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Observatory for Fundamental University Values and Rights

Case Studies

Higher Education in Turkey: Institutional autonomy and Responsibility in a modernising society

Policy Recommendations in a Historical Perspective

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABET	American Board for Engineering and Technology
ACTE	Association for Career and Technical Education
AHCI	Arts and Humanities Citation Index
AKP	Justice and Development Party
CHE	Council of Higher Education
CNAVES	*Conselho nacional de avaliçao do ensino superior* (in Portugal)
CRE	Conference of Rectors, Presidents and Vice-Chancellors of European Universities (*Conférence des Recteurs Européens*)
DPT	*Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı* (State Planning Organization, SPO)
ENIC	European Network of Information Centers
ENQA	European Network of Quality Assurance
EUA	European University Association
FE	Further education (in the United Kingdom)
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services
GRE	Graduate Record Examination
GDP	Gross domestic product
HEAEQAC	Higher Education Academic Evaluation and Quality Assurance Commission
HBO	*Hoger Beroepsonderwijs* (in the Netherlands)
IEP	EUA Institutional Evaluation Programme
IIM	Indian Institute of Management
IIT	Indian Institute of Technology
IMHE	Institutional Management in Higher Education (OECD programme)
İTU	İstanbul Technical University
IUC	Interuniversity Council
IUT	*Institut Universitaire de Technologie* (France)
METU	Middle East Technical University
MÜDEK	Association of Engineering Deans

NARIC	National Academic Recognition Information Centers
NUVTE	National University of Vocational and Technical Education
ÖSYM	*Öğrenci Seçme ve Yerleştirme Merkezi* (Student Selection and Placement Centre, SSPC)
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PTE	Private training establishment (New Zealand)
QAA	Quality Assurance Agency (United Kingdom)
SAEA	State Academy of Engineering and Architecture (*Devlet Mühendislik ve Mimarlık Akademisi, DMMA*)
SAECS	State Academy of Economics & Commerce (*İktisadi ve Ticari İlimler Akademisi, İTİA*)
SAFA	State Academy of Fine Arts (*Devlet Güzel sanatlar Akademisi, DGSA*)
SCI	Science Citation Index
SSCI	Social Science Citation Index
SSE	Student Selection Examination
STS	*Section Techniciens Supérieurs* (France)
TAFE	Technical and further education (Australia)
TÜBA	Turkish Academy of Science (*Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi*)
TÜBİTAK	Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey
YAYKUR	Agency for Teaching by Correspondence (*Yaygın Öğretim Kurumu*)
YURTKUR	Agency for Loans and Dormitories (*Kredi ve Yurtlar Kurumu*)
WTO	World Trade Organization

Foreword

Dr Andris Barblan, former Secretary General
Magna Charta Observatory, Bologna

In 1683 Eugene of Savoy freed Vienna, the capital city of the Habsburg Empire, from the Turkish armies, the first of a long series of battles that led him to recapture Hungary and Belgrade in an effort to push back the Sultan's power towards the East. While the Ottomans were considered the archenemy, they were also seen as possible allies in European conflicts. Would not Ottoman support help France in its rivalry with Austria, for instance? In 1669, Louis XIV received a great Embassy from Istanbul – that brought coffee to the French court. And the king requested Turkish features in the next *divertissement* he commissioned to Molière and Lully: the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, first performed in October 1670, makes of *Monsieur Jourdain,* the main character, a *Mamamouchi*, a supposed Ottoman title of nobility.

Molière was making a caricature of Turkey but more as a kind of homage than derision since the ridiculed person was the French bourgeois dreaming of grandeur. In 1782, Mozart produced the *Entführung aus dem Serail*, in Vienna, where the Turks were still seen as a danger. *Selim Pacha*, a key character in the play, is first presented as a man of evil, indeed, but, as the

opera proceeds, Selim proves noble and generous: he frees his Christian captives. In the 19th century, ambivalence continued as Turkey was still perceived as a threat – during the liberation struggles of Greece, Bulgaria and Romania – but the Turks were also considered partners to reckon with, the Orient becoming even a source of romantic art and poetry in the West.

Fears, clichés and prejudices about the Turks have had a long history in Europe – based on very real confrontations, political and religious. In a way, Turks represented an inversion of the values prevailing in Western cultures but, as Molière and Mozart indicated, human nature could take over and allay apprehensions about threatening neighbours. This is still very much what happens today: on one side, the westernisation of the Republic since Atatürk has been welcome but the presence of millions of Turks as *Gastarbeiter* still worries many, in particular the European job-seekers who worry about competition for employment. Europeans are still ambivalent on the 'European specificity' of Turkey. The matter is complicated by the fact that the Turkish people are also divided about their own identity, thus feeding their external image as entertained both by pessimists and optimists in Europe.

Alarms need to be tamed – by better knowledge of each other's strengths and weaknesses. That is very much the bet made by the European Union even if the process of such an integration of the minds is slow and often disappointing. A contribution of the *Magna Charta Universatum* to mutual understanding, this booklet tries to go beyond prejudices and clichés by proposing a reasoned view of higher education and its problems in Turkey – today, although with a glance to the past in so far as it explains the present. The paper has been commissioned to two former rectors of Turkish universities with whom the Observatory has had sustained cooperation, Kemal Gürüz and Ustün Ergüder.

The Observatory has long considered that Turkey is a key country for university development since Turkish higher educa-

tion is and has been constantly testing the rights and principles enshrined in the Magna Charta signed in Bologna in 1988 – several Turkish university leaders being among the original signatories. The system is meeting demands familiar in many countries: the exploration of new knowledge, the training of specialists able to join a fast developing economy or the education of citizens willing to contribute to the political and social modernisation of a transforming society; this can be summed up as nation building, a function that has been taken up by most universities since the 18th century; this role, originally influenced by the Enlightenment, has usually implied a secular organisation of society, away from religious influences – although, over time, many countries found some kind of *modus vivendi* with clerical powers.

Over the last few years, with the Justice and Development Party in power, Turkey has been indeed in search for such a compromise, and higher education proves a key area for the definition of its society. Oppositions have been strong and the dialogue difficult since many groups are feeling threatened by potential change. What does modernisation mean today, not to speak of Europeanisation? How can the Moslem dimension of Turkish identity contribute to transforming fears of others into respect for them? Recently, various groups have asserted their position at the risk of undermining social trust in the country. To bridge conflicting views, the World Bank analysed the higher education system while a group of independent academics proposed their own study of the situation, documents that were submitted to the Council of Higher Education (YÖK) which also launched its own investigation in the potential for change of Turkish universities.

Could the Magna Charta be a benchmark in the discussion of what higher education should be in tomorrow's Turkey? A few seminars were then organised with the support of the European Union to re-open the dialogue between the various partners of higher education in Turkey, universities, politicians, industrial-

ists, unions and the media: these were intensive one-day discussions on the universities' specific purposes, on higher education governance or financing. The Magna Charta delegates were catalysts in the building of new opinions and the rebuilding of trust among some of the key stakeholders of higher education in the country.

The document here presented combines background information on higher education in Turkey, material prepared for the discussions organised under Magna Charta sponsorship and arguments for change that were proposed in the seminars – and also in public debates. Indeed, the matter is of great actuality in today's controversies – for instance in the discussions concerning the 'headscarf' at the university. Kemal Gürüz, who has been the President of YÖK for several years, the central authority for higher education in Turkey, tends to imagine change from a more top down point of view than his colleague, Üstün Ergüder, now the head of the Istanbul Policy Centre at Sabanci University, a political scientist who deems bottom-up developments also commendable. The two, however, consider that similar transformations are needed if higher education in Turkey is to support the long term evolution of the country, a country both loyal to its past and committed to its inclusion in the wider world, be it Europe or the globe. In this context, autonomy and academic freedom remain key values for social responsibility: that is why the Observatory decided to publish this paper in its series of 'case-studies' on the management of academic autonomy in various parts of the world. May this booklet contribute to a deeper understanding of the cultural diversity and community of all European citizens! May it open on the European Higher Education Area desired by all, the coming result of the Bologna process now on-going!

Historical background

1. Introduction

This study is concerned with policy recommendations for the future direction of higher education in Turkey. It is believed, however, that no topic can be properly analysed if its past is not well understood. This is particularly true in the case of Turkish higher education, for this particular issue has been, and continues to be, one of the most controversial in Turkish society. Future debates on this topic are likely to be heated, and possibly politically divisive.

To bring out the vicissitudes of the historical evolution of Turkish higher education, we start out by underscoring a fundamental difference between the historical development of higher education in the West and that in Turkey. The university is considered an institution at the core of modern higher education systems. Thus, in western countries, higher education systems have grown slowly, over the centuries, out of the medieval university. On the other hand, present day higher education in the Republic of Turkey results from a substitution process, i.e., a

move from existing educational institutions in a multiethnic and theocratic Ottoman Empire to universities and other types of higher education institutions imported from the West. This cultural break started in the later years of the Empire, and accelerated after the proclamation of the Republic in 1923.

The medieval university had been an international institution while the modern one is an integral part of tertiary systems set up by nation-states. All over the world, universities have played key roles indeed in nation-building and the education of the workforce for modern economies. This has also been the case in Turkey where educational institutions have been the main instruments for educating the citizens of a nation-state turned secular, a state made of the former subjects of a multiethnic theocratic empire: it meant transforming an *ümmet* – a community of Muslims – into a modern society firmly grounded in lay Western values.

2. The Pre-Ottoman Period

Critical, rational human thought is at the core of today's global civilisation. It is generally agreed that the seeds of what we today refer to as science were sown by Thales, Anaximander and Anaximenes about two and a half millennia ago in Miletus, on the western coast of today's Turkey. From there, it spread to the known world of the time, forming the intellectual and epistemic basis of the Greco-Roman culture. When, during the dark ages, such thoughts were found dangerous and banned, many dissidents sought refuge in safe havens like Nisbis, Harran and Edessa (in today's southeastern Turkey), or Jundishapur (in today's southwest of Iran). In these centres where East met West, the Greco-Roman intellectual heritage was enriched by eastern influences before permeating the Islamic world of the day. This philosophical and epistemic basis was later expanded and further explored by commentaries and original contributions made by Muslim scholars coming from regions extending from Cen-

tral Asia to Andalusia.[1] The Greco-Roman intellectual heritage, thus enlarged and enriched, was to revive in the West through translation centres in Andalusia and Sicily, where Christendom interacted with Islam; this eventually led to the Renaissance, the Reformation, the First Scientific Revolution, the Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution and the Second Scientific Revolution – not to speak of today's global knowledge economy.

It is crucially important to note that at about the time when the Dominican monk Thomas Aquinas (1127-1274) was opening up the western mind by reconciling Christian dogma with Aristotelian philosophy in his *Summa Theologica* – thus sowing the seeds of the supremacy of human intellect over revelation –, Gazali (al-Ghazel, Algazel, 1058-1111) was closing the Muslim mind by refuting Avenassar and Avicenna in pamphlets entitled 'The Philosophers' Incoherence' and 'The Revival of Religious Sciences'. He used the methods of logic and dialectic to denounce and renounce foreign philosophy and science, since he could not reconcile them with the revealed tenets of Islam. Even Averroes' response in his 'Incoherence of the Incoherence' could not undo the damage that Algazel inflicted on the Muslim mind.[2]

Algazel's pernicious effect would possibly have been limited if it had been confined to a philosophical debate. However, he

[1] For original contributions of Muslim scholars, see Stanton (1990) and Rubenstein (2003). Many Muslim scholars have made original contributions in a wide range of disciplines, including not only philosophy, but also mathematics, physics, chemistry and medicine. Of these scholars, three stand out in terms of the effects of their contributions to today's global civilisation, Avenassar (Farabi, 870-950), Avicenna (İbni Sina, 980-1037) and Averroes (İbni Rüşt, 1126-1198), for having reconciled Aristotelian thought with Islamic faith and developing *kelam* as a dialectic method of explaining divine revelation.

[2] According to Turkish science historian Aydın Sayılı, '*But for al-Ashari and al-Ghazali, the Arabs could have been a nation of Keplers and Newtons*.' Quoted in Stanton (1990, 88).

was also appointed as the chief scholar of the Nizamiye Madrasa[3] founded by the Seljuk Turks in Baghdad in 1067, which served as a model for later Ottoman madrasas. Indeed, the latter's original curriculum was heavily influenced by the views of Algazel, and his teachings became the standard taught in all madrasas, Ottoman included.

3. Higher Education in the Ottoman Empire

The first Ottoman madrasa was founded in İznik (Nicea) in 1331, followed by those set up in Bursa (1365 and 1418) and Edirne (1447), the first two capitals of the empire. Fatih (1453-1461) and Süleymaniye (1550-1559) were founded in İstanbul. The latter two were named after the emperors who gave their founding charters. These were imperial edicts much like the papal bulls granted to medieval universities, and included rules and regula-

[3] Although there are many similarities, both in function and organisational form, between the madrasa and the medieval European university, the former was, from the beginning, essentially a college of sharia law, rather than being an institution where different disciplines were taught in tandem, as the case was in the latter institution. In contrast to the medieval university, philosophy and natural science never became part of the curriculum in the madrasa. To know more on the madrasa, see Makdisi (1981) and Stanton (1990). The Nizamiye madrasas, named after the Seljuk Grand Vizier Nizamülmülk, were a chain of teaching institutions set up throughout the Empire, to consolidate the power and to advance the doctrinal views of the State. These were essentially teaching institutions much like the earlier colleges of law, but independent from the mosque. They were State institutions where curriculum, appointments and succession were not under the control of the caliph, but in the hands of the State. They were well-endowed institutions that included dormitories, refectories and libraries; and students were paid stipends. There was a mosque within them – after all, they were founded to teach religious sciences – but the institution was presided over by the *müderris*, not the *imam* of the mosque. Thus, where the Prophet had considered the State as a servant of Islam, Nizamülmülk founded these Islamic institutions for teaching as instruments of the State.

tions pertaining to academic requirements and administrative procedures, as well as provisions concerning financial resources.

According to Babinger (1978, 479), Mehmet II, the conqueror of Constantinople in 1453 (Fatih), was the first head of state to note the adverse effects of the teachings of Algazel. Nevertheless, even he, a powerful sultan, could not bring himself to change the curriculum in the Ottoman madrasas that increasingly became dominated by religious sciences. By the end of the sixteenth century, the natural sciences were completely ignored by the curriculum (Turan 1990, 179-185; Tekeli ve İlkin 1993, 17 ve 39-40; Kütükoğlu 2000, 10-12; Ocak 2002a; Ocak 2002b).

As a result, the Ottomans completely missed out the Renaissance, the First Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment. It is only in the late eighteenth century that they became painfully aware of the consequences of so narrow intellectual interests when the Ottoman navy was annihilated by a Russian fleet off the Aegean coast. They then realised their need for officers trained in the natural sciences: the Imperial Naval College (*Mühendishane-i Bahri-i Humayun*), the cradle of today's İstanbul Technical University, was founded in 1773. This creation was the first western type of higher education institution in the world of Islam. Then followed the setting up of the Imperial College of Military Engineering (*Mühendishane-i Berri-i Humayun*) in 1795, the Military College of Medicine (*Tıbhane-i Amire*) in 1827, the Imperial College of Surgery (*Cerrahhane-i Mamure*) in 1832, and the Military College (*Mekteb-i Ulum-u Harbiye*) in 1834.

Apart from these military schools, the Ottoman educational system – by the second quarter of the 19th century – consisted in district schools (*sıbyan mektebi*) at the primary level; in schools operated by the various non-Muslim religious communities of the empire; in the school that trained the various functionaries of the Imperial Palace (*Enderun*, f. 1365); the in-house training

units attached to the various sections of the Sublime Porte, the Office of the Grand Vizier that were called the *Bab-ı Ali Kalemleri*; and the madrasas that trained religious scholars, i.e., the jurists for the *sharia* courts and higher officers employed in the provision of religious services. The system, if the term makes sense of such a heterogeneous group of institutions, was closed to females beyond the primary level. Arabic was the medium of instruction, except in Enderun, where prevailed the 'Ottoman Language' (*Lisan-ı Osmani*), a mixture of Arabic, Persian and Turkish (Akyüz 2006, 88-102).

The Imperial Rescript of the Rose Pavilion, which was proclaimed in 1839, marked the beginning of a new era in Ottoman history that considered, albeit belatedly, that sciences and technology were the basis of socio-economic development for modern times. The foundations of a modern system of education – also opened to women and comprised of primary, secondary and tertiary levels – were laid by that decree and were kept out of the reach of traditionalists in the madrasas. In 1857, this led to the establishment of the Ministry of Education (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti*). In 1869 were issued the first comprehensive rules and regulations concerning the sector (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*). The new general educational institutions were attached to the new ministry, and the vocational institutions were dependent on the ministries in their respective fields; as for the older institutions, the madrasas and the *sıbyan mektepleri* remained under the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Foundations (*Şer'iye ve Evkaf Nezareti*). As a consequence, in the late Ottoman society, the education system comprised two tracks, secular and religious, both co-existing side by side.

The military educational institutions were re-modeled on the line of the French *Grandes Ecoles*, and given a strong vocational orientation. The need for a university, more interested in abstract learning, was first voiced in 1845. However, to circumvent the hostility of those in the madrasas who were prone to

label the new institution as heretical, it was decided to call such an institution a *Darülfünun* rather than a university. This was a transcription of Arabic and Persian words that translate into 'The House of Sciences'. The *Darülfünun* was inaugurated in 1863 – with public lectures in physics and chemistry. The first four hundred and fifty students were admitted in 1870 and enrolled in four faculties: Philosophy and Letters, Law, Natural Sciences, and Mathematics. The length of study was three years and Turkish became the medium of instruction, as opposed to Arabic in the madrasas. The *Darülfünun* soon provoked reactions of rage among the religious scholars in the madrasas; this led to public demonstrations and the institution was closed in 1871 to be reorganised and reopened in 1874, with three faculties only, Law, Letters, Natural Sciences and Civil Engineering. Not only had philosophy been marginalised but the religious scholars also opposed the teaching of Roman law and physics; furthermore, in 1877, the faculties of law and of engineering were closed under the pretext of financial austerity measures. After the first seven students graduated in 1880, the institution as a whole was closed once again – in 1881.

Notwithstanding, the reformers in the empire were pressing the sultan with various reports on the urgent need for an institution modeled along the lines of the European universities of the time. It was the report presented in 1895 by no less than the Grand Vizier himself that led to the second reopening of the *Darülfünun* in 1901. The institution then comprised the three sections of Philosophy and Letters, Natural Sciences and Mathematics, and Higher Religious Sciences.

The School of Civil Servants (*Mekteb-i Mülkiye*), a precursor of today's faculties of political science, had been founded in 1859 to meet the manpower requirements of the various branches of a modernised state administration – in the capital and the provinces. The School of Civilian Medicine (*Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye*) followed in 1866, and schools of Pharmacy and Dentistry were added to it somewhat later.

In other words, after 1839, Ottoman reforms focused on building a modern education system, a modern legal system, a modern army and a modern administration. In the first two areas, however, this proved most difficult since these were domains where divine revelation opposed human intelligence. The Ottoman attempts at reconciling *sharia* with temporal realities, that is at harmonising a legal system based on divine revelation with one based on human reason, went back to the reign of Süleyman the Lawgiver (or the Magnificent) in the sixteenth century. However, in 1868 a new legal code, *Mecelle*, was put into force proposing a secular system of law in parallel to the *sharia*. This necessitated the education and training of a new cadre of judges, lawyers, legal experts and legal clerks outside of the *madrasas* that had been the only trainers of religious scholars as jurists and judges: the Imperial School of Law (*Mekteb-i Hukuk-ı Şahane*) was opened in 1880 under the Ministry of Justice. Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century – very much like the case was in the area of education –, two legal systems, a religious one based on divine revelation and a semi-secular one based partly on positive law, existed in tandem in the Ottoman Empire.

The first teacher training college for boys was opened in 1848 (*Darülmuallimin*), and that for girls (*Darülmuallimat*) in 1870. The sections of these schools that formed teachers for the secondary level were elevated to higher education level in 1877.

As for professional schools, with a strong vocational orientation like the French *Grandes Ecoles*, three were founded in the late nineteenth century: the Higher School of Commerce (*Ticaret Mekteb-i Alisi*, f. 1882, today's Marmara University), the School of Fine Arts (*Mekteb-i Sanayi-i Nefise-i Şahane*, f. 1883, today's Mimar Sinan University of Fine Arts), and the School of Civil Engineering (*Hendese-i Mülkiye Mektebi*, f. 1884). Most of the teachers of this engineering school had been first hired by already existing naval and military engineering schools. All three schoold were merged in 1909 into the Higher School of

Engineering (*Mühendis Mekteb-i Alisi*), later to become İstanbul Technical University.[4]

Between 1909 and 1915 many vocational schools were also opened at various levels, and in 1911 the need was felt for a school training mid-level technicians. This led to the founding of what was then named *Kondüktör Mekteb-i Alisi*, which, after a number of reorganisations, served as the nucleus of today's Yıldız Technical University.

In 1912, the *Darülfünun* was reorganised once more to include the following five faculties (*şube*): Sharia Sciences, Law (including the law schools in the provinces), Medicine (including the schools of pharmacy and dentistry), Mathematics and Natural Sciences, and Letters, the latter including the five departments of philosophy, history and geography, sociology, literature and foreign languages. A council was established in each faculty, which elected the dean (*şube reisi*). There was a Director General (*Müdir-i Umumi*) for the university, appointed by the Ministry: he combined the powers of the rector and the secretary general in European universities. New units were founded in 1913, which were named 'institutes' (*Darülmesai*) and 'laboratories' in order to structure the institution along Continental European lines. Since there was a dearth of qualified professors (*müderris*) in all faculties, twenty German professors and one Hungarian were recruited in 1915 to head chairs and direct research in the institutes. The statutes issued in 1919 (*Darülfünun-ı Osmani Nizamnamesi*) stipulated a semester system, and gave 'scientific autonomy' (*ilmi muhtariyet*) to the institution, a point explic-

[4] There is a rivalry between İstanbul University and İstanbul Technical University as to which is the oldest institution in Turkey. The former sometimes attempts to trace its origins to 1453, when Mehmet II started to build the madrasa named after himself in İstanbul, and sometimes even 425 when Theodosius, the Byzantine Emperor, founded a School of Law. As for the technical institution, it remained in more or less uninterrupted existence from 1773 onwards, thus deserving the title of the oldest Turkish institution of higher education.

itly stated in Article 2 of the *Nizamname*. The title of Director General was changed to Rector (*Darülfünun Emini*), and the incumbent was to be elected from among the professors. There was also a Senate (*Darülfünun Divanı*), chaired by the rector, and consisting of the faculty deans and a member elected by each faculty council (Tekeli ve İlkin 1993, 96-99).

Empire educational statistics, especially those about the madrasas, have been sketchy. According to Alkan (2004, 231-232), however, on the eve of the Great War, a total of twenty-five institutions of higher education existed throughout the empire: they employed 531 academic staff and enrolled 5,616 students.[5] By the end of World War I and the subsequent War of Independence, the number of institutions had decreased to nine, and that of academic staff and students to 307 and 2,914, respectively (DİE 1990, 76-80).

[5] One of these institutions was Robert College, founded in 1863 by the American Congregational missionary Cyrus Hamlin (1811-1900); initial seed money came from a wealthy American businessman/philanthropist, the namesake of the institution. Robert College was a typical New England liberal arts college but Cyrus Hamlin proposed a curriculum comprising liberal arts as well as industrial arts. This latter component served later as the basis for the reputed Robert College School of Engineering, founded in 1912. Robert College was the first American institution of higher education outside the United States. Its foundation was strongly opposed by the Jesuit Missionary and the Catholic and Russian embassies in Turkey, indicating that, next to the internal tensions between traditionalists and modernists, there was also – in the waning years of the Empire – a vivid rivalry between a wide range of outside powers searching for dominion over Ottoman people and territories. Robert College was the precursor of today's Bogaziçi University.

4. The Republican Period

4.1 *The Single-Party Period: 1923-1950*

The Republic of Turkey was founded on 29 October 1923. Created from the ashes of a multiethnic, multireligious theocratic empire, it was a secular, unitary nation-state. Overnight, the subjects of the Empire had become the citizens of a modern state aspiring to become a part of the Western world. The nineteenth century Ottoman attempts at reform had failed to prevent the demise of the 624-year old empire. It had made the fatal mistake of allowing the secular and the religious systems to coexist side by side in education and the judiciary; the young Republic was determined not to repeat that mistake. That rationality, not spirituality, was to be the basis and source of legitimacy of the state was self-evident to the founders of the Turkish Republic. There would be one educational system, and it would be national and secular/temporal, rather than religious/spiritual; there would be one judicial system, and it would be based on human intelligence/positive law, rather than divine revelation/sharia.

Efforts to establish the new national education system of the nascent Republic had started before its official birth. A law establishing the Ministry of National Education was enacted in 1920 already, and the First National Congress on Education was convened in 1921 during the most critical phase of the War of Independence. The milestone legislation, however, was to be the Law of the Unity of Education, enacted only four months after the proclamation of the Republic: it put an end to the two-track educational system inherited from the Ottoman Empire. All madrasas, religious schools and religious meditation centres were closed along with the foreign schools founded by missionaries; and all other schools were placed under the Ministry of National Education: education indeed was to become the key instrument for building a modern nation.

Soon after, starting in 1924, the *Darülfünun* and the higher schools of commerce and engineering in İstanbul, the old capital, were given corporate status, while the government decided also to set up several institutions of higher education in the new capital, Ankara, and in other provinces of Anatolia. These were not only non-university institutions such as teachers' colleges, schools of music and a conservatory, or schools of mining, agriculture and civil administration but also a few independent academic faculties – placed in Ankara.

Atatürk waited until 1931 before launching a radical reform of the university sector; Albert Malche, a professor of law at Geneva University, was then invited to Turkey to advise the government on academic matters. In his report, submitted in 1932, Malche emphasised the lack of a mechanism by which the *Darülfünun* could be held accountable – and the need for its social relevance. Atatürk carefully read the report himself and summarised the steps to be taken in seventeen insightful and concise notes, which he wrote in the margins of the report (Kocatürk 1984; Hirsch 1985, 241-249; Akkutay 1996, 52-74). These hand-written notes by Atatürk provided the structural and organisational basis for a modern university and addressed such issues as common preparatory curricula in the initial years of study, student/staff ratio, part-time jobs for needy students or the central role of libraries. Interestingly, the essential tenets of modern university governance were also discussed, in particular the measures allowing to prevent conflicts of interest, the leadership role of the rector, the coordination of various faculties' activities through their deans or the criteria for academic promotion. Atatürk himself was thus the intellectual source for the reform that, in 1933, transformed the *Darülfünun* into İstanbul University by Law No. 2252.

Together with all other institutions of higher education, the new university, in terms of administration, was placed directly under, and thus made accountable to, the Ministry of National

Education – in typical Continental European fashion. The rector of the university was to be appointed jointly by the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister upon nomination by the Minister of Education, the latter appointing the deans upon nomination by the rector, and the professors from among three candidates nominated by the faculty board for each post. The rector was empowered to represent the Minister.

Soon after the inauguration of İstanbul University, a law was enacted that made it possible for foreign scientists and scholars to be employed as faculty members – with internationally competitive salaries. This allowed the new institution to welcome some three hundred Jewish professors of world renown who were fleeing Nazi persecution (Hirsch 1985; Reisman 2006).

The Higher School of Engineering in İstanbul was also reorganised to take in departments of mechanical, electrical and aeronautical engineering as well as naval architecture. It was transformed into İstanbul Technical University in 1944, with a structure similar to that of a German technical university.

In 1946, the various independent faculties in Ankara were amalgamated into the newly founded Ankara University. That year also marked the transition of the Republic from a single-party to a multi-party state. Although the first elections in this new context did not lead to a change of government, university affairs and, in particular, university autonomy were major issues in the election campaign, both on the side of the ruling party and of the emerging opposition. This led to the second major university legislation, still in 1946. According to that new law (Law No. 4936), the three universities were granted institutional autonomy. Each of their constituent faculties was also given a corporate status of their own, separate from that of the university itself; autonomy was defined as the privilege of faculty members to elect rectors and deans from among themselves. Academic ranks were made clear too, criteria being stipulated for the appointment and academic promotion of assistants and

faculty members; the latter were understood to be the teachers above the rank of associate professor (*doçent*). Finally, research was explicitly included among normal university functions.

Countrywide coordination was also a felt need. To that end, a new supreme body, the Interuniversity Council, was established: it consisted of the rectors and deans of all universities in the country plus one elected member from each Senate. The tutelage of the ministry over the universities was nevertheless continued and the Minister was designated the 'head of the universities'; in that capacity, he chaired the meetings of the new Council with *ex officio* veto powers. Moreover, all decisions by university Senates were subject to his ratification.

Higher education in various vocational areas such as engineering, business, commerce, surgery and veterinary medicine had started in non-university institutions in Turkey, as had been the case in Europe. And, in 1945, the second higher school of economics and commerce was opened in İzmir. Thus, by the end of the 1940s, the Turkish higher education system had begun to take shape as a ternary system, comprising the three autonomous universities under the tutelage of the Ministry of National Education, various vocationally oriented non-university institutions and teachers' colleges directly under that ministry and other ministries. The university structure and governance were modeled along Continental European lines, mainly German, and, under French influence, non-university institutions were structured on a model evoking the *Grandes Ecoles*.

Figures 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3 show the growth in student numbers, academic staff and the gross enrolment ratio, respectively, from 1923 to the present. As seen in these figures, by the end of the 1950s, student enrolment had nearly increased by a factor of ten and academic staff by a factor of six. The gross enrolment ratio, too, had increased considerably from 0.7% to 1.5%, but it was dismal still, since higher education had not yet spread to the country as a whole; with a few exceptions, institutions were

concentrated in the three big cities, İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir – in particular in İstanbul.

4.2 *The Democrat Party Period: 1950-1960*

The second multiparty elections were held in 1950: they led to a change in government, the Democrat Party taking over from the Peoples' Republican Party. While centralising and conservative in their economic policies, the democrats favoured free markets: Turkey entered an era of true multiparty democracy and mixed economy. The country joined NATO in 1953, which not only placed the Republic firmly in the West but also extended the intellectual horizons of the nation beyond the Atlantic. In fact, educational policies were falling more and more under American influence – at all levels. In opening up the economy to the private sector, the democrats also saw the need for a well-trained workforce with a good command of foreign languages, especially English. To that end, six English-medium secondary schools were opened across the country.

Spreading higher education across the country was another priority of the new government. Between 1955 and 1957, four new universities were founded: Karadeniz Technical University (KTU) in Trabzon near the Georgian border, Ege University in İzmir, Middle East Technical University (METU) in Ankara, and Atatürk University (AU) in Erzurum in the east. With these, American influence started to penetrate the governance, academic organisation and structure of Turkish higher education, a system which, until then, had been clearly built on Continental European models.

All four universities had been set up as campus universities. More importantly, METU also functioned as a typical American state university: it was governed by a Board of trustees of nine members appointed by the government. A third of these were renewed or reappointed every three years, on a staggered basis. The

rector, deans, faculty members and staff were appointed by that Board, which was also empowered to set the salary scale. Thus, while academic and administrative staff in other universities had civil servant status, those at METU were employed on fixed-term contracts and had no tenure. Academic positions, in addition to full and associate professors, included a new echelon, that of assistant professors – a rank that did not exist in other Turkish universities. The basic academic unit was the department, rather than the chair. The rector acted as the chief executive officer of the institution but the deans and department heads were also powerful figures. The budget of the university was technically a lump-sum donation by Parliament, as opposed to the budgets of other universities still decided by parliamentary Acts detailing financial chapters and budget lines precisely. METU Board of trustees could accept gifts and donations, set various fees and combine such external resources with the state provided budget, setting expenditure items as they saw fit. Monies left unspent at the end of one fiscal year could be carried over to the next. Furthermore, the Board had complete authority in configuring the academic structure and administrative organisation of the institution, while the establishment of faculties and similar units in other universities required individual Acts of Parliament.

In Trabzon and Izmir, however, KTU and EU remained directly under the ministry. Moreover, they were 'affiliated' with the older universities in İstanbul and Ankara in a manner that was tantamount to tutelage. This affiliation was to continue until they developed well enough to be granted autonomy. For this reason, their structures grew along the Continental European lines characteristic of their 'parent' institutions.

In Erzurum, on the other hand, AU was initially planned as an institution with agriculture as its main line of activity, much like an American land-grant institution. To that end, an academic cooperation programme was established with the University of Nebraska although AU, too, was placed directly under

ministerial sponsorship. In its early years, a Board of advisors had been established with statutory powers, and it had been envisioned to transform it into a full-fledged Board of trustees as the university developed; however, this never happened and AU, too, essentially grew along Continental European lines.

Of the seven universities that existed by the end of the 1950s, METU was thus the only truly autonomous institution. It was way ahead of its time, even by today's understanding of autonomy in Western Europe. In fact, METU developed very rapidly and was soon recognised internationally. Yet, right from its inception, it was assailed by academics in other universities for its supposed lack of autonomy since its rector and deans were appointed by an 'external body' rather than elected by their peers. This was the beginning of the Turkish academics' preoccupation with elections – considered to be a precondition for university autonomy, a trait that has persisted until the present.

As for the major developments in the non-university sector, two more higher schools of economics and commerce were opened, one in Ankara in 1954, the other in Eskişehir in 1958; the latter became the nucleus of today's Anadolu University. In 1959, a law was passed that changed the names of such schools to 'academy of economic and commercial sciences' (AECS). The law also set these institutions directly under the Ministry of National Education, although with 'scientific autonomy' when engaging in education and research at the tertiary level. This legislation included other articles similar to those in the university law and allowed the granting of graduate-level degrees while falling short of asserting 'full autonomy', i.e., the power to elect the institutional heads from among academic colleagues; academies were not offered corporate status either. Instead, their heads were given the title 'president', that of 'rector' being reserved for universities. The 'presidents' were appointed by joint decrees by the minister, the Prime Minister and the President of the Republic. This was the starting point for some kind of 'academic drift', i.e.,

an effort by the higher schools of economics and commerce to emulate the universities and assume their title, an attempt which the universities strongly resisted.

In 1958, Robert College was recognised as an institution of higher education and, in 1959, its already existing School of Engineering was joined by a School of Business Administration and Economics as well as a School of Science and Language.[6]

Figures 1.1 and 1.2 show that, by 1960, the total enrolment in Turkish higher education had passed the 50,000 mark while the number of academic staff was just below 4,000. On the other hand, as seen in Figure 1.3, the gross enrollment ratio was still a dismal 3.4%, well below the fifteen percent threshold designated by Martin Trow (1972) as the transition from an 'elitist' to a 'massified' system of higher education.

4.3 *Expansion and Turmoil: 1960-1980*

The Military coup of May 27, 1960 terminated the Democrat Party era. A changed university law (Law No. 115) was soon enacted by the newly formed Constitutive Assembly, thus supplanting the 1946 law. The new Act removed the vestiges of the ministry's tutelage over universities. Rectors were to be elected from among full professors for a two-year term – while rotating among faculties like in many continental universities in Europe, German in particular: moreover, the 'chair' was to remain the basic academic unit of the institution.

It is interesting to note that the new constitution came *after* the new university law was adopted. That constitution, for the first time, included an article (article 120) on university governance: it provided that:

• universities were public institutions with corporate status,

[6] For a detailed and lively account of the transformation of Robert College to tertiary education, see Freely (2000, 119).

founded by individual Acts of Parliament;
- universities had both administrative and scientific autonomy;
- universities were to be governed and supervised solely by organs the members of which had been elected by their peers;
- academic staff were completely free to engage in research of their choice and no agency outside the university could remove them from their positions.

Thus, a new understanding of university autonomy became entrenched in the minds of a majority of members of Turkish academia. For them, university autonomy had three components: scientific, administrative and financial. According to many, scientific autonomy was Humboldtian in its nature, which meant that academic staff were free to teach and research whatever they saw fit. As for administrative autonomy, it meant the election of rectors and deans by their peers, a *sine qua non* of university autonomy. In those years, however, nobody paid any attention to the third feature, financial autonomy; as a result, the concept of accountability did not exist then in the mental world of Turkish academia. In fact, many could consider the idea heretical since it might be invoked against choices taken on the basis of scientific autonomy, i.e., of academic freedom; even today, many still do subscribe to such a view. It is interesting to note that no single word exists in Turkish that fully captures the content of the word accountability in a university governance context.

A clause was included in the new constitution to account for the special structure of METU – seen as an exception. But the military government changed the procedure for the appointment of its Board members from the staggered basis mentioned previously to the renewal of all members together, every three years. This was the beginning of the decline of the METU governance system. It was accelerated from the mid-1960s on, when government started appointing professors from other universities as chairperson or members of the Board of trustees. In retrospect, it seems that this was even more destructive than the change in the

appointment procedure, for it amounted to a total corruption of the lay governance that was at the core of a system in which the Board acted as a buffer and a bridge between the institution, on the one hand, and the government and society, on the other. This also meant that the accountability mechanism intrinsic to lay governance eroded, all the more so as immediate competitors were given a say in the running of a rival instituion.

In 1967, Hacettepe University was founded by an Act of Parliament, which included clauses that put this new institution, from a governance point of view, somewhere in-between METU and other universities in the country. The term of office of the rector was five years, and he or she was to be elected by the Senate serving as an electoral college, not the corps of full professors. The Senate included the directors of the higher schools taking part in the life of the institution, in addition to faculty deans and representatives of faculty members; it had the authority to establish faculties and higher schools on its own. Only the university as an institution had corporate status, not individual faculties. Those with a doctoral degree could teach and carry out research independently, even if they did not have the title of associate or full professor. The rector was the chief executive officer of the university. The nucleus of Hacettepe University was the institute of pediatric medicine. Thus, the Faculty of medicine was the flagship academic unit of the new university, the name Hacettepe becoming soon synonymous with excellence in medicine, far surpassing the older medical faculties in the country.

However, only months after the founding of Hacettepe University, the rector of İstanbul University on behalf of the corporate body of his own institution made a formal appeal to the constitutional court, alleging that both the procedure by which Hacettepe University had been set up, and the content of its founding law were violating the Constitution. The court ruled in favour of Hacettepe University by six to five votes, the slightest possible margin. This was the beginning of a series of court

actions on issues related to the governance of higher education in Turkey, more of them being described below.

In 1971, Robert College was transformed into a public institution, and its name was changed to Boğaziçi University. This nationalisation was the consequence of two developments: the growing unpopularity of private institutions of tertiary education coupled with the ruling of the Constitutional Court that had made unconstitutional private tertiary education; it also reflected the increasing reluctance of the Board of trustees of the college, in New York, to fund such an expensive operation. Thus, by the beginning of the 1970s, the number of universities in Turkey had increased to nine.

Turning to developments in the non-university sector, another two AECS's were founded in Adana in the south in 1967, and in Bursa in the west in 1971. The Higher School of Fine Arts in İstanbul was also renamed the 'state academy of fine arts' (SAFA). Similarly, the higher school of technicians in İstanbul, and the various higher technical schools founded in İzmir in the west, Zonguldak in the north, and Elazığ in the east were designed as 'state academies of engineering and architecture' (SAEA). Thus, the name 'academy in the Turkish context came to be understood as an equivalent of the polytechnics, then existing in the UK, of the *HBO*'s in Holland, or of the *Fachhochschulen* in Germany. Indeed, ten such non-university institutions of higher education were founded in 1971 alone, all across the country.

The government was obviously viewing these institutions as a cheaper alternative for meeting the increasing demand for higher education in the Turkish society, which was then being fuelled by economic growth, an increasing share of the private sector in the economy, as well as a by desire of the population for upward mobility. Such an expansion of the non-university sector was in keeping with what was happening at the time in Western Europe. However, as this particular sector was expanding, it

became increasingly difficult to maintain the binary divide. The academies were continually trying to become more like universities in terms of governance, structure and functions. And their campaign bore fruit: starting from 1969, a series of laws were enacted that indeed made it difficult to distinguish academies from universities. This caused a lot of resentment in traditional academic institutions. The result was yet another series of court battles, universities appealing to various levels of the judiciary in order to stop the academic drift that pushed members of academies to exercise functions believed to be the prerogative of universities; this did not lead to any definitive conclusion but caused a lot of turmoil in the system.

As seen in Figures 1.1 and 1.2, respectively, by 1970, compared to a decade earlier, total enrolment in higher education had trebled, and the number of academic staff had more than doubled. The gross enrolment ratio, on the other hand, was still hovering around five percent, as shown in Figure 1.3 (Taşdurmaz 1982, 75).

The gap caused by unmet demand for higher education had started to be filled by private for-profit higher schools that started blossoming in the mid-1960s. Their number had soon reached fifty, and they enrolled around fifty thousand students (Oğuz, 1983). They were four-year teaching institutions, offering programmes leading to bachelor-level degrees in a wide spectrum of areas, ranging from business to engineering and pharmacy. They employed a negligible number of academic staff, however, as they were mainly relying on faculty members from state universities, some of whom being seconded, others moonlighting. With few exceptions, their facilities were far from adequate. In 1971, the constitutional Court ruled them to be in violation of the Constitution and they were amalgamated to the nearest state academies – together with their students.

On 12 March 1971, the military intervened again. This time, however, it was in the form of a memorandum to the gov-

ernment, not of a coup: the Parliament was kept in session but the government was replaced by an executive made up of hand-picked technocrats mostly. Campus unrest had been one of the pretexts for the intervention of the Army. As a result, article 120 of the Constitution was amended, giving the government authority to take over the administration of universities, subject to the approval of Parliament, when freedom was under threat on campus. The power of universities to elect rectors and deans was also restricted by a new clause saying that the process would be 'under the supervision and observation of the state...', a sentence inserted at the beginning of the paragraph dealing with university leadership in article 120.

In the interim period following this second military intervention, a new university law (Law No. 1750) and a new law on university personnel (Law No. 1765) were enacted. Among the major changes they introduced were tuition fees, the re-organisation of academic structures on the basis of departments rather than chairs, the requirement for the full dedication of staff, and secondment of academic staff from the developed universities in the three big cities to the new universities in the provinces. The most radical new arrangement, however, was the establishment of the Council of Higher Education as the supreme body governing the university sector of the Turkish higher education system. The Council was to be chaired by the Minister of National Education, and its membership to include one professor elected by the Senate of each university, and an equal number of members appointed by the government upon the recommendation of the minister. Three of those members had to come from the ministry, the State Planning Organization and the Scientific and Technical Research Council of Turkey. The law also confirmed the Interuniversity Council as another supreme body, but in an advisory capacity without binding decision-making powers. Its membership was made of the rector of each university and of two members elected by their Senates.

The Council of Higher Education had been established to steer and coordinate the activities of the universities troughout the country. However, soon after its establishment, the Constitutional Court ruled it to be in violation of university autonomy, as it was defined in article 120, since it included government-appointed members.

The second major judicial intervention in university governance of that period came in 1976, when the constitutional court abolished the powers of the METU Board of trustees to appoint academic staff and determine their salaries. This proved a very controversial ruling since the exception clause in article 120 had been included especially to safeguard METU's unique status. This particular decision, however, effectively ended its particular governance system and led the institution into years of turmoil.

The 1970s were also a period in which various governments tried to expand higher education for the masses by establishing institutions of higher education throughout the country outside the three big cities. Hacettepe University led the way in these efforts by opening up satellite medical schools across the nation that served later as the nuclei for many new universities. METU, too, joined these 'spawning' strategy by opening in 1973 its first full-fledged branch campus in Gaziantep, in the southeast: it later became Gaziantep University.

Between 1973 and 1978, ten new universities were indeed established across Turkey: Dicle University in Diyarbakır and İnönü University in Malatya in the southeast, Çukurova University in Adana in the south, Anadolu University in Eskişehir, Erciyes University in Kayseri and Selçuk University in Konya in central Anatolia, Cumhuriyet University in Sivas in the east, Uludağ University in Bursa in the west, and 19 Mayıs University in Samsun in the north. Thus, by the end of the 1970s, Turkey had 19 universities.

In that decade, another major development was the establishment by the Interuniversity Council – in 1974 – of the Stu-

dent Selection and Placement Center (SSPC). Until the 1960s, individual faculties had based their admission decisions on one or more of the following criteria:

- admission on a first-come first-served basis until the available places were filled;
- the appropriateness of the applicants' branch in high school – science or letters – to the curriculum of a particular faculty; and
- admission on the basis of high school graduation grade point average.

As the number of applications started to exceed the number of available places, individual universities began to give entrance examinations of their own, and, at a later stage, some of them decided to offer joint entrance exams. With the establishment of the SSPC, these various access procedures were replaced by a centrally prepared and centrally conducted, standardised multiple-choice selection and placement test. Since then reliable statistics have been available on the numbers of applicants and students placed in Turkish universities. Figure 1.4 shows the growth of demand and supply in the Turkish higher education system. As appears in this figure, while the demand for a place in universities doubled in the period 1974-1980, from 229,994 in 1974 to 466,963 in 1980, the number of admissions only increased to 41,571, less than a tenth of the applicants – thus frustrating the aspirations of many.

The 1970s also witnessed institutional differentiation in the Turkish higher education system with the proliferation of different types of non-university institutions. In addition to the three types of state academies mentioned earlier, there grew schools to train physical education teachers, coaches for various sports or recreation managers, as well as two-year colleges affiliated to the ministry of national education to educate elementary school teachers, and a number of two-year vocational schools similar to the community colleges in the United States that were affiliated

to the various ministries in their respective fields of competence. An entirely new type of institution (the Agency for Education by Correspondence) was also established within the Ministry of National Education: YAYKUR, its acronym in Turkish, marked the beginning of distance education in Turkey.

As mentioned previously, the various types of state academies were meant to constitute that part of the Turkish higher education system focusing mainly on vocational education like do the polytechnics in the United Kingdom, the *Fachhochschulen* in Germany, the *HBO*s in Holland or the *IUT*s in France. State academies had been established to function as teaching institutions offering programmes leading to degrees at the bachelor level – or below. Instead, as mentioned above, the academies were aspiring to achieve university status and, in the second half of the 1970s, they intensified their pressure on various governments that finally accepted to squeeze into the legislation different articles that defined state academies as 'university-equivalent institutions'. The universities, however, strongly resisted such developments by appealing to the Council of State to annul the various rules and regulations issued for the academies. Although they won all their cases in the Council of State, the Constitutional Court unanimously ruled against Ankara University when it claimed that the legislation authorising the academies to establish faculties violated the constitution. Thus, the functional differentiation between universities and academies was being annihilated while the status of academies remained in a legal vacuum.

Table 1.1 shows the types of institutions in the Turkish higher education system and the numbers of students and academic staff in each type of institution as of academic year 1980/1981 (Kaptan 1986; Baloğlu 1990, 221; Gürüz 2000, 32). Of the 116,687 students enrolled in universities, 98,973 (84.8 percent) were in those situated in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. The corresponding numbers for academic staff were 10,426 out

of 13,179 (79.1 percent), i.e., people living in the three big cities. In other words, despite the foundation of ten new universities, academic education had not really spread to the country as a whole.

According to the development plans prepared by the State Planning Organization, which came into force as Acts of Parliament, the gross enrolment ratio was supposed to reach 10.4 percent in 1980, and 15.4% by 1984 (DPT 1979, Table 262). Figure 1.3, on the other hand, shows that the gross enrolment ratio, which was 5.0 percent in 1966, had increased to a meagre 6.1 percent in 1980 despite a significant increase in all types of higher education institutions throughout the country.

The higher education legislation and the different laws governing education in general seemed to remain mere statements of intention and gave little executive power to the institutions or their administrators in order to achieve the ends set forth in the laws. Thus, legislation was of little relevance in a governance perspective. The major weakness of the Turkish higher education system was that there was no single law covering the whole of higher education; moreover the Council of Higher Education, that had been intended to coordinate the activities of the different types of institutions, had been ruled unconstitutional. From the institutional governance point of view, at the end of the 1970s, Turkish higher education was in a state of chaos, at a time when commercial and industrial activities were spreading to all corners of Turkey, pushing up the demand for tertiary education. It was becoming increasingly clear that such a demand could not be met by existing legislation.

The 1970s were indeed a very tense period in Turkey. There was widespread violence throughout the country, and particularly on the campuses. Political stability was lacking and the country was ideologically polarised, a situation that led to conceptual confusion and rigid mindsets – particularly in the intelligentsia. It was nearly impossible to debate any issue, even matters of a

technical nature, with an open mind, i.e., without prejudices. The much needed higher education reform could obviously not be made under those conditions.

4.4 *Radical Restructuring: 1981 to the Present*

On 12 September 1980, the Army took over, once again. A radical restructuring of higher education was high on the agenda of the new military government and Constitutive Assembly. Law No. 2547 enacted on 6 November 1981 was the fifth major legislation on higher education in Turkey after those enacted in 1933, 1946, 1960 and 1973.[7] This law, which now includes a large number of amendments, the major ones of which are described below, has remained in effect ever since.

The key provisions of the current legislation are the following:

- The Council of Higher Education (CHE) is a constitutional body in charge of the planning, coordination and governance of all higher education institutions other than those of the military and security forces.
- The previously existing quaternary system was replaced by a unified system consisting of universities only, each one of them comprising, in general, faculties, graduate schools, conservatories and two-year vocational schools. A university is a corporate body founded by an Act of Parliament – and this applies to private institutions too.
- Rectors are appointed by the President of the Republic from among candidates nominated by the CHE, and so are the deans, from among the candidates proposed by the rector of the university concerned.

[7] It should be noted that all of the major legislative changes in Turkish higher education were made in contexts that can be termed 'extraordinary political periods'. Those in 1933 and 1946 were made under single-party rule, and the other three in the aftermath of military interventions.

- The rector is the academic leader and the chief executive officer of the university; all organs are advisory to the rector. The Senate consists of the three vice-rectors, the faculty deans, elected members from each faculty, and all school directors. Rules and regulations adopted by the Senate are published in the Official Gazette without further ratification by any other authority.
- Private non-profit institutions of higher education may be founded by philantropic not-for-profit foundations, although with the approval of the Council and an Act of Parliament. They are governed by their own Boards of trustees, and are completely autonomous financially and administratively, even if they have to comply with the academic requirements, rules and regulations set forth by the CHE.
- The Interuniversity Council (IUC) comprises the rector and one member elected by the Senate from each university, be it public or private. It is an advisory body to the Council of Higher Education (CHE) in academic matters with full powers in setting requirements, rules and regulations pertaining to doctoral programmes as well as to academic promotions at associate professor level.
- Faculty member positions include full, associate and assistant professorships. A doctoral degree and proficiency in a foreign language, usually English, are required at entry level; further promotions depend on publications in refereed journals. Other academic positions include lectureships, instructorships and research assistantships.
- Admission to associate- and bachelor-level programmes is determined by a central competitive multiple-choice test prepared, administered and proctored by the Student Selection and Placement Center (SSPC), a body affiliated to the CHE. The Council has full powers over the scope and content of the test as well as over the weight to be given to secondary school performance and to the test score as they combine to determine the final mark for admission. Furthermore, the number of students to be admitted to each degree-programme, includ-

ing those in private universities, is determined by the Council. Admission to master- and doctoral-level programmes partly depends on the score obtained in a GRE-type multiple-choice test given by the SSPC, but the universities have freedom in their use of such test scores for admission at that level.

- Students pay a 'contribution fee' that is set for each degree-programme separately – in public universities by the Council of Ministers upon the recommendation of the CHE. The income from contribution fees is collected in a separate account in each public university. Private universities have complete freedom in deciding their tuition fees.
- A 'revolving fund' is established in each public university, in which are collected the income from contract research and other services performed by the university.
- The third income stream of public universities is the state budget, which is allotted to each public university by a separate Act of Parliament on a yearly basis.

The revived Council of Higher Education consists of twenty-one members: seven are directly appointed by the President of the Republic, seven are designated by the Interuniversity Council through an election, and seven by appointment of the Council of Ministers. The latter two categories, however, are subject to the approval of the President of the Republic, who is completely free for the appointments made in the first category. Those members designated by the Interuniversity Council have to be actively serving academics, and those appointed by the cabinet must be high level civil servants. The President of the Council of Higher Education is appointed directly by the President of the Republic from among CHE membership; it is the only appointment the President of the Republic makes without having to receive advice or nomination from any other body in the polity.

Thus the Turkish higher education system is effectively accountable to the President of the Republic since he appoints the members of the CHE and the rectors of public universities, as

well as to the Parliament that decides the annual budgets allotted to public universities. Private universities are accountable to the public at large, through their compliance with the academic requirements set forth by the Council, and to their founders through their Boards of trustees. The system as a whole is thus largely immune from undue political influence by the government.

The new law ended the institutional and functional chaos in Turkish higher education. Soon after it was enacted, all state academies, teachers' colleges, two-year vocational schools and conservatories were merged in the previously existing nineteen and the newly founded eight universities. As a result, as of 1981, the Turkish higher education system consisted of twenty-seven universities plus the higher schools of the military and security forces; the latter were, of course, outside the remit of the Council. The number of universities became twenty-eight, when the branch campus of METU in Gaziantep in southeastern Turkey was transformed into an independent university.

With the new law, the previously mentioned Agency for Education by Correspondence (YAYKUR) was abolished. Instead, the faculty for open learning of Anadolu University was required to organise and implement all distance education programmes. In the 1983-1984 academic year, enrolment in the bachelor-level distance education was 40,617. Two-year associate-level distance education was started in the 1992-1993 academic year, when 43,454 students enrolled in such programmes. Total enrolment in both levels of distance education programmes had reached 347,145 students in that year. Thus, the Turkish higher education system now included a significant number of students in distance education programmes in addition to the full-time students.

In 1983, Law No. 2880 was enacted to fix the conditions and procedures required for founding private universities. The first private university in the country, Bilkent University in An-

kara, was set up in 1984 and inaugurated in 1986. The issue of private universities soon became controversial as it rekindled the debate concerning for-profit higher education schools that raged in the 1960s. Laws No. 3589 of 1989 and 3708 of 1991 made it mandatory for private universities to have at least two faculties, one of which had to be Arts and Sciences; they also asked the quality of their teaching and research activities to be at least equal with neighbouring state universities before they could be given the title of university by a decision of the Council. As it turned out, these measures were not sufficient to quell the opposition to private universities and the issue was soon placed before the Constitutional Court.[8] The Court initially stuck to the exact wording of the constitution, which did not use specifically the word 'university', and it ruled that charitable foundations could establish private 'institutions of higher education' rather than 'private universities'. The issue was finally resolved in 1992 when the Court decided that private universities, too, had to have public corporate status, and, therefore, that they had to be founded by individual Acts of Parliament, not by decisions of the Council. Soon after, a law was passed giving Bilkent the title of university, while another two private universities were set up, Koç and Kadir Has.[9]

Returning to state universities, one of the most controversial provisions of the new law touched on the requirements and procedure for promotion to full professorship. To become a full professor, one has to have publications in internationally recognised refereed journals, which must have been cited by other scholars from the field. In its initial version, an associate professor could only apply to a full professor position in another

[8] It should be noted that the leader of the oppositon party at the time who took the case to the Constitutional Court, arguing against private higher education, has now a position in a private university.

[9] Kadir Has University could not start operating, and it was closed soon after. It was refounded by a new law in 1997.

university, and all appointments at that level were finalised by the Council. These requirements were first relaxed in 1988, the law being amended to allow associate professors to apply for vacant full professorships in their own universities. This naturally led to a flurry of promotions across the country. To maintain quality, the law was amended once more in 1989, authorising the Interuniversity Council to set up a national commission that would monitor the appointments made at that level. Reaction to the stringent requirements adopted by that commission led to yet another amendment, by which all remaining Council powers regarding full professorial appointments were abolished, those prerogatives being transferred to the universities.

At the end of the first decade of restructuring, several shortcomings of the new law were becoming apparent. These can be summarised as follows:[10]

- The Council of Higher Education was charged with the planning, coordination of higher education and was thus implicitly given resource allocation power in the constitution. The language used in the constitution, however, was not clear and, soon, the Ministry of Finance and the State Planning Organization took over the preparation of the budgets pertaining to state universities. For those, this resulted in an archaic budget made of many chapters and detailed line items. With no financial overview, the CHE planning function was severely hampered. Furthermore, individual universities were finding it even harder to meet the demands of an economy increasingly predicated upon market forces and more integrated into the newly emerging global knowledge economy. This was compounded by the competition faced by state universities from both institutions abroad and private universities at home. The

[10] Many of the conditions that existed at the beginning of the 1990s are still valid, and the analysis presented below will be further elaborated in the next chapter.

administrators' hands – in state universities – were really tied in relation to such competition; the considerably higher salaries offered by private universities had already provoked an academic exodus from state universities. In short, state universities were faced with unfair competition.

- The membership of the CHE was a mixture of academics and civil servants. Members representing the third major group of stakeholders, i.e., the society at large and the market, were absent.
- The new law had replaced the previously existing quaternary system with a unified system, and had ended the institutional and functional chaos in Turkish higher education. The need for more institutional diversity was, however, already being felt.

Law No. 3708, enacted in 1991, tried to remedy somewhat those shortcomings. Thus, it allowed the Council of Ministers to grant 'special status' to those universities deemed to be sufficiently developed. Such universities would then be given a lay governing Board, referred to as 'higher administrative board', a body to be appointed by the President of the Republic; this Board would have full financial and administrative powers to prepare the university budget, nominate candidates for university rectorship, appoint academic staff and determine the administrative structures of the institution. Thus, lay governance was being reintroduced in the Turkish higher education system once again, thirty-five years after a lay Board of trustees had been set up for METU. Moreover, a new type of higher education establishment, the so-called 'institute of high technology', was introduced as a university-equivalent body that would concentrate activities on *graduate* research and teaching in areas of – or related to – high technologies.

In keeping with what had become a tradition, the provisions for change in the amended higher education law of 1991 were taken to the Constitutional Court by the opposition party. And, in 1992, the Court suppressed the amendments concern-

ing the universities with a 'special status', but found those creating 'institutes of technology' in line with the Constitution. The following arguments were invoked as grounds for such rulings: (a) the articles of the constitution on higher education did not foresee the creation of 'higher administrative Boards' whereas (b) many of the powers of the Board, which should have been explicitly stated in the text of the law, had been left out to be delineated as rules and regulations issued by the Council of Higher Education at a later stage.

The arrangements introduced by Law No. 2547 in 1981 represented a radical departure from the classical higher education structures Turkish academics were used to, and which they deemed sacred. Naturally, there was resistance and this resulted in many amendments to the law. Among them, two touched key aspects of the system, the first one about academic promotions and the second about the rectors' designation.

In its initial version, the 1981 law had required from people starting an academic career that, should they want to become assistant professors, they would leave the institution where they had obtained their doctoral degree and move to another institution. Assistant professors have no tenure still today, but the number of times their contracts can be renewed has been increased to such a level that the lack of tenure has become meaningless. Moreover, to ensure staff mobility, promotion from associate to full professorship was only possible if combined with a move to another institution. Legislative changes, numerous rulings by various courts and a cultural environment in which job termination is socially unacceptable have resulted in relaxing these requirements to such an extent that it is now possible to enter an institution as a research assistant and retire from there as an instructor, with a doctoral degree, even if one fails to satisfy the requirements for promotion from assistant to associate professorship. This anomaly is possible because one may continue to be employed in the same institution by demotion to instructorship, even if one runs out of the allowable number of contract

renewals at assistant professor level. Thus, the wish for academic mobility in the national system has been gradually set aside.

As for the change in the procedure for designating rectors, it proved more abrupt. The new government, which came to power in 1991, was a coalition of centre-right and centre-left parties. The latter was the junior partner; it was led by a group of academics strongly opposed to the new structure, people bent on changing the system by amending the law. Their first target was the method for designating the rectors, and they were aiming for a system based on elections only, which harked back to the pre-1981 concept of university autonomy. In the initial version of the 1981 law, the Council had complete freedom for designating four candidates for each rectorship in public universities, and up to two of these candidates could be non-academic. The term of office of the rector was five years, renewable indefinitely. Following the government change, a new procedure was enacted in 1992 (Law No. 3826) on the ground of making universities more 'democratic'. All faculty members (assistant, associate and full professors) in a given public university now elect six nominees by secret ballot from among full professors all over the country. The Council then elects, again by secret ballot, three candidates from among these six nominees, and the President of the Republic appoints one of them as the rector for a term of four years, renewable only once. The new method was a compromise among the coalition partners. The centre-left junior coalition partner had only partly accomplished its campaign promise, but even that was enough to significantly derail the basic tenet of the 1981 structure by completely altering the balance between autonomy and accountability. The president of the Council, who had been in office since the enacting of the law in 1981, resigned in protest.[11]

[11] The authors believe that the CHE missed a golden opportunity during the '80s to institutionalise the system of rector appointments designed into Law 2547. The process of determining the candidates for rector appointments made between 1982 and 1992 did not involve any procedure for

The centre-right senior partner of the new coalition government, on the other hand, was concerned with spreading further the provision of higher education throughout the country. As the party had promised in its election campaign, the Parliament decided to establish another twenty-one state universities and two institutes of high technology, thus bringing the total number of universities in Turkey to fifty-three by the summer of 1992. The first rectors of the new universities were, moreover, appointed by the President of the Republic from among three candidates jointly proposed by the Minister of National Education and the Prime Minister for a two-year term, thus by-passing the Council completely. As it turned out, this move was to have significant but delayed political consequences – in 2007.

Until the mid-nineties, however, the expansion of the Turkish higher education system continued: two more state institutions and two more private universities were founded, bringing the total in the country to fifty-seven, fifty-three being public and four private universities in 1995. One of these new state universities, Galatasaray, was set up with French as the teaching

sounding out the sensitivities and demands of the universities. No such procedure was specified by law. Yet, it would have been prudent for the CHE to establish a search procedure taking into account the universities' feelings about potential candidates. This in turn might have softened among rank and file academics the growing opposition to the CHE system of rector appointment. In fact, it was a revolt in the major universities of Istanbul and Ankara that triggered off the amendment to Law 2547 that instituted a system of elections by the academic staff to determine the candidates for appointment. For example, academic staff (PhD and up) of Boğaziçi University (BU), the first university to revolt, held a series of meetings during May 1992 and, through elections, rank-ordered four names as candidates for rectorship. These names were submitted to the CHE while being also announced to public opinion as the choices of BU. Furthermore, a committee representing the faculty visited the Prime Minister and explained their position. The process snowballed and many universities followed suit. By mid-June 1992, an amendment to Law 2547 was in place establishing the current procedure of 'election and appointment'.

medium following a bilateral agreement passed between Turkey and France: to make the project viable, the new institution was given a somewhat special status while being partially exempted from the central student admission system.

As seen in figures 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3, respectively, total enrolment increased from 237,369 students in 1980-1981 to 915,765 in 1992-1993, and to 1,326,986 in 1994-1995 – after the new wave of institutions started to develop; total academic staff, which numbered 20,917 in 1980-1981, had increased to 38,483 in 1992-1993 and 50,269 in 1994-1995; the gross enrolment ratio, a meagre 6.1 percent in 1981, stood at 16.0 percent in 1992, and 21.0 percent in 1995.[12]

The following years, from 1995-2003, witnessed the expansion of private universities in Turkey. Twenty new private universities were created, so that, by 2003, there were a total of seventy-seven universities in Turkey, twenty-four of them being private.[13]

In this period, emphasis was placed on further restructuring the Turkish higher education system with a view to making it more responsive to the needs of the market economy prevailing in the country, while becoming more competitive in the global higher education arena. Numerous government decrees were passed and a number of new regulations were issued by the Council: they gave state universities considerably more power by allowing for the diversification of their sources of income, the autonomous allocation of their financial resources and the

[12] The enrolment data are from the annual reports prepared by the Council of Higher Education, which can be accessed at: http://yok.gov.tr/egitim/raporlar.
For the 2005 report, see: http://yok.gov.tr/egitim/raporlar/kasim_2005/kasim_2005.zip.
For enrolment data, see also Gürüz (2000).

[13] One of the private universities was founded by a bilateral agreement between Turkey and Germany. İstanbul Batı University has not yet started.

internal re-organisation of academic positions. To do so, a comprehensive amendment to the law was prepared, which significantly changed the financial and administrative structure of state universities. It reached the floor of Parliament, but could not be enacted due to the early elections that were called in 2002.

In 1996, an attempt had been made to establish an academic assessment and evaluation system in Turkey. In January of that year, the Council issued rules and regulations that established the Board for academic evaluation: made of ten academics and five lay members, it was to report to the CHE. In 1997, a pilot project started with financial support from the World Bank and the technical assistance of the Quality Assurance Agency (QAA) in the United Kingdom. The pilot project was based on the external quality assessment model developed in Britain, a country where separate assessments are being made for research (Research Assessment Exercise) or for teaching (Teaching Quality Assessment). Pilot evaluations were conducted in thirteen selected departments. These initiatives were received unfavourably by many academics who considered such an effort to represent a fundamental attack on university autonomy and academic freedom.[14] As a result, the attempt to establish a nationwide academic assessment system failed at the time. However, the idea was planted, and the two English-medium state universities, METU in Ankara and, in Istanbul, Boğaziçi University, both being joined by the Technical University, started importing evaluation and assessment procedures from abroad. Since then, many universities have undergone institutional audits by outside organisations, in particular the IEP programme of CRE, now

[14] The thirteen departments selected were from among the leaders in their fields. The idea was to train faculty members in those departments who would be the future assessors in Turkey. In one case when the pilot project team went to visit a department in one of the oldest universities in Turkey, the department head literally stood at the entrance of the department and refused to allow the team on the premises.

EUA, and ABET, the US based Accreditation Board for Engineering and Technology.[15]

In 2001, Turkey joined the Bologna Process at the Prague Ministerial Meeting, and quality assurance activities have picked up ever since. *Rules and Regulations for Academic Evaluation and Quality Control in Institutions of Higher Education* were issued by the Interuniversity Council in October 2002. In September 2005, these were updated by the Council of Higher Education when the organisation published its *Rules and Regulations for Academic Evaluation and Quality Development in Institutions of Higher Education*. A nine-member commission was established at the time; consisting of academics elected by the Interuniversity Council, it was and is still known as YÖDEK, its Turkish acronym. These rules and regulations were further amended in December 2006, and a representative of the National Students Council[16] was added to the Commission, thus taking heed of the recommendations made by the Bologna process. However, the commission has no statutory power and, essentially, is lacking a mandate.

Structural reforms were also made in two key academic areas, the first being the student admission system. For many years now, a central competitive examination had been distributing the candidates for studies in most higher education programmes – both the four-year bachelor-level curricula carried out in faculties and the two-year associate-level programmes given by higher vocational schools. Figure 1.4 shows the growth in the number

[15] These universities finance the evaluation and accreditation programmes totally out of funds they generate independently. No public money or budgetary allocations were available for such processes.

[16] There is a student elected council in each university, established on the basis of rules and regulations issued by the Council of Higher Education in December 2002; the presidents of the individual councils make up the national Students Council. An Act of Parliament is now needed to give statutory powers to these councils.

of applicants and the number of places available in the full-time two- and four-year courses. The number of applicants, which was 229,994 in 1974, had reached 1,851,674 in 2005.[17] The corresponding number of available places amounted respectively to 37,271 and 401,937. Thus, in the thirty-year period shown, the number of places has increased by a factor of more than ten. Yet, the Turkish higher education system can still meet only about a quarter of the demand for full-time higher education as there has been an almost corresponding increase in the number of applicants.[18] To say the least, admission to higher education remains very competitive. Indeed, the existing demand-supply imbalance makes the question of access to higher education one of the most topical and controversial issues in present day Turkey.

As mentioned earlier, the examination is prepared by the Student Selection and Placement Centre – and approved by the Council. There is a *numerus clausus* for each and every programme, including those taught in private universities. The score according to which students are placed – or not – in a programme of their choice is a weighted mixture of the test score and their normalised high school graduation grade. Until 1998 the central exam was run in two stages, first a check of the candidates' comprehension and reasoning abilities based on fundamental concepts in the Turkish language as well as in mathematics, natural and social sciences. This first stage counted for

[17] According to statistics recently released by ÖSYM (SSPC), the number of applicants was 1,537,374 in 2006, and 402,155 spaces were available in the two- and four-year full-time programmes. The number of applicants in 2007 was 1,641,403, and the number of places available was 413.147.

[18] There is no *numerus clausus* for the distance education course offered by the Faculty of Open Education at Anadolu University. Those seeking admission to those programmes, however, must also take the central admission test, and score above a given minimum.

approximately fifty percent of the mark,[19] the score being a composite of the correct answers in all four areas. The second stage of the test was mainly an evaluation of the knowledge acquired in specific subjects, be they mathematics, natural sciences, social sciences, languages, and so forth. The questions were based on the curricula offered in various branches by the general (academic) high schools in the country. The test was meant to measure achievement in those subject matter areas that were relevant to the programme the individual student was seeking admission to. Candidates were required to answer questions only in those specific areas, and the knowledge content of the whole test was estimated to be above ninety percent.

A study carried out in 1998 clearly showed that the correlation between the first and the second stages of the examination was almost one hundred percent. Furthermore, high school graduation grade counted only for about seven percent of the total score. No distinction was made either between the curricula followed at secondary level and the content of the higher education programmes for which candidates were seeking admission. These two factors combined were making regular attendance in classes at secondary schools more or less irrelevant as far as access to higher education was concerned. Rather, students were paying significant fees to attend private coaching classes that prepared them specifically for the multiple choice test. Thus, while the admission system in place made perfect sense, and was completely free from external influence and corruption, the system was exacting a heavy collateral damage on the quality of secondary education in the country.

Those most adversely affected were the students in vocational and technical high schools – who were meant to enter

[19] The knowledge content of the most commonly used test in the United States, the SAT1, is approximately ten percent – excluding the recently added essay part. Thus, SAT1 is a pure reasoning and aptitude test compared to the first stage test in Turkey.

the labour market directly but were, instead, being misguided to take a test for which they had not been prepared. The natural extension at tertiary level of the vocational and technical education given at the secondary level is the two-year associate level programme that aims to train mid-level manpower, and the four-year programmes preparing the teachers for those vocational schools. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of the students admitted to those programmes were graduates of the general secondary schools. The result was a complete mismatch not only between the secondary and the tertiary levels, but also between the requirements of the labour market and the national education system in general.

Another distorting factor came and still comes from those secondary schools that had been established to train the providers of religious services. The graduates of such schools were naturally expected to continue tertiary studies in faculties of divinity. Over time, however, these schools grew in number, lower secondary sections were added to them, and, owing to the peculiarity of the admission system mentioned above, they acquired a status that was tantamount to the opening at secondary level of a religious track next to the secular one – but with no possibility at the end to enter the public university system. This continues to be the source of major sociopolitical tensions in the country.

In 1999, the second stage of the central examination was eliminated, the weight of high school graduation grades was increased from seven to over twenty percent, while links were encouraged between curricula at the secondary and the tertiary levels by giving extra credit to those students continuing in the same track. These changes made it possible for much larger numbers of secondary vocational and technical school graduates to be admitted to the two-year programmes – and the four-year programmes preparing teachers in those fields.

In 2001, Law No. 4702 simplified matters by allowing graduates of vocational and technical secondary schools to enter

the two-year programmes in their fields without having to take the central test. This law also included a provision, which allowed charitable foundations to establish independent two-year higher vocational schools at the tertiary level.[20] All these measures were intended to make vocational and technical education at the secondary level more responsive to the needs of the labour market.

In 2006, sections were added to the central admission test, which were meant to measure subject matter achievement in high school curricula. Thresholds were specified in the form of minimum scores in these sections, which the students had to pass in order to qualify for placement in certain programmes like engineering, law and medicine. This, not only completely changed the nature and the rationale of the examination by essentially nullifying the relative contribution of high school performance, but also led to huge vacancies in places available in some programmes. These thresholds were relaxed in 2007 with the result that the number of places left vacant after the test significantly decreased, but also, as a consequence, that the changes introduced in 2006 became meaningless.

Turkey has more than a century and a half experience of preparing in state institutions the preschool, primary and secondary education teachers. The level at which teachers were educated in special institutions has been upgraded over time from the lower secondary to the tertiary level and, after 1981, teacher training became a function the universities monopolised within their education faculties. However, in several key areas, the number of places available in such faculties have often fallen short of demand: indeed, academic staff in faculties of education were more interested in teaching and research in their field of specialisation than in the training of teachers. For instance,

[20] There are now three such independent private higher vocational schools. The first two were founded in 2003, and the third in 2005.

testing, evaluation or curriculum development became four-year bachelor-level programmes, standing on their own, rather than subsidiary courses offered to future teachers as specific tools for their professional practice. Faculties of arts and sciences, on the other hand, were claiming that the training of teachers in secondary level subject matters was within their ambit. This led to general confusion as to the role of the two types of faculties, some departments in Education turning into replicas of those in Arts and sciences, for instance the teaching and research ensured in a department of chemistry at the faculty of education becoming almost exactly what was taught and explored in a chemistry department at the faculty of science! There was little emphasis in faculties of education on paedagogy methods, i.e., the didactics helping the teaching of different subjects to students of various levels and backgrounds. Furthermore, students not only in faculties of arts, but practically in every other faculty, were enrolling in unstructured certificate programmes comprising a few evening courses in paedagogy to become teachers – just in case they would not find any employment in their own fields... In other words, education as a sector had become second best everywhere.

That is why, in 1998, faculties of education were radically re-structured, making teacher training and research in paedagogy or related areas of methodology their only functions. Demarcation lines were put in place between the faculties of education and those of arts and sciences so that subject matter would be taught only in the latter while the former would concentrate on didactics. Secondary level subject matter teacher training programmes were also upgraded to master-level, access being open to those having already a bachelor degree in that particular subject matter.

An important and controversial development after 1982 was the establishment of non-profit foundations by public universities both to facilitate donations from private persons and

alumni and to help the university to enter income generation activities. What made these foundations and their activities controversial was the fact that, taking advantage of the loopholes in the law, they were used to circumvent the rigidities in the revolving fund system that had also been set up to facilitate income generation.

Following the elections held in the autumn of 2002, the Justice and Development Party (AKP), a party with an Islamic background, came to power with nearly enough seats in Parliament to make constitutional changes possible. Despite declarations of the leadership that they had severed all links with their Islamic past,[21] there was a lingering and strong suspicion among large sections of the public that the party was still pursuing its earlier programme. In other words, every attempt made by the new government to legislate again in the field of education was believed to concur to a hidden agenda, the building of a theocratic state in Turkey. For example, two attempts made to amend Law 2547 were successfully resisted by the higher education bureaucracy and the university establishment – on suspicion that these changes would result in the new authorities taking over the governance of the higher education system. In fact, the political and ideological polarisation between the AKP and the secular-Kemalist elites still impedes important reforms in education in Turkey.

In March 2006, Parliament passed a law establishing fifteen new state universities and one private university by the amalgamation of various branches from previously founded state universities. This brought the number of universities in the country to ninety-three, sixty-eight state institutions and twenty-five private establishments. However, the governmental decree, by

[21] AKP was formed by a group that split away in 2000 from the so-called Prosperity Party, a group with much clearer Islamic credentials. AKP declared itself to be a conservative centre-right party similar to the Christian Democratic parties existing in Europe.

which the rectors of the newly founded state universities were to be appointed according to the procedure followed back in 1992, was appealed by the Council of Higher Education. The Council of State overruled the government saying that it was the CHE prerogative to propose candidates for rectorships to the President of the Republic. This was later confirmed by a ruling of the Constitutional Court. In 2007, five more private and seventeen more state universities were founded, once again by amalgamating existing units from previously founded state universities.

Thus, at present, the Turkish higher education system comprises 115 universities, eighty-five public and thirty private. Together with the three independent higher vocational schools, these operate and are governed by the Council of Higher Education, still according to the provisions of Law No. 2547 as enacted in 1981, although, since then, its regulations have been amended quite a few times. In addition to universities, the Turkish higher education system also includes a number of non-university institutions of higher education, that are directly administered by the military and the security forces, as well as some forty hospitals, which are not operated by the universities, even if they provide medical specialty training and education.

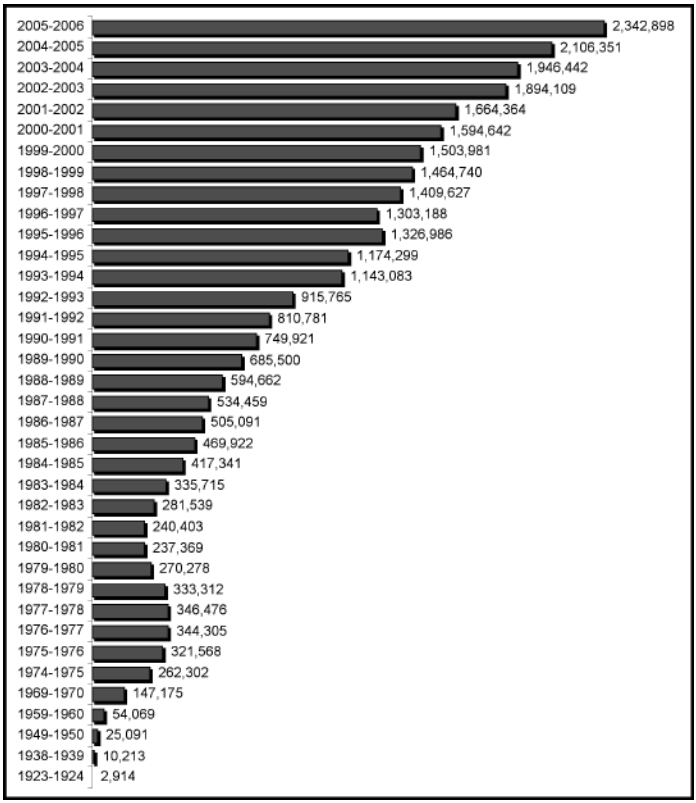
In the elections held in the summer of 2007, AKP won another landslide victory, and significantly increased its share of the popular vote from thirty-four percent in 2002 to forty-seven percent. Education in general, and higher education in particular, are expected to be high on the agenda of the AKP in the coming months.

TABLE 1.1

ENROLMENT AND ACADEMIC STAFF IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN TURKEY, 1980-1981

TYPE OF INSTITUTION	ENROLLMENT	ACADEMIC STAFF
UNIVERSITIES	166,687	13,179
STATE ACADEMIES	58,521	2,944
HIGHER SCHOOLS	52,419	4,033
FULL-TIME TOTAL	**233,627**	**20,156**
EDUCATION BY CORRESPONDENCE	9,742	660
TOTAL FOR TURKEY	**237,369**	**20,816**

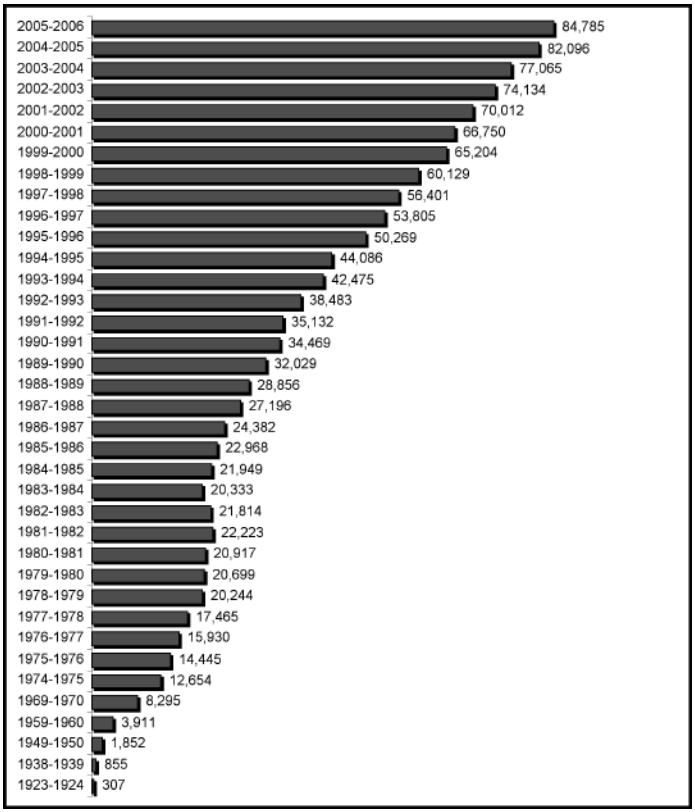
Figure 1.1. The Turkish Higher Education System: Student Enrolment



Sources: a) 1923-1983: DİE (1990); 1983-2006: Higher Education Statistics, 1983-2006, SSPC

Note: Higher education statistics published by the SSPC after the writing of this manuscript give the total enrolment in the Turkish higher education system as 2,453,664 in the 2006-2007 academic year.

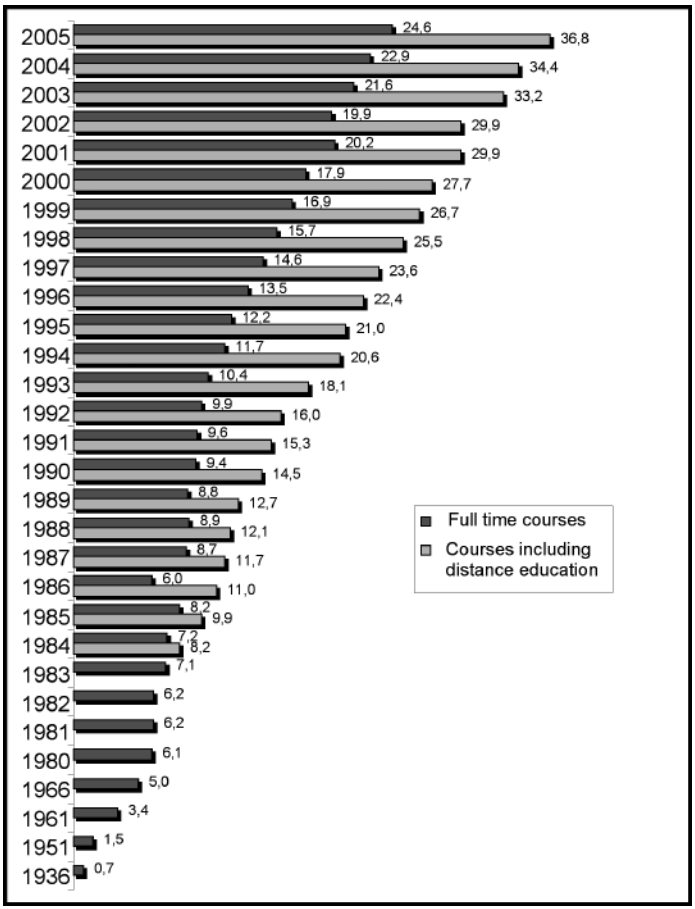
Figure 1.2. The Turkish Higher Education System: Academic Staff



Sources: a) 1923-1983: DİE (1990); 1983-2006: Higher Education Statistics, 1983-2006, SSPC

Note: Higher education statistics published by the SSPC after the writing of this manuscript give the total number of academic staff in the Turkish higher education system as 89,329 in the 2006-2007 academic year.

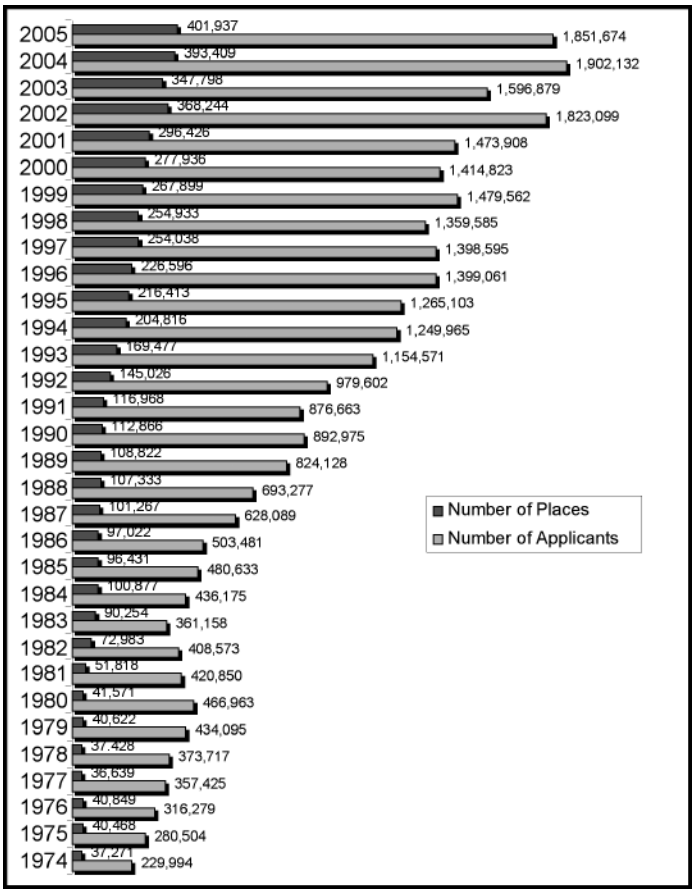
Figure 1.3. The Turkish Higher Education System: Gross Enrolment Ratio, %



Source: The Council of Higher Education Annual Reports; Gürüz (2000, 325)

Note: Gross enrolment ratios for the years 2006 and 2007 including students in distance education were calculated as 42.5% and 44.7%, respectively

Figure 1.4. The Turkish Higher Education System: The Growth of Demand and Supply



Source: Data obtained from the SSPC

Note: According to the data released by the SSPC, the total number of applicants was 1,537,374 in 2006 and 1,641,403 in 2007. The number of places available in full-time courses in the said years were 402,155 and 413.147, respectively.

System Autonomy and Responsibility in a Modernising Society

1. Growth since 1981: the current Size and Structure of the System

Figures 1.1 and 1.2 clearly show the growth in the system from 1981 to 2006. Student enrolment increased by a factor of almost ten, from 237,369 in 1980-1981 to 2,342,898 in 2005-2006, and the number of academic staff increased from 20,917 to 84,375 in the same period. Figure 1.3 shows the growth in the gross enrolment ratio. Gross enrolment ratio was 6.2 percent in 1981, when enrolment comprised essentially full-time students only. In 2005, the gross enrolment ratio was 36.8 percent with full-time students accounting for nearly two-thirds of the enrolment, and students in distance education programmes representing the remaining third.[22] In summary, the growth in

[22] Gross enrollment ratios based on total enrolment including students in distance education courses were estimated as 42.5% and 44.7% for the years 2006 and 2007, respectively. These are based on Gürlesel's (2004) demographic projections, which show a declining higher education age cohort until the year 2025. Thus, the observed increase in the gross enrolment

student enrolment was achieved by expanding the capacity in both the full-time programmes and distance education courses. In terms of the share of distance education programmes in enrolment, Turkey ranks among the highest in the world.[23]

In 2005-2006, there were 603 faculties, 182 four-year higher schools, 486 two-year higher vocational schools, 232 postgraduate institutes and 67 research and application centres affiliated to universities. The distribution of student enrolment according to educational level and type of study is shown in table 2.1. As to the distribution of academic staff according to rank and type of institutional affiliation, it is shown in table 2.2.[24]

The breakdown of enrolment according to educational levels is 29.2 percent associate-level, 63.9 percent bachelor-level, and 6.9 percent postgraduate. The share of distance education enrolment is 36.6 percent.

Figure 2.3 shows the growth in enrolment in private universities. Only 426 students were enrolled at Bilkent University, when the first private university in the country started teaching in 1986-1987; the total enrolment in private universities amounted to 111,735 in 2005-2006. This corresponds to private universi-

ratio in the last years is due more to this 'demographic window of opportunity' than to the increase in the number of places available.

[23] Estimates by the World Bank based on enrolments in the 1990s place the Open Education Faculty of Anadolu University second in the world after the Chinese Open University (The World Bank 2003, 51), and the Turkish higher education system in the second place after Thailand in terms of the share of enrolment in distance education programmes. Estimates made independently by Gürüz (2000, 166), again based on enrolment in the 1990s, puts Turkey in the second place with a 35 percent share of distance education enrolment, after Thailand with 37 percent, results that are in perfect agreement with the findings of the World Bank.

[24] Statistics recently released by the Council of Higher Education show that the total enrolment and the academic staff in the Turkish higher education system amounted to 2,453,664 and 89,329, respectively, in the 2006-2007 academic year (ÖSYM 2007).

ties serving a 4.8 percent share of all enrolled students through 7.2 percent of all full-time programmes. The share of private universities in post-graduate enrolment is 7.8 percent. Table 2.3 shows that the share of private universities in academic staff was 9.1 percent, and 7.6 percent in faculty members.

In terms of full-time student enrolment at all educational levels in 2005-2006, the largest state university was Selçuk University in Konya with 70,120 students, and the largest private university Yeditepe University in İstanbul with 12,279 students.

In 2004–2005, the students graduating at associate-level were 118,974, those at bachelor's level 197,154, those at master's level students 24,009, those finishing a doctorate 2,838 while another 3,588 had completed medical specialty training programmes, i.e., a total of 334,235 graduates for the country.

In short, in the period from 1981 – when the latest higher education law came into effect – to the 2005–2006 academic year:

- Total enrollment increased by a factor of nearly ten.
- The increase in the number of academic staff was approximately four-fold.
- Gross enrolment ratio moved from 6.2 percent to 36.8 percent, or to 24.6 percent if only the full-time programmes are taken into account.
- While the increase in the number of applicants for a place in higher education was approximately fourfold, the number of places in full-time programmes grew by a factor of almost ten.
- In 1981, 15.2 percent of the full-time students were enrolled in institutions of higher education *outside* of the three big cities, İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir: that ratio was 75.0 percent in 2005-2006. The corresponding ratios for the academic staff were 20.9 percent and 64.6 percent, respectively, clearly showing the importance of the geographic spread of higher education across the country.

Figure 2.2 shows the top twenty-five national higher edu-

cation systems in the world according to student enrolment in 2004. The higher education system in Turkey is the sixteenth largest in the world, and the fifth largest in Europe. In 2004, the world enrolment in higher education was some 132 million students (UNESCO 2006). Enrolment in the Turkish higher education system in that year corresponded to 1.6 percent of that total figure, which was above the share of the Turkish population in the world population, and her contribution to the global GDP.[25]

Figures 2.3 and 2.4 show the number of foreign students studying in Turkey, and the number of Turkish students studying abroad, respectively. From the mid-1990s onward, the number of foreign students in Turkey has increased significantly, especially after the collapse of the USSR, reaching 16,059 in 2006.

Figure 2.4 shows the number of Turkish students abroad as calculated by UNESCO but this figure does not include those enrolled in the universities from the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. The total number was 47,382 in 2002. The United States is the major destination for Turkish students. Figure 2.5 shows the growth in the number of Turkish students studying in U.S. institutions of higher education, from 6,716 in 1995 to 12,474 ten years later. Currently, Turkey is the eighth country in the world and the first among European countries in terms of the number of students training in the United States.

There is still a wide gap, however, between the demand for

[25] According to the most recent data available from the World Bank (2006a, 20-22), the population of Turkey is 72 million, her GDP is $269 billion ($554 billon in terms of purchasing power parity, ppp), and her per capita income is $3,750 (or $7,720 on ppp basis). Among the 152 countries included in the World Bank statistics, Turkey ranks seventeenth according to the size of her economy, and fifty-second according to her per capita income, which places her in the upper middle-income group. Turkey's population is 1.13 percent of the world, and her share in the global GDP is 0.98 percent.

higher education in Turkey and the number of places available in full-time programmes. The demand is especially high for bachelor-level courses. This demand/supply imbalance is the major driver for the student outflow from Turkey, which has become a major country of origin for foreign students, or alternatively, a major importer of higher education services from the international higher education market.[26] That was the reason for the establishment of for-profit universities in northern Cyprus, where the number of students from Turkey increased from 10,744 in 1997-1998 to 27,173 in 2005-2006.

In other words, despite the nearly ten-fold expansion in the system in the past twenty-five years, the demand/supply imbalance in the Turkish higher system continues to be a major issue that will need to be addressed in the coming years too.

Figure 2.6 shows the gross enrolment ratio or participation rate in selected countries. There is a wide variation in this indicator, from values below five percent in Sub-Saharan African countries to values well above eighty percent in Korea, the United States, and Scandinavian countries. UNESCO (2003) draws attention to another feature of the data displayed in figure 2.6. There seems to be a threshold value in the gross enrolment ratio that lies between forty to fifty percent, a figure which, according to UNESCO, represents a minimum, should a country become an active competitor in and take advantage of the global knowledge economy. With a gross enrollment ratio of 36.8 percent including enrolment in distance education programmes, Turkey is still below that threshold value despite the significant growth of participation in higher education over the past twenty-five years.

According to OECD (2007, 11, and 327):

[26] International student mobility is dealt with in more details in a forthcoming book by Gürüz, *Higher Education and International Student Mobility in the Global Knowledge Economy*, now in print at SUNY Press, New York.

"*Governments pursuing an expansion of tertiary education have often acknowledged doing this in the understanding that more high-level skills are needed in an advanced knowledge economy, requiring a much greater proportion of the workforce than previously to be educated beyond the secondary school level. And, indeed, in many countries there has been significant growth of jobs and industries in sectors dependent on a more skilled workforce*.

Not attaining an upper secondary qualification is clearly a serious impediment to entering employment, while obtaining a tertiary qualification increases the likelihood that job seekers will find employment. There are substantial rewards associated with attaining tertiary education and substantial penalties associated with failing to reach at least the upper secondary standard. In all OECD countries, the average earnings premium associated with tertiary compared to upper secondary education is more than 25 percent and in some is more than 100 percent."

Further evidence that Turkey needs to expand her higher education system even more is provided by the recently released OECD data on educational attainment in the adult population (the 25 to 64-year-old age cohort) in member and partner countries. In 2005, the percentage of the total population in OECD countries that had lower secondary, upper secondary, and tertiary education was 92 percent, 41 percent, and 26 percent, respectively. The corresponding percentages for Turkey were 73 percent, 17 percent, and 10 percent, respectively (OECD 2007, 35-36). Clearly, Turkey is way beyond the OECD average[27] in terms of the portion of her population that has a tertiary-level qualification.

Figure 2.7 shows the student/academic staff ratio in selected

[27] OECD reports two types of average: an 'OECD average' is calculated by simply averaging the values for the member countries, irrespective of their populations, while an 'OECD total' is an average value weighted with respect to member country populations. In this study, what is referred to as an 'OECD average' is an 'OECD total', unless indicated otherwise.

countries. The value for Turkey – based on full-time enrolment only – is 17.2, which is above the OECD average of 14.9. Shortage of qualified academic staff, especially in key areas of high technology, business, economics, law, foreign languages and vocational and technical education – both in teacher training for secondary level schools and academic staff for the two-year higher vocational schools – is a major obstacle to the further expansion of the system.

Four indicators are used below to characterise the structure of the Turkish higher education system. The first one shows the share of enrolment in distance education programmes. This share is 36.6 percent for Turkey, and, as mentioned above, in this respect, Thailand and Turkey are topping all other countries in the world.

According to a recent report by the US Association for Career and Technical Education (ACTE 2006), the fastest increasing demand in the labour market of the global knowledge economy is for graduates both of sub-bachelor- and of doctoral-level programmes. The former are classified as ISCED 5B programmes, and the two-year higher vocational schools in Turkey fall into this category. Figure 2.8 shows the share of such programmes in higher education systems of selected countries and country groups. The share of enrolment in such courses in Turkey is 29 percent, but this value falls to about 20 percent when only the full-time students are considered. On the other hand, the share of enrolment in such courses is 48 percent in China, 39 percent in the United States, 40 percent in Korea, and 33 percent in Japan. Although no data exist for India, it is known that enrolment in two-year affiliated colleges account for more than half the higher education population in that country, and it is the graduates of such programmes (together with those of the prestigious Indian institutes of technology (IITs) and the Indian institutes of management (IIMs) that are the backbone for the thriving of Indian economy. Many countries have such programmes within their universities (Spain, France, Sweden and the United Kingdom)

and enrolment in those courses does not explicitly appear as ISCED 5B. Furthermore, a number of developed countries have ISCED 4 programmes that are vocational in nature, prepare students directly for the labour market and straddle the secondary and the tertiary levels. Examples include France (*section technicien supérieur, STS*), Japan (*jungakushi, kotosenmongakko*), Australia (*technical and further education*, *TAFE*), and New Zealand (*private training establishments*, *PTEs*).

The third indicator is the share of the enrolment in doctoral programmes. This share is 1.4 percent for Turkey, and becomes 2.1 percent when only full-time students are concerned.

The fourth indicator is the share of private enrolment in the system. Figure 2.9 shows this share in selected countries. This share is 4.8 percent in Turkey, and as seen in figure 2.10, in this respect, Turkey is at the bottom.

2. Financing Higher Education

Data exists on the financing of higher education for state universities only, since private universities are not required to disclose such figures. According to figures from the CHE annual reports, the breakdown of income in state universities by source of origin, when averaged over recent years, is as follows: state budget 55 percent; income generated by universities 40 percent; and student contributions 5 percent. The income generated by the universities themselves includes revenues from services performed as contract research and patient care in university hospitals, for instance, or from gifts and donations.

Universities in Turkey own and operate their own teaching hospitals, and income generated in that area represents by far the largest portion of university-generated income. That income, however, is collected and spent in revolving funds linked to the 'earning' faculties; such money then does not contribute much to teaching and research in other parts of the universities.

Eighty percent of student fees revert back to students in terms of subsidised meals and lodging, free medical services or extracurricular activities. Thus, it is more realistic in state universities to base tuition-related expenditure per student on the income coming from the state budget. Figure 2.10 shows that value in the period 1981-2005. It is clear that the income from the state budget – per full-time student – as expressed in current U.S. dollars ($) has fluctuated considerably over the years. Following a major economic crisis in 1994, it has fallen to $1,509 in 1996, and to $1,333 in the aftermath of the second economic crisis in 2001.

Figure 2.11 shows the data reported by OECD for year 2002 as to expenditures per student in selected countries (OECD 2005, table B1.1a); the values are reported in U.S. dollars expressed on a purchasing power parity (ppp) basis.[28] These values vary from a $1,296 for Indonesia to $23,714 for Switzerland, with an OECD average of $13,343.[29] The value reported

[28] 'Per student expenditure' in a given country is calculated by adding the annual budgets of all institutions of higher education in that country, including state, nonprofit private and for-profit institutions of all types, and dividing that sum by the total enrolment at higher education level. The resulting sum is then converted to U.S. dollars on a purchasing power parity (ppp) basis by using the 'ppp exchange rate' of the country that the OECD calculates to normalise the difference in purchasing power between that country and the United States. Thus, all expenditures from public sources and private sources that appear in institutions' budgets are reflected in the resulting figure.

[29] The per student expenditure values reported by OECD for the year 2003 are $25,900 and $24,074 for Switzerland and the United States, respectively (OECD 2006, table B1.1a). These include expenditures for core educational services, ancillary services and R&D activities. When the latter is excluded, per student expenditure values for the United States and Switzerland in 2003 become $21,566 and $14,335, respectively. Thus, on the basis of per student expenditure for core educational services and ancillary services, the United States top the list of OECD and partner countries by a wide margin – followed by Canada with $16,337. The wide lead of the

by OECD for Turkey for the year 2002 is $4,267, which is about a third of the OECD average.

Table 2.3 shows the change in per student expenditure in Turkey over time and compares those values with the OECD averages for the years shown. The values calculated by the authors for the years 1995, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006 and 2007 are $3,427, $4,420, $3,810, $4,017, $4,144, $4,220, $4,607, $5,598, and $6,113 respectively.[30] Values reported by OECD for the years 1993, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004 are $2,696, $4,121, $3,950, $4,267, $4,248, and $4,231, respectively. The OECD averages for the latter years are $9,665, $12,319, $13,343, $14,530, and $14,027 respectively (OECD 1996; 1998; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007, table B1.1a and B1.1b, 186-187).[31] Clearly, in the past fifteen years when the Turkish higher education system has almost tripled in student enrolment, per student expenditure in state universities has remained at a third of the OECD average.

Figure 2.12 shows the relative contributions of public and private sources to per student expenditures in selected countries in 2002 (OECD 2005, table B3.2b). Private sources in-

United States in this respect has continued in 2004, too (OECD 2007, tables B1.1a and B1.1b, 186-187).

[30] The per student expenditures shown for Turkey include both the values reported by OECD, and those estimated by the authors. The latter are calculated by adding the total higher education budget of the state and the budget of the Student Loans and Dormitories Agency (YURTKUR), dividing the resulting sum with the total number of students enrolled in full-time programmes in state universities, and converting that value to $ ppp basis by using the OECD purchasing power parity exchange rates for Turkey for the year in question. The values calculated in this manner are in very good agreement with those reported by OECD.

[31] The OECD average values include R&D expenditures. In 2007, per student expenditure excluding R&D expenditures was $4,170 in Turkey, and the OECD average for core educational services and ancillary services in that year was $11,443 (OECD 2007, table B1.1a, 186).

clude both the expenditures by parents and the students themselves as well as those that come into institutions' budgets from other private sources such as gifts and donations, and fees for performed services, etc. Countries on the Asia-Pacific rim and in Latin America are at the top of the table, with values over eighty percent for Korea and Chile, the parental expenditures accounting for nearly all expenditures for higher education in Chile. These are countries characterised by relatively high tuition fees and large shares of private enrolment. The OECD averages (country mean) for total private and parental contributions are 24.1 percent and 16.5 percent, respectively. The parental contribution in Turkish state universities is estimated by OECD to amount to 9.9 percent for year 2002, contributions from other private sources remaining insignificant. This value is considerably below the OECD average.

Parental contributions appearing in the budgets of state universities in Turkey essentially reflect the 'student contributions'. In public universities the so-called contributions to be paid by students in the 2007-2008 academic year vary from $55 for distance education programmes to $140 in the two-year courses, or $425 in faculties of medicine, depending on the programme; tuition fees in private universities, however, can be over $10,000. While fees paid by students in private universities are all spent for expenses related to teaching, this is only partly the case in state universities. As has been mentioned previously, the average breakdown of the state universites' income by source is 55 percent from state budget, 40 percent from income generated by the universities themselves, and 5 percent from the 'student contributions', only about one percentage point of the latter income category being used for tuition-related expenses. Thus, the real 'tuition fee/state subsidy' ratio for Turkey is only about 2 percent, which is way below those encountered on the Asia-Pacific rim, in Latin America, and increasingly in most of

the Central and Eastern European countries.[32]

In the authors' opinion, the OECD estimate of the relative parental contribution in Turkish state universities is an overestimate, and for the year shown, it is probably closer to the country average including private universities. In any case, it is clear that the portion of the student contributions in state universities that can actually be considered as 'real tuition fees' is quite small. On the other hand, when private contributions are calculated for the system as a whole – including private universities –, with enrolment growing in the private institutions, the relative contributions of both the parents and other private sources appear to grow in recent years and will do so in the future too.

It is now increasingly recognised that higher education is a semi-public service. Consequently, the return on investment in higher education has two components, personal and social. That portion of the cost of higher education corresponding to personal benefits should be borne by those taking direct advantage from the provision of that service, while the remaining amount should come from the public purse. Otherwise, in most cases, providing higher education free of charge results in a transfer of wealth to the more affluent from the poorer segments of society! From the early 1980s, this argument has provided the rationale for introducing tuition fees in many countries which did not have them before, or for increasing them in those countries that already had them. Estimates of the country-average tution fees in the 2003-2004 academic year in state institutions in member countries, expressed in U.S. dollars on a purchasing power parity basis, are as follows (OECD 2006, table B5.1):[33]

[32] A study carried out by the World Bank in the early 1990s showed that the tuition fee/ state subsidy ratios were 23 percent for Viet Nam, 11 percent for China, 4 percent for Romania, and 3 percent for Hungary (The World Bank 1994, 42). These ratios are considerably higher today.

[33] See also OECD (2007, chart B5.1, 232) for average tuition fees in the 2004-2005 academic year.

- 4,500 and above : USA
- 3,500-4,000 : Chile, Australia, Japan and Korea
- 2,000-2,500 : New Zealand, Israel
- 1,500-2,000 : UK, Holland
- 500-1,000 : Austria, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, Belgium
- 0-500 : France, Hungary, Turkey
- Free : Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Slovakia, Greece and Sweden

Tuition fees have recently been introduced in Germany for those students who fail to graduate in normal periods of study. The UK has allowed universities to charge fees up to maximum of 3,000 pounds – as determined by the institutions – , the vast majority of which have opted for charging the maximum.

From 1995 to 2004, the share of public resources in expenditures for higher education has, on average, decreased from 79.9 percent to 75.9 percent in OECD countries. The Czech Republic and Ireland are the only countries where this share has increased – from 71.5 percent to 84.7% in the former, and from 69.7 percent to 82.6 percent in the latter. It has remained essentially constant in Canada, Japan and Spain, at about 58 percent, 40 percent, and 75 percent, respectively. On the other hand, significant drops have occurred in Australia (from 64.8 percent to 47.2 percent), Chile (from 25.1 percent to 15.5 percent), Israel (from 59.2 percent to 49.6 percent), and the United Kingdom (from 80.0 percent to 69.6 percent) (OECD 2007, table B3.2b and B3.3, 221-222).

Clearly, tuition fees are no longer taboo in most parts of the world. On the contrary, given the high costs of higher education and increasing personal returns on investments in the field, many now view tuition fees – supported by various loan and scholarship schemes and income-contingent payback arrangements – as a rather equitable means of financing higher education in public institutions.

3. Outputs of the System

While it is relatively easy to quantify research-related outputs in a national higher education system, the assessment of the results of teaching is much more demanding. In recent years, several international schemes have been developed to compare and rank higher education institutions in the world. But they are usually weighted in favour of research outputs, calculating the number of publications done in journals covered by citation indices, valuating the citations of those articles, patents and other forms of recognition that reward research activities, such indicators being rather simple to quantify. The inherent assumption in such rankings is that the quality of teaching and that of research are correlated. To complete the emphasis on research, teaching assessment is also based on the 'perceived quality of graduates', an indicator that is difficult to justify since there is scant quantitative data on either the employment record of graduates or their contributions to national economies.

Figure 2.13 shows the growth in the number of articles published by scholars residing in Turkey in the journals covered by the three major citation indices, the Science Citation Index (SCI), the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) and the Arts and Humanities Citation Index (AHCI). In 1981, the number of Turkish articles published in SCI journals (science areas) and SSCI plus AHCI journals (social science areas) were 344 and 34, respectively. In 2004, the corresponding numbers were 13,773 and 598, respectively, which means a nearly fortyfold increase in publications in science areas, and an almost twentyfold growth in publications in social science areas. In 2005, the total number of publications in the two areas combined was 17,391, which represents a nearly fiftyfold increase over the number of publications in 1981.[34]

[34] For the statistics on publications, see Gürüz (2000, 328) and the annual

Tables 2.4 and 2.5 give more statistical data on the publications made in SCI journals. Until 1990, the number of publications by Turkish scholars accounted for less than a thousandth of the world total, and Turkey's rank in this respect was in the lower forties. In 2004, for the first time in her history, Turkey's share in publications in SCI journals passed her share of the global population and her relative contribution to the global GDP (see footnote 18), and the country ranked in the top twenty nations in the world. Data provided in table 2.5, however, shows that Turkey's rank in terms of citations to articles, thirty-fifth in the world, is considerably below her position in terms of number of publications. Nevertheless, UNESCO (2005, 129-130) had the following to say about Turkey's performance in science and technology in recent years:

"*The number of scientific articles published by Turkish scientists in world-renowned journals trebled between 1997 and 2002, as scanned by the SCI, SSCI and AHCI. By 2002, there were 148 scientific publications per million population, representing a spectacular growth rate of more than 500% over the decade. As a result, Turkey moved from 37th place in 1992 in world rankings of the most productive nations for scientific publications to 22nd place in 2002. The growth in patent applications has been similarly encouraging. From just five patent applications to the EPO in 1993, Turkey had progressed to making 82 applications by 2000, although the number did fall back again to 72 a year later. The figure of 72 corresponds to one patent application per million population.*"

Despite Turkey's internationally recognised performance in science and technology, her universities do not figure promi-

reports published by the Council of Higher Education; that for the year 2005 can be accessed at: http://yok.gov.tr/egitim/raporlar/kasim_2005/kasim_2005.zip. Further information on the breakdown of articles by universities in 2005 can be found at:
http://www.yok.gov.tr/duyuru7duyuru_2006/2005_yayin_sayisi_siralamasi.pdf.

nently in international rankings. Tables 2.6 and 2.7 show the number of universities from different countries found in selected rank sections – first ten, first one hundred, first three thousand, etc. – in three such rankings, Times Higher Education Supplement (THES), Webometrics, and Shanghai Jiao Tong University. It is clear that in all three, U.S. universities are leading the pack by far. It is also interesting to note that universities from 'the major English-speaking countries' – the U.S, the UK, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and Ireland put together – clearly dominate the international higher education landscape. This position is confirmed by the combined share of foreign students in their academic institutions (Gürüz, in print). Discussing tables 2.6 and 2.7, the following can also be added:

- China, India, Singapore, Hong Kong and Malaysia on the Asia-Pacific rim, as well as Israel in Eastern Mediterranean, have recently made great strides in higher education.
- The number of institutions of higher education from Italy, France and Spain making higher ranks are not commensurate with the historical role these countries have played as cradles of the university.
- The ranks of institutions from northern European countries – Germany, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and Sweden – put northern Europe (as a region) ahead of southern Europe.
- It appears that higher education in Central and Eastern European countries, despite significant accumulation of scientific and scholarly expertise, has not yet completed recovery from the effects of earlier political regimes.
- Among top-ranking universities, more than eighty percent have their heads designated by processes involving election by their peers.
- A partial explanation for these results can be provided by considering the expenditures per student and the size of the system. Indeed, table 2.6 points to a correlation between these two indicators and system performance, expenditures having a

direct bearing on the quality of teaching and research, and the size allowing for system diversity, i.e., the setting up of centres of excellence among varied institutional academic bodies.

In the authors' opinion, another impediment to Turkey's further progress in higher education is the *lack of a fully developed 'national innovation system'* in the country.[35] University research accounts for close to seventy percent of the R&D activity in Turkey. Until the private sector accounts for at least half the R&D activity in the country, there will be little mutually reinforcing interaction between academic research and the technology, products and service development or marketing activities coming from the private sector. Moreover, in the case of Turkey, Ph.D. graduates from universities have few opportunities to find employment in private enterprises. This leads to academic inbreeding, which not only locks the results of academic research within the universities, but also adversely affects the quality of teaching and research in the long run. The symptoms of such a situation are becoming increasingly evident in Turkish higher education and in the country's economy: it is difficult to prove competitive in the global knowledge economy without at least the semblance of a national innovation system, in which academia and the private sector may interact and complement each other as pillars of an entrepreneurial environment.

The difficulty of quantifying the teaching-related outputs from national systems of higher education has been mentioned already. However, recent data from the OECD makes it possible to link higher education in general and its relevance to the job market. The transition from education to work is a complex process, which depends not only on the length and the quality of teaching, but also on the general conditions of a country's labour market and economy, thus affecting its integration in a globalis-

[35] For more on the topic of national innovation system (NIS), see the World Bank (2002, 24-26).

ing world. With this caveat, cross-country percentages of the 20 to 24-year-old, and the 25 to 29-year-old cohorts of those people having reached tertiary-level education, compared to those with no education or left unemployed, give an idea, however indirect, of the relevance of tertiary-level education to the employment in a given country. In 2005, these percentages for Turkey were 20.0 percent and 11.8 percent, respectively, while the corresponding OECD averages were 7.2 percent and 6.8 percent (OECD 2007, table C4.3, 337-338). Clearly, the far higher percentages of the Turks aged 20-24 years and 25-29 years with tertiary qualifications mean for them higher unemployment than is the case in corresponding average OECD cohorts.[36]

Turkey has a relatively short history in modern higher education. In that short period, she has been able to create one of the largest higher education systems in the world, and has made significant progress in establishing an academic research infrastructure. However, relative shortage of financial resources and the rules and regulations stifling the system, together with the potential for conflicts of interest latent in her governance organisation, are clearly hampering her further progress in higher education – as will be shown below.

4. Governance and Autonomy: an Evaluation

The structure of higher education governance in Turkey, as foreseen in the initial version of the Higher Education Law No. 2547 of 1981, represented a move away from classical Continental European structures towards an Anglo-American type of organisation, the Council of Higher Education acting as a buffer or intermediary body, while rectors were to be appointed rather

[36] Greece and Portugal are also faced with a similar problem, where the corresponding percentages are 23,6 percent and 15.4 percent for Greece, and 16.6 percent and 8.4 percent for Portugal.

than elected. In many ways, the Turkish higher education system was aiming then to import some of the features defining multicampus state university systems in the United States, like in California, where different types of institutions – ranging from two-year community colleges to medical centres and doctoral degree-granting research universities – all come under the governance of a single system board. Initially also, the system was obviously inspired by the general moves made in the 1970s in many parts of the world to plan and coordinate academic structures in order to face increasing enrolment and to offer the institutional diversification of learning providers supposed to shape the national systems of higher education that had emerged in the West after World War II. In that respect, many similarities can be found between the functions, structures and membership of the Council of Higher Education in Turkey and those of the *Universitets och Högskoleambetet* (UHA), established in 1977 to plan and coordinate higher education in Sweden.

Figure 2.14 shows the 'triangle of coordination' proposed by Clark (1983) to compare national higher education systems. Although about a quarter of a century old, it is still a very useful tool to evaluate higher education governance. In the authors' opinion, after the various amendments to Law No. 2547, the current governance system in Turkey can be placed on the 'academic oligarchy-state bureaucracy axis' of that triangle of coordination.

Although it is possible for the President of the Republic to appoint members from the private sector, the membership of CHE has been restricted so far to academics and civil servants. Thus, although the latter group of members can be regarded as lay members, it is quite clear that the present governance of Turkish state universities is still far from the 'society, market apex' of Clark's triangle of coordination. Furthermore, Turkish governments in many cases have preferred to designate for the Council academics rather than civil servants. This move towards

a preponderance of academics in CHE membership has been exacerbated in the 2000-2007 period when the then President of the Republic preferred to appoint academics also critical of the governance structures designed by Law 2547, thus depriving it from its 'mediating' role with civil society. Moreover, in many such appointments, the chosen members had no previous administrative experience in higher education – which did not help.[37]

Thus, the Turkish system falls short of the Anglo-American model of governance in a number of respects, particularly in the absence of lay members in the Council and its lack of resource allocation powers. The system is now dominated by academics, a trend that was reinforced by the legislative change in 1992, when an election stage was reintroduced in the procedures designating the rectors. Another two other provisions in the system are also potential sources for conflicts of interest. The first concerns the selection of a third of the Council members by a body, half of which is made of rectors whose designation has been heavily influenced by the Council. The second considers that a university rector has the final say in all academic appointments. In other words, the person elected as the rector may have appointed some of the members of the electoral college that is to choose him of her, and this is not rare.

The scarcity of resources in public universities is compounded by the cumbersome and extremely rigid rules and procedures pertaining to public finance in Turkey. In an increasingly globalised higher education market, the persistent yoke of the Ministry of Finance and the State Planning Organization on the financial administration of public universities is now more than

[37] Realising the adverse effects of his previous choices, the President of the Republic then appointed two currently serving rectors as members of the Council. This time he not only acted against both the text and the spirit of the law, but also created a flagrant case of conflict of interest in governance.

ever the biggest obstacle to the further development and international competitiveness of Turkish state universities. Each of their budgets is still allotted by a specific and separate Act of Parliament, a document made of many chapters and a large number of line items that leave little room for university administrations to innovate. Budgets are prepared using the past year's figures rather than any institutional performance-related output or input figures – set as targets. Moreover, recurrent budgets are negotiated with the Ministry of Finance, and the investment budgets that include building construction, research projects and major equipment purchases, with the State Planning Organization. Although, the constitution implicitly gives the Council of Higher Education resource allocation powers, these powers have been reduced over the years to a mere formality, the approval of the budgets that have been prepared, essentially in their final form, by the two agencies mentioned above.

Moreover, the financial yoke of the state bureaucracy on public universities manifests itself in many ways. The number of academic positions in public universities are also established by individual Acts of Parliament passed for each university; and the approval of the Ministry of Finance as well as that of the General Directorate for Personnel of the Prime Minister are required before any vacancy can be advertised. In financial matters, it is not possible to mix the monies available in the state budget with those coming from the revolving fund or the student contributions account; moreover, unspent sums in one year cannot be carried over to the next fiscal year. Financial flexibility in public universities has been hampered some more by recent legislation, which has set up a 'general pool for public resources' placed under the control of the Ministry of Finance, thus significantly curtailing further the margins for manoeuvre left to the central administration of public institutions.

Clearly, the Turkish higher education system, including the Council of Higher Education, is probably among the most

autonomous in the world in terms of independent decision-making concerning academic matters, such as establishing degree programmes, fixing the number of students to be admitted to various courses, determining the methods of their selection or the requirements for their graduation, setting curricula and course contents, defining academic promotions, and research activities. Furthermore, except for the first four of these classical areas of university autonomy, which are finalised by CHE, the universities take their final decisions with no required ratification by the Council. Thus, in terms of academic matters, the Turkish higher education system is best characterised by a place in the 'academic oligarchy' axis of the triangle of coordination given in figure 2.14. On the other hand, in terms of financial and administrative matters, the Turkish system is locked in the 'state bureaucracy apex' of that same triangle.

The above observation on system autonomy with respect to academic matters, however, when viewed from the perspective of each university in the system, is not felt relevant in terms of institutional autonomy. Indeed, for universities as institutions, the CHE enjoys considerable power over them, even when dealing with private foundation universities: the Council decides indeed on academic programme design, student intake, faculty recruitment, and academic structures. In fact, in Turkey, the system is autonomous, not the universities as such. And that autonomous system is made of two sub-systems, the state universities and the private foundation universities, the state universities having restricted institutional autonomy with respect both to academic and financial-administrative matters; however, private-foundation universities are much more autonomous with respect to financial-administrative matters.

Table 2.8 compares the extent of autonomy enjoyed by universities in thirteen OECD countries (OECD 2003, 63). The list includes countries from which, in 2003, members of the OECD programme on Institutional Management in Higher Education

(IMHE) have responded to a survey on university governance. Despite the fact that public/state universities are the usual members of the IMHE programme, the table indicates that Turkish universities, in comparison, are among the most severely limited as to administrative and financial matters.

The growth in private enrolment is steering the system more towards the market-society apex of the Clark's triangle, with many concomitant beneficial results. However, private enrolment in Turkey is way below the levels encountered in the Asia-Pacific rim, Latin America or even Eastern Europe. It now looks certain that state universities will have to bear the burden of the demand expected to increase in the rather near future. That is why academics in state universities bitterly complain, and quite justifiably, about what they perceive to be unfair competition from private institutions, that have complete freedom in setting their tuition fees and salary scales, in allocating to activities as they see fit their combined resources – which, in some cases, include lump-sum, performance-related subsidies coming from the state budget. This is the main cause for the adverse attitude of state universities to private institutions, and perhaps one of the main obstacles impeding the further development of private higher education in Turkey.

Beginning with the Reagan administration in the USA and the Thatcher government in the UK, higher education, too, has entered an era when many countries started transforming it from a public sector structured principally by government regulation into a semi-public sector responsive to demand and competition; in fact, the process has been continuing to the present. The result has been, in the words of Newman, Couturier and Scurry (2004, 32): *"a shift from dependence on regulation and oversight (by the state and on funds from the public purse) to using the market as a means of ensuring public purposes*". Neave (1988a), Veld, Fussel and Neave (1998), de Groof, Neave and Svec (1998), and Neave (1998) refer to these changes as the transformation from

the regulatory to the evaluative state, and the introduction of the market as the supreme regulating principle of higher education.

The old regulatory state prescribes the processes by which institutions function to produce given outputs through an array of detailed legal instruments that include laws, line-item budgets, guidelines and rules. The new evaluative state, on the other hand, sets forth institutional missions, qualitative and quantitative input and output targets but confines itself to evaluating achievements, while allowing institutions to determine their own ways towards achieving those missions and targets. Among major organisational changes is now the wide use of lump-sum budgeting, leading to resource diversification through the introduction of or the increase in tuition fees and the provision of incentives for income generation; this means increased institutional powers, including for professorial appointments, with great discretion in financial matters.

The ensuing developments in higher education are generally referred to as 'the rise of market forces', as manifested by new reliance on tuition fees, private institutions, and transformed governance patterns and structures. This ongoing process is depicted in Figure 2.14 as a move away from the 'state bureaucracy-academic oligarchy' axis towards the 'market, society apex'.

The accompanying changes in governance structures have been summarised by the OECD as follows (OECD 2003, 71-72):

"*Key common elements have been a transfer of power to the rector, vice-chancellor and other leading administrative figures, and a loss of authority and decision-making power on the part of traditional participatory and collegial bodies.*

Although the election of university leaders still continues in a number of countries, the trend seems to be moving towards appointment, often by a board with a majority of external members."[38]

[38] Sweden, Austria, Denmark, Norway, some of the *Länder* in Germany,

OECD (2007, 13-14) has recently reiterated these views with the following and somewhat stronger words:

"*What is clear is that, for now at least, the demand for more and better education continues to rise, with still substantial payoffs in terms of earnings and productivity gains. And enrolments continue to grow in OECD countries, with more than 50 percent – in some countries more than seventy-five percent – of high school graduates now entering university-level education.*

For tertiary education, this means creating and maintaining a system of diverse, sustainable and high-quality institutions with the freedom to respond to demand and accountability for the outcomes they produce. It means ensuring that the growth and development of tertiary educational systems are managed in ways that improve access and enhance quality. And it means that universities will have to evolve so that their leadership and management capacity matches that of modern enterprises. Much greater use needs to be made of appropriate strategic financial and human resource management techniques in order to ensure long-term financial sustainability and meet accountability requirements. Institutions must be governed by bodies that have the ability to think strategically and reflect a much wider range of stakeholder interests than only those of the academic community."

Clark himself refers to these changes as the emergence of a new model of institutional behaviour, which he calls 'the entrepreneurial university' (Clark 1998; Clark 2001). He defines it as an institution that:

- Has a diversified revenue base, which includes mainline institutional support from a governmental ministry, funds from governmental research councils, all other sources being lumped together as 'third-stream' income;[39]

such as Lower Saxony, and most recently Japan, are countries where radical legislative changes have been introduced in the said direction. In those countries where lay governance already existed, as in the United Kingdom, Australia and Holland, it has been strengthened.

[39] In the third-stream income category, Clark (1998; 2001) lists income

- Relies on all three sources rather than on the first one alone;
- Has the legal means to raise money and spend it at its discretion.

In other words, the new governance structures can also be characterised as a move away from the traditional 'collegial/bureaucratic model' of governance to the 'entrepreneurial university model' as depicted in figure 2.14.

With the advent of globalisation, higher education is also becoming an increasingly 'global business'. Traditional institutions, including world-renowned research universities, are now facing stiff competition not only from their peers, but also from new types of providers, both at home and abroad. Competition is for students, academic staff and funds, and it covers the entire world. As a result, the number of foreign students is increasing, as well as many different forms of cross-border or trans-national delivery of higher education services.[40] Thus, the 'international competitiveness' imperative tends to become a key driver as to the new modalities in higher education governance, that are also influenced by the move from the regulatory to the evaluative

from other governmental sources, such private sources including industrial firms, professional and civic associations that promote continuing education for their members or philanthropic foundations, not to speak of university generated own income. Potential sources for the latter include income earned from campus services ranging from the hospital to the bookstore and the commercialisation for external use of physical campus assets like residence halls and sports facilities; student tuition and fees, increasingly including fees from continuing education and lifelong learning in various forms, and from foreign students enrolled on campus or offshore or in e-learning programmes or in franchise arrangements; industry-related contract research and consultancy services; income from technology transfer and royalty income from patented intellectual property collectively owned by the institution and specific faculty members; and alumni fund raising.

[40] The number of foreign students in the world has increased from 2,598,660 in 2004 to 2,725,996 in 2005 (OECD 2007, table C3.6, 324). For more on internationalization of higher education, see Gürüz (in print).

state as well as by the growing impact of global market forces.

In the early 1990s, Clark Kerr had made the following remarks concerning university autonomy (Kerr 2001):

"*For the first time, a really international world of learning, highly competitive, is emerging. If you want to get into that orbit, you have to do so on merit. You cannot rely on politics or anything else. You have to give a good deal of autonomy to institutions for them to be dynamic and to move fast in international competition. You have to develop entrepreneurial leadership to go along with institutional autonomy*."

It appears that Kerr's predictions are being fulfilled, so much so that the new paradigms for higher education are meritocracy and entrepreneurialism rather than democracy and egalitarianism. Many academics worldwide are highly critical of those new references but people like Newman, Couturier and Scurry (2004, 104), on the other hand, have offered the following view:

"*The Futures Project does not advocate creating a market in higher education; rather the project's research has led to the conclusion that the market has arrived, and higher education institutions should acknowledge its existence and respond thoughtfully and effectively.*"

At the national level, these changes are reflected in the form of new and more sophisticated control mechanisms. From the mid-eighties onward, one-to-one control by the state and routine reporting and evaluations have been replaced by various types of quality assurance schemes, essentially adapted from the world of business. With few exceptions, quality assurance is now an integral element of higher education governance worldwide. At present, most countries have some kind of quality assurance system and a national agency charged with varying forms of quality-related tasks and missions. Many of the powers previously exercised by various ministries have been devolved to the academic institutions themselves and, often also, to varied types of external quality agencies.

In summary, the emergence of national quality assessment agencies and the switch from 'line-item' to lump sum budgets accompanied by the strengthened role of the university head and the increased discretionary powers given to the central administration of the institution represent basic features of what characterises the transformation from the regulatory to the evaluative state.

In 2001, Turkey joined the Bologna Process.[41] Therein, the performance of a country is measured by the progress made in a number of key indicator areas. Under US influence, and for many years already, Turkey has been way ahead of many other European countries in terms of course credits, grading system and degree structure. Furthermore, Turkey has the second largest English-medium higher education system in Europe, with two of her leading public universities, METU and Boğaziçi University, teaching completely in English, many others teaching partly in English, while nearly all private institutions teach partly or completely in English.

In the stocktaking exercise that prepared the Ministerial conference of 2005 in Berlin, Turkey's scorecard was as follows in the three indicators used to measure progress in the Bologna process and the country's overall performance:[42]

- Quality Assurance: Some Progress (orange)
- Degree System: Excellent Performance (dark green)

[41] In the authors' opinion, the Bologna Process is a subtle attempt by European politicians to make changes, which they could not accomplish by legislation to make their higher education systems more like the Anglo-Saxon system in order to be able to compete for young minds and academic resources globally. For more on the politics of the Bologna process, see Corbett (2005).

[42] 'Bologna Process Stocktaking Report Bergen 2005'. Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, p. 104. Available at: http://www.bologna-bergen2005.no/Bergen/050509_Stocktaking.pdf.

- Recognition of Degrees and Study Periods: Very Good Performance (light green)
- Overall: Good Performance (yellow)

In the 2007 stocktaking exercise for the London meeting of Ministers, two more criteria were added, and Turkey's scorecard was as follows:[43]

- Quality Assurance: Good performance
- Degree System: Excellent Performance
- Recognition of Degrees and Periods of Study: Very Good Performance
- Lifelong Learning: Good Performance
- Joint Degrees: Good Performance

However, despite progress from 2005 to 2007, Turkey's performance proved relatively weak in such key areas as lifelong learning, the implementation of a national qualifications framework, and quality assurance. In fact, Turkey and Greece are currently two countries without effectively functioning quality assurance systems with statutory powers.

5. Concluding remarks on the Present Structure of Turkish Higher Education

In 1981, the Turkish higher education system was radically restructured, in terms of both its governance pattern and its academic organisation. The changes made were in keeping with the then current drivers for change worldwide, i.e., planning and coordination, institutional diversification, and institutional stratification in order to meet the challenge of exploding demand for tertiary-level education of one form or another. The concepts of accountability, appointed administrators, administrative decisions entrusted to persons rather than boards, or the use of

[43] 'Bologna Process Stocktaking London 2007' Department for Education and Skills, United Kingdom, p. 78. Available at: http://www.dfes.gov.uk/londonbologna/uploads/documents/6909-BolognaProcessST.pdf.

private higher education, all themes alien until then, even heretical, to most Turkish academics, were introduced. The results of this transformation outlined in the previous sections speak for themselves.

Many of the problems encountered elsewhere, such as corruption in admission and grading, has so far not beset the growth of private institutions in Turkey. The centralised admission system and the requirement that private institutions comply with the same academic requirements as do the public ones have played a key role in that achievement. Until recently, all private institutions founded were universities. Recent legislation (Law No. 4702), which allows private two-year vocational schools to be founded independently from universities, opens the potential for establishing a much more market-responsive vocational education sector.

Given her geographic position and the extent of instruction in the English language in her system, Turkey has the potential to become a *key player in international higher education.*

Indeed, Turkish economy is now fully integrated into the global knowledge economy. The country, however, is still a relatively passive actor, in the sense that her economy is currently only fractionally based on knowledge generation and innovation coming from within the system. To expand and improve her capacity to invent and innovate, Turkey has radically to overhaul her education system, from preschool to higher education. The key to the success of such a national endeavour would be the better responsiveness of education and higher education to the needs of the economy. In particular, much stronger links are needed between employment and educational programmes at all levels; moreover, the scope of employment should no longer be seen as being domestic, but global. The current view – pervasive in the public – that higher education is only a system of four-year bachelor-level programmes training for white-collar jobs must change.

Private initiatives should also be encouraged and supported at all levels of education, although it is now clear that the burden of educating a world-class workforce and developing the country's capacity to innovate will lie mostly with the state universities. Partly because, after the reorganisation of the early 1980s, Turkey has failed to capture the global trends in higher education and make the necessary changes in the governance and academic organisation of her higher education system. For instance, the efforts made to introduce lay governance and the basic elements of an entrepreneurial university have failed in the early 1990s, so much so that the state bureaucracy and academic oligarchy currently share power over the system. In other words, where it should have moved in the direction of being more entrepreneurial, the system has moved towards becoming more 'bureaucratic/collegial'.

The introduction of an election stage in the designation of rectors has also made the system more prone to conflicts of interest. As a result, institutional behaviours exhibiting the characteristics of the 'political model', not to speak of the 'organised anarchy model', have been observed in a number of cases.[44] Indeed, it seems that the anarchic model is extending its influence on many aspects of higher education governance in Turkey. There are now only a few universities in Turkey in which collegial relations and mutual respect exist between the current rector and the previous one. A notable exception is one university where the wife of the previous rector has succeeded her husband as the rector! In other words, the system as a whole appears to be drifting toward a state of 'organised anarchy'.

It is also to be remembered that income disparities are large in Turkey. Children of relatively higher income groups have considerably better chances of entering higher education, especially

[44] For more on models of institutional behaviour in higher education institutions, see Drenth (1987).

in the more prestigious institutions. Thus, by making semipublic a service like higher education – that offers high personal returns –, in a social environment characterised by a great imbalance between demand and supply, a service rendered essentially free of charge, an unfair mechanism has been created, by which wealth is transferred from the poorer sections of society to the more affluent. To correct it, real tuition fees supported by means-tested and low-interest loan and scholarship schemes and income-contingent payback arrangements should be introduced.

Consider the graphs herewith that are based on data indicating how the present funding system of higher education system in Turkey based on the slogan that free higher education is socially just produces exactly the opposite result. Figure 2.15 points to the results of an analysis recently undertaken by Kaytaz (2005): it shows that those who receive a university education may expect higher economic benefits, as they grow older. This proves that higher education creates an important added value to the individual who receives it.

Furthermore, given the highly competitive environment for the limited number of places available, the students wishing to enter the university system are forced to spend large sums of money in order to succeed in the university entrance competition.[45] Contest is even tougher for universities such as Boğaziçi,

[45] The report of the Turkish Education Association (TED, 2005, 47), which was announced with the slogan 'TED Calls Everyone on Duty' addresses the problems caused by the highly competitive university entrance system and the preparation for the university entrance system in this competition. According to this report, 1,786,963 students who entered the university entrance exam in 2004 spent US$ 8.4 billion during the preparation process. Per person this meant US$ 4,711. According to the same study, the amount spent for the university entrance exam in one year is US$ 2.9 billion, and the amount spent per student was US$ 1,646 based on the 2004 figures. The grant allocated to CHE for all the universities was US$ 2.7 billion in the 2004 fiscal year.

Middle East Technical University that are ranked very high in terms of student preferences. On the other hand, student contributions to state universities are quite low. Such an 'almost free' service in higher education deprives academic institutions from an important resource while a positive correlation between the level of income and the likelihood of admittance to university harms the principle of social justice.[46] Figure 2.16, adapted from a recent World Bank study on the Turkish national education system, also confirms that those who receive tertiary education have better expectations of employment as they get older.[47]

Figure 2.17 points to another interesting finding of that same World Bank study on the Turkish education sector: it shows that Turkey's spending on education is very high as a share of GDP (approximately 7 percent) – indeed, one among the highest in the world! This, however, is not because of public spending, which is somewhat below other EU and OECD countries. The main reason why Turkey spends so much on education is due to the large share of private out-of-pocket expenditures. Families are mostly providing these funds to pay for those private tutoring courses that prepare students for the university entrance examination at the so-called *dershane*'s[48]; they also finance their

[46] A study on the free higher education system and competitive entrance system existing also in Greece recently showed how the system harms the principle of social justice (Psacharopoulos and Papakonstantinou, 2005). Gürüz (2006) also points out that a major part of the subventions made to higher education from the public resources is allocated to the groups with high level of income.

[47] Presentation made on January 17, 2006 in Istanbul at a meeting organised for the Open Society Institute by Andrew Vorkink, World Bank Turkey Country Chief. The data is based on the World Bank Turkish Education Sector Study.

[48] *Dershane* means, in literal translation, *lesson cram houses* where prospective candidates for higher education go for exam preparation. *Dershanes* have evolved into multi-million dollar businesses. In fact the proceeds from *dershane* activity have been lucrative enough to enable their owners to invest in

children's primary and secondary education in private schools, and are often ready to pay consistent fees for foundation universities – not to speak of the nominal fees for 'student contributions' asked by state universitie. In fact, the amount spent each year on *dershane* courses alone almost equals the entire state education budget for general secondary schools. This is a huge imbalance in expenditures. The pie chart in figure 2.18 shows in detail how private out-of-pocket spending in Turkey is distributed between different education-related activities.

In summary, Turkey must act to make up for the lost time in transforming her state universities from 'bureaucratic/collegial' institutions that are increasingly moving towards 'organised anarchy' into 'entrepreneurial' institutions that can compete in the global higher education area. Turkey must also come up with an equitable system of tuition that takes into account key areas of reform that include the following:

- The presence of lay members in the Council of Higher Education who could bring many useful ideas to the system and make it more market-responsive. It would also be important for the Council to be given resource allocation powers based on the results of an independent quality assurance and evaluation system. This recommendation is explained in more details in the two authors' separate concluding remarks.
- The election stage must be eliminated in the designation of university heads, the rectors being appointed. Special care, however, must be taken to design a system that is sensitive both to the feelings and the demands of each university community, thus avoiding the pitfall of arbitrary rector appointments as done by CHE during the period 1982-1992.
- A new legislation must encourage and reward more diversity and stratification in the institutional missions and organisa-

their own foundation universities and in secondary education.

tional structures of universities. In other words, the transformation must be made from the current regulatory system to an evaluative system.

- As noted above, an external assessment and evaluation body with statutory powers is needed.
- In a unified system like that in Turkey, the academic drift affecting the two-year vocational school and teacher-training institutions represents a major problem. To make the system more market-responsive in these two crucial areas, two auxiliary boards dominated by lay members are needed to oversee and coordinate higher education activities in these fields.
- Student unions need to be established so that students can participate in those aspects of university administration where they have experience and something to contribute. The student organisations' contribution to administration should be viewed as part of their general education to become committed citizens in a participatory democracy. (cf. footnote 13).
- The centralised admission system based on a nation-wide multiple choice is an exemplary organisation that makes the system immune to corruption. However, because high school performance counts very little in the admission process, the test has become an end in itself rather than a means, with important collateral damage done at the secondary level. A new system is needed that takes into account the vocational and the general education tracks at the secondary level, while leaving the evaluation of subject matter achievement to classical, long-answer examinations given at the secondary level, rather than by standard multiple-choice tests given outside the secondary school system.
- In a country like Turkey with a highly codified legal system, where courts tend to assume power by interpretation, it is possible to take academic promotions and even examination grades to court. The establishment of a 'Council of Academic Arbitration' under the purview of the Interuniversity Council

could avoid undue interference by courts in academic matters, thus safeguarding university autonomy.

- For-profit higher education is a very critical issue for Turkey and perhaps, initially, it should be allowed in the two-year vocational sector only before being extended to four year study programmes.
- Another critical issue is the extent to which the lucrative Turkish education market should be opened to trans-national delivery. However, innovative twinning and partnership initiatives such as dual-diploma programmes between Turkish universities and world-class foreign institutions should not only be encouraged but rewarded. Yet, extreme care should be exercised when it comes to allowing in Turkey the physical presence of foreign institutions and other forms of cross-border delivery. As a result, the Council of Higher Education should be actively involved in the GATS negotiations, a permanent working group being set up to monitor developments related to GATS.

TABLE 2.1
BREAKDOWN OF THE STUDENT ENROLMENT: 2005-2006

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	FULL-TIME	DIST. ED	TOTAL
Two-year, Associate	459,252	225,734	684,986
Four-year, Bachelor	922,912	573,319	1,496,231
Undergraduate Total	**1,382,164**	**799,053**	**2,181,217**
Master	112,089	-	
Doctoral	32,575	-	
Medical Specialty Training	17,017	-	
Postgraduate Total	**161,681**	**-**	**161,681**
TOTAL FOR TURKEY	**1,543,845**	**799,053**	**2,342,898**

Note: Enrolment includes the 32,980 students enrolled in the nonuniversity institutions of higher education.

TABLE 2.2
ACADEMIC STAFF: 2005-2006

ACADEMIC RANK	STATE UNIVERSITES	PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES	NON-UNIV. INST.	TOTAL FOR TURKEY
Res. Asst.	27,472	1,277	2	28,751
Inst. & Lect.	17,485	3.921	1,889	23,295
Nonfaculty Total	**44,957**	**5,198**	**1,891**	**52,046**
Asst. Prof.	13,654	1.217	258	15,129
Assoc. Prof.	5,221	335	213	5,769
Full Professor	10,724	944	173	11,841
Faculty Total	**29,599**	**2,496**	**644**	**32,739**
TOTAL FOR TURKEY	**74,556**	**7,694**	**2,535**	**84,785**

TABLE 2.3

EXPENDITURE PER STUDENT IN TURKEY AND OECD AVERAGE

YEAR	EXPENDITURE PER STUDENT, US$ (ppp)	
	OECD AVERAGE	TURKEY
1993	9,665	(2,696)*
1995	10,444	3,427
2000	11,109	4,420 (4,121)*
2001	12,319	3,810 (3,950)*
2002	13,343	4,017 (4,267)*
2003	14,530	4,144 (4,248)*
2004	14,027	4,220 (4,231)
2005	nd	4,607**
2006	nd	5,598**
2007	nd	6,113**

Sources: OECD (1996; 1998; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007)

Notes:

* The values shown in parentheses are the values estimated by OECD for that year.

** Calculated by assuming that the purchasing power parity exchange rate used by OECD for the year 2004 remains constant in 2005, 2006 and 2007.

TABLE 2.4

THE RANK OF TURKEY ACCORDING TO ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN SCI JOURNALS

YEAR	NUMBER OF ARTICLES		TURKEY'S RANK	TURKEY'S SHARE, %
	TURKEY	WORLD TOTAL		
2005	15,666	1,308,366	19.	1.20
2004	13,700	1,191,670	20.	1.15
2003	11,672	1,176,696	21.	0.99
2002	10,056	1,149,095	22.	0.88
2001	7,578	1,090,635	25.	0.69
2000	6,224	1,084,009	25.	0.57
1999	6,045	1,054,205	25.	0.57
1997	4,436	986,400	27.	0.45
1995	2,992	902,875	34.	0.33
1993	1,895	800,843	35.	0.24
1991	1,336	724,531	38.	0.18
1990	1,094	696,383	42.	0.16
1980	380	536,963	40.	0.07
1975	235	402,548	40.	0.06
1973	209	369,331	40.	0.06

Source: Data provided by Prof. N.K. Pak, former President of the Scientific and Technical Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK)

TABLE 2.5
CITATIONS OF ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN SCI JOURNALS 1996-2006

COUNTRY	NO. OF CITATIONS	CITATION PER ARTICLE	CITATION RANK
USA	37.822.213	13,36	1.
UK	7.565.163	11,36	2.
Japan	6.298.446	8,16	4.
Switzerland	2.968.127	14,05	10.
China	1.480.743	3,69	13.
Denmark	1.052.389	12,35	16.
Israel	1.039.021	9,99	17.
Russia	1.019.009	3,63	18.
India	788.852	3,87	22.
Turkey	280.622	3,34	35.
Ukraine	125.390	2,87	42.
Egypt	90.597	3,38	44.
Iran	67.605	2,99	49.
Iceland	44.830	11,71	55.

Source**:** Data provided by Prof. Mehmet Doğan, Hacettepe University – obtained from WOS.

TABLE 2.6

INTERNATIONAL RANKINGS OF UNIVERSITIES, THES AND WEBOMETRICS

COUNTRY	PER STUDENT EXP. US$ PPP 2002	TOTAL ENRMT. 2004	TIMES HIGHER EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT 2006				WEBOMETRICS 2006				
			10	50	100	200	10	200	500	1000	3000
USA	20,545	16,611,711	7	22	33	55	10	101	201		
UK	11,822	2,347,411	3	8	15	29	-	13	40		
Australia	12,416	1,002,098	-	6	7	13	-	6	19		
Holland	13,101	526,767	-	-	7	11	-	8	10		
Japan	11,716	4,031,604	-	2	3	11	-	3	9		
Germany	10,999	1,938,311	-	-	3	10	-	25	51		
Canada	14,983	1,192,570	-	3	3	7	-	17	27		
France	9,276	2,160,370	-	2	5	7	-	-	8		
Switzld.	23,714	195,947	-	2	5	7	-	4	8		
China	nd	19,417,044	-	2	2	6	-	-	2		
Belgium	12,019	368,110	-	-	2	5	-	1	6		
Sweden	15,715	414,657	-	-	-	4	-	6	10		
Hng. Kng.	nd	155,761	-	1	3	4	-	-	5		
India	2,486	11,295,041	-	-	2	3	-	-	-		
Korea	6,047	3,223,411	-	-	1	3	-	-	2		
Israel	11,295	301,326	-	-	-	3	-	1	5		
Denmark	15,183	201,746	-	-	1	3	-	-	5		
Austria	12,448	229,802	-	-	1	3	-	2	7		
Singapore	nd	141,121	-	1	2	2	-	1	1		
Malaysia	14,405	632,309	-	-	-	2	-	-	-		
Russia	2,451*	8,622,037	-	-	1	2	-	-	1		
New Zeld.	8,832*	195,511	-	1	2	2	-	-	4		
Italy	8,636	1,986,347	-	-	-	1	-	2	11		
Spain	8,020	1,809,903	-	-	-	1	-	1	19		
Norway	13,739	212,395	-	-	-	1	-	3	4		
Ireland	9,809	181,557	-	-	1	1	-	-	4		
Taiwan	nd	1,270,194	-	-	-	1	-	1	4		
Mexico	6,074	2,236,791	-	-	1	1	-	1	2		
Finland	11,768	291,664	-	-	-	1	-	1	7		
Thailand	nd	2,251,453	-	-	-	1	-	-	-		
Brazil	10,361	3,582,105	-	-	-	-	-	2	5		
Portugal	6,960	400,831	-	-	-	-	-	-	4		
Hungary	8,205	390,453	-	-	-	-	-	-	3		
Turkey	4,267	2,106,351	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	5	50
Czech Rep.	6,236	287,011	-	-	-	-	-	1	5		
Chile	7,023	567,114	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		
Iceland	8,251	13,342	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		
S. Africa	nd	717,793	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		
Estonia	nd	63,625	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		
Slovenia	nd	101,458	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		
Argentina	3,235	2,026,735	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		
Serbia	nd	nd	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		

Sources**:** a) OECD (2005; 2006); b) UNESCO (2006); c) http://www.webometrics.info/Distribution_by_country.asp

TABLE 2.7
INTERNATIONAL RANKINGS OF UNIVERSITIES, SHANGHAI JIAO TONG

COUNTRY	2006			2005		
	20	100	500	20	100	500
USA	17	54	167	17	53	168
UK	2	11	43	2	11	40
Japan	1	6	32	1	5	34
Germany	-	5	40	-	5	40
Canada	-	4	22	-	4	23
France	-	4	21	-	4	21
Sweden	-	4	11	-	4	11
Switzerland	-	3	8	-	3	8
Holland	-	2	12	-	2	12
Australia	-	2	16	-	2	14
Italy	-	1	23	-	1	23
Israel	-	1	7	-	1	7
Denmark	-	1	5	-	1	5
Norway	-	1	4	-	1	4
Finland	-	1	5	-	1	5
Russia	-	1	2	-	1	2
Belgium	-	4	7	-	-	7
China	-	3	19	-	-	18
Korea	-	1	9	-	-	8
Spain	-	1	9	-	-	9
Austria	-	1	7	-	1	6
Brazil	-	1	4	-	-	4
Singapore	-	1	2	-	-	2
Argentina	-	1	1	-	-	1
Mexico	-	1	1	-	-	1
New Zeald.	-	-	5		-	5
S. Africa	-	-	4	-	-	4
Ireland	-	-	3	-	-	3
Czech Rep.	-	-	1	-	-	1
Greece	-	-	2	-	-	2
Hungary	-	-	2	-	-	2
Poland	-	-	2	-	-	3
India	-	-	2	-	-	3
Chile	-	-	1	-	-	1
Egypt	-	-	1	-	-	-
Turkey	-	-	-	-	-	2
Portugal	-	-	-	-	-	1

Source: http://ed.sjtu.edu.cn/rank/2006/ARWU2006Statistics.htm http://ed.sjtu.edu.cn/rank/2005/ARWU2005Statistics.htm

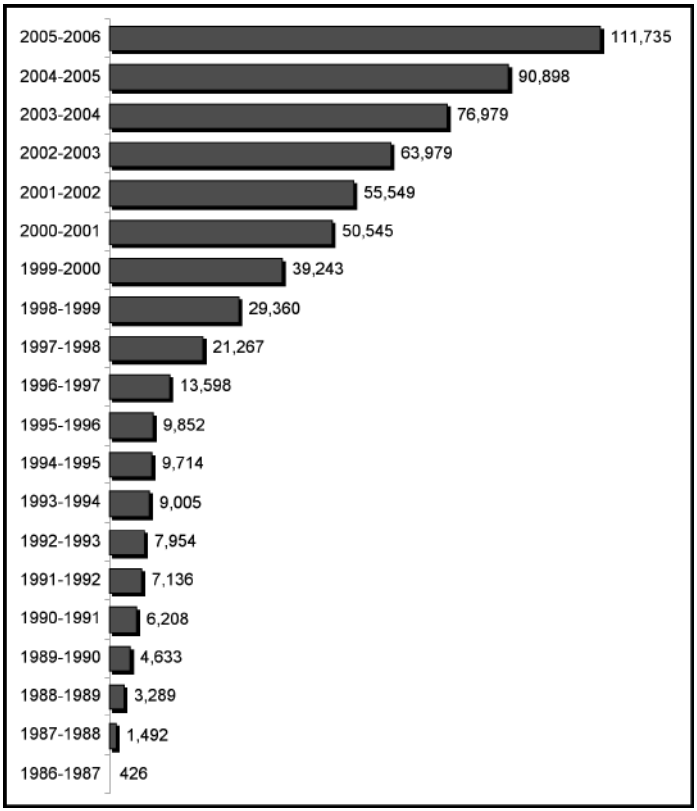
TABLE 2.8

A CROSS-COUNTRY COMPARISON OF THE EXTENT OF UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY

COUNTRY	INSTITUTIONS ARE FREE TO:							
	(1) Own their buildings and equipment	(2) Borrow funds	(3) Spend budgets to achieve their objectives	(4) Set academic structure and course content	(5) Employ and dismiss academic staff	(6) Set salaries	(7) Decide size of student enrollment	(8) Decide level of tuition fees
Netherlands	●	●	●	□	●	●	●	□
Poland	●	●	●	●	●	□	●	□
United Kingdom	●	□	●	●	●	●	□	□
Australia	●	□	●	●	●	●	□	□
Mexico	●	□	●	●	●	□	●	●
Sweden	□	□	●	●	●	●	□	
Finland	□		●	□	●	●	□	
Norway	□		●	●	●	□	●	
Denmark			●	□	●	□	●	□
Austria	□		●	●	●	●		
Korea (national-public univ.)				□	□		□	●
Turkey				□	□		□	
Japan (national-public univ.)*				□	□			

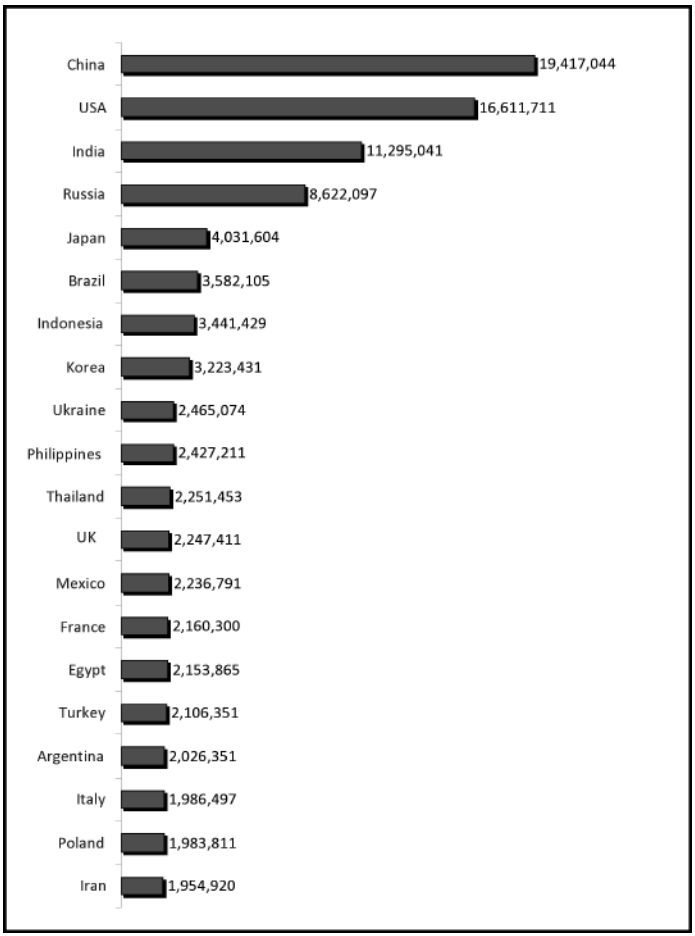
Key: Aspects in which institutions:
● have autonomy
□ have autonomy in some respects
Blank means no autonomy in the specified area of decision-making
Source: OECD (2003, 63)
Note:
* The administrative and financial structure of the national universities in Japan have been radically restructured after the reforms of 2004.

Figure 2.1. Growth in Enrolment in Private Universities



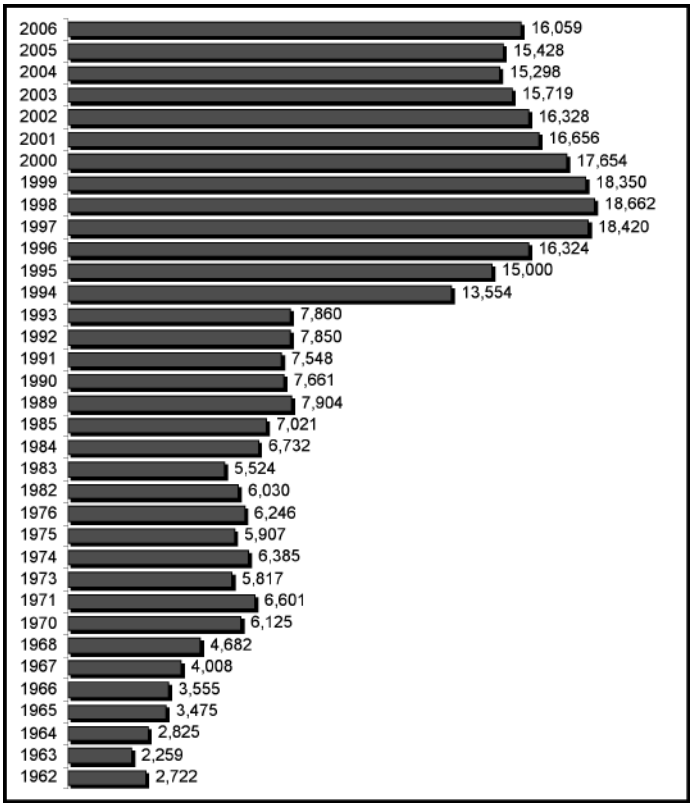
Source: Higher Education Statistics, SSPC
Note: Enrolment in private institutions was 124,507 in 2006-2007.

Figure 2.2. Top Twenty Countries in National Enrolment in Higher Education, 2004



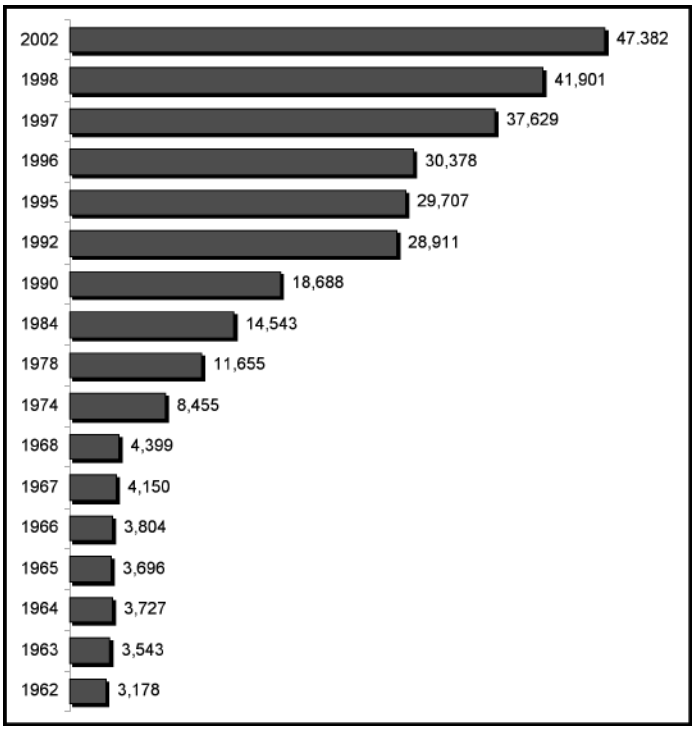
Source: UNESCO (2006); Gürüz (In print)

Figure 2.3. Foreign Student Enrolment in Turkey



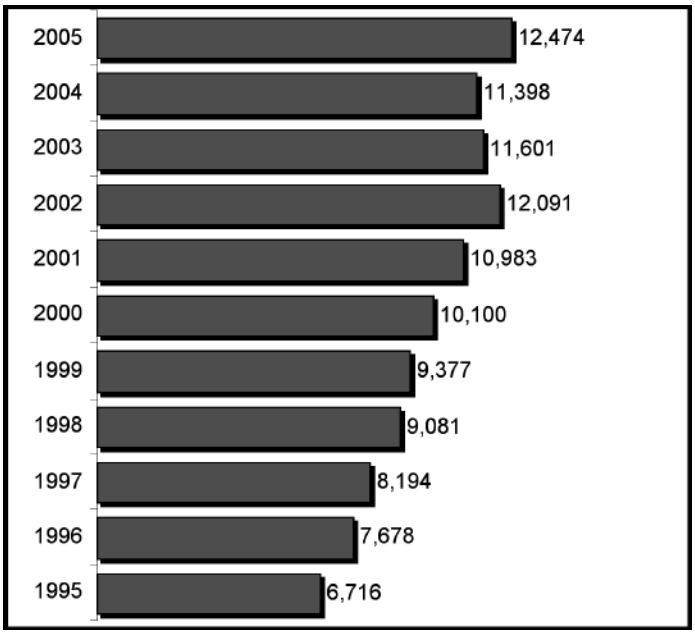
Sources: a) UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1963-2004
b) Higher Education Statistics, 1983-2005, SSPC
Note: Foreign student enrolment was 16,455 in 2006-2007.

Figure 2.4. Turkish Students Abroad



Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbooks, 1963-2004

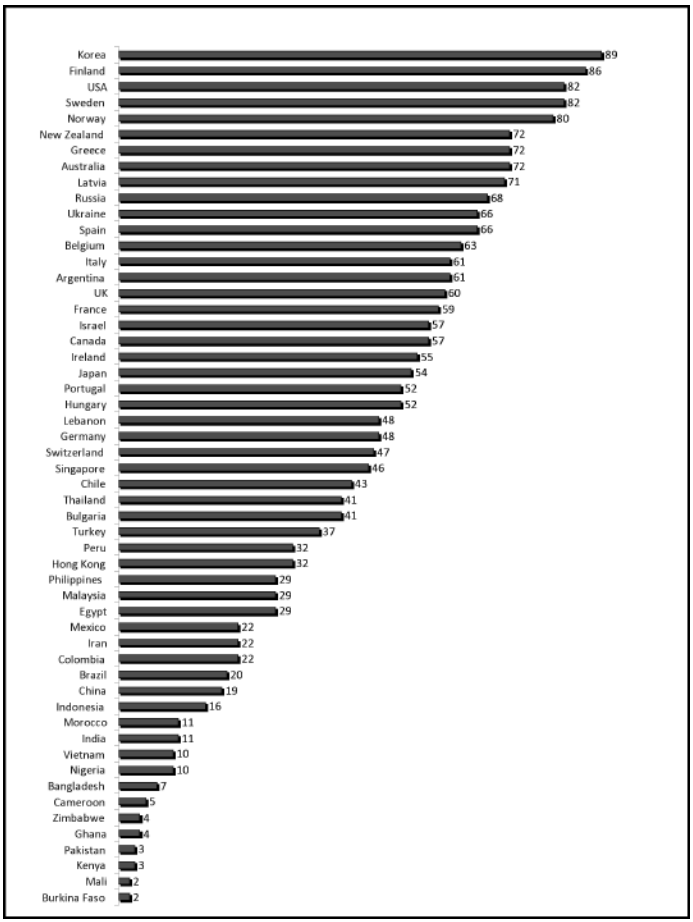
Figure 2.5. Turkish Students in the United States



Distribution by Level in 2004-2005: 52% graduate; 41% undergraduate; 7% other

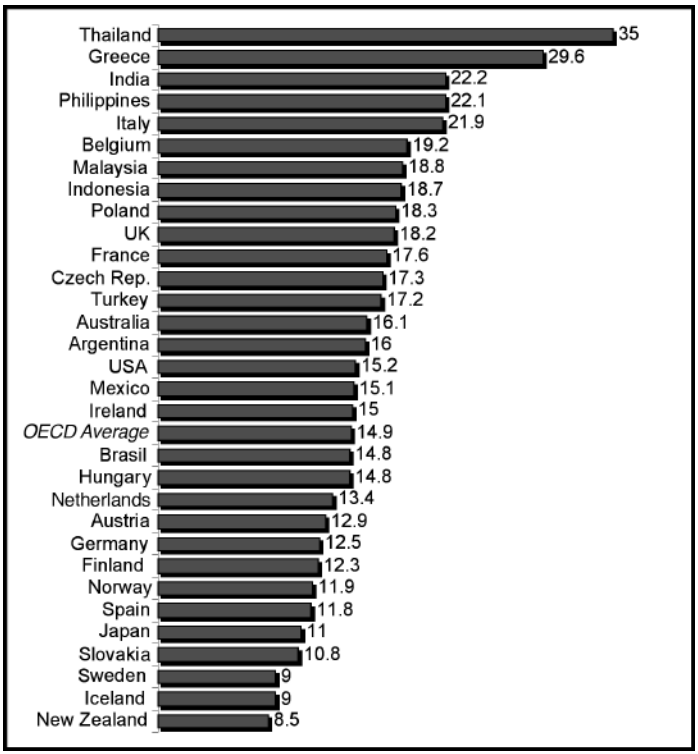
Source: Opendoors Online, http://www.opendoors.iienetwork.org

Figure 2.6. Gross Enrolment Ratios in Selected Countries, %, 2004



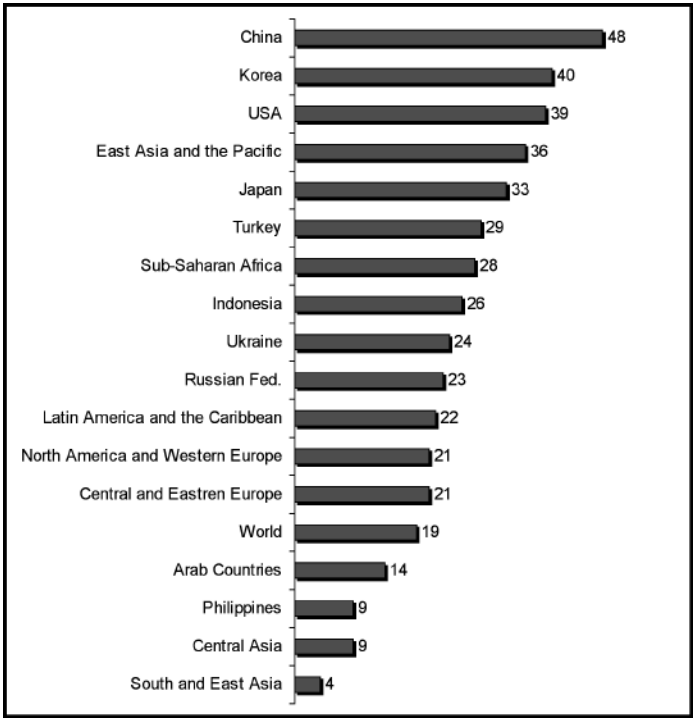
Source: Gürüz (In print)

Figure 2.7. Student/Academic Staff Ratios in Selected Countries, 2003



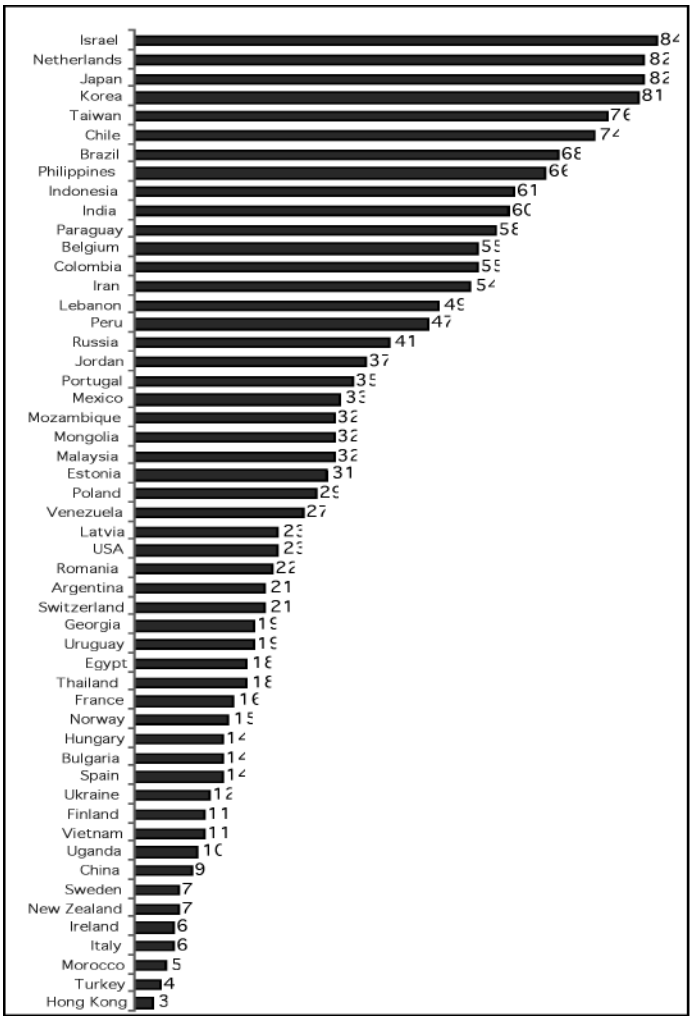
Source: OECD (2005)

Figure 2.8. The Share of Enrolment in ISCED 5B-Level Programs in Selected Countries and Country Groups



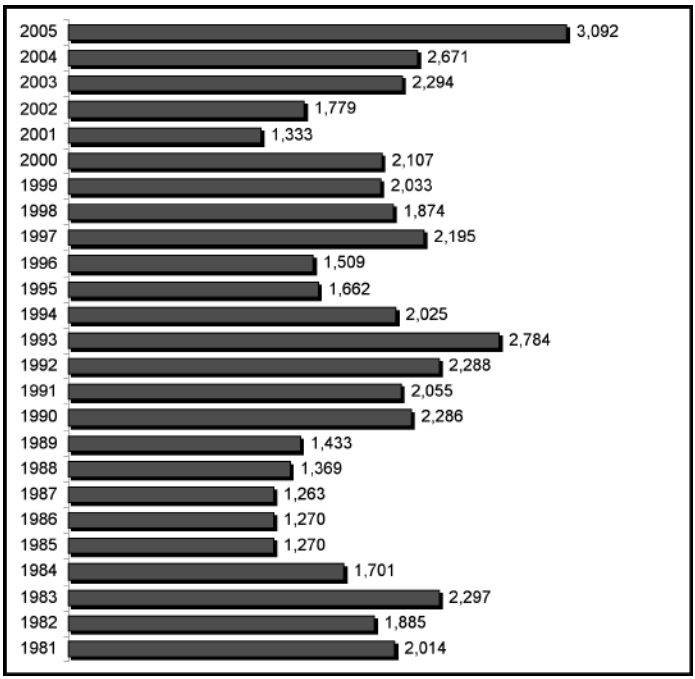
Source: UNESCO (2006)

Figure 2.9. Shares of Private Institutions in National Systems, % of Total Enrolment, 2004



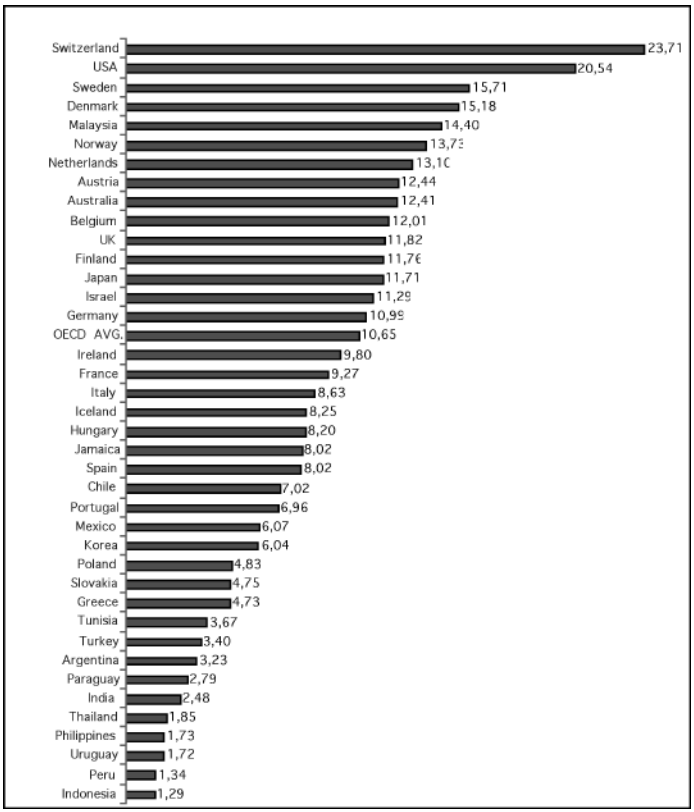
Source: Gürüz (In print)

Figure 2.10. Income from State Budget per Full-Time Student



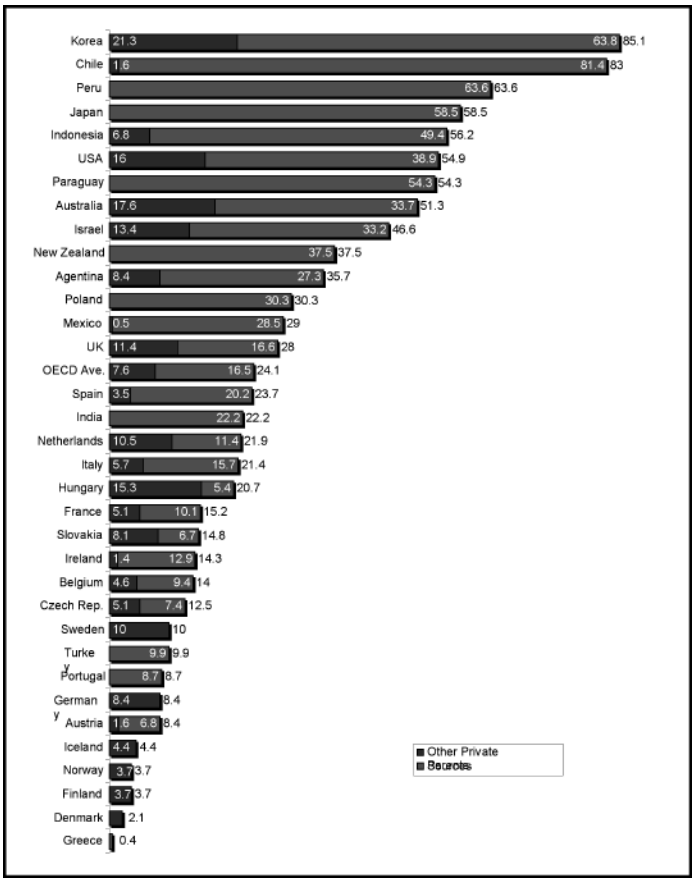
Source: Annual Reports of the Council of Higher Education
Note: The values for the years 2006 and 2007 are $3,521 and $4,190, respectively.

Figure 2.11. Expenditure per Student in Selected Countries, Thousand $ (ppp), 2002.



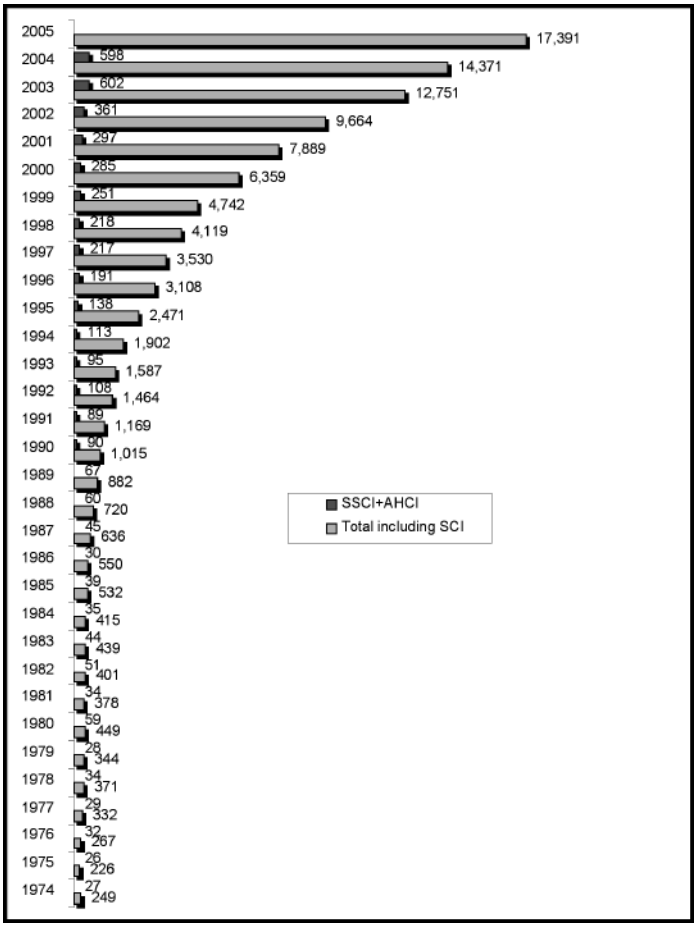
Source: OECD (2005)

Figure 2.12. Shares of private Source in Higher Education Expenditures in Selected Countries, %



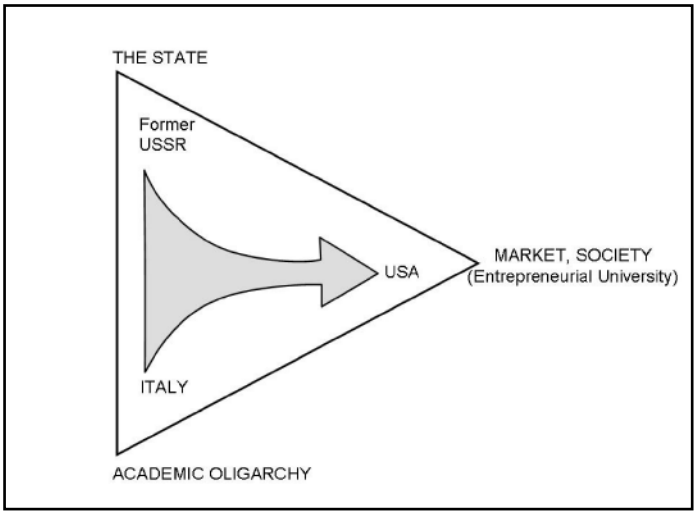
Source: OECD (2005)

Figure 2.13. Scientific Publications



Note: SCI (Science Citation Index), SSCI (Social Science Citation Index), AHCI (Arts and Humanities Citation Index)
Source: Gürüz (2000, 328); Annual Report of the Council of Higher Education 2005

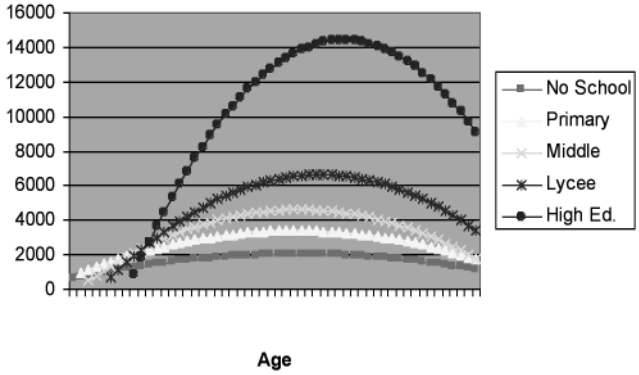
Figure 2.14. The Depiction of the Rise of Market Force in the Triangle of Coordination



Source: Clark (1983, 143)

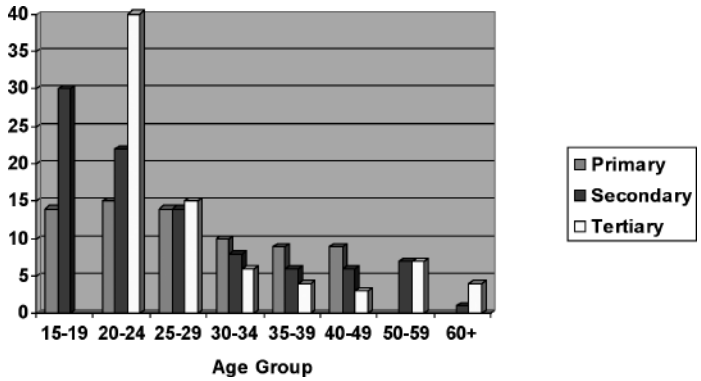
Note: The (Entrepreneurial University) phrase on the "MARKET, SOCIETY" apex is the author's interpretation.

Figure 2.15. Age-Income Profile



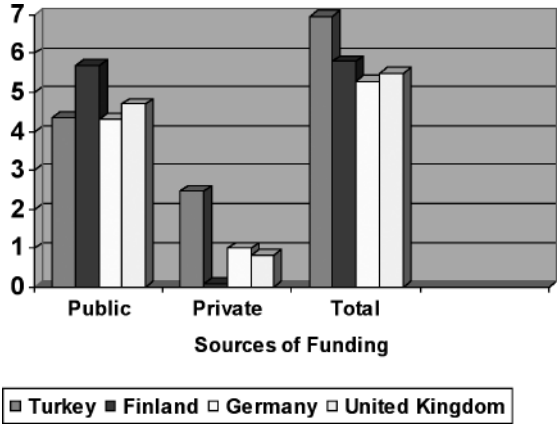
Source: Kaytaz (2005).

Figure 2.16. Unemployment Rates for the Young and Educated



Source: World Bank (2006)

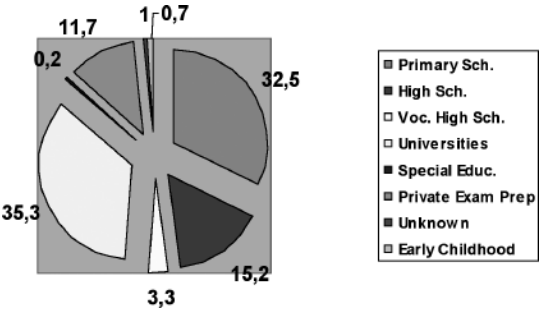
Figure 2.17. Sources of Funding in Education



Source: World Bank (2006)

Figure 2.18. Private Out-of-Pocket Spending in Turkey in 2002

Total Spending: TL 6.925 trillion



Source: Chawla (2006). Chawla's estimates are based State Statistical Institute Survey of Educational Expenditures in 2003, reported in World Bank (2006).

Recommendations

The authors are in complete agreement in the analysis of the Turkish higher education system, its shortcomings and the general direction in which the system should move, and the basic features of the reforms needed. They, however, differ in the details of the changes to be made. Although these differences could be considered as simple nuances, they found it fairer to write two different final chapters, thus outlining their own views as to significant details in the reforms. A way for them to open the discussions to the readers and colleagues.

a. by Kemal Gürüz

1. Basic Premises

Universities are no longer the small collegial teaching institutions they were. Neither are they the institutions envisaged by von Humboldt where students and faculty members had full freedom to learn and teach what they saw fit while pursuing new knowledge for its own sake. Nor are the heads of institutions pure academic leaders elected by their peers, and as such, first among equals. The university in today's global knowledge society is a modern enterprise performing an increasing number of functions that are intrinsically related to one another and form integral parts of an increasingly complex whole. *The Economist*, in its issue of October 4, 1998 aptly defined the university: "… *not just as a creator of knowledge, a trainer of young minds and a transmitter of culture, but also as a major agent of economic growth:* THE KNOWLEDGE FACTORY, *as it were, at the centre of the knowledge economy*." (p. 4).

Thus, today's university is both a part of a nation's education system as the axial institution of its higher education system, and a key component of the nation's innovation system. It is the major source for young inventive minds, new knowledge and creative ideas – three key factors of a nation's competitiveness

in the global economy of knowledge. The geographical scope of university operations are no longer bound by the nation's borders since academic institutions may find students, faculty members and funds the world over in a search for resources – a quest where universities do not compete with similar providers only, but also with a whole array of entirely new types of higher education services.

Today's university, more than ever, needs autonomy – i.e., a margin for manoeuvre – to develop and maintain a culture conducive to creativity, innovation and competition on a global scale. Its outputs must be relevant to the world environment, its graduates employable anywhere in the world and its research open to international scrutiny. Autonomy today includes all of its classical elements – and much more. The key to designing a governance system that can successfully respond to the challenges of the global knowledge economy is to harmonise and reconcile autonomy with accountability. For autonomy is the soul of academia, and accountability is its insurance against declining into a sterile oligarchy. In fact, autonomy without accountability proves detrimental to academic freedom and creativity.

Many academics in Turkey still tend to equate the university to some kind of 'fourth power' at par with the legislative and executive branches or with the judiciary. In such a frame of mind, the election of rectors and deans is a prerequisite for university autonomy, the expression of a self-standing community. The weakness of this line of reasoning has been realised by a significant number of academics in the country, including the vast majority of rectors who, themselves, have gone through the election process described in the preceding sections.

For more than thirty years, I have held academic and administrative positions at nearly all levels of the Turkish academic world. During this time, I also had various opportunities to teach and carry out research outside of the country, and to be involved in university governance internationally. Based on this experi-

ence and my observations and reflections on the topic at hand, I reached the following conclusions that are the ground on which the recommendations in the following sections are based:

- The university as an institution is not a fourth power but has a unique position relating to the nation's executive, legislative and judiciary authorities.
- Institutional autonomy is essential to keeping that special role as well as safeguarding academic freedom and culture that allow for creativity in knowledge and action.
- Autonomy does not depend in any way on the direct election of the rectors and deans by their peers. In fact, a governance system based on such elections often carries the risk of declining into an oligarchy tempted by easy-going forms of organised anarchy.
- Autonomy needs institutional accountability, should the system support the core missions of higher education and embody the soul of academia. The best way to reconcile university autonomy and accountability consists in encouraging lay governance (i.e., the presence of the stakeholders) and the appointment of university authorities that can bridge the institution and its environment.
- A successful governance system must be free of conflicts of interest. This means that academics in an institution must be consulted extensively to prepare for the major decisions to be made by a Board with a significant majority of lay members.
- The rector, to have the respect of all parts, must have the quality of an academic leader as well as of a chief executive officer for the institution. His or her appointment should be the prerogative of the Board – as described above – and be based on a thorough search and screening process done in consultation with senior academic staff. If the function of the rector must be granted the necessary decision-making powers to run the institution, provisions must also exist to remove the rector from office for good cause.

- Student participation in the administration of the institution must be viewed as a part of their general education. Their participation in the decision-making processes, however, should be restricted to those areas where they have the requisite expertise, which mostly means the organisation of campus life and extracurricular activities. They must never be involved in decisions concerning academic staff.
- The following are the crucial areas where conflicts of interest impede the current system of governance in Turkey: a) the choice of institutional leadership; b) the election of a third of the members of the Council of Higher Education by the Interuniversity Council, where rectors comprise half of the membership – thus appointing to the CHE delegates of those people whom the Council should supervise; c) the complete absence of a major group of stakeholders: the representatives of society and the market; d) the tendency of the governments to appoint academics as members of the Council of Higher Education, again putting insiders in the role of outsiders; and e) an archaic system of financing public institutions through line-item budgets, applying stifling rules and regulations, proposing meaningless fees, loan and scholarship schemes that all end up favouring the more affluent sections of society.
- Such system shortcomings manifest themselves in the following ways: a) lack of institutional diversification; b) a mismatch between the secondary and tertiary levels of education; c) a weak link between the curricula, the length and level of a large number of degree programmes and the needs of the economy or the requirements of the labour market; and d) the locking up of the results of research activities within the institutions, thus making difficult their transfer to the productive sectors of the economy.

2. Restructuring Vocational and Technical Education

At present, eight years of basic education are compulsory for all Turkish children. Those who complete this stage have two options for further training: general secondary education or vocational and technical secondary education. The vocational and technical track prepares students directly for the labour market – with openings on higher education too. Thus, although this track is normally expected to educate and train students up to the middle level of the workforce, the weight of general education in those schools has been growing constantly. Those enrolled in programmes designed to prepare technicians, for example, have been misguided and brought to believe that their education gives them access to engineering studies at tertiary level. Even if societal values have been recently shifting, Turkish society traditionally considers white-collar jobs highly – a legacy of an imperial past when artisans and craftsmen were mostly non-Muslims. This attitude continues in today's Turkey where social status is largely equated with having a bachelor degree; to the man on the street, higher education is synonymous of bachelor-level programmes, and the university is an institution where faculties offer such courses.[49]

While the Turkish higher education system is configured on the 'state bureaucracy axis' of the triangle of coordination, the primary and the secondary levels of the Turkish national education system sit at the apex of that state bureaucracy system. At the secondary level, the result is a vocational and technical education stream which in most cases falls short of providing the skill requirements of the labour market. As the mismatch of their secondary training limits opportunities to find a job di-

[49] It is interesting to note that the alumni of the two oldest traditional universities, İstanbul University and Ankara University, still consider the faculties they attend as their Alma mater rather than their universities.

rectly, students then seek admission to higher education. Normally they should be advised to continue their studies in the two-year programmes of the higher vocational schools, as is the case in those countries where there are two such tracks at secondary level; however, they usually seek admission to courses leading to the bachelor. Because their previous education does not prepare them for academic programmes, they usually fail the entry competition, even after spending small fortunes in private establishments in which they are coached in multiple-choice test techniques that have little educational value. On the other side of the coin, there are graduates from general secondary schools who end up in the two-year vocational schools, not by their own choice, but simply because they have lost out in the competition to enter bachelor-level curricula, or the four-year programmes that prepare teachers for secondary vocational and technical schools: they hope that, somehow, they will eventually qualify as engineers or other high grade professionals. Every year, this is the frustration story of hundreds of thousands of young men and women, because the current system of admission to higher education allows it. The result is disappointment among young people and a weak link between education and the needs of the economy, i.e., the skills required in the labour market.

The restructuring of vocational and technical education is a vital part of the higher education reform in Turkey, and the changes envisaged should straddle both the secondary and the tertiary levels. That is why the author proposes the following:

- The period of compulsory basic education should be increased from eight to ten years. At the end of this period, students should be counseled and guided as to whether they should enter the general or the vocational and technical education track. The students' performance and observed talents should be the basis for such counseling and guidance, but the final decision should be the parents' and the students'. It should be made clear to them that the vocational and technical education

track leads only to the two-year higher vocational schools at the tertiary level, with the possibility of transferring to four-year programmes only after receiving an associate degree with distinction.

- National vocational qualifications should be clearly defined, and outline the curricula to be followed as well as the required periods of study for each level of qualification in each professional field. Job entry should not be tied necessarily to diplomas, as is the general case in present day Turkey. Rather, it should be linked to the curricula, course contents and periods of study, since the range of vocational qualifications usually stretches from subsecondary school diploma certificates to four-year bachelor degrees, through secondary school diplomas, sub-associate degree certificates, associate-level degrees and three-year certificates. In other words, the focus should be on content rather than paper: curricula at all levels should be modular and transferable between the various learning paths leading to the certificates and diplomas mentioned above.
- The country should be geographically divided into 'vocational and technical education zones'. In each there should be an 'administration and steering board', comprised of the principals of the secondary schools, the directors of the higher vocational schools, both public and private, the deans of the faculties of vocational and technical education, if any, as well as the representatives of the private sector enterprises active in the area or the representatives of any public sector agency with an interest in vocational and technical education, such as the Small- and Medium-Size Industries Development Organization (KOSGEB, its acronym in Turkish). Such a board should be entrusted with organising the education and training activities in that part of the country, apprenticeship and lifelong learning included, in conformity with the national vocational qualifications scheme.
- All the two-year higher vocational schools, the four-year higher

schools, and the faculties of vocational and technical education currently affiliated to state universities should refer to the National University of Vocational and Technical Education (NUVTE) with central administration in Ankara. The latter's highest administration board should comprise a majority of representatives from the private sector as well as delegates from those public organisations that have activities related to vocational and technical education. Board membership should consist of full-time and part-time members, and the group should report to the Council of Higher Education. Figure 3a.1 schematically shows the structure proposed for NUVTE. The rector of NUVTE should be appointed by the President of the Republic from among the candidates nominated by the board through the Council of Higher Education. The rector, the vice-rectors and the school directors should not be required to be full professors or have academic titles; rather, their work experience in the private sector should be considered a determining factor. NUVTE should be organised as a network of schools, faculties of vocational and technical education throughout the country. A vice-rector should be appointed for each of the vocational and technical education zones mentioned above, and that person should chair the administration and steering board of the zone. The vice-rectors should be appointed by the board of NUVTE upon the recommendation of the rector, while faculty deans and school directors should be appointed by the rector upon the recommendation of the vice-rector of the zone concerned.

- Students who have completed a secondary vocational and technical secondary school in a particular zone should be eligible to enter a two-year higher vocational school in that zone, or any other zone in the country if the higher vocational schools in that zone do not have programmes that are the continuation of the courses the student has followed at secondary level. In certain cases, a sub-secondary school diploma certificate

plus work experience should ensure eligibility to a two-year higher vocational school too. All bachelor-level programmes, both in the four-year higher schools and the faculties of vocational and technical education, should consist of the third and fourth years only. Thus, entry to the four-year programmes should require either an associate degree with distinction or an associate degree and work experience. These should also be the requirements for eligibility to take the central test to transfer to the four-year programmes in universities. NUVTE should also include a number of institutes in regional centres that offer postgraduate level programmes leading to Master or doctoral degrees in fields related to vocational and technical education. These programmes should be open to holders of bachelor degrees from NUVTE or from other universities in disciplines that are closely related to vocational and technical education. The affiliation of the Faculty of Open Education should be changed from Anadolu University to NUVTE. Its main functions should be: a) to support the programmes delivered through distance education technologies and to offer independent degree courses; and b) to develop lifelong learning programmes for adults.

In summary, the NUVTE should function as the second arm of a binary higher education system, under the aegis of the Council of Higher Education. It should have a very flexible administrative and academic organisation, and be granted administrative and financial decision-making powers so that it can act entrepreneurially and adapt rapidly to the changing requirements of the national and global labour market. NUVTE should be entrusted with the organisation and implementation of programmes at the ISCED4, ISCED5A, ISCED5B and ISCED6 levels – as well as with lifelong learning programmes for adults.

In addition, extra financial incentives and subsidies should encourage private sector umbrella organisations to establish two-year higher vocational schools in their fields of activity according

to Law No. 4702, for instance in construction, textiles, electronics, banking and tourism. Students in vocational and technical education should be eligible for loans with much lower interest rates, and more scholarships should be made available to them.

3. From Secondary General Education to Higher Education

General secondary education should last two years after the successful completion of ten years of compulsory basic education. Secondary school graduation diplomas should be awarded to those who pass a central examination similar to the French *Baccalauréat*, the German *Abitur* or the British A-levels. In other words, it should not be a multiple-choice test, but a classical examination with long answers.[50] The cumulative high school graduation grade should be calculated as a weighted average of the grade obtained in this examination and the marks obtained in in-school evaluation throughout the students' period of training. This should be the only grade to be used to assess the students' subject matter achievement in high school for the purpose of placement in higher education programmes.

Figure 3a.2 schematically shows the place of NUVTE and outlines the modalities for transition from the secondary to the tertiary level within the structure now proposed for the Turkish national education system.

Four years will have to pass to adjust, nationwide, the sections, curricula and new academic calendars of general high schools. In the first three years of this interim period, admission to the bachelor-level programmes should be based on a central

[50] Until 1957, such an examination existed in Turkey, and it was called the 'maturity examination'. It was abolished, but school graduation examinations individually administered by schools were continued at all educational levels. These, too, were phased out over time, and currently there are no such examinations in Turkey. Thus, the examination proposed by the author is also referred to as the maturity examination.

test of the type used between 1999 and 2005, and high school performance calculated as a weighted average of grades obtained in class, with the test contributing only 35 percent to the score used for placement. In the fourth year of the interim period, the test should be replaced by a purely 'reasoning' test, designed to measure the qualitative, formal and quantitative reasoning competencies of students; this assessment should contribute only 20 percent to the placement score, with the rest coming from the cumulative high school graduation grade.

Once the 'maturity' exam is introduced, only those students who pass it should be eligible to take the reasoning test for placement in higher education. The overall high school graduation grade, by then, should weigh 80 percent and the reasoning 20 percent in in the final score to be used in the distribution of places. Again, once the 'maturity' exam is introduced, the reasoning test could be offered more than once a year, and the highest of student's score should be used in the calculation of the placement score. Students who fail the maturity test should be allowed to take it only a given number of times; in fact,they should also have the option of entering the vocational and technical education track at a point that suits their backgrounds.

The 'reasoning test' should be continued for a sufficient number of years to establish a correlation between the scores in the maturity examination, the overall high school graduation grades and the performance achieved in higher education programmes. Subject to the existence of sufficient levels of correlation, that test, too, should be phased out. In that case, the proposal of the author concerning student placement in bachelor-level program is as follows:

- Students who pass the maturity examination submit to the SSPC the programmes they are seeking admission to – in their order of preference.
- The SSPC sends the files of each student to the universities where the students' preferred programmes are offered. Each file

should contain all the relevant academic information about the student, and any other information required by the individual universities in question. These may include, for example, extra-curricular activities and an essay by the student.

- All universities will be required to publish in the Official Gazette their rules and regulations concerning the criteria and methodologies used in ranking the students who have applied to their various programmes. Universities will be free to set their own criteria and methodologies, but they will be bound by a minimum weight specified by the Council as for the overall high school graduation grade. In such a case, the author's recommendation is again 80 percent. Some universities may still wish to retain the reasoning test, and this should also be allowed within the limits outlined above.
- In the final step, the SSPC should place students in programmes by matching the students' preferences with the rankings of student applications as proposed by the universities to which they applied for admission.

4. Enrolment Targets for 2025 and required Spending on Higher Education

According to recent demographic projections, the total population of the higher education age cohort (19-22 years of age) will be 5,077,000 in 2025 (Gürlesel 2004, 78). This figure is significantly below that for 2005, that was 5,477,000. Thus, in the coming two decades, there is a 'window of opportunity' for Turkey to make much-needed structural reforms in her higher education system with no strong pressure from social demand. The enrolment targets proposed by the author for the year 2025 are as follows:

- Gross enrolment ratio: 50 percent (currently 36.8 percent)
- Share of enrolment in distance education programmes that lead to degrees: 15percent (currently 34 percent)

- Share of students in two-year programmes in total distance-education enrolment: 80 percent (currently 28 percent)
- Share of enrolment in postgraduate programmes: 10 percent (currently 6.9 percent)
- Share of doctoral students in postgraduate enrolment: 40 percent (currently 19.9 percent)
- Share of students enrolled in full-time two-year programmes: 50 percent (currently 33 percent).

Should these structural targets be attained, total enrolment in the Turkish higher education system would be 2,600,000 students in 2025, up from 2,342,898 in 2005-2006. The breakdown of enrollment according to the level and type of study would be the following:

• Two-year distance education programmes	320,000
• Bachelor-level distance education programmes:	80,000
• Two-year full-time programmes:	970,000
• Bachelor-level full-time programmes:	970,000
• Master-level programmes:	135,000
• Medical specialty training programmes:	25,000
• Doctoral programmes:	100,000

These figures mean that the capacity in the two-year full-time programmes would need to be more than doubled, and that in doctoral programmes trebled.

According to the enrolment and per student expenditure as given in tables 2.1 and 2.3, the public spending on higher education, in 2006, was some US$7.5 billion on the basis of full-time enrolments in state universities. If one targets a per student expenditure value for the year 2025, which is half the OECD average for the year 2003, shown in table 2.3, and a 15 percent share for private enrolment in full-time programmes, the annual total budget of the state universities would amount approximately to U$13.6 billion. This corresponds roughly to an 80 percent increase over 2005, despite the window of opportunity provided by national demographics.

5. The Governance of Higher Education

The current system of overarching responsibilities for the system as a whole should be continued through the Council of Higher Education. Its composition and powers, however, should be radically changed. For the author, Council membership should be as follows:

- Six members directly appointed by the President of the Republic from among academics who have successfully served as rectors;
- The undersecretaries of the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of Finance and the State Planning Organization, and the president of the Scientific and Technical Research Council of Turkey as *ex officio* members;
- Eleven members appointed by the President of the Republic from among twenty-two candidates nominated by the Turkish Academy of Sciences, who are prominent citizens with distinguished service records in their fields, but without academic ranks and positions. These members should be renewed on a staggered basis to maintain continuity.

The President of the Council and three Vice-Presidents should serve as full-time members. The full-time members of the NUVTE administrative Board should serve as an auxiliary Board of the council and advise the Council on the development of vocational and technical education at tertiary level, teacher training included – to ensure the staffing of vocational and technical schools at secondary level. A similar auxiliary Board should be established to advise the Council on teacher training for kindergartens, primary schools and secondary general schools. A third such Board could be responsible for budget preparation, resource allocation, cost estimation and financial planning. A fourth one might act as the NARIC/ENIC advisory group to the Council for the recognition of qualifications and study periods: it could also act as the focal point for all international relations,

for instance in matters related to the Bologna Process and to student mobility.

The current election stage in the designation of state university rectors should be eliminated, and the powers of the Council should concentrate on the following:

- Selecting candidates for the rectorships of state universities;
- Allocating public resources among universities taking account both of the proposals received from the universities and of quantifiable input and output indicators;
- Setting the numbers of students to be admitted to the two- and four-year programmes, and determining the criteria for admission.

All the other powers of the Council, including the appointment of deans, issues of curriculum development, academic and administrative staffing or disciplinary matters should be devolved to the universities.

The current budgeting system should be completely abolished, including the procedure for its preparation and implementation. Universities should not only be free to fix the mix of their resources – the public monies the Council allocates to them, the wealth they generate or the tuition fees they collect – but also to design their recurrent and investment budgets in order to meet their missions. They should also have complete freedom in setting: a) the numbers of their academic and administrative staff in function of their enrolment and research activities – as reflected by the budget; b) an additional pay scale to academic staff based on their performance; c) tuition fees for undergraduate-level programmes, master-level teacher training programmes and doctoral programmes in the limits set by the Council for Turkish students. There should be no ceiling, however, for master-level programmes and, at all levels, for the tuition fees paid by foreign students – even if this means the risk of pricing the institution out of the market!

In the same spirit, universities should have full responsibility for commercialising the results of their research or any in-

tellectual good generated from within the institution in an entrepreneurial manner. To that end, academic institutions should be empowered to set up commercial companies and to establish partnerships, both at home and abroad, while developing those administrative support structures required for activities of that nature.

In the author's opinion, the most appropriate and socially acceptable tuition fee payment scheme for Turkey is the 'Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS)' currently implemented in Australia, where students either pay the fees up front at a discount, or defer payments until they become taxpayers and pay back in the form of an income tax surcharge. The author, however, recommends one modification for Turkey: the deferred payment option should be means-tested. In other words, students with family incomes above certain thresholds should be required to pay tuition fees up front.

The Dormitories and Student Loans Agency (YURTKUR) should be abolished and all hostels currently operated by the agency be transferred to the nearest universities. State subsidies for student loans should be paid to commercial banks authorized to make student loans and collect loan debts. State subsidies for means-tested student scholarships, on the other hand, should be paid to individual universities, these institutions being required to set up the administrative units needed to administer such scholarships.

In every university, a student union should be established and given statutory powers by law, including the responsibility for administering an annual budget for its own activities. All students in a university should be the natural members of the union – with voting rights. The president of the union and two of his deputies would be *ex officio* members of the university Senate with voting powers, except in matters pertaining to academic staff. Student unions should be organised at national level in a confederation, the President and Board of that body meet-

ing periodically with the CHE to discuss student views on the state and development of higher education – nationwide and globally.

6. Miscellaneous

6.1 *Reorganisation of İstanbul universities*

There are six state universities in İstanbul. Of these, İTU (İstanbul Technical University), Boğaziçi University, Yıldız Technical University and Mimar Sinan University of Fine Arts have compact campuses. İstanbul University and Marmara University, on the other hand, are classical urban universities with their academic units scattered all over İstanbul. Total enrollment in İstanbul and Marmara Universities in 2006-2007 were 59,533 and 51,461, respectively. As a mega city with a population of about fifteen million, İstanbul covers a wide metropolitan area suffering from almost insurmountable traffic problems. This makes contact between the various academic units of İstanbul and Marmara universities nearly impossible. In several instances, various academic units of the two universities are closer to each other than to other units of their own institutions. Thus, İstanbul University and Marmara University are becoming more and more difficult to govern because of the size of their enrolments and the geographic distribution of their academic units. The author would recommend to consider these two universities as a whole that could then be reorganised into five or six institutions of a manageable size with academic units geographically close to each other.

6.2 *Abolition of Part-Time Employment*

The current legislation allows full-time and part-time employment both for the full and the associate professors in state universities: the part-timers have to work forty hours per week in

the university and are free to take up any business activity outside these hours; the full-timers are to devote all their time to the university and, as fully dedicated staff, are not allowed to engage in any kind of commercial ventures. Part-time faculty members are paid about forty percent of the full-time salary and cannot receive any additional income, for instance from the revolving fund for services performed. Legally, however, they have the same rights, administrative and academic, as do the full-time faculty. They can vote in elections and can be elected as section heads – but not as deans or rectors, since such functions require full dedication. However, a loophole exists: one can run for these offices while a part-timer and, then, switch to full-time employment when appointed. Part-time faculty member status is for two years, renewable indefinitely, but subject to approval by the faculty board, the university board and the rector.

The rationale behind part-time employment is to provide opportunities for faculty members to get first-hand experience in professional practice. In medical schools, it would seem that there is little need for part-time employment since universities in Turkey own and operate their own hospitals autonomously, thus bringing in significant revenues from patient care: those revenues are collected in revolving funds from which medical schools staff members receive additional remuneration, and this can amount to ten times a regular monthly pay. Yet, a very large number of the full and associate professors in medical schools still prefer part-time status to keep their own private practice – that allows higher income – thus having a share of the very lucrative health care market. This is so pervasive and so lucrative compared to revolving funds benefits that any assistant professor promoted to an associate full professorship at a medical school is under the impression that switching to part-time employment is a privilege that is part of the promotion! Over the years, the result has been the actual downgrading of university hospitals to simple patient care units, not much different from other hos-

pitals in the national health system – although the quality of their services remains higher. In other words, where university hospitals should have been reference points for complex cases and the platforms for advanced medical research, their research activities, with a few notable exceptions, are now essentially confined to reporting cases.

Currently, there are forty-six faculties of medicine affiliated to Turkish universities, and forty-one of those belong to state universities. In 2006-2007, the total enrolment in the faculties of medicine was of 32.828 undergraduate students while another 11.830 students were specialising in medical training programmes; all together, these students represented 2.8 percent of university full-time enrolment. On the other hand, in that same year, faculties of medicine employed 19,141 academic staff, including the part-timers; this corresponded to 22.1 percent of the total academic staff in the country. This number included 3,997 full, 1,789 associate and 2,240 assistant professors, and corresponded to 23.5 percent of all faculty members in the country...

In many ways, medical education and training, by its nature, is quite different from other parts of academia. For one thing, the teacher-student relationship in medicine is somewhat similar to the links established between a master and a prentice – thus justifying a much lower staff/student ratio than in other disciplines. But this has led to a serious imbalance in the university population, much more considerable than in other European countries where faculties of medicine are already considered to be states in the state. In Turkey, the institutional handicap is all the more acute that the university governance system includes an election stage in which roughly a quarter of the eligible represent a much smaller group of students. As a result, since 1992 and the introduction of an election stage in the designation of rectors, there have been very few examples – in the 41 state universities with a medical faculty – of appointments other than profes-

sors of medicine! The situation is exacerbated by issues related to part-time employment – where remuneration is highest; it is very difficult for a candidate running for rectorship or deanship to take a stand against part-time employment in medical schools. The overall result in recent years has been a domination of the national higher education agenda by issues concerning hospital operations and management, not even issues related to medical education and research.

The author's recommendation is to replace part-time employment by adjunct professorships and clinical professorships. Adjunct professors and clinical professors should be employed on an hourly basis, be paid the going rates for their time – but in function of their reputation in their discipline. They should have no say in any issue related to governance, but should be consulted extensively in academic issues where they have expertise to contribute to teaching and research.

6.3 *Quality Assurance*

As has been mentioned previously, Turkey, at present, is essentially lacking a system of academic quality assessment that would derive its statutory powers from legislation rather than from rules and regulations issued by CHE. While ENQA's recommendation is to keep quality assessment bodies in Europe separate from universities and ministries, while including stakeholders in them, YÖDEK, the quality assessment agency in Turkey, is not independent from the universities and only includes one student representative as a stakeholder.

Ideally, the central body of a national quality assurance system should include representatives of professional bodies such as the bar associations and various chambers of commerce or industry, employers associations and the unions. A history of quality traditions as well as an accountability culture are usual conditions for establishing assessment bodies with stakeholder

representation, agencies that are both streamlined in size and effective. Furthermore, the powers and the mandate of such a central body (that acts somewhat like a neutral platform between government and academia) should be very carefully defined if they are not to overlap or conflict with those of public authorities and of the Council of Higher Education in Turkey – and such uncertainties are common in the Turkish context.

The author's recommendations are the following as far as agency membership is concerned: a) YÖDEK should be joined by representatives from the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği, TOBB), from the Turkish Confederation of Employers Associations (Türkiye İşveren Sendikaları Konfederasyonu, TİSK), from the Confederation of Turkish Tradesmen and Craftsmen (Türkiye Esnaf ve Sanatkarları Konfederasyonu, TESK); from the Union of Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen Association (Türk Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneği, TÜSİAD), from the Turkish Bar Association (Türkiye Barolar Birliği,TBB), from the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (Türkiye Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği, TMMOB), from the Union of Turkish Medical Doctors (Türk Tabipleri Birliği), and from the Confederation of Labour Unions of Turkey (Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu, Türk-İş); b) a panel should be set up jointly with ENQA to assess the activities of YÖDEK, its work with national stakeholders in order to prepare a proposal for legislation on quality assessment. As a benchmark, it would be strongly recommended to follow and monitor the evaluation process that Portugal is undergoing to replace CNAVES (National Council for Evaluation on Higher Education, *Conselho nacional de avaliçao do ensino superior*) with a new and more independent central quality assessment body.

6.4 *Increasing Liberal Arts in Undergraduate Curricula*

Reference was made earlier to the relevance of Turkisk higher education programmes to the labour market, pointing to the weakness of the link between undergraduate curricula and employment. One reason for such a state of affairs is the way vocational and technical education is organised in the country both at the secondary and the tertiary level and another is the gap between these two sectors when it comes to the transition from the one to the other. These issues have been addressed already in this chapter.

The weakness between higher education and employment also stems from the curricula and the multiplicity of the two- and the four-year programmes at undergraduate level. There are just too many programmes and their curricula are too compartmentalised. The rate at which new knowledge is being generated in today's world, on the other hand, is not only making curricula fast obsolete, but it is also nullifying some professions while starting new ones for which fully transformed curricula are needed. This is especially true in the service sector of the economy, which is the fastest growing almost everywhere. Many service professions now require curricula that combine social and natural sciences around a technology content. The author's recommendation is to phase out a significant number of programmes at the undergraduate level, to increase the liberal arts content in the earlier semesters and to delay specialisation as long as possible. There are two ways this can be done effectively: the first consists in organising the bachelor-level programmes in non-regulated professional areas around a common liberal arts curriculum – before the students select a major and one minor field of study at least. The second way consists in deferring professional specialisation to the master level whenever appropriate.

The implementation of a comprehensive national vocational qualifications framework should be the first step on the road

to a comprehensive curricular reform, especially in the two-year associate-level programmes that prepare students for direct entry to the job market.

7. Concluding remarks

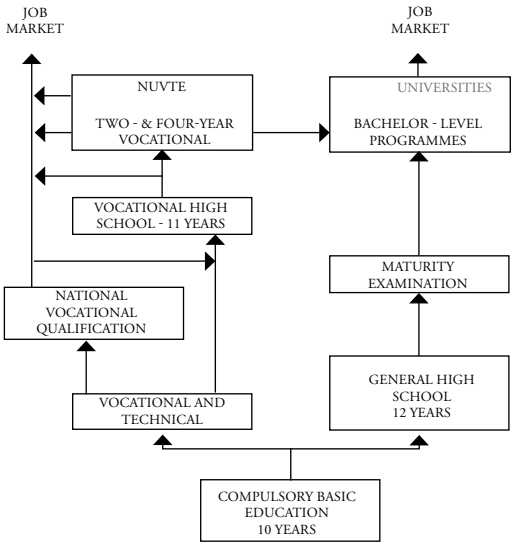
All of the five major laws on university governance (Law No.2252 in 1933, Law No.4936 in 1946, Law No. 115 in 1960, Law No.1750 in 1973, and Law No.2547 in 1981) have been enacted under what one may refer to as extraordinary parliamentary conditions, either under single party rule, or in the aftermath of a military intervention. Higher education has been and is likely to remain a contentious, even a politically and sociologically divisive issue in Turkey. However, it is unlikely that the Constitution can be amended in the near future. For this reason, the recommendations outlined in the previous section do not include any suggestions for changes in the Constitution. Moreover, the author believes that the basic governance feature of the Turkish higher education system, its unified character under a national board of governors, should be preserved.

Yet, if it were possible to amend the fundamental charter of the Republic, the author would recommend a number of universities to be given a 'state-supported foundation' status. This would be somewhat similar to the status of Chalmers University of Technology in Sweden (Clark 1998, 84-102) and evoke the recent change of the legal status granted to some universities in Lower Saxony, Germany. In the Turkish case, this would mean setting up by law foundations that would own and govern chosen universities, thus exercising the traditional state powers now transferred to them. State financial support would continue, but would be expected to diminish significantly over time. The Universities with such a status would still come under the ambit of the Council of Higher Education, in the same way as the private universities now existing in Turkey. Such a change would entail

the setting up of Boards of trustees in each institution, while staff status would move from civil service to private employment. In the author's opinion, three state universities could gradually enter such a status today, given their level of development, their potential to diversify their financial resources through contract research, services and tuition fees, and, as importantly, the existence of a strong alumnus sense of ownership. These are METU, in Ankara, as well as Boğaziçi University and İTU in Istanbul.

Figure 3a.1. Proposed Structure of the National University of Vocational and Technical Education (NUVTE)

Figure 3a.2. Proposed System for Transition from the Secondary to the Tertiary Level in the New National Education Sytem Proposed for Turkey



b. by Üstün Ergüder

The authors of the present case study agree that the Turkish higher education system must be redesigned after a quarter of a century of Law 2547 and of CHE. This does not mean that there must be a total overhaul and the gains made or the experiences accumulated thrown overboard. As pointed out in the earlier chapters, Law 2547 has covered important ground in increasing the participation rates in higher education. Furthermore, the research performance of Turkish higher education (according to international standards and benchmarking) has considerably improved since 1982. Yet, the highly hierarchical and very monist system puts diversified higher education institutions in a straitjacket. Increasing globalisation and the related adoption by the Turkish higher education system of EU standards demand a restructuring of the system, a system whose performance should be evaluated and then adjusted to national and international parameters – that are changing.

The author of this chapter is also in full agreement on many of the recommendations developed in the previous chapter authored by Kemal Gürüz. There are, however, some differences in terms of what should be done. These differences are partially based on the author's assumption that Turkey is up for constitutional reform and that thinking about reform should not be constrained by the parameters laid down by the present Constitution. Indeed, some of its provisions impose limits to what can be achieved. For example, the establishment of for-profit higher education institutions is not possible according to that fundamental charter: thus, endowing some state universities with a special law enabling their governance through lay bodies and special financial and administrative provisions was ruled unconstitutional in 1991. In fact, at the end of 2007 there was a lively discussion on the necessity for a constitutional overhaul in Turkey and the author feels that the time is ripe for a more

open approach to higher education reform taking account of the ongoing constitutional debate. One must even exercise *thinking the unthinkable* when designing change for the system! For instance, there must be room for for-profit private institutions of higher education, also in Turkey. Therefore, the recommendations developed here below do not consider constitutional limits as constraints.

Most of the recommendations and analysis outlined here were developed in an unpublished report titled 'A new vision of higher education in Turkey', prepared in 2006 for the Office of the Representative of the European Union in Ankara. The authors were, in alphabetical order, Üstün Ergüder, Mehmet Şahin, Tosun Terzioğlu and Öktem Vardar. Furthermore, this report was discussed in 2006 and early 2007 in three meetings attended by stakeholders ranging from the representatives from CHE and the Ministry of National Education to labour unions, journalists, and employers. Two of these meetings were also attended by representatives from the Magna Charta Observatory.

The author of this chapter strongly believes that any reform design and strategy must be cognisant of the so-called 'cultural factors' as much as of political parameters. For example, the provision of free higher education by state universities – considered as a socially just policy despite the evidence to the contrary – is strongly engrained in public opinion. Another example is the widely shared belief, within academia, that elections for leadership positions is a precondition for democratic governance and that this is a basic requirement for institutional autonomy and academic freedom. Furthermore, the current political polarisation between the governing political party on the one hand (AKP) and the opposition, higher education establishment, and the bureaucracy on the role of religion and on the 'headscarf' issue in the academic world tends to politicise and derail any attempt at reform from a rational platform. Even the most ardent opponents of Law 2547 and the CHE system may turn out to be strong supporters of the system when faced with attempts by

the government to tinker with its present structures. For this reason, a strategy for change should be planned well and the restructuring process should be gradual. Every measure should be taken to increase the amount of trust in the process, in particular by explaining the measures and expected changes to the public. Thus, consensus should be carefully engineered through the participation of the stakeholders.The author also believes that the existing monist and hierarchical CHE system poses important dangers for both the system as a whole and the autonomy of higher education providers as institutions. We have argued that the present structure with the attachment of the CHE to the President of the Republic has so far provided *system autonomy* from day to day politics. Yet, we also pointed out that system autonomy might be threatened with the potential politicisation of the office of the Presidency of the Republic. The election year of 2007 gave ample signals of that tendency. A simple, hierarchical, pyramidal, and monist design such as the CHE always faces this danger: once you capture the top of the pyramid you capture it all! The fact that the system functioned fairly autonomously during the past twenty-five years does not mean that it will continue to do so. In an ideologically charged political environment where higher education is also expected to perform a nation-building function,[51] a simple hierarchical framework such as the CHE turns to be an attractive target for political conflict, political capture, and occupation (details below). The recommendations herewith are based on the assumption of the author that diversified complex structures both at the system and insti-

[51] See Article 4 and 5 of Law 2547. (You may find the English version at http://www.yok.gov.tr/english/law/content.html.) These Articles clearly assign a nation-building function to higher education as its primary goal. This is understandable as most of the legislation concerning higher education under the military rule of 1980-1982 is a reaction to student violence on campuses and the emergence of political movements that questioned the basic principles of Atatürk revolution on secularism and national unity.

tutional levels are not only in tune with developments in Turkish higher education, but that they are also conducive to system and institutional autonomy.

The following list of recommendations indicates what steps should be taken. Many of them may not lend themselves to immediate adoption and implementation. However, the author believes these suggestions are critical for attuning the higher education system of the nation with global developments. Given a careful change strategy that sets maximum goals while following a timetable of incremental steps based on the concept of pilot projects in implementation, the reform of higher education in Turkey may be possible.

The following initial steps must be taken in order to provide a *legal environment* for reform:

- The constitution should be amended to remove barriers as to diversity and experimentation in higher education.
- A short framework law should be adopted for the entire higher education system[52].
- In time, each university should be given the right to create its own regulations.
- The overall approach of the framework law should be as follows:
  - Emphasise the freedom of thought associated with scientific inquiry and reasoning.
  - Stress the role of science and technology in national development.
  - Underline and identify global benchmarks for the higher education system.
  - Build accountable and transparent structures that encourage institutional initiative.
  - Emphasise input rather than output controls.
  - Stress performance evaluation.

[52] The term 'framework law' indicates a brief format, which states the main approaches and avoids the details.

Higher education is going through a period of deep transformation throughout the world. New challenges are emerging. Old established paradigms are being questioned. Even in Continental Europe where conservatism with respect to established structures and tested paradigms is a strong force, a search for new models emphasising decentralisation and the relation of higher education to the market place and society is under way. Turkey should follow these developments very closely, given her European aspirations, and develop its own reform strategy. It is extremely important to come up with sustainable models[53] and take successful university management styles into consideration[54].

1. The National Councils

1.1 *The Council of Higher Education*

In 1982, when the Council of Higher Education (CHE) was established, Turkey had 28 state universities. By December 2007 this number has gone up to 115, with 30 of them being foundation (private) universities. The higher education scene is now crowded and complex. The state and foundation sub-categories have also become more diverse. In other words, system diversification in function of various parameters has increased dramatically. Detailed rules and regulations designed for a few may put every player in a straitjacket when the number of players increases. This is especially true for older and more internationally competitive universities of Turkey. The architects of Law 2547 were most probably influenced by the state systems of governance in the United States such as those in New York and California. The CHE was conceived, if you will, as a 'super Board of regents' –

[53] See Clark (2004).
[54] See Shattock (2003).

especially for state universities. In practice, the Council was and is still engaged in details ranging from the design of curriculum, the establishment of programmes, departments, faculties or institutes, to appointments of academic leaders. The tendency of centralisation, as strengthened by a state bureaucratic tradition that defines the existing hierarchical framework, is perhaps the most important problem within the new paradigm uniting diverse institutions.

The present complexity and diversity of the system requires a coordinating agency - perhaps more than ever. Yet a CHE engaged in academic and administrative detail should definitely not be on the agenda of Turkish higher education. A new design is necessary to foster structural synergies. Thus, the new CHE should concentrate on setting standards, developing long-term policies, and planning higher education as a system. Such a Council composed of wise men and women from academia, the state bureaucracy and the business world should oversee the operation of the system on the basis of the principles laid out in the framework law mentioned above. This means that the CHE might have the following duties:

- Act as the University Board (Board of Directors) for state universities that have not been accorded a special autonomous status (more on that below).
- Evaluate the applications of state universities for a special status.
- Evaluate the applications for the creation of for-profit universities.
- Evaluate the application of foundation universities managed by a Board of trustees.
- Ensure that universities announce correct and up-to-date information to the public, well supported with relevant data.
- Act as a think tank to develop models in higher education to ease the problems of the system.
- Introduce and sustain systems and infrastructures to reorganise higher education so that it meets different country requirements

such as the recognition of research oriented institutions or units, the distribution of mass education, the widespread use of information technologies, and the ownership of technology development.
- Provide guidance in identifying new fields of employment that contribute to social and economic growth.
- Develop and publicise transparent recommendations, based on global developments and national needs, as far as the formation of new departments/faculties is concerned.
- Cooperate with the relevant organisations in the country to develop and implement national policies for science and technology.
- Publish the outcomes of the quality assessment exercises made by third parties/organisations; discuss and explain their meaning to the public.
- Set indicators for performance based budgeting for universities.
- Allocate public resources among institutions according to performance data provided by other independent agencies such as the proposed National Accreditation and Quality Agency.

The present formulation of the tasks for the Council of Higher Education (CHE) is based on a very sensitive and delicate political balance between the executive authority (government), on the one hand, and the President and the universities, on the other. One of the most important aspects of Law 2547 is that CHE has a structure allowing universities to be shielded from daily politics. This is mainly because the Council reports directly to the President of the Republic. Earlier in this study, we mentioned that this framework provides indeed *system autonomy* to higher education. The architects of the 1982 Constitution endowed the President of the Republic with considerable negative veto powers, a design that attempted to check-and-balance a political authority when it controls a parliamentary majority.[55]

[55] Currently, the President is elected by a parliamentary majority for a

The 1982 Constitution also entrusted the President with appointment powers to major bureaucratic positions. Presidential appointment of one third of the 21 CHE members is a case in point. The system seems to have worked well until 2002 in terms of shielding the universities from day to day politics. The first signals of politicisation, however, had been given in 1992 already when 24 new universities were set up. The appointment of founding rectors to these new universities did not follow the normal procedure as these 24 universities were regarded as institutions in the 'founding stage', and interim rector appointments were made by President Turgut Özal following the recommendation of the coalition government then in power. As has been explained elsewhere in this volume, the CHE normal procedure is to reduce to three the six rector candidates rank-ordered by the universities through elections, and to submit this short list to the President's Office for the President to make the final appointment. As this procedure was by-passed in 1992 for the 24 new universities, there grew political controversy over these appointments indeed. Especially after 2002, when AKP, the Justice and Development Party, came to power with close to a two-thirds majority in Parliament, thus making the politicisation of higher education more probable. Two attempts by the government were viewed by the higher education establishment as efforts to implement the allegedly hidden agenda of the party on controversial issues such as the 'headscarf /turban' or the admission to universities of the graduates of *secondary schools training religious prayer readers* (İmam Hatip Liseleri).[56] Moreover, soon after the

term of seven years. National parliamentary elections are for a term of five years.

[56] They are known as 'İmam Hatip' schools in Turkey. Measures taken by the CHE in 1997 made it difficult for the graduates of these schools to proceed to a university career. The weights assigned to Imam Hatip graduates in the student selection examination were designed to make them proceed to vocational education. This created an important political controversy

parliamentary elections of 2007, the AKP parliamentary majority proceeded to elect one of their leaders, former Foreign Minister Abdullah Gül, as President of the Republic. An important section of the public opinion perceived these developments as an attempt to 'conquer' the universities in a tug of political war between the 'Islamists' and the 'laicists'. This, in turn, tends to throw the universities right into the centre of political conflict. In other words, the capacity of the CHE system to shield universities from political conflict and day-to-day politics seems to be in serious danger. For this reason, it is necessary to allow the following to be members, in addition to those appointed by the government and by the President of the Republic:

- Increase the quotas allocated to university representatives.
- Design a system opening membership to 'wise men and women' who have made important contributions to academic life and governance at various levels and who are preferably retired.
- Permit some of the members to represent the stakeholders (private sector, public sector, trade unions).
- Furthermore, the President of the CHE should be appointed by the President of the Republic from among a specified number of candidates nominated by the CHE plenary body.

1.2 *The Rectors' Conference*

The EU Member States have assigned academic issues at the national level to a Rectors' Conference, which is similar to the Turkish Interuniversity Council (IUC). Rectors' conferences in many European countries are perceived as an expression of academic freedom and institutional autonomy – a function also assigned to the Interuniversity Council in the Turkish system.

and the expectations after the 2002 elections were that the AK (Justice and Development) Party would pass legislation to ease the entry of graduates of such schools to universities.

Such an institution may perform a useful function if it acts as the voice of universities in society; serves as a platform where the future of higher education is being discussed; provides a platform where education, research, and service to society are coordinated as functions of the system; acts as a medium of cooperation between the universities and public institutions. It may also represent a forum where universities address common points of interest, problems and objectives.

The IUC under Law 1750, which preceded Law 2547 of 1981, was then the only body of inter-university cooperation. The format of IUC was copied as such into Law 2547. Yet, its role was reduced to become a mere advisory body next to CHE. Currently, the universities, including the foundation ones, are represented by their rector and one representative elected by their senate. Because of massification and diversification, the IUC now comprises some 230 members when, in 1992, it had only 58 members, the number of universities in the country being 29 at the time. In other words, the IUC has become too big and unwieldy for any meaningful and substantive coordination or deliberation. This growth in size further clipped the wings of IUC, pushing it more into the shadow of CHE – a process that started with Law 2547.The author feels that IUC should be redesigned too. One option would be to have it function simply as a rector's conference – within the framework of harmonisation with EU higher education. Another option could be a system of rotation in which half of the present universities, chosen through a drawing of lots, may still be represented by two representatives (rector + a representative elected by the senate of each university). The other half could move in at the end of a 2-year period. A third option would be to strengthen the existing subcommittee structures while giving the IUC a plenary function only, with sessions organised not more than three times in one calendar year.

1.3 *The National Accreditation and Quality Agency*

For quality assurance, the Bologna Process assigns primary responsibility to the higher education institutions themselves. The Berlin Communiqué,[57] which is a significant step forward in establishing a European Higher Education Area, underscores the importance of this duty – very much in line with the present global understanding of evaluation modalities in the quality development of higher education.

Even though a quality assurance system postulates institutional responsibility as a minimum requirement, there is also a fundamental need for a national agency which acts as an umbrella to coordinate national policies, develop common national standards, accredit other quality agencies, follow international developments and establish links to international quality agencies. In different parts of the world, national quality agencies have been established through legislation and serve as important components of the higher education system in their respective countries. [58]

The CHE is currently working on the development of a national quality system. Bye-laws and regulations have been written and accepted for a Higher Education Academic Evaluation and Quality Assurance Commission (HEAEQAC)[59]. The committee that worked on designing this Commission worked under the aegis of the IUC.

The author strongly feels that any national quality agency should be totally independent and autonomous from the CHE.

[57] 'Realising the European higher education area', Berlin Communiqué, 2003. http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/pdf/Communique1.pdf.

[58] For example, the German Accreditation Council was first established by a joint decision of the states' (*Länder*) ministers of education and did not originally have a legal framework and basis. It was subsequently incorporated into the system by a federal legislation increasing its effectiveness. See Schade (2003).

[59] For details, see YÖK (2007, 102-103, 182-83) at: http://www.yok.gov.tr.

Failure to set up such an agency so far has led Turkish universities to pick up international evaluation such as the EUA system. By the end of the 2007-2008 round of evaluations, 17 Turkish universities are expected to have gone through the EUA process. In fact Turkish universities are quickly becoming the best 'customers' of the EUA Institutional Evaluation Programme (IEP). Furthermore, to receive substantive equivalency with their US counterparts, the engineering faculties of four Turkish universities have invited the Accreditation Board of Engineering Technology (ABET) to assess their teaching and research. National voluntary initiatives are also emerging: the deans of engineering faculties have established an NGO known as MÜDEK (Association of Engineering Deans) to come up with an ABET like national engineering accreditation agency. The progress and acceptance of this initiative in the higher education community has been remarkable. Another important development is the gradual move of some business schools (at Bilkent and Sabancı Universities) to apply also to American and European accreditation and evaluation agencies.

All these developments with respect to quality are happening without any support from public funds. State universities fund EUA and ABET visits out of their own funds. Nor is there any public or official interest in the reports produced. Yet, a quality culture seems to be creeping into higher education although without any national vision or institutionalisation. The establishment of a *Higher Education Quality Agency,* the basic function of which is to present reliable information to the public, should be on the agenda of any reform programme. Such an agency would also help streamline different initiatives for quality assurance. Moreover, the institutionalisation of quality assurance would be the most effective way to protect diversity in the provision of higher education. A national and autonomous quality assurance system would also ease the entry of for-profit higher education into Turkey by helping alleviate suspicions and negative public reflexes about the risk of commercialisation.

The proposed national agency might be empowered to do the following:

- Help consolidate quality culture in the higher education system.
- Evaluate the quality assurance mechanisms of higher education institutions.
- Act as a register and accrediting agency for other quality assurance agencies in and outside the country.
- Accredit and evaluate the higher education institutions and/or programmes while overseeing the implementation of recommendations.
- Inform the public and maintain transparency,
- Establish a link with international agencies of accreditation and quality assurance.
- Help plan the higher education sector.

An easy way out in designing a national agency is simply to cut and paste the structures already existing in other national higher education systems. Even though it is important to be aware of other instances and practices developing around the world, care must be taken, however, to account for the national cultural factors that are associated with the indigenous higher education system.[60]

Some of the issues to be considered for establishing the proposed National Higher Education Quality Agency are the following: [61]

- The composition of the agency should include students, employers, government representatives, select members from the international academic community, and representatives of the academic staff. For example the German Accreditation Council comprises four academics, four government representatives, five representatives of the business world, two foreign experts and two students. Seven members of the Irish Universities

[60] See Kells (1999).

[61] See Haug (2003).

Quality Council are elected from the university sector and seven members are elected from outside the university (one judge, two foreign experts, one employers' representative, one representative of the Chambers of commerce, the president of the students' council and one professional accreditation expert)[62].

- Permanent and clear standards and procedures should be implemented. Agency performance should inspire confidence in the other agencies within the system.
- Its reach should be wide and comprehensive covering all the higher education institutions in the system.
- The agency should not be subjected to external pressure in the accreditation of a programme or institution.
- Procedures for the appointment of members of the agency should be independent and effective.

A quality assurance system should be established for Turkey, which focuses on accountability and/or comparative benchmarking based on objective criteria and performance indicators.

Some of the pitfalls of *localisation*, which the proposed national agency may fall into, are listed below:

- Quality assurance and systems may be watered down due to local interpretations, pressure by higher education institutions, and populist approaches. An important cultural drive in Turkey is on *equality* – a very literal and strict understanding of which may tamper with diversity and work towards levelling institutions around mediocrity.
- The agency may fail to instil and permeate reliability if it becomes too preoccupied with national problems.
- What happens in other countries and throughout the world may fall out of the radar screen of the agency.
- It may run into difficulties in situations that involve multinational education initiatives that transcend national borders.

These weaknesses may be attended to by networking with

[62] See Conference of Heads of Irish Universities (2003).

international agencies and networks. The scenario mentioned for Europe foresees linking the national accreditation agencies to each other through an umbrella mechanism, thus offering cross-accreditation to the agencies. This method, called meta-accreditation and involving mutual recognition of national agencies sharing similar standards, is perhaps the best safeguard against the dangers of *localisation* described above.

2. The Functions of the University

The standard duties of universities cover education, research and public service. The institutions should be free to determine their priorities through strategic planning which should finally be approved by the CHE and made public.

2.1 *Education*

The university has the duty to educate the students for undergraduate, graduate and doctorate degrees and to provide lifelong learning opportunities for adults. The first priority is to provide an undergraduate education that offers students the chance to specialise in the subject they are interested in, increases their opportunities to find jobs, and imparts the knowledge, skills, maturity and versatility that suit the international market. In line with the Bologna Process, postgraduate programmes should help specialise in a given field and/or offer learning in multidisciplinary subjects over 4+1 years (or 4+1.5 years with thesis). Doctoral level programmes, that increase the country's research potential and educate the academic staff needed by the country, should become a priority for research-intensive institutions. Universities, at all these levels, should be encouraged to widen international as well as national networking and cooperation. This would help enhance the quality of both education and research throughout the national system.

2.2 *Research*

Research is an integral part of education and it should be treated as such. However, some universities may be more research-intensive than others. The system must be flexible enough to accommodate differences among institutions with respect to research versus education intensity. Yet, all universities should make the necessary arrangements for their academic staff to follow scientific developments and advances in the research techniques that should be passed on to their students. All universities, for recruitment and promotions, should also set selection criteria that are attuned with international benchmarks about publications.

It is widely accepted that basic research is a key feature defining the true university. Increasingly, however, applied research is gaining a place in the research agenda of today's university. The universities' role in contributing to the welfare of the societies they are part of – by promoting innovation and technological development – has become more than ever an integral part of the investigative mission of the universities. Thus, striking a balance between applied and basic research is now a crucial goal for universities. The *ivory tower* tradition of those academics with a leaning towards basic research is questioned more than ever. The new system must provide the framework and incentives for universities to share with society the information they generate; to transfer to industry the technology they develop; to participate actively in social and economic debates and offer solutions; to publish research results; to commercialise and patent these results.

2.3 *Social and Public service*

In addition to the more traditional missions of education and research, contemporary universities have a third role or duty: public service. This includes certain functions outside the formal

education network such as disseminating knowledge to society, suggesting solutions for social and economic problems, developing competitive technologies, and transferring these technologies to industry. Lifelong learning is perhaps the leading public service universities can provide. When academic institutions plan to be active in lifelong education, they should arrange and prepare related regulations, transparent mechanisms and processes – making them public once such modalities have been approved by the Council of Higher Education. These activities and processes should take heed of academic principles, market needs, student satisfaction, and employer recommendations.

It is important for higher education institutions to organise the mechanisms sustaining public service – through incentives rather than constraints: activities such as consultancy, technology transfer, evening education, lifelong learning, and summer schools must be promoted. It is necessary to find creative solutions to potential difficulties, and have them institutionalised as management processes and structures. For example, consultancy (for both the private and the public sector) should be encouraged for full-time academics on a one-day per week basis (that is 20 percent of the total time they commit to the university). Moreover, such arrangements should not be subject to any financial or administrative constraints. Two days of consultancy should not be encouraged and three days should certainly not be permitted. Moreover, the universities should be given incentives to develop university-industry cooperation in line with their strategic plan and institutional culture. On that basis, institutions may be encouraged and empowered to initiate lifelong learning programmes, to set up and reward spin-off companies or similar successful ventures, to develop practices of their own supporting university-industry cooperation, and to incorporate such undertakings into their financial structures. Universities should announce clearly those skills, competences and job opportunities the students can obtain through the programmes in which they enrol, both in traditional education and in lifelong

learning – and this information should be supported by relevant data.

To support his arguments, Andrew Vorkink, former Country Chief of the World Bank in Turkey, made the following remarks in a speech he gave on education reform while presenting the data shown in figure 3b.1:

"*In a rapidly changing labour market and knowledge economies, workers must be able to continually update and improve their competences and qualifications, and make use of the widest possible range of learning settings. The Brussels European Council report of October 2003 highlighted that the development of human capital is a prerequisite for the promotion of growth in the EU, notably through increased investment in education and a better integration with social policies and employment. Similarly, the employment guidelines adopted by the European Council in June 2003 had placed emphasis on the development of human capital through lifelong learning. An analysis reported in a follow-up to the European Council's 2003 Resolution on Lifelong Learning corroborates the progress made in the EU Member States. The EU target of a 12.5% rate of adult participation in further education and training has been basically achieved on average, but some countries, such as the UK, are well ahead of the average. The EU Eurostat Database reports find, however, that the workforce in Turkey barely participate at all in lifelong learning and growth in opportunities has been negligible*."[63]

As observed in Figure 3b.1,[64] Turkish universities face important challenges and have serious obligations to develop a lifelong education system if they are to catch up with European standards.

[63] Presentation based on the Turkish Education Sector Study made on January 17, 2006 at a meeting organised in İstanbul by the Open Society Institute.

[64] Adapted from the power point presentation by Vorkink referred to above.

3. Institutional Autonomy and Academic Freedom

The concepts of institutional autonomy and academic freedom should be meaningful and relate to accountability, also in Turkey.

The fundamental mission of universities is to discover knowledge and to disseminate it to students. The principle of academic freedom[65] guarantees the liberty of research, teaching, expression and publication. These freedoms enable the university to advance and transmit knowledge to students and society, both inside and beyond the classroom. The current legal system in Turkey, which authorises the Council of State and the lower appelate courts to pass judgement on such academic issues as, for example, the completion of courses or the promotion of academic personnel, seriously impedes the principles of academic freedom and institutional autonomy.[66] The framework suggested earlier in this study that presses for self-regulation through a 'board of academic arbitration' must be adopted. The *amnesty* legislations that the Grand National Assembly adopts when populist fevers run high in the country only adds insult to injury.[67]

Perhaps the most important value of academic freedom is that it supports the ability of student to think maturely and in-

[65] See Trow (2003).

[66] Students sometimes take cases to courts where they challenge the grades received in a course. Courts may submit the case to the review of experts and may make a ruling based on this expert opinion. The correction of grades received or the re-evaluation of examinations, based on court decisions, is not very uncommon throughout the system. Furthermore, decisions of the universities on promotions and delivery of academic titles may also be challenged in courts.

[67] Parliament passes, on politically opportune moments, legislation known as academic amnesty enabling students to re-register to universities from which they have been expelled for reasons of academic inadequacy.

dependently. Students and academics should be free to express the widest range of viewpoints in the classroom in accordance with the scientific framework and with ethical values. Academic freedom also requires that teaching and research activities be evaluated according to the professional standards that support university principles for the accumulation of knowledge. This author believes that any new legislation should incorporate the following definition of academic (or scientific) freedom made by the Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBA 2003, 4):

"*All academics are free to discuss, interpret and publish the results of the research which they conduct within and outside the university during the lectures – provided that they strictly follow scientific ethical rules. Higher education institutions have the responsibility to protect the academics' rights to express their personal and artistic views. These institutions do not attempt to influence or control the personal or scientific views of their members or the expression of these views to public opinion.*"

INSTITUTIONAL AUTONOMY exists when institutions are able to fix their own policies, priorities and progress in line with their institutional priorities. In fact, this author strongly believes that strategic planning does not make any sense as long as institutions do not have the autonomy to set targets, develop niches, chart their future, create and deploy the necessary financial sources supporting such ambitions. In this day and age of quality assurance, institutions must be able to set their goals and priorities. The current theme in global higher education is that academic institutions must have the liberty to act. The flip side of the coin is that that they must be held responsible and *accountable* for their decisions; hence, the increasing relevance of quality assurance and accreditation.

The concept of autonomy, more specifically, covers issues such as holding the ownership of buildings and equipment, lending money, using the budget in order to meet objectives, determining academic structure, employing and dismissing academic

staff, determining wages, determining the number of students, and deciding on student fees: administrative autonomy is indeed an important part of self-government. It should be accepted that every institution would develop different management styles to fit different backgrounds and environmental conditions. It is expected that, when endowed with autonomy, institutions may proceed towards their objectives through internally developed and supposedly more adequate management models. Not every institution may be able to achieve that. However, in a diversified and competitive milieu, there will be pressure for institutions to compete through developing more effective management structures. Some may excel while others will lag behind. Yet, for sure, a system that strengthens institutional autonomy is more likely to lead to innovation and progress, simply by releasing creative energies in the organisation while promoting examples of good practices. Currently, under the CHE system where institutional autonomy is minimal, it is quite common for institutional leaders to argue foul play and blame the system for institutional shortcomings.

Although *institutional autonomy* and *academic freedom* are perceived as similar concepts and often used interchangeably, they may be contradictory in reality, in particular within the context of the balance between institutional leadership – representing the body as a collective – and the participation of academia in university decision-making processes – expressing much more individual opinions. It is often claimed that a liberal interpretation of academic freedom is an integral part of 'collegialism' in decision-making, whereas institutional autonomy is more related to 'managerial' approaches that emphasise institutional leadership. The freedom of institutions to act is also constrained – not only by governments; universities indeed may be immobilised by internal balances of power – not to be touched – or by radical interpretations of academic freedom. The university also suffers when financial and administrative considerations

wear down academic values. On the other hand, the administrative and strategic immobility generated by collegial participatory decision-making processes that are justified by academic freedom may be detrimental to the progress of the institution too, especially in a competitive environment where institutional lethargy is a risk.

Today, the only way to increase autonomy is through ACCOUNTABILITY. In a policy report of 2003, OECD has addressed this issue by stressing that the merit of institutional autonomy now granted by governments depends directly on the institution's capacity for accountability (OECD 2003). The need for responsible behaviour can only increase when autonomy expands. One triggers the other. In its widest sense, accountability to the public covers accountability to the state, students, employers, i.e., all the stakeholders. To value university practice, it becomes customary to measure the outcomes and processes of all its activities including finance, teaching and research quality, institutional dynamism and social awareness. The decisions taken and the preferences made by the organisation ought to be explained and defended by the people in charge and shared periodically with the public – using ordinary, well-known mechanisms and processes.

Communication and transparency are effective tools for accountability once these concepts are well defined and put in institutional practice. It is very important for the communication channels to be visible and sustainable. The system should be able to provide up-to-date and valuable information without repeated demands from the stakeholders. Thus, for instance, academic units should consider the annual progress report (of the last year's) and the programme for the coming year to be crucial parts of their accountability process. They should also provide up-to-date information on their web pages, share their mission and strategies with society, and establish mechanisms through which they are accessible to the public.

4. Diversification

This chapter argues that differentiation among institutions should be an important hallmark of the new system. In fact, as indicated in previous sections, the current system has grown and *de facto* become more diverse, thus offering a significant degree of differentiation among institutions. Perhaps, at present, the most important problem with CHE is that the organisation puts institutional diversity into a straitjacket because of a monist, centralising and hierarchical structure. Differentiation should be recognised and made use of through a new framework since it can only help institutions to be more productive and effective. Quality assurance mechanisms and transparency are the tools for minimising the risks of autonomy and of the potential misuse of differentiation. It should be accepted that institutions may adopt the governance models of their choice; decide on the job definitions and responsibilities of their leaders; but bear the consequences of the system they build. Parallel to this, it should be an obligation for institutions to establish, adopt, execute and review their missions and objectives as well as their strategic plans. The kind of university they want to become should be obviously relevant to their mission, objectives and strategic plans.

The new higher education legislation should thus outline possible models of academic institutions and indicate the minimum conditions required to set them up. Here follow some suggestions taking into account both the existing situation and some of the developments that may be soon on the agenda of Turkish higher education.

A Board of trustees should manage the universities. The governing organ of the foundation universities in Turkey is indeed a Board of trustees, a model taken from the private universities in the United States. Such a board monitors the efficient use of the main assets, endowments and resources as well as the good management of the institution on behalf of its founders.

That is very much what the Boards of trustees do for foundation universities in Turkey – monitoring on behalf of the founders the university management and the use of allocated resources. This could be extended to public universities if they are granted real autonomy.

UNIVERSITY COUNCILS SHOULD MANAGE THE STATE UNIVERSITIES GRANTED SPECIAL STATUS. Boards called 'Board of regents', 'Board of governors', 'Councils' or 'Courts' manage state universities in the United States and the United Kingdom. The function of such bodies is similar to the Boards of trustees'. They are different from the Boards of trustees, however, in the sense that the state, as the major stakeholder, has an important weight in the membership of the governing board.

As mentioned previously (see Section I.4.4 above), the leadership of the CHE attempted an experiment in 1991 by designating five universities as of *special status.* Law No. 3708 adopted by decree in April 1991 introduced the concept of 'state universities with special status' to the Turkish higher education system. National elections being due, the government, however, did not want another potentially damaging controversy to erupt by designating those five universities. Moreover, the opposition took the case to the Constitutional Court, which eventually ruled the concept of special status as unconstitutional. Law 3708, that was thus shelved (as explained above), had stipulated setting up 'higher executive boards' entrusted with the highest governing authority in universities with a special status. These boards were to have nine members, two being appointed by the Ministry of National Education, two by CHE in conjunction with the rector and the remaining four by the President of the Republic. "The members of the higher executive board would be selected from among prominent citizens who meet the minimum conditions to become civil servants excluding the age limit set for civil servants".[68]

[68] The Law on Amending Certain Articles, Including Four Additional Ar-

The 'university council' concept used in this chapter reflects a similar approach to that of Law 3708 even though its composition should set more emphasis on the participation of stakeholders close to the institution (alumni, for instance). The governance model and the financial structure stipulated in Law 7802 of 1959 establishing the Middle East Technical University is another model,[69] which should be reviewed in function of today's frame conditions. As previously mentioned in various parts of this report, METU made important progress when Law No.7802 was in effect.

State universities: The existing status for some of the state universities may be continued. However, the system of the appointment of rectors by the CHE and the President of the Republic should be modified by requiring, instead of elections, a serious search process that would take account of the preferences and sensitivities of each institution even if the final appointment might still be done by the President of the Republic after the CHE proposes three candidates found through the search process.

Entrusting the governance of state universities to a foundation. The state should be able to transfer the manage-

ticles and Repealing One Additional Article of Law No 2547 on Higher Education (No: 3708; Date of Approval: 3 April 1991)

[69] Law 7802 gave a special status to Middle East Technical University (METU). The establishment of METU is considered by many, including this author, as revolutionary in terms of its impact on the Turkish higher education system. The governance system of American universities was taken as a model and a Board of trustees ran the university. Furthermore, the academic structure based on departments was adopted as well as the credit systems of American universities. METU created an alternative model to other Turkish universities, which were largely based on the continental European model with a strong German influence. The founding of METU represents an important shift in Turkish higher education towards the American model. Enactment of Law 2547 and the establishment of the CHE system in 1981 ended the special status of METU in terms of governance. See Section I.4.2.

ment of some of the universities to interested foundations or to foundations set up for this specific purpose. Such a move, however, should be done within the framework of formal agreements and after necessary output and performance controls. This may reduce the financial burden borne by the state and could encourage the private sector to invest in higher education. Since establishing new and high-quality foundation universities is an expensive option for the private sector, sharing the burden with the state would be a more efficient use both of state resources and of private sector contributions. However, the hypothesis that the investments made by the private sector and charities in currently existing state institutions is less expensive than the founding of a new university should be verified.

PRIVATE FOR-PROFIT INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION. The 1982 Constitution does not leave any room for the establishment of private for-profit institutions of higher education. It should be noted that the number of private higher education institutions keeps increasing around the world, especially in developing countries trying to meet increased student demand when state support decreases on a relative (and sometimes even absolute) scale. The author strongly believes that the most important problem the higher education system will face is two-fold – and distinctively Turkish: how to increase quality in teaching and research, while at the same time meeting an increasing student demand linked to the demographic realities of Turkey with its young population. From that point of view, the Turkish problem is quite different from that faced in a Europe characterised by aging populations. The response of the CHE system to the problem of massification in higher education has been to force universities to admit increasing numbers of students – often with no regard to the capacity of the institutions. This, in turn, has compromised quality, especially in those established institutions most likely to emphasise quality.

The author believes that public resources will remain limited in the future; thus, it would be rational to incite the private sector to invest in higher education – all the more so since every opportunity should be taken to increase the participation rate in higher education. Removing restrictions to the entry of new actors to the system can do this. However, an efficient quality assessment and accreditation system combined with comprehensive performance controls will be needed to integrate such a liberalisation process within the system.

The developments taking place in the world show that the number of students enrolled in private higher education institutions is increasing. Figure 3b.2 developed by Perkinson (2005, 4) summarises this evolution. This figure does not include the countries in the orbit of the former Soviet Union, that use to be run on very state-centred and socialist lines in terms of society and economy. It is interesting to note, however, that 22 percent of the students enrolled in higher education institutions of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Romania are working in private institutions (Steir 2003, 158-80). By comparison – and not a good one at that, since foundation universities are no private-for-profit institutions – private universities enrol only 5 percent of students in Turkey. Another interesting parallel is with Iran and Jordan where 30 and 35 percent of students respectively attend private institutions of higher education.[70] The social, cultural and somewhat ideological aversion to private for-profit higher education must be overcome if Turkey is to mobilise more resources to offer better higher education to her youth.

5. Governance

One of the most controversial, and often politicised, aspects of Turkish higher education revolves around university govern-

[70] Ibid.

ment. The academic community has a strongly engrained preference for *collegialism* allowing for the election by peers of the rectors, deans, department heads, and for the management of the institution by academic councils entrusted with comprehensive decision-making powers. Moreover, the participation of all faculty members (Ph.D and up) is considered to be a *sine qua non* for the election process of academic leaders although student participation, even limited, or the contribution of administrative personnel are not envisaged at all in this model.

Perhaps the most important criticism levelled by academia at the CHE model was that it was not *democratic*. Within the context discussed above, this meant that the system did not empower academic staff to determine their own deans and rectors. As stated elsewhere in this volume, this criticism was substantiated by the arbitrary way rectors were appointed by the CHE between 1982 and 1992, with no sensitivity for the preferences of academic staff in the respective universities. This autocratic approach consolidated the opposition among academia. Another instance of opposition to non-collegial governing structures was the gradual erosion of the *Board of trustees* model initiated by the METU experiment in 1959. That model was considered to be an aberration and opposed by an important segment of academia. One may argue that Turkish academics see the universities as of their own belonging and thus resent any intrusion in the mechanisms of their governance. The limited academic mobility between universities only helped, until recently, to strengthen this attitude. Any reform attempt to give universities a leadership and management system in line with quality assurance and strategic planning must take account of this predominant and peculiar collegial culture.

One may safely argue that the global trend in university governance is towards leadership and management models that are able to move universities towards a strategic goal. Strengthened forms of leaderships and authority are replacing the col-

legial and the classical style of management – based on councils with comprehensive participation. Furthermore, representatives from outside the university are given a greater voice in the running of academic institutions. The participation of students and administrative personnel in decision-making is also emerging as a trend in university governance.

The author feels that the traditional model of collegial governance is no longer compatible with an increasingly competitive national and international environment since it runs on cumbersome and lengthy decision-making processes, often geared to the preservation of the status quo, if not indexed to the past, all in all a system that does not take public needs into consideration. To ensure efficient leadership for the institutions as a whole, top managagement should be given clear authority and responsibilities, thus ensuring the adequate functioning and public accountability of the university. Its management boards should have a structure that is conducive to teamwork. Their members and the rector should determine institutional policies while being in touch with the faculties and departments: indeed, the rector who loses contact with the staff on the floor, thus no longer able to lead the university community, should fail performance evaluation and, as a result, leave the job. To follow closely the governance process, what is important is the transparency of the operation, an adequate system of communication, and the presence of social stakeholders at various levels of authority through the development of a trustee (or university board) system.

The basic change proposed is thus a move from election to appointment – with outsiders taking part in the designation process. The assumption is that appointed leaders would be more efficient in introducing necessary changes than elected ones; but this can only become true if such leaders are also accepted and adopted by institutional rank and file. To secure a leadership style that is responsible both to those above and those below, the members of a department, for instance, or the dean of

the faculty this department is part of, should have a say in the assignment of the head of the department. Similarly, the members of that faculty and the rector should be involved in the selection of the dean. Moving another level up, academic staff and the university council (or Board of trustees) should contribute to the appointment of the rector. In the chain of authority, the university council (or Board of trustees), the rector, the deans, the heads of departments are all key actors and important links in the sequence of hierarchical responsibilities that allows also the evaluation of performance. As a part of the procedure, it should be possible to shorten the term of duty of unsuccessful leaders and administrators. The recall mechanism used in the United States might be applied to the leaders who are disapproved by a two-thirds majority of the total academic constituency.

McCormick and Reiners (1989, 423-42) argue that there is a negative relationship between efficiency and the participation of academic staff in the university decision-making processes. Brown, on the other hand, argues that the optimum level depends on the type of decisions (2001, 29-43). The advantages of information sharing, in senate or faculty commissions, exceed the participation cost when academic programme, diploma criteria, academic performance and course distribution are concerned. Participation, on the contrary, is too costly a process when budget planning, the setting of salaries, the allocation of administrative duties, and issues of firing and hiring are to be dealt with[71]. For this reason, the academic issues should be discussed in academic councils or boards that should be determined and announced by the university. At university level, the highest academic council, usually the senate, should be chaired by the rector. As for the university council or the Board of trustees (or the so-called board of directors or governing board or board of regents), it should approve the university budget, strategy and

[71] Ibid.

development plans, regulations and directives and guide the daily management. It should also agree to the performance and research contracts which the university signs with the Council of Higher Education, the Ministries and other agencies. However, it should not interfere with the micro-management of the university; operational management should be the rector's executive duty. In the final analysis, the rector is responsible to the university council and the university council is responsible to all the stakeholders. A majority of the members of the university council should be from outside the university. There may be one representative of the students and one or two from the academic staff. The representation of a particular institution, body or segment of society should not be a criterion in the assignment of outside members to the university council: their personal standing in society and their interest in the university should be the overriding criteria for their selection.

Within this suggested framework of diversity, the governance models of universities may be different as well. All appointments other than that of the rector should be performed by the universities themselves and these preferences should not require additional approval as long as they are within the framework of the regulations approved by the Council of Higher Education.

The state universities which adopt the UNIVERSITY COUNCIL model, as state universities with a special status, and those which subsequently apply for that status, should present their development strategies and relevant governance models as well as the organisation of various boards to CHE for agreement. Upon the approval of this request, a certain flexibility would be granted to the institution, which could establish economic enterprises, decide on and collect tuition fees, make decisions on the right of the academic and administrative personnel to continue with the civil servant status or to adopt a contractual status, and receive the budget and staff allocation as a 'lump-sum'.

Several institutions would continue as STATE UNIVERSITIES,

the CHE acting then as their board: they could, however, choose their internal governance models according to their preferences; determine their development strategies; fix how teamwork is guaranteed in management; decide mechanisms for the transparency, accountability and stakeholder participation; organise quality assurance systems, these decisions being presented to the Council of Higher Education for approval. The CHE would function as the top governing body of this category of universities.

The universities that are managed by a BOARD OF TRUSTEES would determine their own governance models, and designate and appoint their managers and employees. They would also determine how the transparency, accountability, quality assurance systems and the endowment fund would be formed; they would then submit these along with their strategic plans to the approval of the CHE.

PRIVATE FOR-PROFIT UNIVERSITIES should determine their own governance models and manage their employees like the universities governed by a board of trustees.

STAKEHOLDER PARTICIPATION in the management of contemporary universities has become more critical than ever. This means the participation of representatives from outside the academia in the management of the university. A cursory look at different practices throughout the world reveals that this participation can take the form of either holding a chair in the formal decision-making boards of the universities or sitting in on advisory boards. The value of this type of participation in an era of increasing involvement of the university in industry and community service is to act as external 'stimulants' to prevent the institution from becoming inward-looking. The stakeholders may strengthen the connection with the economy, reflect local needs and increase internal efficiency by participating in the management, directly or indirectly. Organic connections should be designed and recommended in order to keep universities from becoming 'ivory towers' and help them establish relationships

with society. Even though the same model of governance is not proposed for all universities, it should be expressed clearly that it is the responsibility of any university to come up with modalities for stakeholder participation in the decision-making processes at specific levels of governance. One example of stakeholder participation may be the integration of boards of trustees or social councils to the system. Another application may be accepting members directly to the university's executive boards.

There are different examples in the world regarding this issue. For example, in France, the stakeholders' representatives participate directly in the university's decision-making bodies. However, in practice, when the boards start dealing in detail with the university's internal affairs, the representatives of the stakeholders become less interested: this may lead to less enthusiastic, or even erratic, participation. According to Hélène Lamicq, former president of Paris XII University, similar participation problems arise with student participation, too. However, full participation occurs when boards meet to elect the president or in meetings when strategic issues are discussed.[72] In Spain, there are *social councils of universities*, which comprise stakeholders. However, these councils are advisory boards only and have no real influence on university management (Mora and Vidal, 2000-2001).

6. Financial Structure

Measures such as lump-sum budgeting, output-oriented budget allocations, financial arrangements supporting multiple sources of income, or the increase of tuition fees should be institutionalised. The transition to a 'more autonomous but more accountable' system should also engage the financial structures of universities. The global trend towards governments adopting

[72] Interview with Üstün Ergüder. Magna Charta Observatory meeting, Bologna, Italy, September 17, 2005.

lump-sum budget practices using either formula funding (formulas which cover the number of students and graduates, the research outputs, the university's direct contribution to society, and similar quantities) or performance-based funding (contract with each university that covers objectives, programmes and funding) should be carefully studied and adopted. Public support, anyway, should certainly be associated with outcome and performance.

The financial structure is also closely related to institutional autonomy. Situations where institutions are able to develop *multiple sources of funding* making them less dependent on a single source of income should foster more independent policy-making. Thus, the institution should become less vulnerable to sudden shifts in governmental priorities or other vagaries associated with funding. Consequently the system should encourage the development of third party funding (industry and private foundations). A flexible financial structure should be formed in which not only income but also expenses are realised in line with institutional policies.

A 'CORE' ALLOCATION SHOULD BE PROVIDED FOR UNDERGRADUATE EDUCATION[73] in standard state universities. This may be calculated directly based on the number of students while taking the costs of different disciplines into consideration – using a simple and transparent formula. This core allocation should be supported with a performance-based budget, a competitive budget for major new initiatives and developments, and yet another competitive budget to encourage innovation, experimentation and research funds.

A PERFORMANCE-BASED BUDGET should be sufficiently large in order to be a meaningful positive incentive, but should not paralyse the institution, should it not be secured. The major new initiatives (buildings, faculties, programmes, research infrastructure, etc.) and the engagement of innovation and experimenta-

[73] See Thornhill (2005) for more on this.

tion (strategic plan, change, new learning methods, quality assurance systems, technology transfer, cooperation between institutions, etc.) should be planned for periods of 2 to 3 years and should follow transparent evaluation principles in accordance with criteria published in advance. Confidence in the assessment processes will be enhanced if the evaluation panels contain a significant number of non-national assessors chosen for their expertise and reputation.

Research support should be provided in three categories: in addition to the basic funds which are not competitive and which support the research capacity of the institution, performance-based funds should be available to enable institutions to develop graduate programmes. The last category should come from the competitive funds supporting classical research projects. These categories should be separately evaluated and their development within the institutions monitored.

Almost all recent draft legislations have referred to the introduction of business accounting procedures allowing carrying over funds from one year to the next. One does not have to reinvent the wheel. Similar practices existed in the founding years of METU. And, today, the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK) does have a flexible financial structure quite different from those of present day universities. TÜBİTAK, although a public organisation, receives its budget in the form of a lump-sum composed of capital investments and recurrent items, and can transfer the unused allocation to the following year. These two examples show that financial flexibility has really positive consequences and could be emulated in other parts of the system.

The universities managed by a board of trustees should establish an endowment fund of such a nature that its revenues cover at least 20 percent of the annual budget. Foundation universities – when they cannot establish an endowment fund – should be supported by their founders directly, through an annual fund, also not less than 20 percent of the annual university budget.

An extremely important issue regarding the financial structure of universities is WHO BEARS THE COST OF HIGHER EDUCATION. The theoretical studies and recommendations on this subject have been addressed in the previous sections and references have been made to studies which indicate that the benefit of higher education to individuals is larger than in other types of education (see figure 2.15).[74] We must also note that the share of the income tax in the Turkish fiscal system has decreased from 52 percent to 20 percent in the year 2004. This is due both to the inability of the state to avoid tax evasion and to the existence of a *grey* and unregistered economy. Within this context, free higher education may easily mean that all citizens, regardless of whether they receive the service or not, do indirectly support higher education. To make up for deficient direct taxing, the state uses indirect taxes or inflationary methods of finance in order to fund higher education – as well as its other expenditures. Such taxes affect all citizens equally. Thus, it is very likely that poorer citizens – or citizens whose taxes are levied at the source (civil servants among others), i.e., people who are essentially consumers, contribute more than proportionately to the expenses of the state. Given these facts, it is very likely that a free higher education system financed by the state does lead to social injustice.[75]

Moreover, primary and secondary education only reinforce this unjust situation. Quality at the primary and secondary levels of the Turkish national system is very unevenly distributed indeed. One of the striking findings of the OECD PISA study shown in figure 3b.3 is that Turkey's school system educates a handful of students well, but fails the majority of its students.

[74] Kaytaz, op.cit

[75] Each student pays between about 25 to 500 USD per annumr. This is not tuition. It is a contribution to social services fund of universities. The universities use this fund to support social activities (such as sports and cultural programs) and to subsidize food and lodging.

The following is how the World Bank Education Sector Study for Turkey (World Bank 2006) interprets the PISA results:

"OECD countries have collaborated in the development of the PISA (Program of International Student Assessment) to measure what students know and are able to do by the time they complete their compulsory education, which is considered to be 15 years-old for the purposes of international comparison. The PISA study report published in December 2004 shows that 52.3 percent of 15 year-olds in Turkey cannot achieve beyond level 1 on a six-point scale of learning competency. This is compared to only 16.6 percent of students in EU countries. The straight line on the graph shows how Turkey's scores differs so dramatically from countries it is competing with and with EU members it wishes to join. This has profound implications for the kind of workforce that Turkey's education system is preparing in that the low proficiency rates translate into low skills coming out of the education system at the time when the labour market in Europe and in Turkey is demanding high skills. Students who achieve Competency Level 1 (28% of 15 year olds in Turkey do not even reach this level) can only answer questions involving familiar contexts, where all information is present and the questions are clearly define; they are able to identify information and carry out routine procedures according to direct instructions in explicit situations. Level 5 Competency Level, on the other hand, means that students can work with models for complex situations, identify constraint, specify assumptions, select, compare and evaluate appropriate problem-solving strategies for dealing with complex situations related to these models. These students can work strategically using developed thinking and reasoning skills, symbolic and formal characterizations, and insight pertaining to these situations. In a way, one can compare these scores for Turkey with the skills, which employers are demanding in today's world. Unfortunately, Turkey faces a huge challenge to change the proportion of educational skills from basic to more complex, as has already happened in other countries."

This means that quality is very unevenly distributed at the lower levels of the Turkish national education system. Students who attend certain good schools are more likely to be among the handful of level 5 students that the PISA study refers to.

One can argue that there is an important relationship between the high-quality pre-university education and the fees paid for this education. Many private schools other than the high-quality state schools (specialised science high schools and some of the Anatolian high schools) provide educational services for high fees. As we emphasised in earlier chapters, families spend important sums of money for tutoring the candidates preparing for university entrance exams. This only adds insult to injury in a system already crippled by the taxation system in terms of social justice. Such indicators indicate that the *unintended consequence* of free higher education is the support from poor citizens given to higher income groups, thus enabling those to reach still higher levels in society. As a consequence, state funding of higher education should be at least partially balanced with student contributions.

On the other side of the coin, one must not forget that the distribution of income is highly skewed in the country. Any design based on substantive tuition for the services received in higher education must be accompanied by a system of fellowships, or scholarships for those who cannot pay as discussed earlier in this volume. It is possible to turn education expenses into debt/credit scheme for the students who prefer this option and shape refunding according to income following graduation (*income contingent repayment scheme* – Australia).

Another caveat for this day and age, where technology and innovation play a very important role in creating wealth and making nations competitive, the public good aspect of higher education must not be underestimated. A balance should be established between the public benefit on the one hand and individual advantage on the other when schemes for cost sharing

are designed[76]. For-profit universities, the institutions managed by a board of trustees and those managed by a university council should determine their own fees in the future. Even student contributions (tuition fees) to state universities should be deregulated within certain limits for the general improvement of the system, as this will bring quality differentiation between institutions onto the agenda.

7. Academic and Administrative Staff

An issue directly related to performance evaluation and quality control is the regime of administrative and staff in state universities: they all have civil servant status. Law 657 sets the rules and regulations for state personnel. In practice, this means that the balance between higher education salaries and those of other civil servants is closely watched, and this makes it difficult to propose major pay adjustments to academic staff. There no distinct salary scale in state universities as to the remuneration of academic or administrative personnel. Although this situation, to a certain degree, is made up for with additional compensations for the teaching of extra hours or for each foreign language spoken, there is still a huge gap between the salaries of the academic staff working in the public sector and those in foundation universities. This makes state universities very uncompetitive in terms of recruiting promising academic personnel. Indeed, even top state universities like METU and Boğaziçi have lost existing talent due to the aggressive recruitment of their staff by the new 'foundation universities'.

The state personnel regime does not allow for performance-based rewarding. Every academic within the same staff group receives similar wages regardless of the quality of the work done. There is no differentiation in terms of status either: in practice, a

[76] See Johnstone (2004, 403-10) for more on this.

civil servant position equals a *job guarantee* until retirement age.

Administrative staff is in a similar situation. This little flexibility does not help recruiting adequate personnel even if universities now require highly qualified administrative staff in key support areas such as informatics, library, the registrar's office, student affairs and financial management – if they are to reach excellence. Furthermore, universities should build a research support infrastructure staffed with experts able to draft research proposals, run community service programmes, act as coordinators especially in funded applied research, and take care of the bureaucratic details that some international agencies ask for.[77] At present when every administrative staff is subject to the Personnel Law No. 657, it proves difficult to find qualified human resources to build up competent support staff. Moreover, the state universities have no chance to become competitive in the administrative market with the low salary scales fixed by Law 657. Often, in many Turkish universities, academic staff members then provide some of the administrative support services - although in an amateur spirit. This in turn means that many scholars are diverted from their primary duties, which are teaching and research.

The author believes that it is time to discuss the conditions of personnel employment in state universities by defining how the higher education reform might affect the role of academic and administrative staff. State universities, indeed, cannot become competitive employers by offering potential personnel only short and medium term contracts. The present civil servant status is simply not conducive to managing universities in line with the quality and performance needs of today's higher education systems.

[77] EU Framework Projects are a good case in point.

8. Quality Assurance and the University

Considering that the EU emphasised the need to establish national quality assurance *systems* by 2005 as independent organisations that would rely on self-assessment, on-site investigation and questions open to the public, the basic responsibility for quality assurance now lies within the *institutions* (universities) themselves. For them. The process begins with self-assessment, an indispensable initial step in all modern quality evaluation systems. Self-assessment, however, in and of itself, may not produce the desired effect. The validity, objectivity and integrity of analysis should be ensured by external assessment. The quality assurance now process does not only aim at accountability or control. It also serves to steer and institutionalise change and improvement in higher education institutions. Therefore, it is necessary to establish goals, define measurable objectives, and take the necessary measures in case these targets are not met. That is why, as stated before, effective executive leadership and a related governance model with some authority proves very important for quality assurance and strategic management.

As a consequence, all universities should produce their own strategic plans, announce the methods used in designing them, share these proposals with all stakeholders, evaluate the compatibility of annual developments with such plans, and share this assessment with the stakeholders. The starting point of all quality assurance is the strategic plan of the institution that outlines the degree of administrative and financial autonomy given to the university. The new legal arrangements in Turkey should not ignore setting minimum standards for quality assurance mechanisms at institutional level.

9. University Access

The university entrance system in Turkey is based heavily on the results of the Student Selection Examination (SSE).[78] This exam is held on a Sunday in the second half of June every year. The candidates are subject to a single-session multiple-choice examination lasting three hours. The whole country is virtually mobilised for this competition, for which there is no second chance. In other words, if the student feels sick, has an accident, etc., there is no alternative for the student but to wait for the next year's exam.

The high school grade-point average is multiplied with a set of coefficients, thus determining its weight in the calculation. This mark is then added to the exam result, in order to obtain the candidates' final score and allow for their placement in given disciplines. Looking at the calculation method, one sees that the results from the high school the students are coming from now play an important role in the level achieved in the SSE, thus linking the high school grade-point average with the university entrance exam. After the three-hour long decisive multiple choice exam, successful candidates are given their results; then, within two to three weeks, they can fill out a preference form indicating their programme choices before the placement in two- and four-year programmes is made centrally. A sophisticated computer system is used to do so; it matches the preferences of the student with the university and department of his/her choice – based on the score obtained in SSE.[79] Admission to a preferred university and department is almost totally based on how high a student ranks in the SSE.

[78] In Turkish Öğrenci Seçme Sınavı. Its accronym – ÖSS – has become a household name for the placement exam.

[79] More detailed technical information on the SSE can be found on the OSYM web site: http://www.osym.gov.tr/BelgeGoster.aspx?F6E10F8892433CFFAAF6AA849816B2EFC3C6D81741DBEB05

The SSE has virtually taken over the selection function played by the secondary education systems – making it almost irrelevant in Turkey. Students, parents, teachers and high schools all adjust themselves to this examination. The candidates, for instance, take time out from their studies at high school to enter the specialised tutoring classes that prepare them for SSE. According to research undertaken by the Turkish Education Association (TED 2005) (that has been referred to earlier), 19 percent of the 2004 senior high school students only have stated they do really attend their school. In other words, all others have taken time out during their senior year to attend tutoring classes (the *dershanes*, as mentioned above). The same study points out that 63 percent of the teachers consider it impossible to succeed in the SSE without tutoring. The same researchers also asked the respondents to mention the most important factor for making the decision to attend tutoring classes outside the high school. Fifty-eight percent of the students mentioned that the education provided by their school would be insufficient for them to succeed the SSE. What is more striking: 72 percent of the teachers gave the same answer to this question.

Indeed, high school principals themselves recommend external tutoring to their students. Many private high schools advertise in newspapers how many of their graduates have been placed in the most sought after universities (or departments) following the SSE. Apparently, this is treated as the sole indicator of 'success'!

The SSE is far from being evaluative however. Its purpose is to rank and eliminate candidates for university admission. As the exam eliminates the majority of candidates, the failed students have two options: re-enter the exam the year after or abandon university education altogether, trying to re-direct their lives as young people with a stigma of 'failure'. The TED study thus asked senior high school students what it meant to fail the university entrance exam. The answers were as follows: 36 percent

would take the exam again; 17 percent would feel embarrassed vis-à-vis family and friends; 13 percent stated that such a failure meant *'The end of my life'*, thus revealing a very pessimistic outlook towards the future. Only 16 percent had alternative plans for the coming years. Indeed, what a disaster for young persons 17 or 18 year old to consider that their 'life is coming to an end' or that their family would be embarrassed by their failing such an exam – that is not even evaluative! Moreover, the same research indicates that 55 percent of the students who, in 2004, enrolled in universities had taken the SSE two or three times before passing it. In fact, in the recent past, those students taking the exam for the first time constitute only one-third of the total number of candidates. This means that the accumulation of the students waiting to enter a university has expanded enormously – as Figure 1.4 shows. The number will increase further in coming years – when the impact of the transition from five to eight years of compulsory primary education will permeate the education system as a whole.

As indicated earlier, an exam of so critical an importance for high school students and their families marginalises high school curricula. Reserving a whole year at least to prepare for the SSE makes it impossible for students to improve their ability to express themselves in written Turkish, to enrich their cultural background, or take an interest in music, literature and sports. Social life becomes a luxury! When preparing the SSE, students are considered wasting their time if they show interest in worldly matters, watch films, go to concerts, or, even, read daily newspapers…

As for universities, they are virtually passive audiences in the current selection system. The changes made over the years in the calculation of placement grades and the coefficients applied in the scoring came into force without being discussed with them: they remain silent regarding the issue and simply inform the CHE about the student quota they will accept in a given year. This figure is also subject to review and adjustment

by the CHE, and the institutions have limited freedom to determine the grade types. The most successful students in the exam also have some problems. According to a survey of those ranked among the first 5000 in the natural sciences and math category in 2000 – enrolled the same year in a given university –, 39 percent expressed dissatisfaction with the selected university while 31 percent indicated disappointment with their chosen departments[80]. Should universities be free to experiment common core programmes offered to all, in the first year, and be able to do transfers between departments, would not the students' dissatisfaction rate be reduced? Another measure could be to ease the transfer of students from one university to another. This may help decrease the number of students who retake the exam in order to change department or university.

Education is a cumulative process in human life. If a child cannot learn how to read and understand in the first years of school life and if she/he cannot solve simple arithmetical problems, then she/he will face serious problems in later school and life. The university represents the final step of education for most people. We have to admit that, today, Turkish universities spend time and efforts a) to recuperate the critical deficiencies of pre-university education, and b) to deal with the problematic results of the SSE. The first year at university is nothing but a sort of rehabilitation. A sound university admission system – based on the success rates obtained in secondary education – would save both universities and secondary education from the present defects of the system. Higher education should be systematically integrated with secondary education. However, the most important problem faced at this point is how to evaluate the secondary education success objectively and soundly since the distribution of quality in K12 education, as mentioned in the OECD PISA

[80] "2000-2001 Yerleştirme Sonrası Başarılı Öğrencilerin Tercihleri Araştırması" (Research on the Preferences of Successful Students Following the 2000-2001 Placement). Sabancı University, November 2000.

study referred to above, is very heterogeneous.Today, in many countries and for many years, high school success has been evaluated independently from the individual schools in an objective and sound manner: *Abitur* or the International Bachelor's Degree (IBS) in Germany and Austria are only two examples of performing systems of assessment. Matriculation, which was applied in Turkey for a while and then abandoned in favour of the new 'fashion' of evaluating everything with tests, could be reverted to. Of course, it is clear that the transition to such an evaluation system can be realised only after overcoming the many obstacles related to secondary education. Among the most important is perhaps the gaps in quality that differentiate Turkish high schools – as the OECD-PISA survey clearly indicates. However, the new FOUR YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL education may present opportunities for transition to the *baccalaureate* or a matriculation system. As a result, should the transition be made to such a national matriculation system, a new SSE, as mentioned by Kemal Gürüz in his concluding chapter, could be redesigned to measure 'qualitative, formal and reasoning competencies' on the way to university access.

Any new design of a university admission system should account for the following:

- The number of students at the gates of higher education will not decrease in the near future.
- Faced with this 'massification', especially the most popular universities in terms of student preferences will not feel ready to volunteer for their own admission systems. The load created would simply overwhelm their processing capacities. They might also face charges of corruption in view of the stiff competition for university places.
- The new system should take into account the problems in secondary education that the present SSE creates. The institution of a *matriculation* system might help vindicate those difficulties.
- Having a voice in student admission is an important aspect of university institutional autonomy.

- The transition to a new entrance system should include well-planned stages.
- The outlines of the new system might be as follows:
  - A central matriculation test (CMT) designed to measure success at high school should be instituted.
  - SSE must gradually be redesigned along the lines recommended by Kemal Gürüz in his chapter on recommendations
  - Both the redesigned SSE and the CMT should serve as a base for admission.
  - The weight of the CMT should be lower initially, thus giving time to high schools and the primary and the secondary levels of the national education system to adjust to the CMT. The respective weight for the CMT and SSE may be 20 and 80 percent for the first year of implementation. This relation should be gradually reversed within a span of 10 years.
- At the end of these 10 years, each university should independently decide the weights to be assigned to these two examinations.
- Universities should admit students to groups of programmers and disciplines instead of admitting students to departments.
- The universities themselves should decide the proficiency requirements for the students admitted to programme groups.

10. Vocational Tertiary Education

One of the most important educational problems consists in making vocational education attractive and demanded by students. Currently, the public treats vocational higher education as second-class training: indeed, vocational higher education has a very important image problem. This naturally increases the demand for university education. However, it is impossible to meet the demand for higher education through 4-year undergraduate education only. A structure similar to the 'community college' model in the United States may be adopted. In this system, stu-

dents would either learn a profession in 2 years or prepare to transfer to a 4-year programme by taking more basic and theoretical courses. Such a system should be established since it is not prohibitive and does not raise unnecessary hopes.

The following might be done to meet such an objective:

- The private sector, industry in particular, should be encouraged to set up both secondary and tertiary vocational schools considering that it tends to be more sensitive to market conditions. In this way, the vocational school system could adapt to changing market conditions more easily and have the opportunity to redevelop curricula while evoking innovations in vocational education.
- The vocational higher schools presently affiliated with the universities should have a structure independent from universities.
- Programme development should be flexible enough to take account of changing market conditions.
- To secure market sensitivity, school decision-making structures should be re-arranged.

It will be necessary to revamp the image of vocational education using legal measures and promotion. Particularly the current practice of creating, for political reasons, vocational schools affiliated to the universities in remote parts of Anatolia must be abandoned. It simply leads to poorly staffed institutions whose weak achievements worsen the already poor image of vocational tertiary education. Another measure of support could be to provide certain advantages to the graduates of vocational higher schools in terms of military service.

In addition, to the measures mentioned above – which take for granted the liberalisation of the system, an efficient system of professional accreditation should be established in which representatives of trade and industry should take part.

The recommendations of Kemal Gürüz with respect to establishing a national agency (NUVTE) with regional branches is

supported by the author with only one caveat: NUVTE should be a completely independent agency with no links to the CHE. This autonomy should generate competition within the university system and push NUVTE and the vocational system to strive for innovations allowing to put the vocational system on the map.

All such recommendations must also be seen as elements of Turkey's European policies, thus adding complexity to an already complicated situation…

Figure 3b.1. Percent of the Adults Participating in Lifelong Learning[81]

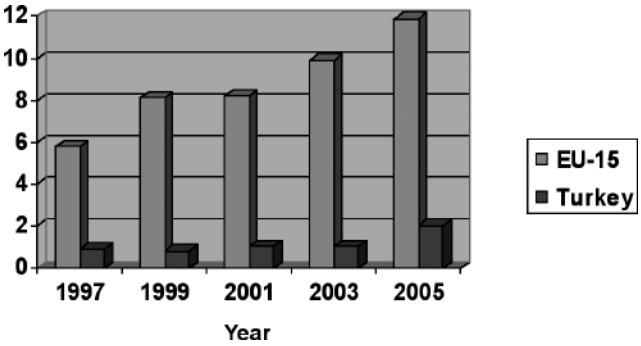
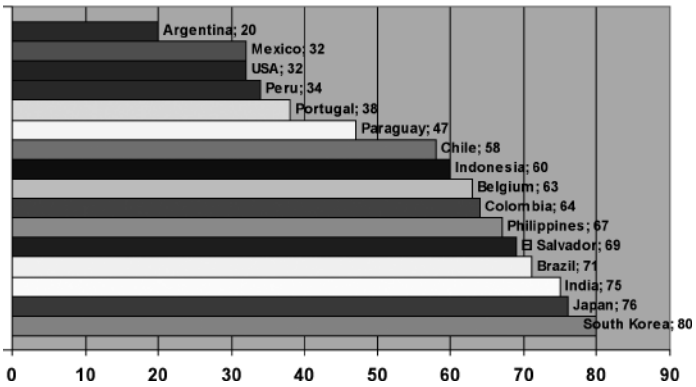


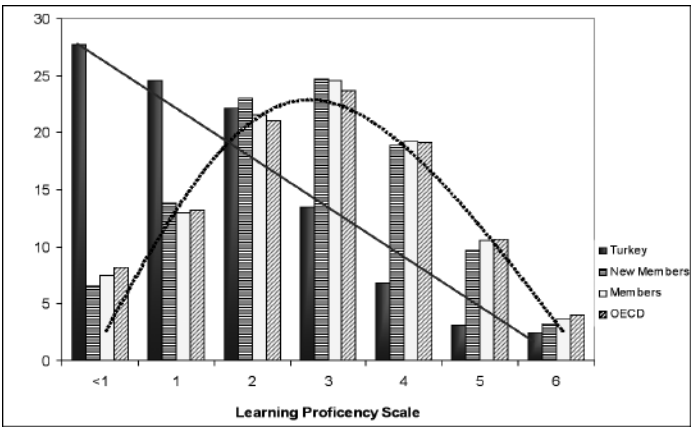
Figure 3(b).2: Number of Students Enrolled in Private Higher Education (Ratio to Total - Percentage) 2002-2004



Source: Perkinson (2005, 4)

[81] From the power point presentation, referred to above, made by Andrew Vorkink.

Figure 3b. 3. Student Performance on OECD's 6-Point Learning Proficiency Scale
(Program of International Student Assessment, --2004)



Source: World Bank (2006).

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