Democratic Consolidation in Poland:

Polish Higher Education as an Instrument of

Democratisation, 1989-1998.

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Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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April 1999

Abstract

The process of democratic consolidation in Poland and the part played by higher education between 1989 - 1998 is examined in this thesis. The author contends that Polish higher education during the 1990s, with assistance of the TEMPUS Programme, is likely to have acted as an agent of 'democratic' political socialisation. Effective participation in the processes of interest articulation which exist in a democratic polity is only possible once individuals have undergone a process of 'democratic' political socialisation. Universities are institutions which facilitate the development of new ideas and values which may then spread to all sectors of society. It is mainly the youth who are educated in universities. I have argued that, historically, higher education has been used as an instrument of political socialisation. Youth, as a sector of society, were particularly targeted by the communist authorities and were recognised as an important tool in communist policy. Political elites in the post-communist era have also recognised that youth can be a vital means of perpetuating the new democratic political culture especially given the rapid expansion in higher education since 1990. This view is reflected, particularly, in the activities of the European Union's TEMPUS Programme which specifically targets young people in higher education. This thesis shows how the politicisation of Polish higher education has continued in the 1990s.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACE	Programme for the improvement of quality in Economics
AWS	Solidarity Election Action
CEE	Central Eastern Europe
CHECTS	The Chemical Credit Transfer System
CHEQUE	Chemical Education Quality Evaluation
DG XXII	Directorate-General XXII
EC	European Communities
ECTS	European Credit Transfer System
ECU	European Currency Unit
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
ERASMUS	European Action Scheme for Mobility of University Students
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HEI(s)	Higher Educational Institution(s)
JEP(s)	Joint European Project(s)
KBN	State Committee for Scientific Research
KRASP	Conference of Rectors of Polish Academic Schools
KRUP	Conference of Rectors of Polish [General] Universities
KRUPT	Conference of Rectors of Polish Technical Universities
MECU	European Currency Unit in millions.

MEN	Polish Ministry of National Education
MJEP(s)	Mobility Joint European Projects
PHARE	Poland and Hungary: Aid for Economic Reconstruction
SJEP(s)	Structural Joint European Project(s)
SLD	Democratic Left Alliance
TACIS	Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States and Georgia
TEMPUS	Trans-European Mobility Programme for University Studies
TUN	TEMPUS Utrecht Network
UFAM	Upgrading Faculty Administration and Management at Polish Chemical Faculties
US	United States
UW	Freedom Union
WSP	Higher School of Pedagogy, Krakow, Poland.
YEX	Youth Exchange

Introduction

The subject of this thesis is the reform of Polish higher education as a part of achieving democratic consolidation in Poland. This thesis contends that Polish higher education during the 1990s, with the assistance of the TEMPUS Programme, is likely to have acted as an agent of 'democratic' political socialisation. Effective participation in the processes of interest articulation which exist in a democratic polity is only possible once individuals have undergone a process of 'democratic' political socialisation (Fiszman, 1972). Before individuals may even begin to contemplate their participation in the various processes of interest articulation that exist within a given democratic state, they must first be aware of their attitudes and feelings towards the political system as well as understand their potential role within that system. Furthermore, higher education is chosen as a case study since it has the potential to make a unique contribution to democratic consolidation in Poland. Universities are institutions designed specifically for the development and spread of new ideas and values. Also, given Poland's approaching accession to the European Union, it is universally acknowledged that a well-educated population is needed to respond to the challenge of European integration.[1] An extensive literature on the relationship between higher education and democracy exists (Almond and Verba, 1963, 1989; Benavot, 1996; and Coleman, 1965).

For the sake of clarity, it is necessary to conceptualise some frequently used terms in the democratic literature that appear in this thesis. Moreover, such terms must also be contextualised with regard to the thesis' subject matter. Among other things, Section 1 examines the concepts of 'democracy', 'democratic consolidation', 'political culture' and 'Europeanisation' while the relationship between levels of education and democracy is analysed in Section

2. The concept of interest articulation and its role in democratic consolidation is introduced in Section 3. The political importance of higher education in Poland during the period 1989-1998 is explored in Section 4 and includes a discussion of Polish higher educational law.

The structure of the higher educational system in Poland is analysed in Section 5 with a discussion of the relevant terminology used throughout the thesis (such as the distinction between the terms 'university' and 'higher educational institution'). An account is given of the number of universities and students participating within Poland's higher educational system. A consideration of the methodologies used in this research and in conducting elite interviews and student questionnaires is given in Section 7. Critical areas in the questionnaire, which examines the political culture and identity of Polish students, are detailed including, among others, students' attitudes towards democracy and the European Union.

1.1 Conceptualising commonly used terms in democratic theory

Several important concepts relevant to theories of democratic consolidation have to be defined before proceeding to an analysis of the role that higher education may play in contributing to the consolidation of democracy in Poland. Concepts under review include: 'democracy'; 'democratic transition'; 'democratic consolidation'; 'political culture'; 'civil society'; and 'Europeanisation'.

'Democracy'

Consistent application of the term 'democracy' as a label to describe certain political regimes has been seriously flawed. Political elites presiding over clearly undemocratic regimes have nevertheless claimed to be leading

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democratic states. Leaders of the Communist states in Central and Eastern Europe[2] and the former Soviet Union, prior to 1989, publicly asserted that their respective states were democracies. The term socialist democracy was often used by these Communist leaders. Throughout this thesis the term 'democracy' is used to refer to 'West European-style' liberal democracy since this is the form of democracy which Poland is in the process of consolidating. This assertion is supported by Paul Lewis' contention that 'democracy' in Central and Eastern Europe has been:

> ...understood in terms of the further enhancement of social autonomy and the strengthening of its association with forces which have pushed back and superseded the state-centred dictatorship of the communist system. Political democracy has been closely linked with the encouragement of market economics and the retreat of the state from the administration of economic processes; liberalism and the principles of free association have taken over from state organisation and the bureaucratic co-ordination of social life (Lewis, 1992: 2).

From Lewis' definition of democracy in Central and Eastern Europe, including Poland, it is clear that democracy in this region is associated with the market economy, and is based upon the West European version of liberal democracy.[3]

An accurate definition of liberal democracy should reflect the fact that under such a regime, people are able to act as autonomous individuals. Also, they should be protected by the rule of law. Continuous accountability of the government to its people is a major feature of any democracy. A democratic government's actions (or lack of action) should be continually scrutinised by opposition members of Parliament, by an active and free media, by non-governmental organisations and other elements of civil society. Citizens should have the opportunity to remove elected officials from office through periodic elections.

Among the countless conceptualisations of democracy[4] which have been offered by political theorists, the one most favoured by the author is Robert Dahl's 'Polyarchy'. This form of democracy is characterised by the existence of seven essential features: (1) elected officials; (2) free and fair elections; (3) inclusive suffrage; (4) right to run for office; (5) freedom of expression; (6) alternative sources of information; and (7) associational autonomy.[5] The last attribute, 'associational autonomy', specifically refers to the necessity of having an active and free civil society in a functioning state in order for it to be regarded as a democracy. Among other things, civil society is composed of independent organisations and interest groups which are able to lobby the government and to hold it accountable.

Dahl has qualified his definition of democracy by stating that the above attributes are necessary but not sufficient for a state to achieve "...the highest feasible attainment of the democratic process..." (Dahl, 1989: 222). In other words, Dahl is arguing that the existence of functioning democratic institutions alone will not allow a state's democracy to become consolidated. Only the additional presence of a democratic political culture would lend stability to the newly-democratised state, making any reversion to authoritarianism extremely unlikely. Dahl has stressed the importance of a democratic political culture:

> A country with a political culture strongly favourable to polyarchy will make its way through crises that would bring about a breakdown of polyarchy in a country with less supportive political culture (Dahl, 1989: 263).

In Poland, all the basic democratic institutions have been in place for several years and since 1991, three fully competitive Parliamentary elections have taken place at regular intervals, in 1991, 1993 and 1997. All of these elections resulted in the alternation of power bringing the major opposition parties into government. Hence, the importance of focusing attention on more informal components of democracy such as political culture and civil society. Any

definition of democracy which neglects to mention that a democratic political culture and an independent civil society are essential elements of a democratic state is deficient. Moreover, although Poland is adopting a 'West European' version of liberal democracy, Polish liberal democracy will be simultaneously European and Polish. No two (liberal) democracies are identical. Every democracy is influenced by the historical experiences of the specific state in which it is functioning. Polish democracy will not prove to be an exception to this rule. It is important to remember that although democracy in Poland may have a specific Polish character, it cannot differ in fundamentals from Western liberal democracies. As Wnuk-Lipinski succinctly put it, "democracy cannot be reinvented" (Wnuk-Lipinski Interview, 1998).

'Democratisation'

References to 'democratisation' by the author refer to the entire process of regime change in Poland, including both the 'democratic transition' and 'democratic consolidation' phases (Pridham and Lewis, 1996: 2). Thus, democratisation, and therefore the transition period, began in Poland when the Communist government was still in power. It is not the purpose of this thesis to identify the key aspects apparent when Poland embarked upon its road to democracy. It is possible to offer arguments in support of the democratisation phase of post-war Poland beginning in the aftermath of the Communist state's violent suppression of striking workers in 1976 when the green shoots of civil society began to appear in the form of illegal organisations such as KOR. Likewise, arguments contending that Polish democratisation did not begin until summer 1980 with the birth of the mass Solidarity trade union / movement or until the Round Table negotiations of 1989 can also be offered.[6] This thesis is more concerned with discerning the end of the democratisation phase, and hence the end of the period of democratic consolidation.

'Democratic transition'

Defining 'democratic transition' has also proved to be problematic for scholars for similar reasons. Problems arise because it is not always clear when the transition to democracy began and when it ended. It is argued that democratic transition should refer "...to a stage that is obviously decisive" (Pridham and Lewis, 1996: 2).

> [A democratic transition] commences when a previous totalitarian or authoritarian system begins to collapse or disintegrate leading to a situation when, with a new constitution in place, the democratic structures begin to become routinised and the political elites adjust their behaviour to liberal democratic practices. Transition tasks involve, above all, negotiating the constitutional settlement and the rules of procedure for political competition, but also dismantling authoritarian agencies and abolishing laws unsuitable for democratic politics (Pridham and Lewis, 1996: 2).

Completion of the democratic transition process occurs once the formal institutions and mechanisms necessary for a functioning democratic state have replaced the previous authoritarian structures and the elites have agreed to abide by the rule of law which protects open political competition. Only once the democratic transition has been completed can the nascent democracy begin its process of consolidation. A similar conceptualisation of 'democratic transition' to that of Pridham and Lewis (1996) is offered by Linz and Stepan:

> A democratic transition is complete when sufficient agreement has been reached about political procedures to produce an elected government, when a government comes to power that is the direct result of a free and popular vote, when this government *de facto* has the authority to generate new policies, and when the executive, legislative and judicial power generated by the new democracy does not have to share power with other bodies *de jure* (Linz and Stepan, 1996: 3).

Application of both definitions of democratic transition (which are for all intents and purposes, identical) to the Polish experience leads the author to conclude that the end of the transition period was only achieved in October 1991 with the first fully competitive elections to both houses of the Polish

Parliament.[7] Arguably, completion of the Polish transition to democracy could have been later still, since the Polish Communists and their allies retained control of the lower house until December 1991 when the new 'Solidarity' government was formed. According to both Pridham and Lewis (1996) and Linz and Stepan (1996), the transition to democracy can only be completed once all the authoritarian agencies have been dismantled and the pro-democratic forces no longer have to share power with authoritarian figures with strong associations with the previous authoritarian regime. Clearly, this was not achieved in Poland until the end of 1991. Furthermore, it may be claimed (although the author does not favour this assertion) that the democratic consolidation process only began in summer 1997 when the new Polish constitution became law.[8] Only then could the process of democratic consolidation begin. Marody has argued that the 'transition' approach to regime change in Poland fails to explain present developments since it "...focuses on an ideal future and neglects the present" (Marody, 1997: 13).

'Democratic consolidation'

Linz and Stepan's definition of democratic consolidation is instructive since it highlights the conceptual complexity of the term in question. They have argued that it combines behavioural, attitudinal and constitutional dimensions (Linz and Stepan, 1996: 5-7). Moreover, they state that in order for a consolidated democracy to exist it must "...have in place five interacting arenas to reinforce one another" as well as an additional factor - it needs to be a functioning state. These five interacting arenas are: an independent and active civil society; a relatively autonomous political society[9]; observance and upholding of the rule of law by all relevant actors; an efficient state bureaucracy that will implement the democratic government's new laws; and an institutionalised economic society.[10] All of these arenas must exist or be crafted if democracy in a functioning state is to be consolidated.[11]

Democratic consolidation is achieved when it would be virtually unthinkable that a functioning state's democracy may fail and be replaced by authoritarian/totalitarian forces. When the chances of that happening are extremely remote then the democracy has been consolidated. In other words, when all actors agree that there is no alternative to democracy.[12]

Pridham and Lewis' definition of democratic consolidation also focuses on the importance of the existence of a democratic political culture. They state that "...it involves the full rooting of the new democracy, the internalisation of its rules and procedures and the dissemination of democratic values" (Pridham and Lewis, 1996: 2). In other words, a democracy is only consolidated when it is viewed by both the elites and society as being the only acceptable form of government. Democratic procedures, including channels of interest articulation, must be open to everyone. Nurturing a democratic political culture within society and among the elites is, arguably, one of the most important aspects of democratic consolidation. This aspect of democratic consolidation is explored, in a limited form, in the analysis of the political culture of three groups of Polish students from Krakow, as well as the process of interest articulation within the Polish academic community.

Many prominent political scientists accept that the formal criteria of democratic consolidation has been met in Poland (Taras, 1995: 254; Lewis, 1998: 23). These formal criteria consist, among other things, of holding at least two consecutive elections which have resulted in the replacement of at least one government by the main opposition party and hence, an alternation of power.[13] Taras (1995: 2) has argued that as well as meeting procedural criteria, a consolidated democracy must pass the legitimacy test which determines whether or not, its rules and constraints are accepted by "...all politically significant groups". Concentration on the 'informal aspects' of democratic consolidation, such as the existence of a democratic political culture, and an

active civil society able to utilise channels of interest articulation to promote the interests of the various groups of which it is composed, is, therefore, merited. Evidence proving the existence of these informal dimensions means that Polish democracy has been consolidated.

Even consolidated democracies may face crises which may threaten the existence of democratic government. Agh is of a similar opinion for he has noted that:

> Consolidated democracies continually face new crisis situations and oppressed democracies can restart their democratisation process if international factors turn favourable in the everchanging world system [Huntington, 1991] (Agh, 1998: 10).

The role of the European Union (EU) in promoting democratic establishment in Poland is, therefore, crucial. As a major actor in that region, the EU has the capacity to act as force for stability and democratisation (McManus, 1998).

1.2 'Political culture'

Reaching an agreed definition of political culture[14] has to date not been possible. Controversy surrounds the concept of political culture because some theorists argue that the concept should be restricted to "...subjective orientations to the political system" while other theorists believe that political culture should also "...include overt political behaviour" (Brown, 1984: 1-12). In other words, general agreement exists with regard to the fact that, at the very least, political culture refers to attitudes, perceptions and values while disagreement arises because some political theorists argue that it should also include political behaviour.[15] It is not necessary, however, to address the controversy of whether definitions of political culture should include political

behaviour. Instead it only needs to be pointed out that it is clear that political culture is shaped to some extent by higher education. The process by which citizens acquire their values and attitudes is known as political socialisation (Kavanagh, 1972: 28-69).

Definitions of Polish political culture emphasise "the sense and tradition of community belonging" and not only public participation (Szajkowski, 1997: 157). Attachment to community is a deeply imbued part of Poles' political culture much more so than it is in Western Europe. This attachment to the community is often manifest by distrust or rejection of the state and its institutions. The specific nature of Polish political culture is examined in this thesis.[16]

Agh has stated that a democratic political culture is not a precondition for democratisation but will only emerge at the end of the system transformation.[17] In other words, the development of a 'democratic' political culture signals that democracy in a given state has become fully consolidated. During the consolidation phase, political culture plays the decisive role in nurturing democratic values and traditions (Agh, 1994: 29; Agh, 1996: 127-145). Other political theorists have also recognised the importance of having a political culture that supports democratic government:

> A democratic form of participatory political system requires as well a political culture consistent with it (Almond and Verba, 1963, 1989: 3)

Democracy will not survive for long without the existence of a dominant democratic political culture which will support it through any crises which may arise.

One way in which universities are able to nurture a 'democratic' political culture is through the dissemination of their research results and by public

debate (Kwiatkowski, 1990: 394). Close contacts with institutions of higher education in Western Europe especially but also in other areas of the world contributes to the 'democratisation' of the Polish higher educational system by promoting the spread of new and different ideas and practices. Dissemination of these new methods by Polish universities[18] to all areas of Polish society encourages the spread of democratic practices within Poland. This argument from John Henry Newman reinforces this:

> [A University] is a place of *teaching* universal *knowledge*. This implies that its object is, on the one hand, intellectual, not moral; and, on the other, that it is the diffusion and extension of knowledge rather than the advancement (Newman, [1852] 1976: 5, Preface).

Elsewhere in his discourses on the nature of a university, Newman repeats that "A University...by its very name professes to teach universal knowledge" (Newman, [1852] 1976: 33, Discourse II). Furthermore, Rousseau believed that education shaped an entire nation's political culture:

> It is education that must give souls a national formation, and direct their opinions and tastes in such a way that they will be patriotic by inclination, by passion, by necessity (Rousseau [1772] 1953: 176).

The idea that education has shaped the political culture of Poles[19] is explored in Chapter One which demonstrates how over the centuries in Poland, higher education has been used as an instrument of state policy in order to reshape the political culture of society. Youth were singled out to be a target of political socialisation since the state authorities recognised that the potential for the reproduction of a state-sponsored political culture was greatest among this section of society. Young people in contemporary Polish society are "....less encumbered by the weight of previous socialisation" under the Communist system than are older generations (Wallace and Kovatcheva, 1998: 186).[20] Hence, the reason why youth are usually the main targets of political

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socialisation. An analysis of the political culture of a specific sub-sector of Polish youth, students, is undertaken in Chapter Four. This analysis found that the vast majority of educated, young Poles possessed democratic oriented values and regarded themselves as being European. Political elites in the post-communist era have also recognised that youth can be a vital means of perpetuating the new democratic political culture (Slomczynski and Shabad, 1997: 44). Universities are places where the internalisation and reproduction of democratic values may take place, as well as places for generating new ideas (Wallace and Kovatcheva, 1998: 41). This is reflected particularly by the Polish government's support of the activities of the European Union's TEMPUS Programme which specifically targets young people in higher education. Chapters Five to Six reveal how the activities of TEMPUS have contributed to the 'Europeanisation', and hence the reshaping of students' political cultures, of Polish higher education. By nurturing new 'democratic' ideas and values gained from the TEMPUS experience and from a multiplicity of other sources, universities may act as an integrative force by strengthening their links with organisations and institutions in the external environment, thus, promoting the spread and acceptance of these new ideas and values amongst Polish society.

1.3 'Civil Society'

The author's interest in the concept of civil society arises from the belief that it is an essential feature of a consolidated democracy (see Section 1.2), since it facilitates the articulation of interests from below. 'Civil society' is an essentially contested concept and its meaning has changed over the years.[21] Indeed, Pelczynski (1988: 363) has commented that "few social and political concepts have travelled so far in their life and changed their meaning so much". Civil or political society was at one time synonymous with the state (Keane, 1988). The perception that civil society is the antithesis of the state is a

relatively recent one dating back to the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Keane, 1988: 35-71). Some political analysts have argued that civil society should not be understood as being opposed to the state but rather, the state may encourage the growth of a civil society (Lewis, 1992: 1-15). The author believes that civil society is independent of but attached to the state through converging and diverging interests; and through the legal system. In short, civil society is composed of autonomous institutions, individuals and organisations such as universities, intelligentsia, trade unions, religious associations, political groups, a 'free' media, business and economic associations.

According to the ideology of the Polish opposition, the concept of civil society involved the juxtaposition of society against the state. Protection and promotion of the autonomy of social life against the encroaching Communist state was the practical definition of civil society which was put into practice during the 1970s and 1980s. This indicated that the original aim of the Polish opposition was not to achieve the democratisation of the entire Polish state but only the democratisation of certain spheres of economic and social life. The Communist state had to be persuaded to relinquish its control over those institutions and forms of organisation which lay outside traditional political institutions. Self-limitation governed the Polish opposition's conceptualisation of civil society since it did not seek to challenge the leading role of the Communist Party.[22] This fact further emphasised their belief that civil society was the antithesis of the state (Cohen and Arato, 1992: 31-36).

Morawski (1992) has suggested that Poland's emergent civil society under Communism may be traced back to the 1976 crisis in Poland when the Communist government violently suppressed striking workers. Shortly afterwards, the Committee for Workers' Defence (KOR), the Society for Academic Courses (the Flying University), and also students' solidarity committees were formed (Morawski, 1992: 95). Society was beginning to act as

a pressure for reform on the Communist state by organising itself independently of the various associations and state organs controlled by the Communist Party. This nascent civil society reached maturity with the birth of Solidarity in August 1980. According to Morawski,

> ...Solidarity was created in opposition to the official trade unions, which were part of the 'transmission belt' structure, which reduced the industrial democracy institutions to passing down decisions from the top to the bottom and not articulating and representing the interests and values of the bottom to the top (Morawski, 1992: 95).

Following the declaration of Martial Law on 13 December 1981 and the outlawing of the Solidarity Movement, Polish civil society seemed to be mortally wounded. Since then it has made a gradual recovery and by 1988/89 that recovery seemed complete as a wave of fresh strikes and protests against the Communist state spread throughout Poland, forcing the historic Round Table negotiations. Concern about the relative health of Polish civil society has, again, surfaced during the post-communist era as Poland attempts to consolidate its new democracy. There is a widespread recognition that although civil society may flourish without democracy, as it did from summer 1980 until the declaration of Martial Law, democracy cannot exist without civil society. In this latter situation, there would be "insufficient checks on state power" and too few institutional mechanisms "to channel interests into the policy-making process" (Henderson and Robinson, 1997:8). Pluralisation is encapsulated in the notion of civil society which encompasses diverse groups, organisations, and interests. The social and cultural pluralisation inherent in civil society is needed to encourage and perpetuate political pluralism. This point is derived from Hankiss' (1990) account of the development of civil society in Hungary. Further evidence, therefore, of the necessity of having an active civil society in order to consolidate democracy.

1.4 Europeanisation/European Identity

The concept of Europeanisation and what it means to possess a European identity have stimulated a great deal of debate and many efforts to define them. Europeanisation is an essentially contested concept and agreement as to what is meant by the term amongst political theorists has proven elusive, so far. A single European identity or culture does not exist. A general observation of today's realities indicate that even within the European Union (EU) (which is only composed of 15 European states out of a possible total of 55 European states) there are many diverse nations. Each of these nations has its own specific culture and identity so in this sense there cannot be a single European culture and identity.[23]

Attempts have, nevertheless, been made to construct a working definition of Europeanisation. Wintle has argued that there may not be a single European culture but that there is a single "shared heritage" and that the "European experience...is a long history of shared influences and experiences, a heritage which has not touched all parts of Europe or all Europeans equally..." (Wintle, 1996:13). According to Wintle:

> Denys Hay, has established the virtual identity (in terms of sameness)
> of the terms "Europe" and "Christendom" for more than two hundred
> years from the end of the thirteenth century. (Wintle, 1996):14).

This may be so, but it is necessary to determine the relevance of a European identity for contemporary Europe. The European Union, itself, is arguably the culmination of attempts by Member States' elites to impose a European culture and identity on their citizens.

> Education standards and syllabi are creeping slowly towards
> convergence, and the EU higher education policies have been an

outstanding success in creating a European consciousness; the Socrates
programme is likely to further that even more (Wintle, 1996:20).

Furthermore, the European Commission has stated that: "The unity of European culture as revealed by the history of regional and national cultural diversity is the keystone of the ambitious construction which aims at the European Union" (European Commission, *A Fresh Boost for Culture in the EC*, 1988). The difficulties in comprehending a single European culture are apparent when countries with cultural diversity are present within the EU. Therefore, a single European identity can only exist if it is accepted that identity is a multifaceted phenomenon (Eatwell, 1997: 236). Furthermore, it is commonly held that there is a distinct Central European identity as opposed to a European or an East European identity (Willis, 1996: 149). The results of the questionnaire carried out by the author at three universities in Krakow during the academic year 1997/8 indicated that most Polish students possessed a European identity as well as a Polish one.

2 Analysing the relationship between education and democracy

There is a vast range of literature, produced by both political scientists and educational theorists, which attempts to define the relationship between 'democratisation' and 'education'.[24] Education during the Communist era in Poland "...was considered [to be] an important vehicle of political socialization, a means of widening social opportunity, and a way to provide skills to supply a labour force" (Holly, 1994: 227).

Polish scholars have used empirical methods to establish the importance of education for the consolidation of democracy. A group of Warsaw-based

academics[25] defined two groups of respondents upon the basis of their answers to a question about perceived opportunities under the contemporary Polish political system: "winners" and "losers". They found that respondents who had received a higher education were three times more likely than other groups in the sample to belong to the category of "winners". Higher education was, thus, the "best correlate of belonging to the category of winners." (Marody, 1994: 19). The survey also found that "losers" (i.e. people who had not adjusted to the new post-communist political system) were more likely to perceive relations between people at different levels in the social structure in terms of class conflict while those more adjusted favoured solutions which stressed individual responsibility. Two different patterns of perceiving social reality were found to exist. These different patterns coincided with two sets of different attitudes towards political solutions.

> Unadjusted people significantly more often are apt to accept populist-authoritarian measures, whereas adjusted people significantly more often call for solutions of a liberal character (Marody, 1994: 21).

Implicitly, these findings suggest that people who possess higher education are more likely to support liberal democratic government even during difficult times than those who have had a lower level of education. Adjusted people are more likely to support liberal solutions to any crisis in which the government finds itself while unadjusted people tend to favour more populist-authoritarian solutions. People possessing higher education are more likely to belong to the adjusted category. Accordingly, experience of higher education is directly related to support for democratic government.

Siemienska reminds us of Sartori's argument that an essential characteristic of democracy is the legitimisation of authority by the ruling institutions. She also observes that both Lipset and Huntingdon believed that a government's legitimation depended upon its effectiveness in making decisions and

implementing policies. Even the most democratic of governments may lose their legitimacy if they are deemed to be ineffective especially with regard to economic policy (Siemienska, 1997: 462). Another survey (Lipset *et al*, 1993) concluded that:

> ...the influence of economic growth does not automatically cause the formation of pluralist systems (one of the constitutive characteristics of democracy), but raising the living standards of citizens and their level of education forms the basis for the creation and functioning of democratic structures and increases the probability that the efforts aimed at forming democracy will be institutionalised and will attain social legitimation (Siemienska, 1997: 462).

Taken to their logical conclusions, these arguments indicate that a high level of education contributes to democratic consolidation because highly educated people are likely to be more effective at implementing the economic policies of a newly established democratic government than those people with little formal education. Successful implementation of government economic policies will reinforce that government's legitimacy in the minds of its citizens since effective (economic) governance is a key determinant of a government's legitimation which in turn is one of the basic features of democratic government.

Many past surveys have established a relationship between the level of education and democracy. A survey conducted by a Polish academic established that highly educated people were likely to be more politically active than people with only an elementary level of education (Pelczynska-Nalecz, 1997: 285-302).[26] Political participation was grouped into two main categories: protesters and voters. The first category included democratically sanctioned forms of protest such as participating in demonstrations, strikes, putting up posters or collecting signatures while the second analysed voting participation in both parliamentary and local elections. In both of these categories, it was found that university educated people were more likely to be political participants than

people possessing only a secondary or technical education, or a primary education. Both forms of political participation are necessary for legitimate democratic government and form the bridge between that government and civil society.

One of the most recent seminal articles on the relationship between education and political democratisation sought to focus on the impact of education on democratisation (Benavot, 1996). Benavot raised a crucial observation: namely, that very few cross-national studies have analysed the relationship between education and democracy despite the obvious importance of education as a determinant of democracy. He argued that comparative studies which fail to include educational factors may be fundamentally flawed and he cited the Bollen and Jackson (1985) study on former British colonies to support his argument:

> ....Bollen and Jackson report that former British colonies have a higher likelihood of establishing democratic regimes (c.a. 1960-1965) than the ex-colonies of other European powers. They argue that the British authorities did more to prepare their colonies for independence (e.g. employing indirect rule, training an indigenous civil service) than did Belgian, Dutch, French, Portuguese, or Spanish colonial officials. What they fail to mention is that this preparation often occurred, especially before the Second World War, through the expansion of missionary and government-aided elementary and secondary schools. It has been estimated that primary enrolment rates in British colonies were four to five times higher than those in the other European colonies before 1940. This leads to the proposition that the spread of mass schooling, rather than being a British colony per se, more accurately explains the emergence of democratic regimes in certain former colonies. ....the previous emphasis on democracy's economic determinants may be misplaced (Benavot, 1996:383-384).

Education was the primary factor in determining whether or not, colonial societies could develop independent democratic regimes. Furthermore, Benavot stated that institutional theories of education and democracy best explain how higher education may contribute to democratic consolidation.

Institutional theories stress the role of higher education as opposed to mass education in promoting democracy. As well as viewing higher education as an agent of political socialisation, institutional theories emphasise "macrosocial ways that educational institutions contribute to the construction of new categories of social value and new sources of political power" (Benavot, 1996: 402). Two major ways in which HEIs may contribute to the construction and legitimisation of such new categories is by developing rationales for political action and through the expansion of social arenas in which political authority may be exercised (Benavot, 1996).

Democracy has many facets and it is not possible to explore all of them within the limits of this thesis.[27] It would be naive to assume that all parts of Polish political and economic life and Polish society would undergo the process of democratisation at the same speed. An examination of the extent of democratisation which the Polish higher educational system has undergone is undertaken in this chapter. A brief restatement of the reasons for focusing on the Polish higher educational system is namely that a consolidated democracy must be firmly established at the grassroots level as well as at the level of government. Students in higher education are the future elite (government and business leaders) but in addition they are also the future teachers who will reinforce democratic values for Polish youth in secondary and tertiary education.

3 Political Socialisation and Interest Articulation

This thesis contends that Polish higher education during the 1990s is likely to have acted as an agent of 'democratic' political socialisation. The existence of open channels of interest articulation within a society that has not undergone a process of 'democratic' political socialisation inhibits the full consolidation of

democracy. Before individuals may even begin to contemplate their participation in the various processes of interest articulation that exist within a given democratic state, they must first be aware of their attitudes and feelings towards the political system as well as understand their potential role within that system. That is to say, they must have acquired values and attitudes that will support democratic government and have the potential to make a positive contribution to the democratic system of government.

According to Coleman (1965) the concept of political socialisation:

> refers to that process by which individuals acquire attitudes and feelings toward the political system and toward their role in it, including cognition (what one knows or believes about the system, its existence as well as it *modus operandi*), feeling (how one feels towards the system, including loyalty and a sense of civic obligation), and one's sense of political competence (what one's role is or can be in the system) (Coleman, 1965: 18).

Individuals must be socialised into becoming effective actors within the interest articulation processes of a given democratic state. Fiszman's (1972) linkage of political socialisation to occupational efficiency echoes the main premise of this thesis which stresses that 'democratically' socialised individuals are able to engage more effectively in interest articulation within a democratic state than those individuals who have not undergone such socialisation.

Almond and Verba's study of the relationship between political culture and the level of education revealed that educational attainment was the most influential demographic variable in shaping political attitudes. Very large differences were found in the political attitudes of those with relatively little education. Relatively small differences were found in the political attitudes of those possessing higher education despite the fact that this survey was conducted across five nations with widely varying political histories and contemporary political situations, together with very different educational and social systems.

They found that higher education tends to reduce national differences (Almond and Verba, 1963,1989: 315-324).

The higher educational system is only one of a number of agencies which may act as a socialising agent. It is not possible to establish more firmly the relationship between higher education and democracy given the existence of other factors which may shape political attitudes (for example, family, Church, and the international environment). Other socialising experiences may negate or reinforce higher education's influence in promoting democratic values. Generally, it would be too simplistic to assume that there is always a unilinear and positive relationship between higher education and democratic political orientation. In this thesis, the author has argued that given the nature of the higher educational reforms in the 1990s specifically the introduction of courses on European Studies then it is more than likely that higher education has contributed to the growth of democratic political orientations amongst the academic community.

The thesis' main argument focuses upon the relationship between higher education and democratisation, specifically Polish higher education's role as an agent of political socialisation. Given that 'democratically' socialised individuals are able to engage more effectively in interest articulation within a democratic state than those individuals who have not undergone such socialisation, the author is concerned that the existence of open channels of interest articulation within the Polish higher educational policy-making sector should not be taken for granted. An extensive examination of the interest articulation process within Polish higher education is, therefore, merited.

Dahl's *Polyarchy* forms part of the theoretical framework upon which this thesis is based. He stated that one of the characteristics of a democratic political system is that it should be completely or almost completely responsive to all its

citizens. He goes on to argue that in order for a government to be responsive to its citizens' preferences, all citizens must have unimpaired opportunities to articulate those preferences. The articulation of preferences or interests is, therefore, one of the defining features that distinguishes democratic states from undemocratic states. Apart from having open channels of interest articulation, a consolidated democracy must also have a democratic political culture. Communist societies were distinguished from Western democratic societies by the fact that channels of interest articulation in the former were severely restricted and dominated by the vertical top-down model of interest articulation. According to the theory of Democratic Centralism, democracy flows upwards from elected Party cells in workplaces, schools and so on to higher Party organisations and ultimately to the central Party leadership. After being considered by ministers, democracy flows back down to the workplace and schools as their articulated interests have been transformed into government policy. In Communist societies, this was never a reality but only a rhetorical device to explain inner-Party democracy in a single Party State. Candidates for serving on Party committees had to be approved by Party secretaries and departments thereby limiting the choice of candidates. No mechanism was in place to allow decisions by the central Party leadership to be questioned. Individuals and party members had to accept decisions from above (Lewis, 1994b: 86 and 147-148; Henderson and Robinson, 1997: 8-15). This thesis examines Poland's progress towards democratic consolidation by examining the prevailing model of interest articulation within a specific Government policy area. A case study was chosen since it was not possible to examine all areas of the Polish government's policy-making process within the limits of this thesis (Dahl, 1971: 2-3).

More recently, other political theorists such as Agh (1997), Hausner (1996) and Szklarski (1997) have argued that democratic political systems should be representative of all citizens. It would be wrong to assume that once

representative democracy is up-and-running that it is functioning correctly.
Democracy's performance must be assessed partly in terms of whether relevant
actors within a given state have the freedom and opportunity to articulate their
interests; and the extent to which interest articulation is successful. These
criteria are applied to the case study of Polish higher education presented in this
thesis namely: do the main actors in higher education have the opportunity to
have their interests adequately represented within the Polish government's
decision-making structure through the various institutions and channels of
interest articulation which exist? Chapter Three found that there were many
ways in which the academic community could articulate certain interests. The
degree of openness of channels of articulation depended upon the issue which
was being articulated. Articulated interests dealing with financial issues stood
very little chance of shaping government policy but the academic community
could be influential at transforming interests in legislative areas into
government policy. Despite the relative openness of many interest articulation
processes, several constraints were found to be inhibiting successful interest
articulation. Among the most debilitating of these constraints was the excessive
pluralism of the academic community.

Four main dimensions to the interest articulation process were identified by
Szklarski: (1) the contents of articulation; (2) the direction of articulation; (3)
the forms of articulation; (4) and the target of articulation. The author of this
thesis has added a fifth dimension which examines the effectiveness of interest
articulation. Perhaps the most important of these dimensions is the first
dimension which refers to the types and scope of political interests. In the other
words the following important question is being posed: namely, what interests
are being articulated? No examination of processes of interest articulation
within a given policy-making sector is possible without first establishing that
actors within that sector do possess certain interests and determining the nature
of those interests. In Chapter Three, Szklarski's articulation process model is

applied to the Polish higher educational sector during the 1990s. It was found that the academic community possesses diverse interests and that academics, even from the same section of the academic community (for example, Professors), frequently have opposing interests. Higher education in post-communist Poland is characterised by the excessive pluralism of interests.

Application of the Szklarski's conceptual framework to the system of Polish higher education is a measure of its democratic representativeness; or in other words, it facilitates an assessment of the extent to which Poland's higher education system has been democratised and whether the main actors within this system are able to alert, fully, the government to their interests through the mechanisms and institutions of the higher educational establishment. Questions raised involve the extent to which government decision-makers are responsive to public demand in their formulation of educational policy. As a corollary, it is necessary to determine whether immature interest articulation is a feature of the higher educational system as this would most certainly hinder the government's job of representing the educational issues which need to be addressed. Enterprising groups of academics were found to be capable of interest articulation (see Chapters Six and Seven) but trade unions representing higher education teachers exhibited immature articulation traits. The implementation of higher educational reform occupies a good deal of the discussion in this thesis mainly concentrating on whether successive Polish governments have been able to enlist the support of the crucial interest groups during the reform process.

The effective evaluation of educational policy programmes by political decision-makers and willingness to redress existing deficiencies in policy is crucial to the avoidance of a 'legitimisation crisis'. According to Agh's conceptual framework this 'legitimisation crisis' is manifested when:

the groups of intellectuals as idea producers and the independent policy institutes as policy entrepreneurs are activised to delegitimise politics. They point out the deficits of policy-making and/or the crisis in representation as a divergence of parties' actions from their own programmes and sets of values (Agh, 1997:19).

The Polish higher education system is often criticised for having democratised too far that is, central government has minimal control and universities are now largely autonomous.

The 'Europeanisation paradox' articulated by Agh stresses the lukewarm support of the political elite for European integration and the accompanying scepticism and at times, hostility of meso-level political actors towards the idea of European integration. Uncharacteristically, the meso-level (grass-roots actors) in the educational sector as opposed to most other sectors are overwhelmingly in favour of European integration. Additionally, since education takes place at the grass-roots level, support for the EU will be generated at the grass-roots rather than is the case with other sectors where the thrust for European integration has to come from above. Agh has argued that:

We can cope with the increasing Europeanisation paradox only by really "socialising" the Europeanisation through the ECE parliaments and their committees, since no unity can be created in this issue by any government pressure or by any state centralisation of Europeanisation (Agh, 1997:31).

Arguably, the contention that the socialisation of Europeanisation is more effectively achieved through the Polish higher educational system seems to hold greater weight, since Members of Parliament arguably constitute an elite. All of these dimensions of interest articulation may be applied to the democratisation of the Polish higher education system by asking the following questions:

(1) Have universities regained their identity and autonomy in post-communist Poland?

(2) To what extent can educational interest groups (universities, lecturers, students, administrators) use the institutions of the Polish higher educational system to gain effective representation at central government level?[28]

(3) Are the ideals of liberal democracy espoused by successive post-communist Polish governments being reinforced at the so-called pre-political level such as in university teaching?

Replies to all of these questions may be found in the thesis. Firstly, it is clear that universities have regained their autonomy although there is a widespread feeling among the academic community that universities now have too much autonomy. This means that it is much more difficult for reforms to be implemented, either at the national level or university level, since not only universities but faculties and institutes within universities now have a great deal of autonomy and reforms cannot be implemented without their agreement. The excessive autonomy of faculties and institutes means that some universities may lack a strategic identity, or may make the formation of such an identity more difficult. Secondly, effective representation at the national level is available to the academic community through formal institutions such as the General Council for Higher Education, the State Committee for Scientific Research,[29] and through institutions with no formal legal status such as the Conference of Rectors of Polish Academic Schools. Trade unions representing academic staff do exist but these have not been effective at articulating their interests (Bialecki, Przybysz and Wnuk-Lipinski Interviews, 1998). Thirdly, it is clear that the ideals of liberal democracy espoused by successive post-communist Polish governments are being reinforced at the so-called pre-political level, as in university teaching. The teaching of European Studies either as a course or module at Polish institutions of higher education reflects the Polish Government's espousal of liberal democracy. The Europeanisation of higher education in the nineties marks the second politicisation of Polish higher education in the post-Second World War period. Also, the rapid growth of courses such as marketing, finance, business administration and management

that are necessary for the successful functioning of a market economy in a liberal democracy is further evidence of the liberal ideology of the Government being reflected in higher education. Furthermore, the swift development of non-state schools of higher education[30] after 1990 reflects the rapid expansion of Poland's competitive market economy.

Given that effective interest representation is held to be one of the hallmarks of a consolidated democracy then an examination of the extent of democratisation of one extremely important sphere of Polish society, higher education, helps to facilitate the determination of whether a fully consolidated democracy will become a permanent feature of Polish political life. The existence of open channels of interest articulation should not be taken for granted. Once it has been established that such channels of articulation do in fact exist, it is necessary to determine whether participants in the political system possess 'democratic' attitudes and values. Individuals must become socialised into being effective actors within the interest articulation processes of the democratic polity. Only such 'democratically' socialised individuals are able to determine what their interests are and the most effective way of representing those interests to the Government. The main argument of this thesis states that in Poland during the 1990s, higher education is likely to have been one of the most effective agents of 'democratic' political socialisation. The reinforcing effect of the democratisation of the attitudes and values of the academic community suggests that it would facilitate the spread of democratic practices, mainly via students, to many and various areas of Polish life and would augur well for the permanence of democratic consolidation in Poland. At the very least, this examination of the degree to which higher education has been democratised should prove to be a useful addition to existing knowledge relating to the level of democratisation of other sectors of Polish society and a valuable source against which further democratisation in other spheres, including higher education, may be measured.

4 The political context of higher education in Poland

In order to appreciate the influence of political culture upon the democratisation of the Polish higher educational system and Polish society at large, some knowledge of the historical development of not only Polish higher education but also of the concept of democracy in Poland are necessary prerequisites. A brief overview of the historical and political background against which the reforms in Polish higher education were taking place during the period 1989-1998 is examined in this section.

Out of all the states that came under Soviet control at the end of the Second World War, Poland was the one in which the Soviets found it hardest to introduce Communism. According to one political analyst, the difficulties of imposing the Soviet model of Communism on Poland were attributed by Soviet leaders in the 1950s to Poland's "...noble and romantic traditions" (Kurczewska, 1995: 40). Stalin, himself, was quoted as saying, "...introducing Communism into Poland was 'like fitting a cow with a saddle'" (Davies, 1982a: 3). Poland's rather tenuous democratic traditions dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have yet to be fully reconciled with Western notions of 'liberal' democracy. The Polish Constitution of 3rd May 1791 was the first written, modern constitution in Europe and second in the world after the American Constitution of 1789. "The citizens of the towns were to enjoy the same rights and privileges as the noble citizens of the Republic. The peasantry were to enjoy 'the protection of the law and government of the country'" (Davies, 1982a: 534). Among other things, the Constitution of 3rd May expanded the concept of citizenship to include not only the nobility but everyone living in the Polish-Lithuanian Republic even if they were not of Polish origin. It is argued that the Partitions shaped the way that Poles came to conceptualise 'democracy' (Kurczewska, 1995: 44-45) in that the two concepts of 'democracy' and 'nation' became merged. Furthermore, 'democracy' came

to embody macro-social visions. The absence of state sovereignty also alienated Polish society from the state and "...facilitated a dichotomization of democracy and state which deprived the former of its rational-legal contents and detached it from formal structures and procedures. This in turn led to the marginalisation of the problems of citizenship and the citizen-state relationship" (Kurczewska, 1995: 44-45).

5 Structure of the Polish higher educational system[31]

Before analysing the structure of higher education in Poland, it is necessary to define some frequently used terms, namely: "university"; "higher educational institution"; and "school". Throughout this thesis the terms "university" and "higher educational institution" are used synonymously although a subtle difference does exist, especially in the Polish context. In Poland, a university is an institution offering a wide range of subjects at the higher (tertiary) level and is based upon traditional European and Polish conceptions of a "liberal" education.[32] Typically, a university offers a widespread selection of courses ranging from engineering and medicine to the arts and social sciences. A higher educational institution may only offer a narrow range of closely related subjects at the tertiary level, for example, only subjects related to mining and metallurgy or only subjects related to agriculture. These higher educational institutions were commonly known as academies. It is true that courses in Marxist-Leninist political thought were compulsory for students of both universities and academies but the academy students were denied any opportunity to participate in other subjects not directly related to their main course of study since the academies focused on narrow specialisations.

The division between universities and academies is gradually being eroded in the post-1990 period with the term university being frequently applied to many

academies reflecting the growing diversity of their educational offerings. It is for this reason that the terms "university" and "higher educational institution" are used interchangeably throughout the thesis. Newman's definition of a university neatly encapsulates the main features and aims of that institution:

> Not Science only, not Literature only, not Theology only, neither abstract knowledge simply nor experimental, neither moral nor material, neither metaphysical nor historical, but all knowledge whatever, is taken into account in a University, as being the special seat of that large Philosophy, which embraces and locates truth of every kind, and every method of attaining it (Newman [1852] 1976: 428, Discourse V).

On reading Polish literature and during conversations with Polish academics and students, the author found that there were frequent references to universities and higher educational institutions as "schools". The term "school" is in actual fact a short form of school of higher education. In order to prevent any confusion, the author avoids using the term "school" interchangeably with "university" and "higher education institution". Only the longer version of "school of higher education" is used.

Polish students attend primary (elementary) school between the ages of 7 and 15. After which they may choose to enter one of three types of secondary schools: secondary schools of general education; full secondary vocational school; or basic vocational schools. Students who opt for general secondary remain there for four years and if they pass the 'matura' examination can apply to an institution of higher education. Those students not applying to higher education institutions or those who have not taken the matura may complete their education in a post-secondary vocational school which lasts for two years. Post-secondary vocational schools train students for work in blue-collar and equivalent vocations. Graduates receive the title of technician or another title listed in the Classification of Occupations and Vocational Education Specialities. Basic vocational schools usually require students to study for three

years with students receiving a graduation certificate on completion of their education at the qualified worker or equivalent level in the relevant vocation. These students are entitled to apply for admission to a secondary general or a vocational school. Instruction in secondary schools of vocational education lasts for four years. The function of such schools is to satisfy the demand for qualified workers as well as providing students with a secondary education. At the end of the four years, students have the opportunity to take the matura examination and if they pass they may then apply to an institution of higher education. Students are also awarded a secondary school graduation certificate certifying that the student is a qualified worker and has also received a general secondary education.

Students at institutions of higher education in Poland take five years to gain their *magister* (Master's). After which they may proceed to three years of doctoral studies. In Poland, universities, higher technical education institutions, economic academies, agricultural academies, higher schools of pedagogy and theological academies are all supervised by the Ministry of National Education. Academies of Music, Academies of Fine Arts and Academies of Theatre and Cinematography are controlled by the Minister of Culture. The Minister of Health and Social Welfare supervises Medical Academies. Other types of institutions of higher education (Academies of Physical Education, or Military or Maritime Academies) are controlled by various other ministries. In all 35 higher educational institutions come under other ministries while the Ministry of National Education is responsible for 54 higher schools and since 1990, around 115 private institutions of higher education.[33] This thesis looks specifically at the institutions of higher education controlled by the Ministry of National Education.

Figure 1

Structure of Polish Educational System (1990-1998/99)

Age — Years of instruction

26 — 21
25 — 20
24 — 19
23 — 18
22 — 17
21 — 15
20 — 14
19 — 13

22 — 15
21 — 14
20 — 13
19 — 12
18 — 12
17 — 11
16 — 10
15 — 9
14 — 8
13 — 7
12 — 6
11 — 5
10 — 4
9 — 3
8 — 2
7 — 1
6 —
5 —
4 —

Doctoral studies (3 years)

Institutions of higher education 18.0%

Post-secondary schools (2 years)

Secondary schools of general education 28.0%

Full secondary vocational schools 28.3%

Basic vocational schools 39.5%

Primary schools

Special schools

Nurseries and kindergartens

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

▲ – Entrance examination   ● – Secondary education graduation certificate ("matura")

6 Overview of chapters

Chapter One considers the history of Polish higher education from the foundation of the Polish state in 966 until the end of the communist era in 1989. Special attention is given to higher education during the interwar years and under Communism. Higher educational reforms in post-communist Poland, covering the period 1989-1998, are analysed in Chapter Two. Included, is an analysis of the major Acts on higher education passed by post-communist governments. Current trends and problems in Polish higher education are highlighted and considered. Questions addressed include whether or not the democratisation of Polish institutions of higher education has been completed. An analysis of the process of interest articulation within the Polish higher educational sector forms the major part of Chapter Three. The purpose of such an analysis is to determine whether or not, democratic consolidation has taken place in Poland. Chapter Three centres on elite interviews with Polish academics and decision-makers. The process of preparation of the proposed law on higher education is examined as it is an important example of interest articulation by the academic community. Chapter Four comprises an investigation of the views of 236 students from three Krakow universities. The students were assessed by means of a questionnaire distributed between January and June 1998. Students were asked for their views on a range of issues, including their attitudes towards democracy, education and Europe. The methodology used in the questionnaire is outlined in the following section. Chapter Five considers the European Union's influence on the reform of the Polish higher educational sector through TEMPUS Programmes I, and II. The origins and history of TEMPUS are examined and there is an analysis of the mechanisms through which TEMPUS has contributed to the reform of higher education in Poland. In Chapter Six, the 'European' influence on interest articulation within the Polish higher educational sector is investigated. Case studies of several TEMPUS projects are examined and are found to provide

examples of 'bottom-up' articulation in Polish higher education. Articulation of interests from the bottom-up is one of the main purposes of TEMPUS. Bottom-up articulation is found to be extremely important given the nature of the 1990 Act on Higher Schools. This Act devolved a substantial amount of autonomy to institutions of higher education making it virtually impossible for any further reforms to be initiated from the top-down by the Polish Ministry of National Education.

7 Methodology

Elite interviews were conducted by the author in Poland between 1997-98. All of the interviews took place in Krakow and Warsaw. The interviewees were either academics at a Polish school of higher education or were currently or previously decision-makers within the Polish government. In all of these cases, interviewees, who had at one time acted as governmental decision-makers, were currently teaching at a higher educational establishment. Academics from several schools of higher education took part in the interviews. The opinions of 26 Vice Rectors, Professors and lecturers were all represented in the interviews. These interviews were semi-structured in that the same set of open-ended questions was put to each interviewee. Interviews were carried out mostly in English but a few were conducted in Polish. The average length of these interviews was one hour with the shortest one lasting 30 minutes and the longest lasting 2 hours. Most of the interviews were conducted in English but some were in Polish. The results of these interviews were used to facilitate an examination of the nature of interest articulation within the Polish academic community and between it and the Polish government.

In addition to elite interviewing, the methodological device of questionnaire distribution was employed to assess the views of 236 students from three

Krakow universities. The students were assessed by means of a 'closed' questionnaire distributed between January and June 1998. Students' opinions on various issues ranging from democracy to higher education were examined, in the questionnaire. The questionnaire was translated into Polish by myself and by a Polish political scientist to assure familiarity with the conceptual issues contained within the questionnaire. In twenty of the questions, a Likert scale was used and students were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with a given statement. Students were able to choose one of the following categories: completely agree; agree mostly; undecided; disagree mostly; completely disagree; or do not know. When analysing students' responses the 'undecided' and 'do not know' categories were condensed into the one category since it may be argued that both categories, for all practical purposes, have identical meanings. Questions 21 to 31 provided students with a range of possible options for each answer, and the students were asked to circle their chosen answer. The remaining questions (31 to 39) merely asked students for personal data. An appropriate range of options was provided for most of these questions. The author used SPSS 8.0 for Windows to analyse the data, construct frequency tables and crosstabulations.[34] Copies of the questionnaire in English and Polish may be found in Appendices 2 and 3.

One of the drawbacks concerning the design of the student questionnaire is the fact that students' attitudes and values were examined at only one timepoint. Irrefutable conclusions regarding the relationship between higher education - or programmes on 'European Studies' in particular - and democratic consolidation cannot be made without evidence at different timepoints including the communist period and the period just prior to the introduction of the TEMPUS Programme. Two major constraints prevented the author from conducting such an extensive survey of Polish students' attitudes and values. Firstly, in the period immediately prior to the downfall of Communism in Poland and the introduction of the TEMPUS Programme, the author was just completing her

secondary education and did not embark upon her programme of doctoral research until 1994. This was four years after the introduction of TEMPUS to Poland so naturally it was not possible for the author to go back in time and examine student attitudes in 1989. Secondly, financial constraints prevented the author from examining student attitudes at different timepoints during the period of TEMPUS' operation. Even if the author had been able to examine student attitudes at two different timepoints, for example in 1994 and 1998 then it would still not have been possible for the author to attribute any change in student values to TEMPUS. As well as providing evidence of student attitudes during the communist period, it would also be necessary to discount the influence of other socialising agents such as the family and the Catholic Church. It is, therefore, not possible to state conclusively that teaching about liberal democratic political cultures will in itself help to shape Polish students' own political cultures without examining them before and after this experience, and without discounting the influence of other socialising agents as well. Instead this thesis aims to contribute to the current debate on the relationship between higher education and democracy by demonstrating that it is extremely likely that Polish higher education *vis-a-vis* the TEMPUS Programme has socialised Polish students into acquiring 'democratic' attitudes and values and by doing so has made positive contributions to the ongoing process of democratic consolidation in Poland. 'Democratically' socialised individuals are able to engage more effectively in interest articulation within a democratic state than those individuals who have not undergone such socialisation.

8 Conclusion

One of the main premises of this thesis is that the reform of Polish higher education is a necessary part of achieving democratic consolidation in that country. Reform of higher education in Poland is synonymous with the

democratisation of its higher educational system. An examination of the process of interest articulation within the academic community as well as the political culture of Polish students, facilitates an assessment of the likelihood of democracy being consolidated in Poland. Furthermore, young people may be socialised into holding values that will support democratic government at institutions of higher education if they are taught about democratic principles and practices. Also, exposure to new ideas, enabling them to accumulate a large range of knowledge and skills encourages youth to form and articulate their own opinions on a whole variety of issues rather than just adopting those views of their family, religious group, social class or ethnic group. The socialising effect of education implies that the teaching of European Studies is likely to increase students' knowledge about the European Union and this may alter their political attitudes and values towards the EU, leading them to support the principles of European integration while at the same time adopting a critical awareness of its practical implications. As a result of being socialised into the ideas behind aspects of European integration students possess the prerequisite skills which will enable them to work for successful integration policies with the EU. Higher education strengthens democratic government and facilitates its eventual consolidation both by promoting and strengthening civil society; and by acting as one of the main agents for socialising students, who will eventually form the political elite, into a belief that democratic government is the best form of government.

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[1]For an informative analysis of Poland's progress towards European Union see the following: Hausner *et al* (1998); Czubinski and McManus (1996); and Pinder (1994).
[2]Throughout this thesis the term East Central Europe (ECE) is used to refer specifically to the following states: Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia. Judy Batt (1998) also favours this definition.
[3]European democracies have typically larger and more comprehensive welfare systems (although these are in the process of shrinking) than the United States'

version of democracy. Hence, these 'West' European democracies more closely resemble their East Central European neighbours.

[4]See Collier and Levitsky (1995) for a description of over one hundred qualifiers that have been used in defining democracy. Basing his definition on the works of Joseph Schumpeter and Max Weber, Lipset believes that democracy "...may be defined as a political system which supplies regular constitutional opportunities for changing the governing officials, and a social mechanism which permits the largest possible part of the population to influence major decisions by choosing among contenders for political office" (Lipset, 1959: 45).

[5]For further explanation of this conceptualisation of democracy see Dahl (1989: 220-224).

[6]Ascherson (1981) and Ash (1983) provide excellent accounts of the birth of Solidarity and its self-limiting revolution. Also see Mason (1992) and Millard (1994a) for more information about the downfall of Communism in Poland and its aftermath.

[7]The Parliamentary elections of October 1991 were the first fully competitive elections to be held in post-communist Poland although 'semi-free' elections, where opposition candidates were allowed to contest some of the parliamentary seats, were held in June 1989. This was as a consequence of a historic agreement between state authorities and opposition leaders. The Round Table talks commenced on 6 February 1989 and were concluded by 5 April 1989. These negotiations between the Polish 'opposition' and Communist authorities concluded with three historic agreements: The Polish state authorities officially sanctioned the re-legalisation of Solidarity; the liberalisation of the Polish media; and agreed to the holding of semi-free Parliamentary elections in June of the same year. Only 35 per cent of the seats in the lower house could be freely contested while the remaining 65 per cent were reserved for the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), also known as the Polish Communist Party, and its smaller allies. In the newly created upper chamber, the Senate, all one hundred seats could be freely contested. All subsequent elections in Poland were to be fully competitive. Solidarity won all the seats that it was allowed to contest in the lower house and it won all but one seat in the Senate (that is, 99 out of 100 seats). For an excellent account of the Polish transition to democracy, including the rules and procedures of the Round Table negotiations and the actors who took part, as well as

the historic June 1989 elections see Taras (1995: 113-160) and Lewis (1990). See also Henderson and Robinson (1997: 75-78); Colomer and Pascual (1994); and Kaminski (1991). Moreover Millard (1992) provides a comprehensive analysis of the October 1991 Polish Parliamentary elections.

[8]Prior to this, the interim 'Small Constitution of 17 October 1992' was in force and operated alongside articles from the 1952 constitution which had been adopted during the Stalinist era.

[9]The arena of political society in a consolidated democracy includes political parties, elections, electoral procedures, political leadership, interparty alliances and legislatures. In short, it is an arena where society is able to organise itself to monitor democratic government (Linz and Stepan, 1996: 8).

[10]An economic society is a set of socio-politically crafted and accepted procedures, institutions and regulations that exist to mediate between the state and the market (Linz and Stepan, 1996: 11).

[11]See Lewis (1998) for a critique of Linz and Stepan's definition of democratic consolidation.

[12]Adam Przeworski believes a democracy to be consolidated when "it becomes self-enforcing, that is, when all the relevant political actors find it best to continue to submit their interests and values to the uncertain interplay of institutions" (Przeworski, 1991: 26).

[13]See Michta (1997) for details of the 1991 and 1993 Polish Parliamentary elections and the 1990 and 1995 Presidential elections. Lewis (1998) contains an analysis of the 1997 Polish Parliamentary election results. For information on the development of Polish political parties see Lewis (1994a); Lewis and Gortat (1995); Lewis (1996); Millard (1994); Marody (1995); Wesolowski (1996) and Gebethner (1996). The most up-to-date coverage of political parties in Poland is to be found in Lewis (1998).

[14]For a general overview of political culture in the new ECE democracies see Schopflin (1993).

[15]Robert Tucker and Stephen White have both argued that political behaviour should be included in the concept of political culture while Dennis Kavanagh prefers a more restricted version of the concept. See Tucker (1973); White (1979); Kavanagh (1972).

Almond and Verba (1963,1989: 12) state that the term political culture refers specifically to political orientations.

[16]Plasser and Ulram (1996: 3-31) ask to what extent established conceptions of political culture research can or should be applied to the new democratic states in East Central Europe. They argue that typological concepts of subject culture versus civic culture, or state-oriented versus civil-oriented cultures are only of limited use even in countries with strong democratic traditions. In their view it is, therefore, pointless to apply such conceptualisations of political culture to ECE democracies such as Poland. New approaches to political culture research should be adopted. Three new approaches coinciding with three central cleavages of conflict have been offered as a starting point for research into political culture: a) "the tension between potential winners and potential losers of the transformation process;" b) "the tension between supporters of the liberal market and competitive society and those persons with paternalist attitudes;" c) "the tension between values of self-reliance and the need for guidance" (Plasser and Ulram, 1996: 6). A survey of recent research by Polish political sociologists reveals a growing trend towards an analysis of political culture that focuses on one or more of these three central cleavages of conflict. For example see Marody (1994) and Firkowska-Mankiewicz (1997). Marody (1994) found that the increases in the proportion of people who believed that better opportunities were available for them in the post-1990 society were linked to the rise in the level of education.

[17]Agh's assertions echoes an earlier argument put forward by Stephen White (1979: 167) who stated that: "A political culture, however, is not a 'given' which determines the performance of the political system and of individual citizens within it; it is itself the product of a distinctive pattern of historical evolution and of socio-economic changes and it will be affected by the changing socio-economic environment within which it is located at least as much as it will itself shape that environment."

[18]For an informative analysis of the traditions of Polish universities see Samsonowicz et al (1998).

[19]Corrin (1994: 182) details how the attitudes and values of Hungarians were shaped by the public arena of education during the period of real socialism.

[20]Also, see Mach (1998) for an examination of how the legacy of real socialism has affected Polish culture.

[21]See Keane (1988: 1-31 and 35-71) for a discussion of the origins of the concept of civil society and the distinction between civil society and the state.

[22]Ost (1990) analyses Polish civil society's decisive role in overthrowing the Communist regime in 1989. Also, refer to Staniszkis (1984).

[23]See Lewis (1993a) for an informative analysis of factors which have given Poland a strong European identity. He notes that "Eurocentrism had been a major characteristic of the opposition in Communist Poland, while Pope John Paul II in the 1979 visit to his homeland [his first as Pope] had also stressed that Europe 'despite its current, still continuing divisions of regimes, ideologies and economic-political systems cannot cease to seek its fundamental unity'" (Lewis, 1993: 358).

[24] See Benavot (1996); Almond and Verba (1963, 1989); Hyman and Wright (1979); Nie et al (1979); Evans and Whitefield (1995) and Jonathon (1997).

[25]The survey was conducted in April 1993 by: Andrzej Rychard (Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences); Mira Marody (Institute of Sociology, University of Warsaw); and Anna Giza-Poleszczuk (Institute of Sociology, University of Warsaw).

[26]These results reflect earlier findings of surveys carried out in the United States. It was discovered that it was more likely to be "high achievers" who participated in the 1960s student protests (Sherkat et al, 1994: 821-42). Also, people who attend a higher educational institution were more likely to both vote in elections and participate in civic associations than those who did not attend (Knox et al, 1993).

[27] For example, see Dahl (1989).

[28]Wesolowski (1994: 273) defines interests as "objective states and processes which are perceived as advantageous to individuals and groups. ...Something 'is in an individual's or a group's interest' or something 'is in the interest' of someone if it allows one to share the desirable goods of a given society."

[29]See KBN (1997).

[30]See Appendix 1(B) for a list of the hundred and sixteen non-state schools of higher education in Poland. Only fifteen of these offer master's degrees, the rest lead to licentiate (bachelor's degree) or engineer degree.

[31]See Figure 1 for the structure of the Polish educational system which has remained virtually unchanged since 1945. A new Law on the Reform of the Educational System was passed in 1998 to take effect from 1999. It is outside the timeframe of analysis for this thesis but as a point of interest, the new structure of the educational system may be found in Figure 2, Chapter Two. Also, under the 1997 Polish Constitution, education is compulsory until eighteen years of age.

[32]Polish universities are based upon the Humboldtian idea of the university as an institution that combines both teaching and research with the equal involvement of students and staff in both. See Kwiatkowski (1980).

[33]See Appendix 1(A) for a list of Polish state institutions of higher education. Non-state institutions are presented in Appendix 1(B).

[34]These frequency tables may be found in Appendix 5. Correlation charts and crosstabulation tables are displayed in Appendices 6 and 7, respectively.

Chapter 1

Polish Higher Education (1):
From the Birth of the Polish State
until the Death of Communism (966-1989)

1.1 Introduction

Historically, the fortunes of the Polish state and higher education have been closely connected. This is not such a surprising fact since it is widely held that a state's well-being is dependent upon its political and educational systems, hence, the necessity of examining the interaction between both these systems in Poland (MEN, 1996a: 3). At a more general level, it is apparent that higher education has in turn been affected by the changes in the economic and social systems in Poland. Whilst this study is concerned, mainly, with the consequences of the change in the Polish political system after 1990 for higher education in Poland, the task of this chapter is to provide an overview of the historical relationship between higher education and the Polish state. Some background knowledge of the historical interaction between the Polish political and educational systems is required in order to understand the changes taking place within Polish higher education during the post-communist era.

This chapter's analysis of the political significance attributed to higher education by Polish authorities spans over one thousand years from 966 with the birth of the new Polish state to the death throes of Communism in 1989.

Chapter One is divided into two main parts with the first part (Sections 1.2 to 1.4) examining the historical place of higher education within Polish society and the political system from 966 until the end of the Second World War in 1945. The historical period under analysis covers the birth of the Polish state; the creation of the Krakow Academy; the formation of the Commission of National Education; and higher education during the partitions. Section 1.3 examines the higher educational reforms implemented by the Second Republic while section 1.4 provides an account of the disastrous effects on Polish higher education caused by the Nazi occupation of Poland. The second half of Chapter One focuses specifically on the attempts to rebuild the Polish higher educational system after 1945 as well as the distorting influence which the introduction of Communism had on the development of higher education. Drawing on interviews conducted with officials at the Polish Ministry of National Education (MEN) and with Polish academics, section 1.5 analyses both the positive and negative aspects of higher education under Communism.

1.2 The shaping of Polish political culture and national identity (966-1918)

Education, in general, has occupied a place of importance within the Polish state almost since its foundation in 966 and has always been held in high esteem by Polish society (MEN, 1996b: 7). Throughout the centuries, Polish authorities have been aware of the possibilities of using higher educational institutions as instruments to achieve their own personal objectives, or aims for Polish society (Niezgoda and Kosiarz-Stolarska, 1997: 2). The Humanities began to develop in twelfth century Poland and were entrenched in Poland with the foundation of the Kraków Academy, on 12 May 1364, by the Polish King Kazimierz the Great. This was only the second university in Central Europe.[1] He created eleven university chairs (*katedras*): liberal arts (one); medicine (two); Canon Law (three) and Roman Law (five). According to the Charter of

Foundation, the Krakow University had been established:

> ...so that, from the assembly of the said masters, doctors and scholars,
> and for the conversion of the pagans and schismatics adjoining the said
> kingdom, a greater love of prayer and a more effective ordering of the
> Catholic faith may grow and increase, to the praise and glory of
> Almighty God and of his glorious mother the Virgin Mary (Davies,
> 1982a: 98).[2]

The organisation of academies and schools in Poland was originally undertaken by the Roman Catholic Church. The newly created Krakow Academy had two main functions: to educate lawyers for the modernisation of the Polish state and the homogenisation of the Polish legal system; and from 1400 onwards, the education of priests[3] to christianise Lithuania (Niezgoda and Kosiarz-Stolarska, 1997: 2-3). It is, therefore, apparent that higher education was perceived in instrumental terms by Polish political leaders who realised that its institutions had a powerful role to play in the political, economic and social life of Polish citizens.

In 1400, Krakow's University was rescued from financial difficulties by Queen Jadwiga who had bequeathed all her "personal fortune" to the University. As a consequence it was re-named the Jagiellonian University - Jadwiga's dynastic name. Even at that very early stage in the development of Polish higher education the political authorities of the day, namely the Polish Queen Jadwiga, recognised the fundamental importance of higher education to the development of the Polish state. Philosophy, theology and law comprised the main fields of research in the university's curriculum in the fifteenth century. It was in the mid-fifteenth century that the epic *Historia Polnica* was written by Jan Dlugosz (Markiewicz, 1979: 45). The prosperity of the Polish humanities continued into the sixteenth century when their progress was aided by the Reformation "....with its characteristically ardent philosophical disputes" (Markiewicz, 1979: 45). Sixteenth century Poland had four academies (universities). In addition to the Krakow Academy, there were also universities in Poznan (founded in

1519), Wilno [Vilnius] (founded in 1578) and Zamosc (founded in 1594) (Niezgoda and Kosiarz-Stolarska, 1997: 3). These universities fostered the establishment of new scientific fields of enquiry: socio-political sciences, economics, philology and pedagogy; and was the era of the great Polish thinkers, Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543), Jan Kochanowski (1530-84) and Jan Zamoyski (1542-1605) (Markiewicz, 1979: 45; and Davies, 1982a: 148-152). They were the foremost leaders of the Polish Renaissance or 'Golden Age'.

During the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century, the development of Polish humanities stagnated and it was not until the second half of the eighteenth century that they began to flourish, again. Working in seventeenth century Leszno, however, was the Slovak Jan Amos Komensky who was one of the founding fathers of modern pedagogy (Niezgoda and Kosiarz-Stolarska, 1997: 3). The historical importance of higher education's place within the Polish state is emphasised when we consider that:

> The rebirth of Polish humanities took place in the second half of the 18th century, [in] parallel with the great reform of the State which culminated in the passage of the Constitution of May 3, 1791, and reform of the educational and university systems. During this period Warsaw became the main scientific center, and a scientific infrastructure of laboratories, libraries, scientific collections, and publishing houses developed there (Markiewicz, 1979: 46).

In other words, there was a recognition by Polish political actors in the late eighteenth century that the attempt to reform the Polish political system (i.e. achieve greater democratisation and autonomy for the Polish state) would not succeed unless a corresponding reform took place within the educational systems, especially the higher educational system. The relationship between education and democracy and the general well-being of society[4] was acknowledged during this period not just by the framers of the 3rd of May Constitution of 1791 but by other political and social actors. For example, the

first public library in Europe was founded in Warsaw in 1748 by Bishop Jozef Andrzej (1702-74) and contained over 400,000 volumes (Davies, 1982a: 509). In addition, Poland may claim the distinction of having been the first state to have a Ministry of Education. The formation of the Commission of National Education[5] (which was in effect the first Ministry of Education in the world) on 14 October 1773 by the Polish Parliament, was championed by Stanislaw August, the last King of Poland. The Commission was established as a reaction to the perceived stagnation in the Polish educational system and its domination by the Catholic order of Jesuits. Earlier attempts to modernise the educational system had failed (e.g. Konarski Collegium Nobilium in 1740 and the Knight School of 1765) and awaited the abolition of the Jesuit Order which provided the "financial means" for the much needed reforms in education to take place. The Commission achieved the following:

1) The creation of a unified system of elementary schools and provision of school textbooks;
2) The modernisation of secondary schooling (colleges);
3) Modernisation and reforms in higher education;
4) The creation of a coherent national educational system with unified curricula and efficient management.

With regard to the reforms in Poland's higher educational institutions,[6] Polish was introduced as the language of instruction instead of Latin and stress was now put on sciences (as opposed to theology). Furthermore, the Krakow and Wilno Academies became the supervising institutions of the entire Polish educational system. The Commission's reforms may be regarded as a major turning point in the development of the Polish educational system. Previously, the majority of educational institutions (and all of the four Polish universities) had been controlled by the Catholic Church. Following the Commission's reforms the educational system was secularised in 1780 and came under the

authority of the Polish state (Niezgoda and Kosiarz-Stolarska, 1997: 3-4; Davies, 1982b: 230). It may be argued that the foundations of the modern Polish system of education were laid with the enactment of the reforms of the Commission of National Education.

> The three-level schools were to provide, apart from mass education for everybody (which was the source of many controversies), specialists and experts. Their job was to educate the elites and form a new individual (a member of this elite) according to the Enlightenment ideal (Niezgoda and Kosiarz-Stolarska, 1997: 4).

Political affairs impacted directly on the functioning of the Commission of National Education when the Polish state was partitioned in three stages by its neighbouring powers, Austria, Prussia and Russia. After the first partition in 1773, the Kingdom of Poland was left with only 71.2 per cent of its original territory. The second partition enacted by those same powers took place in 1793 and Poland was left with only 29.31 per cent of its original territory. With the third and final partition in 1795, the partitioning powers achieved their ultimate aim which had been to destroy the Kingdom of Poland. In the tense political climate leading up to the final partitions, the Polish Sejm, between 1788-91, abolished many constraints which had been imposed upon Poland by Russia (which was meanwhile preoccupied with its wars with Turkey) and gave birth to the Constitution of 3rd May 1791. The political turmoil led to the dissolution of the Commission in April 1794. A National Polish Uprising was initiated on 24 March 1794 in Krakow's Market Square when Tadeusz Kosciuszko read the *Act of Insurrection of the Citizens and Inhabitants of the Palatinate of Cracow* (Davies, 1982a: 511-546). Ultimately, the Polish insurrectionaries, who had been supported by the Polish King, were defeated in Warsaw on 4 November 1794. The insurrectionary Polish Government was suppressed by the Russian forces and Stanislaw-August Poniatowski, the last Polish King, was deported and finally abdicated on 25 November 1795. After the signing of the Third Treaty of Partition on the 26 January 1797 by the three partitioning powers, the

Kingdom of Poland ceased to exist and was wiped from the map of the world[7] (Davies, 1982a: 511-546). The influence of the Commission on Polish higher education did not end, however, with the demise of the Polish state.

> It is difficult to overestimate the influence of the Commission on the Polish educational system. It was easily seen after Poland's political collapse when the institutions created by it still acted in Prussian Warsaw, in Lithuanian and Volhynia under Russia, in the Warsaw Duchy, and after Napoleon's collapse in the Kingdom of Poland. Their characteristics were: (1) education for everybody (very often questioned by the conservative gentry); (2) care about teaching standards; (3) modern knowledge transmitted to pupils and students; (4) and modern ideas in teaching and education (Niezgoda and Stolarska, 1997: 4).

Loss of Polish statehood in 1795 which resulted from the division of the country between Austria, Prussia, and Russia greatly affected the development of Polish higher education since the partitioners sought to 'Germanise' and 'Russify' Polish centres of learning and many leading Polish intellectuals, especially in the humanities, were persecuted. All three partitioning powers regarded state schools in Poland as an "....instrument of imposed assimilation, an instrument of nation destruction and formation of a loyal citizen of the state" (Niezgoda and Stolarska, 1997: 4). It was during the years of partition when the Polish nation sought to regain independence that the pursuit of learning was viewed as a means of keeping alive both the political and national identity of the Polish people (Davies, 1982b: 226-239).

> The aims of alternative education, operating very often illegally and secretly were as follows: 1) keeping the national consciousness through patriotic education, teaching Polish language and literature, Polish history and geography which were abolished in the state German or Russian school; 2) education on the elementary level of wide folk [peasant] masses, especially peasants and workers as the main part of the nation, enabling them in this way to enter the national symbolic culture, and continuation of the nation-building process; 3) preparation of specialists necessary for independent Poland, [and] creation of the group of modern Polish intelligentsia (Niezgoda and Stolarska, 1997: 5).

Alternative education sought not only to keep Polish patriotism alive but the integration of all stratas of Polish society in order to create an overall, coherent national identity for Poles. Such education was, in effect, a nation-building experiment.

The universities at Krakow and Wilno, played the most prominent role in ensuring the continuance of Polish culture. In 1867, while the authorities in the Russian partition were trying to obliterate all traces of Polish culture through the educational system, the Austrian authorities in Galicia - Krakow was brought into Galicia in 1846 - granted limited autonomy to its Polish inhabitants which allowed the repolonisation of the region's two universities and the entire school system which had been 'Germanised'. In the Russian and Prussian partitions, however, the process of 'Russification' and 'Germanisation' continued throughout the educational system.[8] That part of Poland (Galicia) which was governed by Austria was politically, and economically more advanced than the Prussian and Russian partitions. Only the Austrian partition (since 1846) had a developed an educational system encompassing elementary, secondary and higher levels of education. From this time on, Polish became the language of instruction in Galicia. The importance of language as political and cultural symbols is not only represented by the partitioning powers strenuous attempts to suppress the Polish language but also by the consequences of the re-introduction of Polish as the language of instruction in Galicia. Poles from the Prussia and Russian sectors came to Galicia in order to have the opportunity to be educated in their native Polish language. Galicia became the leading centre for the Polish intelligentsia and the fact that the Polish language was used in elementary schools meant that peasants and workers in the Galician region became the basis for many Polish national movements and uprisings. Despite their lower social status they had received good elementary schooling and were for that time in history relatively well-educated (Davies, 1982b: 226-237; Niezgoda and Stolarska, 1997: 6).

The view of those Poles who believed that conciliation with the partitioning powers would achieve more than armed insurrections ever could (namely, some degree of autonomy) is articulated by Davies.

> ....the Polish nation could never secure its position in the world until it was as well-educated, as prosperous, and as united, as its neighbours. Hence the emphasis on Education, on Self-improvement, on Science, on Economy, on Social Reform, and above all, on Work (Davies, 1982b: 43).

Stanislaw Konarski (1700-73) and Hugo Kollataj (1750-1812) were among the most prominent adherents to this viewpoint. The latter was the reforming Rector of the Jagiellonian University who had presided over its secularisation in 1780 while the former had sought to introduce many of the ideas of the Enlightenment into Polish education.

In the Russian partition (1772-1918) the Polish educational system was used as an important instrument in the de-polonisation of Polish youth. As will be seen elsewhere in this argument, the similarities between Tsarist Russia's attempts to shape the political complexion of the Polish state with those of the Communists' between 1948-1989 are striking. "It was in the schools and universities that Polish pupils first came into systematic efforts to change the attitudes and loyalties of their families." (Davies, 1982b: 99). Emphasis was placed on rote learning of the names, titles, and birthdays of all the members of the numerous Russian Royal Family, and pupils were forbidden to be taught in Polish. It was compulsory that Russian should be used as the language of instruction.

Ultimately, the attempts to extinguish *Polishness* in the Prussian and Russian partitions failed principally due to the many private or underground centres of learning which were established by Polish patriots. The most famous of these

was the Flying University in Warsaw which was founded by Jadwiga Szczawinska (1863-1910) in 1882-3; and its most famous pupil was Maria Sklodowska-Curie (Davies, 1982b: 226-237; Niezgoda and Stolarska, 1997: 6).

> The basic function of the Polish system of education (official and alternative) was the awakening of the national consciousness and creation of the intelligentsia strata i.e. highly qualified professionals indispensable for the future regained Polish State (Niezgoda and Stolarska, 1997: 6).

In Krakow (in Galicia), the Academy of Arts and Sciences[9] was founded in 1872, upon the transformation of the Krakow Learned Society, in existence since 1815. From its very beginnings, the Academy sought to integrate Polish centres of learning particularly those dealing with the social sciences. Its sphere of influence although formally restricted to the Austrian partition extended to the Prussian and Russian partitions, as well. Scholars from these partitions came to study at the Academy.[10] By the end of the nineteenth century the universities in Krakow and Lvov had been repolonised, and once again Polish universities, including the disciplines of humanities and social sciences were prospering. The real turning point came in 1914 with the beginning of the First World War when all the partitioning powers sought to gain Polish support in the War. It prompted Russia to repolonise all the schools and universities within its partition area, following a similar action by the Austrian partitioners in 1867.

Thus, the occupying powers recognised that education could be an important tool in perpetuating their rule in partitioned Poland. Prior to the partitions, Polish state authorities had implemented policies which reflected their belief that education could be used to further the aims of the Polish state. Schools and universities provided the state with an unique opportunity to promote particular forms of political culture and national identity and served as a means of legitimating the state's authority. Once Poland regained its independence in 1918, the new rulers continued to pay special attention to education.

Furthermore, it was recognised that education was also the key to the modernisation of the Second Republic (Davis, 1982b; and Niezgoda and Stolarska, 1997: 7-9).

1.3 The Second Republic (1918-1939)

During Poland's brief period of independence (1918-1939), the Polish authorities were confronted with many problems including the high rate of illiteracy in Poland and scarce resources. At the end of the post-war period, the former problem had been addressed and considerable success had been achieved but the problem of scarce resources meant that "[o]nly the most exceptional peasant children could hope to obtain higher education" (Davies, 1982b, 418).

The most immediate problems confronting the Polish government led by Josef Pilsudski,[11] in 1918, with regard to education, was that an entirely new national system of education had to be built from scratch as the Prussian and Russian partitions did not have a comprehensive educational system. The new state was afflicted by a severe shortage of qualified people so the political authorities laid much stress upon the necessity of expanding the Polish educational system, quickly. In this regard, considerable success was achieved. From having only two universities in 1918, the number of universities in Poland had increased to thirteen before the German invasion of Poland in 1939 (Niezgoda and Stolarska, 1997: 7; and Zarnowski, 1990: 231).

The Polish system of higher education had been characterised by a 'liberal tradition' and during the Second Republic the university system continued to reflect this tradition which was found also within other European universities, especially the German (Humboldtian) model. "The Polish model of higher

education developed within the circle of the European continental medieval tradition and later of the tradition of the liberal, autonomous German university" (Jablecka-Gebka, 1994: 12). The traditional organisational structure of the Humboldtian university was based upon a group of faculties, usually the four traditional faculties of law; theology, philosophy and medicine. Faculties were subdivided into professorial chairs (Kwiatkowski, 1980). In 1920, a law was passed by newly independent Poland which reflected the liberal tradition of Polish universities in that it affirmed the dominance of the collegial decision-making model within universities by bestowing the university Senate, Faculty councils and the general assembly of professors with the "....greatest authority...." (Jablecka-Gebka, 1994: 12). Other provisions contained within this law included the legal guarantee of freedom to learn, freedom to teach, and freedom to pursue academic research. The law stipulated that Faculty councils were to be responsible for the coordination of lectures and accordingly empowered Faculty councils to review the "....scope of individual lectures and exercises in order to adapt them to the general programme of studies...." (Jablecka-Gebka, 1994: 13). With regard to matters such as the removal of a professor and policing the university premises, universities[12] were regarded as autonomous, however, this autonomy was limited in financial and personnel affairs.

The Minister of Education had final say over the amount and distribution of university budgets; the allocation of student tuition fees; and he determined the figure for students' enrolment fees. Furthermore, he had the power to reject a university's request to bestow on one of its academic staff the title of professor but he could not appoint a person to that position in the face of objections from the Faculty or department council. In 1932 and 1933, there was a 'legal episode' which limited the autonomy of universities but these laws were quickly rescinded (Jablecka-Gebka, 1994, 13-14).

The legal framework for the construction of an entire new school system was established with the passage of the 1932 Education Law and the 1933 Higher Education Law. This reform was known as the Jedrzejowicz Reform (after the Minister of Religious Beliefs and Public Enlightenment who had drafted the Acts). Seven years of compulsory elementary schooling for children who were not going to proceed to secondary schools, while only six years of elementary education were compulsory for those children who were going on to obtain a secondary education. Several types of secondary schools were established. Firstly, there was the general secondary school which included the four-year gymnasium and the two-year lycee. At the end of this students who passed the matura (university qualifying exams) could proceed to apply to universities. The pedagogical lycee replaced the former teacher colleges and educated students who wished to become elementary school teachers. Thirdly, there was the vocational secondary school (except those educating teachers). Other vocational schools known as vocational retraining schools existed. These schools were not recognised as secondary schools and prepared qualified workers and sales assistants, among others, on the basis of the seven-year elementary school. By 1939, 28 higher schools educating 50,000 students had been established in Poland. The Jedrzejowicz Reform unified and modernised the Polish educational system which remained almost unaltered until the post-communist reforms of the 1990s (Niezgoda and Stolarska, 1997: 7-8 & 10).

The prewar system of education is argued to have been highly selective with only 20 per cent of society being the social base of 75 per cent of students of secondary schools which led to a university education. These selections are held to have been of a social character with peasant and workers' children as well as children from ethnic minority backgrounds being under-represented. The social functions realised by the interwar Polish educational system include the following: "...a function of social integration, overcoming social and cultural barriers; building the national community from inhabitants of three regions

remaining under the influence of different cultures and political systems; [and finally] ...overcoming ... class and group differences" (Niezgoda and Stolarska, 1997: 10-13). Furthermore, as a direct result of the expansion of the higher educational system, the interwar period oversaw the growth of the Polish intelligentsia. This group's dominance in the official political culture promoted by the state meant that higher education and state policy were closely linked during this period, as well (Zarnowski, 1990: 232).

During the life of the Second Republic, a system of national education was built in order to facilitate the rebuilding of the Polish state which reemerged onto the map of Europe in 1918 after 123 years of occupation. Largely, the liberal traditions of Polish universities had been maintained. Considerable achievements by the state such as the virtual eradication of illiteracy, the introduction of vocational secondary schools and the expansion of the higher educational system, should not be neglected. These all took place during the interwar years in an extremely difficult international climate with seemingly insurmountable obstacles.[13] Hitler's invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939 was one obstacle, however, which could not be overcome and it led to the swift demise of the Second Republic.

1.4 The Nazi Occupation (1939-1945)

The Nazi occupation of Poland[14] during the Second World War had a devastating impact on every area of Polish life but particularly that of Polish intellectual life. Nazi doctrine maintained that Poles, since they were Slavs, were sub-human and should be kept in servile conditions. Polish intellectuals were viewed as a threat by the Nazi regime and it was planned that all those who commanded positions of political, intellectual and even religious authority within the Polish state would eventually be exterminated (Davies, 1982b: 447;

Interviews with Polish Academics). The Extraordinary Pacification Campaign (1939-1940) involved the internment of approximately ten thousand Polish intellectuals, including university teachers, in the concentration camps at Dachau, Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen and the execution of 3,500 political leaders in the Palmiry Forest on the outskirts of Warsaw (Davies, 1982b: 447).

Again, Poland was partitioned by an occupying power and its system of national education broken up and virtually eradicated. Polish education in those Polish territories which were incorporated into the Reich and in eastern Poland was abolished on all levels. Only very limited Polish education remained (elementary and lower vocational schools) in the area of German-occupied Poland (Niezgoda and Stolarska, 1997: 14). The German occupants sought to exterminate the Polish intelligentsia and to prevent its reproduction since they were aware of the crucial role played by educated elites in preserving political culture and national identity. During the War, roughly forty per cent of all Polish university professors were killed, most of Poland's 32 institutions of higher education were destroyed (either totally or partially) and two-thirds of all library collections perished at the hands of the Nazis (Markiewicz, 1979: 48).

Recognition that the preservation of the Polish state and identity lay in the intellectual development of its youth led to the organisation of two underground universities and other higher education institutions in Poland in the immediate aftermath of the Nazi invasion. According to one estimate, in German-occupied Poland there were 20,000 teachers involved in underground education (26,000 teachers were employed prior to the War), teaching around 1 million pupils and students (1.6 million before the War):

> The most important social function realised by the underground
> educational system was the function of national self-defence in a
> situation where basic national values were under threat of destruction
> (Niezgoda and Stolarska, 1997: 14).

Once, again, education was used as an implement in the defence of Polish political culture and national identity against an occupying power.

1.5 Polish Higher Education during Communism (1945-1989)[15]

This section analyses the structure of the Polish educational system under Communism,[16] and the role of higher education in preserving intellectual independence in Communist Poland. Interviews with Polish academics and leading policy-makers were conducted with a view to assessing the following questions:

1) What in your opinion were the strengths / weaknesses of Polish higher education under the Communist system?

2) In what ways did the system of Polish higher education inherited from the Communist system fail to meet the needs of Polish society and the reform process?

3) To what extent did intellectually independent teaching survive during the Communist period?

These questions were put to academics in order to determine the most important features of Polish higher education under the Communist system of government. Among the issues to be considered further was the fact that in some areas intellectually independent teaching did survive. Issues raised by these questions highlight that Polish higher education's experience of Communism was not entirely a negative one.

Davis identifies four different types of culture which helped to keep Polish nationalism alive during the Communist years: peasant, Catholic, 'imitation Western', and literary cultures (Davies, 1982b: 238-9). Furthermore, he has provided a rather generalised summary of Polish education under the Communist system.

> The educational system receives high priority: and quantitative statistics are impressive. The over-all percentages of children, students, and adults attending courses of learning is higher than in Western countries. On the other hand, material conditions are often rudimentary: and teaching methods are authoritarian. Progressive education in the Western sense is unknown. Pupils are trained rather than educated, and are as frequently alienated by the exhortatory tone of their teachers, by compulsory Russian lessons, and by excessive doses of political propaganda. There are now some 88 institutions of higher learning compared with 32 in 1937/38 (Davies, 1982b: 603).

Davies' summary of education under Communist authorities is largely accurate on the whole but fails to take account of the fact that many university teachers defied the Communist authorities by teaching forbidden subjects. Teachers of political economy taught their students about Western theories of political economy while teachers of history provided their students with rather more accurate accounts of Poland's history. These university teachers were able to control the content of their courses as long as students did not report them to the university authorities (who were Party appointees). Students did not appear to report their lecturers. Many teachers, but not all, maintained a very liberal approach to teaching and were not influenced by the dominant Communist ideology (Jablecka-Gebka Interview, 1997).

The Communist authorities sought to re-organise Polish higher educational institutions on the basis of the Soviet model (Szczepanski, 1978).[17] Certain faculties were separated from universities and set up as separate academies, and put under the control of ministries other than the Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education.[18] The system of centralised control over the

university system even extended to admission levels.[19] The Ministry controlled not only the overall number of students which could be admitted to higher educational institutions in a given academic year but also admission levels for every institution and even for each Faculty. There was also a state-wide university selection procedure determined by the centre (MEN, 1996a:141). Despite this centralised control of students admitted to HEIs, the number of students in HEIs did increase overall during the post Second World War period (MEN, 1996a:142).[20] Another feature of Communist centralised control over Polish HEIs was that the powers of the Rector and Deans were strengthened to the detriment of the decision-making powers of the collegial bodies (Senate and Faculty / department councils). It has been asserted, however, that:

> ....in practice the strong ties of the academic community with tradition
> made the role of collegial bodies stronger than one-man bodies despite
> the formal regulations.... [and that] Despite all of these changes in the
> academic community, strong cultural ties with the liberal university
> remained and were manifested in negation of the imposed system,
> which had an important influence on the direction of changes in the
> Act of 1990 (Jablecka-Gebka, 1994: 14-15).

Usually the Rector did not introduce anything against the wishes of the Senate but on some issues s/he did have to follow the recommendations of the Communist Party (Jablecka-Gebka Interview, 1997).

By virtue of a law introduced by the Communist authorities, Party members were reserved a certain number of seats in university collegial bodies and were able to influence university decision-making. In the late 1960s, the system of chairs and departments was replaced by one of Institutes and this had the effect of "....replacing the authority of the holders of chairs based on merit with the bureaucratic authority of diRectors of Institutes." This move was seen by many as a pretext for the removal of professors who did not share the Party's views (Jablecka-Gebka, 1994: 14).

During the Communist period, arrangements for teaching studies and programmes of studies were solely determined by the Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education:

> Outline programmes of studies, which formed the basis on which higher education institutions worked out detailed programmes, were drawn up by committees set up by the Ministry. These outline programmes set out the goals, contents, and minimum teaching loads for major subjects, and even proposed reading lists (MEN, 1996a:163-3).

The internal programme (as mentioned above), however, depended on teachers. In other words, academics could control the content of their courses and thus independent teaching was possible during the Communist years. Jablecka-Gebka stated that she taught independent political economy under the Communist regime, and introduced her students to studies on capitalist economies, finance and banking. She admitted that if her students had reported her to the Communist authorities then she would have been in trouble but said that the students never did. She asserted that no-one "....controlled the substance of courses" (Jablecka-Gebka Interview, 1997). It appears that in the teaching of economics this was not a common occurrence (Chmielecka, 1994: 159-169). Chmielecka has stated that under Communism, the teaching of political economy was "....based on oversimplified Marxism [which was] [c]onsciously tailored to be apologetic with respect to the centrally-planned economy. There were no unbiased textbooks available on the workings of the capitalist economy, banking or finance." She went on to assert that:

> The prevailing approach to the education in higher schools of economics consists in concentration on narrow, trade-orientated specialisations [....]. It manifest itself in the persistence of an excessive number of specialised, descriptive subjects, completely detached from the theoretical foundations of modern economic concepts known in the West (Chmielecka, 1994: 160).

As part of the process of determining the influence of the European Union on

the reform of Polish higher education during the post-communist period, later chapters assess the extent of liberal / independent teaching which was able to prevail under Communism by drawing on further interviews with academics.

Before examining in greater detail the opinions of the academics and policy-makers who were interviewed, it is necessary to observe that all the interviewees were in unanimous agreement with regard to the fact that the era of Communist rule in Poland, 1945 until 1989, cannot be considered as a monothlic bloc especially when seeking to assess its impact on the Polish higher educational system. Instead this era should be subdivided into several distinct periods: 1947-1955/6; 1956-68; 1968-70; 1970-81; 1981-83; and 1984-1989. The most difficult times were between 1947 and 1955 and in the early 1980s (during the first year of Martial Law). Also, the period between 1969-70 was bad for universities as a result of a new law enacted in 1968 which severely limited the autonomy of universities and made them more dependent on the Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education. This law remained unchanged until 1982.[21]

It is important to point out that the difficulties encountered in the period after 1956 can in no way be compared with the Stalinist period which in Poland lasted from 1947 until 1955/6. During this period university teachers had no choice but to teach the curriculum prescribed by the state as failure to do so could endanger their lives. In 1957, the Polish Communist government introduced some changes to the law that gave more power to the University Councils (Senate, Faculty and Institute). Even the first year of Martial Law which was very difficult for universities (all universities were closed for some period of time by the Communist state) was not as bad as it was during the Stalinist era. The Jagiellonian University in Krakow was closed from 13 December 1981 (the date on which Martial Law in Poland was declared) until March 1982. During the next two years it was forced to operate under close

scrutiny by Communist Party and security officials. The situation in Krakow was not so bad as in other smaller regions in Poland. In fact the Jagiellonian University possessed more autonomy than any other university in Poland. This was due to two main factors. Firstly, the strength of the Roman Catholic Church in Krakow who had recently given the world a Pope. In 1983, the Jagiellonian University was able to award the Pope an honorary doctorate despite the fact that Martial Law had not yet been lifted (Gierowski Interview, 1998). The second reason stems from the high prestige of the Rectors of large universities such as the Jagiellonian University and Warsaw University, in the minds of Polish society. This makes it very difficult for Polish governments to ignore their objections or statements (Hausner Interview, 1998). In 1981, a new law on higher education was prepared at the Jagiellonian University and it was introduced during Martial Law to the Polish Sejm and enacted on 4 May 1982. This law gave more autonomy to universities so that there was some balance between the elected Rector / Deans and the Councils (Senate, Faculty or Institutes). Before 1981, there was a rule that Rectors and Deans of universities were nominated by the Minister of Education. Nevertheless, the first two years of Martial Law remained difficult for universities and it was not until 1983/4 when there was further change in the law that universities could continue to develop their autonomy. In terms of autonomy, the second half of the 1980s was much better for universities (Gierowski Interview, 1998). The Communist Party had the power to decide about universities and universities, especially during the 1980s fought to defend their autonomy as far as they were able.

A contrast may be made between Polish university autonomy under Communism during the last two decades of Communist rule in Poland. In the 1980s (as mentioned above) the Rector and Deans of a university were now elected by the university Senate and relevant Faculty Councils, respectively, instead of being nominated by the Minister. Universities also gained more freedom to decide about their internal organisation (conduct of research,

teaching content, administration; and the creation of new chairs, Institutes and centres of study) in the 1980s. Partnerships with Western universities could be developed on a greater scale during the 1980s. During the decade of the 1970s, the Jagiellonian University was only able to send between 100-200 scholars (mostly young assistants) abroad each year. After 1981 (and the first impact of Martial Law) this figure had increased to between 600-700 scholars, annually (Gierowski Interview, 1998). Polish academics, more than those in any other Communist state, enjoyed relative freedom in their contacts with the West after October 1956 apart from during some short periods of time (e.g. in the immediate aftermath of 1968; 1970; 1976 and 1981). Even if an academic was active in the opposition then it was still possible for him to go abroad, eventually. One academic recalled being able to go abroad several times despite the fact that he was active in the illegal opposition movement although he did admit that he had experienced 36 rejections as well (Grzelak Interview, 1998).

An analysis of the responses to the academics' questionnaire now follows. For the sake of clarity, the questions posed to the academics will precede the discussion of their answers.

1) What in your opinion were the strengths / weaknesses of Polish higher education under the Communist system?

According to Wnuk-Lipinski there were two main strengths: 1) under Communism the system of higher education was open to all; 2) teachers did not always strictly follow the curriculum. They introduced their own curriculum. By doing so, teachers were exposing themselves to some risk (of censure) but not a great deal.[22] Recalling his own university education, Wnuk-Lipinski has stated that although a conservative approach was present in sociology, it was rather marginalised and the methodology was mostly American. All the main sociological, theoretical systems were introduced to students; and Marxism, at

that time (1960s and 1970s), was rather shown as one of the possible theoretical systems rather than as the only one or the most important sociological system. He believes that with regard to sociology, the education that his generation received at university was comparable with Western standards (Wnuk-Lipinski Interview, 1998).

A further strength includes the fact that the Communist government did succeed in increasing the overall number of people with higher education. After the Second World War this figure stood at 100,000 and peaked at 1,300,000 in 1970 (Jerschina Interview, 1998). After the Second World War, a large proportion of the Polish population was illiterate especially in rural areas (where the majority of Polish people lived) and there was a move during the first two decades after the War just to provide a basic education for all those people who had never before had any form of education. As a result education up to, and including, the level of secondary school became obligatory. According to the Vice Rector of Warsaw University, this was an attempt to "....move people to a higher level of education", but, in this case, a higher level of education referred to secondary school education (Grzelak Interview, 1998).

Poland enjoyed relative freedom[23] in its contacts with the West when compared with the Soviet Union, Hungary or the Czech Republic and especially compared with the former GDR. These were completely isolated and had almost no contacts with the West (Amsterdamski and Rhodes, 1993: 382).

A rather dubious strength was the fact that it was not necessary to join the Communist Party if you wanted to pursue a scientific career, or become an artist or a writer. This situation was very specific to Poland because for example in the former Czechoslovakia even if you wanted to work in kindergarten then very often it was necessary to become a Party member. In Poland people who did not like Communism could, for example, choose a

scientific career and then they could be promoted, go abroad and they had a rather large margin of freedom because scientists were usually treated in a special way. This mainly concerned the so-called hard sciences like mathematics, physics and chemistry and not the social sciences. If someone worked in philosophy then they were expected to teach Marxist philosophy or in economics one had to teach Marxist or Socialist economics. Somewhat ironically, academics who were Party members working in the objective sciences, natural sciences or even philology, would experience some trouble "....because the whole [scientific] community was thinking that you are a Party member because you are not good and that you had chosen to become a Party member in order to enhance your career" (Frankowicz Interview, 1998). One academic who studied Theoretical Chemistry stated that if he had been a Party member then he would have had more trouble in his career because all the other scientists were anti-Communist and not Party members.

Many of the academics interviewed believed that in comparison with Western colleagues, Polish scholars were very highly qualified. When Polish academics decided to go to the West (usually to the United States) then very often they made a real scientific career and attained very high positions. According to the guidebook of the Chemistry Faculty at the Jagiellonian University then at least 70-80 per cent of its staff have spent at least one year abroad in the West during Communist times. In effect almost any scientist could go to a Western laboratory after their Ph.D. for a year or two. As one academic put it: "Our staff was our intellectual capital but it was in a way artificial. It was artificial in the sense that in a real market economy many people who became scientists would have chosen a different career. And this was our strength." (Frankowicz Interview, 1998). All interviewees unanimously agreed that the weaknesses of higher education under Communism far outnumbered its strengths.

During Communism the number of students was limited by the Ministry of

Science, Technology and Higher Education so the number of students did not correspond with the capacity of the university. In Communist Polish universities the Student: Teacher Ratio was 7:1 while at that time in Western European countries it was 12/13:1. So Polish universities had a much lower teaching load than their Western counterparts prior to 1989 (Gasiorowski Interview, 1997). It should be highlighted, however, that it was not the low teaching load which was the weakness - indeed smaller class sizes may have enhanced the quality of teaching as teachers would have been able to devote more time to individual students - but rather the fact that the number of university places was strictly controlled by central government. Only 7 per cent of employees had a higher education. This was 2-3 times less than in Russia and Czechoslovakia (Jerschina Interview, 1998).

A second weakness emanates from the fact that higher education was extremely specialised with more than 200 fields of study. Today, just under 100 fields of study exist. Under Communism the curricula was centrally prepared and therefore, formally, in every university, in every definite field of study, there was the same number of lectures. This was only a formal condition and had no relevance to the various types of study. Students were forced to follow certain prescribed paths of education and were not able to choose or build their own schemes of study (Jerschina Interview, 1998). Many of the academics interviewed felt that it made no sense to follow the same programme of study for different subject areas. One academic stated that the programme should have been designed according to preparation of knowledge and harmonised within local conditions (Gasiorowski Interview, 1997). Instead everything was regulated on the basis of second order law. The study of law was not important, nor were economic sciences, psychology, and sociology. Consequently, in post-communist Poland all of these areas are being expanded and the majority of private schools teach these subjects.[24] In the late 1940s, a unified programme of teaching for the whole country was introduced but content differed according to

different departments.[25] During the second half of the 1950s a slight loosening of these formal studies took place. The programme of teaching sociology at the Jagiellonian University and at Warsaw University was the same in the 1960s, but it changed slightly during the 1970s and 1980s. After 1989, a dramatic change in this programme took place (Kubiak Interview, 1998).

Many disciplines were too strongly oriented towards professionalism. One academic used the example of Oxford University to underline that this excessive professionalism ran contrary to the European traditions of a university education. For example, at Oxford University, lawyers study general studies and then study in a practical sense in a lawyer's office once they have attained their MA. Under Communism, students were taught how to become professional at the university.

Shortages of money and under-equipment were also stated by the majority of interviewed academics as being major weaknesses while the lack of university autonomy[26] was another main weakness. The rigidity of Poland's Communist higher educational system was seen by some academics as not being a real weakness if comparisons are made with Western systems of higher education. One academic cited the example of the German system and stated that he believed it to be more rigid than the Polish system during Communist times (Jerschina Interview, 1997).

A very low proportion of students went to university. This was partly due to the two track system of secondary education. There was the vocational track and the comprehensive secondary school track. These lower level vocational secondary schools were in effect 'dead-end' schools in the sense that after finishing it was not possible to continue your education and enter university or a higher institution of education. Only public higher education establishments were allowed under the former regime so the competition for a place at the

university level was extremely tough and only a small percentage of youths could enter the university because of these restrictions. Private schools at the higher level were not allowed with one exception, the Catholic University of Lublin (KUL). This was the unique feature in the whole Communist bloc.[27]

The general weakness was the oppressive control of the system of education which was perceived as part of the ideological front, as Communists called it. This system was intended to produce people loyal to the regime (Wnuk-Lipinski Interview, 1998). Students from lower socio-economical backgrounds were given preferential treatment. The Polish higher educational system is based on a system of entrance exams. So in addition to passing the *matura* final examinations at comprehensive secondary school - students must also pass university entrance exams to their chosen Faculty. Under the Communist system better admission chances were given to those who were coming from peasant, farming and working backgrounds because they were given extra preferential points during the entrance exams. Despite this, the proportion of students coming from rural areas and the so-called working class was not really higher than in other countries. Lower interest in higher education among this sector of the population was largely to blame. People from rural or working class backgrounds were simply not willing to apply to university mainly because there was simply no need for them to have a higher education because their professional or life careers were not that much dependent upon education. There was no rural job market and education was not correlated with professional chances to the degree that it is today (Grzelak Interview, 1998). The low percentage of people with higher education was the result of the failure of the Communist government's policy. They wanted to introduce a so-called 'people's intelligentsia'. In other words, they sought to create a new kind of intelligentsia who would be loyal to the Communist system. But this policy failed. The reproduction of the intelligentsia class was continuous even during the Stalinist period, although it was the lowest during this period (Wnuk-

Lipinski Interview, 1998).

Political indoctrination was held by most academics to have been a major
weakness of Polish education (at the secondary and post-secondary levels).
Two different ways in which political indoctrination had a damaging effect on
students were identified. As a kind of active attempt to change students' minds
and persuade them to be Communists and to accept the Communist ideology, it
sought to discourage students from independent thinking. Students were not
encouraged to articulate their arguments - under Communism there was only
one argument. In addition to damaging students' minds, political indoctrination
was argued to have damaged their moral systems. Most people, certainly by the
1970s, realised that Communism was a bad system and almost everyone
complained about it in their private homes and then s/he had to go to (higher)
school / university and learn that Communism was a very effective and efficient
system. This created two different worlds: private and official. So there were
two different sets of rules and values (Hankiss, 1990). It was damaging to
people's moral systems because they were living in a world in which the truth
was not of great value because they were exposed to lies especially in public
life; and then in their private life / family life people were saying different
things. Even party officials lived in this schizophrenic way.

Another aspect of political indoctrination was reflected in the imposed curricula
which, particularly in the humanities, were ideologised and there was only one
option shown as a variety of options. It covered not only secondary / grammar
schools but also university level. A dynamic examination of this situation is
merited. During the Stalinist period, there was no alternative to orthodox
Marxism, in the Stalinist / Leninist version, in the humanities and social
sciences. Sociology as such was outlawed between 1948-1956. Sociologists had
to move to other disciplines or start to teach in secondary schools (Wnuk-
Lipinski Interview, 1998).

From the late 1940s, as a consequence of Stalinism, until 1989, a system of censorship existed in order to deal with books published in the West especially in the fields of the social sciences, history, politics, economics and ideology. All of these books were put into a special section of the library and access was only by very special permission. 'RES' was the symbol of restricted access. In other Central and East European states and in the Soviet Union, these books were destroyed. Access to newly published Western books had two limiting factors: censorship and debit - right to distribute books in certain regions. Customs officers could confiscate books brought from abroad. In addition, there was the problem of money as Western books were very expensive in comparison with the average Polish salary.

A final weakness which was mentioned by the academics interviewed was, and still is today in the majority of cases, a lack of professional management at universities (Sowa Interview, 1998). This point is returned to in later chapters.

2) In what ways did the system of Polish higher education inherited from the Communist system fail to meet the needs of Polish society and the reform process?

Many academics stated that the problem of meeting the needs of Polish society was a rather complicated problem. In Poland, as in all the Communist countries there was practically no unemployment. The practical consequence of this in higher education was that students who had graduated could choose to follow any career path. Some academics mentioned the fact that there was an 'Institution of Representatives Responsible for Employees' which was in effect a person placed at each university whose duty was to find jobs for all the new graduates. The planned economy meant that theoretically if you studied, for example, chemistry then the state should guarantee for you a given post in

industry or teaching or research. From this formal point of view it may be argued that studies in socialist economies were organised in such a way that they did meet the needs of society but this was not true. Everybody was looking for a position that was convenient for him / her and people mainly wanted to work in large cities but it was not possible for everyone to do so (Frankowicz Interview, 1998). Academics also noted the fact that with regard to the structure of professions, Poles were not prepared for international competition. Poland had been locked into COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) since 1949. Everything was centrally planned in the Soviet controlled COMECON countries, including the structure of the professions. This meant that Poland had an overproduction of those people who were prepared to work for heavy industry and an underproduction of people in other occupations such as computer scientists and linguists (Grzelak Interview, 1998).

Furthermore, responses to this question referred to the fact that in the past there was no room for negotiation / argument in Polish higher education so students and academics were not fully equipped for democratic reform. Indeed, an examination of Polish history illustrates that Poland has only experienced democracy for very short periods - with the interwar period being questionable. As a consequence, and despite having the first written democratic constitution in Europe,[28] there had been no real tradition of democracy in Poland. In this context Poles were not fully prepared for democracy in 1989 as they lacked certain social skills required in a democracy. It was also stated that Communist higher education disadvantaged many graduates in the job market, after 1989, in the areas of languages and social skills. Polish graduates were not well-prepared to meet the international community in terms of languages especially because of the fact that the Russian language was imposed on students and the other modern languages were not taught in schools.[29] One academic stated that he and many of his colleagues would have competitions in trying to pass Russian language exams in such a way that they did not actually learn Russian

because they resented the imposition of Russian.

Other reasons given for the failure of the pre-1989 system of higher education to meet the needs of Polish society include the fact that there was a unified system and criteria for programmes on the top level (central government) which could not fit and understand the needs of society. There was fragmentation of programmes of study because everyone who taught wanted to have their own subject or unit. Many professors were teaching very narrow, subjects with fixed programmes and content. These programmes were very specialised and the academic community could repeat the same course for 20 years without changing the content. There was no competition between universities and the number of students in higher education declined during the 1980s (Jablecka-Gebka Interview, 1997).

3) To what extent did intellectually independent teaching survive during the Communist period?

Again, it is important to distinguish between the different periods of the Communist era and not to treat it as a monolithic whole. There was no independent teaching during the Stalinist period which ended in October 1956. Marxism and totalitarianism were the only perspectives. A very small percentage of Professors in Poland were members of the Communist Party. The figure stood at between 10-15 per cent throughout the whole period. Less than 10 per cent of students were Party members. Professors were obliged to live in the system but in every university there was always a large group of Professors who were against the system and tried to encourage their students to think, critically. Seminars were much more important than lectures. The closed nature of the seminar and smaller group of students made it relatively safer for Professors to pursue independent teaching and to encourage students to question the Professor (Gierowski and Marody Interviews, 1998).

From the 1970s and 1980s, Polish academic life was quite open to Western influence. Political science had been a part of sociology in Poland developed by sociologists, lawyers and historians but in the 1970s a separate department of Political Science was established at Warsaw University. The new Political Science department was more orthodox containing a mixture of Marxism and the official party image in Poland. This image was in turn, itself, a mixture of ideas from the West but filtered through a Marxist perspective.

Academics also stated that intellectually-independent teaching depended on the subject that was taught. In the natural sciences there was usually intellectually-independent teaching especially after 1956. In Stalinist times, there was a very short period when Polish mathematicians and physicists criticised Western theories but this was a kind of ritual and only lasted for a couple of years (1952-53). After 1956, there were no problems in subjects such as mathematics, physics, chemistry and engineering. There was some interference in biology during the Stalinist era but afterwards the Communists gave up on their attempts to control it. There were, however, large problems in the human sciences (Frankowicz Interview, 1998). With regard to sociology, from the 1970s books transmitted Western knowledge to very convinced Marxists who wanted to have contact with their Western colleagues but in order to do so they had to learn about the major Western sociological theories. So from the 1970s onwards the teaching of sociology was similar to that contained in Western textbooks of sociology. As early as the academic year 1963/64, the Jagiellonian University had sociology assistantships. The unified programme of teaching for the whole country was introduced by the Communist government during the late 1940s. It was not until the second half of the 1950s that there was some loosening of this programme. The programme of teaching sociology was the same at the Jagiellonian and Warsaw Universities during the 1960s and changed only slightly during the 1970s and 1980s. It was not until after 1989

that dramatic changes took place.

All of the academics interviewed were unanimous with regard to the fact the larger universities such as the Jagiellonian University and Warsaw University enjoyed more independence then the smaller universities especially those which were teacher training colleges such as Rzeszow. The position of the Rector of the Jagiellonian University or Warsaw University was much higher than that of the local party apparatchiks.

One academic reluctantly invoked the "Polish national character" to explain why intellectually-independent teaching persisted in Polish universities. He believed that because throughout their history, Poles have been forced to be opposed, or against, and to protest for so many long periods of time that they were able to continue doing it during 40 years of Communist government. He went on to state that Poles are not as systematic or as punctual as the Germans or Czechs so the Polish Communist government was not so accurate or rigorous in implementing the Communist system. It was possibly because of this lack of rigour that Poles were allowed to have some international contacts which gave them standards and points of comparison especially at the level of higher education. Sociologists, who had really bad times since they were considered to be close to Political Science, were allowed to go abroad in the 1970s. Many academics believed that the Gierek's regime made its biggest mistake when it allowed people to go abroad en masse. Western Europe and North America were the main destinations for Poles. It was not only educated people on exchange programmes but anyone with sufficient funds was allowed to go abroad on vacation or usually to earn money.[30] These people learned that Poland can be different and, in some cases, it could be better. They became critical, sceptical, doubtful and even if they didn't express themselves in an active way by joining the opposition, they were ready to support the illegal opposition groups and to have some independent ways of thinking because of

their exposure to other points of view and not to mention other standards of living (Grzelak Interview, 1998).

Some academics argued that from among all the Communist bloc states, Poland should be treated as a special case. Unlike Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968, Poland had never suffered from direct Soviet military interference in domestic affairs. Furthermore, the Polish Catholic Church was the only autonomous institution in Communist Europe while the Catholic University of Lublin was the only private institution of higher education in that region, with the exception of the German Democratic Republic. Also, the separation of education and research had not been so deep in Poland as it had been in Hungary and Czechoslovakia (Amsterdamski and Rhodes, 1993: 382). In Polish higher education,[31] the outside programme of studies was regulated but the inside programme depended upon the teachers. In other words, teachers could choose not to follow the prescribed course of studies laid down by the Communist Ministry of Education with very little risk. One of the academics interviewed mentioned that during the 1980s, she was able to teach her students at the Warsaw Academy of Economics about international economics and capitalist economies. Her students did not inform the authorities but if they had then she would have been in trouble. Nobody controlled the substance of the course (Jablecka-Gebka Interview, 1997). From the 1970s onwards there was no strict Party control over the teaching of subjects such as sociology at universities. Sociology teachers were able to not follow the Ministerial Programme of Sociology and to teach independently because of this lack of strict control over the substance of what was taught. Also the teaching of social psychology at Warsaw University from the 1970s was actually international psychology in which there was no social bias. The problem for Polish academics who wished to pursue independent teaching was the problem of discerning which of the Western literature was important. This problem was related to the difficulties of obtaining money to buy these books and how to

differentiate between the mass books produced.

It was possible to teach freely even during Martial Law 1981-84. One academic stated that during the Martial Law years he was a teacher of Political Science at the Higher School of Mining and Metallurgy in Krakow where he taught about democracy and different political systems. It was possible to do so and to achieve a high degree of intellectual debate inside the classroom since his teaching was not supervised. His students read the "forbidden" books (Simlat Interview, 1998).

Teaching in the 1980s remained difficult although it was still possible to preserve this independence of teaching. Wnuk-Lipinski in his interview described how it was possible for Polish sociology to maintain its intellectual independence throughout the period of the 1980s. The first striking indicator of that independence took place after the imposition of Martial Law when Wnuk-Lipinski organised a group of sociologists to do an underground survey about people's attitudes to the newly imposed Martial Law. It was a clandestine survey and the report was published anonymously in the clandestine press under the title "Society Facing Violence". This report involved interviews with 324 people using quota sampling. He stated that the interviews had to be restricted to Warsaw because at that time it was not possible to move from one region to another so "....the whole country was like a big prison." Furthermore, Professor Wnuk-Lipinski described three ways in which it was possible for sociology to publish without censorship during the 1980s. Firstly, sociologists were able to publish their work in the clandestine press. Many of the classical books in sociology from the West that were not allowed to be published in the official publishing houses were published by the clandestine press. It was a very large, well-organised movement. Wnuk-Lipinski has stated that paradoxically it was the most active period of sociology. Secondly, there was a law at that time which stated that if you published something in 99 copies then that was

considered to be a manuscript and was not censored. So most of the sociological reports were published in 99 copies but as manuscripts. The third way of publishing the results of studies was through what was then called oral sociology. It means that there was a number of meetings, many more than during the 1990s, in very different social milieus in which sociologists were invited to talk about the social reality of life in Poland. These meetings were partly clandestine and often took place under the "....institutional umbrella of the Catholic Church...." and these meetings very often took place in churches.

Politics even up until the 1980s was heavily ideologised as it was nearly totally controlled by the Communist state. Wnuk-Lipinski used the example of his academic career to illustrate the aforementioned point. Until 1980 he pursued research on leisure (free-time) as there was no political interference in this area. He transferred his research interests to the sociology of politics in 1980 and has remained in this field so he considers himself to be a political sociologist but very often his work leads him to mix with political scientists. Political Sociology is very strong in Poland and is viewed as an alternative to Political Science (Wnuk-Lipinski Interview, 1998).

Professor Adam Schaff was the official ideologue of the party in Polish humanities and social sciences. There were, however, even in the 1950s other significant personalities in the Polish humanities and social sciences advocating other competing Marxist theories. After 1956, Poland began to open itself up to Western influence (Marody and Niezgoda Interviews, 1998). One academic stated that the ability to teach according to your conscience is not enough. Academics must also have the means to compete and to maintain the best standards (Anonymous Interview).

The existence of intellectually-independent teaching during Communism, despite the efforts of the state to indoctrinate Polish youth, underlines the fact

that political education failed under Communism. Exactly why the efforts of the Polish Communist state to create a generation of ideologically committed Communists, especially among intellectuals, should have met with failure has proven to be problematic. Many of the academics interviewed felt that a short answer was not possible. Entire books have been devoted to the topic of why political education failed under Communism.[32] Answers from academics in this section have partly answered this question of the failure of political education under Communism. The introductory chapter has also alluded to the existence of a Polish national identity and specific political cultures and sub-cultures, which have made it more difficult for Communism to be accepted in Poland.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that since the foundation of the Polish state, the higher educational and political systems have been closely connected. Since the very beginning, higher educational institutions have been used as instruments of state policy. It was recognised by the political authorities of the day that a highly educated Polish youth would best serve the aims of the Polish state. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Poland's sole university, the Jagiellonian University undertook the education of future lawyers who would be able to create a modern legal system and state bureaucracy; and the education of young men for the priesthood who would assist in the 'Christianisation' of neighbouring pagan states. Changes in the Polish political system have also had a great impact upon the educational system. Belated attempts in the second half of the eighteenth century to reform the Polish state led to a parallel reform of Polish schools and universities which involved the creation of a national system of education.

During the years of partition, the partitioning powers used education as a

weapon of forced assimilation into the respective Austrian, Prussian or Russian cultures. It was a practice which reflected their belief that education could be used to destroy Polish national identity and to create loyal Austrian, Prussian or Russian subjects. Similarly, Polish nationalists recognised that the pursuit of learning was an effective way of keeping alive both the national identity and political culture of the Polish nation. Upon regaining its independence in 1918, the new rulers continued to pay special attention to education since the state recognised that education was also the key to the modernisation of the Second Republic. Schools and universities provided the Polish state with an unique opportunity to promote the growth of particular forms of political culture and national identity amongst Polish youth.

The abolition of higher education in Nazi-occupied Poland and the internment and execution of thousands of Polish intellectuals during the Second World War were part of the Nazi occupants' plans to destroy Polish political culture and Polish national identity. They were aware of the crucial role played by educated elites in preserving political culture and national identity so they sought to exterminate the Polish intelligentsia and to prevent its reproduction by abolitioning higher education, thus outlawing the education of Polish youth. The formation of underground universities by the Polish resistance in the immediate aftermath of the Nazi invasion was an attempt to keep Poland's national identity alive. It was also an attempt to ensure that when liberation finally came, Poland would have a new generation of skilled intellectual and political leaders to replace those lost in the War.

After the War, the new Polish Communist government oversaw the rebuilding and 'reform' of the Polish educational system upon the basis of the Soviet model. A system of centralised control over the entire university system was put in place and the content of curricula was determined centrally by the Ministry of Education. The Communist authorities' attempted to use the educational

system, especially the institutions of higher education, to create a generation of ideologically committed intellectuals. Ultimately, they failed as noted in the comments on the unsuccessful nature of political education under Communism. Undoubtedly, the practice of intellectually-independent teaching in Polish universities was a vital factor in preserving Polish political culture and national identity in the minds of Poland's youth. Furthermore, institutions of higher education, together with Catholic Church, were an important focus of illegal opposition activity to the Communist state.

Chapter One has sought to identify the politicisation of higher education over time, beginning with the foundation of the Polish state and ending during the last years of Communism. The end of Communism and the advent of democracy to Poland has not brought a halt to higher education's politicisation. Chapter Two argues that during the decade of the post-communist era (1989-1998), higher education has undergone a new form of politicisation. The prevailing ideology of successive post-communist governments, namely, liberalism and the market economy, have been reflected in their educational policies.

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[1] Charles University in Prague, founded in 1347, was the first university to be founded in Central Europe. It preceded the Jagiellonian University in Krakow by seventeen years. The university which was founded in Bologna in 1088 is recognised as the first university in the world. When the Krakow University was founded only 36 other universities existed in the entire world. For more information see Davies (1996: 1248).

[2] Quoted from Paul W Knoll, (1968) 'Casimir the Great and the University of Cracow', in *Jahrbucher fur Geschichte Osteuropas* Vol. 16, No. 2. pp. 232-49.

[3] The Theology Department of the Krakow Academy was established in 1397.

[4] This relationship has been explored in earlier chapters.

[5] For further reading see Wroczynski (1987); and Suchodolski (1973).

[6] The Commission dissolved the Lubranski Academy in Poznan while the Zamosc Academy was broken up in partitioned Poland. Only two Universities remained: the Krakow Academy and the Vilnius Academy.

[7] For the most authoritative account of the events leading up to the Third Polish Partition see Davies (1982a: 511-546).

[8] Austria, Prussia and Russia having obliterated the Polish state from the European continent now sought to destroy Polish nationhood by forbidding the use of Polish as the language of instruction in both schools and universities. The teaching of Polish history and literature was also forbidden. Therefore, in Austria and Prussia the language of instruction was German while Russian was used in that part of Poland which belonged to Russia.

[9] In Polish it is known as *Polska Akademia Umiejetnosci*. Translated as the Polish Academy of Knowledge.

[10] See *Polska Akademia Umiejetnosci,* (Krakow, 1998).

[11] Josef Pilsudski (1867-1935) was instrumental in Poland regaining its independence on 11 November 1918. Between 1918-21, he led Polish forces in their successful campaign to establish the frontiers of the newly independent state. He served as Chief of State and Commander in Chief from 1918 until 1923. He staged the May Coup of 1926 and from then until his death on 12 May 1935, ruled Poland as a psuedo-dictatorship. See Reddaway (1939); Rothschild (1966); Dziewanowski (1969); Jedrzejewicz (1977); and Davies (1982b: 53-56 and 393-434).

[12] A professor could only be removed from office after a disciplinary investigation / honorary proceedings together with a subsequent pronouncement supported by at least two thirds of the university Senate. In addition, the Rector of a university was responsible for keeping law and order on the campus and the police could only enter university grounds upon the Rector's request (Jablecka-Gebka, 1994: 13).

[13] See Davies (1982b) for an account of the difficulties faced by Polish governments during the Second Republic.

[14] For further reading see Gralak (1984) and Wroczynski (1980).

[15] For a detailed political and historical analysis of Communism in Poland see Lewis

(1994b).

[16]See Szczepanski (1992).

[17]See Corrin (1994: 187-189) for a summary of the main features of higher education in communist Hungary.

[18] The Ministry of National Education controlled Universities, Economics Academies, Agricultural Academies, Higher Schools of Pedagogy, Technical Universities, and Theological Academies. Medical Academies were governed by the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, while the Ministry of Culture was responsible for Academies of Music, Academies of Fine Arts and Academies of Theatre and Cinematography. Additionally, there were other ministries which controlled the Physical Education Academies, Military Academies and Maritime Academies (MEN, 1996a: 131).

[19]Between 1980 and 1988 the number of university graduates had fallen from 84,000 to 49,800. In 1977, there were 491,400 students attending institutions of higher education in Poland. This was the highest number during the entire Communist period in Poland. By 1986, the total number of students attending institutions of higher education had fallen to 334,500 and rose slightly to 356,400 in 1988. Likewise, in 1988 only 10 per cent of all nineteen year olds entered higher education, as opposed to 14 per cent in the late 1970s. Also, by 1986 the total state expenditure on higher education in real terms was only 80.9 per cent of that in 1978 (Kwiatkowski, 1990: 391-392). See also Piasek and Vaughan (1987: 53-61) for information on the quantitative changes which have occurred in Polish higher education between 1975 and 1983.

[20]During the academic year 1949/50, there were 4.6 students per 1000 population. By 1980, this figure had risen to 16.6 students per 1000 population only to decrease slightly in 1987 to 12.2 students per 1000 population (Lewis, 1994b: 132).

[21]For a discussion of attempts to draft a new law on higher education in March 1981 based upon agreements reached between academics affiliated to Solidarity and Dr Gorski, the Minister of Science, Technology and Higher Education see Williams (1982).

[22] It should be stressed that this was not true of the period between 1947-56 during the reign of Stalinist terror.

[23] See above for further elaboration on this topic.

[24] Private schools or more accurately, non-state schools of higher education were legalised by the Act on Schools of Higher Education of 12 September 1990. See Appendix 1(B) for the list of non-state HEIs established in post-communist Poland.

[25] Although some subjects were common to all fields of study e.g. Marxist Leninist theory.

[26] Ways in which institutions of higher education lacked autonomy under Communism have been outlined at the beginning of Section 1.5.

[27] Most of the academics interviewed raised the issue of the unique position of the Catholic University of Lublin (KUL). It was run by the Polish Catholic Church and it was the only higher educational institution within Poland not subordinated to the Communist authorities. Other academics have claimed that KUL's existence was indicative of Poland's relative intellectual independence within the Communist bloc (Wnuk-Lipinski and Gierowski Interviews, 1997). In the list of state institutions of higher education contained in Appendix 1(A), the Catholic University of Lublin is classed as a state university since it is now partially funded by the Ministry of National Education.

[28] The Polish Constitution of 3rd May 1791 was the second written one in the world after the United States' Constitution of 1789.

[29] Since 1989, the number of Poles who speak English has doubled while the number of post-secondary language colleges has reached several hundred (MEN, 1996a).

[30] Wages in the West were much higher than those in Central and Eastern Europe in real terms. Since the standard of living in the West was also higher, it meant that Poles (and other Central East Europeans) could save greater sums of money in the West than they could ever hope to at home. Furthermore, the favourable exchange rate which hard currency enjoyed (e.g. dollars, British pounds) meant that Poles upon returning home would find themselves to be comparatively wealthy.

[31] For an account of the Hungarian higher educational system under Communism see Halasz (1990) and Kaufman (1997).

[32] See Wnuk-Lipinski (1996).

Chapter 2

Overview of the
Polish Higher Educational System (2):
The Post-Communist Era, 1989-1998

2.1 Introduction

The importance of higher education as a factor contributing to democratic
consolidation in contemporary Polish society is examined in this chapter.
Democratic pluralism in the political system is now largely mirrored in the
Polish higher educational system.[1] Considerable autonomy has been granted to
universities and this will ensure that eventually universities will become agents
of political and social change. For it is the higher educational system which
helps to create the "political, economic and social..." environment in a given
country (MEN, 1996b: 9). Universities are institutions specifically designed to
nurture the development of ideas and values. Changes which have taken place
in higher education during the period 1989-1998 are assessed by careful
analysis of Parliamentary Acts, and to some extent I draw on interviews
conducted at the Polish Ministry of National Education and with Polish
academics.

Section 2.2 considers the laws governing higher education during the period in
question with the purpose of establishing whether or not, any legal provisions
exist to support the growth of democratic pluralism and interest articulation

within the Polish higher educational system. Two major higher educational regulatory and funding bodies were established by the new Higher Educational Laws. They are the General Council and the Committee for Scientific Research and are examined in Sections 2.3 and 2.4. The ways in which these Higher Educational Acts have led to increased autonomy for individual higher educational institutions, and for Faculties and Institutes within these universities, and have contributed to democratic pluralism within the higher educational system as a whole, are explored in Section 2.5. Another contributory factor leading to increased democratic pluralism within Polish higher education has been the rapid growth of non-state institutions of higher education. This phenomenon is analysed in Section 2.6. Constitutional provisions regarding the payment of partial university tuition fees by students are assessed in Section 2.7. As a result of the substantial increase in the autonomy of higher educational institutions it is now more difficult for the Polish government to implement reforms. Section 2.8 scrutinises the remaining 'tools' at the Government's disposal for the implementation of higher educational policies. Finally, Section 2.9 looks at the reasons why Polish higher education is experiencing crises, while Section 2.10 summarises the most recent developments within higher education.

2.2 Reforming Polish Higher Education (1989-1998)

The main aims of the Ministry of National Education's (MEN's) strategy for the reform of higher education were to increase the number of students, to broaden the educational curricula and the diversification of higher education. This latter aspect of the reform involved the introduction of shorter-cycle professional degree courses as an alternative to the five year Master degree courses which had been the only option of higher educational studies available. Other aims of the reform strategy included the reduction of the number of

officially recognised fields of study in which diplomas and degrees were awarded (from 194 to 96); the definition of minimum curriculum requirements; the adaptation of studies to the labour market; the broadening and internationalisation of the curricula and the introduction of a flexible study system (Przybysz, 1996: XIV).

The new political system in the form of the Polish Solidarity government quickly impacted on the Polish educational system. Among the first laws passed by the new Polish Parliament were three new Acts designed to reform and modernise Polish higher education: the Act of 12 September 1990 on Schools of Higher Education; the Act of 12 September 1990 on the Academic Title and Academic Degrees; and the Act of 12 January 1991 setting up the Committee for Scientific Research (MEN, 1994). The purpose of the above legislation was to countermand the influence of the Communist political system on Polish higher education but it is argued below that these new Acts themselves are deficient with respect to furthering the consolidation of democracy in Poland.

The Act on Schools of Higher Education of 12 September 1990[2] provided for the decentralisation of the higher educational system. Universities were granted a large degree of autonomy from the Ministry of National Education with regard to both their organisational structure and the content of their courses while university Faculties were also allowed to become more independent from their respective university. This means that universities and schools of higher education possess the legal right to establish new Faculties as well as Inter-faculty centres and Inter-university units. By the same token, Faculties may now also be dissolved or transformed by higher school authorities. Warsaw School of Economics utilised its new powers derived from the 1990 Higher Educational Act in order to reform itself. The school's Senate dissolved all of its Faculties since the Senate believed that the Faculty structure was hindering institutional reform. Warsaw School of Economics' Senate, therefore, became

the only Faculty in the entire University. Currently, this University is recognised as one of the most reformed universities in Poland (Chmielecka & Osterczuk, 1997: 61-76).

According to the 1990 Act on Higher Education, one of the tasks of schools of higher education is to educate its students *"...in the spirit of respect for human rights, patriotism, democracy and responsibility for the future of society and the State."*[3] The 1990 Act on HEIs declares that state schools may only be founded, transformed, dissolved or merged with another state school of higher education by virtue of statutory law. In effect, this means that it is the Minister of National Education, after considering the opinion of the General Council of Higher Education, who decides whether, or not, a given HEI may be created, liquidated or merged.[4] Under the 1990 Act on Higher Schools, non-state schools of higher education may be founded by any natural or legal person who has been granted permission by the Minister of National Education, after having considered the opinion of the General Council.[5]

Academic freedom was enshrined in this new legislation, so that academics could be free to pursue research and publish their findings - even if they criticised the new political system - without fear of state retribution. Furthermore, the Act introduced a new system of university financing based upon the principle of competitive funding (MEN, 1996a:127). Thus, the decentralisation of the Polish educational system paralleled the decentralisation of its political system with the liberal democratic ideology[6] of the state being imposed on Polish higher education. Finally, the 1990 Act on Higher Education established the General Council for Higher Education which is an elected academic body. Its organisational structure and powers are discussed below.

The Act on the Academic Title and Academic Degrees regulated the awarding of academic degrees and titles. This Act established the Central Commission

for Academic Title and Degrees for the purpose of supervising the bestowing of the academic title[7] and degrees[8] by higher education institutions and research institutions. Its members are democratically elected by those members of the academic community who have attained the degree of Doctor habilitated[9] or the title of Professor. The latter title is awarded by the President of the Polish Republic. The Chairman of the Central Commission is appointed by the Polish Prime Minister from amongst two candidates proposed by the Central Commission. These candidates must be members of the Central Commission. Furthermore, all members of the Central Commission must, in turn, be Polish citizens holding the academic title. Candidates for membership of the Central Commission may be proposed by the councils of organisational units holding the licence to award the academic degree of Doctor.[10]

As a consequence of these Acts, the powers of the Minister of National Education have been substantially reduced. The Minister of National Education possesses the following powers:

1)   General supervision over the Polish higher educational system;

2)   Ensures that Polish higher educational institutions function according to Polish law;

3)   Formulates the rules regarding the employment of professors, imposes the lower and upper limits of academic salary scales, at each level of academic seniority, and determines the number of teaching hours;

4)   Regulates the application procedure for the establishment of private institutions of higher education and after consultation with the Council of Higher Education may grant permission for such institutions to function;

5)   Establishes the principles to be adhered to when sending Polish students and academics abroad for research, and devises the grounds on which foreign students should pay tuition fees (MEN, 1996a: 127-8).

2.3 The General Council of Higher Education

The activities of the Minister of Education are partly overseen by the General
Council of Higher Education whose fifty members are democratically elected
by the academic community (35 members are Professors, 10 members are
teachers, and 5 members are students) which acts as an advisory body to the
Minister of Education. The General Council reviews draft legislation regarding
higher education, academic titles and degrees, and the principles of allocation
of ministerial funding to particular institutions. It also has the power to decide
the criteria regulating the awards of professional titles in particular subjects by
higher institutions, and also the minimum curriculum requirements for certain
courses and their names. Articles 35 to 45 of the 1990 Act on Higher Schools
established the structure, organisation, functions and duties of the General
Council. The Act stipulates that the General Council should be *"....an elective
representative body of the schools of higher education."* (Art. 35). Out of a
total of fifty members, academic teachers possessing the academic degree of
doctor habilitated and academic teachers bearing the academic title of professor
should number thirty-five. Ten members should be teachers possessing the
academic degree of doctor while five students should also sit on the Council.
All members of the Council are elected by the state higher schools. Rectors and
Deans may not be elected to the Council. The General Council is held to be
fully independent since all its members are elected. In other words, it is neither
dependent on MEN or upon schools of higher education.

Articles 42 and 43 of the 1990 Higher Educational Act proscribe the powers of
the General Council. According to the Act, the Council functions as an advisory
board but also some parts of the legal structure of the higher educational system
are created by it - the Council decides about criteria related to higher schools
running courses of studies in a given field. Moreover, the Council is also

obliged to establish minimum programme requirements for particular fields of studies and names of such fields. It is the task of the General Council to decide upon the necessary number of professors required to run a particular field of studies. Also, the Council determines conditions, to be met by schools to award professional titles. Regarding its activity as an advisory board, the Council is asked by the 1990 Act on Higher Schools to issue opinions on every new Governmental proposal. It is obligatory for the Government to request the Council's opinion for all documents concerning the legal aspects of higher education in Poland. MEN is not, however, obliged to follow the Council's advice. In areas where the General Council decides formally then that is the final decision. At least 10 decisions, during the two years prior to the 1997 parliamentary elections, were taken against the Council's opinion (Pelczar Interview, 1998).

The General Council is "....expected to undertake necessary actions according to its own initiative concerning higher education matters identified as important ones" (Pelczar, 1997a: 61). This has led the Council to prepare proposals for a national quality assurance system and a national system of accreditation in higher education (Pelczar, 1997b). In effect, this means that the General Council is legally bound to develop a strategic vision for higher schools. This involves suggesting "...directions for the development of schools of higher education in the field of scientific research, training of academic staff and didactics as well as the material facilities of the school." (1990 HE Act, Art. 42, para. 2 (1)). The Council issues approximately 190 statements every year and these are published in *Uchwaly Stanowiska I Inne Dokumenty [Statements of the General Council]*. Decisions of the General Council are taken by voting.

The current autonomy of institutions of higher education is reflected in the fact that they have been granted the right to pass their own statutes (the Ministry of Education must approve the statutes of non-state institutions). Other powers

which have been awarded under the 1990 Acts include:

1)   The right to establish and close down particular programmes on the suggestion of the Faculty Council;

2)   The right to open, close, or reorganise Faculties or parts of an institution;

3)   The right to determine the principles and practice of admissions procedures;

4)   The form of entrance examination and regulations for students.

Thirty-two higher educational institutions are classed as autonomous institutions[11] while the remainder have limited independence. In order for an institution to be classed as autonomous, it must have fulfilled the legal requirements outlined in the Act on Academic Title and Degrees that it employs at least 60 academics with the scientific title of Professor,[12] and that at least half of its Faculties have the right to award the degree of Doctor habilitated (second doctorate). Those institutions which possess limited autonomy must have their internal regulations, statutes and curricula approved by the Minister of National Education. Fully autonomous higher schools' internal regulations, statutes, and curricula are subject to decisions of Senates and Faculty Councils without any external intervention by MEN. Most questions concerning the running of HEIs are regulated by their individual statute although a considerable range of issues is pre-determined by the 1990 Act on Schools of Higher Education (MEN, 1996a: 129).

2.4 State Committee for Scientific Research (KBN)

The State Committee for Scientific Research (KBN),[13] established by the Act of 12 January 1991, replaced the previous system of awarding scientific grants to higher education institutions. In the old Communist system, the government

dispersed research funding awards from a non-budgetary central fund to HEIs as well as using it to fund its own research carried out by government ministries and institutions. Under the auspices of the KBN[14] (which is a Government Ministry), the government now awards budgetary subsidies to HEIs for "'institutional research' and to their component units for 'statutory research'" (MEN, 1996a: 140). KBN investigates the scientific quality of higher schools, Faculties and departments and based on these investigations ascribes categories of 'A', 'B', 'C' or 'D' to given Faculties and departments of higher education (with 'A' being the highest category). "A category obtained by a department (faculty) has a consequence in financing research by the state budget" (Pelczar, 1997a: 61).

In one very important aspect, little has changed in the procedure for the awarding of research grants: the KBN resembles the system which it succeeded in the sense that it is also monocentric. Under Communism, a single body decided how research grants should be allocated. Similarly, in post-communist Poland, the research grants are conferred by a single body, the State Committee for Scientific Research. After 45 years of living under a Communist regime, it is difficult for some sectors of Polish society and government to understand the relation between concepts of democracy and pluralism. This can mean a failure to understand the need for a democratic society to have different institutions to carry out the same function so that a plurality of views can be obtained. Some analysts have argued that Polish society has been slow to realise that pluralism on the political level i.e. having different parties being represented in Parliament, is only one very small feature of a consolidated democracy; and that pluralism must be manifest within government policy-making institutions and civil society (Jablecka-Gebka Interview, 1997).

2.5 University Autonomy and the Internal Democratisation of Polish Universities

Within universities the emphasis is on collective rather than individual decision-making, with the Senate endorsing all the decisions of the Rector. There is, therefore, decentralisation of the university decision-making process but no political accountability. This leads to the question of whether or not, the decision-making processes within the university have been democratised. It may be asserted that democratisation has occurred when political accountability is non-existent (Gasiorowski Interview, 1997).

From the point of view of the development of civil society and the consolidation of democracy, the 1990 Higher Educational Act is deficient in one very important aspect. It does not provide for cooperation or the development of links between the university and other social actors: "The Act does not provide ....for any body within the institutions to include any other partners (stakeholders) located in the social environment of the school" (MEN, 1996a: 129).

The Chairman of the General Council has also stated that one of the activities of universities should include cooperation with many institutions outside the higher educational system (such as industry, business, social institutions, secondary schools and the health service) (Pelczar, 1997a: 64).

Decision-making within universities has been democratised in the sense that decisions are taken on a collective rather than individual basis. In other words, the University Senate[15] has to approve all decisions taken by the Rector. University decision-making is further decentralised to the Faculty level where Faculty Councils have control over student admissions' policy, the proportion of students paying tuition fees to those funded by the state (subject to approval

at the university level); course requirements and the actual course contents; and the recruitment of academics, including determining the minimum level of qualifications required (MEN, 1996a: 129-30; and MEN, 1994: 6).

The 1990 Higher Educational Act, while giving institutions a great deal of external autonomy, still regulates the internal constitutions of higher educational institutions in too detailed a manner, especially by ensuring wide powers to elected collective bodies. Certainly, under the limited external autonomy and centralised administration of education during the Communist period such self-governing bodies constituted a natural defence of academic freedoms and a support - no longer needed today - in the struggle for external autonomy. Now, however, when considerable external support is guaranteed, it would perhaps be better to allow the institutions and their founding bodies greater freedom in determining their constitution and the role played by their own self-governing bodies. Most of the academics and decision-makers interviewed believed that the collective bodies (namely the Faculty Councils) are granted by law with too much autonomy. This has the effect, in many cases, of slowing down the pace of changes and the reforming activity of many higher educational institutions (MEN, 1996a: 130). This would seem to suggest that the 1990 Act on Higher Education is acting as a constraint upon the articulation of interests. Certain aspects of the operation of higher educational institutions are preordained by this Act so higher educational actors may feel that it is pointless to articulate certain related interests.

One of the major problems within the Polish higher education system in the 1990s is its unpredictability which is arguably a result of the dramatically increased autonomy of HEIs. Admission policies and entrance requirements may vary between Faculties in a given university, and "may vary widely" for the same academic discipline in different universities. This would not be a serious problem was it not for the fact that rules governing admission

requirements, the number of students entering HEIs, and programmes of studies' requirements are in a state of flux, by being incessantly altered by individual University Senates and Faculty Councils whenever they believe it is required (MEN, 1996a: 143). A related problem is that of equality of access to education, the attainment of which is on the surface at least only possible by the democratisation of Polish higher education. It is important to remember that 'democratisation' of higher education in this sense - equality of access to higher education for all - is very different from democratisation of higher education with reference to the internationalisation or 'Europeanisation' of teaching and research methods. Arguably, in many states which are widely regarded as having consolidated democracies such as Britain, higher education is fully democratised in only two senses: internationalisation of university curricula and also in the individuality of courses. But equality of access to higher education has been steadily eroded since the early 1980s in the form of the reduction in the real value of student grants and the introduction of a loan system insufficient to meet the most basic costs that British students face.[16] Since inequality of access to higher education is a feature exhibited by even long-established democracies, the main focus of my research when examining the democratisation of higher education is on the 'Europeanisation' of university curricula and how this helps to promote democratic consolidation within Poland by exposing students to different ideas and views and thereby creating a plurality of views within Polish society. Both of these dimensions of 'democratisation' within Polish higher education are inter-related given that research studies have proven that the level but more often the content of higher education are important indicators of whether or not, individuals are liable to be more authoritarian or democratic in their political outlooks.[17]

Some consideration of the problem of equality of access to higher education[18] in Poland is necessary, however, since the extent of equal access to higher education does have important implications for democratic consolidation

especially if only a very small proportion of the Polish population are able to avail themselves of higher education. The substitution of a middle-class in Poland by the intelligentsia especially during the period under examination makes all the more vital the issue of the number of people receiving, or who have received, higher education. Since 1990 the number of students attending institutions of higher education has more than doubled. The increased number of students may be illustrated by the following figures: approximately 400,000 students in 1990 and over 850,000 students in 1998. If the number of Polish students studying at foreign universities is taken into consideration then the figure for 1998 is nearer one million and fifty thousand students (Forum Akademickie, June 1998: 4). Unfortunately, there were practically no new investments in university buildings during this period. Furthermore, the prestige and also attractiveness of the profession of lecturer is decreasing. Some cities such as Bydgoszcz, Rzeszow and Zielona Gora which have become the capitals of the new provinces established on 1 January 1999, wish to establish new universities but the lack of highly qualified personnel and resistance from scientific personnel from old and strong university centres such as Warsaw, Poznan and Krakow makes the realisation of this idea rather doubtful (Drozdowicz, 1998).

The characteristic individualism of the new liberal, political order in Poland is reflected in the process of higher education which has also become individualised in the form of the introduction of credit systems and modules (MEN, 1996a: 169). Later chapters (Five and Six) examine the European Union's contribution to the individualisation of higher education. For now suffice it to say, that much greater variety now exists in the types of degree programmes offered by Polish universities and also through the introduction of interdisciplinary courses. Another example of liberal individualism and democratic pluralism within the Polish higher educational system during the 1990s is the presence of private universities, or more accurately, non-state

universities.

2.6 Non-State Institutions of Higher Education[19]

Evidence of the existence of democratic pluralism within Polish higher
education is provided by non-state institutions of higher education which prior
to 1990 did not exist. A brief analysis of statistics highlights the rapid
expansion of non-state institutions of higher education and concurrent
problems. The first privately-owned higher educational institution was founded
in 1991.[20] Another 11 non-state HEIs were registered in 1992 and by 1993 there
was a total of 32 non-state institutions of higher education (MEN, 1996a: 171).
Nowadays, there are over 116 non-state institutions of higher education in
Poland which operate in 53 cities and towns. But only 15 non-state HEIs have
the licence to award magisters. In the literature it is pointed out that as a matter
of fact these non-state schools of higher education cannot operate without
lecturers from state universities. As a result of it, state university lecturers are
constantly travelling. Non-state schools of higher education are reluctantly
offering employment in the form of a full position to their entire academic staff.
Only a few lecturers have a permanent position there, the rest have contracts in
order to avoid high social insurance costs. Within the entire higher educational
system, the number of full Professors is decreasing and according to statistical
data stands at 6,334 with 3,729 full Professors being older than 60 years of age.
Only 592 full Professors are below 50 years of age. This unfavourable tendency
is growing (Drozdowicz, 1998).

Most non-state institutions offer 3-year professional training courses leading to
the Bachelor's degree (BA). Previously, professional education had consisted
of a 5-year course of study leading to the professional title of Master's (MA).
The majority of non-state HEIs offer business courses (for example, degrees in

economics, management, law and administration). At the beginning of the 1993/94 academic year, approximately 10,000 students were enrolled at non-state institutions of higher education (MEN, 1996a; 173). Payment of tuition fees is, of course, mandatory at such institutions.[21]

2.7 Constitutional Provisions regarding the Payment of Tuition Fees

There is an international crisis of higher education. Countries such as Britain will from the academic year 1998/9 charge fees for higher education despite having long upheld the principle of free education for all. The charging of fees was introduced by a Labour government traditionally viewed as upholding egalitarian principles of free access for all. Polish and German governments have recently pursued a policy of increased admissions to higher education partly as a solution to the problems of high unemployment which both countries share. In 1997, Germany had its highest unemployment rate this century. This can only be a temporary solution because the governments have not considered what will happen to these students once they have graduated. It is likely that there will be an overproduction of graduates in certain disciplines. On two occasions in late 1997, 500,000 German students from over seventy universities 'went on strike' and held demonstrations in protest against what they claimed were appalling conditions and cuts in government spending on higher education (Rzeczpospolita, 28.11.97, p. 8; and 19.12.97, p. 6). Currently, Polish state HEIs may charge students tuition fees only for evening and extramural studies. Regular day studies are free (1990 HE Act, Art. 23, para 2 (2)). The proposed new Law on Higher Education which was unveiled in July 1998, and is still under discussion aims to introduce a fee for regular studies. This is a source of controversy because the new Polish Constitution is ambiguous about this matter. It states that: *Education in public schools shall be without payment.*

Statutes may allow for payments for certain services provided by public institutions of education.[22]

The Constitution stipulates that higher education is free but does seem to leave open the possibility that some sort of tuition fee could be introduced for higher education by saying that some educational services could be paid. There is the problem of how to define this statement, especially when paragraph 4 of the same Article is considered:

"Public authorities shall ensure universal and equal access to education for citizens. To this end, they shall establish and support systems for individual financial and organisational assistance to pupils and students. The conditions for providing of such assistance shall be specified by statute.[23]

> It would seem that a reduction of inequality depends not only on increasing the number of admissions, but also on the method and criteria of selection. We can speak about a wider "democratisation of higher education" in relation to disciplines and institutions which are 'open to all applicants' (MEN, 1996a: 145).

This brief judicial analysis leads to the conclusion that the provision concerning payment for higher education in the new Polish constitution is at least very vague, and subject to different interpretations. For purely political reasons both Polish governments, one dominated by SLD and the current government dominated by AWS did not like to give any clarification on this issue. But every year the number of so-called evening paid students is proportionally increasing from 15% in 1990 to more than 50% in 1998 (Drozdowicz, 1998).

2.8 Implementing Higher Educational Policies

Aspects of the interaction between the Polish political and higher education systems are examined below, namely the options available to the Polish government for implementing higher educational policy. Another aspect of the interaction between the state and higher education is analysed in Chapter Three and focuses on how effectively the higher educational community is able to represent its interests to the government.

Arguably there are two methods available to the government to implement its educational policy: the algorithm and legislation. Government money is allocated to higher education institutions for teaching and research in three different ways depending on the purpose of the funding. All teaching activity in HEIs is funded by the Ministry of National Education, while two categories of research activity are financed by through the Committee for Scientific Research. Around 70 per cent of the proportion of the state budget reserved for higher education is spent on teaching activities with the majority of the money (85 per cent of 70 per cent) being spent on salaries. The remaining 30 per cent is ear-marked for research activity.

Funding for teaching is allocated to universities via an algorithm which determines the amount of state money to be awarded to individual HEIs according to the following criteria: 40 per cent of the monies should be proportional to the funding for the previous year; 30 per cent should be "proportional to the weighted number of students" and 30 per cent of the funding should be "proportional to the weighted number of academic employees" (MEN, 1996a:180).

Funds for part of research activity are awarded via the Committee for Scientific Research and are divided into the following categories of "institutional

research" and "statutory research" with the former being awarded to institutions only while the latter may be awarded to Faculties, or even smaller research units as well as the HEI. The financing of both types of research awards are based on two different algorithms.

It is important to describe these algorithms in order to demonstrate the ways in which the government may influence the implementation of its higher educational policies. With regard to statutory research awards, state funds are apportioned to different kinds of higher educational institutions such as universities and economics academies. The funds are then assigned to individual higher educational institutions on the basis of an algorithm: "which is based on the costs to a given institution of maintaining an academic employee, in relation to the academic title or degree of employee (a Professor or Doctor habilitated = 1, an employee with a doctorate = 0.7, other employees = 0.4) and the ranking of the institution (ranking according to academic standards into four categories, A, B, C, D)" (MEN, 1996a: 181). This algorithm enables the government to promote two distinct aspects of educational policy. Firstly, the algorithm rewards those institutions which have a high proportion of Professors and Doctors habilitated by giving them a higher weighting in the algorithm than employees with a doctorate or those with only a first degree. It would thus seem that the "financing of institutions according to ranking, and the level of academic attainment measured by degrees and titles, puts a premium on academic standards (as they are defined in the algorithm)" (MEN, 1996a: 181). The very narrow definition of academic standards represented in this type of algorithm is its major deficiency because academic standards in HEIs are influenced not only by the level of academic attainment of the teaching staff but also by the quality of teaching. The algorithm makes no attempt to assess teaching quality in institutions of higher education and to reward institutions in accordance. Secondly, it has been argued that the original distribution of state funds between different kinds of HEIs "might be used as an

active means of promoting the development of certain sectors.... or various research areas" but that to date the state has refrained from such an avenue (MEN, 1996a: 181).

The algorithm which disburses funds for institutional research aims to "further the academic development of junior staff and to shape the academic specialisation of a given institution" (MEN, 1996a: 181). These funds are only awarded to individual HEIs and constitute only a small proportion of their income. Funds allocated by this algorithm accord with the following criteria: the number of academic staff; the number of doctorates and Doctor habilitated awarded over the previous three years; and the "cost-intensiveness calculated for particular types of institutions and disciplines" (MEN, 1996a: 181). It is argued that the fact that the cost-intensiveness calculation is based on the amount of funds which have been conferred in previous years means that institutions are more likely to engage in "prodigality and wastefulness rather than rationalisation of expenditure" (MEN, 1996a: 181). In addition, the Committee for Scientific Research may also award grants to individual academics or research groups, or for commissioned research.

Therefore, the Polish state is largely able to influence policy implementation through the algorithm for allocating funds for teaching which consists of over 70 per cent of the state grant to higher education institutions. The amount of money awarded to a given institution under this algorithm is based on the award made in the previous year, on the HEI's budget for the last year, and on numbers of "notional" students[24] and weighted number of academic staff.[25] In addition, students were further weighted according to which discipline they were studying.[26] These additional weightings were designed to take account of the fact that it is more expensive for universities to hold certain types of courses usually the more scientific ones which involve extensive laboratory work. MEN has argued that:

....it is possible to accept that allocating funds according to the number of students is an instrument of educational policy which enforces effectiveness in the educational process, and also exerts and influences the proportions of those educated in the various fields of studies. It is easy to imagine that higher education institutions do not always have to comply in this respect with the economy's needs, rather accommodating themselves (if at all) to the aspirations of students (MEN, 1996a:182).

Given the increased autonomy within HEIs in the post-1991 period, when the legislation had taken effect, Deans and Faculty Councils do not necessarily determine student admission numbers and courses on the principles of this algorithm, in the way that the Rector and the Senate would prefer them to in order to maximise the university budget. Faculty Councils tend to favour significantly increasing student numbers because every additional student will bring some money to the Faculty and also the institution, even those students with the very lowest ratings. It is argued that "....the rise in student numbers is preventing a more moderate and selective expansion in line with the weighted profitability of various types of courses and subjects" (MEN, 1996a:183).

Student numbers in universities have also increased because it is now possible to charge tuition fees to non-regular students. Despite the low weighting given to these students in the algorithm it is still cheaper to educate this category of student than it is to educate regular students because non-regular students in addition to paying a tuition fee which largely compensates for their low weighting, also have less lectures, spend less time at the university and therefore use less of the university's resources and are argued to involve less work for the lecturers.

Despite the algorithm, it is believed that the real reason for the increase in student numbers in higher education was due to the high demand for university places and the decline in the real value of the government grant to HEIs.

Evidence for this assertion is to be found in the fact that student numbers increased sharply before the introduction of the algorithm, and that the greatest increase in student numbers did not always take place in those subjects which had been awarded a high weighting in the algorithm.

> It took place in subjects which seemed to offer good prospects of employment, and where students were prepared to pay high tuition fees for non-regular courses. The growth in student numbers on both non-regular and regular courses in law and administration, economics, and the applied and pure sciences, indicate that this was primarily caused by a growth in applications, student aspirations, and the possibility of charging tuition fees to non-regular students than the subject weightings implemented in the algorithm. ....The algorithm does.... have a psychological significance, and is gradually beginning to influence selection of strategies on admissions. Pressure can be detected from institutional authorities, that is rectors and deans, to increase admissions, and similarly a certain amount of pressure to open doctoral courses (MEN, 1996a: 185).

One of the first actions of the Solidarity government in 1990 was to waive limits for the number of students entering higher education and the introduction of policy promoting increases in students numbers. The algorithm exerts a greater influence over student numbers than it does over institutions' policies on the employment of staff and the rationalisation of expenditure. The share of higher education students in the age group 19-24 years - the 'scholarisation ratio' - has increased sharply between 1990-1998. The 'scholarisation ratio' is presented in brackets: 1990/91 (12.9%); 1991/92 (13.4%); 1992/93 (15.4%); 1993/94 (17.6%); 1994/95 (19.8%); 1995/96 (22.3%); 1996/97 (22.9%); 1997/98 (23.5%) (GUS, 1997: XI). Expected future 'scholarisation ratios' are as follows: 2000 (25.1%) and 2005 (29.5%) (Przybysz, 1996: XIV). Furthermore, the government may employ legal regulations to ensure that its educational policy is implemented.[27]

2.9 Problems in Polish Higher Education

Funding for higher education and science in Poland has not matched the growth of the student population in recent years. State institutions of higher education are beset with severe financial difficulties[28] due to insufficient government funding. In 1990 when over 400,000 students were in higher education, 1.11 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was spent on higher education and science. By 1998 spending on higher education and science had fallen to only 0.83 per cent of GDP at a time when the number of students had more than doubled (Forum Akademickie, June 1998: 4). As a consequence, there has been much discussion with regard to the introduction of university tuition fees[29] for students and several reports by leading academics recommending the introduction of partial tuition fees have been published.[30]

A report by the Polish Ministry of Education has also identified two other main areas of concern in the implementation of higher educational policy. Firstly, there is a lack of clear and precise information on the funding and management of state HEIs. Given the autonomous nature of Polish HEIs, policy instruments such as legislation and the algorithm can only be effective providing the autonomous units within institutions of higher education (that is, Rectors, Senates, Faculty and Institute Councils, and the administration of institutions) are fully aware of and understand the workings of such instruments of policy. "It is only when the system of funding is well-understood by all actors, including how money is allocated (material costs, running costs etc.) that it can act as a policy instrument and we can think about planning, or about reform" (MEN, 1996a:190). Higher education has been democratised to such a great extent in Poland that it is not possible for the Ministry of National Education to implement any reforms without cooperation from grass-roots actors. In other words, a significant amount of decision-making power has been devolved to the level of the universities.[31] So higher educational reforms can only be

implemented provided that University Rectors, Senates, Faculty and Institute Councils, and university administrations are familiar with the current legislation on higher education.

A second related concern with regard to implementing higher educational policy is how to achieve the most effective trade-off between the degree of autonomy granted to HEIs and the amount of centralisation necessary to support the reform process. There is a danger that self-governing bodies within HEIs, such as Faculty Councils, may obstruct reform by failing to authorise certain reforms due to fear that the introduction of these changes would threaten their interests. It is the view of the Ministry of National Education and many of the academics interviewed that some autonomous institutions at various levels such as University, Faculty and Institute are "....sometimes excessively devoted to their own interests" (MEN, 1996a: 192). It is the task of MEN and all University Rectors and Senates to transform these "autonomous institutions into a system of interacting elements" (MEN, 1996a: 192). In order to resolve this problem an OECD[32] report advocated a reduction in the autonomy of Deans and Faculty Councils in return for a strengthening of the decision-making powers of the Rector and Senate "....so that the corporate long-term well being of the institutions can be promoted" (OECD, 1996: 104). Furthermore, this group of OECD experts also recommended, among other things, that actors from the external environment should be represented on the governing bodies of HEIs in order to strengthen the ties between higher education and society.

2.10 Recent developments in Polish Higher Education

A recent survey by the Polish public opinion agency, CBOS, revealed that 44 per cent of adults surveyed held the view that the reform of the Polish system of

education was both necessary and urgent. A further 34 per cent believed that educational reform was necessary but that there were other more important matters for the Government's attention. Only 8 per cent stated that it was not necessary to reform the educational system while 14 per cent could not make up their minds (Rzeczpospolita, 23-25.5.98: 2). This survey was held on the eve of the publication of a new draft Law on the Reform the System of Education in Poland.[33] It was passed in autumn 1998.[34] This new Law will take effect from the beginning of the 1999/2000 academic year.[35]

Provisions were made for the establishment of professional higher educational schools on the basis of a separate legal Act.[36] Also, multi-stage studies, Bachelor-Master-Doctor, were re-introduced. The development and introduction of a national system of quality assurance and assessment, as well as a national accreditation system for higher education has been predicted (Przybysz, 1996: XIV). These latter measures have yet to be introduced and are awaiting the passage of a new Act on Higher Education in 1999.

Throughout 1998 many discussions have taken place regarding the proposed new Law on Higher Education.[37] This Act will replace the 1990 Act on Schools of Higher Education, and the 1990 Act on the Academic Title and Academic Degrees. Among the most important of the proposed reforms are: a) all schools of higher education will be subordinated to the Ministry of National Education; b) the replacement of the Central Commission for the Academic Title and Degrees by a national Academic Accreditation Commission;[38] and c) the introduction of a new institution, the National Senate of Academics, to replace the General Council of Higher Education (Forum Akademickie, June 1998: 4). An examination of the draft proposals lies beyond the scope of this thesis. Chapter Three does, however, contain an analysis of how the various actors within higher education have been able to articulate their interests during the debates on the draft Law on Higher Education.

Figure 2

Structure of the Polish educational system from 1999/2000

See (MEN, 1998: 11)

SCHEMAT USTROJU SZKOLNEGO W POLSCE OD 1999 ROKU*
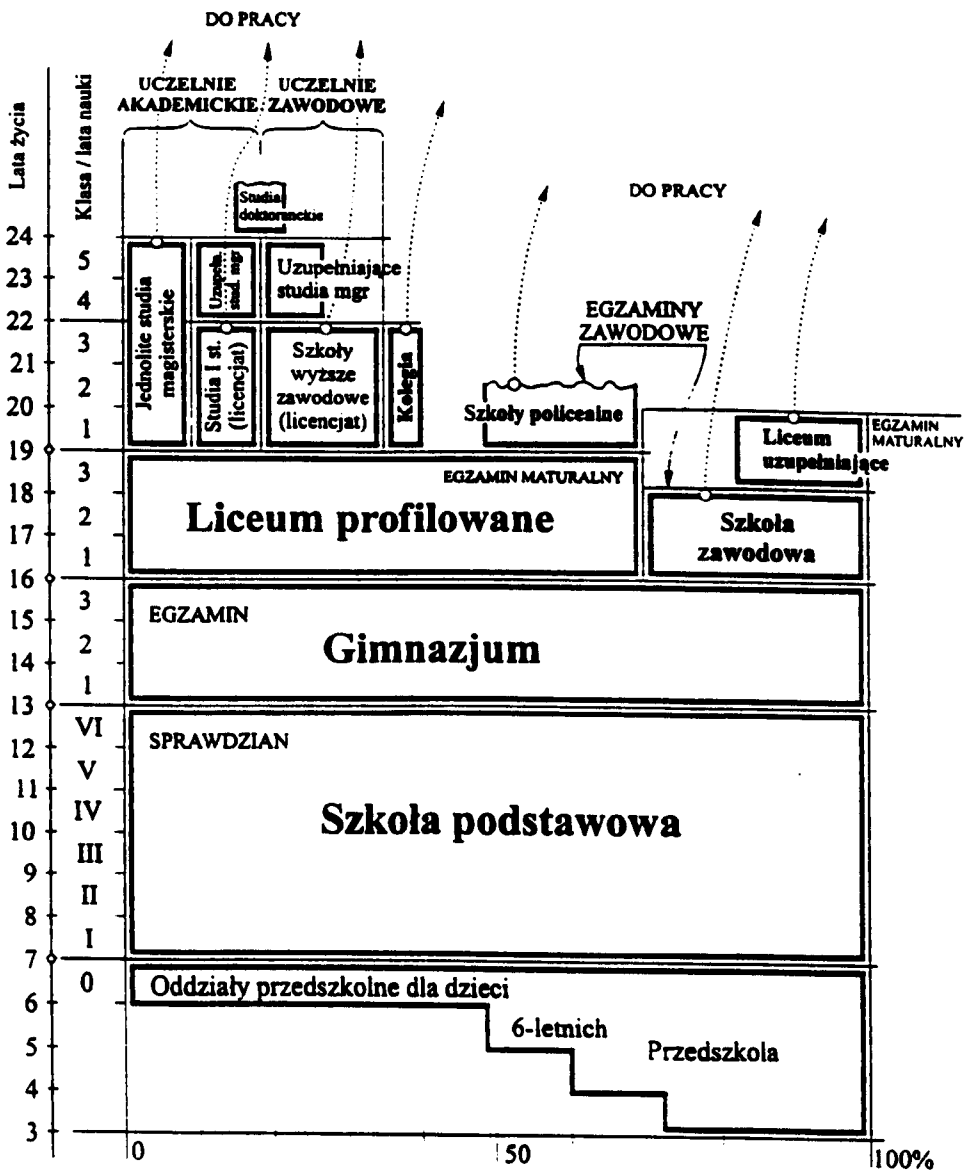
2.11 Conclusion

Polish higher education has undergone extension reforms between 1989 and 1998. Chapter Two has shown that the higher educational reforms of the early 1990s led to the democratisation of the Polish higher educational system. Democratisation was evident in many forms such as in the increased decision-making competencies of Rectors, Senates, Deans, and Faculty and Institute Councils and the corresponding decrease in MEN's decision-making competencies. The Ministry of National Education, however, is still able to implement higher educational policies through the algorithm and by enacting new laws. Its intention to pass a new Act on Higher Education to replace the 1990 Acts is indicative of MEN's realisation that the process of higher educational reform still has a long way to go; and is an attempt to address the funding crisis in which Polish higher education is now submerged.

It has been necessary to contextualise the higher educational system in Poland because the debates surrounding the impact that higher education may have on democratic consolidation and vice versa would be seriously deficient if only conducted at the theoretical level. A thorough knowledge and understanding of the nature of the Laws governing higher education is essential for any analysis of the extent of democratic pluralism and the nature of the process of interest articulation within the Polish higher educational system. Thus, the essential groundwork for Chapter Three is contained in Chapter Two.

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[1]For a valuable comparative analysis of educational reform in Poland, Hungary and the former Czechoslovakia see Karsten and Majoor (1994). Figure 1 in the Introduction contains a description of the Polish educational system between 1989-1998 although it has remained virtually unchanged during the Communist period. See Grzelak (1993) for an analysis of the first four years of educational reform after the

collapse of Communism. Also, Hazell (1997) reports on how the Polish Open University was established in 1991 with the aid of TEMPUS funding. Currently, it has around 3,600 students.

[2] The 1990 Higher Educational Act applies to state schools of higher education with the exception of military schools of higher education. The Act applies to non-state schools of higher education. It does not, however, apply to schools of higher education or theological seminaries run by the Catholic Church, with the exception of the Catholic University of Lublin. Neither, does it apply to schools of higher education or theological seminaries run by other churches. See *Act of 12 September 1990 on Schools of Higher Education*, Art. 1 in (MEN, 1994). Also, refer to Appendix 1(A) for a list of state schools of higher education.

[3] *1990 Act on Schools of Higher Education*, Art. 3, para. 3 (1) in (MEN, 1994).

[4] *1990 Act on Schools of Higher Education*, Art. 10 in (MEN, 1994).

[5] *1990 Act on Schools of Higher Education*, Art. 15 in (MEN, 1994).

[6] The functioning of a market economy is inherent in the concept of a liberal democratic state. See earlier chapters.

[7] An academic title is the title of Professor (profesor) in a particular field of science or art.

[8] Academic degrees are the degrees of Doctor (doktor) and Doctor habilitated (doktor habilitowany) in a particular field which is defined by the Central Commission.

[9] The degree of Doctor habilitated is like a second doctorate. It is obtained after the presentation of a special thesis during a formal procedure in which the scientific achievement and results of the teaching activity of the candidate are investigated.

[10] See *Act of 12 September 1990 on the Academic Title and Academic Degrees*, Arts. 32 & 33 in (MEN, 1994).

[11] All state HEIs are governed by a Rector and University Senate while each Faculty is governed by a Dean and Faculty Council. Rectors and Deans are elected for a period of three years by the University Senate and Faculty Councils, respectively.

[12] When applying this criteria, it is the number of academics possessing the scientific title of Professor that matters, and not the number of positions of Professor.

[13] See KBN (1997) for more details and its activities and organisational structure.

[14] An interview with Professor Andrzej Wiszniewski, Chairman of KBN since October

1997 may be found in 'Forum Akademickie' (February 1998: 12-13). In this interview, Professor Wiszniewski outlines the functions of KBN and discusses the difficulties of funding research in Poland. See also 'The Warsaw Voice' (8.3.98: 12-13).

[15] Under the state system of Polish higher education, a university is governed by a Rector (principal) and a University Senate, and every University Faculty is supervised by a Dean and Faculty Council. The Senate is the highest decision-making body within the university and under the 1990 Act on Schools of Higher Education it must be composed of the following: 50-60% of its members must be Professors; 15-20% must be from amongst the other levels of academic staff; 10% of members should be recruited from university employees (other than the academic staff); and 15-20% should be students. The tasks of the University Senate include drawing up the university's statute and study regulations. All decisions taken by the Rector must be approved by the Senate, as the Senate has control over all aspects of university development such as "....international cooperation or the introduction of new fields of study...." (MEN, 1996a: 129-30 and MEN, 1994: 6).

[16] Since the academic year 1998/9, the British government has abolished student grants and replacing it with a reformed loan system. It remains to be seen whether or not, this will produce the desired result of increased equality of access to higher education.

[17]See Introductory Chapter for a discussion of the relationship between the level and content of education and democracy.

[18]See Chapter Four for a discussion of Polish students' views on whether or not, equality of access to higher education has increased since 1990. For a detailed analysis of the issue of equality of access to higher education in Poland and Hungary see Mauch and Sabloff (1995).

[19]See Appendix 1(B) for a list of non-state institutions of higher education in Poland.

[20]The Act on Schools of Higher Education of 12 September 1990 had authorised the founding of non-state institutions of higher education.

[21]For a succinct analysis of non-state institutions of higher education see MEN (1996a: 170-174).

[22] *The Constitution of the Republic of Poland* (as adopted by the National Assembly

on 2 April 1997) (Warsaw: Chancellory of the Sejm), Art. 70, para 2.

[23] Ibid, Art. 70, para 4.

[24] The criteria for the 'notional' student is based on weighting the number of real students in accordance with their level of study, course subject and programme of studies. In 1993, a regular student "equalled 1 notional student; a non-regular student equalled 0.4 [of a notional student; while] a doctoral student equalled as many as 5" (MEN, 1996a:182-3).

[25] The weighting for academic staff in the teaching algorithm is as follows: Professor = 2, Doctor habilitated = 1.5, Doctor = 1.

[26] For example, economics and philosophy were weighted by a coefficient of 1 while electronics and metallurgy were weighted by a coefficient of 3.

[27] For more information see MEN (1996a: 186-188).

[28] Among the Central European states, Poland is not alone in struggling to find funds for education. For more details see 'Business Central Europe' (May 1997: 13-16).

[29] See Morawski et al (1997). They argue that the introduction of partial tuition fees is justified by the necessity of eliminating existing pathologies in this field and will facilitate the creation of conditions for the rational management of resources. It is their belief that the size of the fees should be linked to both the costs of the teaching process and to the system of student loans. Also, see Section 2.7, in this thesis, for an examination of the constitutional ambiguities surrounding the introduction of partial student tuition fees.

[30] For example see Woznicki (1997 and 1998). Also see Chapter Three of this thesis for an explanation of how the discussion surrounding the introduction of partial tuition fees has contributed to the process of interest articulation within the higher educational system.

[31] Refer to the discussions on the powers of the Ministry of National Education, and on university autonomy in Sections 2.2 and 2.5, respectively.

[32] The OECD report entitled 'Review of Educational Policy in Poland' was presented at the OECD conference in Warsaw (19-20 June 1995). See Appendix 4 for a full list of their recommendations.

[33] See MEN (1998) for details of the Law on the Reform of the Educational System. Also, see Figure 2 for a description of the structure of the Polish educational system

from the 1999/2000 academic year onwards.

[34]The most important features of the new Law on the Reform of the Educational System can be found in 'Rzeczpospolita' (25.5.98: 15-18). Many discussions of the Law were carried in the Polish press and media. See 'Rzeczpospolita' (6.5.98: 6); 'Rzeczpospolita' (26.5.98: 2); 'Polityka' (6.6.98: 2-8); 'Rzeczpospolita' (3.7.98: 3); and 'Rzeczpospolita' (4-5.7.98: 2).

[35]An examination of the 1998 Law on the Reform of the Education System is beyond the scope of this analysis since it deals mainly (but not entirely) with education below the level of higher education. A separate Law on Higher Education is currently being prepared. The new structure of the Polish educational system after 1999/2000 is presented in Figure 2.

[36]This Act was passed on 26 June 1997. It is known as the Act on Schools of Higher Vocational Education. See MEN (1997).

[37]The author attended one of these meetings, in May 1998, when the Minister of National Education unveiled the contents of the draft legislation on higher education for the first time to a private audience. See Chapter Three for an analysis of how the drafting of the new Law on Higher Education has enriched the process of interest articulation in Poland.

[38]So far no national agency devoted solely to quality assurance in HEIs has been established. To date, this task has been performed, jointly, by the Central Commission and the General Council. Attempts to rank higher schools have been made by the media. 'Wprost', the weekly current affairs magazine, has been publishing league tables of institutions of higher education over the past few years. Separate league tables are published for each category of state HEI (for example, Universities, Technical Universities, Medical Academies, Academies of Economics, Agricultural Academies, Higher Schools of Pedagogy, Schools of Art, Theatre and Film, Academies of Music, and Academies of Physical Education) and for non-state HEIs (for example, Schools of Business Administration and Management; and all other non-business schools). Warsaw University has been consistently ranked as the top state university in Poland between 1995-1998 while the Jagiellonian University was ranked in second place for four successive years over the same period. Among non-state higher schools of business and management, the Higher School of Business

Administration in Nowy Sacz has been ranked as the number one institution of its kind in Poland, also for four successive years (1995-1998). For information on the criteria used in assessing the quality of these HEIs and in order to see the actual league table for 1998 see 'Wprost' (24.5.98: 34-42).

Chapter 3

Interest Articulation in Poland:
A Case Study of the Polish Academic Community

3.1 Introduction

While the structural aspects of interest articulation - the legal, institutional basis - within the contemporary Polish higher educational system, has been examined in Chapter Two, an examination of the procedural aspects of interest articulation within this sphere is considered. Procedural aspects of interest articulation are concerned with an analysis of how certain agents and institutions influence the content, form, direction and target of interest articulation. Results of interviews with twenty-six academics are drawn upon in order to facilitate an examination of the nature of interest articulation in this sphere of the democratisation process or the sphere of group interests. Bohdan Szklarski's important recent work in which he defines the dimensions of interest articulation is referred to throughout. According to Szklarski there are four main dimensions to the articulation process, namely:

a) the contents of articulation - types and scope of political interests;

b) direction of articulation -. bottom-up or top-down;

c) the forms of articulation - who articulates and how; and

d) the target of articulation; (Szklarski, 1997).

In addition, to these four dimensions espoused by Szklarski, the author of this thesis has added a fifth dimension: the effectiveness of interest articulation. All of these components of interest articulation are conceptualised and elaborated,

in turn, and then employed as analytical tools to determine what sort of model of interest articulation exists within the Polish higher educational sector. Section 3.2 contains a methodological overview of the interviews with Polish academics. The content of interest articulation within the Polish academic community, including the type and scope of interest articulation, is considered in Section 3.3. Processes of interest articulation, namely, the form, direction and target of interest articulation within higher education are analysed in Section 3.4. This leads onto Section 3.5 with a discussion of how interest articulation works in reality and whether or not, it has proven to be effective. A case study of how the preparation of the proposed Law on Higher Education, that will replace the 1990 Act, has influenced the articulation of interests by Polish academics is presented in Section 3.6. The conclusion contained in Section 3.7 outlines the model of interest articulation which exists within the sphere of interests connected with Polish higher education.

3.2 Methodological Overview of Interviews with Polish Academics[1]

In-depth interviews were carried out with twenty-six academics. The purpose of these interviews was twofold. Firstly, the interviews were to designed elicit answers from academics with regard to how the process of interest articulation by the 'academic community', and if there is such a thing as the 'academic community', works in practice. That is to say, answers elicited from academics and decision-makers are used to construct a model of interest articulation in one section of Poland's democratising society: the higher educational sphere. Secondly, confirmation of the importance of higher education's positive role in democratic consolidation was sought. In this chapter, academics' responses are analysed in order to facilitate the determination of the appropriate model of interest articulation for the Polish higher educational sector.

All of the interviewees were academics and at least half of them were, or had been, involved in the Polish Government's decision-making process either as a Government minister, or as a Governmental advisor or as a member of a special group representing the interests of academics. Furthermore, four of the academics interviewed held, or had held recently, senior management positions at, arguably, the two most prestigious universities in Poland: the Jagiellonian University in Krakow and Warsaw University. Two of these academics were Vice Rectors (for International Affairs) of the Jagiellonian University and Warsaw University, respectively, while the other two academics were former Rectors of the Jagiellonian University. The average length of each interview was one hour with the shortest interview lasting forty minutes and the longest involving several meetings each of one hour's duration. These interviews were semi-structured, containing open-ended questions. Most of the interviewees were all asked to provide responses to an identical set of questions. In some interviews where the interviewee held a particular position of power or had had experience within a specific arena of the academic community then further supplementary questions were asked. The following general questions designed to extract information about the process of interest articulation by the Polish 'academic community' were posed:

(1) Has the academic community been able to identify and articulate its interests. [The idea of pluralism in higher education policy-making.]

(2) How are these views transmitted to the government? (Is there a proper mechanism in place?)

(3) How effectively are the interests of those with a special interest in higher education (academics, students) represented within the government policy-making process?

Question (1) corresponds with Szklarski's first dimension of articulation: the content dimension. As well as examining the content of articulation (what is articulated), this dimension also looks at the type and scope of articulation. These two latter aspects are in effect investigating whether, or not, there is freedom for agents to articulate their interests, and if pluralism exists in the academic sphere; whether, or not, the interests of these 'representative' agents do indeed reflect the interests of the academic community; and the scope and nature of these interests. Question (2) combines Szklarski's remaining dimensions of interest articulation (direction, form and target). This question sought to determine if the direction of the flow of interest articulation was vertical top-down or bottom-up, or horizontal/lateral. The balance between these different directions has important implications for the openness of the political system which are discussed below. The form of interest articulation examines the institutional structures through which political actors may articulate their interests while the target of interest articulation is a body which either has the power to decide on the particular interest issue, or if not, then this body may exert strong influence on the government, parliament or appropriate ministry or another body which does possess the decision-making power. These three dimensions of interest articulation (direction, form and target) are closely related to each other in the sense that it is not possible to discuss one form without taking the other two forms into consideration. On the other hand, it is possible for the first dimension of interest articulation, the content dimension, to be examined in isolation. Meanwhile question (3) outlines an additional dimension which does not correspond with any of Szklarski's interest articulation dimensions. This is the efficiency of the articulation process.

3.3 Content of Interest Articulation within the Polish Higher Educational System

Ascertaining the content of interest articulation within Poland's system of higher education including the type and extent of interests which are articulated requires an examination of the agents who engage in interest articulation within this sphere. This implies that a definition of the term 'academic community' is required. It is important to remember that the 'academic community' consists of different groups with different strategic interests. There are students, lower academic staff, administrative staff, technical staff, Professors and so on. Research findings carried out for this thesis have demonstrated that no real institutionalised discourse takes place between these different groups:

> I think that in [traditional] universities we have very chaotical structures. We have very feudal traditions and lack of any real well-functioning channels of institutional discourse between different groups. There is a lack of this type of joint identity because in fact interests are different and there is no interaction between these groups, or the interaction is very, very small (Hausner Interview, 1998).

Several of the academics interviewed underlined the point that Polish student life in the 1990s has been completely atomised and disorganised, with the student organisational structure remaining very weak. The whole system of student organisation and the system of politically engaged student life remains very weak throughout Poland although it is possible to find some highly profiled students' activities. In general, students' collective life is mostly disorganised and based on acquaintances and individual contacts. These are simply colleague-style type relations. Contrasts between student organisation in the 1990s and during the 1980s (the era of Solidarity) prove, of course, to be strikingly different. With the introduction of the market economy in Poland after 1989, students 'individualised' their activities because the new market conditions brought the idea of individual competition. Students adopted a very

instrumental understanding of the idea of education that encompassed the notion that the primary importance of education is to give students skills and the necessary certificates that will help them to obtain a well-paid job, and that little or nothing else matters. This change in attitude can be seen to be reflected in the disciplines that students choose to study at Polish higher educational institutions during the 1990s. Subjects such as marketing, banking and management are more popular among students than a subject such as economics which is regarded as being too theoretical, and therefore less technical and not professional. Students would like to have professional skills but instrumentally understood. They are more interested in taking courses such as banking, management and marketing which will train them specifically for a job in the market economy. As such they fail to understand that one of the real tasks and values of higher education is the training of the mind. Furthermore, given the difficult situation that Polish students faced in the 1990s,[2] universities as an intellectual media developing the ideas, consciousness and personality of students are no longer viewed as so important. Students tend not to look for any type of organising media. In competing with each other, they tend to have a very narrow orientation to academic life. Students demand from universities education that is cheaper, faster, easier and of a high quality. Quality of education is extremely important. Ten years ago students would have been happy if the lecturer failed to turn up for his lecture. Nowadays, students are angry when this happens especially in the skills-oriented disciplines. No strategic identity exists among Polish students in the 1990s. Another very important feature of this behaviour is that after graduation, students are not interested in continuing any kind of cooperation with the university. One Professor mentioned that he was in the process of trying to set up an Association of Graduates to lend support to current students and what the university is trying to do, but that he was finding it difficult to persuade graduates to join the Association.

Technical and administrative staff at universities are very badly paid. Usually they are older people as young people do not stay on to work at universities because of the extremely low salaries. Recent graduates do not regard a job as a member of either the technical or administrative staff as a serious option.

The average Professor has two and a half to three jobs. Much of their research time is used up seeking and then earning additional income. Most of the non-state higher schools are oriented towards management. They are mostly business schools because business education is very popular among students. Non-state higher schools recruit their Professors from state universities. Many Professors at state universities either teach at one or more non-state school and some have even established their own non-state school while remaining at their teaching post within the state university. These Professors are competing with their own university. One academic stated that as many as every fifth colleague is a Dean, Deputy Director or Director of a non-state school. Sometimes they are even co-owners of the non-state school. Professors may earn much more money from non-state schools than from state universities. One eminent Professor at the Jagiellonian University stated that he was offered almost four times his present salary by a non-state school, as well as being able to keep his position at the Jagiellonian University. His deeply held principle that education should be free led him to reject this offer. It is apparent from the above discussion that many Professors do not share this opinion especially given that in the late 1990s, the remuneration of Professors is not even as high as it was at the beginning of the decade.

Among the most important of the many interests which are articulated by various sections of the academic community are better working conditions and higher salaries (Krynica Interviews, 1998). Some academics are ideologically opposed to the payment of tuition fees by students while others view it as necessary if teaching and research standards are to be maintained at universities

given the decline in real funding for Polish HEIs. In general, Polish academics tend to be very conservative, especially those who are full Professors, and their interests do not always correspond with lower academic staff.

All of these actors, together, constitute the 'academic community' and have the freedom to articulate their interests. It has been shown above that the academic community possesses diverse interests and that the interests of one section of the academic community may diverge from and even contradict the interests of another. Defining the overall interests of the academic community is, therefore, extremely difficult. Even within a given section of the academic community interests may differ. For example, some Professors favour the *'status quo'* at universities while others are impatient for reforms to be implemented. Excessive pluralism of interests is a characteristic of higher education in the post-communist order. More detailed discussion of the great number of interests which are present in the Polish higher educational sector is undertaken below with reference to the many proposals on a new higher educational law to replace the 1990 Higher Educational Act. The short term interests of academic staff, for example, may not correspond with what is in the best long term interests of the higher educational sector

3.4 Interest Articulation Dynamics: Transmission Belt Mechanism

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the General Council is fully independent and represents the whole academic community and not just the Jagiellonian University or particular schools of higher education. Rectors and Deans cannot be elected to the General Council. According to formal rules (1990 Act on Higher Schools) the General Council plays the role of an advisory board but also some parts of the legal structure of the higher educational system are

created by the Council. For example, the Council decides about criteria for higher schools running particular fields of study, decides on the number of Professors etc in a given Faculty needed to run a particular field of study. Also, the Council is obliged to establish minimal requirements for programmes of study. Regarding its activity as an advisory board, the Council is asked to issue opinions on every new Government proposal concerning higher education. It is obligatory for the Government to request the Council's opinion on every new proposal. MEN, however, may ignore the General Council's opinion. For example, during the last cadence, the General Council issued a negative opinion on certain private schools but Wiatr (Minister of National Education) decided against it. At least 10 decisions between 1996 and until September 1997, before the change of government, were taken against the opinion of the General Council (Pelczar Interview, 1998).

Statements of the General Council are contained in 'Uchwaly Stanowiska I Inne Dokumety'. The General Council issues approximately 190 opinions per year. These opinions are not only opinions concerning schools but also other opinions. Some statements combine many things, for example, positive decisions concerning schools. The General Council, therefore, has the final decision on the things which under the 1990 Act it is allowed to decide about (these are listed in Chapter Two). According to the Chairman of the General Council, it tries to consult with as many bodies and schools as possible. Some of their proposals are considered for a long time by the Council. One example of this is that a new field of study, 'Development of Architecture' was added to the Council's list of approved studies after two years of consideration. This consideration process involved extensive consultation with members of the academic community who were asked 'How do you imagine?' and 'What do you think?' (Pelczar Interview, 1998).

Professor Pelczar also stated that he believed that the proportion of Professors, lecturers and students represented on the Council were correct. It was necessary to have a disproportionately greater number of Professors than other types of academics on the Council because it is dealing with strategic questions and experience was necessary for careful consideration of opinions. He underlined the point that it was not by accident that former Rectors are elected to the Chairmanship of the General Council. Pelczar, himself, was Vice Rector of the Jagiellonian University from 1984-87 and then Rector from 1987-93.

Thus, both vertical and horizontal flows of articulated interests are channelled through the General Council. Vertical interest articulation is transmitted in a top-down direction, from the General Council to HEIs and the autonomous units of which they are composed, in cases where the General Council is required to fulfil its legal obligation to create some parts of the legal structure for the Polish higher educational system. The claim by the Chairman of the General Council that it always tries to consult with as many bodies and HEIs as possible, suggests some bottom-up articulation of interests is possible. In this sense, the General Council may also be viewed as encouraging horizontal interest articulation to take place. The characteristic feature of horizontal articulation is that it is targeted at actors in the public sphere far below the governmental level. Horizontal articulation usually aims to gain support for a particular interest by educating the public about it through the media; by winning the support of other actors in the public sphere; or even by opposing other actors in the same issue area who have competing interests (Szklarski, 1997: 97/98). Furthermore, the General Council's role as a consulting body to MEN does allow for some bottom-up articulation of interests. But the fact that MEN may ignore the General Council's opinion means that, in this regard, the bottom-up articulation of interests is severely constrained.

There is another type of representation of academics via KBN but this representation which is partly elected is a representation of universities as centres of science and centres of research. KBN is a government Ministry but only divides the money allocated to it by the government but in a sense it does act as a lobby for more money for research and science. This Commission assesses the many different research projects and is partly elected from higher schools and PAN. So this kind of representation exists. On the other hand, KBN is very strongly criticised by the smaller universities because usually people from the bigger universities are represented in the Commission[3] and there is oral representation (according to some of the academics interviewed). KBN is often accused by academics from the weaker universities that their decisions are biased in favour of the larger universities. There is thus a kind of circle that certain universities are better but they are helped to be better because still they receive more money and more resources, and there is no chance to change the structure of the system (Hausner Interview, 1998). Structural and procedural features inherent within KBN ensure that the predominant direction of interest articulation is vertical with a top-down flow from KBN to the HEI level and below. For ultimately it is KBN which decides upon the distribution of funding between HEIs, and between Faculties and Institutes within higher educational establishments. Arbitrary rules govern the distribution of funding and it is not possible for agents at lower levels in universities and Faculties to exert any influence on how the funding is distributed.

The Conference of Rectors of Polish [General] Universities (KRUP); the Conference of Rectors of Technical Universities (KRPUT); and the Conference of Rectors of Polish Academic Schools (KRASP) which is an overarching organisation encompassing the two previous bodies facilitate the horizontal articulation of interests by sections of the academic community. Very often they seek to act as a pressure group on the General Council and MEN by aggregating their interests. KRUP, KRPUT and KRASP do not have any legal

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bases. Unlike the General Council, Rectors in the Conference of University Rectors have to have unanimous agreement. The General Council is not verified by particular Senates or questioned. It is completely autonomous and is free of responsibility. Rectors must, on the other hand, represent their schools.

Another informal influence exerted by academics on MEN which was mentioned was the 'Towarzystow Popierania i Krzewienia Nauk' ('Society for the Support and Spread of Public Understanding of Sciences'). Its members are usually academics who are older and of considerable merit in searching for an exact science. The society meets about once a month and used to be extremely influential. Likewise, this Society persuaded the public that it was not just acting in the pure interests of academics but also in the public interest. Horizontal articulation of interests was therefore targeted at the public through the media. During the 1980s this Society was attached to some leading dissidents and after the transition to democracy, academics from this Society became some of the top management in the Ministry of National Education and in KBN. Those people who moved to the top positions used to be the most active in this Society. Professor Andrzej K Wroblewski used to be the head of this Society and he is now Deputy Chairman of KBN and Vice Rector of Warsaw University: Professor Kuczewski is another former head of this Society who later became the Chairman of KBN; in addition to Professor Amsterdamski who was the founder of the Society. The Society was influential in an informal way since those people who were in the Council of the Society were considered to be leading figures in society by the media. The Head of the Society in 1998 was Professor Michal Nawrocki who was at the same time Vice Rector of Warsaw University (Bialecki Interview, 1998).

Another vehicle for interest articulation is the academic media. An example of the academic media in operation would include the following: eminent Professors belonging to some body writing a letter dealing with an issue which

is of general interest that is published by a newspaper. Interests articulated in this manner flow in a horizontal direction since the Professors are seeking to gain support from the general public for their interests, by informing the public about the issue.

Many Professors have positions within MEN, the government or are deputies in the Parliament and therefore this is another channel through which the academic community is able to articulate its interests. Having a former colleague who is now a government minister means that academics can exercise some bottom-up articulation of interests. Section 3.5, however, shows that this channel of interest articulation is not usually successful at having interests turned into government policy.

Trade unions are traditional conduit for expressing interests. The Federacja ZNP Szkol Wyzszych i Nauki (Federation of Polish Teachers' Associations of Higher Schools and the Science) established in 1983, has strong links with SLD, and the Higher Teachers' Section of the Solidarity Trade Union are potential vehicles through which the academic community may articulate its interests in a bottom-up manner. Likewise, section 3.5 explains why trade unions are not effective at influencing policy on higher education.

3.5 Efficiency of Interest Articulation by the Academic Community

An assessment of the efficiency of interest articulation by the academic community is presented below. Efficiency of interest articulation being conceptualised as the ability of certain sections or bodies within the academic community to have their interests transformed into government policy. Before attempting to answer the question of whether, or not, academics have any

influence in shaping government policy, it is important to distinguish between two main aspects of government policy. These are the financial and legislative components (Dolowy Interview, 1998).

With regard to the financial component of government policy then academics do not have very much influence. There is a common wisdom from the perspective of the academic community that it is impossible to explain how it could happen that so many Professors are in top governmental posts but are unable to guarantee enough money for universities (e.g. Balcerowicz and Kolodko were both accused). Academics thus have had "....personal representation...." in all Polish governments since 1989. This might lead to the conclusion that there is a certain kind of Professors' lobby in the government. In general, it does not work at all. One academic stated that this lobby works individually with regard to particular universities as he insisted that he would always support his university when working in the government. He went on to state,

> People expect from me (and it is very rooted, in a way, in that
> mentality) that it is fair that I support my university. In a certain sense,
> I prefer my university. It is fair because others will do the same.
> ....People openly say 'I would like to influence your decision because it
> is for the benefit of my university (Hausner Interview, 1998).

So there is a common consensus that the academic community has been ineffective in obtaining more money for higher education despite having close informal links with the Polish government:

> ....in fact, everything is based on money, and we get so little for
> education, and so little for science that our real freedom is limited by
> all those economic shortcomings. I was the Deputy Minister
> responsible for Higher Education in Mazowiecki's time but even being
> a member at the time and then [still having some influence later on] I
> can say that those nine years were a chain of frustration. There were
> very nice declarations and slogans that Education and Science are very
> important and that we should invest in them since education is not only

costing society but is also a good long term investment. When, however, it came to decisions about the Budget then all those nice slogans became just wishful thinking. I was a Minister and in the Council of Ministers (and my boss as the Minister did it) and I am doing it now, in a number of ways, trying to influence our Government and Parliament. Despite the fact that we have friends there, Professors and people who have just come from our community, we have met with token results. Ministers of National Education are familiar with the problems of higher education and understand academics' point of views but other government ministers (even if they are Professors who have just come from academic life) are not representing the academic community in government. So-called investment in education and science in Poland is now one of the lowest in Europe. Education has delayed effects so if we do not invest in education today then we don't see the negative effects until after ten years from now. ....Education is very, very low in the government's list of priorities (Grzelak Interview, 1998).

Academics are able to articulate their interests but it is not necessarily true that their opinions are taken seriously on all issues.

This is a very funny paradox because from among the politicians there are many intellectuals who turned to be politicians. And once they left the role of intellectual/academic Professor and started to play the role of professional politician, they do not have any sense of belongingness to the academic community for that time when they are serving as politicians. The Polish academic community is not a well-organised pressure group compared with coalminers who are a very well-organised pressure group. I would risk such a paradoxical thesis that the more who are in the power elite then the more economically difficult is the situation for science. ....Balcerowicz as the Finance Minister is rather like the Spanish collar. ....The economic situation of science is very difficult and there is no country in which science can survive on the free market because it is long distance investment and not always successful in a sense. So what we are observing now is a really dramatic situation for the academic community not with regard to the liberties of academic life, its security is preserved and we can do whatever we wish to do. We may do research of any kind with only one provision that we find money for that research. The structures of Polish academic life are such that they are strongly dependent on public finance. Our private sector is not developed enough to be a source of funding for fundamental research which by definition cannot be applied immediately (Wnuk-Lipinski Interview, 1998).

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Wnuk-Lipinski stated that there is articulation of interests by the academic community and referred to the public campaign carried out, during the first half of 1998, which aimed at a certain increase in the share of expenditures for science from the state budget. He pointed out that politicians are more likely to be persuaded by the social peace being undermined by various workers than by even the most eloquent articulations made publicly in the press (Wnuk-Lipinski Interview, 1998).

> If you look at this situation dynamically then you can say that higher education had different priorities in different governments. Sometimes it was even pretty high (e.g. Mazowiecki's government was the best period for higher education although the reforms were not introduced yet). Afterwards higher education slide down the declining curve of priorities. Under the SLD-PSL coalition government the declining process slowed down a little but this tendency was not reversed. It was easy to understand from the political point of view although I do not agree with that policy because I believe that it is very harmful for Polish society. But from the politician's point of view, for them the priority after they had lost this initial revolutionary euphoric support (because they had introduced reforms which were quite painful, so they lost support) was to keep the social peace. ....If students would have tremendous rallies on the streets then perhaps higher education and science would be higher on the government's list of priorities (Wnuk-Lipinski Interview, 1998).

So when academics become government ministers they tend to give priority to other interests such as: achieving low inflation; increasing employment; balancing the budget; promoting economic growth; ensuring that Poland's law is compatible with the EU's law; and so on. These are the state's interests. The interests of the academic community, including the Polish youth are being ignored when successive governments have refused to ensure that education and research have sufficient funding. As Szklarski has observed (1997) it is the interests of the state which are continuing to dominate the political agenda.

One academic stated that when he was working as a government advisor,[4] he tried to negotiate with the Rectors of the most important higher schools. The

political offer was high growth of wages for academics at the price of changing the existing structure of universities. This was mainly by simplifying the hierarchical employment structure of higher schools and making it easier to dismiss unproductive or unwanted academic staff. Ultimately, the Rectors refused the offer. He cited this unwillingness to change as evidence of a lack of strategic identity on the part of the academic community. The author agrees that in fact there is a lack of strategic identity but believes that this incident alone does not present conclusive proof of an absence of such an identity (Hausner Interview, 1998).

The academic community has been more successful at influencing the legislative aspect of government policy. Several of the academics interviewed pointed out that the 1990 Act on Higher Education strictly regulates the balance of power between the academic community and the government. Professor Grzelak and Gasiorowski were co-authors of this Act which contains self-imposed limits. The Act came into force in 1990 when the Communists were still in power and it was established by the opposition in order to limit the authority of the government. It was written during 1989 when everybody was afraid that if something would not be in the Act then it would turn out against him/her or the institution.[5] The Communists, however, were in still in power so the Act did not give the representatives of the academic community (i.e. the General Council) full authority. Special articles were put into the Act to protect higher schools against external factors. For instance, to protect themselves against the Ministry, the framers of the Act gave some powers to the General Council which has, in a certain way, become another external force. The Act has hindered reform of the Polish higher educational system since it regulates in great detail the decision-making structure of higher schools, and the composition of the bodies representing the academic community are also regulated in great detail by the Act. The whole system is rigid. It is prescribed and controlled by the Act and not by the Government or the academic

community so that both sides find their freedom limited by the Act (Chmielecka and Grzelak Interviews, 1998).

The opinion that the General Council was not an appropriate construction was also voiced. It was felt by the academic concerned that academic employees should not have the right to elect representatives to the General Council and that this right should belong to the Senates of higher educational institutions. The academic concerned felt that this was the way for workers to elect their trade union representatives but not a body such as the General Council since it has the right to decide about some aspects of the law on higher education. It was, therefore, the wrong lawyer's construction. Workers do not have the right to decide about legislation concerning labour and social laws so why should higher educational teachers have the right to decide on some aspects of higher educational law. According to this academic there is no emanation of right power to right power. On the other hand, this argument was rejected by other academics (Hausner and Pelczar Interviews, 1998).

All academics interviewed identified the General Council for Higher Education as the most formal body through which academics' interests are represented. By law, the Ministry of National Education must consult the General Council. Although some academics asserted that the General Council of Higher Education is very efficient as a consulting body (i.e. as a body consulting different initiatives of the Ministry), most of the academics interviewed, stated that it was not effective in asking for more money for salaries. In a sense the General Council guarantees a voice for academics in the government policy-making process. In principle if not in reality, academics do have some influence since the General Council and KBN are largely elected. It does not, however, appear that the General Council's institutional make-up allows it to adequately represent academics' interests. When twenty-four chemists from eleven different Polish higher educational institutions were asked if they felt that their

interests were adequately represented by the General Council only one academic replied in the affirmative. Fifteen stated that their interests were not adequately represented by the General Council while the remaining eight stated that they did not know (Krynica Interviews, 1998). Apart from the General Council there are no other direct representatives because, for example, the Polish Academy of Sciences is a separate academic institution which does not fulfil any educational function[6] but it is also a contender regarding grants and resources for research work. So PAN competes with higher schools and universities and therefore PAN is not a representative of higher schools and universities (Hausner Interview, 1998).

Universities have a very high degree of autonomy with respect to government with the largest HEIs having a larger degree of autonomy than other smaller universities. The Jagiellonian University is more autonomous than the Higher School of Pedagogy in Krakow (Simlat Interview, 1998). Total university autonomy is an elusive concept because (with regard to state universities) universities are dependent on the government for funding. State support constitutes the vast majority of universities' budgets. With regard to autonomy within universities then Faculties are very strong. The Jagiellonian University has decentralised the system of financing so that most of the financing of Faculties depends upon the Dean of a given Faculty and his advisory board. The role of the central university administration is to find a good compromise between Faculties as regards to the division of the budget. Given the large degree of autonomy possessed by Faculties it is therefore more difficult for the university to execute some centralised policy such as a general strategic vision for the development of the university since no central funds are available for the execution of the project and the Deans do not always agree with a given project (Szymonski Interview, 1998).

Several academics cited the academic media as being very influential in shaping public opinion. Letters are more likely to be published by the Polish press if they are signed by some expert at one of Poland's prestigious universities, or a known academic with a good reputation or by a group of Rectors or Deans. As a result public opinion considers higher education institutions to be under-invested and considers this to be a tragedy and a very important issue (Bialecki Interview, 1998).

The academic media's rationalisation of the urgent need for increased funding in higher education and research was criticised. According to one academic, the academic media believes that Poland has a much lower share of public expenditure for research and development than less developed countries, and this, therefore, is a sign of Poland's deterioration as a consequence of incorrect government policies. The academic media also argues that since higher education is a strong factor stimulating economic growth then universities should receive more money. This "....very simple rationalisation...." was criticised as a failure to understand the economic situation in a dynamic way. It is claimed that the academic media disregards the government's budget by failing to understand that there is a relationship between different groups claiming money and that it does not understand the politics behind it. He went on to say that "you have to be there [in government] to understand that it is not easy to introduce your ideas even if you are convinced." (Hausner Interview, 1998).

Waning influence by the 'Society for the Support and Spread of Public Understanding of Sciences' on higher educational issues has taken place since 1989. After the election of a democratic government and the transition to a market economy, these 'dissidents' came to power to govern as there was a lack of administrators in different branches of society. When the newly elected post-Communist government was looking for people in the top administration in

education and science it recruited many people from this Society which had had some tradition of political independence also its key eminent members were used to holding top management positions in university or scientific institutions. Arguably, the Society was able to influence the management of education and research through the informal views and judgements of its members. Its influence decreased during the 1990s because of the more stable management in the top administration of higher education. Thus, the Society did not have a formal influence but those people in the Society's Council or who were most active in the Society usually had a good reputation and held a second prestigious position within the higher educational establishment and so by definition could influence different decisions on different levels which are related to science.

Another informal way in which the academic community may make its views known to MEN is the fact that since there are so many Professors working within MEN then there are some feelings within MEN that if it makes some changes that concern academics then they should organise in a more or less formal way consultations with academics. One academic stated that MEN is "....passive and careful...." when it comes to introducing any changes for fear of antagonising the academic community. He cited the example of the attempt to introduce a Law on Higher Vocational Schools. This was a Law which would allow separate higher educational institutions to be set up and to be governed by local government. These new higher schools would be vocational schools and would run short cycle degree courses known as Bachelor degrees. MEN attempted to pass the bill during 1993/4. The draft law was sent out to the Senates of the Polish universities who then had the opportunity to review it. The 'academic community' feared that if this new sort of higher educational institution was set up then since the pool of money for higher educational institutions was not to be increased, the already existing higher educational institutions would get less money. It is believed that the opposition of

academics to this Law on Higher Vocational Schools indirectly influenced MEN and the Law was not passed at that time.[7]

Jerschina (1998) has claimed that Polish academics have very little influence on government policy due to the hierarchical nature of the academic system. Those at the top, Deans and Professors, feel happy and do not want to change anything. He also stated that the academic community has not articulated its interests, and that students in the nineties are extremely passive. Another academic insisted that the problem is not whether the interests of academics are represented but whether the interests of the whole country from the point of view of higher education and science are represented. The academic in question did not believe that the interests of the latter were well-represented. He stated that the situation is bad but many Professors do not want to change it. Professors, according to this academic's argument, believe that universities are their own property and there is an increasing tendency for Professors to form their own Institutes instead of chairs. In reality, there is nothing behind these Institutes (Anonymous Interview, 1998).

The Federacja ZNP Szkol Wyzszych i Nauki (Federation of Polish Teachers' Associations of Higher Schools and the Science) was established in 1983 and has strong links with SLD. ZNP has not had a good relationship with the Solidarity governments and claims that it is never consulted on government policy (Cybulski Interview, 1998). In both the ZNP and Solidarity trade unions, the overall proportion of university teachers to other workers is very small, and as a result they do not properly represent the interests of academic teachers (Przybysz Interview, 1998). Bialecki has also stated that trade unions are mostly unsuccessful at influencing higher educational policy (Bialecki Interview, 1998). This represents a stark contrast with other economic sectors such as agriculture or mining. The relatively smaller numbers involved in higher education as compared with these other sectors means that the threat of public

disturbance from the higher educational community is not feared by the Polish Government as much as potential public disturbance from miners and farmers.

Academics have not been very successful in transforming their interests into government policy. Among the most important reasons for this is the fact that a lack of strategic identity among the academic community inhibits the effective articulation of interests. Despite the fact that so many Professors hold top governmental positions, the academic community has been unable to obtain more funding for higher education and research. The General Council, although considered to be an efficient consulting body, has also failed to gain more money for higher education and research. Unable to influence the government's financial policy, the academic community has attempted to shape legislation on higher education by taking part in the debate on the proposed new Law on Higher Education.

3.6 Case Study of Interest Articulation: Preparation of the New Law on Higher Education

It is claimed that every Pole has a tradition of independence and that this is reflected in the fact that within the academic community there is a desire for everybody to decide on his/her own and that is why the main problem is a lack of correlation among different initiatives.[8] There are many different initiatives relating to academic reform. One example of this is the discussion on the new Law on Higher Education which started several years ago. The original Law on Higher Education (passed in September 1990) was the first law to be passed after the crash of the Communist regime because preparation on it had begun in the late 1980s. Due to the fact that it had been prepared during Communist times then, arguably it omitted some radical changes. Work on the new Law on Higher Education did not begin until 1994/5 because just after the collapse of

Communism the 1990 Law on Higher Education was still brand new and it was considered too early to revise it (Frankowicz Interview, 1998).

Preparation for the new law on Higher Education began in earnest in 1997 when the so-called Yellow Book was published in September of that year; and a revised version of the book was published in February 1998.[9] These Yellow Books were elaborated and published by an independent group but this group was closely tied to the General Council of Higher Education. The group was led by Professor Jerzy Osiowski who used to be the Chairman of the General Council during its last term. When the first Yellow Book was published it was sent to the universities and almost immediately the Rectors of universities articulated their dislike of it. Another proposal concerning the reform of higher schools was published in March 1998 and became known as the Green Book.[10] The proposals contained in the Green Book came from another section of the 'academic community'[11], the Conference of Rectors of Academic Schools (KRASP) and this Book is more radical than the Yellow Books. In March 1998, the Ministry of National Education appointed a special working group, of only two people, one of them representing the yellow side and the other, the green side. Both of these people are academics and lawyers (Professors Sewerynski and Wojtyla) and their task was to elaborate a new proposal on behalf of MEN for the Bill on Higher Education. This new Bill was unveiled at the beginning of July 1998.[12]

Both the Green and Yellow books are trying to make this Bill not so tight and rigid for higher schools. In all there are three different proposals[13] for the new Bill but only one is the initiative of MEN, the other two are lobbies. Those groups who have prepared their proposals on the law are lobbying and articulating their interests. Both these books have been generated by the same academic community. This means that one group of Professors produced one booklet and another group of Professors produced a different booklet. Some

academics claim that there are too many bodies in Poland claiming to represent higher schools and universities. This would support Szklarski's argument that an excessive plurality of interests prevails in Polish society. As mentioned above in the Polish higher educational sector, there is the Conference of Rectors of Polish [General] Universities (KRUP); the Conference of Rectors of Technical Universities (KRPUT); and then there is another body which combines both of the aforementioned ones, the Conference of Rectors of Polish Academic Schools (KRASP). These bodies have no legal status unlike the General Council (RGSW) and hence there are no formal links between these bodies and the RGSW. Although all these bodies are meant to represent the academic community, they usually have totally different proposals. According to some academics there is the danger that if you have many different bodies and all of these bodies proposes something then because there are too many bodies, no decisions are taken.[14]

The drafting of the new Law on Higher Education has passed through the following stages: 1) May 1998 - 1st draft of new law completed by MEN's two-person Commission; 2) July 1998 - revised by another team of academics, followed by general discussion of the Bill among academics; 3) March 1999 - the final proposal for the new Law should have been drafted and submitted to the Sejm for debate (Pelczar Interview).

There were some discussions about the inner structure of HEIs and there was an overwhelming consensus that the general law (i.e. the new Act) should be a really general one so that as many things as possible would be decided by the internal regulations of HEIs. For example, the organisational structure of higher schools, relations between the Rector and Senate, and the structure of Senate are all expected to be delegated to the inner regulations of higher schools. The 1990 Higher Educational Act is a very rigid scheme embedded in the general law and everything is decided by this Act. As mentioned in chapter 2, the

crucial and most difficult point is that Polish Constitutional Law (Art. 70, para. 2) states that education is free but also that some educational services may be paid for.[15] The problem is how to define for which educational services students may have to pay (Pelczar Interview, 1998).

It is a question of the relationship between three pillars observed in the higher educational system:
1) the State represented by MEN;
2) the General Council which acts as an academic parliament; and
3) the Rectors' Conference[16].
It is believed that this will be solved when the Accreditation Committee is created under the new Law, freeing the General Council of many duties and allowing it time to develop a strategic vision for higher education. Professor Pelczar also stated that he believed that the Conference of Rectors and the General Council cooperated well together but that Rectors have no time to discuss particular questions. Rectors are representing their schools while the General Council is "....completely free of that and is representing the general society." The General Council decides after voting while Rectors find it difficult to agree. Universities are autonomous and a Rector may say, 'Sorry, but I am against that policy' or 'My Senate is against it.' (Pelczar Interview)

Some of the academics interviewed have claimed that the academic community has adequate representation within the Government's decision-making process and that the question which should in fact be asked is what do academics articulate rather then whether or not, they are able to articulate. Many academics are agreed that what the academic community articulates is very narrow and is not a strategic perspective of higher education. They demand material resources and not institutional changes. More controversially, some academics stated that the problem was the way in which academic representation was based because they represent their own university and do not

represent any strategic perspective. It was also claimed that these bodies were not the engine of institutional change and reform but were in fact channels to create more resources and that was all. Summing up this point of view, such academic representation is argued to represent a very narrow corporatist identity and does not represent a strategic vision (Hausner Interview). Not surprisingly, other academics disagree with this statement and were adamant that bodies such as the General Council of Higher Education did in fact possess a strategic perspective and its members were not representing their individual universities (Pelczar Interview).

3.7 Conclusion

The above analysis of the structural and procedural aspects of interest articulation serves as a measure of the degree of democratic pluralism existing within one sphere of Polish society. Certain channels of interest articulation are more open than others to the flow of interests. For example, it has been shown that the General Council allows greater scope for the effective articulation of interests than KBN. Similarly, the type of issue area within which interests are situated is a crucial determinant of, whether or not, these interests will be transformed into government policy. Interests seeking the reform of legislation have more chance of success than those interests aiming to influence the Government's financial policies.

Although unsuccessful at influencing the Polish Government's funding policies, certain sections of the Polish academic community have been able to have some influence on legislative policies. In general though, the excessive pluralism of the academic community prevents it from acting as an effective and powerful pressure group. Most recently, this excessive pluralism has been observed in many different proposals relating to the proposed new Law on Higher

Education. As many as nine suggestions with regard to the payment of university tuition fees by students are under consideration. The rigidity of the 1990 Act on Higher Education limits the scope for reform, and it is to be hoped that the introduction of the new Law on Higher Education will remedy this.

Despite exhibiting a large degree of openness, channels of interest articulation within the Polish higher educational system are subject to several constraints such as the rigidity of the 1990 Act on Schools of Higher Education, and ineffective trade union representation. Such constraints serve to inhibit the successful articulation of interests. It is the external environment in which the academic community is forced to operate which places these constraints upon it, thus affecting the behaviour of individuals within the academic community. Another crucial factor affecting the behaviour of individuals is political culture which has the potential to reinforce these constraints or to lessen them. Chapter Three has analysed the external factors conditioning political behaviour among the academic community - the ways in which interests are articulated. Chapter Four examines whether or not Polish students' political culture has the capacity to enrich democratic pluralism within Polish higher education, and also within the Polish state as a whole.

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[1] For more details on the methodological analysis employed see the Introductory Chapter to this thesis.

[2] Interest articulation by students has been adversely affected during the 1990s by the reduced number of scholarships, the declining value of these scholarships and the fact that many students are forced to take part-time jobs and have no time to become involved in students' organisations.

[3] In the current KBN Commission, however, there is no representative from any of higher schools in Krakow which after Warsaw is the second largest centre of higher education in Poland.

[4]The academic, in question, was the Chief of Economic Advisors between 1994-96 at the Finance Ministry under Finance Minister Kolodko.

[5] Polish law (unlike US and Scottish and English Law) is not based on case law. This means that Polish law has to be extremely detailed so that it covers all possible situations.

[6] This is gradually changing as some Polish Academy of Sciences, such as the Institute of Political Studies in Warsaw, are beginning to teach students.

[7]The Act on Schools of Higher Vocational Education was eventually passed on 26 June 1997. See MEN (1997) for details.

[8] See Chapter One for an analysis of Polish political culture.

[9] The title of the Yellow Books was „Zalozenia. Reformy Prawa o Szkolnictwie Wyzszego" [Proposal for the Reform of the Law Regarding Higher Schools] (Warsaw: February 1998 and Sept 1997).

[10] The title of the Green Book is, *Model of the Public Institution of Higher Education and Its Systemic Environment. Principal Course of Higher Education Law Amendment* (edited by Jerzy Woznicki) (Warsaw: KRASP, March 1998).

[11] This section of the academic community led by Professor Jerzy Woznicki has also published proposals which recommended combining mixed financing of higher education (from the State budget and by charging students fees) and the introduction of a loan system for students. For further details see Woznicki (1997 and 1998).

[12]The Polish Minister of National Education, Miroslaw Handke (1997-present) gave one section of the Polish academic community a private preview of the proposed Bill on Higher Education at the Annual Conference of Polish Chemists in Krynica in May 1998. The author of this thesis was present at that meeting. This is an example of the Polish Government promoting interest articulation within the academic community.

[13]Furthermore, nine different proposals with regard to students' payment of partial university tuition fees are under consideration.

[14] See Chapter Four for a discussion of how the TEMPUS Programme may assist Polish academics in their attempts to correlate their initiatives and thus introduce some order into the Polish higher educational decision-making structures.

[15]Refer to Chapter Two, Section 2.7.

For information about the opinions of Rectors of higher schools on the Polish higher university system in the 1990s see Chmielecka (1997).

Chapter 4

Polish Students' Political Culture: Results of Student Questionnaire[1]

4.1 Introduction

Up until now the 'hardware'[2] of democracy has been examined with a focus on institutions and laws in the external environment, and also upon channels of interest articulation, which influence the actions of agents within the sphere of Polish higher education. An analysis of the political 'software' of democracy, namely political culture is now given. The results of the student questionnaire distributed by the author to three Polish higher educational institutions within the city of Krakow are analysed below.[3] The Introductory Chapter explained the methodology employed during the conceptualisation and distribution of the student questionnaire. Suffice it to reiterate that 236 questionnaires were distributed and all the questionnaires were returned completed although in a minority of questionnaires some of the answers had been omitted. Attitudinal data is sought in this chapter through the use of frequency tables.[4] Essentially Chapter Four seeks to present students' attitudes towards, and opinions regarding, the issues / questions raised in the questionnaire. This aids the determination of the particular kind of political sub-culture, generally, possessed by Polish students. The analysis of the data is broken down into sections seeking to measure the following attitudes of students: the degree of authoritarianism; attitudes concerning teaching methods; the extent of nationalism; students' attitudes towards the teaching of 'European Studies';

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attitudes towards the European Union and its TEMPUS Programme; and attitudes towards continued public financing of higher education and higher education's accessibility; and students' beliefs about liberal democracy. In the final sections there is a focus on whether or not, Polish students possess a 'European' identity, the extent of students' participation in the most recent Parliamentary elections and in the Constitutional Referendum. In the second part of Chapter Four statistically significant correlations[5] are analysed with a view to enlightening the reader about the political culture and identity of a sub-group of European youth, Polish students from Krakow.

4.2 Authoritarianism/Liberalism

Standard questions used in previous surveys to establish whether respondents' values were authoritarian or liberal were included in the questionnaire. Two questions (1 and 2) directly attempted to measure attitudes to authoritarianism/liberalism while responses to another two questions (16 and 17) represented an indirect measure of the degree of authoritarianism/liberalism.

Question 1: The majority should never be allowed to abolish minority rights.
Question 2: It may be necessary to ban certain political parties/groups which are likely to cause public disorder or trouble.

Findings from question 1 indicate that the overwhelming majority of students questioned (88.5 per cent) possess liberal values since they are opposed to the suppression of the rights of minority groups by the majority group. Responses to the statement in the question 1 showed that 37.4 per cent of students who answered that question completely agreed with the statement; 51.1 per cent stated that they agreed mostly; 2.6 per cent were either undecided or did not

know; while only 7.7 per cent disagreed mostly and 1.3 per cent completely disagreed. Question 2 contained a leading statement in the direction of authoritarianism as opposed to question 1 which was orientated towards liberal responses. Results derived from question 2 indicated that of all the students who answered the question 43 per cent completely disagreed with the statement; 42.6 per cent disagree mostly; 3.4 per cent either stated that they were undecided or did not know; 8.5 per cent agreed mostly; and only 2.6 per cent completely agreed. Again, these responses show that the vast majority of the Polish students (85.6 per cent) had anti-authoritarian views.

Question 16: Presidential government is preferable to Parliamentary government.
Question 17: The powers of the Polish President should be strengthened.

Questions 16 and 17 are indirect measures of authoritarianism since people with authoritarian attitudes tend to favour the decisive government that the concentration of power in the hands of a charismatic leader brings rather than parliamentary government which is likely to rely more upon compromise causing delays in decision-making. Answers to question 16 are: 7.2 per cent completely agreed that presidential government is preferable to parliamentary government; 26 per cent agreed mostly; a large percentage of the students who responded (36.2 per cent) were undecided or did not know; 22.6 per cent disagreed mostly; and 8.1 per cent completely disagreed. Two things are significant about these responses. Firstly, the majority of responses fell into the 'undecided or didn't know' category. This would seem to indicate that students were not aware of the differences between the both forms of government because of their limited experience of democracy. Or, students may have been confused by the fact that Poland possesses a semi-presidential system of government where most of the power is concentrated in Parliament but the Polish President, acting as Head of State, possesses some limited powers.

Secondly, the percentage of students who preferred presidential government to parliamentary government (33.2 per cent) was only slightly greater than the percentage of students who favoured parliamentary government (30.7 per cent).[6] Students were almost evenly divided as to what was the best system of government. Answers to question 17, which seeks responses to the assertion that the powers of the Polish President should be strengthened, confirm students' responses to question 16 by showing, again, that students are evenly split in their responses with a large percentage stating that they are undecided or do not know. Of the students who responded, 12.1 per cent completely agreed that the powers of the Polish President should be strengthened; 25.9 per cent agreed mostly; 23.3 per cent were undecided or didn't know; 25.9 per cent disagreed mostly; and 12.9 per cent completely disagreed. Adding together the percentages given for the 'completely agree and 'agree mostly' categories and also adding together the figures for the 'disagree mostly' and 'completely disagree' categories shows that 38 per cent of students favoured strengthening the Polish president's powers while 38.8 per cent were against doing so. Students were, therefore, evenly split on this question just as they had been on question 16.

4.3 Tolerance

Questions 4 and 5 have been used in past questionnaires to measure levels of tolerance. Responses to these questions are expected to reflect the answers given to the questions measuring authoritarianism since people who are authoritarian tend to be less tolerant.

Question 4: Freedom of speech justifies the teaching of foreign or disloyal ideas in our universities.

Question 5: When it comes to things that count the most, all races, religious groups, and nationalities are equal.

The following responses were generated by question 4: 24.2 per cent of respondents completely agreed that the fundamental democratic right of freedom of speech justified the teaching of foreign or disloyal ideas in their universities; 38.6 per cent agreed mostly; 18.8 per cent were undecided or did not know; 12.6 per cent disagreed mostly; and 5.8 per cent completely disagreed. Although over two fifths of respondents (62.8 per cent) did not favour restrictions on the freedom of speech a significant minority of nearly one fifth of respondents (18.4 per cent) did not agree with the statement that freedom of speech justifies the teaching of foreign or disloyal ideas in their universities. Furthermore, another one fifth of respondents (18.8 per cent) stated that they were undecided or did not know. These results indicate, again, that the majority of students were tolerant of opposing views and of other races, cultures and religions although a significant minority were intolerant.

In question 5 an overwhelming majority of students (89 per cent) completely agreed that when it comes to things that count the most, all races, religious groups, and nationalities are equal. 8.9 per cent mostly agreed with this statement while only 1.3 per cent disagreed mostly and an almost negligible minority of 0.8 per cent completely disagreed. Considering responses to both questions 4 and 5, the majority of Polish students were found to be tolerant.

4.4 Nationalism

Question 3: Our political institutions are the best in East Central Europe.
Question 11: Teaching about other countries' histories, governments, cultures, and peoples is less important than teaching about our nation's history and our achievements.
Question 12: Concerning history, social studies, and civic education, we should eliminate isolationist, provincial, and nationalistic themes from the curriculum.

The responses to question 3 shows that 3.5 per cent of respondents completely agreed with the statement; 20.3 per cent agreed mostly; 41.6 per cent were undecided or did not know; 28.1 per cent disagreed mostly; and 6.5 per cent completely disagreed. Polish students, on the whole, do not appear to be overly nationalistic[7] or patriotic, since only a minority of students completely agreed with the statement. In question 11, an overwhelming majority of students (73.3 per cent) either completely agreed (33.5 per cent) or agreed mostly (39.8 per cent) with the statement that the teaching of other countries' histories, governments, cultures, and peoples is less important than teaching about their nation's history and their achievements. 3.8 per cent of students completely disagreed with the statement, and 14 per cent disagreed mostly while 8.9 per cent either stated that they were undecided or did not know. According to question 11, the majority of Polish students (73.3 per cent) were nationalistic. Again, as in question 3, a significant minority (17.8 per cent) were not nationalistic. Question 12 was articulated in non-nationalistic terms and actually rephrased question 11 which had been formed so that it was biased towards nationalistic answers. The results for question 12 indicated that 34.2 per cent of students who responded completely agreed with the statement that in subjects such as history, social studies, and civic education, isolationist, provincial, and nationalistic themes should be eliminated from the curriculum. 27.8 per cent of students agreed mostly; 15.8 per cent were undecided or did

not know; 12 per cent disagreed mostly and 10.3 per cent completely disagreed with the statement. Thus, a majority of students (62 per cent) were non-nationalistic while a significant minority (22.3 per cent) give nationalistic responses. Questions 11 and 12 purport to measure the same variable - the degree of nationalism possessed by Polish university students but they give contradictory results. Results from questions 11 and 12 demonstrate two things. Firstly, the way in which a question is phrased can influence the answers given by respondents. Question 11 was a leading statement in the direction of nationalism so that it was more likely that students responses would indicate that they were strongly nationalistic while question 12 was phrased so that the answers given would be biased towards eliciting non-nationalistic answers. In both cases the majority of students agreed to some extent with both statements perhaps indicating that they had not given either of the questions much consideration. Secondly, it could be argued that the questions were not measuring the same variable (i.e. nationalism) but two different variables. Two different types of nationalism could have been measured here. Question 11 may actually measure a type of nationalism that is inclusive and non-threatening to other cultures and countries - patriotism defined as pride in / love of country. Indeed, the terminology used in question 11 suggests that it is measuring precisely this form of all-embracing nationalism, which is more correctly referred to as patriotism. Arguably, question 12 refers to an exclusive form of nationalism that is much more than just possessing a natural pride in one's country and its achievements but is more akin to the form of nationalism exhibited in the ethnic wars in the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s. Again, the terminology used in question 12 such as 'isolationist', 'nationalistic', 'provincial' refers to an exclusionary form of nationalism.[8]

4.5 Teaching Methods in Polish Universities

Question 8: Concerning teaching in universities, students should be encouraged to be active, involved and critical learners.

Question 9: Assessment of results should be based on less formal means, such as continuous assessment and class participation.

Question 10: Concerning teaching in universities, students should take competitive exams so that high achievers are rewarded.

These questions are designed to measure the degree of authoritarianism with regard to teaching in the classroom exhibited by Polish students. Past surveys have indicated that people who believe in more authoritarian ways of teaching are likely to hold other authoritarian values including the belief in the efficacy of authoritarian measures taken by a government. Responses to question 8 indicated that an overwhelming majority of students (89.3 per cent) either completely agreed (61.5 per cent) or agreed mostly (27.8 per cent) with the statement that in universities, students should be encouraged to be active, involved and critical learners. 7.7 per cent of student stated that they were undecided or did not know while only 2.6 per cent disagreed mostly and 0.4 per cent completely disagreed. Polish students do not, therefore, appear to favour authoritarian teaching methods. It is instructive to examine the responses to questions 9 and 10 in order to determine whether or not, these responses are consistent with those obtained in question 8.

With regard to question 9, the majority of students (64.8 per cent) who responded favoured less formal means of assessment while a significant minority (27.5 per cent) were largely opposed to this. Broken down the results from question 9 are as follows: 30.1 per cent completely agreed that less formal means of assessment should be used in universities; 34.7 per cent mostly agreed; 7.6 per cent stated that they were undecided or did not know; 19.9 per

cent disagreed mostly; and 7.6 per cent completely disagreed. Students'
responses to question 10 completely contradicted those in question 9. A large
majority of students in question 10 (72.7 per cent) agreed that university
students should take competitive exams in order for the high achievers to be
awarded. Of this 72.7 per cent who agreed, 29.1 per cent completely agreed
while 43.6 per cent agreed mostly. Only 4.7 per cent disagreed mostly and 3 per
cent completely disagreed. 19.7 per cent of students who responded stated that
they were undecided or did not know.

It is apparent that the responses given by students to questions 9 and 10 are
contradictory since both questions are measuring the degree of authoritarianism
in the classroom. In question 9, the majority of students gave a non-
authoritarian response while students responses to question 10 indicate that the
majority possess authoritarian beliefs with regard to teaching methods. One
explanation for these responses is the existence of the bias used in the phrasing
of the questions. Question 9 was biased towards encouraging a non-
authoritarian response since it asked to what extent students agreed or disagreed
with the statement that 'Assessment of results should be based on less formal
means, such as continuous assessment and class participation.' Question 10
meanwhile was biased in the direction of authoritarianism since it asked
students to indicate to what extent they agreed or disagreed with the statement
that 'Concerning teaching in universities, students should take competitive
exams so that high achievers are rewarded.' Biasing questions in this way has
influenced the responses given by the students. Another explanation is that
perhaps students favoured a combination of both forms of assessment. This is
possible since some students do perform well under examination conditions
while others tend to under perform in exams and prefer to have their marks
graded by continuous assessment.

4.6 Students' attitudes towards the teaching of 'European Studies' in their universities

Question 7: Poland's future membership of the EU is the only important reason for Poles to learn about the EU.

Question 13: It is important that all Polish university students regardless of subjects studied take courses in European Studies.

Question 14: Students studying subjects such as engineering do not need to learn about European history.

Question 15: Participating in courses about EU states and institutions has helped to strengthen my sense of belonging to 'Europe'.

The largest category of responses (50 per cent) agreed mostly with the statement, in question 7, that Poland's prospective membership of the European Union is the only important reason for Poles to learn about the EU while 10.3 per cent of respondents completely agreed with this statement. This suggests that most students believe that other valid reasons (maybe not as important as Poland's future membership of the EU) exist to justify Poles increasing their knowledge and understanding of the EU. This assertion is supported by the fact that a significant minority of 30.8 per cent disagreed with the statement. (9 per cent said that they were undecided or did not know; 23.5 per cent disagreed mostly; and 7.3 per cent completely disagreed.)

The results of questions 13, 14, and 15 which all measure students' attitudes towards the teaching of European studies in Polish universities display a degree of consistency in so much as the responses obtained do not contradict each other. Also, all the responses indicate that the majority Polish students hold a favourable attitude towards the teaching of European Studies in Polish universities, and would seem to agree that it is beneficial and that they can learn a great deal from it.

Question 13 required students to express the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the statement that 'It is important that all Polish university students regardless of subjects studied take courses in European Studies.' Responses showed that 16.2 per cent completely agreed with the statement; 42.7 per cent agreed mostly; more than one fifth of respondents (22.6 per cent) either stated that they were undecided or did not know; 11.1 per cent disagreed mostly; and 7.3 per cent completely disagreed. A majority of Polish students (58.9 per cent) believed that the teaching of European Studies was worthwhile. In order to check the validity of the responses to question 13, question 14 asked about one particular subject, European history, within European Studies and whether students studying apparently unrelated subjects like engineering needed to learn about European history. Question 14 was biased towards eliciting a negative answer with regard to the importance of teaching European Studies while question 13 had been biased towards gaining positive answers. 8.9 per cent of students completely agreed that it was not necessary for students studying engineering to learn about European history; 17.9 per cent agreed mostly; 15.7 per cent were undecided or stated that they did not know; 34.9 per cent disagreed mostly; and 22.6 per cent completely disagreed. A majority of students (57.5 per cent) therefore recognised the importance of European Studies while a significant minority (26.8 per cent) did not believe that the subject had an intrinsic value but only an instrumental one.

According to the responses elicited by question 15, a majority of students (54 per cent) believed that participating in courses about European Union (EU) member states and institutions had helped to strengthen their sense of belonging to 'Europe' but a significant minority (22.6 per cent) did not agree with this statement. 21.3 per cent completely agreed that courses on the EU had contributed to strengthening their sense of belonging to Europe; 32.8 per cent agreed mostly; 23.4 per cent were undecided; 14.5 per cent disagreed mostly;

and 8.1 per cent completely disagreed. It is possible that the minority of students who disagreed with the statement contained in question 15 already possessed a strong European identity.

Teaching about the various forms of liberal democratic political cultures existing in EU member states will in itself help to shape Polish students' own political cultures. For a democratic political culture does not precede the transition process but only appears at the very end of the transformation process when democratic consolidation has occurred.[9]Thus, exposure to other democratic political cultures helps imbue Polish students with shared values and nurtures the development of a single political culture.

4.7 Attitudes towards the European Union's TEMPUS Programme

Question 6: The EU's assistance in the reform of Polish higher education through TEMPUS has been positive and useful.

Responses to question 6 were as follows: 26.6 per cent completely agreed; 28.4 per cent agreed mostly; 38. 9 per cent were undecided or did not know; only 4.4 per cent disagreed mostly; and only 1.7 per cent completely disagreed. The fact that the largest body of responses fell into the 'undecided or don't know' category suggests that many students are either not aware of the existence of the TEMPUS Programme or what it does. Interestingly though, a majority of students (55 per cent) did indicate that they believed that the EU through TEMPUS had made a positive contribution to the reform of the Polish higher educational system. It is unclear how students who are unaware of the EU's TEMPUS Programme believe it to have had a favourable impact on the reform of the Polish higher educational system. The only explanation that may be given

is that students, generally, have favourable impressions of the European Union's attempts to reform Polish higher education although they might not be aware of specific EU programmes such as TEMPUS.

The results of question 25 confirm that Polish students are unaware of the important contribution that the EU has made to both the reform of the Polish higher educational system and to the promotion of liberal democracy in Poland. When students were asked to choose from the list below, the single most important international factor in increasing their knowledge and understanding of liberal democracy the results were as follows:

Polish universities/schools	43.9 per cent;
Foreign press, magazines or journal articles	19.7 per cent;
Undecided/Don't Know	15.8 per cent;
United States	15.4 per cent;
European Union and its programmes such as TEMPUS	3.5 per cent;
Non-governmental organisations (e.g. Soros Foundation)	1.3 per cent;
Other	0.4 per cent.

The results show that most students (43.9 per cent) believed that Polish universities and schools had been responsible for increasing their awareness of liberal democracy while only a very small minority had stated that the EU was responsible. This is a very complex issue as Polish universities had to apply to TEMPUS and other EU funding bodies for assistance while some may teach about democracy without EU aid. Many of the courses run at Polish universities, in particular, that teach about the principles of liberal democracy and the EU have been funded by the EU through one of its programmes, usually TEMPUS. Students are, therefore, unaware of the full extent of the EU's contribution to the reform of the Polish educational system. When asked in question 29 whether or not, they had been aware of the existence of the

TEMPUS Programme, only 24.1 per cent of students who responded said that they had been aware of TEMPUS while the vast majority (75.9 per cent) answered that they had been unaware of its existence. Only 6.5 per cent of students claimed to have benefited from EU assistance either under the TEMPUS Programme or other EU-funded programmes. Perhaps lecturers do not discuss funding with students. TEMPUS can only hope to reach a small proportion of students, directly, but the effects of TEMPUS on Polish higher education are felt in other ways.[10] Since TEMPUS gives assistance to Polish students via institutions of higher education, students may mistakenly attribute this assistance to individual Polish HEIs instead of the TEMPUS Programme. As demonstrated in Section 4.4 using students' responses to question (11) the majority of Polish students are patriotic so they may be reluctant to admit that the EU or another international body has been the single most important factor in increasing their understanding of liberal democracy. Polish HEIs were included in this list because of their international contacts and the fact that many other international bodies such as the EU and the Soros foundation act through HEIs in order to promote liberal democracy. Unsurprisingly perhaps, given the patriotism of Polish students, Polish universities and schools were rated as the single most important factor in improving their comprehension of liberal democracy.

4.8 Students' attitudes towards higher education

Qu. 18: Given the lack of state money available for education, it is only fair that university students should contribute towards the cost of their courses.

Qu. 19: Equality of access to higher education has increased for all (regardless of social background) since 1989.

Qu. 20: Education is a right, not a privilege and should be free for all.

For question 18, only 6.4 per cent of students who answered completely agreed that given the lack of state money available for education in Poland then university students should be prepared to contribute towards the cost of their courses. Just over one fifth of students (21.5 per cent) indicated that they agreed mostly with the statement while 15 per cent of students either declared themselves to be undecided or did not know. A slight majority of students, 57.1 per cent, stated that they were against students having to make partial contributions towards the cost of their university education (24.9 per cent disagreed mostly and 32.2 per cent completely disagreed). Perhaps this may be a reflection of the fact that Polish political culture stresses attachment to the community (Szajkowski, 1997: 157). This aspect of Polish political culture has been reinforced by more than four decades of Communist rule which negated individualism in order to promote state-sponsored collectivist activity. A similar social collectivist memory exists in the United Kingdom since British students have also objected to the introduction of tuition fees by the Labour government which traditionally espoused such social collectivist values.[11]

When asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with the statement contained in question 19 only 12.4 per cent of students questioned completely agreed that equality of access to higher education has increased for all, regardless of social background, since 1989. Students who stated that they agreed mostly with the statement amounted to 23.5 per cent while 17.9 per cent of students questioned stated that they were either undecided or did not know. 24.8 per cent of students disagreed mostly and 21.4 per cent completely disagreed that since the downfall of Communism in Poland, equality of access to higher education had increased. The relatively even spread of answers to question 19 highlights two trends which have characterised the development of higher education in post-1989 Poland. The first trend detailed in earlier chapters has been the almost threefold expansion (in terms of student numbers) of the higher educational system in this relatively short time frame. Accompanying

this trend, has been the reduction in the value and number of grants available to students. This generation of students has been the first in post-war Poland that has had to find part-time employment in order to supplement, or in place of, their grant. For students from poorer backgrounds especially from rural areas, it is now much harder to enter the Polish higher educational system due to a lack of finance. Furthermore, the largest increase in student numbers has been amongst part-time students (i.e. those students who have a full-time job) who could not have afforded to become full-time students or who were not willing to accept the decline in living standards that being a full-time student would entail. Even although the absolute number of students at institutions of higher education has increased threefold, financially students felt themselves to be comparatively worse off than students were prior to 1989.

The overwhelming majority of students completely agreed (77 per cent) that education is a fundamental right and not a privilege and that it should be free for all. Furthermore, 14.9 per cent of students agreed mostly with the statement. Minorities of 2.1 per cent and 3 per cent declared that they disagreed mostly and completely disagreed with the statement, respectively. Another 3 per cent of students responded that they were either undecided or did not know.

4.9 Students' understanding of liberal democracy

Three questions were put to students in order to examine various aspects of students' understanding of the concept of democracy. Question 22 asked students what in their opinion was the most important aspect of liberal democracy. Students were required to select their answers from a given set of responses. Two of the given responses reflected materialistic values (the rule of law; and the free market economy) while the other two reflected post-materialistic[12] responses (multi-party government and freedom for citizens).

The percentage of students who gave the following responses is indicated in the brackets: multiparty government (3.9 per cent); freedom for citizens (36.1 per cent); the rule of law (36.1 per cent); the free market economy (14.3 per cent); other (0.9 per cent); and undecided or did not know (8.7 per cent). Materialist values involve individuals' concerns with satisfying personal, material needs such as obtaining a decent living standard while postmaterial values address problems which concern areas such as the protection of the environment, and nuclear disarmament. Education, rather than income, is held to exert the greatest positive influence on postmaterialistic values (Hague *et al*, 1994: 142). Having a higher education means that you are more likely to be a postmaterialist.

> Even in the richest countries, postmaterialists remain a small minority
> of the total population. But they are an active, opinion-leading group -
> and therein lies their significance (Hague *et al*, 1994: 141).

Question 23 asked students to choose which of the following they believed that a political system should guarantee. Again, students' responses are noted in brackets beside each answer: that everyone has an equal opportunity to achieve their goals in life while recognising that not everyone will succeed and some will be materially worse off than others (86.3 per cent); equality of results so that disparities of wealth and status within the population are minuscule (4.3 per cent); other (4.3 per cent); and undecided or did not know (5.2 per cent). The overwhelming majority of students, therefore, believe that liberal democracy should guarantee equal opportunity for all but not necessarily equality of results.

The final question examining students' understanding of democracy, question 24, asked students to choose which of two given statements came closest to their view of democracy. In case, students disagreed with both statements they were allowed to indicate another preference (8.7 per cent) or simply state that

they were undecided or did not know (11.7 per cent). The two statements which students were asked to choose between were:

Democracy is valuable even if it does not lead to economic prosperity (60.6 per cent);

Democracy is only valuable if it leads to economic prosperity (19 per cent).

Although a majority of students valued democracy in itself, a significant minority only believed democracy to be worthwhile if it leads to economic prosperity. The former regime based its political legitimacy upon economic prosperity. Failure to deliver upon this promise undermined the authority of the Communist state and helped aid the collapse of Communism.[13] Therefore, the fact that a majority of students did value democracy as an ideal, rather than a tool which could lead to a higher standard of living, indicates the existence of a more realistic conception of democracy at least among Polish students than perhaps existed in the period immediately prior to the transformation. These findings agree with the research results of other Polish academics who found that societies in Poland now, as well as those in Romania, defined democracy mainly in terms of political categories and did not associate democracy with economic factors such as higher living standards and more employment (Siemienska, 1997: 461-462).

4.10 Polish students and their national identities.

Question 27 was designed to determine whether or not students felt that their Polish identities were compatible with possessing a European identity. In other words, is it possible for students to feel both Polish and European at the same time? Evidently, it is. A significant majority of students (63.1 per cent) declared that they felt equally Polish and European while 31.8 per cent said that they felt more Polish than European. Only 1.7 per cent of the students who responded

declared that they were Polish but not European. Surprising, 3 per cent of students felt more European than Polish and 1 per cent felt European but not Polish. It is likely that the respondents to these two latter categories were members of one of Poland's ethnic groups (e.g. German). Students responses are given in the brackets.

Students were asked to respond to question 28 which asked: *In so far as you feel that you have an identity wider than Poland, do you feel:*

European (60 per cent);

Central European (18.2 per cent);

East Central European (13.2 per cent);

Other (5.9 per cent);

Undecided/Don't Know (2.7 per cent).

Those students who indicated *'Other'* all declared themselves to be citizens of the world.[14] Responses to questions 27 and 28 are significant because they confirm that Poles believe Poland to be a European country with positive perceptions of being 'European'. This supports Lewis' assertion that Poland retained its European identity despite being incorporated into the Soviet-sphere of influence for over forty years (Lewis, 1993a: 358). It is not surprising that students from a country which has done so much to enrich 'European' culture, art and learning should feel part of Europe. Poland has accumulated a rich European heritage over the centuries, as well as contributing to the advancement of European arts and learning by producing people such as Frederic Chopin, Marie Curie, Joseph Conrad, Henryk Sienkiewicz and Jan Matejko. Moreover, the foundations of Central Europe's first universities in the fourteenth century - at Prague (1348), Krakow (1364), Vienna (1365) and Pecs (1367) - is held up as a sign of Central Europe and Western Europe's cultural integration and shared heritage (Purchla, 1997: 32).[15]

Finally, question 21 asked students to indicate the answer which came closest to their definition of Europe. These responses are given below and the percentage of students agreeing with a given response is provided in the brackets:

a cultural/historical entity (44.5 per cent);

a geo-political entity (30.1 per cent);

a geographic region (23.6 per cent);

undecided/don't know (1.7 per cent).

The majority of students either stated that Europe was a cultural/historical entity or a geo-political entity. This implies that most students believe Europe to encapsulate shared values, ideas and history rather than being just merely a geographical region.

4.11 Students' participation in national elections

Students were asked to indicate if they had voted in any of the two most recent national elections. A majority of students (67.9 per cent) stated that they had voted in both the Constitutional Referendum in May 1997 and in the Parliamentary elections which were held on the 21 September in the same year. The national average turnout in the 1997 Parliamentary elections was very low at 47.93 per cent (Szczerbiak, 1998: 59; Gazeta Wyborcza, 22.9.97: 1). While the turnout for the Constitutional Referendum was even lower at around 43 per cent. So the electoral turnout of these students is well-above the national average which hovers around 50 per cent.

4.12 Employing bivariate analysis to explore correlations in students' responses

My statistical analysis of the student questionnaire establishes whether or not relationships exist between the students' responses to the various questions. The analysis explores the potential relationship between two variables, i.e. bivariate analysis. Pearson's Product Moment Correlation Coefficient[16] was used by the author as a measure of correlation since it is recognised as the most widely used method in bivariate analysis. Both the strength and direction of relationships are measured by Pearson's r which may vary from -1 to +1. The sign in front of the numeric digit indicates the direction of the relationship (i.e. positive or negative). A perfect relationship would be indicated by either -1 or +1. If r is zero then no relationship exists. This means, therefore, that the closer r is to zero then the weaker is the relationship between the two variables. Likewise, if r is approaching -1 or +1 then the stronger is the relationship. In order to assist in the interpretation of the data results the coefficient of determination, r squared, multiplied by 100, is introduced into the analysis below. The proportion of variation in the dependent variable which is associated with changes in the independent variable is known as r squared. In order to give the amount of variation as a percentage, r squared is multiplied by 100. The test of statistical significance, p, is also employed to determine the likelihood of the correlation result having been produced by chance such as the result of a sampling error (Bryman and Cramer, 1997: 172-185). If this figure is approaching zero then the less likely it is that the result could have occurred by chance or was achieved by a random accident. The statistical tool of crosstabulation was then employed to demonstrate the most important relationships. This method was chosen because it is both one of the simplest and most well-known ways of demonstrating the presence or absence of a relationship (Bryman and Cramer, 1997: 161).

The purpose of the bivariate analysis here is to discover if the same group of students who hold a certain opinion on one question will also adhere to a particular stance in another question. One important point should be emphasised: Correlation is not the same as causation. Bivariate analysis can only provide an indication of possible relationships between different factors by demonstrating the existence of a strong correlation. The inclusion of the test of statistical significance in bivariate analysis does, however, provide some indication of whether, or not, a given correlation in the survey data's set of results accurately reflects the relationship in the (student) population at large. For example, if the statistical significance of a given result is $p = 0.1$ then that would mean that there is one chance in ten that the result is incorrect. So there is less chance of a sampling error having occurred when p = 0.01 than when $p = 0.1$. Only those correlations which are significant at the 0.01 level or those correlations, statistically significant at the 0.05 level and which are conceptually important to the subject matter of the author's thesis, are considered. All correlations, however, may be found in Appendix 6 while tables of crosstabulations carried out with certain statistically significant findings may be found in Appendix 7.

4.13 Schools of higher education and TEMPUS

Correlations were found to exist between the particular school of higher education attended by students and students' responses to questions about the TEMPUS Programme. Students from the Academy of Economics (AE) were most likely to be aware of the existence of TEMPUS than those students of the Jagiellonian University (UJ) or the Higher School of Pedagogy (WSP). Only 14.9 per cent of respondents enrolled at the WSP stated that they were aware of the existence of TEMPUS. The corresponding figure for the Jagiellonian

University and the Academy of Economics was 27.5 per cent and 35.5 per cent, respectively.[17] The difference is more pronounced between the three different higher educational institutions when students are asked whether or not, they have benefited from TEMPUS or from any other European Union funded programmes. Around 10.3 per cent of UJ students; 9.8 per cent of AE students; and only 2 per cent of students from the WSP said that they had benefited from either the TEMPUS Programme or another EU-funded programme.[18] These figures should be treated with caution since the overall percentage of students who have been aware of the TEMPUS Programme and who have benefited from it or any other EU funded programme is relatively small (see Section 4.7). The figures do, however, provide a reasonably accurate indication of the Polish student population's awareness of TEMPUS since the Pearson correlation ($r = -0.201$) was significant at the 0.002 level meaning that there was only one chance in five hundred that a sampling error had occurred. The relevant coefficient of determination is 4.04 per cent, so 4.04 variance in Polish students' awareness of TEMPUS is attributable to the particular school of higher education attended by the students. It also means that the variance in choice of higher educational institution is attributable to students' awareness of the EU's TEMPUS programme. A correlation of 0.201 may seem quite small, but it was significant at the 0.002 level meaning that it is extremely unlikely that this weak relationship has occurred by chance and that it does in fact accurately represent the correlation in the existing Polish student population. A larger correlation but with a significance level closer to 1 is not necessarily more important since there is a greater risk that a sampling error has occurred.

4.14 Students' electoral activity and courses of study

As expected those students taking European Studies/Social Sciences courses were more likely to vote in national elections than those students whose main course of study was geography or mathematics. Only 42.3 per cent of geography students and 55.6 per cent of mathematics students had voted in both the 1997 Parliamentary election and the Constitutional Referendum of May 1997. The relevant figure for European Studies/Social Sciences students was 72 per cent. The correlation for these results was significant at the 0.049 level and is, therefore, statistically important since it is just within the 0.05 level of significance.[19] Furthermore, 82.4 per cent of students who had expressed an interest in working in politics at either local government or national level after graduation had voted in both the 1997 Parliamentary election and the referendum on the new Polish Constitution. Only 56.4 per cent of students who had declared that they did not intend to enter politics after graduation had voted in both elections. This result confirms the assumption that students who are more interested in politics will be more likely to vote at election time. The correlation ($r = -0.208$) for this result was significant at the 0.002 level.[20] Not surprisingly there is a clear gender division on the question of whether, or not, after graduation, students are intending to work in politics at either central government or local government levels. For this question Pearson's $r = -0.233$ and had a significance of 0.000 meaning that there was virtually no chance that this relationship had in fact occurred as the consequence of a sampling error. A greater percentage of men (53.7 per cent) than women (30.5 per cent) stated that they intended to be active in politics after graduation confirming existing reality in not just Polish politics but in all national political systems.[21]

4.15 Students' views on selected aspects of Polish higher education

Qu. 18) Given the lack of state money available for education it is only fair that university students should contribute towards the cost of their courses.

There was a relationship between gender and students' views on whether or not, given the lack of state money available for education, university students should contribute a proportional amount towards the cost of their university courses. The crosstabulated statistics for the female students surveyed read as follows: 4.4 per cent completely agreed with the aforementioned statement; 17.8 per cent agreed mostly; 12.6 per cent were either undecided or did not know; 28.9 per cent disagreed mostly; while 36.3 per cent completely disagreed. Male students were slightly more inclined than female students to favour contributing towards the cost of their university courses with 9.3 per cent of male students who were questioned completely agreeing with the statement. There were 26.8 per cent of male students who agreed mostly; 17.5 per cent declared that they did not know or were undecided; 19.6 per cent disagreed mostly; and 26.8 per cent completely disagreed that students should be obliged to pay something towards the cost of their university course. Overall, a greater majority of female students (65.2 per cent) than male students (46.4 per cent) were inclined to be against the idea of students paying part of their university fees. (Pearson's r = -0.117 and this correlation was significant at the 0.007 level.)[22]

A weak relationship was found to exist between students' gender and the extent to which they disagreed/agreed with the statement contained in question 20: 'Education is a right not a privilege and should be free for all'. (Pearson's r = 0.155 and was significant at, p = 0.017.) Crosstabulation revealed that 94.8 per cent of female students were inclined to agree with the statement that education

is a right, not a privilege, and therefore should be available to everyone while the corresponding figure for male students was just slightly less at 87.8 per cent.[23]

Qu. 18) Given the lack of state money available for education it is only fair that university students should contribute towards the cost of their courses.
Qu. 20) Education is a right, not a privilege, and should be free for all.

An overwhelming 93.3 per cent of students who completely disagreed that students should contribute a proportionate amount of money towards the cost of their courses were found to completely agree with the statement that education is a right, not a privilege, and should be free for all.[24] In both cases, however, where students had either completely agreed or agreed mostly with question 18 there was still a majority of these who either completely agreed or agreed mostly with question 20. This may reflect the fact that even those students who believe that they should be made to contribute towards the cost of their tuition fees still believe in the 'ideal' of free higher education but recognise that in the present economic climate in Poland that it will not remain a realistic option for much longer.

Qu. 34) The place where I mainly grew up was (i.e. a village; small town of less than 50,000 inhabitants; suburb; industrial town; or city)?
Qu. 19) Equality of access to higher education has increased for all (regardless of social background) since 1989.

A relationship was discernible between both the above variables and was measured using Pearson's *r* which found a correlation of -0.146 significant at the 0.027 level. People who had spent most of their lives in villages were more likely to believe that there had been no increase in equality of access to higher education since 1989.[25] While those people who had lived most of their lives in

suburbs were slightly more inclined to state that equality of access to higher education had increased since 1989. Most Polish universities are situated near large industrial centres and it is still very difficult, for financial reasons, for young people from remote Polish villages to go to university. This would involve leaving their villages to stay in the city where accommodation is much more expensive. Although many private schools of higher education may be found in rural areas and around small towns, the cost of tuition fees are beyond the means of many students' families. Within the next few years it is hoped that more students from rural areas will have the opportunity of going to university via state schools of higher vocational education. These schools are to be established mainly in small towns and rural areas thus making higher education affordable for students from these areas, as these students may live at home while they are attending higher vocational schools. Such schools confer the title of licentiate (BA) or engineer, and students wishing to gain the title of magister (MA) may proceed afterwards to a university.[26]

4.16 Relationships between students' views of the EU's contribution to the reform of the Polish higher educational system and other variables

6) The EU's assistance in the reform of the Polish higher education through TEMPUS has been positive and useful.

A slight gender difference exists on students' attitudes towards the European Union's assistance in the reform of the Polish higher educational system. Women are more likely than men to have a positive opinion of the EU in this matter. In fact, 63.9 per cent of female students compared with 42.1 per cent of

male students believe that the EU has made a positive contribution to the reform of higher education in Poland.[27]

6) The EU's assistance in the reform of the Polish higher education through TEMPUS has been positive and useful.
15) Participating in courses about EU states and institutions has helped to strengthen my sense of belonging to 'Europe'.

A correlation of 0.196 significant at the 0.003 level was found to exist between students' responses to questions 6 and 15. The crosstabulation revealed that most students who agreed to some extent with question 6, tended to agree with question 15. Likewise, students not accepting that the EU's assistance in the reform of Polish higher education had been positive and useful, disagreed that their affinity with 'Europe' had been increased by participating in EU oriented courses.[28] Much of the European Union's assistance has taken the form of providing financial and material aid towards establishing permanent courses and modules over a variety of disciplines upon aspects of European Union.[29] It should be no surprise then that students who have positively evaluated such courses should also agree that the EU's assistance in reforming Polish higher education has been significant.

Crosstabulation confirmed that students who were aware of the existence of TEMPUS were more likely to agree that the European Union's contribution to the reform of the Polish higher educational system, through programmes such as TEMPUS, had been both positive and useful. Among those students who recorded an awareness of TEMPUS' existence, 48.2 per cent completely agreed and 32.1 per cent agreed mostly that the EU had played a significant and valuable role in contributing to Polish higher educational reform.[30] Also, it should be pointed out that among those students who professed that they were not aware of TEMPUS' existence, a significant number (45.9 per cent) either

did not know or were unable to decide upon the statement contained in question 6. This result is of course to be expected but nevertheless confirms the validity of the questionnaire results since students who are unaware of the EU's most widespread programme to assist in the reform of Polish higher education are less likely to have a clear idea of, whether or not, the EU has made a valuable contribution to this reform process. At the same time, however, 46.5 per cent of students who had not been aware of TEMPUS still gave a positive evaluation of the EU's contribution to Polish higher education. Apparently there is a widespread perception among Polish students (even if they are not aware of the precise nature of the EU's assistance) that without EU assistance, the reform of higher education in Poland would be a much more protracted affair. A Pearson's r of 0.319 significant at the 0.000 level confirms suggests that these results reflect a true relationship and that no sampling error has occurred.

No student who had benefited from TEMPUS or any other EU funded programme disagreed to any extent with the statement contained in question 6 which said that the EU's help in reforming Polish higher education had been positive and useful, while only 13.3 per cent of students who had benefited stated that they were undecided or did not know. Naturally, among those students who had not benefited from any EU funded programmes, the 'undecideds/don't knows' formed the largest single category, 41 per cent. Again, although many students are not aware of specific programmes to reform higher education in Poland, such as TEMPUS, which are funded by the European Union; there is, however, a general perception amongst Polish students that the EU has been active in this sphere and has met with a considerable degree of success.[31]

4.17 Correlations involving the 'identity' of Polish students

Qu. 27) Which of the following do you most feel: Polish but not European; More Polish than European; Equally Polish and European; More European than Polish; European but not Polish?
6) The EU's assistance in the reform of the Polish higher education through TEMPUS has been positive and useful.

Interestingly, 29.1 per cent of students who possessed an identity wider than Poland that was European, completely agreed with the statement contained in question 6; 31.5 per cent agreed mostly; 35.4 per cent claimed not to know or to be undecided; only 3.9 per cent said that they disagreed mostly; and, significantly, no student who claimed to possess a European identity completely disagreed with the statement that the EU had made a valuable contribution to the reform of higher education in Poland.[32] Among those students who had stated that they felt Central European, 30.8 per cent completely agreed with question 6; 20.5 per cent agreed mostly; 43.6 per cent were undecided or did not know; a mere 5.1 per cent disagreed mostly with the statement; and, again, none of the students who felt Central European completely disagreed with the statement. Students possessing an East Central European identity were also more likely to share a positive opinion of the EU's role in reforming higher education than a negative one with 27.6 per cent completely agreeing with question 6; 27.6 agreeing mostly; 34.5 per cent undecided or stating that they did not know; 6.9 per cent disagreeing mostly; and 3.4 per cent completely disagreeing. Only 15.4 per cent of students with an identity wider than Poland which belonged to none of the above categories (and is therefore known as 'other') completely agreed with question 6; another 15.4 per cent agreed mostly; 46.2 per cent were undecided or did not know; no student disagreed mostly; while 23.1 per cent completely disagreed. These results demonstrate that those students who share positive opinions about the European Union's

assistance in the reform of Poland's system of higher education are more likely to possess an unequivocal 'European' identity. In this case, Pearson's *r* equals 0.181 and was significant at the 0.006 level.

Qu. 27) Which of the following do you most feel: Polish but not European; More Polish than European; Equally Polish and European; More European than Polish; European but not Polish?
Qu. 12) Concerning history, social studies, and civic education, we should eliminate isolationist, provincial, and nationalistic themes from the curriculum.

A relationship was found to exist between questions 12 and 27 indicated by their Pearson's correlation being equal to -0.152 significant at the 0.021 level. None of the students who declared either that they were 'more European than Polish' or 'European but not Polish' disagreed to any extent with the statement contained in question 12 saying that isolationist, provincial, and nationalistic themes should be eliminated from university curricula.. Not surprisingly, among those students who felt more 'Polish than European' half of them (50 per cent) were inclined to disagree with the statement in question 12.[33] To reiterate, among those students who feel 'European' to some degree, only a minority disagree with question 12's statement that concerning history, social studies, and civic education, we should eliminate isolationist, provincial, and nationalistic themes from the curriculum.

Qu. 15) Participating in courses about EU states and institutions has helped to strengthen my sense of belonging to 'Europe'
Qu. 27) Which of the following do you most feel: Polish but not European; More Polish than European; Equally Polish and European; More European than Polish; European but not Polish?

A Pearson's correlation of -0.162 significant at the 0.014 level was found to exist between questions 15 and 27. One of the most noticeable aspects of this relationship is the fact that no student who stated that he/she felt more European than Polish disagreed with the statement contained in question 15. By the same token, 25 per cent of those students who had declared that they felt Polish but not European disagreed that participating in courses about the EU had contributed to a strengthening of their sense of belonging to Europe.[34]

Qu. 15) Participating in courses about EU states and institutions has helped to strengthen my sense of belonging to 'Europe'
Qu. 21) What do you consider Europe to be (i.e. a geographical region; a cultural historical identity; undecided/don't know; or a geo-political entity)?

Interestingly, the majority of those students who agreed to some extent that they now had an increased sense of belonging to Europe as a result of completing a university course on the EU stated that they believed Europe to be a cultural/historical entity.[35] Polish culture made significant contributions to Renaissance culture and to the Enlightenment upon which contemporary European culture and liberal democratic ideology is based (Weclawowicz, 1996: 7). University courses about the EU create an awareness among Polish students of the many common ties that bind Central Europe with Western Europe. For European culture is not a single isolated entity. Rather it may be compared with a river into which many ideological currents flow.

4.18 Conclusion

The overwhelming majority of students surveyed were found to be anti-authoritarian. Polish students' responses indicated that the vast majority were tolerant towards people of different nationalities and religions but when it came

to tolerating different views and opinions, a significant minority of students were found to be intolerant. Nationalistic pride was exhibited by the majority of Polish students but it was the inclusive sort of nationalism stemming from a pride in one's country and its achievements and not the destructive and exclusive form of nationalism. The apparent contradictory answers obtained from students with regard to teaching methods in the classroom may indicate that students prefer a combination of both methods of learning and assessment - the so-called authoritarian and liberal versions. It appears that Polish students believe that the teaching of 'European Studies' in Polish universities has a valuable contribution to make in preparing all Polish students for Poland's integration with the EU. Many students agree that the European Union (through TEMPUS) has made a valuable contribution along with the Polish reformers to the reform of the Polish higher educational system. It also appears that many other students are unaware of the Programme and its aims. TEMPUS is the largest and most widespread programme of its kind in Poland but cannot expect to reach all Polish students. Almost all Polish students stated that to some degree they felt European indicating that Polish students' political culture is partly composed of this European identity. In addition, Polish students were much more politically active than Polish society, in general. A coherent picture of Polish students' identity in the 1990s is one which incorporates their 'European' identity.

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[1]Some questions in the questionnaire were taken from a questionnaire used by the Section of Political Education, Institute of Political Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, in April/May 1992. See Holly (1994: 147-202).

[2]According to Agh, "All democracies have institutional and cultural aspects as the 'hardware' and 'software' of democracy..." (Agh, 1994: 20).

[3]A copy of the questionnaire in English and Polish may be found in Appendices 2 and 3.

[4]Frequency tables may be found in Appendix 5.

[5]Correlations and crosstabulation tables may be found in Appendices 6 and 7, respectively.

[6] These figures were arrived at by adding the percentages for completely agree and agree mostly (7.2 per cent plus 26 per cent equals 33.2 per cent) in order to find the percentage of students who were more inclined to favour the presidential system of government; and by adding the percentages for disagree mostly and completely disagree (22.6 per cent plus 8.1 per cent equals 30.7 per cent) resulting in giving the figure for the percentage of students who were inclined to favour parliamentary government.

[7]According to the Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics a subtle difference in meaning exists between the concepts of 'nationalism' and 'patriotism'. "Nationalism turns devotion to the nation into principles or programmes. It thus contains a different dimension to mere patriotism which can be a devotion to one's country or nation devoid of any project for political action" (McLean, 1996: 334).

[8]It has be argued that: "In both Poland and Hungary ultra-nationalism and right-wing extremism have achieved only a very minor presence in mainstream political life...[Although] nationalism of a less extreme form nevertheless played a part in the victory of Solidarity Electoral Action during the 1997 Polish elections, and the nationalist tendency merged with currents of anti-Communism and traditional Catholic sentiments to produce a surprisingly strong right-wing reaction against the four-year rule of the reborn Social Democrats" (Lewis, 1998: 39).

[9]For more information on the formation of democratic political cultures see the Introductory Chapter. See also Agh (1994: 29-32).

[10]Refer to Chapters Five and Six.

[11]Refer to Chapter Two.

[12]See Ziolkowski (1994) for a discussion of the prevalence of materialist interests and values within Polish society, at large.

[13]This partial explanation of the collapse of Communism in Poland coincides with George Schopflin's argument that "The aspiration for economic improvement was directly and causally linked to the collapse of Communism. The Communist system fell apart not least because it was no longer able to keep its economic promises and

the West represented a far more attractive, though heavily mythicised, alternative."
(Schopflin, 1993: 25). There were other reasons for the downfall of Communism,
including the fact that the Communist authorities failed to allow the articulation of
interests by any section of society. See Agh (1994: 27) for more information.

[14]Agh (1998) contains an interesting discussion of the concepts of Central Europe and
East Central Europe. See also Lewis (1994b: 21-48).

[15]See Mach (1997) for an informative discussion of how Poles' European identity has
been constructed from 966 AD onwards when Prince Mieszko, ruler of Poland,
embraced Western Christianity. Poland has been depicted as the bulwark of Western
Christianity. In the Battle of Vienna (1683), Poles saved Vienna from the Turks; while
during the Miracle on the Vistula (1920) Poles defeated the Bolshevik Army. These
were two great Polish military victories and are widely portrayed as having prevented
the destruction of European culture and identity. Mach speaks about how the
intellectual elites in Poland from the nineteenth century onwards played a specific role
in fusing Polish national identity with a 'European' one.

[16]Pearson's Product Moment Correlation Coefficient is referred to throughout this
thesis by the standard abbreviation, Pearson's r.

[17]See Appendix 7 (A).

[18]See Appendix 7 (B).

[19]See Appendix 7 (C).

[20]See Appendix 7 (D).

[21]See Appendix 7 (E).

[22]See Appendix 7 (F).

[23]See Appendix 7 (G).

[24]See Appendix 7 (H).

[25]See Appendix 7 (I).

[26]For more information on the Act of 26 June 1997 on Schools of Higher Vocational
Education see (MEN, 1997).

[27]See Appendix 7 (J).

[28]See Appendix 7 (K).

[29]See Chapters Five and Six for more information regarding the EU's contribution
towards the reform of the Polish higher educational system.

[30]See Appendix 7 (L).

[31]See Appendix 7 (M).

[32]See Appendix 7 (N).

[33]See Appendix 7 (O).

[34]See Appendix 7 (Q).

[35]See Appendix 7 (P).

Chapter 5

Origins and History of TEMPUS

5.1 Introduction

No analysis of the political context of Polish higher educational reform would be complete without consideration of the role of the European Union in this process, particularly through the TEMPUS Programme.[1] The European Union has played a unique and influential role in promoting the reform of Poland's schools of higher education. The TEMPUS Programme specifically involves institutions of higher education, although, it is by no means the only EU programme in which such institutions may take part. Other EU programmes such as ACE[2] and the Jean Monnet Programme, which is specifically designed to promote the establishment of chairs, and permanent courses and modules on European Studies, do exist. TEMPUS has been chosen to form the basis of a case study on interest articulation within the Polish academic community because during interviews with Polish academics and decision-makers, it was repeatedly cited as the most beneficial and successful of all the European Union's programmes. This case study appears in Chapter Six. Furthermore, the very nature of the TEMPUS programme is an ideal example of bottom-up interest articulation in action in Poland's system of higher education. The fact that TEMPUS is now drawing to a close makes any analysis of the Programme extremely timely.

Leaving the merits (and otherwise) of TEMPUS aside, it is necessary to reflect

on the importance of the 'European' connection. It should be stressed that essentially Polish higher education did not *return to Europe* after the self-limited revolution of 1989. Higher education in Poland did not depart significantly from its original Polish traditions which were based on the British, French and German ideas of university education. Intellectual independence in teaching was to a large extent, especially in the larger Polish universities, maintained. During Communism, many academics carried on work which reflected the best of European universities' traditions. The concept of a 'European'[3] dimension to higher education in Poland is both ambiguous and ridden with controversy not only in Poland and the other Central and Eastern European states, but in Western Europe as well.[4] Aspects of this controversy have been explored in Chapters Three and Four using empirical findings from interviews with Polish students and academics and have generated a conceptual analysis of the European dimension in Polish higher education. The issue of the 'second politicisation' of Polish higher education, namely the EU's influence on Polish higher educational reform is considered using the EU's TEMPUS Programme as a case study. This 'second politicisation' of the system of higher education, in Poland, is a recurrent theme throughout this thesis and has been addressed in previous chapters.

Chapters Five and Six investigate the practical manifestations of the concept of a 'European' dimension, namely, the assistance given to Polish higher education through the EU's TEMPUS Programme. Interest articulation through the TEMPUS Programme is then studied using specific case study examples from the Jagiellonian University in Krakow.

The Trans-European Mobility Programme for University Studies (TEMPUS) was adopted by the Council of Ministers of the European Community on 7 May 1990 and is part of the PHARE[5] Programme designed to support economic, political and social reform in Central and Eastern Europe.[6] TEMPUS is funded

from the Community's overall PHARE budget. TEMPUS I, which started on 1 July 1990, was due to operate for an initial pilot phase of three years. It was, however, extended for a further year and operated until the end June 1994. The second phase of the TEMPUS Programme (TEMPUS II) was agreed upon in the Council Decision of 29 April 1993,[7] and commenced at the beginning of the 1994/5 academic year. TEMPUS II was now referred to as the 'Trans-European Cooperation Scheme for Higher Education'. Originally envisaged to run for four years until 1997/98, TEMPUS was again extended (on 21 November 1996), so that it would now operate from 1998 until 2003. The latter extension period is known as TEMPUS II bis. Year 2000 is when the last TEMPUS applications will take place but some TEMPUS projects may not actually finish running until 2003 (Polish TEMPUS Office Interview, 1998). After 1 January 1995, TEMPUS ceased to be implemented by the EC TEMPUS Office in Brussels. Instead, the European Training Foundation in Torino took over responsibility for its implementation (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 7). Initially, only Poland and Hungary were included in the TEMPUS programme but now nine other states in Central and Eastern Europe are participating in the Programme.[8]

5.2 The Purpose of the TEMPUS Programme

The aim of TEMPUS is to support "....the development and renewal of the higher educational systems in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe through cooperation with partners in the European Community" (Gwyn, 1996:17). During the second phase of its existence, this aim was extended to include the promotion of higher educational institutions' structural development and facilitating their adaptation in eligible countries through cooperation with their EU partners (Wilson, 1993: 429). TEMPUS seeks to do this through Joint European Projects and Joint European Networks, Individual Mobility Grants,

Complementary Measures and Youth Exchange and these are analysed in section 5.3.

The objectives of TEMPUS are partly based upon the objectives of the PHARE Programme so that TEMPUS should contribute to economic reform, as well as higher educational reform in the eligible countries (Kehm *et al*, 1997:13). Article 4 of the 7 May 1990 Council Decision stated the main objectives of TEMPUS I are as follows:

- to facilitate the coordination of the provision of assistance to the CEE partner countries in the field of exchange and mobility, particularly for university students and teachers, whether such assistance is provided by the Community, its Member States or the third countries of the G24 group;[9]
- to contribute to the improvement of training in the CEE partner countries and to encourage their cooperation with partners in the European Community, taking into account the need to ensure the widest possible participation of all the regions of the Community in such actions;
- to increase opportunities for teaching and learning in the CEE partner countries of those languages used in the Community and covered by the LINGUA Programme, and vice versa;
- to enable students from the CEE partner countries to spend a specific period of study at university or to undertake industry placements within the Member States of the Community, while ensuring equality of opportunity for male and female students as regards participation in such mobility;
- to enable students from the Community to spend a similar type of period of study or placement in a CEE partner country;
- to promote increased exchanges and mobility of teaching staff and trainers as part of the cooperation process [OJL 131/22 from 23 May 1990, Article 4] (Kehm *et al*, 1997:13).

TEMPUS II was given the task of continuing the main objectives of its predecessor, TEMPUS I, namely, promoting the reform of higher education in the states of Central Eastern Europe while contributing to the economic restructuring of the region within the framework of PHARE (Kehm *et al*, 1997: 14). Specifically, TEMPUS II's objectives included:

- issues of curriculum development and overhaul in priority areas;
- the reform of higher education structures and institutions and their management;
- the development of skill-related training to address specific higher and advanced level skill shortages during economic reform, in particular, through improved and extended links with industry.

Differences of emphasis in the overall objectives of the TEMPUS Programme are discernible between TEMPUS I and II. In TEMPUS II, greater account was taken of the individual requirements of the ECE countries with regard to the general priorities of TEMPUS. Furthermore, structural reform projects (both at the level of higher educational institutions and at the national level) were more "clearly emphasised" during TEMPUS II than under TEMPUS I (Kehm *et al*, 1997: 15).

5.3 TEMPUS Activities

5.3.1 Joint European Projects (JEPs) - Action 1

Joint European Projects (JEPs) take up the largest part of TEMPUS' activities. A JEP may not last more than three years, and a typical grant for a three-year project would be ECU 400,000. Each JEP must include at least one higher educational institution from an eligible country and at least two institutions

from a minimum of two EC countries, one of which should be an institution of higher education. The other organisation(s) may be an economic organisation, public administration agency, enterprise, economic organisation or a professional organisation. The main actors in a JEP, however, remain the institutions of higher education. Joint European Projects promote the reform of higher education within the ECE states and closer cooperation between higher education institutions, and to a lesser extent, organisations and enterprises, in EU and ECE states.[10] A National Project is a JEP in which institutions from only one eligible country are participating while Regional Projects involve institutions from at least two eligible countries. Furthermore, JEPs may be also categorised as Structural Joint European Projects (SJEPs) and Mobility Joint European Projects (MJEPs). The former are designed to support the following: the restructuring of existing/establishment of new university units; modernisation of curricula; upgrading of teachers' knowledge and skills; creation of university-industry cooperation networks; development of continuing education and retraining schemes; and modernisation of equipment. Under MJEPs students from eligible countries are given the opportunity to study or conduct research at an EC higher educational institution. University teachers are only able to participate in MJEPs if they wish to undertake retraining, teaching assignments or develop teaching materials and curricula. Teacher mobility is not the main aim of an MJEP.[11]

5.3.2 Individual Mobility Grants (IMGs) - Action 2

Individual Mobility Grants are the second type of activity to be financed by TEMPUS. These Grants allow individuals from institutions of higher education, organisations and enterprises in a ECE state to spend some time in an EU partner state. Furthermore, individuals from an EU institution of higher education, organisation or enterprise may spend time in an East Central European state with the financial and logistical assistance afforded by an

Individual Mobility Grant. During the first two years of TEMPUS I, IMGs were available to both students and staff. From the beginning of the 1992/93 academic year, individual mobility of students was replaced by Mobility JEPs and only academic and administrative staff were eligible to apply for IMGs. The category of 'staff' includes doctoral students and academic staff from research institutions as well as university teaching and administrative staff. Lengths of stay in an eligible country or EU country may range from one week to one academic year. Grants are awarded for visits with one of the following objectives: teaching/training assignment in a host institution; retraining or updating; practical placements in educational institutions and enterprises; development of curricula and teaching materials; collection of information about the higher educational system in a host country; participation in congresses and conferences; and preparation of Joint European Projects. ECU 8,800 is the maximum grant which may be awarded for a full academic year (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 8; Kehm *et al*, 1997: 24-25).

5.3.3 Complementary Measures (CMEs) - Action 3

Four groups of activity were supported by Complementary Measures under TEMPUS I, and this figure rose to five under TEMPUS II (Kehm *et al*, 1997: 25-27). Complementary Measures projects (CMEs) comprise the first three groups, Youth Exchange Projects (YEX) take place in the fourth group while the activities in the fifth group, introduced in the first year of TEMPUS II, are known as Joint European Networks (JENs). The first three groups are examined in this section while section 5.3.4 deals with YEX projects and 5.3.5 looks at JENs. The three groups of activities for which CME support may be awarded are:

- Grants to associations (consortia of institutions of higher education; recognised associations of students, teachers or administrators to facilitate

the participation of organisations or associations within the CEE partner countries in the activities of European associations);

- Grants for publications and other information activities which conform to one or more of TEMPUS' objectives;

- Grants to support surveys and studies designed to analyse the development of higher education / training systems in the CEE states and their interaction with the EU states. (Kehm *et al*, 1997: 26).

Maximum awards of ECU 50,000 are available for individual CMEs. Originally, the purpose of a Complementary Measure was to support the reform of HEIs in the eligible countries by enabling eligible country partners to participate in "...EU academic associations, publications, and other information activities including surveys and studies related to higher education or the TEMPUS Programme itself" (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 8). The main priorities of CMEs have now been changed so that CMEs are now able to assist with the institutional development of faculties/universities; the dissemination of TEMPUS' work; and the development of national higher educational policy. CMEs were radically re-defined during the second year of TEMPUS II and reduced to three strands of activity:

- the development and strengthening of capacities for strategic planning and institutional restructuring and development (including faculties);

- support for the dissemination of TEMPUS results including the dissemination of comparable results achieved in programmes other than TEMPUS;

- support for the formulation of national higher education policies (Kehm *et al*, 1997: 27).

5.3.4 Youth Exchange (YEX)

Young people between the ages of 15-25 years are eligible to participate in Youth Exchange. They do not have to be university students and are more likely to be members of youth organisations or other groups. Youth Exchange ceased to be administered by the National TEMPUS Office in a given ECE state under TEMPUS II, and is now coordinated by DG XXII of the European Commission in Brussels. Youth Exchange was not part of TEMPUS II. It differs from JEPs, IMGs and CMEs because these are coordinated by the national TEMPUS offices in the eligible countries, and higher educational institutions must be involved in the projects since they are the main actors. Youth Exchange has no direct link with higher education and will, therefore, not be considered here.

5.3.5 Joint European Networks (JENs)

Joint European Networks (JENs) were introduced at the beginning of the 1993/94 academic year with the stated aim of maintaining and disseminating the achievements of the best JEPs for a maximum period of two years after their completion. Each JEN may receive a maximum grant of ECU 30,000. Activities qualifying for a JEN grant included:

(i) maintenance of results through continuation of teaching new courses developed in a JEP;

(ii) maintenance of international networks through the organisation of workshops and seminars;

(iii) maintenance of new equipment;

(iv) dissemination of results through staff mobility, meetings, seminars, workshops and conferences; and

(v) the publication of course material and other teaching and curriculum related material having been developed within the framework of a JEP (Polish

TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 8; Kehm *et al*, 1997: 26).

5.4 Priorities for TEMPUS I

During the first two years of TEMPUS I, priority areas for applications were identified by the European Commission and were identical for all the eligible states. After this national authorities from the ECE states were able to consult more and more with the European Commission when it was determining TEMPUS priorities. This led to a greater diversification of priorities between the eligible countries reflecting the different needs of these states as they underwent their respective transformation processes.

Priority areas for Poland during TEMPUS I (1990/91-1992/93) varied only slightly especially with regard to the first two years of the Programme. During 1990/91, the priorities were: (1) Management, Business Administration; (2) Economics; (3) Applied Sciences, Technologies and Engineering; (4) Modern European Languages; (5) Agriculture and Agrobusiness; (6) Environmental Protection; (7) Social and Economic Sciences related to the process of economic and social changes in the eligible countries, including European Studies. The next year, 1991/92, brought only a slight change in the listed priorities. Medicine had been added to the list while the priority area of Economics had been modified to Applied Economics. The final year of TEMPUS I oversaw a more substantial revision of the priority areas which were now: (1) Market Economy; (2) Civil Society; (3) International Relations; (4) High Technology; (5) Social Welfare; (6) Medical Sciences; (7) Ecology and Nature Conservation; and (8) Modernisation of the Education System (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 49). The addition of the 'modernisation of the education system' as a priority area confirms the European Commission and the

Polish Government's recognition that education may play an important part in promoting democratic consolidation in Poland.

During the final year of TEMPUS I, Poland's national priorities "...covered ten different areas with a total of 44 sub-specifications concerning eligibility of certain institutions for JEPs and eligibility of individuals for IMGs (i.e. age limits). In contrast, Hungary's national TEMPUS priorities for 1993/94 were more general..." (Kehm *et al*, 1997: 32). TEMPUS applications which fell within these priority areas had a far greater chance of success than those which did not.

5.5 Budget for TEMPUS I

Table 5.1 shows the total budget for TEMPUS I and the funds allocated for the different component TEMPUS actions. The total budget for TEMPUS I was ECU 97.5 million. Funds for TEMPUS I were allocated from both the National PHARE and Regional PHARE Programmes. An impressive 10.8 per cent of the entire National PHARE budget was allocated to the first TEMPUS Programme that is ECU 86.9 million out of a total of ECU 802 million (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 9).

TABLE 5.1 TEMPUS I BUDGET (total and per action)[12]

Year	Total Budget in million ECU		JEPs		I M G	C M E	Y E X	TEMPUS Office (a)
	National PHARE	Regional PHARE (b)	National PHARE	Regional PHARE (b)				
1990/91	12.4	----	8.0	----	3.8	0.4	0.2	----
1991/92	13.5	4.6	11.0	4.6	1.9	0.4	0.1	0.1
1992/93	26.0	3.5	23.7	3.5	1.2	0.1	1.0	0.05
1993/94	35.0	2.5	31.6 (c)	2.5	1.2	0.1	2.0	0.1
Total	86.9	10.6	74.3	10.6	8.1	1.0	3.3	0.2
	97.5		84.9					

(a) The TEMPUS Office budget was used to cover the costs of programme administration, including the purchase and maintenance of equipment and software, assessment of applications by academic experts, local and international missions of the TEMPUS Office staff and staff costs. The costs incurred in 1992/93 were partly covered from funds left under CME and YEX in the previous year.

(b) The Regional PHARE funds were only used to finance regional projects in which at least two eligible countries participated.

(c) Including ECU 310,000 to cover the costs of 14 JENs.

Three main trends in the budget for TEMPUS I are apparent. Firstly, the total annual budgets for the Programme increased considerably during the final two years. There was almost a 100 per cent increase in 1992/93. This fact, in itself, is evidence that successive Polish governments have realised the enormous importance of higher education's role in furthering Poland's integration with the European Union through closer cooperation between Polish and European HEIs. Secondly, budgetary allocations for JEPs have increased over the years while at the same time funds for IMGs have decreased. This second trend reflected the awareness by the Polish participants of the need to effect structural changes within their institutions of higher education and in order to achieve this objective they allocated more funds to JEPs. The third trend is the relatively substantial increase in annual funds allocated to Youth Exchange in order to

further the European ideal of promoting closer integration among the youth of Europe (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 10).

A breakdown of the total number of grants awarded under TEMPUS I is given in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Number of Grants Awarded Per Year[13]

YEAR	JEPs	IMGs	CMEs	YEX
1990/91	85	816	30	22
1991/92	62	444	24	20
1992/93	100	299	20	84
1993/94	0	466	2	92
Total	247 (*)	2025	76	218

(*) Plus 10 additional JEPs which Polish higher educational institutions joined in the second or third year of their implementation.

One rather strange entry in Table 5.2 shows that no JEPs were awarded in 1993/94. Clearly, an explanation is merited. The system of financing JEPs during the first phase of the TEMPUS Programme was based upon a rather strict regulation which stated that the costs of implementing a given JEP during any one year could only be funded from its annual budget for that year, in question. Next year's budget had to be used to finance the costs of implementing the following year of the JEP's operation. The academic year 1991/92 represented the first subsequent year of JEPs. During the subsequent years of the various Joint European Projects' operation: "...more and more funds had to be earmarked for the continuation of projects launched in the previous year(s)" (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 10). For example, in 1993/94, the total cost of JEPs which had been accepted in 1991/92 and 1992/93 was approximately ECU 19 million and the continuation of these projects into 1994/95 (the first year of TEMPUS II) would have amounted to an

additional ECU 15 million, thereby taking up a large part of the budget needed to finance new JEPs under TEMPUS II. The Polish Government, therefore, came up with the solution of using the JEP budget for 1993/94 (which amounted to a total of ECU 34.1 million) to settle the entire expense of existing JEPs, so that TEMPUS II could start with a clean balance sheet. As a consequence, no new Joint European Projects were initiated in 1993/94. Successive Polish governments also sought to provide additional funding for TEMPUS I. Financial support for TEMPUS I from the Polish Government amounted to approximately ECU 1 million. Given Poland's economic and social difficulties over these years as it embarked upon the entire transformation of its economic and political systems this figure represents a substantial sum (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 10).

Table 5.3 presents a breakdown of awards made under TEMPUS I to all the eligible countries in Central and Eastern Europe within the framework of the PHARE Programme.

Table 5.3 Development of the Budget for TEMPUS I (in MECU and as percentage of the national PHARE budget).[14]

	1990/91		1991/92		1992/93		1993/94	
	TEMPUS Budget in MECU	TEMPUS Budget in % of PHARE Budget	TEMPUS Budget in MECU	TEMPUS Budget in % of PHARE Budget	TEMPUS Budget in MECU	TEMPUS Budget in % of PHARE Budget	TEMPUS Budget in MECU	TEMPUS Budget in % of PHARE Budget
Albania	-	-	-	-	1.2	16.7	2.5	8.3
Bulgaria	-	-	5.0	3.1	8.0	9.9	15.0	16.7
Czechoslovakia	3.7	10.9	9.0	7.5	13.0	13.0	-	-
Czech Republic	-	-	-	-	-	-	8.0	13.3
Estonia	-	-	-	-	1.0	10.0	1.5	12.5
GDR	0.9	2.7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hungary	6.2	6.9	12.0	10.0	16.0	16.0	16.0	16.0
Latvia	-	-	-	-	1.5	10.0	2.0	11.0
Lithuania	-	-	-	-	1.5	7.5	2.5	10.0
Poland	12.4	6.2	13.5	6.1	26.0	13.0	35.0	15.6
Romania	-	-	10.0	11.1	13.0	14.3	18.0	13.8
Slovak Republic	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.0	12.5
Slovenia	-	-	-	-	2.3	25.0	2.5	25.0
former Yugoslavia	-	-	6.0	-	-	-	-	-
PHARE Regional Funds	-	-	15.0	-	12.5	-	10.3	-

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5.6 Assessment and Selection Procedures for TEMPUS I[15]

The academic content of Joint European Projects was assessed by Polish academic experts, who formed a Committee of Experts based at the Ministry of National Education, while the technical quality of JEPs was assessed by the EC TEMPUS Office in Brussels. Both assessments facilitated the preparation of a list of possible projects for funding. The EC TEMPUS Office and the Polish TEMPUS Office prepared jointly such lists. Any controversial projects were referred to a meeting of EU and Polish academic experts for adjudication. Finally, the list had to be approved by the Polish Ministry of National Education and the European Commission.

Applications for Individual Mobility Grants submitted by Polish staff and doctorate students were assessed and selected by the Polish experts. Likewise, those applications submitted by staff from EU institutions of higher education were assessed and selected by the EC TEMPUS Office in Brussels. All selections had to be approved by the European Commission.

Assessment and selection of Complementary Measures was carried out jointly by the EC TEMPUS Office and the Polish TEMPUS Office. Again, their decisions were subject to the approval of the European Commission.[16] Relatively few applications were submitted for CMEs projects under TEMPUS I and these applications were generally of a low quality and, therefore, only a small number were successful. It has been stated that the lack of clarity in the formulation of the overall concept and objectives of this TEMPUS action was responsible for its limited success (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 11-12).

5.7 Priorities for TEMPUS II

A second category of priority, known as structural priorities, was introduced by the Polish Ministry of National Education for TEMPUS II. Whereas priority areas had encompassed areas important for Poland's social, economic and technological development and integration with the European Union; structural priorities focused entirely on Polish HEIs by identifying necessary structural transformations which would not only promote closer cooperation between Polish and EU higher educational institutions but also facilitate the modernisation of the entire Polish system of higher education. Structural priorities drawn up by MEN included:

- development and introduction of bachelor-degree courses;
- establishment and development of university-industry cooperation, (including links with enterprises, local institutions and authorities to facilitate a response to labour market needs);
- transformation of uniform master-degree courses into a two-stage system (with three/four year bachelor-degree courses followed by two-year master-degree courses) or into a system with common core curricula followed by two separate strands for bachelor- and master-degree courses;
- development of European studies, EU language teaching as well as the introduction of the "European" dimension in higher education (including European modules concerning various aspects of life in EU countries);
- development and introduction of the credit-based system as well as the credit transfer system to facilitate the future participation of Polish higher educational institutions in Socrates/ERASMUS (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 33).

Recognition of the need to modernise HEI administrative structures and services led the Ministry of National Education to introduce additional

structural priorities during the 1994/95 and 1995/96 academic years. These new priorities were:

- upgrading of finance management systems;
- computerisation of libraries; and
- development of international relations offices (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 33).

Identification of priorities was a complex procedure with MEN and the Polish TEMPUS Office preparing the first draft after consulting with all higher educational institutions; the General Council for Higher Education; the PHARE Coordinator/Plenipotentiary of the Government for European Integration and Foreign Assistance; and the Ministries of Labour and Social Policy, Industry and Trade, Finance, Health and Social Care, Agriculture, Environmental Protection and Natural Resources. The draft proposal is then presented by the Polish authorities to the European Commission for its approval.

Additional priorities were introduced in 1996/97:

> The priorities for 1996/7 were just the first attempt to translate the European issues into topics for Joint European Projects. Now in the context of the fact that, following the Essen summit in December 1994, the pre-accession strategy was formulated and the EC White Paper for the EU associated countries of Central and Eastern Europe published in 1995, the "European context" in general and the implications of the Europe Agreement and the pre-accession strategy in particular should be present in the 1996/7 priorities....in a more concrete form (MEN, 1996c: 11).

Under TEMPUS II funds could only be awarded to projects which were designed to fulfil one of the stated priorities. This was a clear departure from TEMPUS I where a project was still considered even if it did not conform to a priority area (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 33).

5.8 Budget for TEMPUS II

TEMPUS II received a total of ECU 111.8 million from the PHARE budget.
Table 5.4 presents a breakdown of funding for TEMPUS II (1994/95-1997/98).

TABLE 5.4 TEMPUS II BUDGET (total and per action)[17]

Year	Budget in ECU million	JEPs	JENs	IMG	CME	YEX	TEMPUS Office (a)
1994/95	36.8	34.7	0.5	0.9	0.3	0.2	0.2
1995/96	30.0	26.3	0.6	0.9	1.5	0.5	0.2
1996/97	25.0	21.43	---- (b)	0.9	2.17	0.27	0.23
1997/98	20.0	18.42	---- (b)	0.69	0.66	---- (c)	0.23
Total	**111.8**	**100.85**	**1.1**	**3.39**	**4.63**	**0.97**	**0.86**

(a) See footnote to Table 5.1.
(b) Since 1996/97 JENs were financed from Strand II of the Complementary Measures Action.
(c) Figure not mentioned in the official Polish TEMPUS Office' publications.

From the figures presented in Table 5.4 it can be seen that Joint European Projects have been consistently awarded the majority of available funding each year. Table 5.5 displays the total number of TEMPUS projects in Poland for each category.

Table 5.5 Grants awarded during TEMPUS II[18]

Year	JEPs	JENs	IMGs	CMEs
1994/95	91	13	306	14
1995/96	65	11	273	26
1996/97	56	(a)	126	20
1997/98	56	(a)	72	20
Total	**268**	**24**	**777**	**80**

Furthermore, TEMPUS II Joint European Projects also received funding from the Polish Ministry of National Education's budget. This funding amounted to approximately 5,000 Zlotys for each new JEP.

5.9 Assessment and Selection Procedures for TEMPUS II[19]

Under TEMPUS II, the assessment procedure for Joint European Projects was divided into two stages: priority assessment (compliance with the priorities); and quality assessment (covering both academic and technical quality). The first stage reflected the requirement introduced for TEMPUS II which stated that projects would only be considered if they complied with national priorities. The Polish TEMPUS Office was entrusted to conduct priority assessment with its final conclusions being reviewed by the European Training Foundation's (ETF) TEMPUS Department. Projects complying with priorities qualified for the second stage of assessment. Quality assessment was conducted by academic experts who assessed academic quality and by the Polish TEMPUS Office which sought to establish a case for technical merit in a given project. Academic experts' role has not change from what it was during TEMPUS I but the role of technical experts has a undergone substantial change. Technical quality assessment of projects is undertaken by both the ETF TEMPUS

Department and the Polish TEMPUS Office with their results having equal weight. As in TEMPUS I, lists of projects to be awarded funding are prepared upon the basis of the grades received in the academic and technical quality assessments, and must be approved by both the Polish authorities and the European Commission.

The IMG assessment procedure remained unchanged from what it was in TEMPUS I while the procedure for the assessment of CMEs has been simplified. The Polish TEMPUS Office took over all the assessment responsibilities for CMEs during TEMPUS II.

5.10 TEMPUS II Bis

On 21 November 1996, a decision was taken by the European Council of Ministers to extend TEMPUS II, initially scheduled to run for four years, by two years so that the Programme would continue until 1 July 2000. This extension period is known as TEMPUS II bis. The period during which TEMPUS II bis operates is, therefore, beyond the scope of analysis since it commenced only at the start of the 1998/99 academic year. Nevertheless, a brief outline of the main features of TEMPUS II bis is given below with regard to the PHARE countries.

Two types of JEPs are available under TEMPUS II bis: the academic JEP (focusing on the content and quality of higher education which was available, previously); and a new university management JEP. In Poland, academic JEPs are "...dedicated to the requirements of accession into the EU, such as the development of courses preparing civil servants for EU economics and politics and the preparation for entering [the] Socrates programme" (*ETF Facts*, Oct. 1997: 5). Again, as in TEMPUS II, only those applications for JEPs which

comply with the priority areas are considered. University management JEPs promote "innovative practice in the context of the changing role of institutional or university management", in the light of the ECE states' pre-accession strategies for European integration (*ETF Facts*, Oct. 1997: 5). Institutional JEPs may not include the development of curricula or retraining of academic staff as part of their activities.

Individual Mobility Grants have been continued under TEMPUS II bis and focus on retraining administrators and managers. Applications for IMGs with EU accession related activities are more likely to be successful. Grants for travel to conferences designed to establish links with Socrates' Thematic Networks are available under the IMG action, as are grants for travel related to the development of Institutional Contracts between institutions of higher education. The maximum period of stay for all visits is 4 months. Complementary / Compact measures have disappeared under TEMPUS II bis.

5.11 'EUROPEANISATION'

'Europeanisation' is a conceptually contested concept. It is a recurrent theme throughout this thesis, and it was defined, briefly, in the Introduction. Yet it is necessary to compare this conceptualisation of "Europeanisation" with the opinions of Polish educational actors. Interviews with eleven Rectors of Polish schools of higher education carried out in May and June 1996, sought their opinions on the concept of 'Europeanisation', including the importance of that concept for their individual educational establishments (Chmielecka, 1996). These interviews revealed that the Rectors conceptualised the 'Europeanisation' of the Polish higher educational system in the following way: "implementation of flexible curricula and a system of evaluating academic achievements of students involving credit points; effective teaching of foreign languages and

incorporation in curricula of diverse courses conducted in foreign languages; introduction of internal and external systems of teaching and research quality evaluation ensuring comparableness of curricula." (Chmielecka, 1996: 11). All of these were viewed by the Rectors as factors which would increase the possibilities of student exchange between Polish students and students in West European institutions of higher education. Three of the Rectors interviewed stated that they believed their schools should be classed as a 'European' institution of higher education (i.e. that their schools were part of Europe) while the remainder of the Rectors did not volunteer an opinion. Two of the Rectors governed schools which were in the process of implementing the European Credit Transfer System and a system of formal quality assessment while the other schools were "....completely inactive in this area, and their staff ....[were] often unaware that something...." needed to be done (Chmielecka, 1996: 11).

Higher education, in particular, plays a fundamental role in preparing Polish society to play a full part in Polish preparations for European Union membership and eventually within the EU, itself (MEN, 1996b:7). In the final analysis, education is inherently political.[20] Arguably, the EU-sponsored TEMPUS Programme is overseeing the 'second politicisation' of Polish higher education in the second half of the twentieth century - the first, being the Communist attempts to control higher education. This premise is based on several clearly defined features of TEMPUS' stated aims and activities. Firstly, it is now widely accepted that TEMPUS assistance in the reform of Polish universities is aimed at reforming Polish universities along the lines of West European HEIs.

> Integration processes in the institutional sphere of education are, first of all, activities aimed at the aligning of the Polish educational system with European standards, with a view to Poland joining the European Union. With remarkable help from the European Union and its Member States (through the PHARE fund) there have been continuing educational reforms that commenced in 1990 (MEN, 1996b:132).

The *Additional Protocol to the European Agreement* was signed by Poland in 1994. This Protocol envisages the inclusion of Poland in EU cooperation programmes. Another step was taken in this direction, in 1995, when the "first preparatory actions were undertaken for the purpose of Poland's participation in the following projects: 'Socrates', 'Leonardo da Vinci' [and] 'Youth for Europe III'" (MEN, 1996b:132). In March 1998, Poland signed the agreement to participate in the Socrates programme.

The Polish Ministry of National Education has stated that with regard to the reform of Polish education the priority is to ensure that the Polish educational system conforms with the "....standards and requirements applied in West European states, with the prospect of Poland's admission to the European Union." MEN, however, rejects the possibility of a "....unification of systems or contents of education, as education is an area excluded from such activities" (MEN, 1996b:137-8). In the European Union the model and contents of education are left to the exclusive competence of the state; and "...the task of education is to furnish citizens with comparable knowledge and skills that would facilitate [their] taking advantage of them in any state" (MEN, 1996b:137-8).

Secondly, the European Union through TEMPUS seeks to promote certain values among Polish students and academics.

> An equally important stream in the reforms is the emphasis in educational content on values of democracy, tolerance and mutual understanding, civic education for an active life within the local, national, regional and global communities (MEN, 1996b:138).

Commitment to EU 'defined' democratic ideals is an important prerequisite to obtaining TEMPUS assistance.

The third premise is that in order to qualify for TEMPUS assistance an acceptance (whether real or superficial) of the principles of the market economy is forced upon the Polish applicants since a system of competitive tendering is an integral part of the application process for TEMPUS grants. It is, therefore, extremely difficult to measure whether students and academics are committed to the principles of liberal democracy and the market economy for their own sake, or whether because it is temporarily, and financially, convenient for them to be because that is the only way that they are likely to benefit from TEMPUS. Preference falsification[21] so much in evidence during the Communist years may have resurfaced but as yet the author has no evidence for this.

5.12 SOCRATES-ERASMUS[22]

Participation by Polish universities in Socrates-ERASMUS[23] will expand the European dimension of education within Polish institutions of higher education. Partly, it will do so by producing graduates with skills which enable them, if they so desire, to find employment outside Poland in an EU member state. Socrates only grants partial funding to successful applicants. Unlike TEMPUS JEPs, there is a reciprocity requirement between institutions taking part in Socrates. This means that Polish higher educational institutions must send a number of Polish students abroad equal to the foreign students who have opted to study in Poland. Furthermore, the Commission intends to take into account the degree of participation by states in Socrates when deciding upon future funding allocations. Both these factors may restrict Poland's participation in the programme. Another important difference is that projects which are successful in gaining Socrates funding cease to belong to the individuals who initiated the applications (unlike TEMPUS I, or the earlier version of ERASMUS). Under Socrates, universities are required to draw up an institutional plan for

developing the European dimension of their activities. Funds are then required to be distributed on the basis of an institutional contract drawn up to coordinate the activities of all university departments. International offices are to play a central role in these activities.

Socrates-ERASMUS does not only promote student/staff mobility. Reform of university administration and management, as well as the modernisation of core curricula is an integral part of the programme as well. For student exchanges to be beneficial for the students involved then it is necessary that the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) is functioning so that Polish students studying abroad and foreign students on exchange in Poland will have their studies count towards their final exams at their home universities. Another aspect of this same problem is the introduction of a national system of quality assurance in teaching at Polish universities.

5.13 An Initial Evaluation of TEMPUS in Poland

Lack of money is the greatest problem facing the Polish higher educational system (and probably higher educational systems around the world) and this is precisely why the TEMPUS programme has been invaluable in the process of reforming the Polish higher educational system because TEMPUS generates money (Bialecki, 1994:186-7). Other academics involved in the Polish higher educational policy-making process have supported this positive view of the TEMPUS Programme. Some have even gone so far as to add that TEMPUS is the most useful and effective PHARE Programme in Poland. The value of the TEMPUS programme has been argued to have been extremely high especially at the beginning of the Programme's operation because it offered a wide range of study visits for students and university teachers. In addition, TEMPUS offered some so-called 'free money' for investment, and although these funds

might not have been very high it was 'free'[24] and it usually served to generate several times higher spending. The Polish state would add additional money to the TEMPUS grant and local authorities would also do so. TEMPUS' ability to generate money is abundantly clear when the case of Gdansk University's computer network is examined. Originally, the TEMPUS Programme donated $50,000 which was a comparatively small amount, for the development of the computer network system. Eventually, however, the original TEMPUS donation had been used to generate a total of $600,000. Other actors had contributed additional funds to the original $50,000 (Gasiorowski Interview).

The competitive tendering system on which the application for TEMPUS grants is based has itself performed a very important function in helping to prepare Polish society for liberal democracy. For it has been on the basis of the TEMPUS Programme that many people have learned how to manage with the free market and also to compete in that market. It has been emphatically stated that TEMPUS has no *real* weakness apart from some initial teething problems which are usually associated in the early stages of any decision-making body's existence (Gasiorowski Interview).

Again, TEMPUS' tendering procedure has encouraged greater democracy within universities since TEMPUS is an open competition procedure in applications for grants, anyone within a university may apply upon condition that the approval of the university rector is obtained. A report by MEN singled out the work of the TEMPUS Programme and stated that "....the various initiatives under the TEMPUS Programme are very beneficial and should be extended" (MEN,1996a:193-4).

One criticism of TEMPUS articulated the fact that Polish academics wished to spend TEMPUS money in the way that they thought was proper instead of having to use the money to pay Western experts. Some academics considered

this a waste of money, calling it the problem of the 'Marriot Experts'. Marriot Experts were Western advisors sent by Brussels who spent most of their time sitting in the Marriot Hotel in Warsaw and "...knowing everything about everything in Poland" (Anonymous Interview, 1998).

TEMPUS was extremely important for small universities in regional towns whose staff and students were able to benefit from the exchange programme. It has been claimed that TEMPUS was the most popular programme especially since anybody connected with higher education could apply for it. Some academics even regard it as being the most important international aid and cooperation programme in Poland (Chmielecka Interview, 1998). Another academic and policy-maker declared that TEMPUS had certainly been the most useful PHARE Programme in Poland (Gasiorowski Interview, 1998). He also stated that benefits were gained from the wide range of study visits in which students and teachers could take part. The vast majority of academics interviewed agreed that the main benefit of the TEMPUS Programme was the exchange of ideas between scholars from Poland and the West so that with regard to Poland, Polish scholars see different solutions, courses, research and teaching methods and become more open-minded. It also forced Polish students to become competitive like students in the West. Wnuk-Lipinski agrees that the most important aspect of the TEMPUS Programme was the opening of the way for the immediate and practical cooperation between scholars from Western Europe and Poland since it probably shaped the speed and the substance of the reforms of the Polish educational system. He went on to argue that it was due to the existence of such programmes that issues like accreditation, quality of teaching and assessment of quality were introduced into the Polish higher educational system. Again, this is an example of bottom-up articulation (Wnuk-Lipinski Interview, 1998).

The total budget allocation for Poland from the TEMPUS Programme for the

years 1990/91-1997/8 has been 207.5 MECU. This sum was used to finance 515 Joint European Projects (including 479 Structural JEPs and 36 Mobility JEPs) representing 89.3 per cent of the total budget. In addition, 3082 Individual Mobility Grants (5.4 per cent), 151 Complementary (Compact) Measures Projects (2.7%), Youth Exchange Programmes (1.9%) and the operational costs of the Polish TEMPUS Office (0.4%) were also financed from this amount (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1998a: 3).

The impact of TEMPUS projects should be assessed with regard to its contribution in assisting the Polish Ministry of National Education to achieve its specific aims for the reform of the higher educational system, and also taking into account the support provided by TEMPUS towards realising the achievement of strategic targets related to the integration of Poland with the European Union (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1998a: 11).

TEMPUS has helped provide support for the implementation of the Ministry of National Education's higher educational reforms. MEN's major objectives of higher education reform have been enumerated in earlier chapters but shall be briefly re-stated here and are as follows: the diversification of higher education by establishing new units and new types of courses within existing schools of higher education, including vocational degree courses; broadening and internationalisation of the curricula; modernisation of teacher education through the development of two-subject teacher education; university-industry cooperation; and the introduction of internal quality assurance procedures in higher education institutions. The European integration targets defined in the Europe Agreement and the pre-Accession strategy are mainly the promotion of the teaching of European Union languages and translation; introduction of European Studies and European modules; and the harmonisation of the curricula for the regulated professions (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1998a: 11).

TEMPUS JEPs (49) and CMEs (4) have financed or co-financed the restructuring of 7 of the existing and establishment of 46 new inter-university, inter-faculty and faculty-based units in institutions of higher education. There are also TEMPUS JEPs to support MEN's stated aim of restructuring of five-year master degree courses into either a two stage system of Bachelor degree courses with the possibility of progressing to Masters level; or a system with common core curricula for Bachelor and Master degree courses followed by separate strands for the two degrees - 30 TEMPUS projects in areas such as natural sciences, engineering and technology, economics and management and foreign languages - together with the modernisation or introduction of the bachelor degree course (53 TEMPUS projects in engineering and technology, environment protection, economics and management, foreign languages, agriculture and architecture). Around 95 per cent of the 479 Structural JEPs have overseen the modernisation of the structure and organisation of course units within degree programmes thereby addressing MEN's priority of broadening and internationalising curricula. Furthermore, TEMPUS support for the modernisation of teacher education has been provided in the form of 3 JEPs involving 4 of the existing 9 teacher training colleges. Such programmes aim to develop degree programmes which will allow graduates to gain qualifications for the teaching of two or more subjects. Combinations include: physics and mathematics, physics and chemistry or biology; pedagogy and the English language; or history and the English language. MEN's objective of promoting increased university-industry cooperation has been supported by TEMPUS II which has helped to establish 18 university-based units, including technology transfer centres and training centres. TEMPUS I helped to organise training courses for professionals, study visits and student practical placements. With regard to quality and accreditation issues, there have been 10 CMEs and 9 other projects focusing on the introduction of internal quality assurance systems. TEMPUS II bis will contribute to the introduction of internal quality assurance procedures in Polish schools of higher education (Polish TEMPUS Office,

1998a: 12-13).

With regard to the European integration targets as defined in Article 74 of the
Europe Agreement and also in the pre-accession strategy, there has been
substantial TEMPUS support for the teaching of EU languages and translation
in the form of 28 JEPs, including 7 specifically designed to develop translation
and interpretation skills. Also there have been 22 JEPs designed for the
introduction of European Studies and European Integration and these have led
to the establishment of 7 permanent European Studies / European Integration
Centres and the introduction of European Studies at the undergraduate and
postgraduate level. JEPs aimed at the harmonisation of curricula for the six
regulated medical professions in accordance with the relevant EC Directives are
at present limited to veterinary surgery, general medicine and pharmacy. There
are 4 JEPs but this area has remained a priority under TEMPUS II bis (Polish
TEMPUS Office, 1998a: 13).

The 1990 Act on Higher Schools severely restricted MEN's powers while
granting a great deal of autonomy to institutions of higher education especially
in the areas of organisational arrangements and structures and the teaching
content of curricula. Previous chapters have analysed the effects of the Act in
detail but it is now necessary to point out that with regard to participation in
TEMPUS it was important that HEIs had the power to open, reorganise or close
down degree programmes in a particular field of studies and had the right to
approve curricula and syllabi for degree courses as well as the teaching content
of these courses at the faculty-level. TEMPUS encouraged HEIs to take
advantage of their "newly gained autonomy by developing cooperation projects
in accordance with their individual needs and capacities through the bottom-up
approach which has been present in the Programme since its beginning."
(Polish TEMPUS Office, 1998a: 21). In other words, the Programme both
encouraged and facilitated bottom-up articulation of interests by the academic

community.

Many of the proposals for the new Law on Higher Education have been influenced and inspired by the stated priorities of TEMPUS. This assertion is supported by an official document published by TEMPUS,

> Clearly, what we have now reflected in the proposals for legislative amendments is a response to the TEMPUS spirit and a cumulative effect of the information and experiences brought back to Poland by nearly 8,000 students [and] over 7,000 university teachers and administrators who have been awarded mobility grants under the IMG action and Joint European Projects (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1998a: 23).

To conclude, the European Union through its TEMPUS Programme has assisted, greatly, the Polish Ministry of National Education in the reform of Poland's system of higher education. Furthermore, Polish academics have singled out TEMPUS for considerable praise by identifying it as the most important international factor promoting the reform of higher education in Poland. The discussion of TEMPUS here has necessarily been of a rather general character in order to contextualise the discussion in Chapter Six. In that chapter, there is a detailed analysis of how TEMPUS has increased democratic pluralism by opening up new channels of interest articulation for Polish academics.

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[1] TEMPUS is the 'Trans-European Mobility Programme for University Staff and Students.'

[2] ACE is an EU programme aimed at improving the quality of research work in economics.

[3] This is a contested concept. See Introductory Chapter.

[4] The Introductory Chapter of this thesis and Chapter One place the TEMPUS programme within the European context of the Poland - EU Europe Agreement, the

pre-accession strategy and Poland's future participation within EU programmes.

[5] PHARE is an acronym for "Poland and Hungary: Aid for Economic Reconstruction".

[6] See Wilson (1993) for a general assessment of the first few years of TEMPUS' operation.

[7] See EC TEMPUS Office (1992: 5).

[8] The other nine states eligible for TEMPUS assistance within the framework of PHARE are: Albania, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia. The TEMPUS Programme, within the framework of TACIS has also been extended to include Belarus, the Russian Federation, Mongolia and the Ukraine. The TACIS Programme is similar to PHARE with one important exception, TACIS does not offer assistance to these states with a view to preparing them for accession to the EU.

[9] G24 countries which are not members of the EU have the opportunity to take part in TEMPUS. These countries are: Australia, Canada, Iceland, Japan, Liechtenstein, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, and the United States of America. Furthermore, Cyprus and Malta have also had the opportunity to participate in TEMPUS since the beginning of TEMPUS II.

[10] Institutions of higher education, organisations, and enterprises from G24 countries may participate as partners in a JEP.

[11] For more information on JEPs see Kehm et al (1997: 20-24).

[12] Table 5.1 is taken from Polish TEMPUS Office (1996c: 9).

[13] Table 5.2 is taken from Polish TEMPUS Office (1996c: 10).

[14] See Kehm et al (1997: 17, Table 2.1).

[15] Taken from Polish TEMPUS Office (1996c: 10).

[16] Youth Exchange Projects followed a similar assessment and selection procedure but since Youth Exchange is not directly related to higher education, any discussion of this procedure is omitted from the analysis.

[17] Table 5.3 is based upon data from Polish TEMPUS Office (1996c, 32); Polish TEMPUS Office (1997a: 1); and Polish TEMPUS Office (1998c: 1).

[18] Table 5.4 is based upon data from Polish TEMPUS Office (1996c: 32); Polish TEMPUS Office (1997a); and Polish TEMPUS Office (1998c).

[19] See Polish TEMPUS Office (1996c: 34).

[20] Refer to the Introduction and Chapters One and Two of this thesis.

[21] The European Union and the other Western states believed that the incumbent Communist governments beyond the iron curtain commanded the support of the vast majority of their populations. The fall of these same regimes in the late 1980s demonstrated that this had blatantly not been the case. The majority of Central and East European citizens had engaged in preference falsification. When an individual's private preferences differ from his/her public preferences then preference falsification has occurred. Thus, many people living under Communism pretended to support the Communist regimes and hid their true feelings (which were ones of opposition) because they judged the costs of publicly declaring their opposition to be too high (Kuran, 1992:16-25).

[22] For a concise history of the origins of the ERASMUS programme see Fells (1997) and European Commission (1996).

[23] See Klimkiewicz (1997/8: 3-5) and Hildebrand (1997) for a short history of the ERASMUS programme. On 27 February 1998 an agreement was reached between the Polish Government and the European Commission that would allow Poland to participate in Socrates. From 1 March 1998 Poland became a full legal member of the Programme. For more information see 'Forum Akademickie' (April 1998: 11). See also Toeplitz (1997) who discusses preconditions for the acceptance of Polish schools of higher education into the Socrates Programme. One of the basic requirements is adherence to the instructions of the European Credit Transfer System.

[24] The money was free in the sense that it did not have to be paid back to the EU and there were no interest payments to be made as in the case of a loan.

Chapter 6

The Influence of the 'European' dimension upon Interest Articulation within the Polish Higher Educational Sector: The Bottom-Up Approach

6.1 Introduction

Previous chapters have explained that the PHARE Programme which was introduced to Poland as a form of preparation for membership of the European Union, was also directed towards Polish higher education. The European Union's assistance, basically, had two forms: the Jean Monnet Programme which was directed chiefly to lecturers from mainly political science, sociology, law, and history, in order to establish permanent courses and modules concerning the EU. Another form of assistance from the EU was the TEMPUS Programme. The project aimed to build bridges between members of the Polish academic community and their colleagues in EU member state universities. The binding force was the common research topic in which partners from both sides contributed. In order to promote understanding and encourage exchange, short updating and training visits to EU higher educational institutions were possible for members of the Polish academic community within the framework of TEMPUS. Furthermore, Joint European Projects provide an opportunity for 'networking' to take place between Polish and EU students and staff, thus facilitating horizontal interest articulation as well as the vertical articulation of

interests.

Section 6.2 considers the difficulties of quantifying the benefits of TEMPUS'
assistance. Two case studies were chosen to demonstrate how TEMPUS
promotes both the horizontal and vertical articulation of interests. The author
has carried out a series of extensive interviews with some of the academics who
were coordinating the TEMPUS projects. Both studies are classic examples of
how new channels of interest articulation have opened up in higher education
not only as a consequence of TEMPUS but also as a result of the
democratisation of Polish higher education since 1990. The case study in
Section 6.3 focuses on the activities of the Chemistry Faculty at the Jagiellonian
University while the second case study, in Section 6.5, is based upon the same
University's Interfaculty Centre for European Studies. As a prelude to this latter
case study, the concept of European Studies is examined in Section 6.4.
Evaluations of TEMPUS I and TEMPUS II take place in Sections 6.6 and 6.7,
respectively.[1]

6.2 TEMPUS and the 'Energy Barrier'

TEMPUS plays a very important role in organising grass-roots programmes -
bottom-up interest articulation. Initial external funding from TEMPUS for
establishing grass-roots programmes often makes it easier to attract funding
from other sources. A chemical allegory was employed by a chemist at the
Jagiellonian University to explain the importance of TEMPUS funding. He
stated that in chemistry when conducting experiments you need to have enough
energy in order to overcome the 'energy barrier'. If the energy exerted is below
the required level of energy then that exerted energy is wasted. A sufficient
amount of energy has to be used to overcome the energy barrier and then later
you get this energy back as well as having some extra. It is possible to heat up

something using fire but first you have to have matches. A certain amount of money is, therefore, required in order to overcome the funding barrier. This same academic together with some of his colleagues formed a special commission which developed a plan on *How to computerise the management of the Jagiellonian University*. Money was required to create a new computer network, to buy new computers and to train staff, among other things. The commission estimated that $5 million would be sufficient to arrange all things concerning information management and was therefore the potential energy (money) barrier. TEMPUS funding was obtained and this initial funding attracted funding from other sources and the energy barrier was overcome (Frankowicz Interview, 1998).

The Chemistry Faculty of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow is participating in seven different TEMPUS Programmes (this is believed to be a Polish record). Actual TEMPUS projects undertaken and applications submitted are examined in Section 6.2 in order to establish the bottom-up nature of this process of interest articulation, and the stimuli that TEMPUS provides for MEN's reforms.

Other academics stressed the importance of receiving initial funding from TEMPUS in order to attract funding from elsewhere. The so-called 'free money' that was offered by TEMPUS for investment was not so high but it was free (in the sense that it did not have to be paid back, and therefore, it was not a loan) and, therefore, it usually generated several times higher spending. Usually the Polish State and local authorities would provide additional money for a given project. Furthermore, it has been stated, repeatedly, that certain reforms, such as institutional changes, and introducing and updating curricula, within Polish higher education could not have been achieved without assistance from TEMPUS.[2] Also, it was stated that it is difficult to quantify the benefits brought by Polish students and young teachers coming from TEMPUS exchange

programmes who have brought standards from the West. This statement was made by the Vice Rector of Warsaw University who as Vice Minister of National Education with special responsibility for higher education was responsible for introducing the TEMPUS Programme to Poland (Grzelak Interview, 1998).

TEMPUS was argued to have been more important for Poland than US-sponsored projects or the Soros Foundation.[3] It was acknowledged that the Soros Foundation has contributed to reforms in Polish higher education to a high extent but that it is not comparable with the scale of TEMPUS. Academics also stated that the United States gave some assistance at the beginning (especially in the early 1990s) and therefore gave Poland "its five minutes in history". Afterwards, Poland and the other East Central European states ceased to be a priority for US funding (Polish Interviews, 1997/98).

One academic has stated, "I would say that nobody gave us more than the Union" (Grzelak Interview, 1998). But in the opinion of many of the academics interviewed, the application procedure for TEMPUS projects is complicated and extremely time-consuming, and all forms must be completed in one of the main EU languages.

The Vice Rector of the Jagiellonian University has stated that many University units have benefited from TEMPUS, with the most important benefit being increased student mobility which would have been impossible without the TEMPUS programme. He stated that one of the problems with TEMPUS was in the budget because there was never a special item assigned for the cost of teaching. Now that TEMPUS is drawing to a close and is to be replaced by the Socrates/ERASMUS Programme, Polish universities are experiencing serious problems. In order to receive foreign students, Polish universities will have to invest a lot of money in developing and updating teaching programmes in

foreign languages. With regard to institutional TEMPUS projects, the Jagiellonian University has benefited the most from the *Programme to Reform International Relations Offices*. The Jagiellonian University acted as the coordinator of this project for other Polish universities. It was also mentioned that the Jagiellonian University has not yet taken advantage of TEMPUS to develop its library and administration. The University administration did participate in a TEMPUS project but this had little impact (Szymonski Interview, 1998).

Strong universities benefited a lot from the TEMPUS Programme while agricultural universities, pedagogical universities and smaller universities did not benefit so much.[4] A former Vice Minister of National Education has stated that TEMPUS was one of the best PHARE programmes and that Polish schools of higher education benefited in three main ways from TEMPUS: 1) from exchange and cooperation; 2) from the introduction of new directions of studies; and 3) from money used to buy computers and modern equipment. Polish schools of higher education have received over 200 MECU from TEMPUS (Przybysz Interview, 1998).

6.3 Case Study of Bottom-Up Interest Articulation (1): Chemistry Faculty, Jagiellonian University, Krakow.

The bottom-up nature of interest articulation, and the stimuli that TEMPUS provides for MEN's reforms is very much in evidence in Poland. Taking the Chemistry Faculty of the Jagiellonian University, in Krakow, as a case study, this section demonstrates that bottom-up articulation, in instances where the articulators are well-organised and are able to state their aims and how they believe these aims should be achieved, meets with a very high degree of success. Success being defined as the articulators' ability to have their demands

translated into government policy.

A TEMPUS-PHARE application[5] for a Complementary Measures Project (with the project starting on 16 September 1996) entitled *The Chemical Credit Transfer System (CHECTS)*[6] was submitted in May 1996 by Professor Marek Frankowicz, Deputy Dean, Faculty of Chemistry, Jagiellonian University. Professor Frankowicz was acting as the coordinator of the project, and Professor Tadeusz Marek (Vice Rector, Jagiellonian University) was acting as the project's legal representative. It was a relatively small TEMPUS Compact Measures Project with a budget of ECU 40,000. The project's main objective was to prepare a credit (point) system. Three Polish chemical faculties were involved - the Jagiellonian University, Wroclaw University and the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan. An invitation was issued to the Polish Chemical Society to be a project partner so that any other chemistry faculty could be involved in order to do something on a national scale. Usually, in a TEMPUS project money may only be paid to members of the consortium. Involvement of the Polish Chemical Society as a named partner meant that all of the chemical faculties in Poland could now become involved in the project since all of the chemical faculties in Poland are members of the Polish Chemical Society. Four EU partner universities took part in the project: Lund University, Bologna University, Utrecht University and Coimbra University.

The success of the Utrecht Network had led to the conception of the proposed TEMPUS project. Composed of twenty-three universities from both the EU and EFTA states, the Utrecht Network seeks to promote the 'Europeanisation / internationalisation' of universities through increased student mobility, staff exchange, the 'Europeanisation/ internationalisation of curricula, joint curricula, and double degrees. Work by the Utrecht Network is carried out in cooperation with external partners from East Central Europe, the United States, Africa and other regions. In the framework of a TEMPUS Utrecht Network

(TUN) project, between seventeen universities from the European Union and twelve universities from East Central Europe, large scale student exchange and staff mobility was achieved. Additionally, TUN generated an increase of information and knowledge of the partners involved, in areas such as educational programmes, and admissions' criteria, as well as an increase in the level of contacts between staff members.

Importantly, TUN revealed a major weakness in the Polish higher educational system which has exerted a negative influence on student mobility. Lack of academic recognition mechanisms was causing problems since each Polish student returning from his/her studies in the EU had to be treated individually. Another problem was the lack of relevant information about partner institutions. Consequently, as a result of their experiences of TUN and the fact that many of their EU partners were involved in the ERASMUS ECTS Pilot Project, Polish universities recognised the existence of ECTS. Many samples of ECTS information packages were brought to Poland by Polish students and staff who had been on exchange programmes. This led to the gradual introduction of some elements of ECTS into some Polish faculties.

After the conclusion of the TUN project, continued collaboration among some partners was sought in order to disseminate and complement TUN achievements in the domains of academic recognition mechanisms and information exchange. Discussions between TUN coordinators and other TUN partners bore fruit and it was decided that a *TEMPUS Complementary Measures Project* should be proposed with the Jagiellonian University as the coordinating institution. Two other Polish universities were to cooperate in what became known as JEP 8169. The project was limited to the discipline of Chemistry for the following reasons:

- Chemistry was one of the disciplines chosen for the ERASMUS ECTS Pilot Project;

- The Polish chemical academic community is well-organised. Since 1990, regular annual meetings of Deans of Polish Chemistry faculties have taken place.;

- In March 1995, at the ERASMUS Congress in Lyon, 'Chemistry in Europe' state of the art European chemical education was presented and an extensive report was published. Professor Frankowicz (Jagiellonian University) participated in the Congress therefore the Congress' results were known to the Polish Chemistry faculties as they had been presented by Professor Frankowicz during a meeting of all Polish Chemistry faculties in 1995;

- The Polish Chemical Society had decided to give the project its full support.

The objective of the project was to create a national credit transfer system for Chemistry in Poland. It also focused on nationally-oriented analysis and dissemination of the results of several TEMPUS programmes, including the TEMPUS Utrecht Network. Furthermore, the project was also used as a case study, or example of good practice, for faculties in other disciplines. In order to profit from other experiences and to ensure optimal impact, consultants from different fields of studies (e.g. physics) were invited to oversee the project. In this way, the development of the project had a direct impact on the modernisation of other faculties' programmes and will lead eventually to the necessary coherence of study programmes within a given university, and between different study fields in different universities both on national and European levels.

According to specific EU conditions with regard to the awarding of this grant, money from TEMPUS could be used in two different ways. It was possible to divide the money into three parts so that each faculty could use the money only for its own benefit e.g. to prepare a guidebook for students with credit points. Professor Frankowicz was the coordinator of the Project who along with his colleagues decided to use the TEMPUS money in another way. They decided to

first address the problem of core curricula (i.e. the basic knowledge that should be taught to all Chemistry students) since it was acknowledged that it is very easy to put credit points to existing courses but it does not tackle such problems as the compatibility of Chemistry courses, and the quality of content and teaching of these courses. A meeting was organised in November 1996 and academics from Poland's Chemistry faculties were invited. At this meeting it was decided that proposals for core curricula should be made in the following way. The Jagiellonian University would make the proposal for Physical Chemistry, Wroclaw for Inorganic Chemistry, Poznan for Organic Chemistry and so on. Other universities wishing to become involved approached Professor Frankowicz. The Catholic University in Lublin did this and was given responsibility for formulating the core curricula for Chemical Technology. These proposals were prepared and elaborated and then discussed with the General Council of Higher Education since, as mentioned in Chapter Two, the General Council is responsible by law for core curricula. These discussions are still ongoing but will lead in the near future to the introduction of national ECTS standards for Chemistry, and the creation of a national system of chemical information (Frankowicz Interview, 1998).

All of this was achieved from TEMPUS funding which was used just to collect materials and organise these national meetings. This started a process which has continued because at least ten other new projects have emerged from the original project. One of these new projects addresses *Quality Evaluation for Chemistry* while another examines ways of creating a *National Mobility Scheme for Chemistry PhD Students* and there are also projects on information management (Frankowicz Interview, 1998).

The *Chemical Education Quality Evaluation (CHEQUE)* project was funded by a Compact Measures Grant awarded by TEMPUS at the beginning of the academic year 1997/98. This time the coordinating institution was Warsaw

University while the Polish partner institutions were the Chemistry faculties of: the Jagiellonian, Wroclaw, Adam Mickiewicz, and Nicolaus Copernicus Universities. As before in the *CHECTS* project, the Polish Chemical Society was also named as a partner institution. A further Polish partner institution named in the *CHEQUE* project was the Institute of Public Affairs in Warsaw. European partner institutions comprised: Lund University; Comite National d'Evaluation; and Strathclyde University in Scotland. Development of quality assurance tools for Polish Chemistry faculties (student questionnaires, checklists of self assessment for faculty staff, tests in Physical Chemistry at graduate level) was the stated aim of the *CHEQUE* project.

The *CHEQUE* project is a direct follow-up of the *Chemical Credit Transfer System* which ran during the academic year 1996/7. Both projects are sponsored by TEMPUS. Building upon the *CHECTS* project, it was thought that the obvious step would be to extend the institutionalised cooperation of Polish Chemistry faculties to the domain of quality improvement.[7] Such a step was consistent with both Poland's national educational policy and with that of the European Union. In 1994, the General Council of Higher Education had launched a pilot project aiming at the introduction of quality assessment in Polish institutions of higher education. Physics and Medicine were the first two disciplines to be taken into account. At the same time, an ERASMUS project evaluating the quality of education in European countries was being conducted. Polish educational authorities had not yet decided upon the institutional framework of the future Polish quality assessment system. Therefore, the *CHEQUE* project decided to focus upon tools of quality assessment rather than upon the institutionalised quality assurance mechanisms. The newly established Institute of Public Affairs[8] was invited to be a project partner because it has a 'Higher Education and Scientific Research Programme' division which runs several research projects on higher education including one entitled 'Quality Assurance in Higher Education.' The Federation of European Chemical

Societies (FECS) which became involved in *CHECTS* also supported *CHEQUE.*

The main objective of *CHEQUE* was the development of tools for quality assessment. Student questionnaires as well as questionnaires for academic staff were to be the basic tools. A secondary objective of the project was the design of a pilot test in order to check and compare the knowledge of Polish and EU students of Physical Chemistry. This test would form one of the elements for the external quality assessment of Physical Chemistry. By the end of the project, the *CHEQUE* partners had drawn up a final report containing standardised student questionnaires, checklists for faculty self-assessment and an analysis of quality assessment procedures used by Polish Chemistry faculties. This report was presented as a manual of good practice and it is hoped that it will serve as a standard for other disciplines.

CHEQUE offered those academic staff responsible for the implementation of quality assessment in Polish universities, the opportunity to visit their EU partners in order for consultation to take place, and also so that the Polish partners might observe quality assessment schemes working in practice. Other topics concerning higher educational reform were discussed during these visits including: structure of curricula; functioning of faculty administration; and other types of education such as open learning and refresher courses. Within the framework of *CHEQUE*, Polish partners were able to acquire additional information which was relevant to other strategic fields of Polish higher educational reform. Importantly, *CHEQUE* is a direct continuation of the *CHECTS* project since the former also sought to disseminate relevant information regarding the reform of Poland's system of higher education. Similarly, *CHEQUE,* like the *CHECTS* project, is self-sustainable so that when the funding for the *CHEQUE* project ended, systems of internal quality assessment which were included in routine faculty management teaching

remained in place.

The Jagiellonian University's Chemical Faculty along with its partner universities submitted a project at the end of March 1998 containing a proposal for 'Upgrading Faculty Administration and Management at Polish Chemical Faculties'.[9] The Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan was proposed as the coordinating institution. Other Polish institutions taking part in the project are the Silesian Technical University's Faculty of Chemistry; the Faculty of Ceramics and Material Sciences at the University of Mining and Metallurgy in Krakow; the Polish Chemical Society; and the Institute of Public Affairs. Chemical faculties from Barcelona, Lund, Provence and Strathclyde Universities have been named as EU partner institutions. The structure of the proposal sets out what the consortium of Chemistry faculties wish to do and suggested ways for achieving their targets. This involves organising a lobby to determine realistic targets and to provide for the continuation of the initiative (Frankowicz Interview, 1998). Designed to run for two years (1998/99-1999/2000), the main objective of the project is the modernisation of administration and management in Polish universities, including the introduction of the internal quality assurance system at the four participating Polish universities' chemical faculties in order to facilitate participation in the Socrates/ERASMUS programme. A wider objective of the JEP is to enable Polish Chemical faculties to adapt to new legislative and economic reality in order to ensure the efficient functioning of educational and research activities in the pre-accession period. Realistic targets for the JEP include all of the following:

- New organisational structure and new system of faculty management at the Chemistry Faculty, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan which will serve as a model for other faculties;
- New skills of administrative and academic staff at the Chemistry faculties in all the named Polish partner universities. These skills include knowledge of

languages including teaching in English, communication and management skills and applying modern information technologies;

- New faculty information management systems at the Chemical faculties of the Polish partner universities;

- Introduction of faculty quality management systems at the Polish partner universities' Chemical faculties including education and laboratory safety quality management;

- Dissemination of results to the Polish academic community; and

- Efficient management of the project.

The Joint European Project will be self-sustainable and results will be disseminated to other Polish Chemistry faculties by the Polish Chemical Society and to non-Chemical faculties by the Institute of Public Affairs. *UFAM* will build upon the achievements of the *CHEQUE* project since the latter project developed the tools to be used in quality assessment while the former seeks to utilise these tools when introducing quality assessment systems to become operational in the Chemistry faculties of four Polish universities.

As mentioned above, the structure of the 1990 Law on Higher Education is such that institutions of higher education have a large degree of autonomy, especially in the areas of organisational arrangements and structures and the teaching content of curricula, while MEN's room for manoeuvre in this field is extremely limited. All of these factors facilitate the bottom-up articulation of interests rather than top-down articulation. It is not, however, a straight forward process of bottom-up interest articulation as horizontal interest articulation takes place on certain levels before interests are conveyed to the Polish Ministry of National Education. This is apparent in the analysis of the various TEMPUS projects which were described above. For example, discussions take place between academic staff within a given Faculty of Chemistry, and between staff of different Chemistry faculties, through the annual meetings of deans of Polish

Chemical faculties; through the Polish Chemistry Society; and through other conferences such as the annual conference of Polish Chemists. These take place before being discussed at the level of the General Council or the Ministry of National Education. Also top-down articulation of interests does take place since it is MEN which determines the priority areas for TEMPUS projects and these priorities have to promote the national strategy for European integration.

6.4 European Studies in Poland

Transforming the Polish higher educational system in the aftermath of the 1989 revolutions necessarily involved introducing a "European" dimension into this sector in areas where it did not already exist. Such a necessity arose from the very nature of a transformation process encompassing every aspect of Polish society, namely, the political, economic, and social realms with the ultimate aim of opening up these spheres of society to the direct influence of Western Europe. Anticipating Poland's future membership of the EU and given the requirements of the Europe Agreement and the pre-accession strategy,[10] MEN sought to integrate these European issues into the priorities for JEPs from 1996/97 onwards.

Polish higher educational institutions responded to this challenge in various ways. Warsaw University's Law Department established the Centre for British and European Law; the Centre for French and European Law; and the Centre for German and European Law. Interdisciplinary European centres affiliated with schools of higher education were established at Gdansk University, Gdansk; Lodz University, Lodz; the University of Economics, Poznan; the Centre for Europe at Warsaw University;[11] Warsaw School of Economics, Warsaw; and at Wroclaw University, Wroclaw.[12] Furthermore, the University of Economics, Krakow has also recently established a European Documentation

Centre although it remains very small at the moment.

Some Polish specialists in European Studies[13] argue that despite significant achievements in developing this field as an interdisciplinary subject area within Polish HEIs "....there remains a feeling of unattainment" (Skoczny *et al*, 1997: 6). Deficiencies in European education in Poland are reflected, arguably, in the General Council of Higher Education's failure to add European Studies to the list of Master's programmes which Polish universities are allowed to run. Currently, European Studies has only been approved by the General Council as a specialisation within Masters' programmes in other subject areas. Such critics complain that the composition of the General Council with the majority of its members being Professors lends it a conservative air since these Professors are representing traditional disciplines and while consenting to the introduction of European studies as a specialisation within their Masters' programmes, are not willing to countenance the establishment of a European Studies Master's programme which would be in direct competition with their own programmes. Admittedly, this is an extremely controversial viewpoint and one which is denied by the General Council. In 1996, the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan developed a full five-year European Studies programme within the International Relations course of study in their Law Department but the General Council refused to sanction it. Consequently, students who had successfully completed the full five-year programme in European Studies were not awarded the title of Master of European Studies and had to be content with receiving another Master's title (Skoczny *et al*, 1997: 7-8). Other factors have contributed to the failure of European Studies to be recognised as a valid discipline in its own right. There is a lack of adequately qualified teaching staff in Poland possessing legal, economic, political and cultural knowledge of the European Union and its member states, as well as too few academics who are methodologically competent enough "....to prepare students to find solutions to problems connected with the integrational process" (Skoczny *et al*, 1997: 10).

Proponents of this line of argument declare that:

> ...the problems of civilisation and European culture have been insufficiently regarded, including among others, the issues of customs, mentalities, stereotypes and complexes, but also the common understanding of democracy and civil society, human rights, [and] a market economy... The conviction is slowly coming into being that European education has, first and foremost, to help in the understanding of a partner, to approbate its rules (e.g. tolerance and democracy), as well as that the barriers are steeped in historical resentments, a lack of knowledge and over-simplifications which one must get to know, understand and learn to deal with (Skoczny *et al*, 1997: 9).

A 'European' dimension to Polish higher education now exists and has been brought about by the implementation of JEPs in priority areas. European Studies' introduction into Polish universities is, arguably, the most important priority area with regard to shaping students' political culture. Figure 3 lists those subjects which form the predominant part of present European Studies in Polish universities.

Figure 3.

Register of subjects forming the predominant part of present European Studies programmes in Poland.[14]

1) *European institutions: the European Communities, the Council of Europe and other types of international organisations.*

2) *European culture: sources and processes of integration.*

3) *European integration (as understood by the European Communities).*

4) *Legal systems of the European Communities / European Law.*

5) *History of the European Union.*

6) *Human Rights in Europe - fundamentals, application.*

7) *Competition Law in the European Union.*

8) *Competitive abilities of Polish goods on the European Union market.*

9) *Litigation in the European Union.*

10) *Trade policy in the European Union.*

11) *Industrial policy in the European Union.*

12) *Energy policy in the European Union and possibility for cooperation with Poland.*

13) *Adaptation processes in the food industry to European Union standards.*

14) *The harmonisation of Polish quality standards with European Union requirements.*

15) *Currency - financial system of the European Union.*

16) *European banking law.*

17) *Free trade zone agreement with the European Union.*

18) *Marketing on the European Union market.*

19) *Cooperation in the border regions.*

20) *Insurance in the European Union.*

21) *European environmental protection law.*

22) *New European economics and the challenge of EU enlargement.*

23) *Polish relations with selected countries; Poland and the European Union.*

6.5 Case Study of Bottom-Up Interest Articulation (2): The Interfaculty Centre for European Studies, Jagiellonian University, Krakow.

In October 1993, the Interfaculty Centre for European Studies was established at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. The main aim of this Centre was to organise special courses connected with the EU based upon regional area studies - a concept which was developed in Europe and North America. This multi-faculty approach, adopted for the first time in the history of the Jagiellonian University, enabled the creation of a special European programme consisting of courses provided by specialists from departments such as law, political science, sociology, history, economics, and arts. The courses offered by these specialists have one thing in common. They are connected with European integration. This variety of approaches to the study of the European Union, has attracted many students from different faculties (both from Science and Arts). The courses are addressed to both undergraduate and postgraduate students. In 1995, the Centre started a special PhD programme. Currently, the Centre is involved in the following TEMPUS projects:

1) 'European Culture and Society' (JEP-08215/94) in cooperation with nine other universities (Bristol, Coimbra, Heidelberg, Jena, Leuven, Paul Valery Montpellier, Siena, Trinity College, Dublin; and the University of Warsaw), as well as the International Cultural Centre in Krakow. Based on this research, special courses concerning common cultural and European roots were developed. Also, the project resulted in the publication of a student textbook entitled *European Enlargement and Identity* (Mach and Niedzwiedzki, 1997).

2) 'Church and State Relations in Contemporary Europe' (JEP-09319/95). It involves the following partner universities: Exeter, Dublin, Leuven,

Montpellier, and Siena. As a result of this cooperation, a book of the same title was published by Dublin University Press in 1999.

3) The third TEMPUS Project was devoted entirely to European Studies' curricula development at the Jagiellonian University (JEP-09169/95). Polish partners include the European Institute at Lodz University; the Centre of Europe at Warsaw University; Warsaw Polytechnic; Adam Mickiewicz University, and the Academy of Economics in Poznan; Wroclaw University; Centre for European Research at Copernicus University in Torun; and the Maria Curie-Sklodowska University in Lublin.

4) Apart from that, the Centre will start a special programme to teach representatives of local and regional administration European Law, European legal procedures and European fund-gathering procedures. With this project, for the first time the Centre targets the community outside the University and it is extremely important because since 1 January 1999, Poland has had a new administrative division. The whole country is divided into 16 provinces (voivoidships). Kraków, as the administrative capital of Malopolska, has to oversee one of the most populated regions in Poland.

Several TEMPUS projects are conducted separately by Institutes within the Jagiellonian University. The author had the opportunity to participate in one of these projects. It was the final closing conference organised by the Department of Applied Economics concerning *Global Tendencies and Changes in East European Banking* (June 1998). Based upon the papers delivered at the conference, a book of the same title was published where apart from highly specialised articles concerning the harmonisation of East Central European countries' banking laws to EU standards, several general issues were raised[15] (Czubinski Interview, 1998; Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996b: 6-9).

All of these JEPs were initiated by academics at institute or faculty levels. Mainly bottom-up and horizontal articulation of interests took place. The

former involved formulating proposals to the national Polish TEMPUS Office and MEN while the latter occurred whenever academics persuaded colleagues from different faculties/institutes or different universities to cooperate in a given project. Some top-down articulation of interests also occurred since the TEMPUS priorities were originally set by MEN and reflected the Polish government's policy of harmonisation with EU standards in the light of future European accession.

6.6 Evaluation of TEMPUS I

6.6.1 Joint European Projects Under TEMPUS I

The total amount of funding made available for TEMPUS I's Joint European Projects amounted to 84.9 MECU. Annual budgets were awarded to fund Polish JEPs during each of the four years of TEMPUS I's existence. During the first year, 1990/91, 8 MECU was allocated for the funding of new JEPs in Poland. A budget of 15.6 MECU was made available in order to fund JEPs during 1991/92 and was used to fund continuing JEPs (9.7 MECU) as well as the establishment of new ones (5.9 MECU). Continuing its dramatic increase, the total budget for JEPs continued from previous years (17 MECU) and new JEPs (10.2 MECU) amounted to 27.2 MECU in 1992/93. Only continuing JEPs were funded in 1993/94, the last year of TEMPUS I. A budget of 34.1 MECU was made available for this purpose. No new JEP projects were awarded for that year. The reason given in Chapter Five for this is that a decision was taken to start TEMPUS II with a clean sheet and that the full costs for all operating JEPs under TEMPUS I were to be paid for by the 1993/94 budget for JEPs which represented the final year of TEMPUS I (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 13).

Table 6.1 shows that TEMPUS I generated a total of 1741 applications for Joint

European Projects and that 247 of these applications were accepted. To this list

of accepted projects, a further 10 projects must be added which Polish

universities joined during either the second or third year of implementation.

This represents an average success rate of 14.2 per cent over the entire period

during which TEMPUS I operated. Out of the 257 JEPs, 235 were Structural

JEPs and there were 22 Mobility JEPs. A further breakdown of this total figure

for JEPs during TEMPUS I reveals that there were 157 National JEPs (projects

in which only institutions in Poland and the EU participated) and 100 Regional

JEPs (projects in which institutions from other East Central European states, as

well as Poland and the EU participated) (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 13).

Table 6.1 Success rate: budget for new projects, number of submitted applications and accepted projects[16]

YEAR	Budget for new JEPs (MECU)	Number of submitted applications	Number of accepted applications	Success rate (%)
1990/91	8.0	652	85	13.0
1991/92	5.9	524	62	11.8
1992/93	10.2	565	100	17.7
1993/94	----	----	----	----
		Total 1741	Total 247 (*)	Average 14.2

* Plus 10 projects which Polish universities joined in their second or third year of implementation.

Under TEMPUS I, Joint European Projects which did not comply with the

priority areas were considered although this was no longer the case for

TEMPUS II. An analysis of the distribution of Joint European Projects by area,

reveals that the majority of JEPs accepted (84 per cent) during TEMPUS I

complied with at least one of the priority areas. The number of JEPs accepted for each of the following priority areas during TEMPUS I is given in brackets after the respective priority area: engineering and technology (65); management and finance (60); environmental protection (24); medicine (19); modern European languages and European Studies (17); social and economic sciences (17); and agriculture (12). With regard to the acceptance of projects in non-priority areas, the figures are as follows: natural sciences (14); teacher education (9); architecture (5); art and design (5); law (4); humanities (3); social sciences (3). So a total of 214 JEPs corresponding with the EU's priority areas were accepted while only 43 JEPs in non-priority areas were successful (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 13-14).

An overview of Polish universities' participation in JEPs during TEMPUS I is given in Appendix 9. Briefly, 56 out of 91 state universities and 1 non-state university took part in Joint European Projects between 1990/91-1995/96. Mobility grants awarded under JEPs amounted to ECU 32 million and enabled 6419 Polish university staff members and 5316 Polish students to spend time (from a minimum of 1 week to a maximum of a full academic year) abroad at an institution of higher education. The money allocated to JEPs was split between the purchase of equipment (20.3 MECU) and "...staff costs, mobility grants for EC staff and students going to Poland, organisation of courses and symposia, translation, printing of teaching materials for Polish universities and telecommunications" (32.6 MECU). Out of the 257 JEPs, 20 were assessed as "weak" and 17 projects were dissolved, prematurely (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 14-16).

The introduction of Joint European Networks in the academic year 1993/94 was indicative of the success of JEPs. Funding for JENs was only open to consortia which had completed their Joint European Project. JENs had two main objectives: the continuance of the results of JEPs; and the dissemination of

these results amongst academics and Polish society, in general. TEMPUS grants funded 38 JENs: engineering and technology (14 JENs); economics and management (5 JENs); medicine (4 JENs); EU languages (4 JENs); and environmental protection (3 JENs) (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 22).

The Polish TEMPUS Office has listed six main achievements of Joint European Projects under TEMPUS I: (1) creation of new/restructuring of existing university units; (2) development of new/revision and modernisation of existing curricula; (3) development of teaching materials; (4) modernisation of equipment; (5) transfer of knowledge and skills; and (6) development of university-industry cooperation (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 17).

(i) Creation of new/restructuring of existing university units[17]

Thirty-eight JEPs were involved in either the creation of new or the restructuring of existing university units. Furthermore, in thirty-three of these projects, TEMPUS financed the entire costs of establishing new university units. Examples of the activities of JEPs in this sphere are given below. All 38 projects were in priority areas: management, business administration and economics (13 projects); environmental protection (7 projects); modern European languages and European studies (8 projects); human rights (1 project); public health (4 projects); and engineering and agro-business (5 projects).

Under the priority areas of 'management and economics' eight university units were either funded or co-funded by TEMPUS I's JEPs at the following institutions of higher education. The last two in this list are non-state institutions of higher education.

- Silesian International School of Commerce at the Silesian University and the Academy of Economics in Katowice;
- Wielkopolska Business School at the Academy of Economics in Poznan;

- School of Business at the Technical University in Warsaw;

- Faculty of Organisation and Management at the Technical University of Lodz;

- Institute of Management and Marketing at the Technical University of Bialystok;

- Institute of Sea Ports in the Faculty of Transport at the University of Szczecin;

- School of Management / Polish Open University in Warsaw (JEP involving Polish Managers' Foundation;

- Warsaw School of Business (JEP involving Centre of Industrial Management).

Additionally, interfaculty centres were established at the following institutions of higher education:

- Centre for Environmental Studies at the Technical University in Gdansk;

- Centre for Studies for Human and Natural Environment at the Silesian University in Katowice;

- School of Environmental Protection at the College of Engineering in Radom;

- School of Public Health at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow;

- Interfaculty Centre for European Studies at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow.

(ii) Development of new/revision and modernisation of existing curricula[18]

Projects devoted to the development of new curricula or the revision and modernisation of existing curricula involved 213 out of 257 JEPs (83 per cent). Out of these, 201 JEPs (94 per cent) were in priority areas. Bachelors', Masters', Doctoral and postgraduate courses were all subject to modernisation.

(iii) Development of teaching materials[19]

One hundred and twenty-five projects contributed to the development of teaching materials including textbooks and exercise manuals as well as audio and video cassettes and computer software. A further thirty-one JEPs granted funding for articles written by specialists to be published in both Polish and foreign scientific journals.

(iv) Modernisation of equipment

A total of 20.3 MECU was spent on the modernisation of university equipment, involving as many as 244 JEPs.[20] The majority of this money was used to purchase computer equipment and to establish computer laboratories.

(v) Transfer of knowledge and skills

As mentioned above in this section, 32 MECU was spent on JEP mobility grants enabling 6419 staff and 5316 students from Polish universities to spend time abroad at an EU institution of higher education. Many of the academics interviewed have stated that it is impossible to quantify the full benefits derived from staff and student mobility under TEMPUS' mobility JEPs.[21]

(vi) University-industry cooperation

Through Joint European Projects dealing with university-industry cooperation, institutions of higher education provided training courses and seminars for staff from Polish enterprises (particularly, small- and medium-sized enterprises). According to the Polish TEMPUS Office, "...JEPs contributed to the diversification of post-graduate and continuing education courses provided by higher education institutions. ...A major 'non-academic' benefit is that Polish universities have developed the ability to participate in these joint activities on a partnership basis, to negotiate the division of tasks and distribution of funds as well as the ability to carry out administrative and management tasks related to the implementation of large international projects" (Polish TEMPUS Office,

1996c: 22). Polish students also had the opportunity of a practical placement at an enterprise in an EU state while EU students could be awarded a practical placement in a Polish enterprise. Furthermore, study visits were organised for staff from Polish institutions of higher education, as well as staff from Polish enterprises, to enterprises in EU member states. In all, there were 101 JEPs (39 per cent of the total) in which enterprises participated. The overwhelming majority of enterprises participating in JEPs were from the EU member states and only 17 JEPs involved Polish enterprises.

6.6.2 Individual Mobility Grants Under TEMPUS I[22]

Students were only eligible for an Individual Mobility Grant during the first two years of TEMPUS I. Afterwards, Mobility JEPs replaced the Individual Mobility Grants for students. TEMPUS I allocated 8.1 MECU to the budget for IMGs, enabling 851 staff members, 53 doctorate students and 670 students from Polish HEIs to finance their studies in the EU. A total of 451 grants were awarded to EU staff and students allowing them to spend time at a Polish institution of higher education. Tables 6.2, 6.3, and 6.4 provide details of the distribution of funds for IMGs, the number of grants awarded, and breakdowns of the number of grants awarded to staff, doctorate students, and students.

Table 6.2 Distribution of funds (in MECU) for Poland-EU and EU-Poland mobility

YEAR	PL to EU	EU to PL	TOTAL
1990/91	3.64	0.16	3.80
1991/92	1.78	0.12	1.90
1992/93	1.13	0.07	1.20
1993/94	1.07	0.13	1.20
TOTAL	7.62	0.48	8.10

(Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 23).

The budget made available for Polish staff and students to spend time in the EU was much greater than the budget allocated for mobility grants for EU staff and students. Two main reasons for this are: (1) TEMPUS was designed to give more opportunity to Polish than to EU participants; and (2) applications from prospective EU participants were much lower than from aspiring Polish participants, mainly because of the language barrier for the EU side. Tables 6.2 and 6.3 demonstrate that the budget for mobility from the EU to Poland was only 1/15 of the budget for the Polish participants while three times more Polish grantholders than EU grantholders participated in IMGs during TEMPUS I.

Table 6.3 Number of Grants Awarded under Poland-EU and EU-Poland mobility

YEAR	PL to EU	EU to PL	TOTAL
1990/91	682	134	816
1991/92	338	106	444
1992/93	230	69	299
1993/94	324	142	466
TOTAL	1574	451	2025

(Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 23).

Table 6.4 presents a breakdown of grants awarded to students, doctoral students and staff at Polish institutions of higher education under TEMPUS I.

Table 6.4 Number of grants for Polish students, doctorate students and staff (teaching and administrative) for Poland to EU and EU to Poland mobility

YEAR	Students	Doctoral Students	Staff	TOTAL
1990/91	464	----	218	682
1991/92	206	18	114	338
1992/93	----	20	210	230
1993/94	----	15	309	324
TOTAL	670	53	851	1574

(Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 23).

A questionnaire carried out by Pommersbach and Wozniak (1993) attempted to quantify the benefits which both Polish students and staff enjoyed as a consequence of being awarded a mobility grant. Polish students stated that they received one or more of the benefits listed below (where the figure in brackets is the percentage of students who stated that they enjoyed the given benefit):

- fluency in a foreign language (96%);

- improved theoretical knowledge (90%);

- established social contacts (86%);

- believed that the stay abroad would help them find employment (64%);

- established professional contacts (54%);

- collected materials for their degree thesis (47%);

- offered continuation of studies at EU institution of higher education (13%);

- offered participation in research work at EU host institution (12%);

- EU host university offered to cooperate in preparation of students' PhD thesis (10%);

- offered employment (5%).

Furthermore, a total of seventeen per cent of all Polish grantholders opted to prolong their stay at their EU host university. With regard to Polish staff, the questionnaire found that they had received the following benefits from being Individual Mobility Grantholders:

- establishment of important professional contacts (89%);
- improved theoretical knowledge (78%);
- improvement of foreign language skills (77%);
- collected research materials (73%);
- acquirement of practical preparation (72%);
- development of new curricula at home HEI, and development of cooperation programmes between home HEI and EU institutions of higher education (46%);
- invitation to participate in research carried out by EU host university (41%) causing 12 per cent of these to prolong their stay abroad.

For more information on the distribution of Individual Mobility Grants by home university under TEMPUS I then consult appendix 10.

6.6.3 Results of Complementary Measures (CMEs) under TEMPUS I

Complementary Measures under TEMPUS I had a limited degree of success and this led to their complete overhaul in TEMPUS II. Only 1 MECU out of a total TEMPUS I budget of 97.5 MECU was allocated for Complementary Measures projects. Table 6.8 shows that only 0.7 MECU was actually spent on CMEs projects under TEMPUS I. The remaining ECU 0.3 million was reallocated to fund, partly, the activities of the Polish TEMPUS Office given the less than full utilisation of the funds for CMEs. There has been a relatively small number of applications for CMEs with many of these not meeting quality standards. Over the entire period of TEMPUS I, only 76 CMEs projects were accepted.

Table 6.5 Analysis of Complementary Measures projects

Year	Budget in MECU	Number of projects
1990/91	0.4	30
1991/92	0.4	24
1992/93	0.1	20
1993/94	0.1	2
Total	0.7	76

(Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 28).

Applications for CMEs projects which were accepted contributed, greatly, to the modernisation of Polish higher education. For example, the Academy of Economics in Krakow was able to organise a conference on the modernisation of the teaching of economics and management with the financial assistance of a CMEs grant. A Complementary Measures grant also financed a feasibility study on extending the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) to Polish and Hungarian universities. Publications funded by CMEs included: a guide to higher educational institutions in the European Union; and a directory of environmental protection courses offered by HEIs in the EU.

6.7 Evaluation of TEMPUS II[23]

6.7.1 Joint European Projects under TEMPUS II

A total of 1032 applications for Joint European Projects[24] were submitted during TEMPUS II and 268 of these applications were accepted. The average success rate for applications during TEMPUS II was 27.9 per cent. These details are displayed in Table 6.6. The success rate for JEPs under TEMPUS II was much higher than under TEMPUS I. One possible explanation of this is

that the Polish partners had gained more experience during TEMPUS I in how to submit high quality applications and were able to draw upon this experience when submitting their applications under TEMPUS II. Arguably, the priority areas were more clearly defined in TEMPUS II so prospective applicants knew how to frame more precisely their application so that it complied with a priority area. Analysis of Tables 6.1 and 6.6 show that there has been a steady decline in the number of applications submitted for Joint European Projects. In 1990/91, 652 applications were submitted but in the last year of TEMPUS II only 162 applications were made. The Polish TEMPUS Office has given four reasons for this phenomenon:

1) the low success rate in the first years of TEMPUS I which must have discouraged a number of potential applicants,

2) the slightly decreasing interest of EU country partners in participating in the Programme;

3) the growing complexity of the priorities;

4) the involvement of many of the most active academic staff in the implementation of on-going JEPs. (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 35).

Table 6.6 Success rate: budget for new projects, number of submitted applications and accepted projects under TEMPUS II.

YEAR	Budget for new JEPs (MECU)	Number of submitted applications	Number of accepted applications	Success rate (%)
1994/95	33.8	422	91	21.5
1995/96	26.9	270	65	24.1
1996/97	21.4	178	56	31.5
1997/98	18.4	162	56	34.6
	Total 100.5	Total 1032	Total 268	Average 27.9

[The above statistics are based upon information taken from the following (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 32; Polish TEMPUS Office, 1997a: 1-6; Polish TEMPUS Office, 1998c: 1-6). All calculations, however, are the author's own.]

It is important to stress that the priority areas for TEMPUS II differed from those of TEMPUS I in that the latter contained only subject area priorities while TEMPUS II (and now TEMPUS II bis) contains a combination of subject and structural-based priorities. Subject-based priority areas for TEMPUS II did not differ from those under TEMPUS I. During the first two years of TEMPUS II, the distribution of JEPs by area was as follows: engineering and technology (71); management and finance (50); environmental protection (19); medicine (10); modern European languages (8); social sciences, including European Studies (27); and agriculture (6). For the non-priority areas, the total number of accepted JEPs for 1994/95 and 1995/96 was: natural sciences (8); teacher education (1); architecture (3); art & design (2); law (1); interdisciplinary/miscellaneous (4). Out of an overall total of 210 JEPs which were accepted, only 19 of these were in non-priority areas. From 1996/97 onwards, TEMPUS II ceased to consider applications for projects in non-priority areas (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 35).

Table 6.7 displays the distribution of structural priority groups for the final year of TEMPUS II (1997/98). It can be seen that the overwhelming majority of accepted projects are concerned with the transformation of uniform masters' degree courses into either a two stage system, bachelor's degree course followed by a master's degree, or into a system which has a common core curricula followed by two separate strands for bachelor and masters' degrees (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1998c: 5).[25]

Table 6.7 Distribution of structural priority groups for final year of TEMPUS II (1997/98)

Priority groups	JEPs submitted in compliance with priority areas. (Total no. = 118)	Accepted JEPs (Total no. = 56)
Transformation of the 5-year Masters course.	45	26 (46.4%)
Development of BA & B.Sc. level courses "Licencjat / inzynier".	32	17 (30.4%)
Modernisation of teaching methods and subjects taught.	4	2 (3.6%)
Harmonisation of teaching programmes in the field of medicine.	5	4 (7.1%)
Development of new specialisations.	11	1 (1.8%)
Development of the "European Dimension": • European Studies • Modules	 6 11	 2 (3.6%) 1 (1.8%)
Development of concise programmes for teaching EU languages.	4	3 (5.4%)

6.7.2 Individual Mobility Grants (IMGs) under TEMPUS II

Under TEMPUS II, grants for individual mobility[26] continued to be awarded to doctorate students, academic staff and administrative staff from Polish universities; academic staff from the Polish Academy of Sciences; and sector-ministry institutes.

The number of IMGs awarded during each year of TEMPUS II is as follows: 306 IMGs awarded in 1994/95; 273 in 1995/96; 272 in 1996/97; and 206 in 1997/98. In total, 1057 IMGs were awarded under TEMPUS II while a total budget of 3.2 MECUs was made available for this purpose. For each year of TEMPUS II, the budget for IMGs remained the same at 0.9 MECU and dropped to 0.5 MECU during the last year of TEMPUS II (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 32; Polish TEMPUS Office, 1997a: 1, 6-7; Polish TEMPUS Office, 1998c: 1, 6-7).[27]

6.7.3 Complementary Measures under TEMPUS II

For TEMPUS II, Complementary Measures actions were redesigned so that there were two types of projects: CME + projects; and "Classical" CMEs. The latter type of action does not differ significantly from CMEs under TEMPUS I while CME + projects are regarded as special projects because it is the Ministry of National Education which defines the topic for reform. A complete list of CME projects accepted under TEMPUS II is provided in Table 6.8.

Table 6.8 CMEs projects under TEMPUS II

Year	Budget in MECU	Number of projects
1994/95	0.3	14
1995/96	1.5	26
1996/97	2.0	20
1997/98	0.9	19
Total	**4.7**	**79**

Taken from: (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 45; Polish TEMPUS Office, 1998c: 7-9; Polish TEMPUS Office, 1997a:7-9). Calculations are author's own.

Classical CMEs were composed of three strands: (1) support for institutional development of universities/faculties - especially with regard to staff training schemes; quality assurance systems; personnel management; establishment of university structures for liaising with industry and local authorities; administration financial planning and accountancy; and organisation of international relations offices; (2) dissemination of the results of TEMPUS and other higher educational programmes; (3) support for the national authorities in designing the developmental strategy for various aspects of higher education (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 45-46).

Among the most important CMEs + projects to be accepted was one implemented by the Centre for Science Policy and Higher Education at Warsaw University. The results of this project were subsequently published under the title of 'Quality Review in Higher Education' and explored issues such as: quality assessment and accreditation systems in Europe, and specifically selected EU states; and used case studies to assess the state of quality assessment and accreditation in Poland and prospects for the future. Another CME+ project resulted in the publication of a three volume directory of 'Scientific and Academic Activities of Polish Universities'[28] (there was a separate volume for universities, technical universities and medical academies). Listed in this directory were the following: addresses, telephone and fax numbers of Polish professors, faculty structures, university's main research interests and degree programmes, admission requirements, arrangement for foreign students and involvement in international programmes (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 45; Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996d: 24).

6.8 Distribution of TEMPUS I and II Projects

The distribution of Joint European Projects by home university under TEMPUS I and TEMPUS II is a useful indicator of how widespread the TEMPUS Programme actually is since JEPs account for the vast majority of TEMPUS' budget.[29] Analysis of appendices 9 and 10 reveals that the main beneficiaries of TEMPUS proved to be Universities, Academies of Economies, Technical Universities, Academies of Agriculture and Academies of Medicine. Higher Schools of Pedagogy, Academies of Music, Schools of Art and Academies of Physical Education have done less well. Also, non-state schools of higher education have not tended to seek TEMPUS funding. Non-state universities since they charge students tuition fees and have been established after 1990 are not confronted with the same financial and structural problems as state institutions of higher education.

Among state institutions of higher education, the eleven Universities and eighteen Technical Universities have implemented the most JEPs during TEMPUS I and II. Technical Universities implemented 329 JEPs while the respective figure for Universities was 305. The nine Academies of Agriculture and five Economics Academies executed 72 and 71 JEPs, respectively, while the ten Medical Academies implemented 46 JEPs.[30] In comparison, the ten Higher Schools of Pedagogy only administered 19 JEPs between 1990-1998.[31] The geographical distribution of JEPs shows a clear concentration of projects in the major cities and towns.[32] This is not such a surprising feature since the majority of Polish state institutions of higher education are concentrated in these heavily populated areas.

6.9 Conclusion

New channels of interest articulation were opened by TEMPUS within the sphere of Polish higher education, thereby strengthening democratic pluralism in this area. Nevertheless, TEMPUS also imposed several constraints upon the articulation of interests. Firstly, the application procedure for TEMPUS projects is complicated and extremely time-consuming, and all forms must be completed in one of the main EU languages. Time must be spent in searching for appropriate partner institutions for TEMPUS projects. Secondly, the success rate for JEP applications during TEMPUS I was only 14.2 per cent while under TEMPUS II the success rate had increased to 27.9 per cent. So not everyone succeeds in articulating their interests. At first glance, this would seem to imply that only around one quarter of agents within Polish higher education are able to articulate their interests, successfully. Such an analysis fails to take the Polish partner institutions into account. For many TEMPUS projects involve other Polish higher educational institutions aside from the necessary home institution in Poland and a minimum of two EU partner institutions. The case studies of the Chemistry Faculty and the Interfaculty Centre for European Studies at the Jagiellonian University are both good examples of how one successful TEMPUS application can lead to the involvement of other Polish faculties thus spreading the benefits to these faculties, and to other faculties within that particular discipline.

As well as elucidating channels of interest articulation that have been opened by TEMPUS, the purpose of this chapter has been to demonstrate that it is not possible to quantify, entirely, TEMPUS' contribution to the reform and democratisation of higher education in Poland. Students and staff derived many intangible benefits from their participation in TEMPUS projects. Such intangible benefits fall into two main categories: 1) those which encourage active interest articulation; and 2) those which promote a democratic political

culture. Firstly, the complicated application procedure for TEMPUS projects encouraged academics from different faculties and universities to cooperate with each other in order to improve their chances of a successful TEMPUS application. By coopting other academics into supporting their interests and by sharing interests among a larger group of academics, these academics were engaging in horizontal interest articulation. Once they had agreed upon a given strategy for their application, the actual procedure of submitting the application constituted vertical interest articulation. The case studies demonstrated that although TEMPUS opened up new channels for the bottom-up articulation of interests, top-down articulation also occurred since MEN determines the priority areas for TEMPUS. Furthermore, the fact that around sixteen per cent of successful JEPs under TEMPUS I were in non-priority areas proves that even during TEMPUS I, interest flowed mainly from MEN down to the Polish academic community. Gradually under TEMPUS II, it was no longer possible for awards to be granted to projects in non-priority areas. Also, the competitive nature of the application procedure and having to account for every single item of proposed spending in a given project turned out to be a lesson in operating in a market economy. Secondly, staff and students who came into contact with their counterparts from EU institutions through TEMPUS were exposed to new experiences, values and ideas. Such a cumulative learning process will inevitably promote the development of a democratic political culture. Also, the growth in the teaching of European Studies as an interdisciplinary subject in Polish institutions of higher education is exposing students to new ideas. So attempts to list the achievements of TEMPUS I and TEMPUS II by the presentation of statistical data illustrate only a partial picture of the TEMPUS Programme's contribution to the process of democratic consolidation in Poland.

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[1]TEMPUS II bis is not analysed since its period of operation is 1998/99-2002/3 and is, thus, outside the scope of this thesis.

[2]This assertion is based upon the author's evaluation of interviews conducted with Polish academics and decision-makers.

[3]George Soros (1930-present), a Hungarian investment banker and philanthropist, established the Open Society Institute in 1993 to promote democratisation in East Central Europe. The Institute runs the Higher Education Support Program (HESP) which is designed to promote the advancement of higher education in the Humanities and Social Sciences in East Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. He also founded the Central European University (CEU) in 1991. It is an international educational institution devoted to postgraduate study and research. Its main campus is in Budapest (CEU, 1995: 166-182).

[4]See Appendices 9 and 10.

[5] See the Polish partners 'TEMPUS-PHARE application form for a Complementary Measures Project starting on 16 September 1996: Chemical Credit Transfer System (CHECTS)' (Krakow: May 1996).

[6]The reference for this project is: CME 3089. For details of partner institutions see Polish TEMPUS Office (1998b: 41-42).

[7] See p. 10 of the Polish partners 'TEMPUS-PHARE application form for a Compact Measures Grant for projects starting in 1997/98: Chemical Education Quality Evaluation (CHEQUE)' (Warsaw: April 1997).

[8]The Institute of Public Affairs (Instytut Spraw Publicznych) was established in June 1995 by the Foundation of Public Affairs which in turn was set up on 18 January 1995. It was founded by Professor Leszek Balcerowicz, Professor Krzysztof Michalski, Dr Aleksander Smolar, Professor Jerzy Regulski and Rev. Professor Jozef Tischner. It is a non-governmental organisation and its stated objective is to support reform programmes and modernise the Polish state.

[9] See the Polish partners 'TEMPUS-PHARE application form for a Joint European Project beginning in the academic year 1998/99: Upgrading Faculty Administration and Management at Polish Chemical Faculties (UFAM)' (Poznan, March 1998).

[10]For information on the European Agreement and Poland's pre-accession strategy see McManus (1998).

[11]For more information on the activities of the Centre for European at Warsaw University refer to Centre for Europe, Warsaw University (1998). Appendix 8

contains an outline of post-baccalaureate studies for the specialisation in European Integration.

[12] See: Skoczny *et al* (1997).

[13] See Figure 3 for the register of subjects forming the predominant part of present European Studies programmes in Poland.

[14] See Skoczny *et al* (1997: 15).

[15] An example of a more general topic would be the following chapter in the book: 'The Concept of State Sovereignty in European Fiscal Law.' by Z A Czubinski (Kraków: Jagiellonian University Printing House 1998) pp. 210-222.

[16] See Table 4 in Polish TEMPUS Office (1996c: 13).

[17] See: Polish TEMPUS Office (1996c: 17).

[18] See: Polish TEMPUS Office (1996c: 18-19).

[19] See: Polish TEMPUS Office (1996c: 20).

[20] See Polish TEMPUS Office (1996c: 20 and Annexes 2 &3).

[21] See Chapter Three.

[22] See Polish TEMPUS Office (1996c: 23-27).

[23] All statistics are taken from Polish TEMPUS Office (1996c: 34-48); Polish TEMPUS Office (1998c); Polish TEMPUS Office (1996a); Polish TEMPUS Office (1998a); Polish TEMPUS Office (1997a); Polish TEMPUS Office (1998b); Polish TEMPUS Office (1997b); Polish TEMPUS Office (1996b).

[24] See Appendix 9 for a breakdown of Joint European Projects submitted/accepted under TEMPUS I and II by Polish home university. Also, for a complete list of Joint European Projects and all participating Polish partners during TEMPUS II see Polish TEMPUS Office (1996b); Polish TEMPUS Office (1997b); Polish TEMPUS Office (1998b).

[25] Table 6.7 has been translated from the Polish by the author.

[26] See Appendix 10 for Individual Mobility Grants' distribution under TEMPUS I and II by Polish home university.

[27] All calculations are the author's own.

[28] The author consulted this directory in the Jagiellonian University Library in Krakow in order to track down Polish academics for interviews.

[29] In 1997/98, around 92.1 per cent of TEMPUS' budget was spent on Joint European

Projects. The percentage of TEMPUS' budget spent on JEPs for the following years is given in brackets: 1996/97 (85.7 per cent); 1995/96 (86.8 per cent); 1994/95 (92.3 per cent). Over the duration of TEMPUS I's operation around 87.1 per cent of the total budget was devoted to funding JEPs (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 9; Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996a: 1; Polish TEMPUS Office, 1997a: 1; Polish TEMPUS Office, 1998c: 1). Some of these calculations are the author's own.

[30]After 1990, the Academy of Medicine in Krakow was reincorporated into the Jagiellonian University reducing the number of Polish Medical Academies to ten. For the purpose of this analysis, the figure of 46 JEPs includes 4 JEPs implemented by the Faculty of Medicine at the Jagiellonian University.

[31]All calculations are taken from Appendix 9 and are the author's own.

[32]See Appendix 9.

Chapter 7

Conclusion - The European Union as a facilitator of democratic establishment in Poland

7.1 Introduction

Polish higher education has not deviated from the Polish state's historical orientation towards Western Europe. Traditionally, Polish higher educational institutions have belonged to the West European liberal tradition typified by the German Humboldtian universities.[1] The reorganisation of the higher educational system at the beginning of the period of real socialism forced Polish scholars to remain detached from their West European colleagues.[2] Separated from the West European academic tradition during this period, Polish higher education has began to renew its links with Western Europe after the downfall of Communism in 1989. This thesis has argued that the TEMPUS Programme has played the most important role, by far, in expediting the restoration of Polish higher education's contacts with Western Europe. The author found that TEMPUS seeks to strengthen Polish students' European identity especially through its promotion of European Studies.[3]

Interwoven into this thesis are several strands of argument relating to the process of democratic consolidation in Poland and the contributory factors of the Polish higher educational sector and the European Union through its TEMPUS Programme. The main weight of the argument, however, falls on the

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contention that Polish higher education during the 1990s is likely to have acted as an agent of 'democratic' political socialisation. Fiszman's (1972) linkage of political socialisation to occupational efficiency is relevant since it suggests that effective participation in the processes of interest articulation in a democratic state is only possible once individuals have undergone a process of 'democratic' political socialisation. A clear linkage exists between political socialisation and effective interest articulation. First of all, it was necessary to establish that open channels of interest articulation did exist within the Polish higher educational policy-making sector and that it was possible for interests to be articulated from the grass-roots upwards. Chapters Two and Three did this by examining the structural and procedural aspects of interest articulation, respectively. Once it has been established that individuals are free to articulate their interests and that mechanisms for interest articulation exist, the question of the nature of the interests being articulated arises. Excessive pluralism of interests was found to a characteristic of the Polish academic community in the post-communist order, inhibiting effective interest articulation. The inability of the academic community to unite behind certain interests suggests that the process of 'democratic' political socialisation has not been completed since the individuals concerned have not yet been socialised into becoming effective actors within Poland's democratic political system.[4]

In addition to the main argument that Polish higher education during the 1990s is likely to have acted as an agent of 'democratic' political socialisation, the author has also demonstrated four features of democracy and higher education in Poland. Firstly, democracy and higher education have a mutually reinforcing and positive relationship. Secondly, using interest articulation as a measure of the level of democratisation of the Polish higher educational sector, it has been found that this sector is not yet fully democratised. Thirdly, the overwhelming majority of Polish students stated that they did possess a 'European' identity.

And finally, it has been shown that TEMPUS gave Polish academics a practical lesson in how democracy and the market economy should operate. This final chapter provides a summary of these arguments from which conclusions are then drawn.

7.2 Methodology

In a country where youth form 15.5 per cent of its approximately 39 million population, a survey of 250 students is a relatively small statistical sample, however in the context of the 30 academic interviews, it was seen to be a good balance (Poland Country Report, 1997). The financial and theoretical constraints of researching a PhD prevented the author from expanding her student survey. Considerable scope for a more extensive survey of students' attitudes and values exists but would have to be financed by a research grant which focused exclusively on this area. Most students appeared willing to answer the questionnaire. Permission from the appropriate lecturer was sought before distributing the questionnaire to students in their classrooms and lecture theatres.

The student questionnaire was balanced by interviews conducted with a wide range of Polish academics, from lecturers to full Professors. Some of these academics currently held, or had held, Government office. All academics, apart from one, were happy to be named within the scope of this academic analysis. So in any publications arising from this thesis, all the interviews would be numbered and the names of the interviewees withheld. The average length of each interview was one hour. The author found that all the academics were extremely interested in her research, and more than happy to have an opportunity to make their opinions known.

The interview methodology imposes certain limitations on the wider conclusions that can be drawn. As mentioned in the Introductory Chapter, students' attitudes and values were examined at only one timepoint. Irrefutable conclusions regarding the socialising effect of the TEMPUS Programme with regard to Polish students should not be drawn without evidence at different timepoints including the Communist period. In addition to providing evidence of student attitudes during the Communist period, it would also be necessary to discount the influence of other socialising agents such as the family and the Catholic Church (Coleman, 1965: 20-22). It is, therefore, not possible to state conclusively that TEMPUS - specifically the introduction of 'European Studies' in Polish HEIs - has shaped the political attitudes and values of Polish students without discounting the influence of other socialising agents and examining students' attitudes and values at different timepoints. Instead it is argued that on the basis of the evidence presented in this thesis, it is extremely likely that TEMPUS through its role in the reform of Polish higher education has been one of the most important agents responsible for socialising Polish students into acquiring 'democratic' attitudes and values.

Furthermore, the fact that only a single cross-section of Polish students was considered means that it should not be assumed that Polish students' values will remain unchanged once they have entered adult life - when they will marry, acquire occupations and incomes, and own varying amounts of property. In order to establish such an effect, it would have also been necessary to interview a cross-section of former students before and after they had entered their adult lives. It is, therefore, not possible to state conclusively that the 'democratic' attitudes and values of Polish students will be carried into adult life. Instead this thesis contends that it is likely that Polish students will retain their 'democratic' attitudes and values in adult life.

7.3 Political Socialisation, Democracy and Higher Education

It has been shown that in Poland specifically, but also internationally, higher education and liberal democracy have a strong, positive relationship. In other words, liberal democracy is more likely to flourish when a relatively high percentage of the population possess a higher education. Among the many surveys and research findings by international scholars cited to support this argument were those by Almond and Verba ([1963], 1989); and Benavot (1996). The former study revealed that educational attainment was the most influential demographic variable to shape political attitudes. Recalling that political culture is composed, partly, of political attitudes then Almond and Verba's study highlighted that higher education is a strong determinant of how the political culture of a given state should be fashioned.

Benavot (1996) discovered that higher education had a strong, positive and statistically significant effect on democratisation. Moreover, his elaboration of institutional theories of education and democracy constituted an enlightening theoretical framework for describing the process of how higher education may contribute to democratic consolidation in Poland. According to Benavot, institutional theories underline that higher education has a specific role to fulfil in assisting the consolidation of democracy. This role has been elaborated in the Introductory Chapter and is recapitulated here. As well as acting as an agent of political socialisation, higher educational institutions may also assist in the development of new social values and rationales that would serve to legitimate the democratic regime and the expansion of political authority into new social arenas. This argument echoes earlier ones which portrayed the university as an institution for the development and dissemination of ideas and values (Newman, [1852], 1976; and Rousseau [1772], 1953: 176).

In order to reduce Western-bias, the research findings of Polish scholars, with regard to how higher education may promote democratic consolidation in Poland, were described in the Introductory Chapter. It was shown that Polish scholars have identified several ways in which higher education may promote democratic establishment. Universities may nurture a 'democratic' political culture by disseminating their research findings (Kwiatkowski, 1990: 394). As institutions specifically designed to develop new ideas and values, universities are uniquely placed to promote the spread of the ideas and values inherent in liberal democracy. Universities may educate their students about liberal democracy by increasing their awareness of how the various political systems of the European Union's member states and other liberal democratic states function in reality. Marody (1994) found that people who possessed a higher education were more likely to support democratic solutions to crises while those with low levels of education tended to favour populist-authoritarian solutions. Another Polish academic argued that people with higher education are likely to be more effective at implementing the democratic regime's economic policies than those who do not possess a tertiary education, since one of the key determinants of a government's legitimacy is the successful implementation of government policies, especially economic policies (Siemienska, 1997).

Comparison of Polish and Western approaches to the analysis of higher education's role in promoting democratic consolidation has revealed that no significant differences exist between the theoretical considerations of Polish and Western scholars. Utilising the institutional theoretical framework for analysing democracy and higher education, the analysis here is devoted to gathering together several strands of argument running throughout this thesis which emphasise two things. Firstly, Polish higher education, as an agent of political socialisation, may promote democratic consolidation in Poland. And,

secondly, Polish HEIs may also assist in the development of new social values and rationales that would serve to legitimate the democratic regime and the expansion of political authority into new social arenas. A third consideration regarding higher education's contribution to Polish democratic consolidation is explained in Section 7.3 namely, that the increase in channels of interest articulation within the higher educational system has led to greater democratic pluralism.

It was established in Chapter One that higher education has always been highly valued by state authorities in Poland as a means of contributing to the modernisation of the state, as well as being used by the state as an instrument for shaping political culture. Historically, universities' propensity to act as agents of political socialisation is well-documented. For example, the foundation of Poland's first university (the Jagiellonian University) in 1364 by Kazimierz the Great was designed to help the state achieve a major policy objective which was the modernisation of the state and the homogenisation of the legal system. By educating future lawyers, the Jagiellonian University assisted in the achievement of the state's policy objectives. During the period of the Partitions, it was shown that the partitioning powers realised the importance of educational institutions as instruments of political socialisation. Austria, Prussia and Russia sought to eliminate all traces of Polish nationhood by using German or Russian, instead of Polish, as the language of instruction in universities and schools; and by outlawing the teaching of anything which would reawaken Polish national consciousness such as Polish history, literature and language. Thus, education was employed as a weapon of forced assimilation with Austrian, Prussian or Russian nationalism. Ultimately, this attempt failed due to the existence of alternative sources of learning such as the Flying University in Warsaw, run by Polish patriots. They endeavoured to keep preserve Poland's national identity through the education of its youth in the

Polish tradition. When Poland finally regained its independence in 1918, the Second Republic set about constructing an entire national educational system to act as the foundation for a modern state. The expansion of the higher educational system was accompanied by the growth of the Polish intelligentsia who came to dominate official Polish political culture and government policy. Attempts to destroy Poland's political culture and national identity by the Nazis during the Second World War centred on the abolition of higher education in Nazi-occupied Poland, and the execution of thousands of Polish intellectuals. During the period of real socialism, the Communist authorities sought to create a generation of ideologically committed intellectuals through centralised control of the higher educational system, including university curricula. All of the examples enumerated here, and elaborated in Chapter One, illustrate how higher education has been politicised and used as an instrument of political socialisation, during various historical periods.

Higher education's politicisation has continued, to a certain extent, in post-communist Poland where the prevailing ideologies of the ruling elites, namely, liberal democracy and the market economy, have been reflected in their educational policies. Liberal individuality, as opposed to traditional socialist collectivism, characterises the post-communist higher educational system. The 1990 Act on Schools of Higher Education brought about the decentralisation of Polish higher education and restricted, greatly, the role of the state in higher educational policy-making. Reforms cannot be introduced without the agreement of individual HEIs, and their respective Faculties and Institutes. Competitive procedures regulating the award of scientific grants to HEIs are employed by the State Committee for Scientific Research (KBN). Non-state institutions of higher education have increased rapidly since they were legalised in 1990 and they operate according to the rules of the market economy. Their students, unlike students from state schools, must pay tuition fees. Admittedly,

the granting of considerable autonomy to HEIs has, in one sense, depoliticised them by making them less dependent upon the state.

Ruling elites in post-communist Poland are attempting to shape Polish political culture through their support of the European Union's TEMPUS Programme. For in order to apply for assistance, Polish applicants must participate in TEMPUS' open competition procedure. This competitive tendering system has provided Polish participants with a practical lesson in the workings of a market economy and how to compete in such an economy (Frankowicz Interview, 1997).

This thesis has shown that through HEIs, TEMPUS has facilitated the development and dissemination of new social values and rationales that have served to legitimate Poland's democratic regime and its European accession strategy among Polish students who have been the main targets of this political socialisation process. The acquisition of new skills and knowledge about different political systems; changing political attitudes and values; the introduction of new ideas; and teaching students to form their own opinions rather than those of their family, religious or ethnic group are all part of the process of creating a democratic political culture. According to Polish academics, one of the most important achievements of TEMPUS was the exchange of ideas between Polish and Western scholars brought about by TEMPUS exchange programmes. From the Polish perspective, Polish scholars were presented with different solutions to problems and introduced to new courses, as well as new teaching and research methods. Sections 7.4 and 7.5 return to this theme of political socialisation and how Polish universities through the TEMPUS Programme may have shaped the political culture of post-communist Poland.

The victory of AWS, the alliance of Solidarity successor parties, in the 1997 Polish Parliamentary elections has given academics greater say in the direction of educational change in Poland. Academics have claimed that more cooperation and consultation occurs under the centre-right AWS-UW coalition government than ever did under the previous SLD-dominated government which was composed mainly of former Communists. Of course, the majority of academics interviewed, by the author, had pro-Solidarity orientations. The author's assertion that academics have greater influence over the direction of educational change is based upon the extensive Government consultation exercises that surrounded the framing of the new Act on the Reform of the Educational System and the Bill for a new Law on Schools of Higher Education. AWS and UW ministers have taken great pains to consult with the academic community in the framing of these new Laws. There is not, however, a great difference in political outlook *vis-à-vis* Europeanisation between the current AWS-UW Government and the previous SLD-dominated Government. Both Governments have welcomed the activities of the EU's TEMPUS Programme and, more generally, have supported Poland's accession strategy to the European Union.

7.4 Interest articulation as a measure of democratisation

Legally-based, institutional arrangements favouring the articulation of interests by the academic community were introduced by the first Solidarity government. This structural aspect of interest articulation has been detailed in Chapter Two. Successive Acts on Schools of Higher Education created new legal bodies such as the General Council of Higher Education and KBN and, hence, gave rise to a much greater diffusion of power away from the Ministry of National Education. As a result of the legal powers assumed by these new institutions, they became

both targets of interest articulation by the academic community, as well as facilitating the articulation of interests.

Dramatic increases in the autonomy of higher educational institutions had their legal bases in the post-1989 Higher Educational Acts. The expansion of the decision-making competencies of Rectors, Senates, Deans and Faculty and Institute Councils was accompanied by a corresponding decrease in the Ministry of National Education's decision-making powers. Often the rolling back of the state's powers is regarded as a victory for democracy but this is only true to a certain extent. Democracy cannot survive without continued regulation by the legal representatives of the state. If civil society is to flourish then it will require the continued protection of the state (Lewis, 1993b: 29 & 35). Likewise, progressive forces within the academic community need MEN's assistance and leadership if the successful democratisation of the higher educational system is to take place. Consider a scale purporting to measure the extent of democratic pluralism within a given political system. The scale contains three demarcations labelled: Communist; liberal democratic and anarchistic. Many of those within the academic community believe that the pendulum has swung too far and currently, rests midway between liberal democracy and anarchy as collective bodies within HEIs have been granted too much autonomy by law. The 1990 Act on Schools of Higher Education regulates the internal constitutions of HEIs in too detailed a manner by granting wide decision-making powers to elected collective bodies such as Faculty and Institute Councils. In many cases, this has the effect of slowing down changes and the reforming activity of HEIs and MEN (MEN, 1996a: 130). By the same token, reform-minded Faculties and Institutes have taken advantage of their new autonomy to implement reform and promote democratisation from the grass-roots with the assistance of the TEMPUS Programme. This aspect of higher educational reform is analysed below in Section 7.5.

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Existing institutional and procedural provisions for interest articulation within Polish higher education are summarised here in order to understand, more fully, the existing model of interest articulation within that sector. Three key questions were posed: 1) What is the content of articulation? 2) What are the targets, forms and direction of articulation? and 3) How efficient is the articulation process within the Polish higher educational sector?

Questions regarding the content of articulation are inevitably asking what is being articulated and therefore, concern the type and scope of articulation. Implicitly, this involved analysing whether, or not, there is freedom for agents to articulate their interests and the extent of pluralism within this sector of government policy-making. Furthermore, an analysis of whether or not the interests of 'representative' agents such as the General Council reflect the interests of the academic community was required, together with an analysis of the scope and nature of such interests. Two of the most frequently articulated interests were demands for better working conditions and higher salaries (Krynica Interviews, 1998). Existing pathologies within the Polish higher educational system led the author to anticipate this result. The author's study of Polish higher education in the 1990s has revealed that it is afflicted, mainly, by a shortage of money and overcrowded classrooms and lecture theatres. These phenomena are common to the other transition economies in East Central Europe. Despite the almost three-fold increase in the number of students attending Polish schools of higher education since 1990, government spending on higher education and science has decreased. It was shown that in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), government spending on higher education and science had fallen from 1.11 per cent of GDP in 1990 to only 0.83 per cent of GDP by 1998 (*Forum Akademickie*, June 1998: 4). Very little investment in the material infrastructure of HEIs has taken place while academics' low salaries

force them to take other jobs in order to earn additional income. General agreement exists across the entire range of academics (from junior lecturers to full Professors) that working conditions and remunerations should be increased but disagreements on how these objectives should be achieved are present. For example, academics are divided over the issue of the introduction of student tuition fees as a solution to the funding crisis in state HEIs. Some academics are ideologically opposed to even the partial payment of tuition fees by students while others regard it as a necessary evil. Older academic staff who were ideological supporters of the Communist system tend to favour the status quo at HEIs while younger academic staff and those Professors who were involved in Solidarity are impatient for further reforms to be implemented.[5]

Considerable freedom for agents to articulate their interests exists within the post-1990 Polish higher educational sector. Structural arrangements favouring the articulation of interests by the academic community include the establishment of the General Council of Higher Education; and the State Committee for Scientific Research. All fifty members of the General Council are elected by the academic community while twelve of KBN's members are elected by the academic community. Dramatic increases in the autonomy of HEIs, as well as the internal democratisation of these institutions have also contributed to the expansion of the articulation space. It is this latter factor which really supports the assertion that the Polish higher educational system has undergone extensive democratisation since 1990.

An examination of the direction, forms and targets of interest articulation refers to the procedural aspect of the articulation process. Essentially, this is a question of how academics' views may be transformed into government policy. Moreover, an important consideration was the efficiency of the articulation process. In other words, how effectively are the interests of those with a special

interest in higher education represented within the government policy-making process. This thesis found that both vertical and horizontal flows of articulated interests were channelled through the General Council of Higher Education. Mostly, the direction of interest articulation is from the top-down since the General Council is obliged by the 1990 Act on Schools of Higher Education, to decide about certain aspects of the legal structure of higher schools. Some bottom-up interest articulation is possible, however, since the General Council is composed of members spanning the spectrum of the academic community, that is to say students, lecturers and Professors. Its members continue to work within institutions of higher education while sitting on the General Council and this means that other members of the academic community have greater access to the General Council in order to articulate their views and opinions. Furthermore, it was found that the General Council consults, frequently, with as many bodies and institutions of higher education, as possible, thereby allowing further bottom-up interest articulation. Horizontal interest articulation is also possible if individuals and bodies from the academic community aggregate their interests in order to present a stronger case to the General Council. As a consequence of the General Council's role as a consulting body to MEN, a more institutionalised bottom-up articulation of interests is possible. The fact that MEN, however, is not legally obliged to follow the General Council's opinion means that interest articulation is constrained, greatly. In summary, top-down articulation predominates since this type of articulation is preserved through its formal, legal basis. Bottom-up and horizontal interest articulation does take place but not to the same extent and occur, mostly, on an informal basis. The General Council both facilitates and is, itself, a target of interest articulation. The fact that it creates some parts of the legal structure of the higher educational system causes the General Council to be a focus of articulated interests while its role as a consulting body to MEN allows the General Council to act as a conduit for articulated interests by the academic

community. In legislative matters, the General Council enables efficient interest articulation but it has not been effective in financial concerns such as gaining more money for academics' salaries.

It is the considered view of this thesis that the General Council is the most effective channel for articulated interests. Other informal organisations have, however, made significant contributions to the expansion of the articulation space in higher educational policy-making. KRUP, KRPUT and KRASP enhanced, greatly, lateral interest articulation despite the fact that these organisations have no formal legal status. Given the high standing of university Rectors in Polish society, these organisations have proven to be very influential pressure groups on MEN and the General Council. Likewise, the academic media have promoted the horizontal articulation of interests by writing letters to newspapers in order to inform the public about the need for higher education reform, and to gain public support.

KBN has been less successful at promoting pluralism within higher educational policy-making. Analysis of KBN concluded that the predominant direction of interest articulation is vertical with a top-down flow from KBN to the level of higher educational institutions and to Faculties, Institutes and individual academics. Arbitrary rules govern the distribution of funding and it is not possible for individuals or organisations to exert any influence on how funding is distributed. KBN has a monolithic character and has been unsuccessful at persuading Polish Governments to spend more on science. Indeed, the existence of monolithic-type structures such as KBN and the General Council exemplifies a prevalent perception in Polish society that democracy should be achieved without social conflict (Kurczewska, 1995:45-46). Many academics are unwilling to 'take to the streets' to protest about their low salaries and deteriorating working conditions because they are unwilling to act against

'their' Government that is the AWS-UW coalition government, the successor to Solidarity, for fear of bringing 'their' government down and 'ruining Poland's chance' for political and economic progress.[6]

Despite the fact that many academics hold top government posts, these informal links with the government have not been an effective channel of interest articulation. Higher education, in terms of government finance, has been placed very low on successive Polish governments' lists of priorities. When academics become government ministers then they have tended to give priority to the perceived interests of the state such as low inflation. Similarly, trade unions have not been successful at influencing policy on higher education. In the two largest trade unions, ZNP and Solidarity, the proportion of teachers in HEIs to other workers is very small. Consequently, these trade unions do not adequately represent the interests of academic teachers (Przybysz, Wnuk-Lipinski and Bialecki Interviews, 1998).

As part of the process of establishing the extent of democratisation within the Polish higher educational sector, the author used the breadth of interest articulation within that sector as a measure of its democratisation. Elite-based interviews conducted with Polish academics and decision-makers found that institutional mechanisms were in place to encourage 'bottom-up' articulation and that rather paradoxically it was the 'top-down' articulation of interests which was more problematic. The excessive autonomy, in some crucial areas, granted to many Polish institutions of higher education as a result of the 1990 Act on Higher Schools has made it more difficult for the Ministry of National Education (MEN) to implement its policies. Excessive pluralism of interests was found to be a characteristic of higher education in the post-communist order. The diverse nature of interests existing within the Polish academic community, just one facet of civil society, contributes to the inability of this

community to engage in coherent interest articulation despite the existence of mechanisms of interest articulation, most of which have been framed by law. Again, it is necessary to reiterate that effective participation in the processes of interest articulation in a democratic state is only possible once individuals have undergone a process of 'democratic' political socialisation. The Polish higher educational sector has not been fully democratised despite the wide-ranging autonomy of universities and the institutional mechanisms of interest articulation. The inability of the academic community to unite its interests and to act as a strong pressure group on the government is retarding the democratisation of higher education in Poland.

7.5 Polish political culture and the 'European' identity of Poles

The concept of 'Europeanisation' has stimulated a great deal of debate and many efforts to define it. It was pointed out in the Introductory Chapter that 'Europeanisation' is a greatly contested concept and that agreement as to what it means amongst political theorists has proven to be elusive, so far. The cultural diversity of the 55 countries within Europe, even that within the fifteen states of the European Union, means that there can never be a single definition of 'Europeanness'. More useful is the idea that there are shared experiences and ideas common to Europe and that it is these which contribute to people's 'European' identity. This does not mean that these ideas and experiences are exclusive to Europe and are not to be found on any other continent, nor does it mean that these ideas and experiences solely originated in Europe without any 'outside' influence. Instead, it means that these ideas and experiences continue to exist in Europe and are shared in a variety of ways by the majority of its people.

Poland is a major Central European country with a population of approximately 39 million. It has retained close ties with Western Europe ever since Miesko I, ruler of Poland, adopted Western Christianity in 966. Geographically, and despite its changing boundaries, Poland cannot claim to have ever been situated in Western Europe. Indeed, it could be argued that in geographical terms Poland is part of Eastern Europe.[7] As *Antemurale Christianitatis,* the Bulwark of Christiandom, Poland pursued strong political and cultural links with Western Europe and the Latin-speaking world. Historically, Poland has always had strong economic trading links with Western Europe especially with the German states and through the Baltic Sea trading routes, with West European countries such as France, Holland, Scotland and Spain.[8] None of Poland's eleven elected Kings originated from Eastern Europe. There was one Frenchman; one Hungarian from Transylvania; three Kings were from the Swedish House of Vasa; and two were from the Saxon House of Wettin. Only four of the eleven elected Kings were native Poles.[9] Celebrated Polish military victories such as the Siege of Vienna (1683) and the Battle of Warsaw (1920) are recalled to portray Poland as the protector of 'European' values and as the *Antemurale Christianitatis.*[10] Poland's cultural and historical integration with Western Europe, and to a lesser extent, Eastern Europe, is reflected in the fact that a majority of Polish students profess to have 'European' identities as opposed to 'Central European' or 'East Central European' identities.[11]

The analysis of Polish students' political culture in Chapter Four found that they possess a political culture which is favourable to democratic consolidation. The majority of Polish students surveyed were found to hold anti-authoritarian values. Tolerance towards different nationalities and people with different religious beliefs was professed by most Polish students, although a significant minority were found to be intolerant of people who held different views and opinions. This latter finding reflects a dominant belief in Polish society that

democracy should be achieved without social conflict (Kurczewska, 1995: 45-46). Polish students were found to be patriotic but did not possess any of the negative connotations so often associated with violent, ethnic nationalism. Democratic mechanisms and rules have to be in place before the full conversion to a democratic political culture may take place but political culture also acts as an agent of change (Almond and Verba, 1963, 1989; Agh, 1996). The fact that Polish students already possess a democratic political culture means that as agents of political change, they have an important role to play in establishing democratic values throughout the whole of Polish society.

7.6 TEMPUS: A lesson in democracy

The European Union through its TEMPUS Programme has contributed to the process of democratic consolidation in Poland. TEMPUS is the practical manifestation of the 'European' dimension within the Polish higher educational sector. It has been shown by means of case studies and elite-based interviews with Polish academics and decision-makers that TEMPUS promoted democracy at the 'grass-roots' level and therefore facilitated the 'bottom-up' articulation of interests. New channels of interest articulation were opened by TEMPUS leading to greater democratic pluralism within Polish higher education. At the same time, however, TEMPUS imposed several constraints upon interest articulation. Firstly, the complicated and lengthy application procedure acts as a deterrent to many members of the academic community wishing to apply for assistance. Secondly, it is not possible for TEMPUS to fund every eligible applicant. Statistically speaking, the success rate for Joint European Projects is relatively low so only a minority of applicants are successful at having their interests realised. A single TEMPUS project, however, often acts like the ripples caused by a stone being dropped into a pond. Beginning at a solitary point in the middle of the pond, the ripples emanating from it may be seen to

spread across the entire expanse of water. Similarly, one TEMPUS project frequently involves more than one Polish HEI and often has repercussions which can spread throughout the entire Polish higher educational system. Case studies of the Jagiellonian University's Chemistry Faculty and its Interfaculty Centre for European Studies, which were presented in Chapter Six, demonstrated TEMPUS' diffuse ramifications for the reform of the Polish higher educational system. These case studies illustrated that a statistical analysis of TEMPUS only provides a partial picture of the Programme's achievements.

Precise quantification of TEMPUS' contribution to the reform and democratisation of the Polish higher educational system is not possible. Case study analysis has revealed that the academic community has derived many intangible benefits from its participation in the Programme. These intangible benefits were found to fall into two main categories:

1)those which promote a democratic political culture; and

2) those which encourage active interest articulation.

Firstly, it has been argued that staff and students who came into contact with their counterparts from EU institutions through TEMPUS were exposed to new experiences, values and ideas. Furthermore, the growth in the teaching of 'European Studies' as an interdisciplinary subject in Polish institutions of higher education is exposing students to new ideas. Such cumulative learning processes make it more likely that the Polish academic community will acquire attitudes and values that are supportive of democratic government. Also, it is likely that such experiences will increase their comprehension of the workings of democratic government, and their political competence.

Secondly, this thesis argued that the complicated application procedure for TEMPUS projects encouraged academics from different Faculties and HEIs to

cooperate with each other in order to improve their chances of a successful TEMPUS application. In doing so, these academics were engaging in horizontal interest articulation. After agreeing upon the interests which would be articulated in the application form, the actual procedure of submitting the application constituted vertical interest articulation. Originally under TEMPUS I, interests were articulated mostly from the bottom-up and the autonomy of departments and Institutes, as well as HEIs, in formulating proposals was stressed. Top-down interest articulation has dominated TEMPUS II.

Two factors were responsible for this shift in the direction of interest articulation. Firstly, the Commission of the European Communities insisted that Joint European Project proposals should conform to national TEMPUS priorities. Secondly, MEN wished to control the large TEMPUS investments in HEIs to ensure that TEMPUS monies were used as part of a coherent and coordinated strategy to help remedy the pathologies of the Polish higher educational system (Gwyn, 1996: 93). The elaboration of specific national priorities under TEMPUS II was an attempt by MEN to identify weaknesses within the Polish higher educational system which would impede the full participation of Polish HEIs in the European academic network. Under TEMPUS II it was no longer possible to grant awards to projects which did not conform to one of the stated priority areas. This was a clear departure from TEMPUS I where projects for non-priority areas were considered.

Greater opportunities existed for the bottom-up articulation of interests under TEMPUS I while TEMPUS II became dominated by top-down interest articulation since national priorities are set by MEN in consultation with the Commission of the European Communities, and successful applications had to conform to these priorities. Interest articulation from the grass-roots up was still possible under TEMPUS II and occurred when successful applicants utilised

TEMPUS funding to achieve previously unforeseen and far-ranging objectives in addition to their original stated objectives. For example, Chapter Six analysed the innovative way in which the Jagiellonian University's Faculty of Chemistry coordinated TEMPUS funding to create a national credit transfer system for Chemistry in Poland. Instead of merely using the TEMPUS award to prepare guidebooks for students with credit points, the problem of core curricula was addressed and involved tackling issues such as the compatibility of chemical courses in Poland, as well as the quality of content and teaching of chemical courses. Arguably, participants in the TEMPUS application procedure were themselves signalling that their interests corresponded with MEN's and thus, were engaging in bottom-up interest articulation.

7.7 Conclusion

Democratic political systems are ones which are responsive to the needs of their citizens. This implies that citizens must be able to engage in interest articulation and promotion of their interests. Open channels of interest articulation ensure that citizens have unimpaired opportunities to articulate their preferences. Effective participation in the processes of interest articulation which exist in a democratic state is only possible once individuals have undergone a process of 'democratic' political socialisation. This thesis argues that Polish higher education during the 1990s, with the assistance of the TEMPUS Programme, is likely to have acted as an agent of 'democratic' political socialisation.

An extensive examination of the interest articulation process within the Polish higher educational sector was merited so that the existence of open channels of interest articulation should not be taken for granted. Considerable opportunities for interest articulation were found to exist. The direction of interest articulation depended upon the nature of the issue area. In legislative matters,

members of the academic community were able to engage in bottom-up and horizontal interest articulation and were often successful at having their interests transformed into government policy. The excessive autonomy, in terms of non-financial decision-making areas, granted to many Polish HEIs has hindered the implementation of further reforms by MEN. In legislative matters, therefore, top-down interest articulation from MEN to the academic community is problematic. Conversely, financial issue areas are almost entirely dominated by top-down interest articulation since state universities rely upon the Polish state for funding. The academic community has been unsuccessful at influencing the financial component of government policy despite attempts by successive Ministers of National Education and chairpersons of KBN.

The European Union's TEMPUS Programme opened up new channels of articulation for the Polish academic community. TEMPUS I was dominated by grass-roots interest articulation while under TEMPUS II there was a shift towards the articulation of interests, predominately, from the top-down. Bottom-up initiatives, however, by actors within the Polish academic community were still possible but were constrained by the fact that only applications which conformed to TEMPUS II's priorities would be considered. The shift in the direction of interest articulation under TEMPUS from predominantly bottom-up to top-down interest articulation indicates the Polish Government's recognition that it needs to provide leadership and direction to ensure that the momentum of reform within the Polish higher educational sector is maintained. From time-to-time, state intervention is necessary to safeguard democratic rights and freedom.

The socialising effect of education implies that the teaching of European Studies is likely to facilitate the acquisition of 'democratic' attitudes and values by students, and increase their political competence. Universities are

institutions specifically designed for the development and dissemination of ideas and values. The analysis of Polish students' attitudes and values revealed that they possess a democratic political culture. As members of Polish youth, they represent the future of the Polish state and have the potential to act as agents of political change providing their 'democratic' attitudes and values are retained in adult life. The political culture of students, therefore, may lead to the dissemination of democratic values and eventually to the consolidation of democracy in Poland.

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[1] Refer to Chapter One, Section 1.3. For information on the contribution of the Polish intelligentsia to Polish democratic thought, and the construction of Polish nationalism and European identity from the period of the Partitions onwards see Mach (1997).

[2] It is important to note that especially during the 1970s and 1980s, with the exception of the period of Martial Law, Polish academics did have contact with their Western colleagues especially in non-ideological disciplines such as Mathematics and Sciences. These contacts, however, were limited. See Chapter One, Section 1.5.

[3] See Chapter Four, Section 4.6.

[4] Refer to Coleman's (1965) definition of the concept of political socialisation which may be found on p. 21 of this thesis.

[5] This assertion is based upon interviews conducted with Polish academics as well as upon personal observations.

[6] Many of the academics who were ideologically orientated towards the Solidarity movement expressed such an opinion.

[7] For such an argument see Davis (1984: 342-345).

[8] This is not, however, to deny the importance of Poland's overland trade on the Black Sea route, and the fur trade with Muscovy (Davis, 1984: 343).

[9] After the death of the last Jagiellonian, Sigismund-August, in 1572, Polish Kings were elected by a mounted assembly of the entire nobility. This limited form of democracy ended in 1795 with the final partition of Poland and the destruction of the Polish-Lithuanian Republic. The seven foreigners who ruled Poland as elected Kings

were: Henry Valois (1574) who later became King of France (1574-89); Stefan Batory (1576-86); Zygmunt III Vasa (1587-1632) who was also King of Sweden (1593-1604); and his two sons, Wladyslaw IV (1632-48) and John Casimir (1648-68); August II (1697-1706 and 1710-33); and August III (1733-63). And the four native Poles who were elected to rule Poland were: Michal Wisniowiecki (1668-72); John Sobieski (1674-96); Stanislaw Leszczynski (1704-10 and 1733); and Stanislaw-August Poniatowski (1764-95). See Davis (1984: 296-300).

[10]For more information see Davis (1982a and b).

[11]See Chapter Four, Section 4.10.

Polish State Institutions of Higher Education

<u>Universities</u>

1)   Gdansk
2)   Silesian in Katowice (branch in Cieszyn)
3)   Jagiellonian in Krakow
4)   Marie Curie-Sklodowska in Lublin (branch in Rzeszow)
5)   Lodz
6)   Opole
7)   Adam Mickiewicz in Poznan
8)   Szczecin
9)   Mikolaj Kopernick in Torun
10) Warsaw
11) Bialystok
12) Wroclaw
13) Catholic University of Lublin

<u>Theological Academies</u>

1)   Catholic Theological Academy in Warsaw
2)   Christian Theological Academy in Warsaw

<u>Universities of Technology</u>

1)   Czestochowa
2)   Gdansk
3)   Silesian in Gliwice
4)   Swietokrzyski in Kielce
5)   Krakow
6)   Academy of Mining and Metallury in Krakow
7)   Lublin
8)   Lodz (branch in Bielsko-Biala)
9)   Poznan
10) Radom
11) Rzeszow
12) Szczecin
13) Warsaw (branch in Plock)
14) Wroclaw (branches in Jelenia Gora, Legnica and Walbrzych).
15) Zielona Gora
16) WSM, Szczecin
17) Military Technical Academy in Warsaw

Academies of Economics

1) Warsaw School of Economics
2) Katowice
3) Krakow
4) Poznan
5) Wroclaw

Academies of Agriculture

1) Bydgoszcz
2) Krakow (branch in Rzeszow)
3) Lublin
4) Olsztyn
5) Poznan
6) Siedlce
7) Szczecin
8) Warsaw
9) Wroclaw

Higher Schools of Pedagogy/Teacher Training Colleges

1) Bydgoszcz
2) Czestochowa
3) Kielce
4) Krakow (branch in Bielsko-Biala)
5) Olsztyn
6) Rzeszsow
7) Slupsk
8) Zielona Gora
9) Warsaw

Academies of Medicine

1) Bialystok
2) Bydgoszcz
3) Gdansk
4) Katowice
5) Krakow
6) Lubin
7) Lodz
8) Poznan
9) Szczecin
10) Warsaw
11) Wroclaw
12) Military Academy of Medicine in Lodz
13) Postgraduate Medical Training Centre in Warsaw

Academies of Music

1)   Bydgoszcz
2)   Gdansk
3)   Katowice
4)   Krakow
5)   Lodz
6)   Poznan (branch in Szczecin)
7)   Warsaw
8)   Wroclaw

Academies of Arts

1)   Krakow (branch in Katowice)
2)   Warsaw
3)   College of Arts in Gdansk
4)   College of Arts in Lodz
5)   College of Arts in Poznan
6)   College of Arts in Wroclaw
7)   College of Theatre and Film Studies in Lodz
8)   College of Theatre Studies in Krakow
9)   College of Theatre Studies in Warsaw

Academies of Physical Education

1)   Gdansk
2)   Katowice
3)   Krakow
4)   Poznan (branch in Gorzow)
5)   Warsaw
6)   Wroclaw

Merchant Navy Colleges

1)   College of the Merchant Navy in Gdynia
2)   College of the Merchant Navy in Szczecin

In addition to these state institutions there is also the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN). This is a self-governing body which is funded by the state. PAN is, primarily, a research institution (GUS, 1997).

Polish Non-State Higher Educational Institutions

Most of the schools mentioned below are conducting higher professional studies which lead to the 'licentiate' or 'engineer' degree (i.e Bacholer's degree). Only 15 schools run 'master's' degrees. Non-state universities tend to have only a few hundred students whereas state universities may have tens of thousands of students.

Bialystok
1)   Non-State Higher Pedagogical School.
2)   Bialystok School of Economics.
3)   Higher School of Finance and Management.
4)   Higher School of Mathematics and Applied Informatics.
5)   School of Public Administration.

Bielsko Biala
6)   Higher School of Banking and Finances.
7)   Bielsko College of Business and Computer Science.
8)   Academy of Computer Science and Management.

Bytom
9)   Higher School of Economics and Administration.

Chrzanow
10)   School of Entrepreneurship and Marketing.

Czestochowa
11)   School of Foreign Languages and Economics.
12)   Higher School of Management.
13)   Higher School of Linguistics.

Dabrowa Gornicza
14)   Higher School of Business.

Gdynia
15)   Higher School of Administration and Business.
16)   Higher School of International Economic and Political Relations.

Glogow
17)   Higher School of Technology.

Katowice
18)   Upper-Silesian School of Commerce.
19)   Silesian School of Management.
20)   Higher School of Banking and Finances.
21)   College of Marketing Management and Foreign Languages.

Kielce
22) Saint Cross University.
23) Higher School of Commerce.
24) Institute of Insurance.

Koszalin
25) Baltic School of Humanities.

Krakow
26) Professional School of Business - Undergraduate University.
27) Higher School of Commerce.
28) Higher School of Management and Banking.

Leszno
29) School of Marketing and Management.

Lodz
30) Non-public Higher School of Management.
31) Higher School of Public Administration.
32) School of Humanities and Economics.
33) School of Management and Business.
34) The Salesian College of Economics and Management.
35) Higher School of Informatics.
36) Higher School of Finance, Banking and Insurance.

Lomza
37) Higher School of Agrobusiness.
38) Higher School of Management and Entrepreneurship of B. Janski.

Lowicz
39) Mazowiecka School of Humanities and Pedagogics (awarding Master's degree).

Myslowice
40) Primary Education College.

Nisko
41) Higher School of Economics.

Nowy Sacz
42) School of Business - National Louis University.

Olecko
43) Mazury Free Teacher School.

Olsztyn
44) Olsztyn Higher School of Management.
45) Higher School of Olsztyn.

Opole
46) The Management and Administration College.

Ostroleka
47) School of Public Administration.

Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski
48) Higher School of Business.

Pila
49) Higher School of Business.

Plock
50) School of Management and Banking (awarding Master's degree).

Poznan
51) French-Polish Higher School of Telecommunications.
52) School of Applied Art.
53) Higher School of Banking.
54) Higher School of Hotel Management and Catering.
55) Higher School of Management and Banking.
56) Academy of Humanities and Journalism.

Przemysl
57) Higher School of Administration and Management.

Pultusk
58) Higher School of Humanities (awarding Master's degree).

Radom
59) Higher School of Environmental Protection.
60) Higher School of Banking and Finance.

Ryki
61) Higher School of Pedagogic Skills and Management.

Rzeszow
62) Higher School of Informatics and Management.
63) Rzeszow Higher School of Economics.

Sandomierz
64) Higher School of Humanities

Skierniewice
65) Higher School of Business and Humanities.

Slupsk
66) Higher School of Management.

Sochaczew
67)   Higher School of Management and Marketing.

Sopot
68)   Higher School of Tourism and Hotel Management.

Sosnowiec
69)   Higher School of Management and Marketing.

Suwalki
70)   Higher School of Social Services.

Szczecin
71)   Higher School of Public Administration.
72)   Higher School of Applied Art.
73)   West-Pomeranian School of Business.
74)   Higher School of Humanities.

Tarnow
75)   Malopolska's Higher School of Economy.
76)   Higher School of Business.

Tychy
78)   Higher School of Management and Social Sciences.

Tyczn
79)   Higher School of Community and Economy.

Walbrzych
80)   Walbrzych Higher School of Management and Entrepreneurship.

Warsaw

81)   European Academy of Arts.
82)   Polish-Japanese Higher School of Computer Technology.
83)   Private Higher School of Business and Administration (awarding Master's degree).
84)   Private Higher School of Commerce (awarding Master's degree).
85)   School of Exact Sciences (awarding Master's degree).
86)   Warsaw School of Business.
87)   Warsaw Management School - Graduate and Postgraduate School.
88)   Warsaw Higher School of Economics.
89)   Higher School of Banking, Finance and Management.
90)   Journalism Graduate School.
91)   Higher School of Ecology and Management.
92)   Higher School of Economics.
93)   International Higher School of Commerce.
94)   Higher School of Hotel Management, Gastronomics and Tourism.

95) Communications and Social Media College.
96) Warsaw Higher School of Management at the Society of Economic Enterprise.
97) Pedagogical Higher School - Society for the Popularisation of Knowledge.
98) Higher School of Pedagogy of ZNP.
99) Higher School of Entrepreneurship and Management (awarding Master's degree).
100) Higher School of Tourism and Hotel Management.
101) Higher School of Tourism and Recreation.
102) Higher School of Insurance and Banking (awarding Master's degree).
103) Higher School of Management.
104) Higher School of Management and Marketing (awarding Master's degree).
105) Janski Higher School of Management and Entrepreneurship.
106) Graduate School of Social Psychology (awarding Master's degree).
107) Higher School of Economics and Informatics.
108) Higher School of Applied Informatics Technology and Management.
109) Higher School of Social-Economics.
110) Higher School of Economy.

Wloclawek
111) Higher School of Social Workers.

Wroclaw
112) Higher School of Management and Finance.
113) Higher School of Management and Marketing.
114) Higher School of Commerce.
115) Dolnoslaska Higher School of Education.

Zgierz
116) Higher School of Commerce.

This list of Polish non-state higher educational institutions was obtained from the Ministry of National Education in Warsaw. It includes all the non-state HEIs established in Poland by July 1997.

Questionnaire: Survey of Polish students' attitudes towards Democracy, the European Union and Education

EXPLANATION

Since the downfall of Communism, democratisation and market liberalisation have been carried out simultaneously. I am seeking Polish students' opinions about democracy, educational policy and the European Union. All responses are anonymous and completely confidential. Students do not have to answer all questions. Thank you for your participation in this survey.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please circle the number of you choice. (There are no right or wrong answers).

1= Completely agree,   2 = agree mostly,   3 = undecided, no opinion,   4 = disagree mostly,

5 = Completely Disagree,   7 = Don't Know

	Completely Agree	Agree Mostly	Undecided	Disagree Mostly	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
1. The majority should never be allowed to abolish minority rights.	1	2	3	4	5	7
2. It may be necessary to ban certain political parties/groups who are likely to cause public disorder or trouble.	1	2	3	4	5	7
3. Our political institutions are the best in East Central Europe.	1	2	3	4	5	7
4. Freedom of speech justifies the teaching of foreign or disloyal ideas in our universities.	1	2	3	4	5	7
5. When it comes to things that count the most, all races, religious groups, and nationalities are equal.	1	2	3	4	5	7
6. The EU's assistance in the reform of Polish higher education through TEMPUS has been positive and useful.	1	2	3	4	5	7
7. Poland's future membership of the EU is the only important reason for Poles to learn about the EU.	1	2	3	4	5	7
8. Concerning teaching in universities, students should be encouraged to be active, involved and critical learners.	1	2	3	4	5	7
9. Assessment of results should be based on less formal means, such as continuous assessment and class participation.	1	2	3	4	5	7
10. Concerning teaching in universities, students should take competitive examinations so that high achievers are rewarded.	1	2	3	4	5	7

1

	Completely Agree	Agree Mostly	Undecided	Disagree Mostly	Completely Disagree	Don't Know
11. Teaching about other countries' history, government, cultures, and people is less important than teaching about our nation's history, and our achievements.	1	2	3	4	5	7
12. Concerning history, social studies, and civic education, we should eliminate isolationist, provincial, and nationalistic themes from the curriculum.	1	2	3	4	5	7
13. It is important that all Polish university students regardless of subjects studied take courses in European Studies.	1	2	3	4	5	7
14. Students studying subjects such as engineering do not need to learn about European history.	1	2	3	4	5	7
15. Participating in courses about EU states and institutions has helped to strengthen my sense of belonging to "Europe".	1	2	3	4	5	7
16. Presidential government is preferable to parliamentary government.	1	2	3	4	5	7
17. The powers of the Polish president should be strengthened.	1	2	3	4	5	7
18. Given the lack of state money available for education it is only fair that university students should contribute towards the cost of their courses.	1	2	3	4	5	7
19. Equality of access to higher education has increased for all (regardless of social background) since 1989.	1	2	3	4	5	7
20. Education is a right not a privilege and should be free for all.	1	2	3	4	5	7

21.　　**(Please tick only 1 answer)** What do you consider Europe to be:
1 [　] a geographical region;
2 [　] a cultural / historical entity;
3 [　] undecided / no opinion;
4 [　] a geo-political entity;
7 [　] don't know

22.　　**(Please tick only 1 answer)** In your opinion, what is the most important aspect of liberal democracy:
1 [　] multi-party government;　　　　　　6 [　] other **(If other then please state)**
2 [　] the rule of law;　　　　　　　　　...
4 [　] the free market economy;　　　　　3 [　] undecided / no opinion;
5 [　] freedom for citizens;　　　　　　　7 [　] don't know.

2

23. Which of the following do you believe that a political system should guarantee:
   1 [   ] that everyone has an equal opportunity to achieve their goals in life while recognising that not everyone will succeed and some will be materially worse-off than others;
   2 [   ] equality of results so that disparities of wealth and status within the population are miniscule;
   4 [   ] other (If other then please state) ....
   3 [   ] undecided / no opinion
   7 [   ] don't know   (Please tick only 1 answer)

24. (Please tick only 1 answer) Which of the following comes closest to your view of ‚Democracy':
   1 [   ] Democracy is valuable even if it does not lead to economic prosperity;
   2 [   ] Democracy is only valuable if it leads to economic prosperity;
   4 [   ] other (If other then please state) ....
   3 [   ] undecided / no opinion
   7 [   ] don't know

25. (Please tick only 1 answer) The single most important international factor in increasing my knowledge and understanding of liberal democracy has been:
   1 [   ] European Union and its programmes such as TEMPUS
   2 [   ] United States
   3 [   ] undecided / no opinion
   4 [   ] Non-governmental organisations such as the Soros Foundation
   5 [   ] Foreign press, magazines, journal articles
   6 [   ] Polish universities / schools
   7 [   ] Don't know

26. (Put in order of 1 to 5, i.e. 1= most important thing to be taught and 5= least important)
   Our universities ought to teach us more about promoting:
   a) individual freedom   ___
   b) popular participation   ___
   c) keeping internal peace   ___
   d) achieving economic equality   ___
   e) justice for all   ___

27. (Please tick only 1 answer) Which of the following do you most feel:
   1[   ] Polish but not European
   2[   ] More Polish than European
   3[   ] Equally Polish and European
   4[   ] More European than Polish
   5[   ] European but not Polish

28. In so far as you feel that you have an identity wider than Poland, do you feel:
   1[   ] European
   2[   ] Central European
   3[   ] East Central European
   4[   ] Other (If other please state) ....
   7[   ] Don't know   (Please tick only 1 answer)

3

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29. **Please delete as appropriate**

I have / have not been aware of the existence of the TEMPUS Programme.

30. **Please delete as appropriate**

I have / have not benefited from EU assistance either under TEMPUS or any other EU funded programmes.

31. After graduation, do you intend to work in politics at either central government or local government level?

1 [　] Yes;　　　　2 [　] No:　　　　7 [　] Don't Know **(Please tick only 1 answer)**

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Please fill in the blank or circle the number of the appropriate answer to the following questions:

32. I was born in the following year:　　　　19........

33. I am a:　　　　1 - Female　　　2 - Male

34. The place where I mainly grew up was a:　　1 - Village　2 - Rural Town

3 - Suburb　4 - Industrial Town　5 - City

35. My parents' are in the following social group:　1 - Rural Working　　2 - Urban Working

3 - Professional　4 - Academia

5 - Business owners　6 - Private farmers

36. The highest educational level that either of my parents' achieved was:

1 - Elementary school　　　　　　2 - Technical secondary

3 - General secondary　4 - Technical College　　5 - University/Higher Education

37. I get most of my information about the EU from:　1 - Radio　2 - Television　3 - Newspaper

4 - Magazine　5 - University Lectures

38. **(Please circle as many as apply)**

I have voted in the following elections:

1 - 1997 Parliamentary election　　2 - Referendum on the Constitution (May 1997)

3 - Neither elections

39. The main subject which I am studying at university is: ....

4

Kwestionariusz: Badanie opinii studentów polskich w kwestiach dotyczących ich stosunku do społeczeństwa demokratycznego, Unii Europejskiej i systemu edukacyjnego w Polsce.

Cel badań: Od momentu upadku komunizmu, demokratyzacja życia politycznego i wprowadzenie gospodarki rynkowej dokonuje się jednocześnie. Pragnę poznać opinię polskich studentów dotyczącą procesów demokratycznych, polityki w zakresie oświaty i w sprawach związanych z Unią Europejską. Wszystkie wypowiedzi są anonimowe i poufne. Studenci nie muszą odpowiedzieć na wszystkie pytania . Bardzo dziękuję za udzielenie odpowiedzi na pytania zawarte w niniejszym kwestionariuszu.

Wyjaśnienie: Proszę zaznaczyć krzyżykiem odpowiedni numer właściwej odpowiedzi (każda odpowiedź jest trafna, nie ma złych odpowiedzi) 1 = **całkowicie się zgadzam, 2 = w znacznej części się zgadzam, 3 = nie jestem zdecydowany, nie mam opinii, 4 = w znacznej części się nie zgadzam, 5 = całkowicie się nie zgdzam, 7 = nie wiem.**

	całkowicie się zgadzam.	w znacznej części się zgadzam.	nie jestem zdecydowany, nie mam opinii.	w znacznej części nie zgadzam.	całkowicie się nie zgadzam.	nie wiem
1. Większość nigdy nie powinna mieć możliwości, aby pozbawić praw mniejszości.	1	2	3	4	5	7
2. W sytuacji kiedy pewne partie polityczne względnie zorganizowane grupy są zagrożeniem dla porządku publicznego, powinno zakazać się ich działalności.	1	2	3	4	5	7
3. Nasze polityczne instytucje są najlepsze Europie Środkowo - Wschodniej.	1	2	3	4	5	7
4. Wolność słowa jest wystarczającą przesłanką dla akceptacji obych lub odmiennych od oficjalnie przyjętych poglądów na naszych uniwersytetach.	1	2	3	4	5	7
5. Nie powinno być dyskryminacji na tle rasowym religijnym. czy też narodowym.	1	2	3	4	5	7
6. Pomoc Unii Europejskiej w reformowaniu Polskiego Szkolnictwa Wyższego poprzez program Tempus jest bardzo użyteczna i należy ją ocenić pozytywnie.	1	2	3	4	5	7
7. Polskie przyszłe członkostwo w Unii Europejskiej jest najważniejszą przyczyną dla której Polacy uczą się o Unii Europejskiej.	1	2	3	4	5	7
8. Przy procesie nauczania w uniwersytetach. studenci powinni być zachęcani do bardziej aktywnego i krytcznego stosunku do zajęć i omawianego materiału.	1	2	3	4	5	7
9. Przy ocenianiu wyników naucznia powinno się stosować mniej formalne kryteria takie jak np. systematyczność czy obecność w zajęciach.	1	2	3	4	5	7

1

	całkowicie się zgadzam.	w znacznej części się zgadzam.	nie jestem zdecydowany, nie mam opinii.	w znacznej części się nie zgadzam.	całkowicie się nie zgadzam.	nie wiem
10. Przy procesie nauczania w uniwersytetach , studenci powinni uczestniczyć w egzaminach konkursowych w tym celu, aby ci którzy uzyskali najlepsze rezultaty byli odpowiednio wynagradzani.	1	2	3	4	5	7
11. Nauczanie historii, systemów politycznych, kultury innych państw jest mniej ważne niż nauka o historii i osiągnięciach własnego narodu.	1	2	3	4	5	7
12. Powinniśmy wyeliminować z programu postawy izolacjonizmu, prownicjonalizmu, nacjonalistyczne przy nauczaniu historii, nauk społecznych i wychowania obywatelskiego.	1	2	3	4	5	7
13. Każdy student polski niezależnie od tego jaki przedmiot studiuje w każdej szkole wyższej powinien także studiować niektóre przedmioty z zakresu „ Studiów Europejskich" .	1	2	3	4	5	7
14. Studenci z kierunków zaliczonych do nauk ścisłych nie muszą uczyć się historii Europy.	1	2	3	4	5	7
15. Uczestnictwo w wykładach dotyczących Unii Europejskiej pomaga wzmocnić poczucie przynależności do Europy.	1	2	3	4	5	7
16. System prezydencki jest lepszy od systemu gabinetowo - parlamentarnego.	1	2	3	4	5	7
17. Władza, (zakres kompetencji) polskiego prezydenta powinny być wzmocnione.	1	2	3	4	5	7
18. Ze względu na brak państwowych środków finansowych na szkolnictwo, jest wskazane, aby studenci w szkołach wyższych partycypowali w kosztach swojej nauki.	1	2	3	4	5	7
19. Dostępność (równość startu) do szkolnictwa wyższego zwiększyła się dla wszystkich (bez względu na pochodzenie społeczne) od 1989 roku.	1	2	3	4	5	7
20. Edukacja jest prawem a nie przywilejem i powinna być dostępna dla wszyskich.	1	2	3	4	5	7

21. (**Proszę zanacz krzyżykiem tylko jedną odpowiedź.**) Co twoim zdaniem oznacza termin Europa:

1 ( ) geograficzny region - kontynent: 4 ( ) geo-polityczną społeczność;

2 ( ) kulturalną / historyczną społeczność: 7 ( ) nie wiem.

3 ( ) nie jestem zdecydowany / nie mam zdania:

2

22. (**Proszę zanacz krzyżykiem tylko jedną odpowiedź.**) Moim zdaniem. jednym z najważniejszym elementem liberalnej demokracji jest:

1 ( ) wielopartyjny rząd;

2 ( ) zasady państwa prawa;

4 ( ) gospodarka wolnorynkowa;

5 ( ) wolności obywatelskie;

6 ( ) inne (jeżeli zanaczysz inne. proszę wymień jakie):

....;

3 ( ) niezdecydowany/a / nie mam zdania (opinii);

7 ( ) nie wiem.

23. (**Proszę podaj tylko jedną odpowiedź.**) Co twoim zdaniem powinien gwarantować system polityczny:

1 ( ) wszyscy powinni mieć zagwarantowane jednakowe szanse w życiu dla osiągnięcia swoich planów: ale należy uwzgędnić fakt że nie wszyscy odniosą sukces i w związku z tym będzie zróżnicowanie materialne w społeczeństwie:

2 ( ) równość w społeczeństwie powoduje. że różnice w statusie społecznym i w podziale dóbr materialnych są minimalne:

4 ( ) inne. (jeżeli tak to proszę podaj jakie) ....;

3 ( ) nie jestem zdecydowany / nie mam opnii:

7 ( ) nie wiem.

24. (**Proszę zanacz krzyżykiem tylko jedna odpowiedź.**) Które z niżej podanych odpowiedzi najtrafniej twoim zdaniem oddają sens „Demokracji":

1 ( ) demokracja jest wartością bardzo cenną nawet jeżeli nie prowadzi ona do dobrobytu ekonomicznego;

2 ( ) demokracja jest cenną wartościa tylko jeżeli prowadzi do dobrobytu ekonomicznego:

4 ( ) inne (jeżeli tak proszę wyjaśnij) ....:

3 ( ) nie jestem zdecydowany / nie mam opinii:

7 ( ) nie wiem.

25. (**Proszę zaznacz tylko jedną odpowiedź.**) Jednym z najbardziej istotnych międzynarodowych źródeł dzięki któremu rozwinąłem swoją wiedzę o liberalnej demokracji jest:

1 ( ) Unia Europejska ze swoimi programami takimi jak np. TEMPUS:

2 ( ) Stany Zjednoczone Ameryki Północnej;

3 ( ) nie jestem zdecydowany / nie mam opinii:

4 ( ) Pozarzadowe międzynarodowe organizacje takie np. jak Fundacja Sorosa:

5 ( ) obca prasa. tygodniki i monografie:

6 ( ) Polskie szkoły wyższe. oraz szkoły średnie:

7 ( ) nie wiem.

26. (**Proszę oceń stosując skalę polską; 5 bardzo dobrze, 4 dobrze, 3 dostatecznie, 2 źle, 1 bardzo źle**)
Nasze szkoły wyższe powinny nas uczyć więcej w celu promowania:

a) wolności osobistej　　　　　　　　　[ ]

b) uczestnictwa w życiu politycznym　　[ ]

c) zachowanie wewnętrznego pokoju　　[ ]

d) osiągnięcie ekonomicznej równości　　[ ]

e) sprawiedliwego traktowania wszystkich [ ]

27. (**Proszę zaznacz tylko jedną odpowiedź.**) Z którym z poniższych twierdzeń czujesz się najbardziej związany:

1 ( ) Polak, ale nie Europejczyk:

2 ( ) Bardziej Polak niż Europejczyk;

3 ( ) Zarówno Polak i Europejczyk

4 ( ) Bardziej Europejczyk niż Polak:

5 ( ) Europejczyk ale nie Polak.

3

28. Jeżeli twoja osobista identyfikacja nie ogranicza się tylko do Polski, czy zatem czujesz się:

1 ( ) Europejczykiem;   4 ( )   jeszcze innym (jeżeli tak to proszę zaznacz
2 ( ) Środkowo-Europejczykim;   kim) ....;
3 ( ) Środkowo-wschodnim Europejczykiem;   7 ( )   nie wiem.

                                                        (Proszę zaznaczyć tylko jedną odpowiedź.)

29. **Proszę podkreśl właściwą odpowiedź:** Jestem / nie jestem   poinformowany o istnieniu i funkcjonowaniu w moje szkole wyższej programu TEMPUS.

30. **Proszę podkreśl właściwą odpowiedź:** Korzystałem / nie korzystałem z programu TEMPUS ani też z żadnego innego programu sponsorowanego przez Unię Europejską.

31. Po skończeniu studiów zamierzam pracować bądź administracji centralnej bądź w adminstracji lokalnej lub samorządowej albo też w jakiś inny sposób być aktywnie profesjonalnie związanym z życiem politycznym:
1 ( ) tak;   2 ( ) nie;   7 ( ) nie wiem proszę zaznacz tylko jedną odpowiedź.

DANE PERSONALNE
Proszę zaznacz krzyżykiem lub podaj odpowiedź na poniższe pytania:

32.   data urodzenia   19_____.   33.   Jestem   1- kobietą   2- mężczyzną.

34.   Pochodzę z   1- wsi   2- miasteczka do 50 tys mieszkańców   3- miejscowości podmiejskiej,

                             4 - przemysłowego miasteczka   5- miasta.

35.   Moi rodzce mają następujące pochodzenie społeczne:

1- wiejscy pracownicy fizyczni   2 - miejscy pracownicy fizyczni   3- specjaliści

4- inteligencja po wyższych studiach   5 - właściciele „ business-u „   6- właściciele gospodarstw rolnych.

36.   Wykształcenie moich rodziców : 1- podstawowe   2 - zawodowe   3 - średnie
                                        4 - półwyższe zawodowe   5 - wyższe.

37. Większość informacji dotyczących UNII EUROPEJSKIEJ uzyskuję z :

1- radia;   2- telewizji;   3- gazet;   4 - tygodników;   5- wykładów uniwersyteckich.

38. **(Proszę zaznacz krzyżykiem jeżeli ciebie dotyczy)**

Głosowa łem w następujacych wyborach: 1- (1997) wybory prlamentrne;

2 - Referendum konstytucyjne (Maj 1997);   3 - nie uczestniczyłem w żadnych wyborach.

39.   Szkoła Wyższa   ....   rok studiów   ....

     wydział   ....   kierunek   ....

4

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Recommendations of the OECD Report

- Reduce the level of fragmentation in the higher educational system in favour of a more coherent structure. The great majority of HEIs should come under the aegis of one Ministry, the Ministry of National Education.

- The promotion of a rationalisation policy whereby appropriate merges of institutions take place. In the immediate future, efforts should be made to promote inter-institutional teaching and research activities.

- There is a need for investment which enhances the managerial, communications and budgetary skills of leaders in the HEI.

- The balance of authority within the internal structures of universities needs to shift from departments and faculties to the Senate and governing bodies so that the corporate long-term well-being of the HEIs can be promoted.

- The links between higher education and society should be strengthened. Governing bodies of the HEI should include representation from external interests.

- The salary structure and conditions of employment of university staff need to be reformed or serious consequences will ensue for academic standards, teaching quality, research output and engagement in the corporate affairs of the institution.

- The staff career structure of Polish universities inhibits staff exchanges between universities and between universities and other sectors, and it should be reformed.

- The various initiatives under the TEMPUS Programme are very beneficial and should be extended.

- The system of extra-mural courses needs to be re-examined on the grounds of equity and standards.

- The reform of the 'matura' should be used to clarify its function for admission to higher education and to make clear whether, and what, additional entrance requirements are necessary for different subject areas.

- The composition of the General Council for Higher Education should be altered to include external experts. New initiatives should be taken on the mechanism for establishing programmes, the assessment of standards and the supervision of quality.

- In the course of moving towards mass higher education, the introduction of a shorter first degree (licencjat) is recommended. It has, however, to be planned as an integral part of the system and not to be included in a mere additive way.

- The OECD endorses the Government's decision to establish Higher Professional Schools, outside the university sector.

- Social partners should be represented on the evaluation and accreditation body for these new institutions.

- While it is too early to assess the success of the algorithm method of funding HEIs, there should be better provision for rewarding innovations which improve quality and efficiency.

- A modest tuition fee should be introduced for higher education students, accompanied by a loan scheme and a better scholarship system targeted at economically disadvantaged students.

- University-industry links should be promoted as the economy improves.

(MEN, 1996a: 193-194).

Frequency Tables   Appendix 5

Qu. 1) The majority should never be allowed to abolish minority rights.

Statistics

recoded qu1

N	Valid	235
	Missing	1

recoded qu1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely Agree	88	37.3	37.4	37.4
	Agree Mostly	120	50.8	51.1	88.5
	Undecided/Don't Know	6	2.5	2.6	91.1
	Disagree Mostly	18	7.6	7.7	98.7
	Completely Disagree	3	1.3	1.3	100.0
	Total	235	99.6	100.0	
Missing	99	1	.4		
Total		236	100.0		
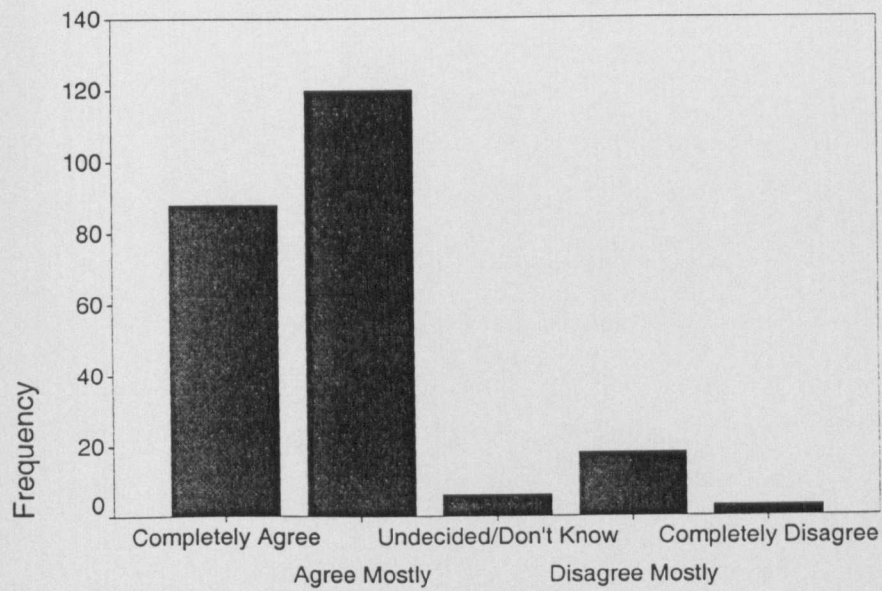
recoded qu1

recoded qu1

301

Frequencies

Qu. 2) It may be necessary to ban certain political parties/groups which are likely to cause public disorder or trouble.

Statistics

recoded qu2

N	Valid	235
	Missing	1

recoded qu2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely Disagree	101	42.8	43.0	43.0
	Disagree Mostly	100	42.4	42.6	85.5
	Undecided/Don't Know	8	3.4	3.4	88.9
	Agree Mostly	20	8.5	8.5	97.4
	Completely Agree	6	2.5	2.6	100.0
	Total	235	99.6	100.0	
Missing	99	1	.4		
Total		236	100.0		
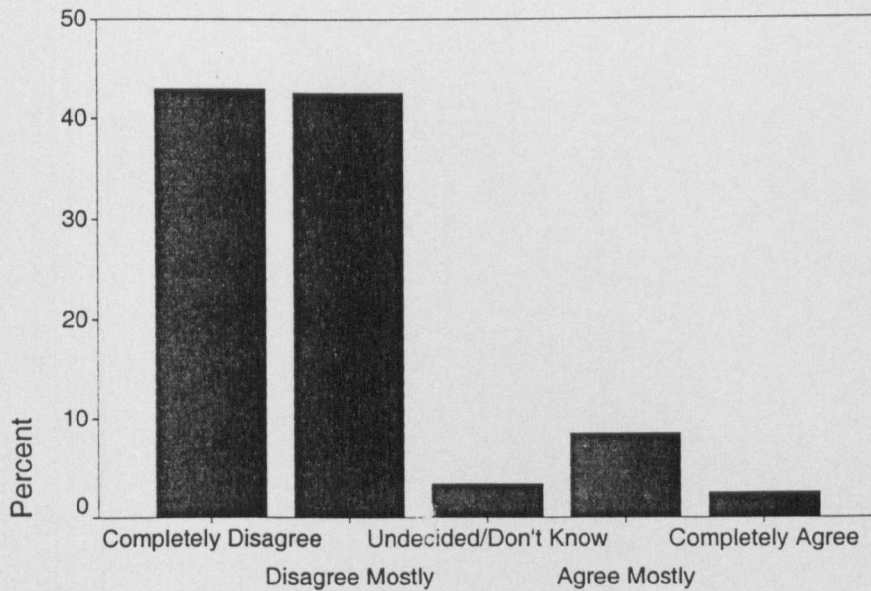
recoded qu2

recoded qu2

Frequencies

Qu. 3) Our political institutions are the best in East Central Europe.

Statistics

recoded qu3

N	Valid	231
	Missing	5

recoded qu3

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely Agree	8	3.4	3.5	3.5
	Agree Mostly	47	19.9	20.3	23.8
	Undecided/Don't Know	96	40.7	41.6	65.4
	Disagree Mostly	65	27.5	28.1	93.5
	Completely Disagree	15	6.4	6.5	100.0
	Total	231	97.9	100.0	
Missing	99	5	2.1		
Total		236	100.0		
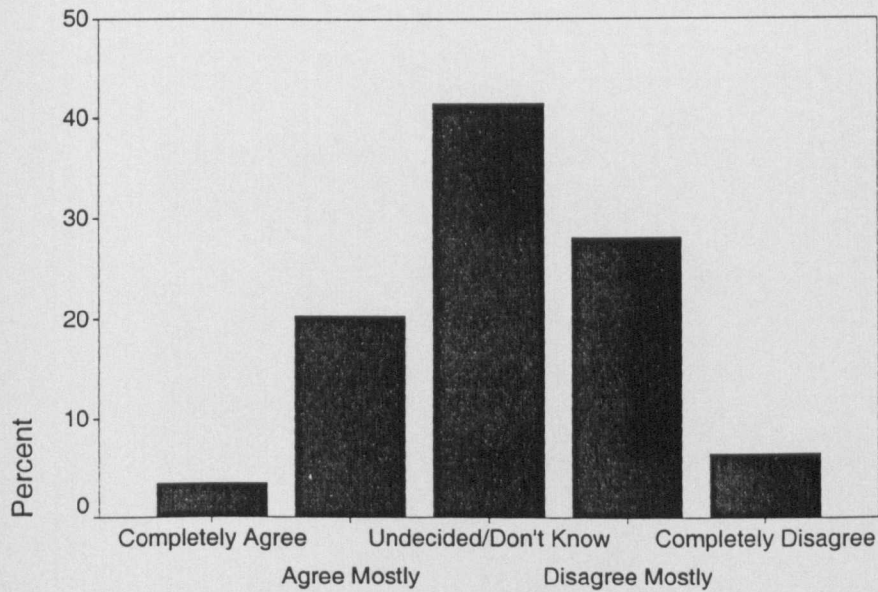
recoded qu3

recoded qu3

Frequencies

Qu. 4) Freedom of speech justifies the teaching of foreign or disloyal ideas in our universities.

Statistics

recoded qu4

N	Valid	223
	Missing	13

recoded qu4

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely Agree	54	22.9	24.2	24.2
	Agree Mostly	86	36.4	38.6	62.8
	Undecided/Don't Know	42	17.8	18.8	81.6
	Disagree Mostly	28	11.9	12.6	94.2
	Completely Disagree	13	5.5	5.8	100.0
	Total	223	94.5	100.0	
Missing	99	13	5.5		
Total		236	100.0		

recoded qu4
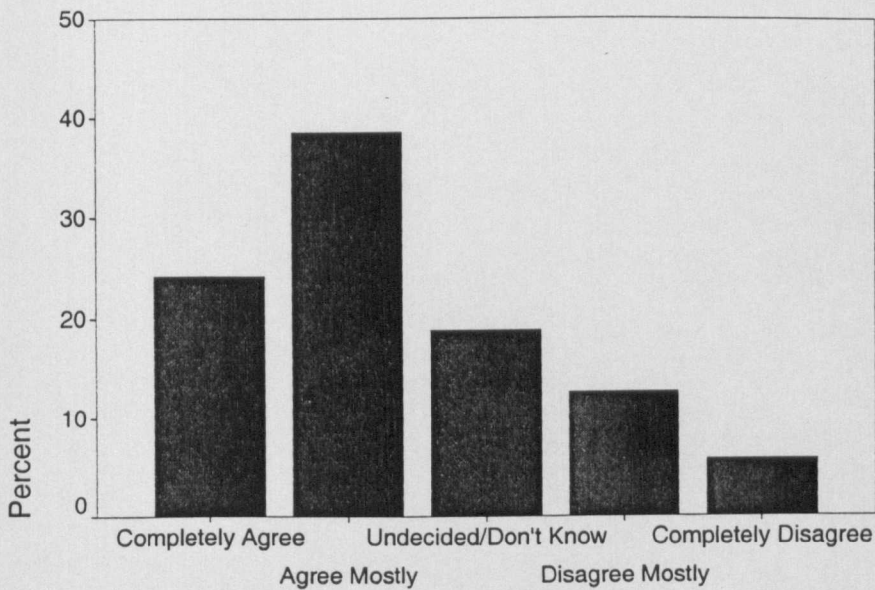
recoded qu4

304

Frequencies

Qu. 5) When it comes to things that count the most, all races, religious groups, and nationalities are equal.

Statistics

recoded qu5

N	Valid	236
	Missing	0

recoded qu5

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely Agree	210	89.0	89.0	89.0
	Agree Mostly	21	8.9	8.9	97.9
	Disagree Mostly	3	1.3	1.3	99.2
	Completely Disagree	2	.8	.8	100.0
	Total	236	100.0	100.0	

recoded qu5
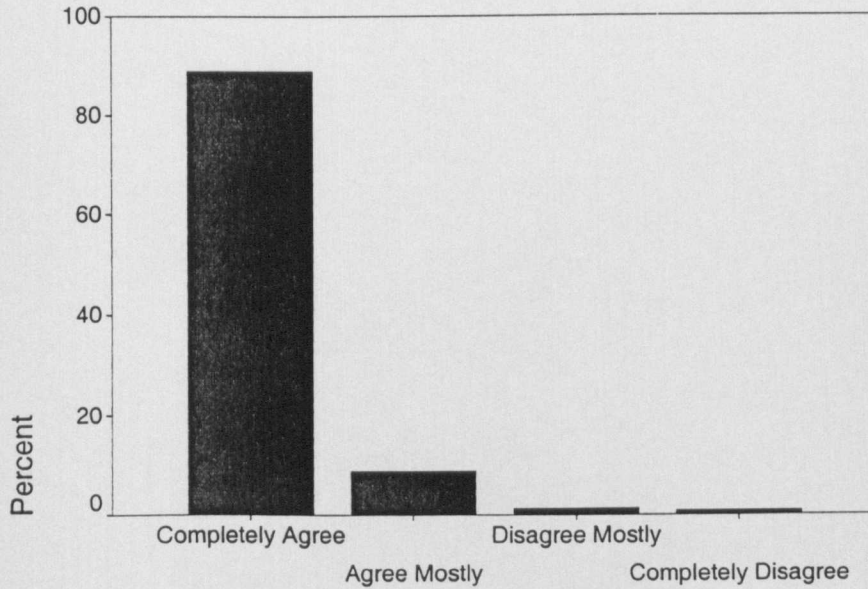
recoded qu5

Frequencies

Qu. 6) The EU's assistance in the reform of Polish higher education through TEMPUS has been positive and useful.

Statistics

recoded qu6

N	Valid	229
	Missing	7

recoded qu6

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely Agree	61	25.8	26.6	26.6
	Agree Mostly	65	27.5	28.4	55.0
	Undecided/Don't Know	89	37.7	38.9	93.9
	Disagree Mostly	10	4.2	4.4	98.3
	Completely Disagree	4	1.7	1.7	100.0
	Total	229	97.0	100.0	
Missing	99	7	3.0		
Total		236	100.0		
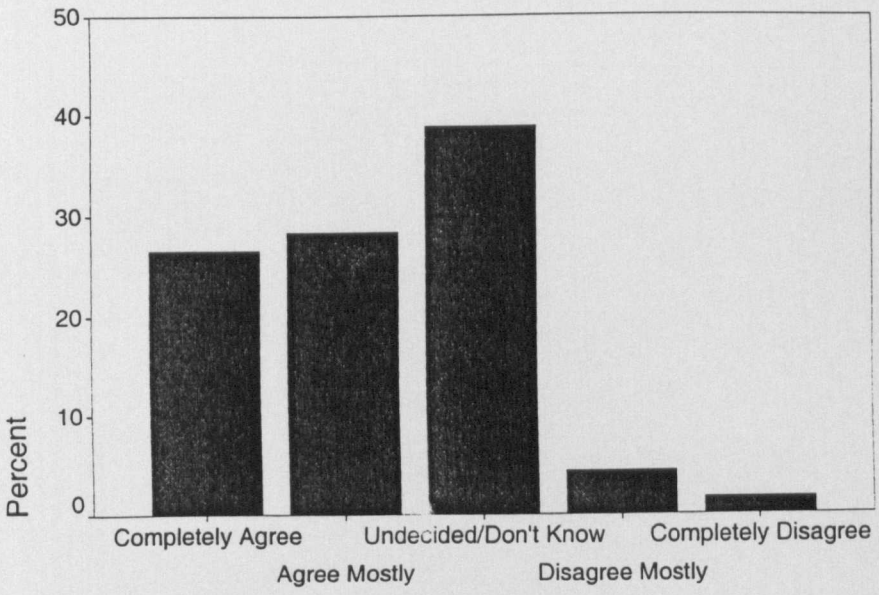
recoded qu6

recoded qu6

Frequencies

Qu. 7) Poland's future membership of the EU is the only important reason for Poles to learn about the EU.

recoded qu7

N	Valid	234
	Missing	2

recoded qu7

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely Agree	24	10.2	10.3	10.3
	Agree Mostly	117	49.6	50.0	60.3
	Undecided/Don't Know	21	8.9	9.0	69.2
	Disagree Mostly	55	23.3	23.5	92.7
	Completely Disagree	17	7.2	7.3	100.0
	Total	234	99.2	100.0	
Missing	99	2	.8		
Total		236	100.0		

recoded qu7
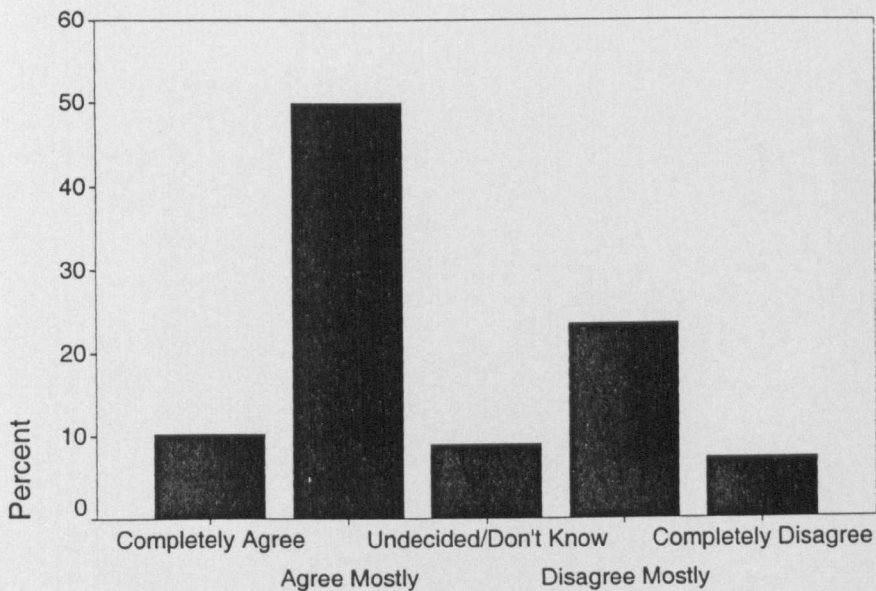
recoded qu7

307

Frequencies

Qu. 8) Concerning teaching in universities, students should be encouraged to be active, involved and critical learners.

Statistics

recoded qu8

N	Valid	234
	Missing	2

recoded qu8

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely Agree	144	61.0	61.5	61.5
	Agree Mostly	65	27.5	27.8	89.3
	Undecided/Don't Know	18	7.6	7.7	97.0
	Disagree Mostly	6	2.5	2.6	99.6
	Completely Disagree	1	.4	.4	100.0
	Total	234	99.2	100.0	
Missing	99	2	.8		
Total		236	100.0		

recoded qu8
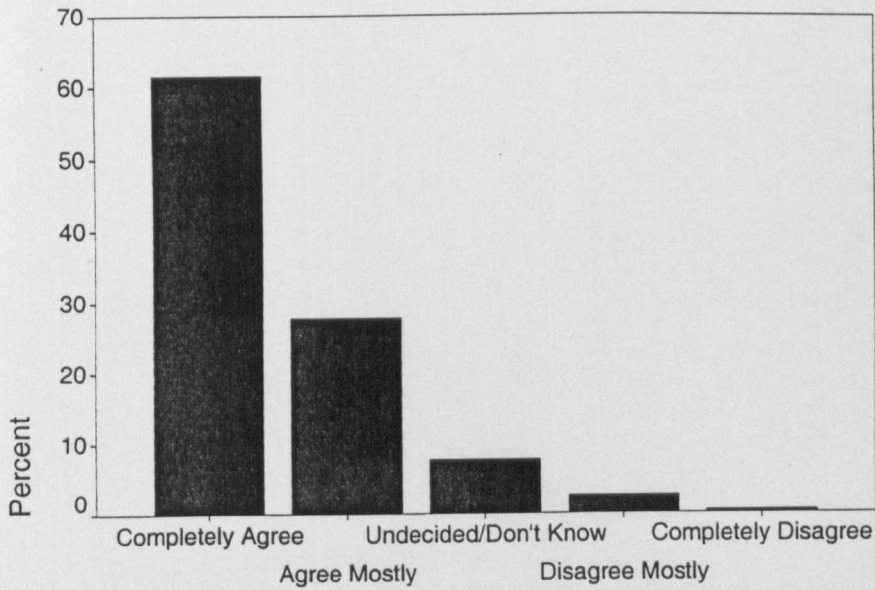
recoded qu8

Frequencies

Qu. 9) Assessment of results should be based on less formal means, such as continuous assessment and class participation.

Statistics

recoded qu9

N	Valid	236
	Missing	0

recoded qu9

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely Agree	71	30.1	30.1	30.1
	Agree Mostly	82	34.7	34.7	64.8
	Undecided/Don't Know	18	7.6	7.6	72.5
	Disagree Mostly	47	19.9	19.9	92.4
	Completely Agree	18	7.6	7.6	100.0
	Total	236	100.0	100.0	

recoded qu9
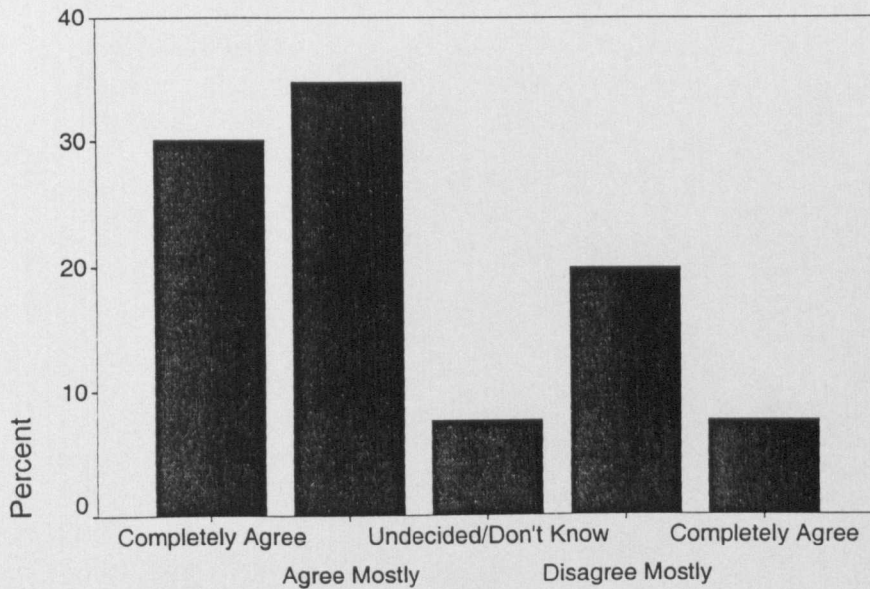
recoded qu9

Frequencies

Qu. 10) Concerning teaching in universities, students should take competitive examinations so that high achievers are rewarded.

recoded qu10

N	Valid	234
	Missing	2

recoded qu10

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely Agree	68	28.8	29.1	29.1
	Agree Mostly	102	43.2	43.6	72.6
	Undecided/Don't Know	46	19.5	19.7	92.3
	Disagree Mostly	11	4.7	4.7	97.0
	Completely Disagree	7	3.0	3.0	100.0
	Total	234	99.2	100.0	
Missing	99	2	.8		
Total		236	100.0		

recoded qu10
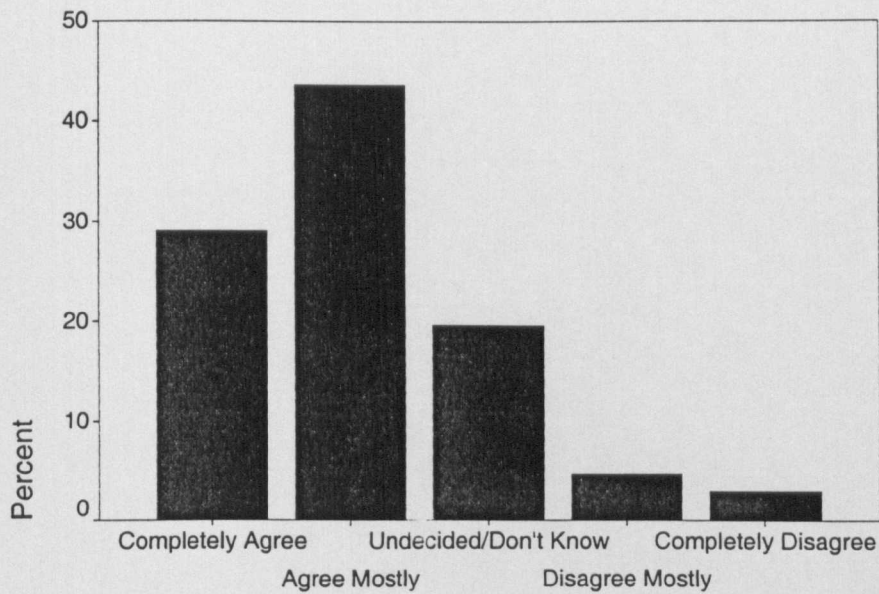
recoded qu10

310

Frequencies

Qu. 11) Teaching about other countries' history, government, cultures, and people is less important than teaching about our nation's history and our achievements.

Statistics

recoded qu11

N	Valid	236
	Missing	0

recoded qu11

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely Disagree	9	3.8	3.8	3.8
	Disagree Mostly	33	14.0	14.0	17.8
	Undecided / Don't Know	21	8.9	8.9	26.7
	Agree Mostly	94	39.8	39.8	66.5
	Completely Agree	79	33.5	33.5	100.0
	Total	236	100.0	100.0	

recoded qu11
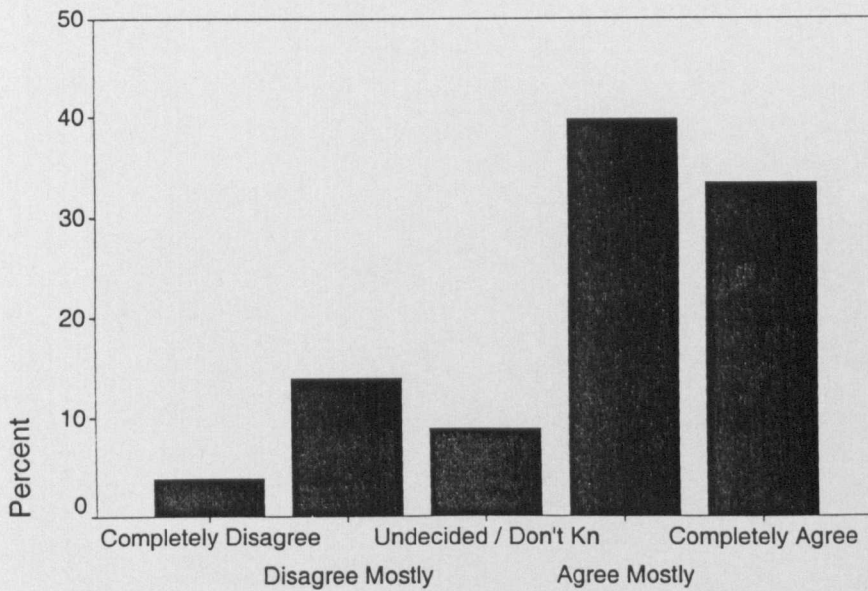
recoded qu11

Frequencies

Qu. 12) Concerning history, social studies, and civic education, we should eliminate isolationist, provincial and nationalist themes from the curricula.

Statistics

recoded qu12

N	Valid	234
	Missing	2

recoded qu12

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely Agree	80	33.9	34.2	34.2
	Agree Mostly	65	27.5	27.8	62.0
	Undecided/Don't Know	37	15.7	15.8	77.8
	Disagree Mostly	28	11.9	12.0	89.7
	Completely Disagree	24	10.2	10.3	100.0
	Total	234	99.2	100.0	
Missing	99	2	.8		
Total		236	100.0		
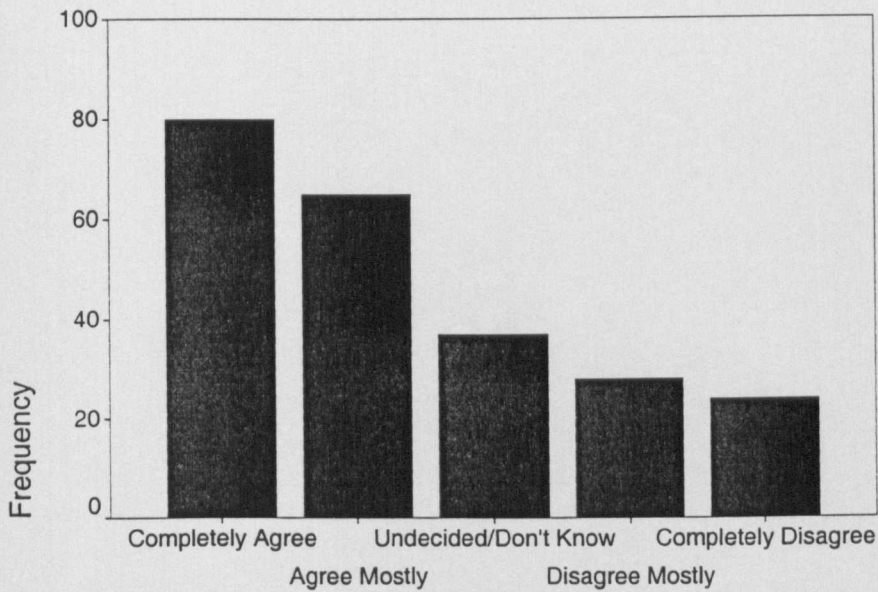
recoded qu12

recoded qu12

Frequencies

Qu. 13) It is important that all Polish university students regardless of subjects studied, take courses in European Studies.

recoded qu13

N	Valid	234
	Missing	2

recoded qu13

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely Agree	38	16.1	16.2	16.2
	Agree Mostly	100	42.4	42.7	59.0
	Undecided/Don't Know	53	22.5	22.6	81.6
	Disagree Mostly	26	11.0	11.1	92.7
	Completely Disagree	17	7.2	7.3	100.0
	Total	234	99.2	100.0	
Missing	99	2	.8		
Total		236	100.0		

recoded qu13
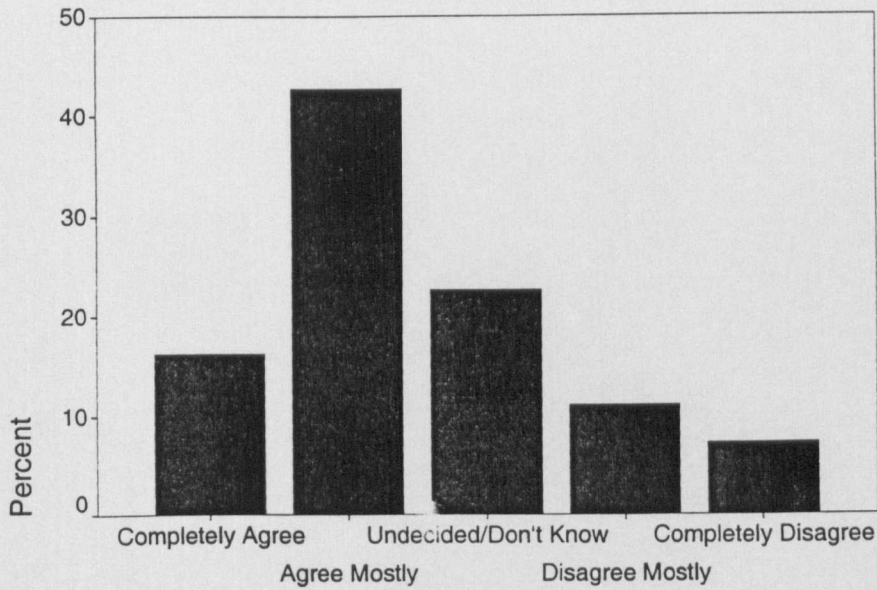
recoded qu13

Frequencies

Qu. 14) Students studying subjects such as engineering do not need to learn about European history.

recoded qu14

N	Valid	235
	Missing	1

recoded qu14

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely Agree	21	8.9	8.9	8.9
	Agree Mostly	42	17.8	17.9	26.8
	Undecided/Don't Know	37	15.7	15.7	42.6
	Disagree Mostly	82	34.7	34.9	77.4
	Completely Disagree	53	22.5	22.6	100.0
	Total	235	99.6	100.0	
Missing	99	1	.4		
Total		236	100.0		

recoded qu14
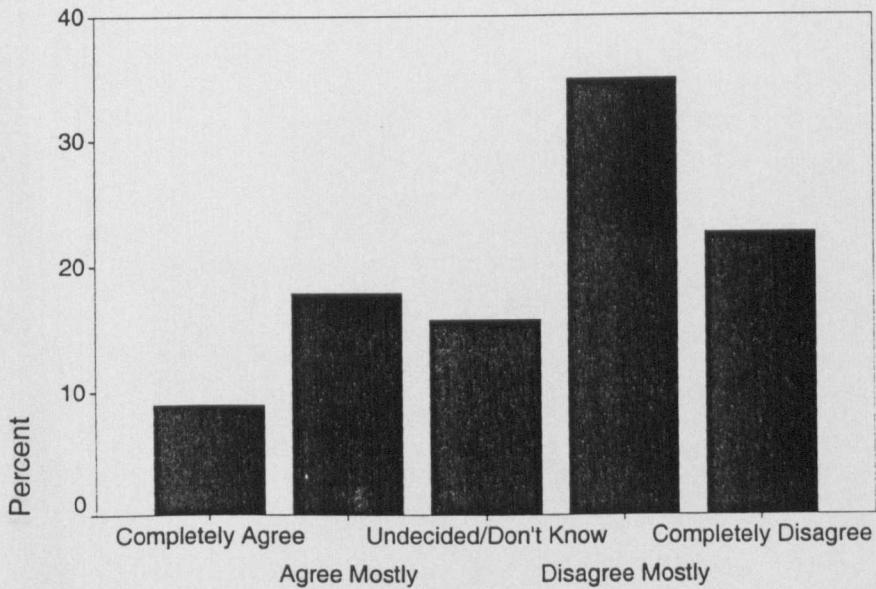
recoded qu14

314

Frequencies

15) Participating in courses about EU states and institutions has helped to strengthen my sense of belonging to "Europe".

recoded qu15

N	Valid	235
	Missing	1

recoded qu15

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely Agree	50	21.2	21.3	21.3
	Agree Mostly	77	32.6	32.8	54.0
	Undecided/Don't Know	55	23.3	23.4	77.4
	Disagree Mostly	34	14.4	14.5	91.9
	Completely Disagree	19	8.1	8.1	100.0
	Total	235	99.6	100.0	
Missing	99	1	.4		
Total		236	100.0		
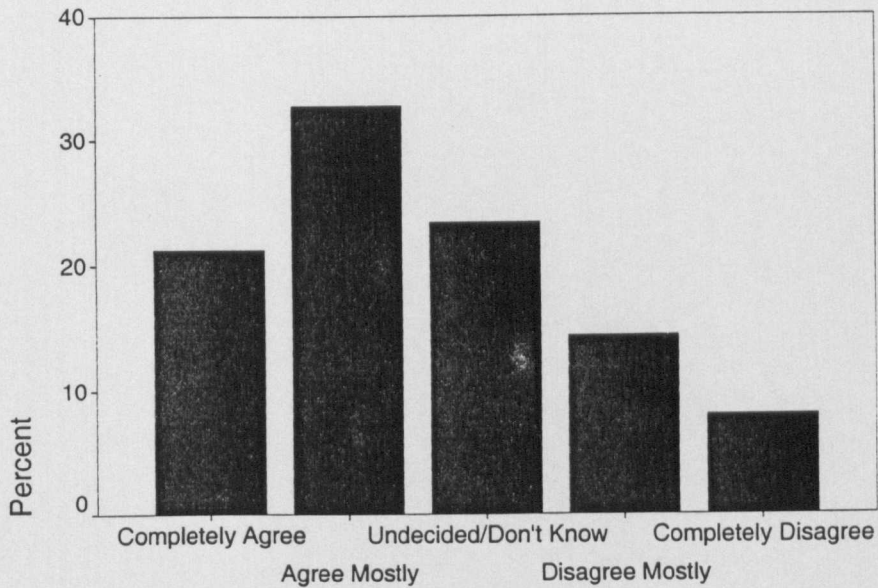
recoded qu15

recoded qu15

Frequencies

Qu. 16) Presidential government is preferable to parliamentary government.

Statistics

recoded qu16

N	Valid	235
	Missing	1

recoded qu16

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely Agree	17	7.2	7.2	7.2
	Agree Mostly	61	25.8	26.0	33.2
	Undecided/Don't Know	85	36.0	36.2	69.4
	Disagree Mostly	53	22.5	22.6	91.9
	Completely Disagree	19	8.1	8.1	100.0
	Total	235	99.6	100.0	
Missing	99	1	.4		
Total		236	100.0		

recoded qu16
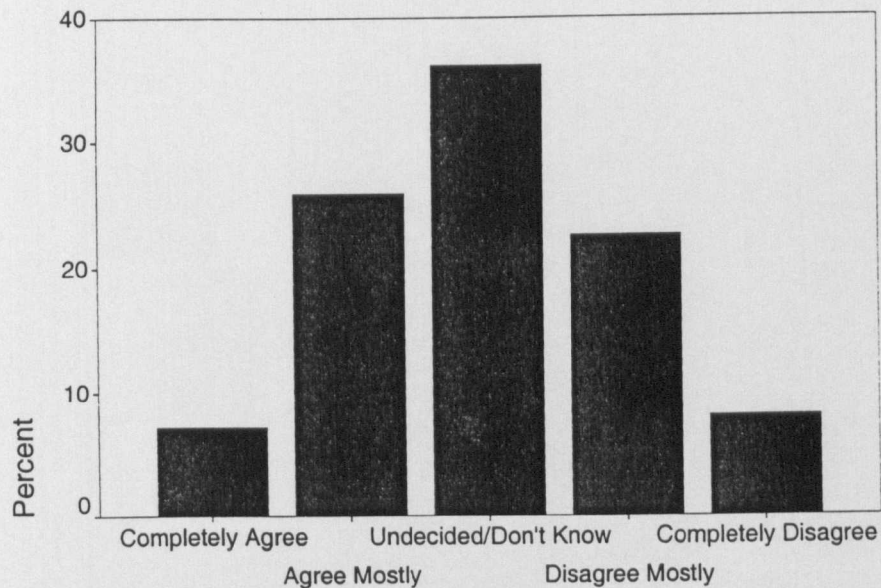
recoded qu16

Frequencies

Qu. 17) The powers of the Polish president should be strengthened.

Statistics

recoded qu17

N	Valid	232
	Missing	4

recoded qu17

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely Agree	28	11.9	12.1	12.1
	Agree Mostly	60	25.4	25.9	37.9
	Undecided/Don't Know	54	22.9	23.3	61.2
	Disagree Mostly	60	25.4	25.9	87.1
	Completely Disagree	30	12.7	12.9	100.0
	Total	232	98.3	100.0	
Missing	99	4	1.7		
Total		236	100.0		

recoded qu17
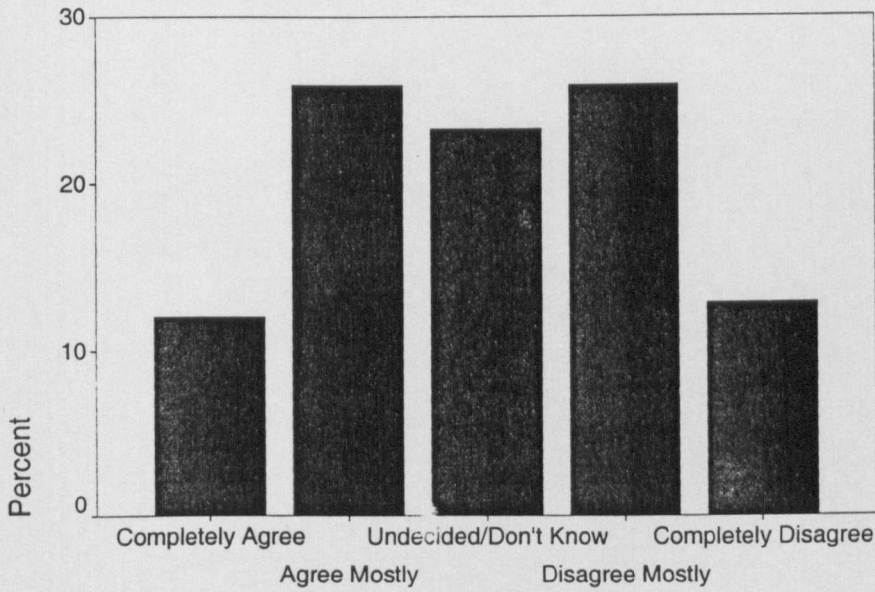
recoded qu17

317

Frequencies

Qu. 18) Given the lack of state money available for education, it is only fair that university students should contribute towards the cost of their fees.

Statistics

recoded qu18

N	Valid	233
	Missing	3

recoded qu18

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely Agree	15	6.4	6.4	6.4
	Agree Mostly	50	21.2	21.5	27.9
	Undecided/Don't Know	35	14.8	15.0	42.9
	Disagree Mostly	58	24.6	24.9	67.8
	Completely Disagree	75	31.8	32.2	100.0
	Total	233	98.7	100.0	
Missing	99	3	1.3		
Total		236	100.0		
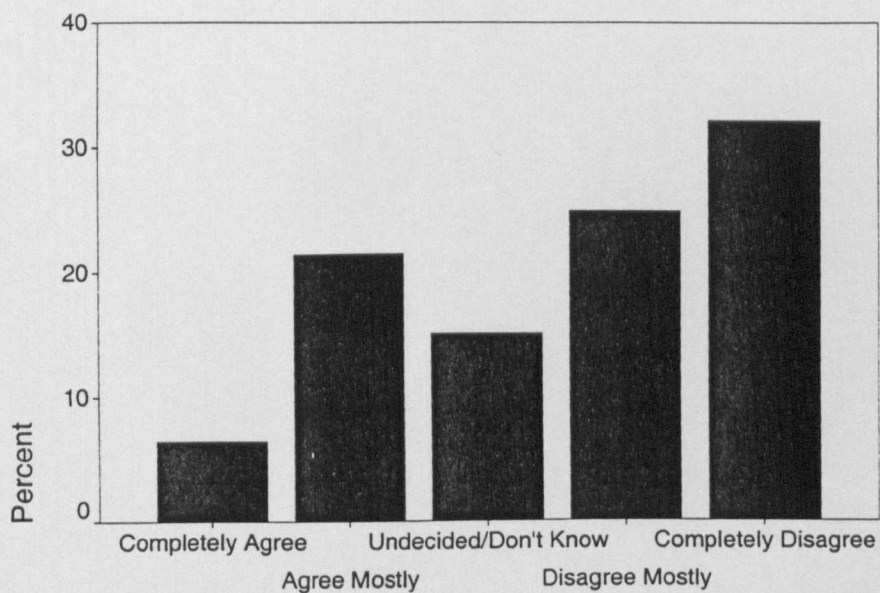
recoded qu18

recoded qu18

Frequencies

Qu. 19) Equality of access to higher education has increased for all (regardless of social background) since 1989.

recoded qu19

N	Valid	234
	Missing	2

recoded qu19

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely Agree	29	12.3	12.4	12.4
	Agree Mostly	55	23.3	23.5	35.9
	Undecided/Don't Know	42	17.8	17.9	53.8
	Disagree Mostly	58	24.6	24.8	78.6
	Completely Disagree	50	21.2	21.4	100.0
	Total	234	99.2	100.0	
Missing	99	2	.8		
Total		236	100.0		

recoded qu19
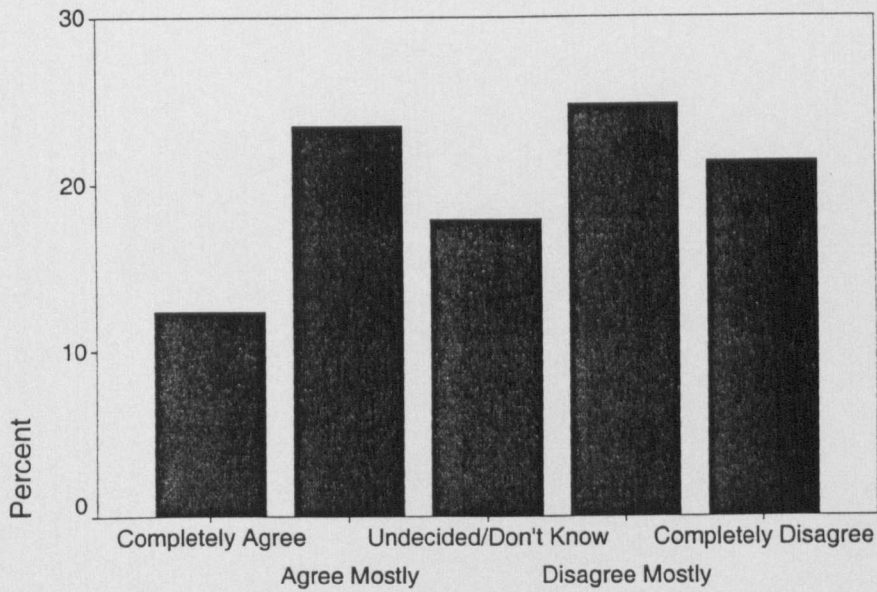
recoded qu19

319

Frequencies

Qu. 20) Education is a right not a privilege and should be free for all.

recoded qu20

N	Valid	235
	Missing	1

recoded qu20

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Completely Agree	181	76.7	77.0	77.0
	Agree Mostly	35	14.8	14.9	91.9
	Undecided/Don't Know	7	3.0	3.0	94.9
	Disagree Mostly	5	2.1	2.1	97.0
	Completely Disagree	7	3.0	3.0	100.0
	Total	235	99.6	100.0	
Missing	99	1	.4		
Total		236	100.0		
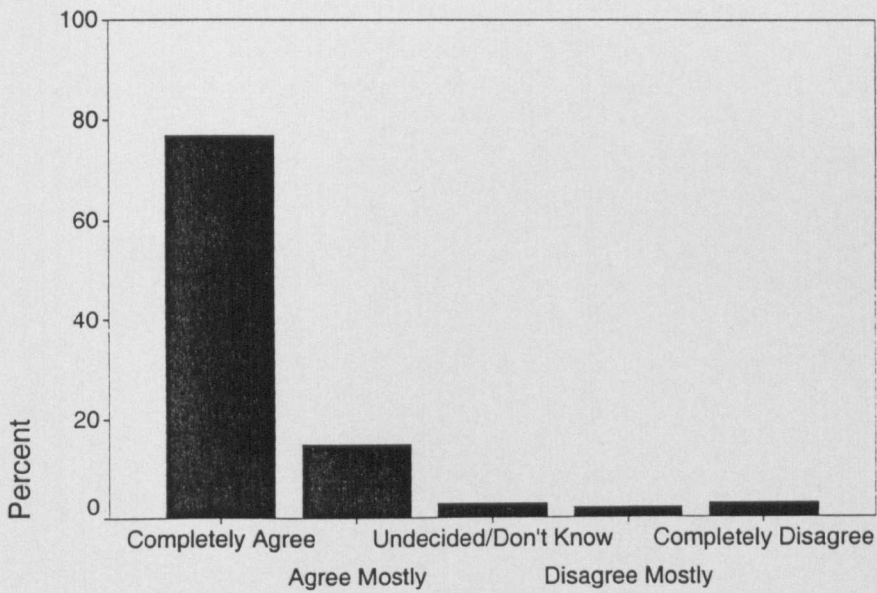
recoded qu20

recoded qu20

Frequencies

Qu. 21) What do you consider Europe to be?

Statistics

recoded qu21

N	Valid	229
	Missing	7

recoded qu21

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	geographical region	54	22.9	23.6	23.6
	a cultural/historical entity	102	43.2	44.5	68.1
	undecided/don't know	4	1.7	1.7	69.9
	a geo-political entity	69	29.2	30.1	100.0
	Total	229	97.0	100.0	
Missing	99	7	3.0		
Total		236	100.0		

recoded qu21
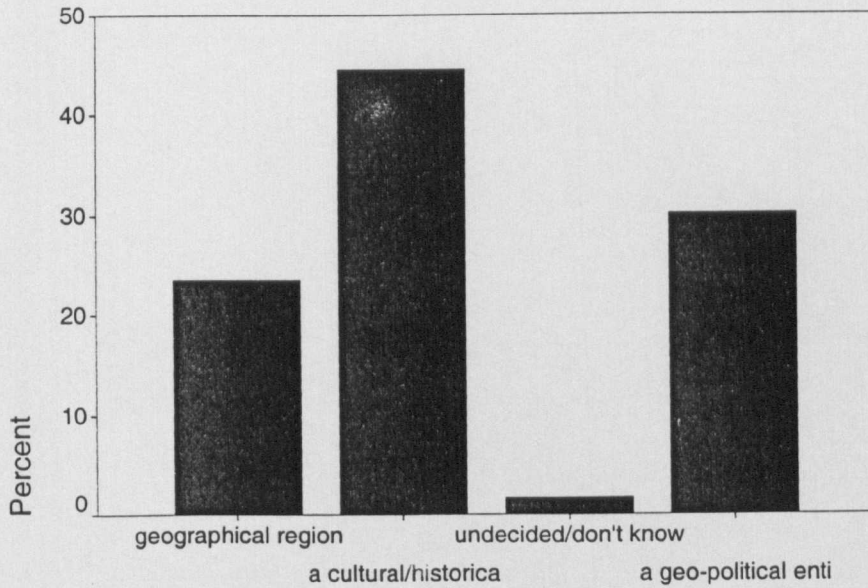
recoded qu21

Frequencies

Qu. 22) In your opinion, what is the most important aspect of liberal democracy?

Statistics

recoded qu22

N	Valid	230
	Missing	6

recoded qu22

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	multi-party government	9	3.8	3.9	3.9
	rule of law	83	35.2	36.1	40.0
	undecided/don't know	20	8.5	8.7	48.7
	the free market economy	33	14.0	14.3	63.0
	freedom for citizens	83	35.2	36.1	99.1
	other	2	.8	.9	100.0
	Total	230	97.5	100.0	
Missing	99	6	2.5		
Total		236	100.0		
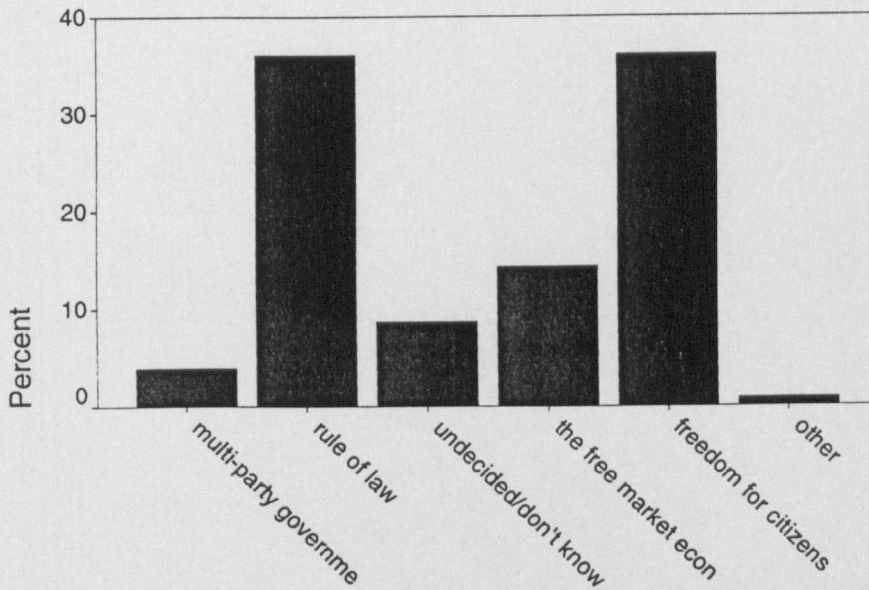
recoded qu22

Frequencies

Qu. 23) Which of the following do you believe that a political system should guarantee?

Statistics

recoded qu23

N	Valid	233
	Missing	3

recoded qu23

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	equal opportunity but not equality of results	201	85.2	86.3	86.3
	equality of results	10	4.2	4.3	90.6
	undecided/don't know	12	5.1	5.2	95.7
	other	10	4.2	4.3	100.0
	Total	233	98.7	100.0	
Missing	99	3	1.3		
Total		236	100.0		
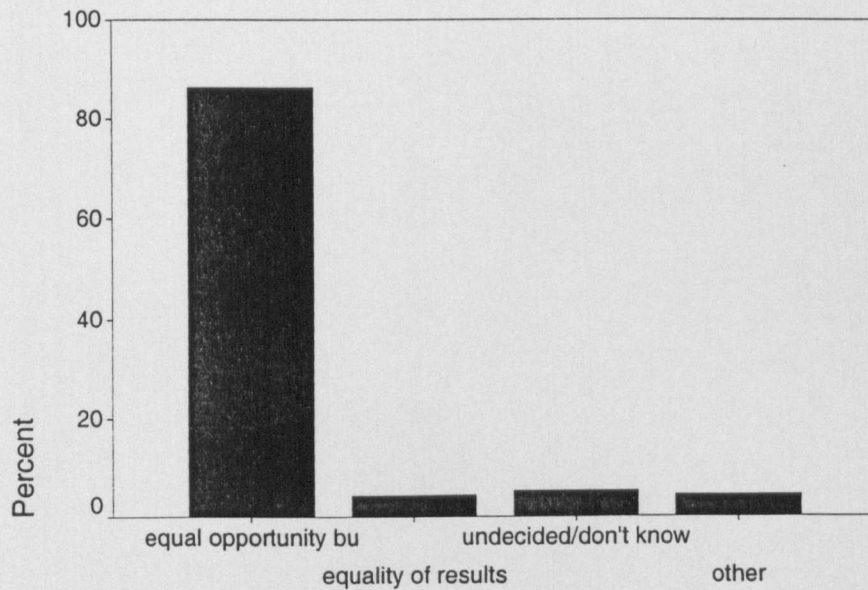
recoded qu23

Frequencies

Qu. 24) Which of the following comes closest to your view of "Democracy".

Statistics

recoded qu24

N	Valid	231
	Missing	5

recoded qu24

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Democracy is valuable in itself	140	59.3	60.6	60.6
	Democracy is valuable only if it leads to econ. prosperity.	44	18.6	19.0	79.7
	undecided/don't know	27	11.4	11.7	91.3
	other	20	8.5	8.7	100.0
	Total	231	97.9	100.0	
Missing	99	5	2.1		
Total		236	100.0		

recoded qu24
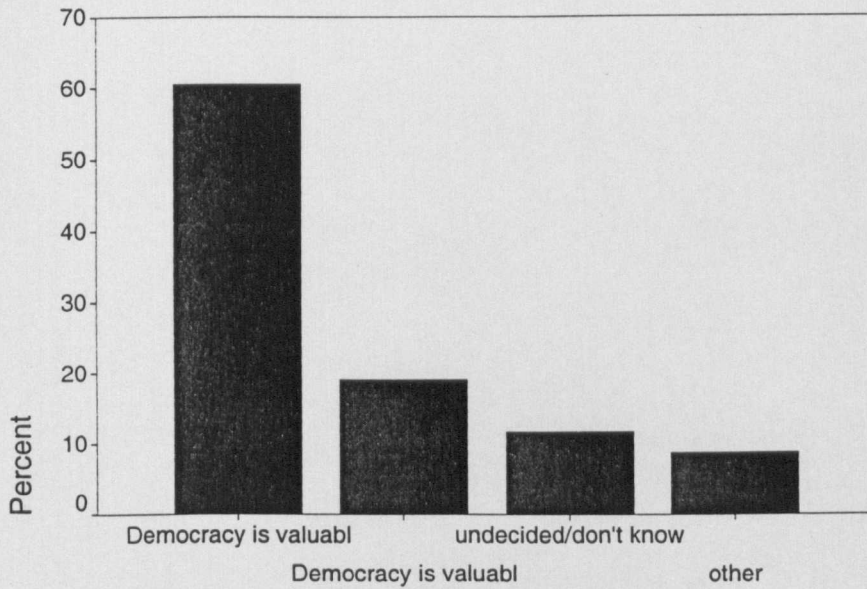
recoded qu24

Frequencies

Qu. 25) The single most important international factor in increasing my knowledge and understanding of liberal democracy has been:

Statistics

recoded qu25

N	Valid	228
	Missing	8

recoded qu25

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	EU and its programmes, e.g. TEMPUS	8	3.4	3.5	3.5
	United States	35	14.8	15.4	18.9
	Undecided/Don't Know	36	15.3	15.8	34.6
	NGOs, e.g. Soros Foundation	3	1.3	1.3	36.0
	Foreign press, magazines, journal articles	45	19.1	19.7	55.7
	Polish universities/schools	100	42.4	43.9	99.6
	55	1	.4	.4	100.0
	Total	228	96.6	100.0	
Missing	99	8	3.4		
Total		236	100.0		

recoded qu25
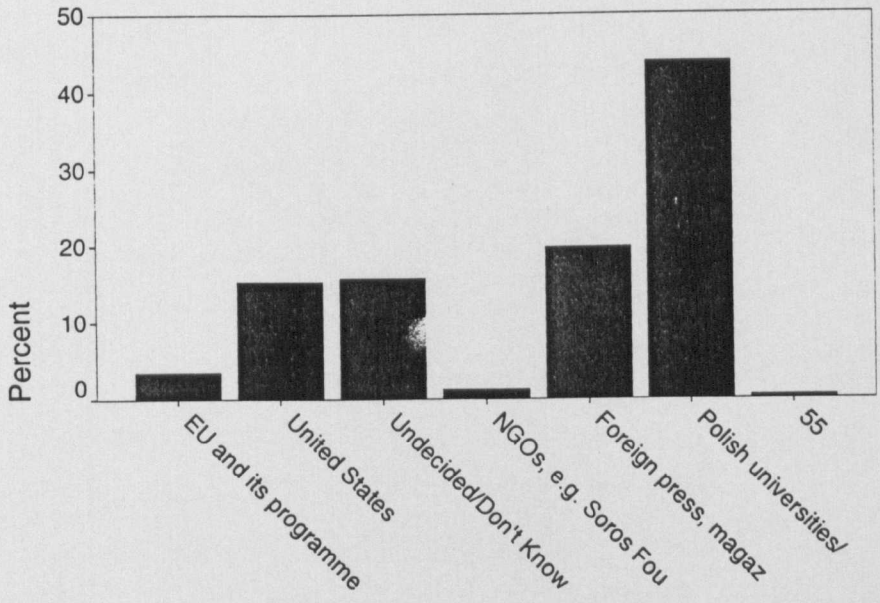
recoded qu25

325

Frequencies

Qu. 27) Which of the following do you most feel?

N	Valid	233
	Missing	3

recoded qu27

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Polish but not European	4	1.7	1.7	1.7
	More Polish than European	74	31.4	31.8	33.5
	Equally Polish and European	147	62.3	63.1	96.6
	More European than Polish	7	3.0	3.0	99.6
	European but not Polish	1	.4	.4	100.0
	Total	233	98.7	100.0	
Missing	99	3	1.3		
Total		236	100.0		

recoded qu27

recoded qu27

326
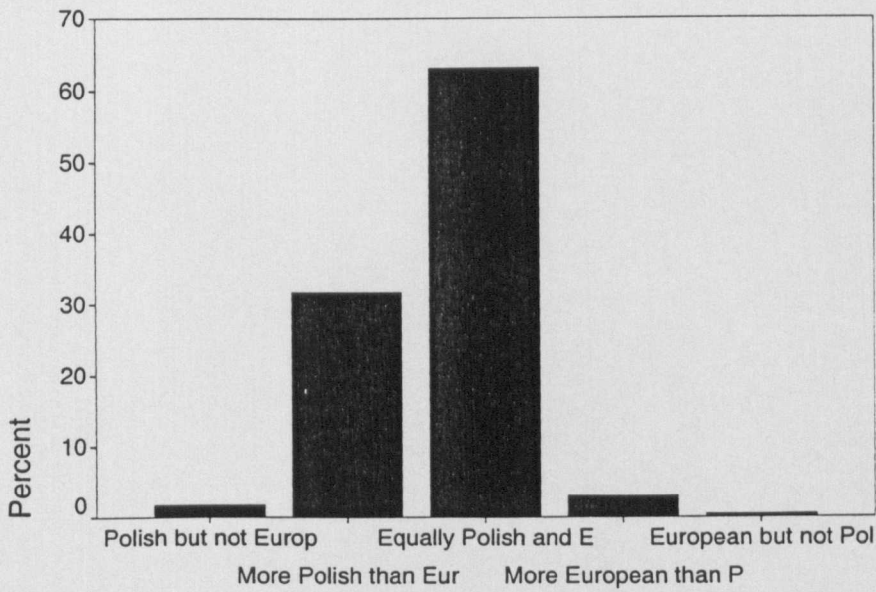
Frequencies

Qu. 28) In so far as you feel that you have an identity wider than Poland, do you feel:

Statistics

recoded qu28

N	Valid	220
	Missing	16

recoded qu28

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	European	132	55.9	60.0	60.0
	Central European	40	16.9	18.2	78.2
	Undecided/Don't Know	6	2.5	2.7	80.9
	East Central European	29	12.3	13.2	94.1
	Other	13	5.5	5.9	100.0
	Total	220	93.2	100.0	
Missing	99	16	6.8		
Total		236	100.0		

recoded qu28
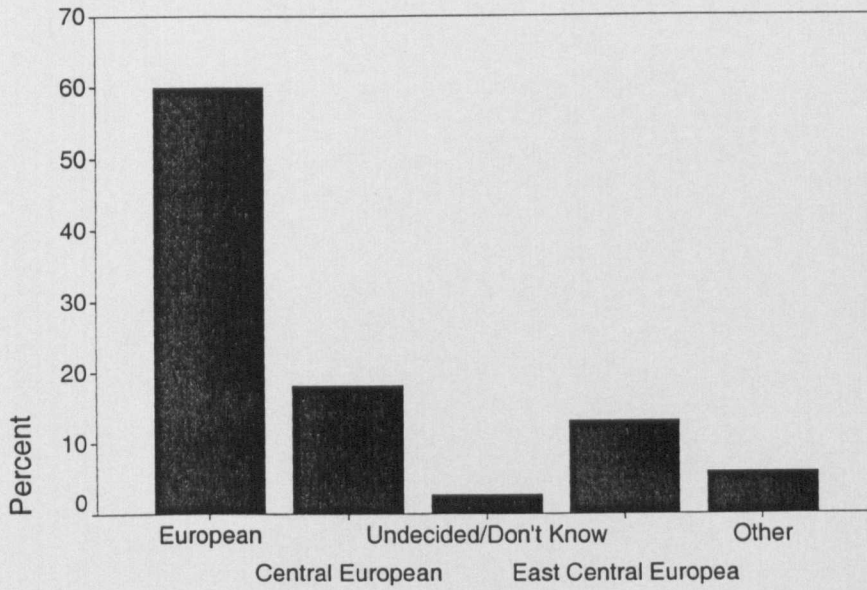
recoded qu28

Frequencies

Qu. 29) Have you been aware of the existence of the TEMPUS Programme?

Statistics

recoded qu29

N	Valid	232
	Missing	4

recoded qu29

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	56	23.7	24.1	24.1
	No	176	74.6	75.9	100.0
	Total	232	98.3	100.0	
Missing	99	4	1.7		
Total		236	100.0		
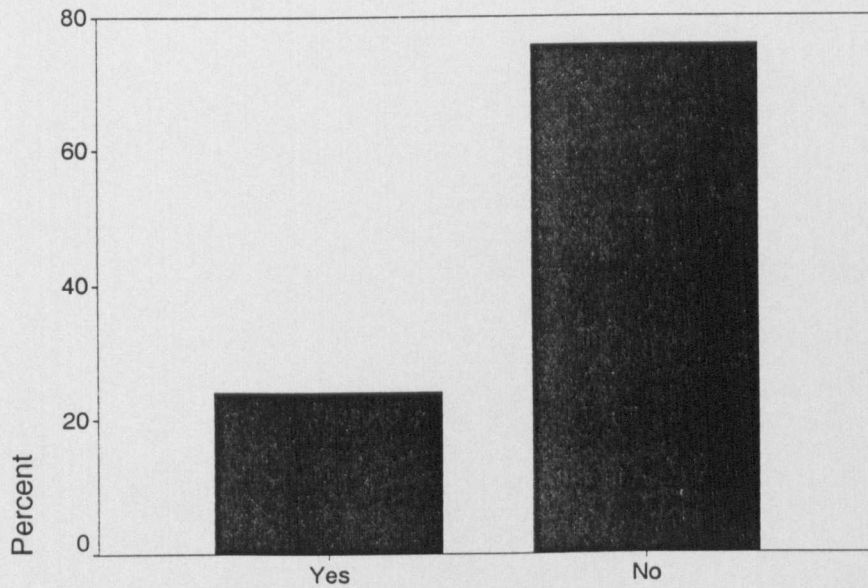
recoded qu29

recoded qu29

Frequencies

Qu. 30) Have you benefited from EU assistance either under TEMPUS or any other EU funded programmes?

Statistics

recoded qu30

N	Valid	231
	Missing	5

recoded qu30

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	15	6.4	6.5	6.5
	No	216	91.5	93.5	100.0
	Total	231	97.9	100.0	
Missing	99	5	2.1		
Total		236	100.0		
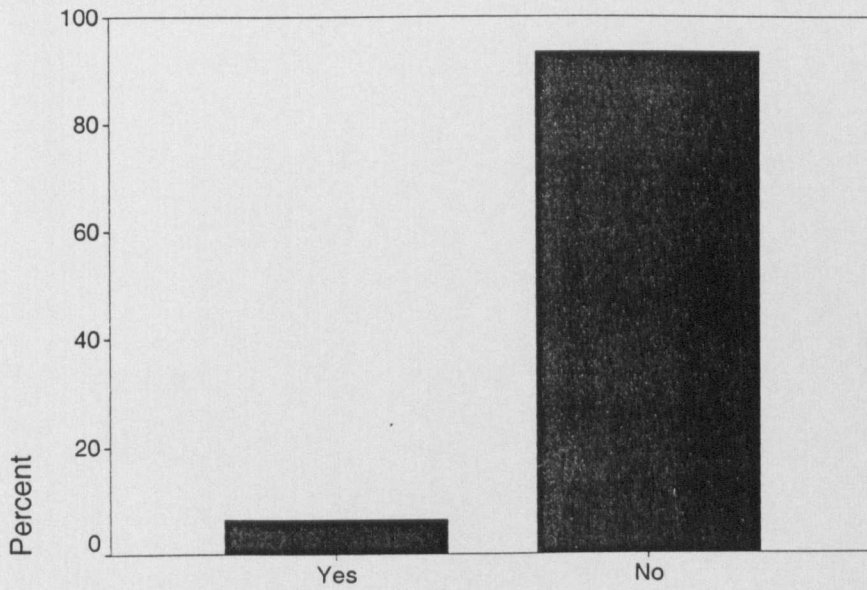
recoded qu30

recoded qu30

Frequencies

Qu. 31) After graduation, do you intend to work in politics at either central government or local government level.

Statistics

recoded qu31

N	Valid	227
	Missing	9

recoded qu31

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	92	39.0	40.5	40.5
	No	46	19.5	20.3	60.8
	Don't Know	89	37.7	39.2	100.0
	Total	227	96.2	100.0	
Missing	99	9	3.8		
Total		236	100.0		

recoded qu31
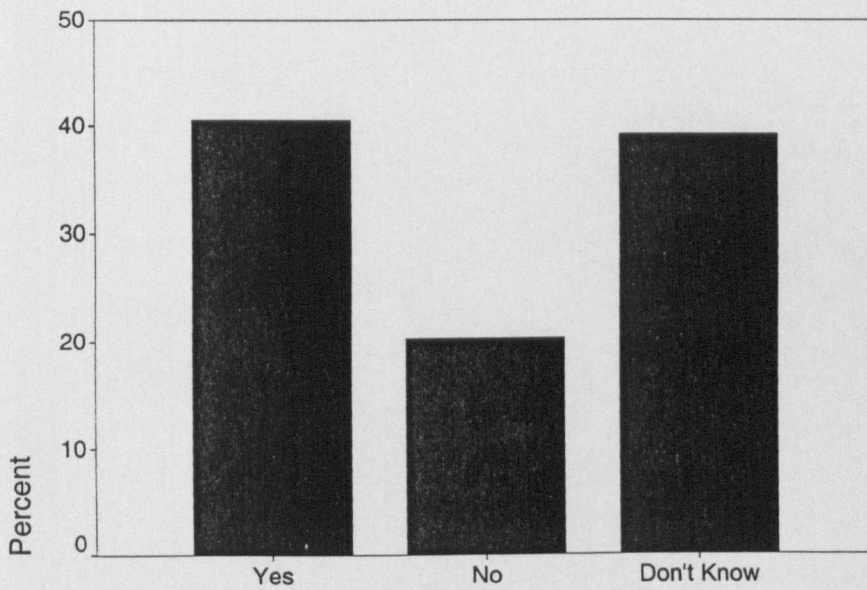
recoded qu31

Frequencies

Qu. 33) Are you male or female?

Statistics

recoded gender

N	Valid	235
	Missing	1

recoded gender

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	female	136	57.6	57.9	57.9
	male	99	41.9	42.1	100.0
	Total	235	99.6	100.0	
Missing	99	1	.4		
Total		236	100.0		
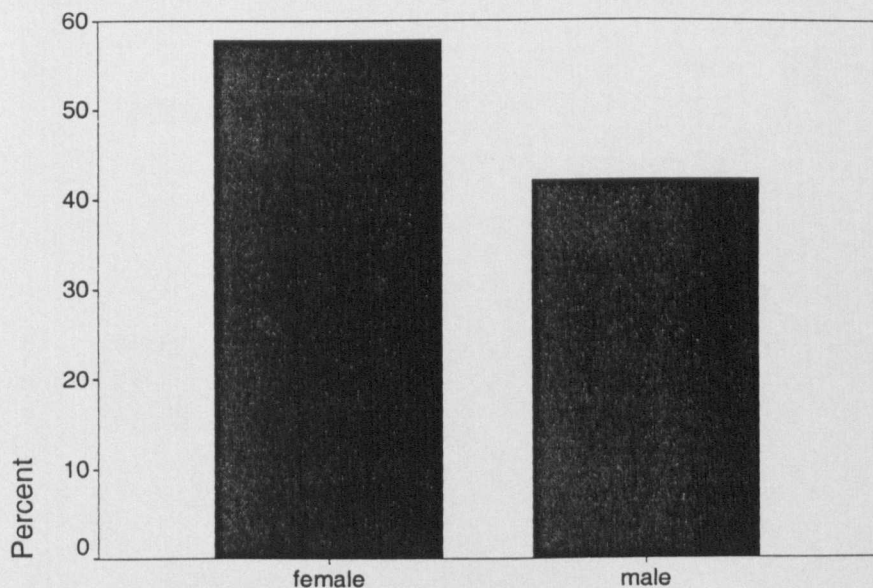
recoded gender

Frequencies

Qu. 34) The place where I mainly grew up was a:

recoded area

N	Valid	233
	Missing	3

recoded area

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	village	32	13.6	13.7	13.7
	small town of less than 50,000 in habitants	38	16.1	16.3	30.0
	Suburb	11	4.7	4.7	34.8
	Industrial Town	18	7.6	7.7	42.5
	City	134	56.8	57.5	100.0
	Total	233	98.7	100.0	
Missing	99	3	1.3		
Total		236	100.0		

recoded area

recoded area

332
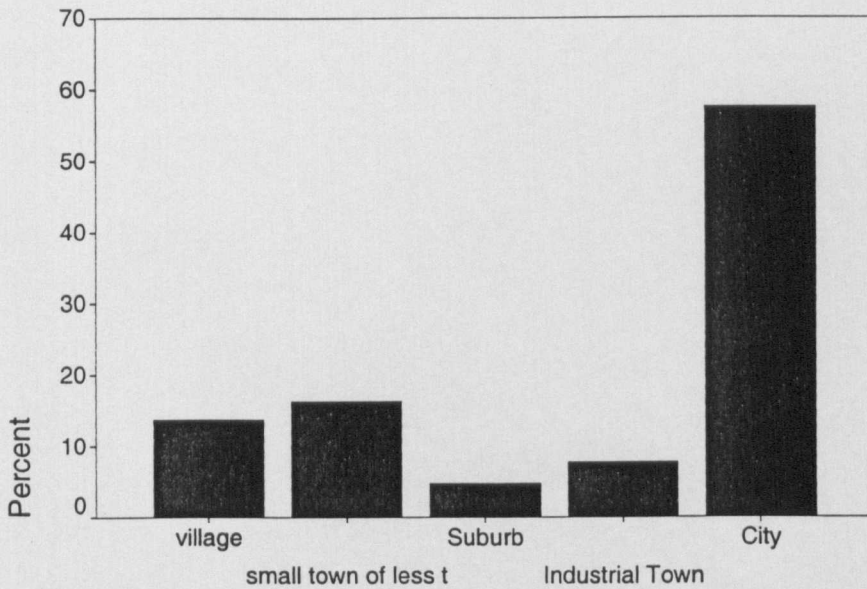
Frequencies

Qu. 35) My parents' are in the following social group:

Statistics

recoded socialgp2

N	Valid	222
	Missing	14

recoded socialgp2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Rural Working	7	3.0	3.2	3.2
	Urban Working	39	16.5	17.6	20.7
	Professional	36	15.3	16.2	36.9
	Intelligentsia	94	39.8	42.3	79.3
	Business owners	17	7.2	7.7	86.9
	Private farmers	8	3.4	3.6	90.5
	Rural and Urban working	1	.4	.5	91.0
	Professional and Intelligentsia	3	1.3	1.4	92.3
	Intelligentsia and Business owner	6	2.5	2.7	95.0
	Urban Working and Professional	7	3.0	3.2	98.2
	Professional and Business owner	2	.8	.9	99.1
	Professional and Private farmer	1	.4	.5	99.5
	Urban working and intelligentsia	1	.4	.5	100.0
	Total	222	94.1	100.0	
Missing	99	14	5.9		
Total		236	100.0		

recoded socialgp2
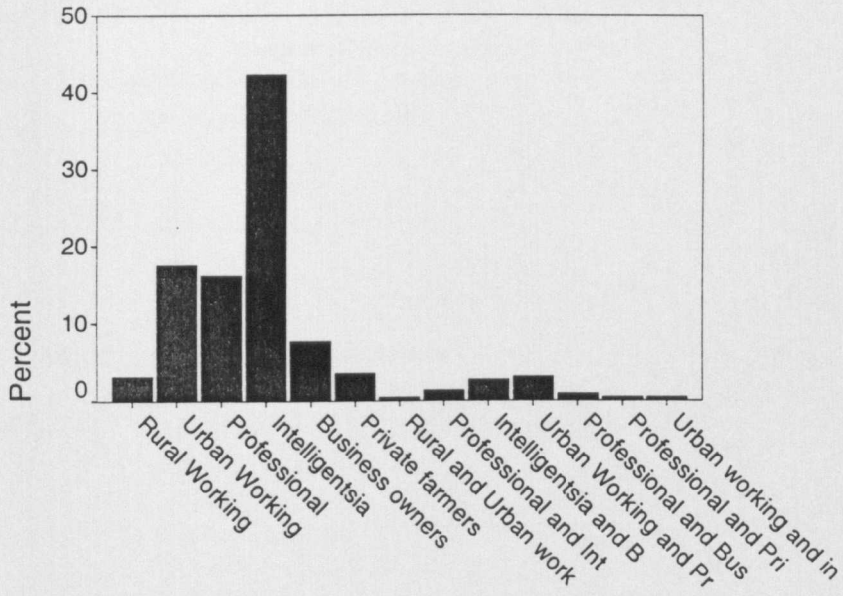
recoded socialgp2

Frequencies

Qu. 36) The highest educational level that either of my parents' achieved was:

Statistics

recoded pschool

N	Valid	234
	Missing	2

recoded pschool

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	elementary school	1	.4	.4	.4
	technical secondary	22	9.3	9.4	9.8
	general secondary	67	28.4	28.6	38.5
	Technical College	10	4.2	4.3	42.7
	University/Higher Education Institution	126	53.4	53.8	96.6
	Technical and General Secondary	8	3.4	3.4	100.0
	Total	234	99.2	100.0	
Missing	99	2	.8		
Total		236	100.0		

recoded pschool
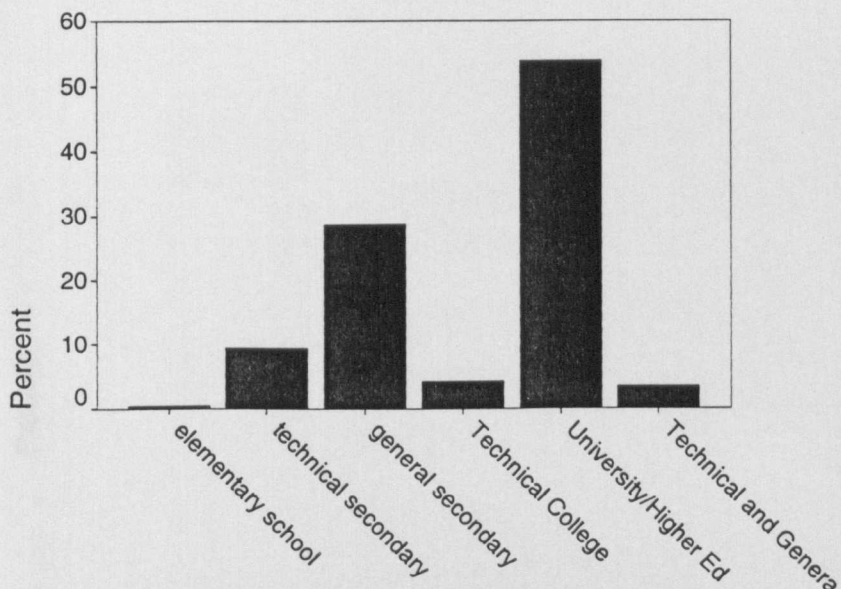
recoded pschool

Frequencies

Qu. 38) I have voted in the following elections:

Statistics

recoded election

N	Valid	221
	Missing	15

recoded election

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1997 Parliamentary election	42	17.8	19.0	19.0
	Constitutional Referendum (May 1997)	10	4.2	4.5	23.5
	Neither elections	19	8.1	8.6	32.1
	Both elections	150	63.6	67.9	100.0
	Total	221	93.6	100.0	
Missing	99	15	6.4		
Total		236	100.0		

recoded election
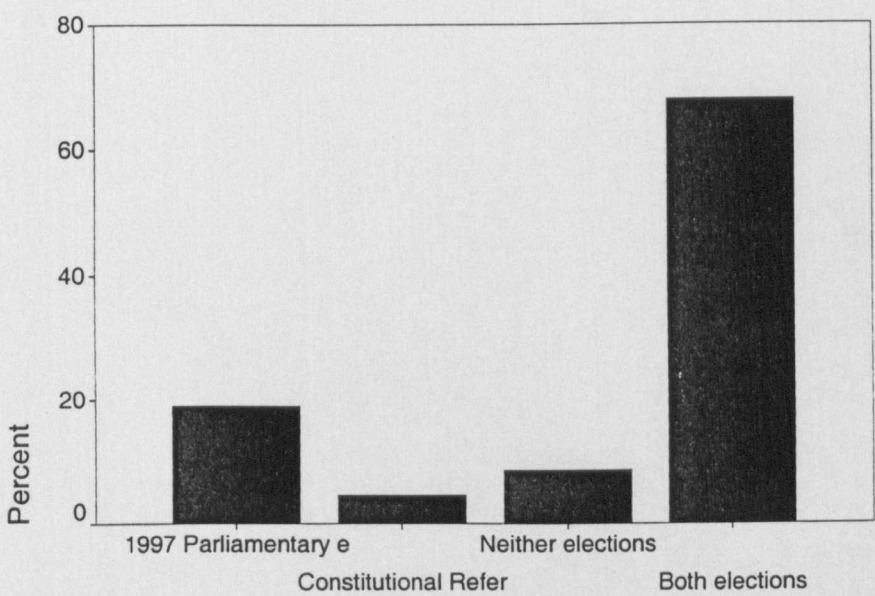
recoded election

Frequencies

Qu. 39) The main subject which I am studying at University is:

Statistics

recoded course

N	Valid	236
	Missing	0

recoded course

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	European Studies/Social Sciences	196	83.1	83.1	83.1
	Geography	27	11.4	11.4	94.5
	Maths	13	5.5	5.5	100.0
	Total	236	100.0	100.0	

recoded course
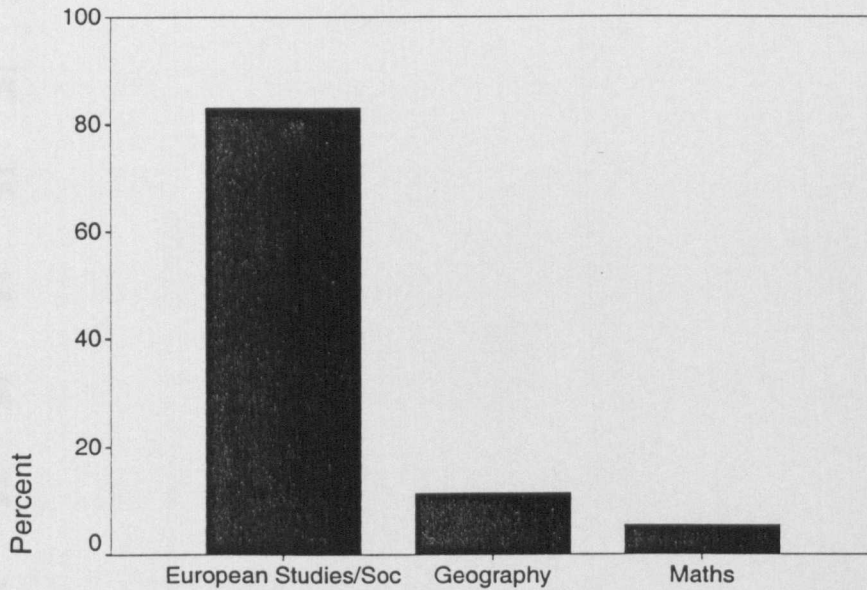
recoded course

Correlations

		schools	recoded qu2	recoded qu11	recoded election	recoded pschool
schools	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.123	.136*	-.051	.141*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.059	.037	.452	.031
	N	236	235	236	221	234
recoded qu2	Pearson Correlation	.123	1.000	.052	-.039	.052
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.059	.	.424	.569	.431
	N	235	235	235	221	233
recoded qu11	Pearson Correlation	.136*	.052	1.000	.049	.077
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.037	.424	.	.467	.241
	N	236	235	236	221	234
recoded election	Pearson Correlation	-.051	-.039	.049	1.000	.050
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.452	.569	.467	.	.463
	N	221	221	221	221	221
recoded pschool	Pearson Correlation	.141*	.052	.077	.050	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.031	.431	.241	.463	.
	N	234	233	234	221	234
recoded inform	Pearson Correlation	.076	.259**	.047	.056	.036
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.327	.001	.545	.485	.644
	N	169	168	169	158	169
recoded socialgp2	Pearson Correlation	-.017	.088	.012	-.038	.297**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.804	.193	.861	.581	.000
	N	222	222	222	211	222
recoded area	Pearson Correlation	.223**	-.008	.127	.079	.209**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.898	.054	.246	.001
	N	233	232	233	219	232
recoded gender	Pearson Correlation	-.012	-.151*	-.089	-.029	-.098
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.854	.021	.172	.665	.135
	N	235	234	235	220	233
recoded course	Pearson Correlation	-.426**	-.064	-.349**	-.133*	-.232**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.327	.000	.049	.000
	N	236	235	236	221	234
recoded qu1	Pearson Correlation	-.054	-.007	.020	.041	.116
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.411	.912	.759	.543	.077
	N	235	234	235	220	233
recoded qu3	Pearson Correlation	.097	.113	-.066	-.136*	.127
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.143	.088	.316	.046	.056
	N	231	230	231	217	229
recoded qu4	Pearson Correlation	.055	-.023	-.211**	-.163*	-.098
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.415	.738	.002	.018	.148
	N	223	223	223	210	221
recoded qu5	Pearson Correlation	-.051	.028	-.095	.024	-.017
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.433	.674	.145	.723	.801
	N	236	235	236	221	234
recoded qu6	Pearson Correlation	-.060	-.032	-.029	.011	-.147*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.367	.636	.657	.875	.026
	N	229	228	229	215	227
recoded qu7	Pearson Correlation	.003	.003	-.147*	.118	-.051
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.964	.966	.024	.081	.436
	N	234	233	234	220	233
recoded qu8	Pearson Correlation	-.099	-.071	-.022	-.124	-.036
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.129	.280	.737	.067	.584
	N	234	233	234	219	232

Correlations

		schools	recoded qu2	recoded qu11	recoded election	recoded pschool
recoded qu9	Pearson Correlation	.024	-.022	.140*	.019	.095
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.712	.740	.032	.774	.147
	N	236	235	236	221	234
recoded qu10	Pearson Correlation	.115	.026	-.026	-.036	-.056
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.079	.690	.688	.590	.396
	N	234	233	234	221	232
recoded qu12	Pearson Correlation	.014	.103	.150*	-.190**	-.100
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.833	.117	.021	.005	.127
	N	234	233	234	220	232
recoded qu13	Pearson Correlation	.020	-.103	-.173**	-.085	.058
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.766	.115	.008	.208	.381
	N	234	233	234	220	232
recoded qu14	Pearson Correlation	.186**	.107	.187**	.072	.072
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004	.101	.004	.286	.272
	N	235	234	235	220	233
recoded qu15	Pearson Correlation	-.075	-.054	-.110	-.080	-.063
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.252	.413	.092	.235	.338
	N	235	234	235	221	233
recoded qu16	Pearson Correlation	.021	.090	.001	.087	.071
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.745	.168	.983	.198	.278
	N	235	234	235	220	233
recoded qu17	Pearson Correlation	.093	.068	.126	.031	.013
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.159	.304	.055	.650	.841
	N	232	232	232	220	231
recoded qu18	Pearson Correlation	-.118	-.024	-.168*	-.043	-.068
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.071	.717	.010	.529	.302
	N	233	233	233	219	231
recoded qu19	Pearson Correlation	.034	.039	.041	-.041	.038
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.607	.550	.537	.549	.569
	N	234	233	234	219	232
recoded qu20	Pearson Correlation	.106	.045	-.060	.005	-.114
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.105	.495	.359	.941	.082
	N	235	234	235	220	233
recoded qu21	Pearson Correlation	.004	.101	.051	.068	.083
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.953	.128	.441	.320	.211
	N	229	228	229	216	227
recoded qu22	Pearson Correlation	.033	-.120	-.021	.094	.080
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.623	.069	.756	.169	.231
	N	230	229	230	216	228
recoded qu23	Pearson Correlation	-.117	-.038	-.068	.031	-.020
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.074	.565	.301	.646	.762
	N	233	233	233	219	231
recoded qu24	Pearson Correlation	.127	-.028	-.075	-.072	-.010
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.053	.669	.255	.289	.876
	N	231	230	231	217	229
recoded qu25	Pearson Correlation	.001	-.042	.036	.048	-.050
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.984	.532	.591	.479	.456
	N	228	228	228	216	226
recoded qu26	Pearson Correlation	.002	.024	-.119	-.066	.037
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.987	.803	.215	.509	.702
	N	110	109	110	101	109

Correlations

		schools	recoded qu2	recoded qu11	recoded election	recoded pschool
recoded qu27	Pearson Correlation	.061	.041	-.008	.092	.037
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.351	.531	.900	.176	.580
	N	233	232	233	218	231
recoded qu28	Pearson Correlation	-.018	-.009	-.096	-.004	-.145*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.792	.891	.155	.954	.032
	N	220	219	220	208	220
recoded qu29	Pearson Correlation	-.201**	.059	-.059	.021	-.128
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.370	.369	.756	.052
	N	232	231	232	218	231
recoded qu30	Pearson Correlation	-.143*	-.020	-.079	-.002	-.063
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.030	.763	.230	.977	.343
	N	231	230	231	217	230
recoded qu31	Pearson Correlation	-.015	-.031	-.080	-.208**	.050
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.823	.642	.230	.002	.457
	N	227	226	227	213	226

Correlations

		recoded inform	recoded socialgp2	recoded area	recoded gender	recoded course
schools	Pearson Correlation	.076	-.017	.223**	-.012	-.426**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.327	.804	.001	.854	.000
	N	169	222	233	235	236
recoded qu2	Pearson Correlation	.259**	.088	-.008	-.151*	-.064
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.193	.898	.021	.327
	N	168	222	232	234	235
recoded qu11	Pearson Correlation	.047	.012	.127	-.089	-.349**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.545	.861	.054	.172	.000
	N	169	222	233	235	236
recoded election	Pearson Correlation	.056	-.038	.079	-.029	-.133*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.485	.581	.246	.665	.049
	N	158	211	219	220	221
recoded pschool	Pearson Correlation	.036	.297**	.209**	-.098	-.232**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.644	.000	.001	.135	.000
	N	169	222	232	233	234
recoded inform	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.000	.047	-.171*	-.106
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.996	.549	.026	.171
	N	169	159	167	169	169
recoded socialgp2	Pearson Correlation	.000	1.000	-.031	-.070	.018
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.996	.	.649	.302	.795
	N	159	222	222	221	222
recoded area	Pearson Correlation	.047	-.031	1.000	.033	-.315**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.549	.649	.	.622	.000
	N	167	222	233	232	233
recoded gender	Pearson Correlation	-.171*	-.070	.033	1.000	-.102
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.026	.302	.622	.	.119
	N	169	221	232	235	235
recoded course	Pearson Correlation	-.106	.018	-.315**	-.102	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.171	.795	.000	.119	.
	N	169	222	233	235	236
recoded qu1	Pearson Correlation	-.045	.019	.019	.113	.039
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.558	.782	.772	.085	.554
	N	169	221	232	234	235
recoded qu3	Pearson Correlation	.072	.070	.028	-.165*	.038
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.355	.304	.677	.012	.569
	N	166	217	228	230	231
recoded qu4	Pearson Correlation	.125	-.045	-.035	-.063	.126
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.120	.518	.607	.350	.060
	N	156	213	221	222	223
recoded qu5	Pearson Correlation	.037	-.059	.015	.061	-.008
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.629	.384	.825	.349	.908
	N	169	222	233	235	236
recoded qu6	Pearson Correlation	.054	-.083	.056	.222**	-.042
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.491	.220	.402	.001	.525
	N	162	218	227	228	229
recoded qu7	Pearson Correlation	.043	.129	.060	-.024	.059
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.579	.056	.360	.721	.371
	N	168	221	231	233	234
recoded qu8	Pearson Correlation	-.099	.038	-.083	.047	.053
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.203	.579	.211	.471	.423
	N	168	220	231	233	234

Correlations

		recoded inform	recoded socialgp2	recoded area	recoded gender	recoded course
recoded qu9	Pearson Correlation	-.016	.074	-.014	.045	-.167*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.839	.273	.829	.491	.010
	N	169	222	233	235	236
recoded qu10	Pearson Correlation	-.026	-.104	.055	.055	-.021
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.741	.124	.407	.401	.752
	N	167	220	231	233	234
recoded qu12	Pearson Correlation	-.025	-.012	-.051	.001	.107
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.747	.862	.436	.984	.101
	N	167	220	231	233	234
recoded qu13	Pearson Correlation	-.062	.035	-.069	.140*	.149*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.423	.604	.294	.033	.022
	N	168	220	231	233	234
recoded qu14	Pearson Correlation	.193*	.003	.101	.013	-.300**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.012	.963	.123	.846	.000
	N	168	221	232	234	235
recoded qu15	Pearson Correlation	.017	.091	-.037	.108	.175**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.823	.180	.578	.101	.007
	N	168	221	232	234	235
recoded qu16	Pearson Correlation	.121	-.028	-.061	-.167*	-.039
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.118	.680	.356	.010	.554
	N	168	221	232	234	235
recoded qu17	Pearson Correlation	.040	.026	.006	-.199**	-.047
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.612	.703	.934	.002	.478
	N	167	220	229	231	232
recoded qu18	Pearson Correlation	-.056	.030	-.106	-.177**	.293**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.475	.660	.109	.007	.000
	N	166	220	230	232	233
recoded qu19	Pearson Correlation	.041	.003	-.146*	.049	-.054
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.601	.968	.027	.461	.412
	N	167	220	231	233	234
recoded qu20	Pearson Correlation	.071	.016	.051	.155*	-.079
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.356	.810	.437	.017	.229
	N	169	221	232	234	235
recoded qu21	Pearson Correlation	.048	.085	-.020	-.109	-.167*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.543	.215	.769	.101	.011
	N	164	217	227	228	229
recoded qu22	Pearson Correlation	.023	.062	.078	.126	-.139*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.772	.368	.244	.057	.035
	N	164	216	227	229	230
recoded qu23	Pearson Correlation	-.102	-.015	.023	.166*	.061
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.191	.828	.732	.011	.351
	N	167	220	230	232	233
recoded qu24	Pearson Correlation	-.072	.068	.015	.036	.027
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.357	.322	.816	.590	.679
	N	164	217	228	230	231
recoded qu25	Pearson Correlation	.103	-.095	-.108	.008	-.130
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.192	.164	.107	.908	.051
	N	162	216	226	227	228
recoded qu26	Pearson Correlation	.065	-.009	-.185	-.118	.093
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.557	.927	.054	.219	.333
	N	83	104	109	110	110

Correlations

		recoded inform	recoded socialgp2	recoded area	recoded gender	recoded course
recoded qu27	Pearson Correlation	-.073	.028	.010	.038	-.024
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.351	.679	.875	.565	.719
	N	167	220	231	232	233
recoded qu28	Pearson Correlation	-.168*	-.062	-.026	.110	-.086
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.036	.373	.704	.105	.205
	N	156	209	219	219	220
recoded qu29	Pearson Correlation	.034	.013	-.035	-.024	.156*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.662	.844	.596	.722	.018
	N	166	219	230	231	232
recoded qu30	Pearson Correlation	-.135	.044	-.058	-.045	.111
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.084	.516	.379	.497	.093
	N	166	218	229	230	231
recoded qu31	Pearson Correlation	-.140	-.046	-.093	-.233**	.157*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.075	.502	.166	.000	.018
	N	163	214	225	226	227

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Correlations

		recoded qu1	recoded qu3	recoded qu4	recoded qu5	recoded qu6
schools	Pearson Correlation	-.054	.097	.055	-.051	-.060
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.411	.143	.415	.433	.367
	N	235	231	223	236	229
recoded qu2	Pearson Correlation	-.007	.113	-.023	.028	-.032
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.912	.088	.738	.674	.636
	N	234	230	223	235	228
recoded qu11	Pearson Correlation	.020	-.066	-.211**	-.095	-.029
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.759	.316	.002	.145	.657
	N	235	231	223	236	229
recoded election	Pearson Correlation	.041	-.136*	-.163*	.024	.011
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.543	.046	.018	.723	.875
	N	220	217	210	221	215
recoded pschool	Pearson Correlation	.116	.127	-.098	-.017	-.147*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.077	.056	.148	.801	.026
	N	233	229	221	234	227
recoded inform	Pearson Correlation	-.045	.072	.125	.037	.054
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.558	.355	.120	.629	.491
	N	169	166	156	169	162
recoded socialgp2	Pearson Correlation	.019	.070	-.045	-.059	-.083
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.782	.304	.518	.384	.220
	N	221	217	213	222	218
recoded area	Pearson Correlation	.019	.028	-.035	.015	.056
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.772	.677	.607	.825	.402
	N	232	228	221	233	227
recoded gender	Pearson Correlation	.113	-.165*	-.063	.061	.222**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.085	.012	.350	.349	.001
	N	234	230	222	235	228
recoded course	Pearson Correlation	.039	.038	.126	-.008	-.042
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.554	.569	.060	.908	.525
	N	235	231	223	236	229
recoded qu1	Pearson Correlation	1.000	-.006	.007	.025	.023
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.928	.918	.699	.724
	N	235	231	222	235	228
recoded qu3	Pearson Correlation	-.006	1.000	.031	.014	-.205**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.928	.	.646	.829	.002
	N	231	231	218	231	226
recoded qu4	Pearson Correlation	.007	.031	1.000	.077	.138*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.918	.646	.	.254	.041
	N	222	218	223	223	218
recoded qu5	Pearson Correlation	.025	.014	.077	1.000	.172**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.699	.829	.254	.	.009
	N	235	231	223	236	229
recoded qu6	Pearson Correlation	.023	-.205**	.138*	.172**	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.724	.002	.041	.009	.
	N	228	226	218	229	229
recoded qu7	Pearson Correlation	-.004	.013	.245**	.146*	.125
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.955	.839	.000	.026	.060
	N	233	229	222	234	227
recoded qu8	Pearson Correlation	.108	-.065	.140*	.108	.010
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.102	.327	.037	.101	.878
	N	233	229	221	234	228

Correlations

		recoded qu1	recoded qu3	recoded qu4	recoded qu5	recoded qu6
recoded qu9	Pearson Correlation	-.186**	.107	-.166*	.045	-.111
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004	.106	.013	.494	.094
	N	235	231	223	236	229
recoded qu10	Pearson Correlation	-.137*	-.048	-.008	.123	.093
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.037	.470	.901	.061	.162
	N	233	230	221	234	228
recoded qu12	Pearson Correlation	-.049	.023	.142*	.138*	-.013
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.452	.726	.035	.034	.848
	N	233	230	222	234	228
recoded qu13	Pearson Correlation	.137*	.032	-.072	.047	.065
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.036	.632	.290	.476	.327
	N	233	230	221	234	228
recoded qu14	Pearson Correlation	.026	-.027	.077	.115	.088
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.693	.684	.252	.077	.184
	N	234	230	222	235	228
recoded qu15	Pearson Correlation	.167*	.088	.103	.057	.196**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.011	.182	.127	.387	.003
	N	234	231	222	235	229
recoded qu16	Pearson Correlation	-.053	.004	-.002	-.010	-.044
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.420	.957	.977	.881	.513
	N	234	230	223	235	228
recoded qu17	Pearson Correlation	-.044	.013	.017	-.004	-.094
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.506	.844	.802	.951	.158
	N	231	227	220	232	225
recoded qu18	Pearson Correlation	.036	.064	.076	-.119	-.031
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.589	.335	.260	.069	.639
	N	232	228	221	233	226
recoded qu19	Pearson Correlation	.036	.094	-.055	-.002	.062
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.588	.153	.418	.979	.353
	N	233	230	221	234	228
recoded qu20	Pearson Correlation	.105	.076	.028	.181**	.013
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.108	.248	.677	.005	.841
	N	234	230	222	235	228
recoded qu21	Pearson Correlation	-.037	.017	.096	.077	-.096
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.577	.802	.159	.248	.153
	N	228	226	216	229	223
recoded qu22	Pearson Correlation	-.022	.049	-.086	.040	-.068
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.739	.461	.206	.547	.311
	N	229	228	217	230	224
recoded qu23	Pearson Correlation	.021	-.036	-.095	.006	.126
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.756	.593	.161	.931	.058
	N	232	229	221	233	226
recoded qu24	Pearson Correlation	.007	-.005	.155*	.039	.181**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.917	.939	.022	.556	.006
	N	230	227	218	231	225
recoded qu25	Pearson Correlation	.034	-.085	.058	-.037	.024
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.608	.206	.393	.576	.724
	N	227	225	216	228	224
recoded qu26	Pearson Correlation	.108	.166	-.011	.113	.064
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.262	.083	.911	.239	.514
	N	110	110	104	110	108

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Correlations

		recoded qu1	recoded qu3	recoded qu4	recoded qu5	recoded qu6
recoded qu27	Pearson Correlation	-.113	.013	-.050	-.146*	-.113
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.086	.845	.462	.026	.090
	N	232	228	221	233	227
recoded qu28	Pearson Correlation	.176**	-.018	.011	.146*	.173*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.009	.793	.878	.030	.011
	N	219	215	210	220	214
recoded qu29	Pearson Correlation	.056	-.028	.007	.106	.319**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.393	.670	.923	.106	.000
	N	231	227	219	232	226
recoded qu30	Pearson Correlation	-.045	-.056	.024	.075	.183**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.500	.404	.728	.256	.006
	N	230	226	218	231	225
recoded qu31	Pearson Correlation	-.025	.182**	-.021	.030	-.154*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.707	.007	.759	.649	.022
	N	226	222	214	227	220

Correlations

		recoded qu7	recoded qu8	recoded qu9	recoded qu10	recoded qu12
schools	Pearson Correlation	.003	-.099	.024	.115	.014
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.964	.129	.712	.079	.833
	N	234	234	236	234	234
recoded qu2	Pearson Correlation	.003	-.071	-.022	.026	.103
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.966	.280	.740	.690	.117
	N	233	233	235	233	233
recoded qu11	Pearson Correlation	-.147*	-.022	.140*	-.026	.150*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.024	.737	.032	.688	.021
	N	234	234	236	234	234
recoded election	Pearson Correlation	.118	-.124	.019	-.036	-.190**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.081	.067	.774	.590	.005
	N	220	219	221	221	220
recoded pschool	Pearson Correlation	-.051	-.036	.095	-.056	-.100
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.436	.584	.147	.396	.127
	N	233	232	234	232	232
recoded inform	Pearson Correlation	.043	-.099	-.016	-.026	-.025
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.579	.203	.839	.741	.747
	N	168	168	169	167	167
recoded socialgp2	Pearson Correlation	.129	.038	.074	-.104	-.012
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.056	.579	.273	.124	.862
	N	221	220	222	220	220
recoded area	Pearson Correlation	.060	-.083	-.014	.055	-.051
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.360	.211	.829	.407	.436
	N	231	231	233	231	231
recoded gender	Pearson Correlation	-.024	.047	.045	.055	.001
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.721	.471	.491	.401	.984
	N	233	233	235	233	233
recoded course	Pearson Correlation	.059	.053	-.167*	-.021	.107
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.371	.423	.010	.752	.101
	N	234	234	236	234	234
recoded qu1	Pearson Correlation	-.004	.108	-.186**	-.137*	-.049
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.955	.102	.004	.037	.452
	N	233	233	235	233	233
recoded qu3	Pearson Correlation	.013	-.065	.107	-.048	.023
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.839	.327	.106	.470	.726
	N	229	229	231	230	230
recoded qu4	Pearson Correlation	.245**	.140*	-.166*	-.008	.142*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.037	.013	.901	.035
	N	222	221	223	221	222
recoded qu5	Pearson Correlation	.146*	.108	.045	.123	.138*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.026	.101	.494	.061	.034
	N	234	234	236	234	234
recoded qu6	Pearson Correlation	.125	.010	-.111	.093	-.013
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.060	.878	.094	.162	.848
	N	227	228	229	228	228
recoded qu7	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.047	.076	.060	.102
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.474	.250	.363	.120
	N	234	232	234	232	232
recoded qu8	Pearson Correlation	.047	1.000	.242**	.036	.117
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.474	.	.000	.588	.076
	N	232	234	234	232	232

Correlations

		recoded qu7	recoded qu8	recoded qu9	recoded qu10	recoded qu12
recoded qu9	Pearson Correlation	.076	.242**	1.000	.140*	-.006
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.250	.000	.	.032	.925
	N	234	234	236	234	234
recoded qu10	Pearson Correlation	.060	.036	.140*	1.000	.025
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.363	.588	.032	.	.708
	N	232	232	234	234	233
recoded qu12	Pearson Correlation	.102	.117	-.006	.025	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.120	.076	.925	.708	.
	N	232	232	234	233	234
recoded qu13	Pearson Correlation	.086	.053	.080	.020	.063
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.192	.419	.224	.764	.338
	N	232	232	234	233	233
recoded qu14	Pearson Correlation	-.042	-.065	-.176**	-.056	.051
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.522	.320	.007	.398	.439
	N	233	233	235	233	233
recoded qu15	Pearson Correlation	.238**	.084	.015	-.013	.082
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.200	.822	.842	.214
	N	233	233	235	234	234
recoded qu16	Pearson Correlation	-.007	.008	.024	.150*	-.066
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.915	.901	.718	.022	.312
	N	233	233	235	233	233
recoded qu17	Pearson Correlation	.019	.078	.119	.145*	-.042
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.772	.236	.070	.028	.525
	N	231	230	232	230	230
recoded qu18	Pearson Correlation	.058	.048	.010	.034	.043
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.378	.468	.881	.612	.514
	N	231	231	233	231	231
recoded qu19	Pearson Correlation	-.063	.035	.008	.135*	-.052
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.336	.592	.901	.040	.433
	N	232	232	234	232	232
recoded qu20	Pearson Correlation	.057	-.016	.043	-.044	.172**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.387	.811	.507	.500	.009
	N	233	233	235	233	233
recoded qu21	Pearson Correlation	.004	.024	-.074	-.077	-.037
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.953	.717	.266	.248	.575
	N	227	227	229	228	228
recoded qu22	Pearson Correlation	.051	-.017	.109	-.061	-.006
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.440	.795	.098	.358	.923
	N	228	228	230	229	229
recoded qu23	Pearson Correlation	-.027	.031	-.048	.050	.037
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.684	.640	.470	.448	.572
	N	231	231	233	231	231
recoded qu24	Pearson Correlation	.162*	-.039	-.111	.121	.099
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.014	.560	.092	.068	.134
	N	229	229	231	230	229
recoded qu25	Pearson Correlation	.012	.085	.002	.016	.041
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.854	.200	.974	.810	.536
	N	226	227	228	227	227
recoded qu26	Pearson Correlation	.038	-.014	-.161	-.076	-.070
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.696	.881	.093	.435	.471
	N	109	110	110	109	109

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Correlations

		recoded qu7	recoded qu8	recoded qu9	recoded qu10	recoded qu12
recoded qu27	Pearson Correlation	-.113	-.014	.040	.066	-.152*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.086	.835	.539	.315	.021
	N	231	231	233	231	231
recoded qu28	Pearson Correlation	.040	-.039	-.079	.013	-.016
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.554	.567	.241	.850	.820
	N	219	218	220	219	218
recoded qu29	Pearson Correlation	.050	.035	-.106	.007	-.078
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.449	.598	.106	.922	.238
	N	230	230	232	230	230
recoded qu30	Pearson Correlation	-.059	.066	-.119	.002	-.031
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.378	.322	.071	.975	.638
	N	229	229	231	229	229
recoded qu31	Pearson Correlation	-.016	-.034	.046	.053	.009
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.813	.612	.486	.431	.890
	N	225	225	227	225	225

Correlations

		recoded qu13	recoded qu14	recoded qu15	recoded qu16	recoded qu17
schools	Pearson Correlation	.020	.186**	-.075	.021	.093
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.766	.004	.252	.745	.159
	N	234	235	235	235	232
recoded qu2	Pearson Correlation	-.103	.107	-.054	.090	.068
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.115	.101	.413	.168	.304
	N	233	234	234	234	232
recoded qu11	Pearson Correlation	-.173**	.187**	-.110	.001	.126
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.008	.004	.092	.983	.055
	N	234	235	235	235	232
recoded election	Pearson Correlation	-.085	.072	-.080	.087	.031
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.208	.286	.235	.198	.650
	N	220	220	221	220	220
recoded pschool	Pearson Correlation	.058	.072	-.063	.071	.013
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.381	.272	.338	.278	.841
	N	232	233	233	233	231
recoded inform	Pearson Correlation	-.062	.193*	.017	.121	.040
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.423	.012	.823	.118	.612
	N	168	168	168	168	167
recoded socialgp2	Pearson Correlation	.035	.003	.091	-.028	.026
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.604	.963	.180	.680	.703
	N	220	221	221	221	220
recoded area	Pearson Correlation	-.069	.101	-.037	-.061	.006
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.294	.123	.578	.356	.934
	N	231	232	232	232	229
recoded gender	Pearson Correlation	.140*	.013	.108	-.167*	-.199**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.033	.846	.101	.010	.002
	N	233	234	234	234	231
recoded course	Pearson Correlation	.149*	-.300**	.175**	-.039	-.047
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.022	.000	.007	.554	.478
	N	234	235	235	235	232
recoded qu1	Pearson Correlation	.137*	.026	.167*	-.053	-.044
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.036	.693	.011	.420	.506
	N	233	234	234	234	231
recoded qu3	Pearson Correlation	.032	-.027	.088	.004	.013
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.632	.684	.182	.957	.844
	N	230	230	231	230	227
recoded qu4	Pearson Correlation	-.072	.077	.103	-.002	.017
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.290	.252	.127	.977	.802
	N	221	222	222	223	220
recoded qu5	Pearson Correlation	.047	.115	.057	-.010	-.004
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.476	.077	.387	.881	.951
	N	234	235	235	235	232
recoded qu6	Pearson Correlation	.065	.088	.196**	-.044	-.094
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.327	.184	.003	.513	.158
	N	228	228	229	228	225
recoded qu7	Pearson Correlation	.086	-.042	.238**	-.007	.019
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.192	.522	.000	.915	.772
	N	232	233	233	233	231
recoded qu8	Pearson Correlation	.053	-.065	.084	.008	.078
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.419	.320	.200	.901	.236
	N	232	233	233	233	230

Correlations

		recoded qu13	recoded qu14	recoded qu15	recoded qu16	recoded qu17
recoded qu9	Pearson Correlation	.080	-.176**	.015	.024	.119
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.224	.007	.822	.718	.070
	N	234	235	235	235	232
recoded qu10	Pearson Correlation	.020	-.056	-.013	.150*	.145*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.764	.398	.842	.022	.028
	N	233	233	234	233	230
recoded qu12	Pearson Correlation	.063	.051	.082	-.066	-.042
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.338	.439	.214	.312	.525
	N	233	233	234	233	230
recoded qu13	Pearson Correlation	1.000	-.334**	.231**	.006	.008
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000	.000	.929	.905
	N	234	233	234	233	230
recoded qu14	Pearson Correlation	-.334**	1.000	-.149*	-.032	-.042
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.	.023	.630	.527
	N	233	235	234	234	231
recoded qu15	Pearson Correlation	.231**	-.149*	1.000	-.187**	-.135*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.023	.	.004	.040
	N	234	234	235	234	231
recoded qu16	Pearson Correlation	.006	-.032	-.187**	1.000	.579**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.929	.630	.004	.	.000
	N	233	234	234	235	231
recoded qu17	Pearson Correlation	.008	-.042	-.135*	.579**	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.905	.527	.040	.000	.
	N	230	231	231	231	232
recoded qu18	Pearson Correlation	.089	-.122	.187**	.178**	.049
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.179	.064	.004	.007	.456
	N	231	232	232	232	230
recoded qu19	Pearson Correlation	.102	-.131*	.219**	-.028	.047
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.123	.046	.001	.670	.478
	N	232	233	233	233	230
recoded qu20	Pearson Correlation	.145*	.072	-.038	-.143*	-.099
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.027	.271	.561	.029	.132
	N	233	234	234	234	231
recoded qu21	Pearson Correlation	-.044	.100	-.165*	.117	.023
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.511	.130	.012	.077	.727
	N	228	228	229	228	226
recoded qu22	Pearson Correlation	.097	-.041	.090	-.055	-.107
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.144	.533	.174	.407	.107
	N	229	229	230	229	226
recoded qu23	Pearson Correlation	.047	-.040	-.027	.021	-.011
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.474	.542	.686	.751	.868
	N	231	232	232	232	230
recoded qu24	Pearson Correlation	-.074	.133*	.114	-.096	-.065
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.264	.043	.084	.146	.333
	N	229	230	230	230	227
recoded qu25	Pearson Correlation	-.026	-.051	.021	.032	.016
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.693	.442	.754	.631	.811
	N	227	227	228	227	226
recoded qu26	Pearson Correlation	.153	-.195*	.097	.058	-.101
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.112	.042	.311	.544	.299
	N	109	110	110	110	108

Correlations

		recoded qu13	recoded qu14	recoded qu15	recoded qu16	recoded qu17
recoded qu27	Pearson Correlation	-.051	.073	-.162*	.112	.174**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.438	.267	.014	.089	.008
	N	231	232	232	232	229
recoded qu28	Pearson Correlation	.084	-.066	.157*	.017	-.032
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.218	.329	.020	.808	.636
	N	218	219	219	220	217
recoded qu29	Pearson Correlation	.041	-.139*	.140*	-.033	.020
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.536	.035	.033	.613	.762
	N	230	231	231	231	228
recoded qu30	Pearson Correlation	-.007	-.060	-.008	.011	-.069
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.912	.363	.909	.864	.302
	N	229	230	230	230	227
recoded qu31	Pearson Correlation	.126	-.178**	-.026	.014	.107
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.059	.007	.692	.837	.111
	N	225	226	226	226	223

Correlations

		recoded qu18	recoded qu19	recoded qu20	recoded qu21	recoded qu22
schools	Pearson Correlation	-.118	.034	.106	.004	.033
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.071	.607	.105	.953	.623
	N	233	234	235	229	230
recoded qu2	Pearson Correlation	-.024	.039	.045	.101	-.120
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.717	.550	.495	.128	.069
	N	233	233	234	228	229
recoded qu11	Pearson Correlation	-.168*	.041	-.060	.051	-.021
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.010	.537	.359	.441	.756
	N	233	234	235	229	230
recoded election	Pearson Correlation	-.043	-.041	.005	.068	.094
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.529	.549	.941	.320	.169
	N	219	219	220	216	216
recoded pschool	Pearson Correlation	-.068	.038	-.114	.083	.080
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.302	.569	.082	.211	.231
	N	231	232	233	227	228
recoded inform	Pearson Correlation	-.056	.041	.071	.048	.023
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.475	.601	.356	.543	.772
	N	166	167	169	164	164
recoded socialgp2	Pearson Correlation	.030	.003	.016	.085	.062
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.660	.968	.810	.215	.368
	N	220	220	221	217	216
recoded area	Pearson Correlation	-.106	-.146*	.051	-.020	.078
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.109	.027	.437	.769	.244
	N	230	231	232	227	227
recoded gender	Pearson Correlation	-.177**	.049	.155*	-.109	.126
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.007	.461	.017	.101	.057
	N	232	233	234	228	229
recoded course	Pearson Correlation	.293**	-.054	-.079	-.167*	-.139*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.412	.229	.011	.035
	N	233	234	235	229	230
recoded qu1	Pearson Correlation	.036	.036	.105	-.037	-.022
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.589	.588	.108	.577	.739
	N	232	233	234	228	229
recoded qu3	Pearson Correlation	.064	.094	.076	.017	.049
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.335	.153	.248	.802	.461
	N	228	230	230	226	228
recoded qu4	Pearson Correlation	.076	-.055	.028	.096	-.086
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.260	.418	.677	.159	.206
	N	221	221	222	216	217
recoded qu5	Pearson Correlation	-.119	-.002	.181**	.077	.040
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.069	.979	.005	.248	.547
	N	233	234	235	229	230
recoded qu6	Pearson Correlation	-.031	.062	.013	-.096	-.068
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.639	.353	.841	.153	.311
	N	226	228	228	223	224
recoded qu7	Pearson Correlation	.058	-.063	.057	.004	.051
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.378	.336	.387	.953	.440
	N	231	232	233	227	228
recoded qu8	Pearson Correlation	.048	.035	-.016	.024	-.017
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.468	.592	.811	.717	.795
	N	231	232	233	227	228

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Correlations

		recoded qu18	recoded qu19	recoded qu20	recoded qu21	recoded qu22
recoded qu9	Pearson Correlation	.010	.008	.043	-.074	.109
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.881	.901	.507	.266	.098
	N	233	234	235	229	230
recoded qu10	Pearson Correlation	.034	.135*	-.044	-.077	-.061
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.612	.040	.500	.248	.358
	N	231	232	233	228	229
recoded qu12	Pearson Correlation	.043	-.052	.172**	-.037	-.006
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.514	.433	.009	.575	.923
	N	231	232	233	228	229
recoded qu13	Pearson Correlation	.089	.102	.145*	-.044	.097
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.179	.123	.027	.511	.144
	N	231	232	233	228	229
recoded qu14	Pearson Correlation	-.122	-.131*	.072	.100	-.041
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.064	.046	.271	.130	.533
	N	232	233	234	228	229
recoded qu15	Pearson Correlation	.187**	.219**	-.038	-.165*	.090
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004	.001	.561	.012	.174
	N	232	233	234	229	230
recoded qu16	Pearson Correlation	.178**	-.028	-.143*	.117	-.055
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.007	.670	.029	.077	.407
	N	232	233	234	228	229
recoded qu17	Pearson Correlation	.049	.047	-.099	.023	-.107
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.456	.478	.132	.727	.107
	N	230	230	231	226	226
recoded qu18	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.081	-.249**	-.046	-.101
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.220	.000	.494	.130
	N	233	231	232	226	228
recoded qu19	Pearson Correlation	.081	1.000	.035	.040	-.067
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.220	.	.598	.550	.310
	N	231	234	233	227	228
recoded qu20	Pearson Correlation	-.249**	.035	1.000	.045	.157*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.598	.	.501	.017
	N	232	233	235	228	229
recoded qu21	Pearson Correlation	-.046	.040	.045	1.000	-.004
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.494	.550	.501	.	.951
	N	226	227	228	229	225
recoded qu22	Pearson Correlation	-.101	-.067	.157*	-.004	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.130	.310	.017	.951	.
	N	228	228	229	225	230
recoded qu23	Pearson Correlation	.032	-.091	.080	-.010	.031
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.629	.167	.222	.887	.642
	N	232	231	232	227	229
recoded qu24	Pearson Correlation	-.031	.152*	.116	.005	-.025
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.640	.021	.079	.944	.710
	N	229	230	230	224	226
recoded qu25	Pearson Correlation	-.017	-.009	.039	.107	-.037
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.795	.895	.557	.111	.579
	N	227	227	227	224	224
recoded qu26	Pearson Correlation	.027	.109	.162	.037	.026
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.785	.257	.092	.704	.784
	N	108	110	109	106	110

Correlations

		recoded qu18	recoded qu19	recoded qu20	recoded qu21	recoded qu22
recoded qu27	Pearson Correlation	-.061	.064	-.070	.035	-.023
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.353	.332	.289	.596	.726
	N	231	231	232	226	228
recoded qu28	Pearson Correlation	.063	.085	.114	-.050	-.064
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.354	.211	.092	.466	.351
	N	217	218	219	213	215
recoded qu29	Pearson Correlation	.100	-.059	-.113	.027	-.082
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.131	.372	.087	.686	.219
	N	229	230	231	225	226
recoded qu30	Pearson Correlation	.045	-.016	-.100	.088	-.007
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.495	.814	.131	.191	.920
	N	228	229	230	224	225
recoded qu31	Pearson Correlation	.086	.007	-.018	-.003	-.038
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.198	.920	.792	.964	.574
	N	224	225	226	220	221

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Correlations

		recoded qu23	recoded qu24	recoded qu25	recoded qu26	recoded qu27
schools	Pearson Correlation	-.117	.127	.001	.002	.061
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.074	.053	.984	.987	.351
	N	233	231	228	110	233
recoded qu2	Pearson Correlation	-.038	-.028	-.042	.024	.041
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.565	.669	.532	.803	.531
	N	233	230	228	109	232
recoded qu11	Pearson Correlation	-.068	-.075	.036	-.119	-.008
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.301	.255	.591	.215	.900
	N	233	231	228	110	233
recoded election	Pearson Correlation	.031	-.072	.048	-.066	.092
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.646	.289	.479	.509	.176
	N	219	217	216	101	218
recoded pschool	Pearson Correlation	-.020	-.010	-.050	.037	.037
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.762	.876	.456	.702	.580
	N	231	229	226	109	231
recoded inform	Pearson Correlation	-.102	-.072	.103	.065	-.073
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.191	.357	.192	.557	.351
	N	167	164	162	83	167
recoded socialgp2	Pearson Correlation	-.015	.068	-.095	-.009	.028
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.828	.322	.164	.927	.679
	N	220	217	216	104	220
recoded area	Pearson Correlation	.023	.015	-.108	-.185	.010
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.732	.816	.107	.054	.875
	N	230	228	226	109	231
recoded gender	Pearson Correlation	.166*	.036	.008	-.118	.038
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.011	.590	.908	.219	.565
	N	232	230	227	110	232
recoded course	Pearson Correlation	.061	.027	-.130	.093	-.024
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.351	.679	.051	.333	.719
	N	233	231	228	110	233
recoded qu1	Pearson Correlation	.021	.007	.034	.108	-.113
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.756	.917	.608	.262	.086
	N	232	230	227	110	232
recoded qu3	Pearson Correlation	-.036	-.005	-.085	.166	.013
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.593	.939	.206	.083	.845
	N	229	227	225	110	228
recoded qu4	Pearson Correlation	-.095	.155*	.058	-.011	-.050
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.161	.022	.393	.911	.462
	N	221	218	216	104	221
recoded qu5	Pearson Correlation	.006	.039	-.037	.113	-.146*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.931	.556	.576	.239	.026
	N	233	231	228	110	233
recoded qu6	Pearson Correlation	.126	.181**	.024	.064	-.113
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.058	.006	.724	.514	.090
	N	226	225	224	108	227
recoded qu7	Pearson Correlation	-.027	.162*	.012	.038	-.113
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.684	.014	.854	.696	.086
	N	231	229	226	109	231
recoded qu8	Pearson Correlation	.031	-.039	.085	-.014	-.014
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.640	.560	.200	.881	.835
	N	231	229	227	110	231

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Correlations

		recoded qu23	recoded qu24	recoded qu25	recoded qu26	recoded qu27
recoded qu9	Pearson Correlation	-.048	-.111	.002	-.161	.040
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.470	.092	.974	.093	.539
	N	233	231	228	110	233
recoded qu10	Pearson Correlation	.050	.121	.016	-.076	.066
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.448	.068	.810	.435	.315
	N	231	230	227	109	231
recoded qu12	Pearson Correlation	.037	.099	.041	-.070	-.152*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.572	.134	.536	.471	.021
	N	231	229	227	109	231
recoded qu13	Pearson Correlation	.047	-.074	-.026	.153	-.051
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.474	.264	.693	.112	.438
	N	231	229	227	109	231
recoded qu14	Pearson Correlation	-.040	.133*	-.051	-.195*	.073
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.542	.043	.442	.042	.267
	N	232	230	227	110	232
recoded qu15	Pearson Correlation	-.027	.114	.021	.097	-.162*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.686	.084	.754	.311	.014
	N	232	230	228	110	232
recoded qu16	Pearson Correlation	.021	-.096	.032	.058	.112
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.751	.146	.631	.544	.089
	N	232	230	227	110	232
recoded qu17	Pearson Correlation	-.011	-.065	.016	-.101	.174**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.868	.333	.811	.299	.008
	N	230	227	226	108	229
recoded qu18	Pearson Correlation	.032	-.031	-.017	.027	-.061
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.629	.640	.795	.785	.353
	N	232	229	227	108	231
recoded qu19	Pearson Correlation	-.091	.152*	-.009	.109	.064
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.167	.021	.895	.257	.332
	N	231	230	227	110	231
recoded qu20	Pearson Correlation	.080	.116	.039	.162	-.070
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.222	.079	.557	.092	.289
	N	232	230	227	109	232
recoded qu21	Pearson Correlation	-.010	.005	.107	.037	.035
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.887	.944	.111	.704	.596
	N	227	224	224	106	226
recoded qu22	Pearson Correlation	.031	-.025	-.037	.026	-.023
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.642	.710	.579	.784	.726
	N	229	226	224	110	228
recoded qu23	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.212**	-.023	-.023	.066
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.001	.726	.811	.317
	N	233	229	227	109	231
recoded qu24	Pearson Correlation	.212**	1.000	-.029	-.013	-.061
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.	.662	.895	.360
	N	229	231	225	109	229
recoded qu25	Pearson Correlation	-.023	-.029	1.000	-.078	-.079
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.726	.662	.	.422	.234
	N	227	225	228	108	226
recoded qu26	Pearson Correlation	-.023	-.013	-.078	1.000	-.170
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.811	.895	.422	.	.078
	N	109	109	108	110	109

Correlations

		recoded qu23	recoded qu24	recoded qu25	recoded qu26	recoded qu27
recoded qu27	Pearson Correlation	.066	-.061	-.079	-.170	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.317	.360	.234	.078	.
	N	231	229	226	109	233
recoded qu28	Pearson Correlation	-.035	.036	.060	.084	-.273**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.610	.593	.388	.394	.000
	N	217	217	212	104	218
recoded qu29	Pearson Correlation	.101	-.010	-.011	.034	-.072
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.126	.884	.871	.724	.277
	N	229	227	225	108	229
recoded qu30	Pearson Correlation	.070	.021	.009	-.034	-.027
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.290	.755	.896	.726	.689
	N	228	226	224	108	228
recoded qu31	Pearson Correlation	.007	.030	.032	.196*	.047
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.914	.662	.638	.045	.488
	N	224	222	219	106	224

Correlations

		recoded qu28	recoded qu29	recoded qu30	recoded qu31
schools	Pearson Correlation	-.018	-.201**	-.143*	-.015
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.792	.002	.030	.823
	N	220	232	231	227
recoded qu2	Pearson Correlation	-.009	.059	-.020	-.031
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.891	.370	.763	.642
	N	219	231	230	226
recoded qu11	Pearson Correlation	-.096	-.059	-.079	-.080
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.155	.369	.230	.230
	N	220	232	231	227
recoded election	Pearson Correlation	-.004	.021	-.002	-.208**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.954	.756	.977	.002
	N	208	218	217	213
recoded pschool	Pearson Correlation	-.145*	-.128	-.063	.050
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.032	.052	.343	.457
	N	220	231	230	226
recoded inform	Pearson Correlation	-.168*	.034	-.135	-.140
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.036	.662	.084	.075
	N	156	166	166	163
recoded socialgp2	Pearson Correlation	-.062	.013	.044	-.046
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.373	.844	.516	.502
	N	209	219	218	214
recoded area	Pearson Correlation	-.026	-.035	-.058	-.093
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.704	.596	.379	.166
	N	219	230	229	225
recoded gender	Pearson Correlation	.110	-.024	-.045	-.233**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.105	.722	.497	.000
	N	219	231	230	226
recoded course	Pearson Correlation	-.086	.156*	.111	.157*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.205	.018	.093	.018
	N	220	232	231	227
recoded qu1	Pearson Correlation	.176**	.056	-.045	-.025
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.009	.393	.500	.707
	N	219	231	230	226
recoded qu3	Pearson Correlation	-.018	-.028	-.056	.182**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.793	.670	.404	.007
	N	215	227	226	222
recoded qu4	Pearson Correlation	.011	.007	.024	-.021
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.878	.923	.728	.759
	N	210	219	218	214
recoded qu5	Pearson Correlation	.146*	.106	.075	.030
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.030	.106	.256	.649
	N	220	232	231	227
recoded qu6	Pearson Correlation	.173*	.319**	.183**	-.154*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.011	.000	.006	.022
	N	214	226	225	220
recoded qu7	Pearson Correlation	.040	.050	-.059	-.016
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.554	.449	.378	.813
	N	219	230	229	225
recoded qu8	Pearson Correlation	-.039	.035	.066	-.034
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.567	.598	.322	.612
	N	218	230	229	225

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Correlations

		recoded qu28	recoded qu29	recoded qu30	recoded qu31
recoded qu9	Pearson Correlation	-.079	-.106	-.119	.046
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.241	.106	.071	.486
	N	220	232	231	227
recoded qu10	Pearson Correlation	.013	.007	.002	.053
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.850	.922	.975	.431
	N	219	230	229	225
recoded qu12	Pearson Correlation	-.016	-.078	-.031	.009
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.820	.238	.638	.890
	N	218	230	229	225
recoded qu13	Pearson Correlation	.084	.041	-.007	.126
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.218	.536	.912	.059
	N	218	230	229	225
recoded qu14	Pearson Correlation	-.066	-.139*	-.060	-.178**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.329	.035	.363	.007
	N	219	231	230	226
recoded qu15	Pearson Correlation	.157*	.140*	-.008	-.026
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.020	.033	.909	.692
	N	219	231	230	226
recoded qu16	Pearson Correlation	.017	-.033	.011	.014
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.808	.613	.864	.837
	N	220	231	230	226
recoded qu17	Pearson Correlation	-.032	.020	-.069	.107
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.636	.762	.302	.111
	N	217	228	227	223
recoded qu18	Pearson Correlation	.063	.100	.045	.086
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.354	.131	.495	.198
	N	217	229	228	224
recoded qu19	Pearson Correlation	.085	-.059	-.016	.007
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.211	.372	.814	.920
	N	218	230	229	225
recoded qu20	Pearson Correlation	.114	-.113	-.100	-.018
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.092	.087	.131	.792
	N	219	231	230	226
recoded qu21	Pearson Correlation	-.050	.027	.088	-.003
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.466	.686	.191	.964
	N	213	225	224	220
recoded qu22	Pearson Correlation	-.064	-.082	-.007	-.038
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.351	.219	.920	.574
	N	215	226	225	221
recoded qu23	Pearson Correlation	-.035	.101	.070	.007
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.610	.126	.290	.914
	N	217	229	228	224
recoded qu24	Pearson Correlation	.036	-.010	.021	.030
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.593	.884	.755	.662
	N	217	227	226	222
recoded qu25	Pearson Correlation	.060	-.011	.009	.032
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.388	.871	.896	.638
	N	212	225	224	219
recoded qu26	Pearson Correlation	.084	.034	-.034	.196*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.394	.724	.726	.045
	N	104	108	108	106

Correlations

		recoded qu28	recoded qu29	recoded qu30	recoded qu31
recoded qu27	Pearson Correlation	-.273**	-.072	-.027	.047
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.277	.689	.488
	N	218	229	228	224
recoded qu28	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.097	.016	-.105
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.152	.816	.128
	N	220	218	217	213
recoded qu29	Pearson Correlation	.097	1.000	.311**	-.003
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.152	.	.000	.969
	N	218	232	230	224
recoded qu30	Pearson Correlation	.016	.311**	1.000	.154*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.816	.000	.	.021
	N	217	230	231	223
recoded qu31	Pearson Correlation	-.105	-.003	.154*	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.128	.969	.021	.
	N	213	224	223	227

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
recoded qu29 * schools	232	98.3%	4	1.7%	236	100.0%

recoded qu29 * schools Crosstabulation

			schools			
			wsp	uj	ae	Total
recoded qu29	Yes	Count	15	19	22	56
		% within recoded qu29	26.8%	33.9%	39.3%	100.0%
		% within schools	14.9%	27.5%	35.5%	24.1%
	No	Count	86	50	40	176
		% within recoded qu29	48.9%	28.4%	22.7%	100.0%
		% within schools	85.1%	72.5%	64.5%	75.9%
Total		Count	101	69	62	232
		% within recoded qu29	43.5%	29.7%	26.7%	100.0%
		% within schools	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.550[a]	2	.008
Likelihood Ratio	9.707	2	.008
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.364	1	.002
N of Valid Cases	232		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 14.97.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
recoded qu30 * schools	231	97.9%	5	2.1%	236	100.0%

recoded qu30 * schools Crosstabulation

			schools			
			wsp	uj	ae	Total
recoded qu30	Yes	Count	2	7	6	15
		% within recoded qu30	13.3%	46.7%	40.0%	100.0%
		% within schools	2.0%	10.3%	9.8%	6.5%
	No	Count	100	61	55	216
		% within recoded qu30	46.3%	28.2%	25.5%	100.0%
		% within schools	98.0%	89.7%	90.2%	93.5%
Total		Count	102	68	61	231
		% within recoded qu30	44.2%	29.4%	26.4%	100.0%
		% within schools	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.192[a]	2	.045
Likelihood Ratio	7.045	2	.030
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.674	1	.031
N of Valid Cases	231		

a. 2 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.96.

Appendix 7 (C)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
recoded election * recoded course	221	93.6%	15	6.4%	236	100.0%

recoded election * recoded course Crosstabulation

			recoded course	
			European Studies/Social Sciences	Geography
recoded election	1997 Parliamentary election	Count	33	6
		% within recoded election	78.6%	14.3%
		% within recoded course	17.7%	23.1%
	Constitutional Referendum (May 1997)	Count	8	1
		% within recoded election	80.0%	10.0%
		% within recoded course	4.3%	3.8%
	Neither elections	Count	11	8
		% within recoded election	57.9%	42.1%
		% within recoded course	5.9%	30.8%
	Both elections	Count	134	11
		% within recoded election	89.3%	7.3%
		% within recoded course	72.0%	42.3%
Total		Count	186	26
		% within recoded election	84.2%	11.8%
		% within recoded course	100.0%	100.0%

recoded election * recoded course Crosstabulation

			recoded Maths	Total
recoded election	1997 Parliamentary election	Count	3	42
		% within recoded election	7.1%	100.0%
		% within recoded course	33.3%	19.0%
	Constitutional Referendum (May 1997)	Count	1	10
		% within recoded election	10.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded course	11.1%	4.5%
	Neither elections	Count		19
		% within recoded election		100.0%
		% within recoded course		8.6%
	Both elections	Count	5	150
		% within recoded election	3.3%	100.0%
		% within recoded course	55.6%	67.9%
Total		Count	9	221
		% within recoded election	4.1%	100.0%
		% within recoded course	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	22.645[a]	6	.001
Likelihood Ratio	17.571	6	.007
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.873	1	.049
N of Valid Cases	221		

a. 6 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .41.

Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
recoded election * recoded qu31	213	90.3%	23	9.7%	236	100.0%

recoded election * recoded qu31 Crosstabulation

			recoded qu31	
			Yes	No
recoded election	1997 Parliamentary election	Count	11	7
		% within recoded election	28.9%	18.4%
		% within recoded qu31	12.1%	17.9%
	Constitutional Referendum (May 1997)	Count	2	1
		% within recoded election	20.0%	10.0%
		% within recoded qu31	2.2%	2.6%
	Neither elections	Count	3	9
		% within recoded election	15.8%	47.4%
		% within recoded qu31	3.3%	23.1%
	Both elections	Count	75	22
		% within recoded election	51.4%	15.1%
		% within recoded qu31	82.4%	56.4%
Total		Count	91	39
		% within recoded election	42.7%	18.3%
		% within recoded qu31	100.0%	100.0%

366

recoded election * recoded qu31 Crosstabulation

			recoded Don't Know	Total
recoded election	1997 Parliamentary election	Count	20	38
		% within recoded election	52.6%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu31	24.1%	17.8%
	Constitutional Referendum (May 1997)	Count	7	10
		% within recoded election	70.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu31	8.4%	4.7%
	Neither elections	Count	7	19
		% within recoded election	36.8%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu31	8.4%	8.9%
	Both elections	Count	49	146
		% within recoded election	33.6%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu31	59.0%	68.5%
Total		Count	83	213
		% within recoded election	39.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu31	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	24.064[a]	6	.001
Likelihood Ratio	22.292	6	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.162	1	.002
N of Valid Cases	213		

a. 4 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.83.

Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
recoded qu31 * recoded gender	226	95.8%	10	4.2%	236	100.0%

recoded qu31 * recoded gender Crosstabulation

			recoded gender		Total
			female	male	
recoded qu31	Yes	Count	40	51	91
		% within recoded qu31	44.0%	56.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	30.5%	53.7%	40.3%
	No	Count	29	17	46
		% within recoded qu31	63.0%	37.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	22.1%	17.9%	20.4%
	Don't Know	Count	62	27	89
		% within recoded qu31	69.7%	30.3%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	47.3%	28.4%	39.4%
Total		Count	131	95	226
		% within recoded qu31	58.0%	42.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.815[a]	2	.002
Likelihood Ratio	12.884	2	.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	12.176	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	226		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 19.34.

Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
recoded qu18 * recoded gender	232	98.3%	4	1.7%	236	100.0%

recoded qu18 * recoded gender Crosstabulation

			recoded gender		Total
			female	male	
recoded qu18	Completely Agree	Count	6	9	15
		% within recoded qu18	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	4.4%	9.3%	6.5%
	Agree Mostly	Count	24	26	50
		% within recoded qu18	48.0%	52.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	17.8%	26.8%	21.6%
	Undecided/Don't Know	Count	17	17	34
		% within recoded qu18	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	12.6%	17.5%	14.7%
	Disagree Mostly	Count	39	19	58
		% within recoded qu18	67.2%	32.8%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	28.9%	19.6%	25.0%
	Completely Disagree	Count	49	26	75
		% within recoded qu18	65.3%	34.7%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	36.3%	26.8%	32.3%
Total		Count	135	97	232
		% within recoded qu18	58.2%	41.8%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.637[a]	4	.071
Likelihood Ratio	8.640	4	.071
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.242	1	.007
N of Valid Cases	232		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.27.

Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
recoded qu20 * recoded gender	234	99.2%	2	.8%	236	100.0%

recoded qu20 * recoded gender Crosstabulation

			recoded gender		Total
			female	male	
recoded qu20	Completely Agree	Count	114	67	181
		% within recoded qu20	63.0%	37.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	83.8%	68.4%	77.4%
	Agree Mostly	Count	15	19	34
		% within recoded qu20	44.1%	55.9%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	11.0%	19.4%	14.5%
	Undecided/Don't Know	Count	2	5	7
		% within recoded qu20	28.6%	71.4%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	1.5%	5.1%	3.0%
	Disagree Mostly	Count	2	3	5
		% within recoded qu20	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	1.5%	3.1%	2.1%
	Completely Disagree	Count	3	4	7
		% within recoded qu20	42.9%	57.1%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	2.2%	4.1%	3.0%
Total		Count	136	98	234
		% within recoded qu20	58.1%	41.9%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.353[a]	4	.079
Likelihood Ratio	8.292	4	.081
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.625	1	.018
N of Valid Cases	234		

a. 6 cells (60.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.09.

Appendix 7 (H)

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
recoded qu18 * recoded qu20	232	98.3%	4	1.7%	236	100.0%

recoded qu18 * recoded qu20 Crosstabulation

			recoded qu20		
			Completely Agree	Agree Mostly	Undecided/Don't Know
recoded qu18	Completely Agree	Count	7	4	2
		% within recoded qu18	46.7%	26.7%	13.3%
		% within recoded qu20	3.9%	11.8%	33.3%
	Agree Mostly	Count	32	12	1
		% within recoded qu18	65.3%	24.5%	2.0%
		% within recoded qu20	17.8%	35.3%	16.7%
	Undecided/Don't Know	Count	22	9	2
		% within recoded qu18	62.9%	25.7%	5.7%
		% within recoded qu20	12.2%	26.5%	33.3%
	Disagree Mostly	Count	49	7	1
		% within recoded qu18	84.5%	12.1%	1.7%
		% within recoded qu20	27.2%	20.6%	16.7%
	Completely Disagree	Count	70	2	
		% within recoded qu18	93.3%	2.7%	
		% within recoded qu20	38.9%	5.9%	
Total		Count	180	34	6
		% within recoded qu18	77.6%	14.7%	2.6%
		% within recoded qu20	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

371

recoded qu18 * recoded qu20 Crosstabulation

			recoded qu20		
			Disagree Mostly	Completely Disagree	Total
recoded qu18	Completely Agree	Count	1	1	15
		% within recoded qu18	6.7%	6.7%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu20	20.0%	14.3%	6.5%
	Agree Mostly	Count	3	1	49
		% within recoded qu18	6.1%	2.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu20	60.0%	14.3%	21.1%
	Undecided/Don't Know	Count		2	35
		% within recoded qu18		5.7%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu20		28.6%	15.1%
	Disagree Mostly	Count	1		58
		% within recoded qu18	1.7%		100.0%
		% within recoded qu20	20.0%		25.0%
	Completely Disagree	Count		3	75
		% within recoded qu18		4.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu20		42.9%	32.3%
Total		Count	5	7	232
		% within recoded qu18	2.2%	3.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu20	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	43.036[a]	16	.000
Likelihood Ratio	46.080	16	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	14.284	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	232		

a. 16 cells (64.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .32.

Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
recoded area * recoded qu19	231	97.9%	5	2.1%	236	100.0%

recoded area * recoded qu19 Crosstabulation

			recoded qu19		
			Completely Agree	Agree Mostly	Undecided/Don't Know
recoded area	village	Count	2	3	6
		% within recoded area	6.5%	9.7%	19.4%
		% within recoded qu19	7.1%	5.6%	14.3%
	small town of less than 50,000 in habitants	Count	2	12	4
		% within recoded area	5.3%	31.6%	10.5%
		% within recoded qu19	7.1%	22.2%	9.5%
	Suburb	Count	2	4	2
		% within recoded area	18.2%	36.4%	18.2%
		% within recoded qu19	7.1%	7.4%	4.8%
	Industrial Town	Count	3	3	2
		% within recoded area	16.7%	16.7%	11.1%
		% within recoded qu19	10.7%	5.6%	4.8%
	City	Count	19	32	28
		% within recoded area	14.3%	24.1%	21.1%
		% within recoded qu19	67.9%	59.3%	66.7%
Total		Count	28	54	42
		% within recoded area	12.1%	23.4%	18.2%
		% within recoded qu19	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

recoded area * recoded qu19 Crosstabulation

			recoded qu19		
			Disagree Mostly	Completely Disagree	Total
recoded area	village	Count	11	9	31
		% within recoded area	35.5%	29.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu19	19.3%	18.0%	13.4%
	small town of less than 50,000 in habitants	Count	10	10	38
		% within recoded area	26.3%	26.3%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu19	17.5%	20.0%	16.5%
	Suburb	Count	2	1	11
		% within recoded area	18.2%	9.1%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu19	3.5%	2.0%	4.8%
	Industrial Town	Count	6	4	18
		% within recoded area	33.3%	22.2%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu19	10.5%	8.0%	7.8%
	City	Count	28	26	133
		% within recoded area	21.1%	19.5%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu19	49.1%	52.0%	57.6%
Total		Count	57	50	231
		% within recoded area	24.7%	21.6%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu19	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15.736[a]	16	.472
Likelihood Ratio	16.958	16	.388
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.881	1	.027
N of Valid Cases	231		

a. 12 cells (48.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.33.

Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
recoded qu6 * recoded gender	228	96.6%	8	3.4%	236	100.0%

recoded qu6 * recoded gender Crosstabulation

			recoded gender		
			female	male	Total
recoded qu6	Completely Agree	Count	44	17	61
		% within recoded qu6	72.1%	27.9%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	33.1%	17.9%	26.8%
	Agree Mostly	Count	41	23	64
		% within recoded qu6	64.1%	35.9%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	30.8%	24.2%	28.1%
	Undecided/Don't Know	Count	43	46	89
		% within recoded qu6	48.3%	51.7%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	32.3%	48.4%	39.0%
	Disagree Mostly	Count	3	7	10
		% within recoded qu6	30.0%	70.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	2.3%	7.4%	4.4%
	Completely Disagree	Count	2	2	4
		% within recoded qu6	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	1.5%	2.1%	1.8%
Total		Count	133	95	228
		% within recoded qu6	58.3%	41.7%	100.0%
		% within recoded gender	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.735[a]	4	.013
Likelihood Ratio	12.891	4	.012
Linear-by-Linear Association	11.224	1	.001
N of Valid Cases	228		

a. 3 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.67.

Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
recoded qu15 * recoded qu6	229	97.0%	7	3.0%	236	100.0%

recoded qu15 * recoded qu6 Crosstabulation

			recoded qu6		
			Completely Agree	Agree Mostly	Undecided/Don't Know
recoded qu15	Completely Agree	Count	19	12	14
		% within recoded qu15	40.4%	25.5%	29.8%
		% within recoded qu6	31.1%	18.5%	15.7%
	Agree Mostly	Count	19	26	28
		% within recoded qu15	25.0%	34.2%	36.8%
		% within recoded qu6	31.1%	40.0%	31.5%
	Undecided/Don't Know	Count	10	18	22
		% within recoded qu15	18.9%	34.0%	41.5%
		% within recoded qu6	16.4%	27.7%	24.7%
	Disagree Mostly	Count	10	5	14
		% within recoded qu15	29.4%	14.7%	41.2%
		% within recoded qu6	16.4%	7.7%	15.7%
	Completely Disagree	Count	3	4	11
		% within recoded qu15	15.8%	21.1%	57.9%
		% within recoded qu6	4.9%	6.2%	12.4%
Total		Count	61	65	89
		% within recoded qu15	26.6%	28.4%	38.9%
		% within recoded qu6	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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recoded qu15 * recoded qu6 Crosstabulation

			recoded qu6		
			Disagree Mostly	Completely Disagree	Total
recoded qu15	Completely Agree	Count	2		47
		% within recoded qu15	4.3%		100.0%
		% within recoded qu6	20.0%		20.5%
	Agree Mostly	Count	3		76
		% within recoded qu15	3.9%		100.0%
		% within recoded qu6	30.0%		33.2%
	Undecided/Don't Know	Count	3		53
		% within recoded qu15	5.7%		100.0%
		% within recoded qu6	30.0%		23.1%
	Disagree Mostly	Count	2	3	34
		% within recoded qu15	5.9%	8.8%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu6	20.0%	75.0%	14.8%
	Completely Disagree	Count		1	19
		% within recoded qu15		5.3%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu6		25.0%	8.3%
Total		Count	10	4	229
		% within recoded qu15	4.4%	1.7%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu6	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	28.195[a]	16	.030
Likelihood Ratio	26.851	16	.043
Linear-by-Linear Association	8.720	1	.003
N of Valid Cases	229		

a. 10 cells (40.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .33.

377

Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
recoded qu6 * recoded qu29	226	95.8%	10	4.2%	236	100.0%

recoded qu6 * recoded qu29 Crosstabulation

			recoded qu29		
			Yes	No	Total
recoded qu6	Completely Agree	Count	27	33	60
		% within recoded qu6	45.0%	55.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu29	48.2%	19.4%	26.5%
	Agree Mostly	Count	18	46	64
		% within recoded qu6	28.1%	71.9%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu29	32.1%	27.1%	28.3%
	Undecided/Don't Know	Count	10	78	88
		% within recoded qu6	11.4%	88.6%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu29	17.9%	45.9%	38.9%
	Disagree Mostly	Count	1	9	10
		% within recoded qu6	10.0%	90.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu29	1.8%	5.3%	4.4%
	Completely Disagree	Count		4	4
		% within recoded qu6		100.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu29		2.4%	1.8%
Total		Count	56	170	226
		% within recoded qu6	24.8%	75.2%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu29	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	24.533[a]	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	25.631	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	22.900	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	226		

a. 3 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .99.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
recoded qu6 * recoded qu30	225	95.3%	11	4.7%	236	100.0%

recoded qu6 * recoded qu30 Crosstabulation

			recoded qu30		Total
			Yes	No	
recoded qu6	Completely Agree	Count	8	53	61
		% within recoded qu6	13.1%	86.9%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu30	53.3%	25.2%	27.1%
	Agree Mostly	Count	5	57	62
		% within recoded qu6	8.1%	91.9%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu30	33.3%	27.1%	27.6%
	Undecided/Don't Know	Count	2	86	88
		% within recoded qu6	2.3%	97.7%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu30	13.3%	41.0%	39.1%
	Disagree Mostly	Count		10	10
		% within recoded qu6		100.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu30		4.8%	4.4%
	Completely Disagree	Count		4	4
		% within recoded qu6		100.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu30		1.9%	1.8%
Total		Count	15	210	225
		% within recoded qu6	6.7%	93.3%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu30	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.001[a]	4	.092
Likelihood Ratio	8.961	4	.062
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.535	1	.006
N of Valid Cases	225		

a. 5 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .27.

Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
recoded qu6 * recoded qu27	227	96.2%	9	3.8%	236	100.0%

recoded qu6 * recoded qu27 Crosstabulation

			recoded qu27		
			Polish but not European	More Polish than European	Equally Polish and European
recoded qu6	Completely Agree	Count	1	16	40
		% within recoded qu6	1.6%	26.2%	65.6%
		% within recoded qu27	25.0%	21.6%	28.4%
	Agree Mostly	Count		23	40
		% within recoded qu6		35.4%	61.5%
		% within recoded qu27		31.1%	28.4%
	Undecided/Don't Know	Count	1	31	54
		% within recoded qu6	1.1%	35.6%	62.1%
		% within recoded qu27	25.0%	41.9%	38.3%
	Disagree Mostly	Count	1	3	5
		% within recoded qu6	10.0%	30.0%	50.0%
		% within recoded qu27	25.0%	4.1%	3.5%
	Completely Disagree	Count	1	1	2
		% within recoded qu6	25.0%	25.0%	50.0%
		% within recoded qu27	25.0%	1.4%	1.4%
Total		Count	4	74	141
		% within recoded qu6	1.8%	32.6%	62.1%
		% within recoded qu27	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

recoded qu6 * recoded qu27 Crosstabulation

			recoded qu27		Total
			More European than Polish	European but not Polish	
recoded qu6	Completely Agree	Count	4		61
		% within recoded qu6	6.6%		100.0%
		% within recoded qu27	57.1%		26.9%
	Agree Mostly	Count	2		65
		% within recoded qu6	3.1%		100.0%
		% within recoded qu27	28.6%		28.6%
	Undecided/Don't Know	Count	1		87
		% within recoded qu6	1.1%		100.0%
		% within recoded qu27	14.3%		38.3%
	Disagree Mostly	Count		1	10
		% within recoded qu6		10.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu27		100.0%	4.4%
	Completely Disagree	Count			4
		% within recoded qu6			100.0%
		% within recoded qu27			1.8%
Total		Count	7	1	227
		% within recoded qu6	3.1%	.4%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu27	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	44.722[a]	16	.000
Likelihood Ratio	19.851	16	.227
Linear-by-Linear Association	2.869	1	.090
N of Valid Cases	227		

a. 18 cells (72.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .02.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
recoded qu12 * recoded qu27	231	97.9%	5	2.1%	236	100.0%

recoded qu12 * recoded qu27 Crosstabulation

			recoded qu27		
			Polish but not European	More Polish than European	Equally Polish and European
recoded qu12	Completely Agree	Count		20	55
		% within recoded qu12		25.3%	69.6%
		% within recoded qu27		27.0%	37.9%
	Agree Mostly	Count	1	22	39
		% within recoded qu12	1.6%	34.4%	60.9%
		% within recoded qu27	25.0%	29.7%	26.9%
	Undecided/Don't Know	Count	1	12	21
		% within recoded qu12	2.8%	33.3%	58.3%
		% within recoded qu27	25.0%	16.2%	14.5%
	Disagree Mostly	Count	1	13	14
		% within recoded qu12	3.6%	46.4%	50.0%
		% within recoded qu27	25.0%	17.6%	9.7%
	Completely Disagree	Count	1	7	16
		% within recoded qu12	4.2%	29.2%	66.7%
		% within recoded qu27	25.0%	9.5%	11.0%
Total		Count	4	74	145
		% within recoded qu12	1.7%	32.0%	62.8%
		% within recoded qu27	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

recoded qu12 * recoded qu27 Crosstabulation

			recoded qu27		
			More European than Polish	European but not Polish	Total
recoded qu12	Completely Agree	Count	3	1	79
		% within recoded qu12	3.8%	1.3%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu27	42.9%	100.0%	34.2%
	Agree Mostly	Count	2		64
		% within recoded qu12	3.1%		100.0%
		% within recoded qu27	28.6%		27.7%
	Undecided/Don't Know	Count	2		36
		% within recoded qu12	5.6%		100.0%
		% within recoded qu27	28.6%		15.6%
	Disagree Mostly	Count			28
		% within recoded qu12			100.0%
		% within recoded qu27			12.1%
	Completely Disagree	Count			24
		% within recoded qu12			100.0%
		% within recoded qu27			10.4%
Total		Count	7	1	231
		% within recoded qu12	3.0%	.4%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu27	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.025[a]	16	.742
Likelihood Ratio	14.528	16	.559
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.279	1	.022
N of Valid Cases	231		

a. 15 cells (60.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .10.

Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
recoded qu15 * recoded qu21	229	97.0%	7	3.0%	236	100.0%

recoded qu15 * recoded qu21 Crosstabulation

			recoded qu21	
			geographical region	a cultural/historical entity
recoded qu15	Completely Agree	Count	6	23
		% within recoded qu15	12.5%	47.9%
		% within recoded qu21	11.1%	22.5%
	Agree Mostly	Count	16	36
		% within recoded qu15	21.6%	48.6%
		% within recoded qu21	29.6%	35.3%
	Undecided/Don't Know	Count	12	23
		% within recoded qu15	22.2%	42.6%
		% within recoded qu21	22.2%	22.5%
	Disagree Mostly	Count	11	12
		% within recoded qu15	32.4%	35.3%
		% within recoded qu21	20.4%	11.8%
	Completely Disagree	Count	9	8
		% within recoded qu15	47.4%	42.1%
		% within recoded qu21	16.7%	7.8%
Total		Count	54	102
		% within recoded qu15	23.6%	44.5%
		% within recoded qu21	100.0%	100.0%

recoded qu15 * recoded qu21 Crosstabulation

			recoded qu21		
			undecided/don't know	a geo-political entity	Total
recoded qu15	Completely Agree	Count		19	48
		% within recoded qu15		39.6%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu21		27.5%	21.0%
	Agree Mostly	Count	2	20	74
		% within recoded qu15	2.7%	27.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu21	50.0%	29.0%	32.3%
	Undecided/Don't Know	Count	1	18	54
		% within recoded qu15	1.9%	33.3%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu21	25.0%	26.1%	23.6%
	Disagree Mostly	Count	1	10	34
		% within recoded qu15	2.9%	29.4%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu21	25.0%	14.5%	14.8%
	Completely Disagree	Count		2	19
		% within recoded qu15		10.5%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu21		2.9%	8.3%
Total		Count	4	69	229
		% within recoded qu15	1.7%	30.1%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu21	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15.570[a]	12	.212
Likelihood Ratio	16.736	12	.160
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.229	1	.013
N of Valid Cases	229		

a. 6 cells (30.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .33.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
recoded qu15 * recoded qu27	232	98.3%	4	1.7%	236	100.0%

recoded qu15 * recoded qu27 Crosstabulation

			recoded qu27		
			Polish but not European	More Polish than European	Equally Polish and European
recoded qu15	Completely Agree	Count	1	8	37
		% within recoded qu15	2.0%	16.3%	75.5%
		% within recoded qu27	25.0%	10.8%	25.3%
	Agree Mostly	Count	1	23	50
		% within recoded qu15	1.3%	29.9%	64.9%
		% within recoded qu27	25.0%	31.1%	34.2%
	Undecided/Don't Know	Count	1	23	28
		% within recoded qu15	1.9%	42.6%	51.9%
		% within recoded qu27	25.0%	31.1%	19.2%
	Disagree Mostly	Count	1	15	18
		% within recoded qu15	2.9%	44.1%	52.9%
		% within recoded qu27	25.0%	20.3%	12.3%
	Completely Disagree	Count		5	13
		% within recoded qu15		27.8%	72.2%
		% within recoded qu27		6.8%	8.9%
Total		Count	4	74	146
		% within recoded qu15	1.7%	31.9%	62.9%
		% within recoded qu27	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

recoded qu15 * recoded qu27 Crosstabulation

			recoded qu27		
			More European than Polish	European but not Polish	Total
recoded qu15	Completely Agree	Count	2	1	49
		% within recoded qu15	4.1%	2.0%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu27	28.6%	100.0%	21.1%
	Agree Mostly	Count	3		77
		% within recoded qu15	3.9%		100.0%
		% within recoded qu27	42.9%		33.2%
	Undecided/Don't Know	Count	2		54
		% within recoded qu15	3.7%		100.0%
		% within recoded qu27	28.6%		23.3%
	Disagree Mostly	Count			34
		% within recoded qu15			100.0%
		% within recoded qu27			14.7%
	Completely Disagree	Count			18
		% within recoded qu15			100.0%
		% within recoded qu27			7.8%
Total		Count	7	1	232
		% within recoded qu15	3.0%	.4%	100.0%
		% within recoded qu27	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17.055[a]	16	.382
Likelihood Ratio	18.703	16	.284
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.055	1	.014
N of Valid Cases	232		

a. 15 cells (60.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .08.

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Warsaw University Centre for Europe
Post-baccalaureate studies outline for the specialisation in European Integration

	Teaching load (in hours)
<u>Year 1</u>	364
Semester I	168
A) Preparatory subjects	98
1) Introduction to social sciences	
2) Introduction to legal studies	
3) Introduction to microeconomics	
4) Introduction to macroeconomics	
5) Introduction to cultural anthropology	
C) European Studies	70
1) History of European civilisation and culture	
2) Political history of Europe	
3) History of the development of the European idea	
Semester II	196
A) Preparatory subjects	56
1) Introduction to Government science	
2) Principles of public law	
B) General subjects	98
1) International political relations	
2) International public law	
3) Political systems of European Union member countries	
4) European economic integration	
C) European Studies: Architecture of integrated Europe	42
1) European organisations	
2) European Union institutions	
<u>Year II</u>	350
Semester III	168
A) Preparatory subjects	14
1) Principles of private law	
B) General subjects	84
1) International private law	

2) World Trade Organisation
3) International economic relations
4) Methods and techniques of social research
5) European information systems

C) *European Studies: European legal order*   70
    1) Principles of Community law
    2) Decision-making procedures in the European Union
    3) Settlement of disputes in the European Union
    4) Protection of human rights in Europe

Semester IV   **182**
B) *General subjects*   14
    1) Psychology of attitudes
C) *European Studies: European economic integration* 84
    1) European Single Market
    2) Economic and Monetary Union
    3) Competition law and policy
    4) Common policies in the European Communities
D) *Tutorials*   84

Year III   **294**

Semester V   **182**
C) *European Studies: European cultural, social and
informational order*   84
    1) European cultural anthropology
    2) European social order
    3) Contemporary problems of communication in Europe
    4) Telecommunications in Europe
D) *Tutorials*   84
E) *Diploma seminar*   14

Semester VI   **112**
C) *European Studies: Poland in integrated Europe*   42
    1) Essence and effects of Polish Association with the
    European Communities
    2) The White Paper Accession Requirements
    3) Polish Strategy and Accession Policy
D) *Tutorials*   56
E) *Diploma seminar*   14

(Skoczny *et al*, 1997: Annex 3)

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Breakdown of JEPs submitted/accepted by Polish Institutions of Higher Education During TEMPUS I and TEMPUS II.

The numbers of Joint European Projects (submitted/accepted) during TEMPUS I and TEMPUS II are given in brackets.

		TEMPUS I	**TEMPUS II**
Universities			
1)	Gdansk	(76/7)	(39/15)
2)	Silesian in Katowice	(27/5)	(36/13)
3)	Jagiellonian in Krakow	(141/22)	(125/31)
4)	Marie Curie-Sklodowska in Lublin	(39/5)	(31/6)
5)	Lodz	(143/24)	(74/16)
6)	Opole	(13/1)	(12/4)
7)	Adam Mickiewicz in Poznan	(69/11)	(54/12)
8)	Szczecin	(25/2)	(21/4)
9)	Mikolaj Kopernick in Torun	(46/13)	(50/18)
10)	Warsaw	(151/39)	(99/23)
11)	Bialystok	(7/2)	(11/3)
12)	Wroclaw	(94/14)	(69/15)
13)	Catholic University of Lublin	(24/2)	(15/2)
Theological Academies			
1)	Catholic Theological Academy in Warsaw	(0/0)	(1/0)
2)	Christian Theological Academy in Warsaw	(0/0)	(0/0)
Universities of Technology			
1)	Bialystok	(14/3)	(28/6)
2)	Czestochowa	(16/0)	(13/3)
3)	Gdansk	(91/15)	(68/17)
4)	Silesian in Gliwice	(50/4)	(58/17)
5)	Swietokrzyski in Kielce	(6/0)	(17/6)
6)	Koszalin	(5/1)	(12/3)
7)	Krakow	(56/13)	(48/12)
8)	Krakow Academy of Mining and Metallury	(54/10)	(62/15)
9)	Lublin	(10/3)	(23/5)
10)	Lodz	(61/11)	(61/21)
11)	Opole	(8/0)	(7/1)
12)	Poznan	(50/6)	(48/13)
13)	Radom	(11/2)	(14/1)
14)	Rzeszow	(13/1)	(13/5)
16)	Szczecin	(17/3)	(35/11)
17)	Warsaw	(191/30)	(133/42)

		TEMPUS I	**TEMPUS II**
<u>Universities of Technology</u>			
18)	Wroclaw	(99/12)	(68/25)
19)	Zielona Gora	(5/1)	(11/3)
20)	WSM, Szeczecin	(0/0)	(3/2)
21)	Military Technical Academy in Warsaw	(0/0)	(5/0)
<u>Academies of Economics</u>			
1)	Warsaw School of Economics	(42/10)	(27/12)
2)	Katowice	(7/2)	(22/11)
3)	Krakow	(24/8)	(42/7)
4)	Poznan	(16/6)	(20/6)
5)	Wroclaw	(24/3)	(16/6)
<u>Academies of Agriculture</u>			
1)	Bydgoszcz	(3/0)	(23/4)
2)	Krakow	(21/5)	(26/7)
3)	Lublin	(8/3)	(10/2)
4)	Olsztyn	(19/4)	(16/5)
5)	Poznan	(24/4)	(21/6)
6)	Siedlce	(4/1)	(1/1)
7)	Szczecin	(8/0)	(9/2)
8)	Warsaw	(50/11)	(39/11)
9)	Wroclaw	(16/3)	(15/3)
<u>Higher Schools of Pedagogy/Teacher Training Colleges</u>			
1)	Bydgoszcz	(3/0)	(8/3)
2)	Czestochowa	(3/0)	(4/1)
3)	Kielce	(4/1)	(8/3)
4)	Krakow	(9/1)	(10/3)
5)	Olsztyn	(2/0)	(3/3)
6)	Rzeszsow	(3/0)	(3/1)
7)	Slupsk	(1/0)	(2/1)
8)	Zielona Gora	(4/1)	(4/1)
9)	Warsaw	(3/0)	(3/0)
<u>Academies of Medicine</u>			
1)	Bialystok	(7/1)	(5/1)
2)	Bydgoszcz	(0/0)	(4/2)
3)	Gdansk	(14/4)	(10/4)
4)	Katowice	(2/0)	(5/2)
5)	Krakow	(15/4)	(0/0)
6)	Lublin	(8/1)	(12/1)
7)	Lodz	(6/1)	(7/4)
8)	Poznan	(10/3)	(12/4)
9)	Szczecin	(0/0)	(6/1)
10)	Warsaw	(21/2)	(9/4)
11)	Wroclaw	(9/2)	(12/4)
12)	Military Academy of Medicine in Lodz	(0/0)	(1/1)

	TEMPUS I	**TEMPUS II**
Academies of Medicine		
13) Warsaw Postgrad. Medical Training Centre	(3/1)	(2/0)
Academies of Music		
1) Bydgoszcz	(0/0)	(0/0)
2) Gdansk	(0/0)	(0/0)
3) Katowice	(1/0)	(0/0)
4) Krakow	(1/0)	(2/0)
5) Lodz	(0/0)	(1/0)
6) Poznan	(0/0)	(0/0)
7) Warsaw	(1/0)	(0/0)
8) Wroclaw	(0/0)	(0/0)
Academies of Arts		
1) Krakow	(8/2)	(8/1)
2) Warsaw	(5/1)	(1/0)
3) College of Arts in Gdansk	(1/0)	(1/0)
4) College of Arts in Lodz	(1/0)	(2/0)
5) College of Arts in Poznan	(1/0)	(3/0)
6) College of Arts in Wroclaw	(0/0)	(0/0)
7) College of Theatre and Film Studies in Lodz	(2/1)	(1/0)
8) College of Theatre Studies in Krakow	(0/0)	(0/0)
9) College of Theatre Studies in Warsaw	(2/1)	(1/0)
Academies of Physical Education		
1) Gdansk	(1/1)	(1/0)
2) Katowice	(0/0)	(0/0)
3) Krakow	(4/1)	(4/0)
4) Poznan	(4/1)	(0/0)
5) Warsaw	(0/0)	(1/0)
6) Wroclaw	(0/0)	(1/0)

During TEMPUS I only one non-state institution of higher education, the National School of Public Administration, Warsaw, submitted any JEPs. Twenty-nine non-state institutions of higher education submitted 83 JEPs during TEMPUS II and 22 of the submitted Joint European Projects were accepted (Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 50-53; Polish TEMPUS Office, 1998c: 13-16).

Individual Mobility Grants distribution by Polish home University during TEMPUS I and TEMPUS II (excluding 1994/95).

		TEMPUS I	TEMPUS II
Universities			
1)	Gdansk	21	9
2)	Silesian in Katowice	13	5
3)	Jagiellonian in Krakow	39	29
4)	Marie Curie-Sklodowska in Lublin	18	6
5)	Lodz	35	31
6)	Opole	0	1
7)	Adam Mickiewicz in Poznan	25	11
8)	Szczecin	11	0
9)	Mikolaj Kopernick in Torun	7	19
10)	Warsaw	63	25
11)	Bialystok	3	1
12)	Wroclaw	39	11
13)	Catholic University of Lublin	9	5
Theological Academies			
1)	Catholic Theological Academy in Warsaw	0	2
2)	Christian Theological Academy in Warsaw	0	0
Universities of Technology			
1)	Bialystok	13	2
2)	Czestochowa	7	0
3)	Gdansk	19	3
4)	Silesian in Gliwice	19	20
5)	Swietokrzyski in Kielce	2	0
6)	Koszalin	2	0
7)	Krakow	11	5
8)	Krakow Academy of Mining and Metallury	27	6
9)	Lublin	3	0
10)	Lodz	31	19
11)	Opole	2	1
12)	Poznan	27	4
13)	Radom	0	1
14)	Rzeszow	4	2
16)	Szczecin	9	3
17)	Warsaw	68	26

		TEMPUS I	TEMPUS II
Universities of Technology			
18)	Wroclaw	35	15
19)	Zielona Gora	2	0
20)	WSM, Szeczecin	0	0
21)	Military Technical Academy in Warsaw	0	1
Academies of Economics			
1)	Warsaw School of Economics	12	3
2)	Katowice	8	1
3)	Krakow	15	2
4)	Poznan	4	1
5)	Wroclaw	8	3
Academies of Agriculture			
1)	Bydgoszcz	2	3
2)	Krakow	8	1
3)	Lublin	7	1
4)	Olsztyn	7	3
5)	Poznan	3	7
6)	Siedlce	5	0
7)	Szczecin	6	0
8)	Warsaw	18	9
9)	Wroclaw	3	1
Higher Schools of Pedagogy/Teacher Training Colleges			
1)	Bydgoszcz	0	1
2)	Czestochowa	2	0
3)	Kielce	0	0
4)	Krakow	3	0
5)	Olsztyn	0	0
6)	Opole	4	0
7)	Rzeszsow	5	3
8)	Slupsk	0	0
9)	Zielona Gora	0	0
10)	Warsaw	1	1
Academies of Medicine			
1)	Bialystok	2	0
2)	Bydgoszcz	2	0
3)	Gdansk	15	2
4)	Katowice	4	0
5)	Krakow	10	0
6)	Lublin	8	0
7)	Lodz	17	1
8)	Poznan	6	3
9)	Szczecin	2	1
10)	Warsaw	15	6
11)	Wroclaw	17	5

		TEMPUS I	**TEMPUS II**
Academies of Medicine			
12)	Military Academy of Medicine in Lodz	0	0
13)	Warsaw Postgrad. Medical Training Centre	0	0
Academies of Music			
1)	Bydgoszcz	1	0
2)	Gdansk	0	0
3)	Katowice	0	1
4)	Krakow	5	0
5)	Lodz	0	0
6)	Poznan	0	0
7)	Warsaw	1	0
8)	Wroclaw	1	0
Academies of Arts			
1)	Krakow	11	1
2)	Warsaw	6	1
3)	College of Arts in Gdansk	0	0
4)	College of Arts in Lodz	0	1
5)	College of Arts in Poznan	0	2
6)	College of Arts in Wroclaw	0	0
7)	College of Theatre and Film Studies in Lodz	0	0)
8)	College of Theatre Studies in Krakow	0	0
9)	College of Theatre Studies in Warsaw	0	0
Academies of Physical Education			
1)	Gdansk	1	1
2)	Katowice	0	0
3)	Krakow	1	0
4)	Poznan	4	1
5)	Warsaw	2	4
6)	Wroclaw	0	1

(Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996c: 57-59; Polish TEMPUS Office, 1998c: 18-20; Polish TEMPUS Office, 1997a: 18-20; Polish TEMPUS Office, 1996a: 18-20).

Number of students per 100,000 inhabitants

State	Year - 1970	Year - 1977	Year - 1980	Year - 1986	Year - 1990	Year 1995
Bulgaria	1,170	1,618	1,144	1,401	2,162	2,942
Denmark	1,544	2,313	2,074	2,314	2,782	3,189
France	1,581	2,051	2,005	2,332	2,995	3,600
GDR	1,776	2,285	2,395	2,631	-	-
Germany	-	-	-	-	2,581	2,628
GFR	830	1,748	1,987	2,592	-	-
Greece	976	1,285	1,256	1,987	1,910	3,149
Hungary	778	1,024	944	928	988	1,926
Italy	1,283	1,870	1,959	1,995	2,547	3,103
Poland	1,218	1,795	1,656	1,205	1,429	1,865*
Spain	666	1,825	2,236	2,542	3,112	4,017
United Kingdom	1,084	1,356	1,478	1,880	2,186	3,135
USA	4,148	5,238	5,313	5,167	5,395	5,339
USSR	1,895	1,957	1,972	1,827	3,435	2,998

* This figure is a revised estimate. It was obtained in a personal communication from UNESCO's Division of Statistics on 3 May 1998.

Sources: *UNESCO Statistical Yearbooks, 1980, 1982, 1989 and 1998* (Paris: UNESCO).

Appendix 12

Polish Students According to Group of Studies

Group of Studies	Year - 1960	Year - 1977	Year - 1980	Year - 1985	Year - 1991	Year 1993/94
All studies	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Technical	27.6	30.1	27.3	19.4	17.1	18.8
Agricultural	7.3	8.8	11.0	7.9	5.6	5.4
Law & Social Sciences	17.8	23.3	25.2	21.3	24.9	32.1
Humanities	7.3	6.5	5.4	8.5	9.5	10.9
Exact and Natural Sciences	4.6	4.5	3.4	4.4	4.5	4.3
Medicine	15.5	10.6	10.6	13.5	14.5	10.2

Sources:
Rocznik Statystyki Miedzynarodowej [Yearbook of International Statistics] 1981 (Warsaw: GUS) p. 349.
Rocznik Statystyki Miedzynarodowej [Yearbook of International Statistics] 1994 (Warsaw: GUS) p. 173.
Rocznik Statystyki Miedzynarodowej [Yearbook of International Statistics] 1997 (Warsaw: GUS) p. 154.

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Chmielecka Interview (9.4.98) - Dr Ewa Chmielecka, Scientific Secretary, Programme for the Reform of Higher Education and Scientific Research, Institute of Public Affairs.

Cybulski Interview (9.4.98) - Professor Zygmunt A Cybulski, President of the Federation of Polish Teachers' Associations of Higher Schools and Science, Warsaw. Member of the Sejm (1993-97) for SLD.

Czubinski Interview (several interviews between 1996-98) - Dr Zbigniew A Czubinski, Associate Professor, Chair of International Relations, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Law, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland. Also, lectures at the Jagiellonian University's Interfaculty Centre for European Studies.

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Gasiorowski Interview (27.10.97) - Jerzy A Gasiorowski Msc., Ph.D.(cng.), Director of the Policy Unit, Polish Ministry of National Education.

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