 institutions éducatives du Supérieur en 2000

Suite à cela, Mébarki critique, en ne s'attardant pas, le système éducatif qu'il juge 'ne pas répondre aux attentes de la société' (p.14), la cause selon lui est due à 'une défaillance dans la conduite générale du système d'éducation et d'enseignement' (p.14), sans qu'il explicite un peu mieux cette pensée. L'auteur continue à lister les causes particulières qui sont un inventaire en vrac, sans hiérarchisation, des éléments perturbateurs qui vont du manque d'orientation politique, à l'inefficacité de la carte universitaire (proposée dans les années 80, et dont l'objectif premier était: une université par wilaya/département), du système d'orientation et de la formation des formateurs, de la politisation du problème

des langues d'enseignement, du système d'évaluation, et de la pression démographique. Ce constat amène donc Mébarki à expliquer ses raisons pour une réforme et à faire des propositions de 'sortie de crise', qui vont constituer l'essentiel du livre. Les 4 chapitres du livre sont dévolus à des remèdes que l'auteur juge être à même de remettre le système du Supérieur à flot.

Dès le premier chapitre, qu'il intitule 'considérations scientifiques et pédagogiques' il aborde l'institution du module comme unité pédagogique et du certificat comme ensemble de crédits, en passant par le contrôle continu comme méthode d'évaluation tout cela organisé par la Réforme du Supérieur de 1971 pour arriver au présent système de progression annuelle et du système de compensation inter-modulaire (imposé par la politique populiste des autorités éducatives) qui favorise les étudiants au détriment de leur formation. Si le constat est juste, les propositions ne sont ni légion, ni nouvelles, en dehors de l'institution de passerelles entre les formations pour éviter les déperditions.

La partie sur les problèmes de langues d'enseignement (arabe et/ou français) oscille entre un simple constat d'échec de l'arabisation extérieure à l'environnement socioculturelle:

'Les tenants de l'arabisation « tout de suite, et maintenant » ne voulaient pas arabiser avec les Algériens, mais simplement « importer » un modèle « clefs en mains » avec ses hommes (venus d'ailleurs) et des moyens (méthodes, livres...) préparés ailleurs' (p.38)

et un appel pressant à inclure les langues étrangères, mais aussi les langues maternelles dans une fonction d'enseignement, ce qui est un véritable challenge pour ces derniers, et que beaucoup de didacticiens jugent être vitales pour éviter des schizophrénies langagières.

L'autre problème majeur souligné est 'l'orientation post-baccalauréat'. Il est vrai que la pression sociale est parfois plus forte que toute les politiques ou planifications éducatives. C'est pour cela que la hiérarchie entre les formations répond plus aux jugements sociaux qu'à la mise en pratique d'une politique ou d'une planification pensée. Ainsi, avions-nous en 2001, en fonction des vœux exprimés par les étudiants, en 1^{ère} position la pharmacie, en 2^{ème} presque à égalité les sciences commerciales, en 3^{ème} la chirurgie dentaire, en 4^{ème} médecine, en 5^{ème} l'informatique, en 6^{ème} le droit.

Mébarki considère l'orientation à l'université comme un leurre puisqu'en fait c'est à partir de la 2^{ème} année des tronc communs que se fait l'orientation que nous qualifierons d'orientation par l'échec, puisque c'est la note finale en 1^{ère} année du tronc commun, qui détermine les choix et non les vœux des étudiants. Par ailleurs, et sans trop vouloir révolutionner le système, l'auteur suggère de faire

correspondre les spécialités au lycée avec celles de l'université, permettant ainsi à l'orientation de se faire indirectement.

Trois autres sous-parties sont mentionnées: *l'encadrement pédagogique* en amélioration croissante, mais encore en déséquilibre (moins de 22% des enseignants sont de rang magistral en 2000, dans les grandes universitaires, mais pas dans les centres universitaires où la situation est pire), *la formation courte* (utilisée plus pour réguler les flux d'étudiants), et *l'enseignement continu* qui a fait plus de mal (par détournement de la loi, en dispensant des formations que l'université de la formation continue n'était pas sensée enseigner) qu'il n'a résolu de problèmes. Les suggestions ne sont pas nombreuses pour régler ce problème.

Le chapitre 2 intitulé '*l'organisation administrative de l'université*' soulève une série de problèmes liés à la gestion de l'université, aux structures administratives, à la gestion des personnels, au financement et la gestion des moyens, à la coordination régionale des universités (prise en charge par les académies universitaires régionale entre 1996 et 2001, disparues depuis), et aux établissements privés. C'est surtout ce dernier point qui aurait mérité une attention plus soutenue de l'auteur vu que ce secteur s'est immiscé de manière clandestine '*sans autorisation*' selon l'auteur, plus qu'il n'a été invité. L'apport des établissements privés est selon notre vision plus que vital, car ils sont des acteurs incontournables dans la politique d'ouverture que mène le gouvernement pour faire face à une mondialisation/globalisation de plus en plus envahissante et incontrôlée. Malheureusement,

'L'université fonctionne à vue, sans politique clairement identifié, sans objectifs fixes et sans les moyens nécessaires. De plus, on continue d'éviter la réflexion d'ensemble sur la place et le rôle de l'université algérienne.' (p.80)

Constat juste, mais explication parfois caricaturale « *sans objectifs fixes et sans les moyens nécessaires* ». C'est parfois sur le terrain que les gestionnaires déviaient les objectifs fixés par le Ministère. Quant aux moyens, c'est encore sur le terrain que la lecture des choses nous montre des situations différentes: absence de moyens dans certains endroits, mais pléthore de moyens dans d'autres, et souvent mauvaise gestion des ressources. Quant à l'absence de réflexion, cela n'est pas totalement vrai: de nombreux séminaires, colloques et autres journées d'études ont été organisés sans que le Ministère ne capitalise les avantages générés par les réflexions développées durant les échanges.

Nous retiendrons aussi la suggestion de contractualiser les enseignants, ce qui ne serait pas du goût, ni des enseignants ni des syndicats. Nous pensons que le populisme extrême des autorités, et la sécurisation des travailleurs ont

déresponsabilisé les enseignants, et généré une attitude de ‘après moi le déluge’ quasi général, synonyme de démobilisation et de désintéressement de la chose publique. Il est vrai qu’une contractualisation changerait en partie les choses, tout en assurant la mobilité des enseignants qui ont tendance à vivre en vase clos.

L’autre problème majeur soulevé par Mébarki dans ce chapitre concerne surtout celui de décentralisation qui est plus dans les textes (cf. la loi d’orientation du Supérieur 99-05) que dans leur implémentation. C’est en cela que la proposition de Mébarki bien que simple, n’est pas moins logique car dans un nombre incalculable de problèmes, c’est le non respect de la réglementation qui est responsable de l’échec des actions entreprises. L’autre élément frein que soulève justement l’auteur de *Sauver l’Université*, c’est le statut même de l’université: EPA, Etablissement Public à caractère Administratif, qui est générateur de bien des situations-problèmes. Bien que les textes (loi de 1999) consacrent le passage de l’université au statut de EPSCP, Etablissement Public, Scientifique, Culturel et Professionnel, celle-ci reste encore frileuse surtout pour ce qui concerne la gestion des recettes qu’elle fait .

L’autre caractéristique naturelle de l’université, c’est-à-dire la *recherche* à l’université, elle est abordée dans le chapitre 3 qui décrira d’abord *la politique de recherche* telle que consacrée dernièrement par la loi sur la recherche (loi 98-11 du 22/8/1998) pour passer ensuite au *potentiel humain* (environ 10000 chercheurs recensés en 2000, et dont 80% sont à l’université), *l’organisation de la recherche universitaire*, pour terminer par *la loi d’orientation et de programmations quinquennales*. Intégrer la recherche dans la politique de développement du pays est l’invitation expresse que formule l’auteur pour donner à la recherche ses lettres de créances, sans oublier de faire confiance aux chercheurs en Algérie et à l’étranger. En outre, le laboratoire de recherche reste pour l’auteur l’élément moteur de la recherche car son statut (déterminé par le décret exécutif 99-256 du 16/11/1999) lui permet de rentrer de plein pied dans une économie de marché telle que le souhaitent les politiques et les chercheurs. Le laboratoire de recherche devient ainsi un EPST (Etablissement Public à caractère Scientifique et Technique), où le contrôle se fait à posteriori, ce qui assurera un meilleur fonctionnement de celui-ci. Quant à l’avenir de la recherche, Mébarki ne retient que le ‘plus’ organisationnel et financier qui risque cependant d’être malmené par les lenteurs administratives. Il termine en soulignant que c’est grâce à la ‘veille technologique’ assuré par les enseignants, que le pays bénéficiera toujours de la recherche faite sous d’autres cieux.

Quant à l’avenir de l’université, Mébarki relève de manière juste que l’environnement direct de l’université est aussi fautif dans la mise à l’écart de l’université et de la recherche que celle-ci mène:

‘L’environnement culturel, social, économique et industriel, évoluant dans le système politique qu’a connu l’Algérie jusqu’à récemment, a-t-il jamais été disposé à clarifier sa relation avec l’université? La complexité du questionnement est, en tout cas, significative de l’énorme malentendu dans la relation de l’université avec la société.’ (p.123)

Pour pousser plus loin l’analyse de Mébarki, Il nous semble que si l’université algérienne vit presque en vase clos, c’est en partie à cause de la société mais aussi par les manœuvres des politiques qui ont toujours vu l’université comme un danger potentiel, socialement (en tant qu’élément perturbateur) ou politiquement (dans la course au pouvoir).

Le dernier chapitre, ‘*la vie universitaire*’, montre que l’Etat a toujours la lourde charge d’assurer seul l’hébergement des étudiants (52% des 550000 étudiants inscrits en 2000), et l’octroi de bourses (86% d’autres eux en ont bénéficié). A cela vient s’ajouter la gabegie due à la mauvaise gestion. Mébarki avance par ailleurs une idée intéressante en parlant de ‘taxe de formation’ que devraient payer les entreprises privées qui bénéficient des produits finis que forment l’université sans investir un seul dinar. Cette aide à l’état serait conséquente si ce dernier fournissait à son tour des aides multiples aux privés. Ce chapitre traite aussi des ‘activités sportives et culturelles’, de la ‘vie syndicale’ et des ‘organisations estudiantines’. Ces dernières en nombre élevé depuis l’instauration du multipartisme semblent calquer leurs programmes d’action sur ceux des partis, d’où une certaine cacophonie à l’intérieur des universités.

En conclusion, l’auteur de *Sauver l’Université* reconnaît qu’une ‘crise multidimensionnelle habite l’université’ (p.174). Il semble par ailleurs optimiste quant à l’avenir de l’université qui devra selon lui allier justice sociale et modernité aux principes de démocratisation de l’enseignement si cher aux algériens, contre la ‘sélection par l’argent’. Il prône aussi une complémentarité accrue entre les différents paliers du système éducatif. Par contre, les propositions pour une ‘nouvelle organisation pédagogique et scientifique’ et une ‘réforme des méthodes’ ne sont pas clairement définies, l’auteur reste assez vague dans ce domaine. Par ailleurs, il suggère des programmes allégés et l’annulation du ‘système de compensation’ dans l’évaluation des étudiants. Si le lecteur algérien pourrait comprendre le pourquoi de l’allègement des programmes surtout quand cette surcharge ne se justifie nullement, il sait d’avance, connaissant les rapports entre les organisations estudiantines et l’administration, que l’annulation de ce système d’évaluation ne pourra jamais se faire. Ce système d’évaluation a été le fruit de luttes estudiantines à l’encontre de décisions prises par les autorités éducatives et les enseignants qui ont toujours fait marche arrière. Le populisme en

direction des étudiants n'ayant connu aucun fléchissement, il serait utopique de croire que le présent système puisse disparaître sans une réaction violente des étudiants.

Si la proposition de diplômes intermédiaires (du genre DEUG) pour éviter des déperditions est judicieux, celle par contre de maintenir le statu quo pour les langues n'est pas réaliste car ne tenant pas compte de l'évolution dans le monde, ce qui maintiendrait le pays hors course dans une mondialisation envahissante. L'université doit donc régler le problème des langues d'enseignement, mais aussi permettre à l'Arabe Classique de faire plus qu'un travail de traduction qu'elle fait mal d'ailleurs puisqu'il n'y a dans le monde arabe aucune unification des concepts et notions en arabe.

Cependant, nous nous inscrivons en faux par rapport à l'idée de Mébarki de 'parer au plus pressé' (p.174). N'est-ce pas cette manière de faire qui a toujours généré des réformes conjoncturelles, du replâtrage pédagogique et scientifique et des remédiations plus cosmétiques que pérennes ? La conclusion de *Sauver l'Université* s'oppose de manière tangible à celle de *Faut-il fermer l'université?* Ainsi, si pour Mébarki il 'faut une charte qui codifiera les relations dans le strict respect des droits de chacun' (p.174), pour Maïri, les choses sont plus extrêmes, car il parle d'échec et de la nécessité d'instaurer les principes de 'rigueur et de rationalité à tous les niveaux' (p.217). Par ailleurs, Maïri affirme que ce qui est essentiel c'est: 'une volonté politique de réforme mettant fin au laxisme, à la médiocrité, à l'amateurisme et au clanisme' (p.219), dont souffre l'université et que les autorités quelles quel soient n'ont jamais pris à bras le corps pour mettre fin à ces fléaux.

Nous serions tentés de suivre Maïri dans son analyse. Seulement, il nous semble que l'université a les moyens de se sortir du ghetto dans lequel elle a été mise par des volontés politiques d'abord, et éducatives ensuite. Sans trop verser dans un optimisme exagéré, il nous semble que ces deux universitaires balisent de manière juste la problématique universitaire. Les moyens de sortie de crise ne sont pas identiques, mais il s'agit selon nous de trouver un équilibre entre une réforme qui proposerait des changements cosmétiques (Mébarki) et une révolution (Maïri) qui ferait table rase de l'existant.

Par ailleurs, il nous semble que si *Sauver l'Université* fait de manière quasi exhaustive l'état des lieux de l'université algérienne aujourd'hui, et des maux et faiblesses dont elle souffre, mais aussi des qualités qu'elle détient, les propositions restent parfois en-deçà de ce qui est attendu pour mettre cette université sur les rails de l'efficience et de la rationalité. En dépit de cela, la réflexion développée par Mébarki reste encore strictement techniciste car deux notions clés sont totalement absentes de son discours: *l'éthique* et *la déontologie*. Sauver l'université n'est pas seulement question de moyens ou de réglementations, voire

même d'une Charte telle que le suggère Mébarki, mais bien d'attitudes en adéquation avec l'esprit universitaire à même d'éviter les dépassements pour développer plus de professionnalisme. Dans l'université algérienne, éthique et déontologie sont les choses les moins partagées parmi la communauté universitaire. Nous les jugeons essentielles car elles offrent, selon nous, le cadre générique sans lequel les réformes (ou révolutions) universitaires ne seraient que poudre aux yeux, et la venue d'une université moderne en prise avec la réalité (locale et mondiale), une chimère.

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