The Reform of Higher Education Systems and the Concept of Lifelong Learning

A comparative study of German and Armenian universities in the Bologna Process

Dissertation

zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades

doctor philosophiae (Dr. phil.)

vorgelegt dem Rat der Fakultät für Sozial- und Verhaltenswissenschaften

der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena

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geboren am 21.04.1977 in Jerewan, Armenien

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Tag des Kolloquiums: 12.11.2010

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Acknowledgments

It is a pleasure to take this opportunity to thank a lot of people who, directly or indirectly, supported me towards the end of this thesis.

First and the foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Dr. Martha Friedenthal-Haase. I have been undoubtedly privileged to have the most supportive adviser anyone could ask for. This work would not have been possible without her kind guidance, valuable criticism and inspiring mentorship, without her encouragements in face of any problem or difficulty; nor would my experience of the years spent in Jena have been as enriching and rewarding.

I would like to express my sincerest appreciation to Prof. Dr. Elisabeth Meilhammer, who always found time in her overloaded schedule to discuss my project and contributed greatly towards shaping this dissertation with her critical comments and keen observations.

I am grateful to all the people at the Chair of Adult Education I had the pleasure to work and share a life with during my stay in Germany: Dr. Helmut Stauche, whose ability to communicate in many languages created an internationally warm atmosphere at the Chair; Tetyana Kloubert, who combined the best attributes of a friend and a colleague; and our secretary Frau Karin Liebl, who was always so kind and so ready to help with all the questions of organizational character.

I wish to express many thanks to Prof. Dr. Jost Reischmann from Bamberg University, who contributed greatly with criticism when I was writing my first article for an ISCAE publication. His criticism helped me to look at many issues differently and I am sure impacted my further writing. My gratitude also extends to Yerevan— to Professor Yuri Sargsyan, whose expertise and knowledge of the Armenian higher education system helped me considerably to get an insight into the system and create an objective picture of the situation in Armenia. He was always there to assist and support with all questions I had. Another thanks in Yerevan goes to my friend Ara Egibyan for his support and valuable comments on my work.

I am grateful to my dear friends Inez Chai, who helped me to find the proofreader for my thesis, and Katrin Etzrodt for assisting me in all matters related to the translations from and into German, as well as for consulting me extensively during the transcription of my German interviews. And I am thankful to the proofreader Catherine Delos Santos, for her accuracy and thorough work.

I am deeply indebted to all the interviewees of this study, in Germany and in Armenia, for devoting their precious time to my research. It was always a pleasure

and at the same time an amazing learning experience to discuss the topic with them and to listen to their expert opinions.

Last, but not least, I am greatful to my family: to my husband for his constant support during all these years; to my mother for her encouragement and belief in me; and to my two little ones, for their existence that has provided the greatest motivation ever.

Chapter 1

Introduction

> "Education is the most powerful weapon that you can use to change the world."
>
> Nelson Mandela

> "Education is the best economic policy we have."
>
> Tony Blair

1.1   Research Topic

The past decade was marked by extensive transformations in the European higher education landscape. A decisive European process, named after the city of Bologna, which gradually was embedded into the broader European policy, known as Lisbon agenda[1], was born in response to growing massification of universities, internationalization and pressure of global competitiveness (see e.g. the latest Sursock & Smidt, 2010; Marginson & van der Wende, 2010, etc.). With an aim of establishing a European Higher Education Area (EHEA), the Bologna process is reshaping European higher education (HE) today, evoking profound structural and cultural changes in the organization of the university in Europe. It aims at bringing educational structures to a better convergence in order to enhance the employability and mobility of European citizens and to increase the international competitiveness of

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[1] This development is described in details in Chapter 3.

European higher education (Bologna declaration, 1999). Up to the present, 47[2] European countries, among them Germany and Armenia, have joined the Process, thus committing themselves to the implementation of Bologna objectives.

The Bologna process has been launched as a voluntary initiative of national governments of the European countries, on behalf of the ministers of education. Its non-mandatory character has been multiply stressed by policy makers. However, there have always been inner and outer constrains that enthralled more and more countries to participate and pushed the process to its realization (see e.g. Ravinet, 2006, also Chapter 3). An early analysis of the nature of Bologna process by the Confederation of the European Union Rectors' Conferences and the Association of European Universities (CRE) (2000), which came several months upon signing the Declaration as an "explanation" of the Bologna declaration, stated:

> "It is a commitment freely taken by each signatory country to reform its own higher education system or systems in order to create overall convergence at European level. The Bologna declaration is not a reform imposed upon national governments or higher education institutions. Any pressure individual countries and higher education institutions may feel from the Bologna process could only result from their ignoring increasingly common features or staying outside the mainstream of change"[3] (Confederation of the European Union Rectors' Conferences and the CRE, 2000:3).

On the one hand the deliberate character of Bologna declaration is emphasized, on the other hand, there is an appeal to those who are not convinced not to be ignorant of the ongoing social developments. According to the announcement of Mrs. Vivian Reding, EU Commissioner for Education and Culture, at the ministerial meeting in Berlin:

> "Bologna cannot be implemented à la carte, it has to be done across the board and wholeheartedly. If not, the process will leave European higher education even less strong and united than before" (Reding, 2004:53).

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[2]In the course of finalizing this dissertation, Kazakhstan was included as a new member of the Bologna process at the Bologna Ministerial Anniversary Conference in Budapest and Vienna in March 2010.

[3]Emphasis added.

Thus, the involvement in this process for the member states means a fundamental restructuring of their higher education systems through translation of Bologna directives into national policies, which has a direct effect on the structure and content of study programmes, the university management, the student involvement, the quality assurance mechanisms and the processes of decision making.

Now it is especially noteworthy to look at the development of the process from the height of its official deadline—the magical 2010—that was intended to be the official year of launch of the EHEA. Though in the meantime it became clear that the aims of achieving the common European higher education space in ten years appeared to be too ambitious and the deadline has been shifted to 2020 (Leuven/Louvain–la–Neuve Communiqué, 2009), yet the date remains significant in a way that different actors involved in the European higher education arena try to give an account of this complex and ambiguous process which has been keeping Europe at its paces for about a decade already.

The paradox here is that on the one side we come across the official Bologna reports, which sound very optimistic and promising, such as "Trends 2010" (Sursock & Smidt, 2010), one of the sub-chapters of which is entitled "The Brave New World of Higher Education", referring, probably, to the successful implementation of the objectives set 10 years ago. Thus, the outcomes of the Trends study reveal that 58% of the investigated institutions estimate the impact of the EHEA very positively and only 0,1% see a negative impact (ibid:29). Also, we get to know that a big progress has been observed regarding almost all the action lines of the Bologna process, for example, the new Bologna degrees are already being implemented in 95 % of institutions (ibid:7). The next phase of development, according to the authors of "Trends", is to "deepen the change process by creating new organizational cultures" using already existing Bologna instruments (ibid:9).

On the other side we witness students, striking against the new reforms[4], the "Bolognaburns", an anti-Bologna process movement[5], the members of which call their organization "the crises of Bologna" and a professor giving up his Chair in the

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[4]Students strikes were initiated Germany-wide and got support in several other European countries in summer and fall 2009, a wide range of strikes is planned during summer 2010. All the details can be found on the website: http://www.bildungsstreik.net, last retrieved 21.05.10.

[5]A movement of students and university staff, who gathered in Vienna during the Bologna Anniversary Conference and organized a counter-summit to build up a self-organized transnational network for the aims of fighting against Bologna. Website: http://bolognaburns.org.

protest of Bologna reforms[6].

The European Higher Education Area has already been officially launched but the past ten years of persistent work and in a sense also pressure, instead of bringing more clarity into the whole process, have only added to its misunderstanding and confusions of both conceptual and practical nature.

It is the most discussed, disputed, studied and criticized process in the higher education policy today. Almost all recent studies admit that the Bologna process is being implemented very differently in different countries, even in different universities within the same country and different faculties within the same university; and, as a result, has an extremely diversified impact on national higher education systems (see e.g. Alesi et al, 2005; Barraud de Lagerie & Mignot-Gèrard, 2005; Duclaud-Williams, 2005; Kehm, 2005; Krücken et al., 2005; Mangset, 2005; Mignot-Gèrard & Musselin, 2005; Witte, 2004, 2006; Gornitzka, 2006; Huisman et al, 2006; Tomusk, 2007; Sursock & Smidt, 2010). Despite that, the ambition of mutual compatibility and comparability is still there. Though it is quite unclear how these two phenomena could coexist, it is very early and very hard to judge the success or failure of a system, which, in most cases, did not even produce graduates yet. However, with the unceasing turbulence around the Bologna process, we should give pause and think about its significance, role and purposes for the growing European society and its learning institutions. Respectively, many research perspectives open a view into very diverse spheres of (higher) education, social and political sciences.

One of the aspects in the Process, which has been formulated as a separate action line, is promoting lifelong learning (LLL) as an essential element of the European Higher Education Area:

> "In the future Europe, built upon a knowledge-based society and economy, lifelong learning strategies are necessary to face the challenges of competitiveness and the use of new technologies and to improve social cohesion, equal opportunities and the quality of life" (Prague Communiqué, 2001).

Recently, lifelong learning has become one of the top issues in the international education policy. It has been declared a prerequisite to achieving the goals of better

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[6]A German Professor of Theology resigned from his Chair at the university of Mainz in a protest against Bologna, which according to him changes the real university into a "learning factory" (*Lernfabrik*). Marius Reiser *"Warum ich meinen Lehrstuhl räume"*, in the online issue of Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung from January 20, 2009, available at http://www.faz.net, last retrieved 21.05.10.

employment, promoting economic growth, enhanced competences, high qualifications and mobility (UNESCO, OECD, EC).

Whereas the idea that learning is a lifelong occupation is considered to be as old as humankind, being traced by some scholars back to Plato and his successors, such as Augustine, Locke, Rousseau, Comenius, Kant, etc., and up to Dewey (Field & Leicester, 2000; Aspin, 2001), the emergence of the lifelong learning notion at the educational policy arena can be traced back to the early 1970s, when the concept of lifelong education as a new educational paradigm was born in a result of the student riots of 1968 and criticism of formal education by progressive scholars (Boshier, 1998:4). A number of influential writings, such as the compendium of the Council of Europe on permanent education (1970), OECD's "Recurrent Education" (1973), Paul Lengrand's "Introduction to Lifelong Education" (1975, first published 1970), the UNESCO's "Learning to Be", best known as the Faure Report (Faure, 1972), triggered world-wide discussions on education, proposing the lifelong education *"as the master concept for educational policies in the years to come for both developed and developing countries"* (Faure, 1972:182). These early writings stressed the humanistic and holistic character of education, which encompasses the whole life–span, is inclusive and occurs across different formal and non-formal settings, addressing a broad range of personal, social, cultural, and economic purposes.

In the 1990s the lifelong learning discourse was elevated onto the political scene with a renewed intensity, making a shift from lifelong education to lifelong learning, which potentially is able to encompass a much wider scope of educational happenings. The European Commission published two White Papers: on competitiveness and economic growth (European Commission, 1993) and on education and training (European Commission, 1995), where the lifelong learning concept was adopted as a cornerstone of the development of a learning society in order to provide economic and social progress of a unified Europe. Consequently, the year 1996 was declared as the year of lifelong learning. Since then it became the core concept of the educational and training policies of the European Union[7]. Other supranational organizations like OECD and UNESCO have made the lifelong learning the foundation of their activity (Delors, 1996; OECD, 1996, 2003). However, like the political debate of the 1990s, which focused on economic change and the challenge of global competitiveness, the

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[7]For the detailed investigation of the lifelong learning concept in the educational policy of European Union see, for instance, Jarvis, 2001; Tuschling & Engemann, 2006; Óhidy, 2009.

lifelong learning concept, too, represented a new strategy of striving for economic effectiveness. The White Paper on "Growth, Competitiveness and Employment" and the following Paper on "Learning Society" represented in a sense a turning point in the policy discourse on lifelong learning. Lifelong learning has become the major weapon in the struggle against unemployment. Thus, the white paper of 1993 emphasized *"developing, generalizing and systematizing lifelong learning and continuing training"* in an effort to *"devise and implement education and training measures which are able to stimulate growth and employment"* (European Commission, 1993:120). The White Paper of 1995 "Towards the Learning Society", too, focused on "training and apprenticeship policies" for the purpose of building employability in the new knowledge and information society.

So what we observe is the deviation of the concept from its original humanistic and emancipatory character, advocated by Faure, Lengrand and others to a more narrow, neo-liberal notion of lifelong learning for economic purposes. With this notion, the term became one of the main strategies of the Lisbon agenda on the way of building in Europe *"the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy"* and predictably got its reflection in the Bologna process (see Chapter 3).

Higher education was for a long time separated from the discourse of lifelong learning (Jakobi & Rusconi, 2008:3). However, in the new agenda, the integration of lifelong learning strategies in its structures and the promotion of the lifelong learning concept is expected to meet the needs of individuals, society, and economy. The Berlin communiqué, for example, explicitly urges higher education institutions (HEIs) *"to enhance the possibilities for lifelong learning at higher education level"* (Berlin communiqué, 2003:6). The Bergen communiqué then mentions national and European qualifications framework *"as an opportunity to further embed lifelong learning in higher education"* (The Bergen communiqué, 2005:3).

The crucial role of the university in the the lifelong learning discourse, is conditioned by its image and influence in the comprehensive system of education as the hearth of academic thought and scientific research, not least also as educator of school and university teachers:

> "What universities teach, investigate and promote influences knowledge, attitudes, values and practices in many areas of society. Tertiary institutions educate people who will later shape the development of society" (Knapper & Cropley, 2000:3)

The ambiguity of the term "lifelong learning" allows a variation of its definitions

and usages. The concept has been criticized for being misused by policy makers, as well as by very different actors in social and industrial spheres (different organizations, television, marketing representatives), to cover a range of already existing practices in a more colorful package (Holford et al, 1998; Field, 2006). Is it only a fashionable concept, or a way of thinking about education, which encompasses a whole lifespan— and is not restricted to an age and a context, or "a precondition for exercising reasoned choices about our lives", as precisely noted by Field (ibid:3-4)?

The study of lifelong learning within the context of higher education, especially embedded in neo-liberal sentiments, raises fundamental questions related to the nature and function of education and the role of the university in the modern society. The concerns here relate to the questions if the university is able to embrace the new developments of offering education different from its traditions or is lifelong learning an activity distinct from the university's principal functions of delivering education, carrying research and granting degrees? The European Commission, for example, has been criticizing the university for being "an isolated universe":

> "After remaining <u>a comparatively isolated universe</u> for a very long period, both in relation to society and to the rest of the world, with funding guaranteed and a status protected by respect for their autonomy, European universities have gone through the second half of the 20th century without really calling into question <u>the role or the nature</u> of what they should be contributing to society.
>
> The changes they are undergoing today and which have intensified over the past ten years prompt the fundamental question: can the European universities, as they are and are organised now, hope in the future to <u>retain their place in society and in the world</u>?[8]" (European Commission, 2003a:22)

So, it is assumed that the university is not open enough to society and is not responsive enough to social developments. Its viability is being questioned. At the same time, the university is shaken by the new concept of "employability" with the lifelong learning being one of the strategies of its achievement. Thus, it is challenged with the huge imperative of change.

The European Commission, in its turn, has been also criticized for vulgarizing the discourse about the role of the higher education through presenting it as an instrument of economic growth:

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[8]Emphasis added.

> "The Commision did not take seriously the possibility that the University could be corrupted by strong economic interests and it gave a too narrow interpretation of the University basic mission, including its role as the carrier of European civilization and its role in molding individualls into informed, critical, and responsible democratic citizens"(Olsen, 2007:42).

As we see, the Bologna process touches upon not only the mechanisms of higher education, its organization, structure, curricula, but also upon the concept of the university as such. Some of researchers in higher education argue that the process impacts the university in a way that a shift from social institution to industry takes place (Gumport, 2000; Neave, 2003, 2005; Nokalla 2008, etc.). Even official Bologna observers mention that higher education institutions are increasingly viewed by policy makers as "economic engines" and as essentials "for ensuring knowledge production" (Sursock & Smidt, 2010:14).

The conflict between the two competing ideas of higher education as a social institution and as an industry is profound. Is it the new mission of the university—ensuring employability of its students—and does it not contradict with the traditional role of the university as a place for search of truth and understanding?

The orientation of Bologna process towards economic purposes of higher education was emphasized by the European ministers in charge of higher education since the launch of the process, as well as the European university rectors represented by Andris Barblan, Secretary General of the Association of European Universities by that time:

> "<...> employability rather than instruction is becoming the keyword for the development of a competitive Europe" (Barblan, 1999).

Already the post-Sorbonne preparations for Bologna declaration stress employability, mobility and competitiveness as the central objectives of higher education (Haug, Kirstein & Knudsen, 1999:29), in contrast to the more humanistic approach of the Sorbonne declaration with the focus on strengthening and building upon "the intellectual, cultural, social and technical dimensions" of Europe (Sorbonne declaration, 1998:11). In the Bologna declaration, the employability becomes an "underpinning aim":

> "From the three aims underpinning the Bologna Declaration, enhanced employability seems to be the strongest source of change and reform in higher education" (Haug & Tauch, 2001:26)

The new approach to higher education is criticized for deviating from the traditional ideals of the university. Thus, instead of being an institution, which transmits universal knowledge, advancing, in a Humboldtian sense, knowledge through research, the university would have to adjust to the interests of the employment system. Of course, this is not completely plausible, as traditionally, the university has taught a much wider range of subjects, many of which could not be directly relevant to the demands of the global infrastructure. Or, instead of being a community of scholars and students engaged in the task of seeking truth, in Jaspers' sense, universities would have to become agents of economy:

> "Bologna process can be interpreted as a strategy to increase higher education's relevance to economy" (Amaral & Magalhaes, 2004:79).

In Newman's "The Idea of a University" (1873/1999), we come across one of the most inspiring definitions of the university as:

> "<...> the high protecting power of all knowledge and science, of fact and principle, of inquiry and discovery, of experiment and speculation; it maps out the territory of the intellect, <...>. It acts as umpire between truth and truth, and <...> assigns to all their due order of precedence" (Newman, 1873/1999:416).

He, too, criticized the principle of utility that might characterize university education and advocated liberal education. It is astonishing how the debates of the past reflect the debates of the present if we recall Newmans discourse on knowledge viewed in relation to professional skill (ibid: 137–161). He argued with Locke (and Edinburgh Reviewers), who considered "knowledge which is not useful" to be a "deal of trash", and claimed that the utility can be "the end"(in modern terms - the outcome) in the case where the usefulness of knowledge is in the knowledge itself.

> "<...> intellectual culture is its own end, for what has its end in itself has its use in itself also" (ibid:146).

If we substitute Locke and Edinburg Reviewers with policy makers of today and Newman with a number of critics who claim that the traditional concept of the university is being abused by modern reforms, we will need only to add modern terminology.

Gumport (2000) argues that the legitimating idea of higher education as a social institution has been gradually displaced by the idea of higher education as an industry

and asserts that it can be traced even in the way of how people speak or think of education, as a production metaphor.

She opposes higher education institutions as industrial and as social organizations. In the first case the function of HE, relying on the production metaphor of producing and selling goods, is to train workforce, advance economic development and perform research, while the latter notion rests on such essential educational legacies as the *"cultivation of citizenship, the preservation of cultural heritage(s), and the formation of individual character and habits of mind"* (Gumport, 2000:71).

The tension between the two legitimating ideas is explained by the two major concerns: in case higher education does not adapt, it could lose its viability; from the other side the adaptation could bring to fore short-term economic demands in neglect of wider societal functions:

> "I am concerned that technical, market imperatives run wild, urging colleges and universities to adapt to short-term market demands, to re-deploy resources (which include people, e.g., faculty), in an effort to reposition themselves within an increasingly competitive context" (ibid:70).

One point in this whole discourse on the idea of the university should not be neglected: that the kind of university, advocated by Newman, Humboldt or Jaspers was developed during the time when the university education was the privilege of few. One of the driving forces in the reform of the modern university is the pressure of expansion. The expanded system is forced to revise the principles of its organization. And here the revised principles come in conflict with traditional ideals, which is, too, being criticized:

> "<. . . > under the current regime of mass production of knowledge, producing knowledge has become an assembly line work as an opposite to the earlier performing of an aristocratic calling" (Tomusk, 2006:149).

It is now more a *"democracy where all have equal rights"* and not *"an aristocracy of trained intellect"*[9]. As mentioned by Neave (2005), higher education is undergoing transition from being an institution of formation and cultivation of elites to a mass-institution serving the economic system. Tomusk compares the modern university with a military academy:

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[9]The original expression reads: "The university is not a democracy where all have equal rights, it is an aristocracy of trained intellect" (Searle, 1971:186).

> "<...> economy has become war by other means, everyone is expected to become a foot-soldier in the global economic war, with university acting as the military academy" (Tomusk, 2006:150).

Another goal of the Bologna reforms, namely, striving for a competitive educational system in Europe, is often critically seen as a major driving force, the political imperative to withstand the strife against the universities in the USA in the global educational market, as it is asserted that the American university has *"become the supreme research institution in the world"* and has replaced the *"German university that had led the world at the end of the nineteenth century and until World War I"* (Kerr, 2001: ix).

> It is through redesigning the European higher education products to increase their competitiveness and success on the world market, particularly in competition against the universities of the United States. All other items included among the goals of the Bologna process remain secondary, at least for the Commission, who, do we like it or not, has occupied the driver's seat (Tomusk, 2006:157).

So what do we have? The university is challenged from once side with the imperative of lifelong learning, namely the necessity to realize education different from traditional and from the other side with the imperative of employability — becoming relevant to economy. And in-between is the academic community which is there to deal with these new imperatives and which is so often being neglected in the official Bologna studies. The present study tries to fill this gap by investigating the attitudes of two academic communities in relation to these new imperatives of the Bologna reform, changing educational structures, and its lifelong learning aspect.

1.2   Research Approach

The present research project is an attempt to explore what are the implications of the Bologna reform and its lifelong learning imperative on the academic communities in two countries: Germany and Armenia, based on the example of two universities. I set out to analyze how Bologna policies have played in two so different communities, which are both signatories to Bologna declaration and which are expected at the end to reach comparability and compatibility.

Methodologically, the study is based on a cross-cultural comparative design with case studies. The two educational systems in transition—German, as one of the countries of European Union (EU) and Armenian—as one of the countries of Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), are confronted with the same restructuring agenda in concert with Bologna objectives. Two universities, namely the Friedrich Schiller University of Jena in Germany and the Yerevan State University in Armenia, have been chosen as case studies[10].

Based on a number of interviews with experts and leaders of the respective academic communities, the study aims to explore the relationship of the two academic and research communities towards the current reforms, their expectations and their response to the drastic educational (and cultural) transformations. The study makes an attempt to find out, in comparative context, to which extent the universities are open or resistant towards the reforms and how the both communities are dealing with the appeal of fostering lifelong learning on the university level. An intercultural comparison is mounted to discover how different educational structures operating within different social and cultural environments have addressed the same tasks and, perhaps, run into similar (or different) problems. The study will try to reveal problematic points, perhaps a few contradictions too, that have turned up during the implementation of the Bologna process in the two countries. It will also explore how the universities are coping with social and cultural changes; in particular, it will identify forces and factors driving or retarding the transformations.

Thus, I have distinguished between two main research lines: first is **the Bologna process and its implication on the two communities in comparative perspective**. The main research question (RQ) here is:

> RQ1. What is the attitude of the two academic communities towards Bologna reforms?
>
> Sub-questions: to which extent are the universities open or resistant towards reforms? What will the German and Armenian systems of education gain or lose with the formation of the "new university"? What are the factors playing in the process positively and negatively? Which are the factors impeding or furthering these transformations?

The answer to this question in comparative perspective will allow to gain an insight into the two academic communities under reform and find out if the two communities,

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[10]The methodological aspects are discussed in Chapter 2.

given different starting points, different backgrounds and incentives share attitudes, problems and approaches, if any.

The second is **the lifelong learning perspective**: the attitude of both communities towards the new approach to higher education. The second research question reads, therefore, as follows:

> RQ2. What is the attitude of the two academic communities towards the lifelong learning imperative?
>
> Sub-questions: what is the role of the university in the current reform process regarding fostering of lifelong learning concepts, opportunities and provision on higher educational level? How can the lifelong learning concepts be integrated into university structures under the on-going reform process? How does the university make (or can make) a contribution to lifelong learning development? What is the impact of international debates on Bologna and lifelong learning on the two countries: was the effect positive, negative, if any, in the two investigated communities?

Within all these critical transformations the issue of lifelong learning in the process is not given much attention (see also Jakobi & Rusconi, 2008), sometimes even neglected. The study will try to contribute to the understanding of why this phenomenon happens and to reveal if the international debate on Bologna and lifelong learning has added to the discussions and approaches to higher education in the two countries under study.

I will try to justify the thesis that besides its scholastic mission of being a diverse institution of higher learning created to educate for life, research and for a profession and to grant degrees, the university has also its social and cultural mission in the society with a claim of being "knowledge-based". The Bologna process is like a storm, overturning concepts and conceptions, but maybe it carries also a chance to revisit the approaches to the university, also through structural formations, and make it more responsive to the cultural change and social needs.

1.3   Relevance to Research and Practice

Since its beginning, the Bologna process attracted the attention of politicians, educationalists, policy makers, journalists, etc. Higher education scholars, too, have turned their attention to the study of different aspects of the ongoing reforms.

The studies on Bologna process could be divided into three main groups:

1. *Studies of international organizations and Bologna official representatives*, such as the Bologna Process Stocktaking reports (2005, 2007, 2009), which draw on reports from national governments and give a general picture of the progress of Bologna reform and take stock of it; "Trends" studies (Haug et al., 1999; Haug & Tauch, 2001; Reichert & Tauch, 2003, 2005; Tauch & Rauhvargers, 2002; Crosier et al, 2007; Sursock & Smidt, 2010), undertaken by the EUA and supported by the European Commission, which provide a descriptive account of the progress of implementation of all Bologna action lines in signatory countries; and studies undertaken by other participating organizations, such as the European Students' Union (ESU), Eurydice (Education, Audiovisual and Cultural Executive Agency) and others.

2. *Narrative studies of different aspects of the Bologna process*, such as recognition issues in the Bologna process (Bergan, 2003; Rauhvargers & Bergan, 2006); social and external issues in the Bologna process (Kladis, 2003); studies on European Master and joint degrees (Tauch and Rauhvagers, 2002); studies, describing the progress of Bologna process at different stages and in relation to different aspects (Friedrich, 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2005; Eckardt, 2005).

3. *Analytical studies.* Under these studies following works could be categorized:

- Critical examinations of the implementation of the Bologna process in individual countries, for example in Finland (Ahola, 2003), in France (Barraud de Lagerie & Mignot-Gèrard, 2005), in Germany (Maasen, 2004), United Kingdom (Mangset, 2005); etc. Tomusk (2007) brings together viewpoints on Bologna process from a number of countries, whom he attributes a peripheral status in the process, such as Estonia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Georgia, Russia and others.

- General analysis of the nature of the Bologna process, its goals, objectives and methods, its impact on higher education systems in Europe: Reinalda & Kulesza, 2005; Amaral & Magalhaes; Neave, 2009; Witte et al, 2010, etc.

- Studies of the Bologna process in context of globalization, internationalization and europeanization: Huisman, Maassen, & Neave, 2001; Ravinet, 2005; Keeling, 2006; Teichler, 2007; Nokalla, 2008; Amaral et al, 2009; etc.

- Studies related to the policy change, for example, Hackl (2001) examines the intrusion and expansion of community policies in higher education on the example of the Bologna process; Ann Corbett (2005) analyzes the development of European higher education policy since over fifty years, showing how the policies

before 1971 impacted on current policies of developing the Europe of Knowledge and on the Bologna process; Gornitzka et al (2005) analyze higher education policy reform implementation also with respect to Bologna process; etc.

- Other examples include the analysis of tensions caused by Bologna reconstruction, for example university - community relations, marketization of higher education (Neave, 2002, 2003, 2005); Ravinet (2006) analyzes the non-legal mechanisms of the institutionalization of European policy structures on the example of Bologna process, also exploring the constraining forces in the process. Another widely discussed topic is the university dynamics within the parameters of Bologna process and the ongoing reform debates at various governance levels (Teichler, 2005b; Maassen and Olsen, 2007)

- There has been also a number of comparative approaches to the issue of Bologna process in different countries. One of the early studies was commissioned by the German Ministry of Education and Research (Alesi et al, 2005) and compares Bachelor and Master courses in Germany, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Austria and Hungary, based on the document analysis and compilation of country reports. Another study (Duclaud-Williams, 2005) investigates national variations in the implementation of the Bologna process in France, Italy and the UK. Witte (2006) investigated changes of national degree structures and concomitant adaptations in the higher education system of Germany, the Netherlands, France and England.

- There have been very few studies on the issue of lifelong learning in the Bologna process. One of them is a tri–national study, comprising Germany, Austria and Switzerland, which investigates the state of art and development trends of university lifelong learning (ULLL) in light of the Bologna process in the three mentioned countries (Bredl et al, 2007). Another study by Jakobi & Rusconi (2009) explores whether the Bologna process has facilitated lifelong learning opportunities in four countries: Germany, Italy, France and the UK.

So how can this study in a huge amount of Bologna studies contribute to the understanding of the modern processes in Europe?

First of all, we have very little knowledge of how the Bologna process is being implemented in non-EU countries, particularly in the post-soviet countries. Most of the

studies on the Bologna process investigate the situation in the biggest European countries, mainly concentrating on the initiators of the Process: Germany, Italy, France and the UK, and neglecting, as stated by Tomusk (2007), the "peripheral" states. There are rare reports from the countries of Eastern Europe as those included in the compendium by Tomusk (ibid). This study is unique in analyzing the implementation of the Bologna process in Armenia. Despite the fact that there have been a number of papers that discussed the Bologna process in Armenian (e.g. Sargsyan, 2004b, 2007; Hayrapetyan & Baghdasaryan, 2007; Varghese, 2009; Navoyan, 2009) they are all of policy character, commissioned by such organizations as the World Bank, UNESCO and the Open Society Institute. There have been no academic studies on the issue. Thus, this study seeks to contribute to the empirical basis of the Bologna process implementation in non-EU countries, as well as to improve our knowledge base about the issues appearing in the course of construction of the EHEA.

Secondly, this study is unique in comparing German and Armenian cases. Comparative studies, too, have always concentrated on major European countries, which traditionally developed in more similar environments, than those of Eastern Europe and CIS. However, the new imperatives tell us that in the European Higher Education Area, which includes Germany as well as Armenia, the HE will be compatible and comparable. This comparative study will add to understanding of how the two very different countries—an EU and non-EU—strive to achieve this common goal. From this point, this study seeks to contribute to the comparative HE research theoretically and empirically.

Finally, this study seeks to contribute to the comparative adult education research through investigating the issue of lifelong learning in the Bologna process, which until now has only a very thin empirical and theoretical base, through comparison of approaches in the two, until now, never juxtaposed countries. It aims to contribute to the better understanding of adult educational processes in the two mentioned countries.

1.4   Structure of the Thesis

The thesis starts with an introduction, which describes the research topic and the research approach, gives an overview of scholarly literature on the issue and defines the relevance of the study to research and practice.

Chapter two, then, outlines in details the methodological approach: the data

collection process, the case study approach and comparative design.

Chapter three provides an analytical review of the Bologna process at the European level, focusing on the issue of lifelong learning in the process. It is aimed to ensure the understanding of the national case studies in the overall reform context.

Chapters four and five describe the structure of educational systems in Germany and Armenia, also in the context of their historical development and outline the prevailing debates and transformations related to the implementation of Bologna process in both countries.

Chapters six and seven are devoted to the empirical investigation of perceptions of the Bologna process and its lifelong learning imperative in Germany and Armenia. They are based on the interviews conducted in German and Armenian academic communities.

Chapter eight deals with the identification of differences and similarities in the approaches to the problem in the two countries and their interpretation. It illustrates a comparative analysis of the country-specific results.

Finally, chapter nine derives general conclusions about the outcomes of the present research, discussing its contribution for the research and practice and avenues for further research.

Further constituents of the thesis are the Bibliography, and Summary in English and German. Appendixes include Abbreviations (A), List of Interviewees (B) and Interview Guidelines (C).

Chapter 2

Methodology

2.1 Research Design

The study is based on a cross-national comparative design with case studies, examining the questions under investigation in two countries: Germany and Armenia, on the examples of two universities.

The qualitative approach was chosen, because it provides "a means to accessing unquantifiable facts" (Berg, 2007:6). The study aims at understanding perceptions of the ongoing reforms in the two academic communities and gaining insights into the two educational structures and processes that influence the university transformation rather than obtaining statistical data on the issue.

The comparative case-study research requires a combination of methods to be applied in order to obtain valid results. As precisely mentioned by Knoll:

> "The comparison of the systems is possible when the diversity of methods correlates with the diversity of contents. <...> comparative studies of Adult Education cannot exclusively use a single method, the empirical one for instance; but that they should—to use a random example— combine descriptions with empirical and prognostic instruments" (Knoll, 1989:93).

Thus, the combination of methods used for the aims of this study include: review of literature and primary document analysis, a cross-cultural comparison based on case studies and expert interviews to identify the prevailing debates, concerns and problems.

The data collection was carried out according to the principle of *"triangulation"*, which emphasises the importance of using multiple sources of evidence "aimed at

corroborating the same fact or phenomenon" (Yin, 2009:99). Thus, the data sources, used for the purpose of the present study comprise:

1. *documentation*, which include published academic texts on the topic; communiqués, memoranda, declarations, minutes of meetings and progress reports related to the creation of the EHEA; policy-related documentation in the field of higher education of both countries, which helped me to build an understanding of the situation in universities before and during the reforms; articles concerning the issue of the Bologna process and related debates, published in scholarly journals, as well as in official press in both countries; the reports on the topic published in national mass media, including newspapers, TV and radio;

2. *expert interviews*. The expert interviews represent one of the most important sources of evidence. The carried interviews could be characterised as guided conversations of open-ended nature (will be discussed below);

3. *direct observations*, which include, for example, participation in conferences and direct interaction with people involved in the Bologna process; on-place observation of student strikes, etc.;

4. *participant observations* include my experience as an international relations officer at the State Engineering University of Armenia, which provided me with an insight into the higher educational policy development of the Armenian higher education through participation in a number of projects, and my experience as a doctoral student at the Friedrich-Schiller-University, which provides an insight into the structure and functioning of Germany's higher education system, as well as general perceptions of the ongoing reform processes among students and faculty.

2.2   Cross-Country Comparison

A comparative study in education involves comparing the aspects of education in one or more countries. Among several types of comparative designs the international or cross-country comparison, wherein educational aspects are compared between at least two countries, is chosen for the present study. Zelditch stresses that cross-country comparison is accurate only when the aspects are juxtaposed "with respect to the same concept" (Zelditch, 1971:271). The present cross-country comparison

is concerned with obtaining insights into essential relationships and processes in the two countries with respect to the university reforms, exploring the character of the ongoing reforms and the development of university lifelong learning within the reforms, determining differences and similarities in the approaches and perceptions of the reform process in Germany and Armenia. Charters & Hilton emphasise the exploration of the nature of differences and similarities in comparative studies in adult education:

> "A study in comparative international adult education $<...>$ must include one or more aspects of adult education in two or more countries or regions $<...>$ one attempts to identify the similarities and differences between the aspects under study $<...>$. The real value of comparative study emerges only from $<...>$ the attempt to understand why the differences and similarities occur and what their significance is for adult education in the countries under examination" (Charters & Hilton, 1989:3).

In the strict sense comparison means "an examination of two or more items to establish similarities and dissimilarities" (Merriam-Webster:252), but for a comparative study the pure juxtaposition of the revealed similarities and differences would not be of great value. The interpretation of the discovered items and revealing of the reasons for and the consequences of the differences and similarities are necessary:

> "Useful comparison does not stop at identifying differences and similarities, its true value lies in their interpretation" (Titmus, 1989:255).

Thus, the task of a comparative study is to find answers to why sometimes within similar societies certain aspects of education turn out to be different and vice versa - in dissimilar societies certain educational aspects turn out to be the same, and through the analysis to "try to determine how adult education functions in various cultures, how it relates to the historic, demographic, political and social background of the country and how these factors influence the development of the total educational system in various countries" (Titmus, 1999:34).

The comparison was mounted to discover how the two different educational structures operating within different social and cultural environments address the same tasks and, perhaps, run into similar (or different) problems, to reveal why certain differences or similarities come about and to analyze the changing contexts and conditions for German and Armenian universities.

The focus of the case studies is not on structural, curricular or policy level, but on socio-cultural level: exploration of attitudes and opinions and analysis of argumentation, since:

> "Only by understanding the basic cultural and social forces in different countries, and by realizing how these factors influence the total educational system, will it be possible to gain a true understanding of adult education enterprise and activities in a particular country and to develop theories and studies to compare the influence of these factors on adult education in different countries" (Titmus, 1999:34).

However, the research questions would not have been adequately answered without addressing the structural characteristics of the compared national systems, while it is important to understand the mechanisms on which the two educational systems are based and the principles according to which they function. The structure of both educational systems will be presented in detail, also picturing, in brief, the historical context and the social origins of two educational systems. The historical account is important to gain an understanding of why and how two historically different nations have generated different structures of educational systems. This will help us, perhaps, in our search for the answer to the question of why these different systems with differing social, structural and historical backgrounds are moving towards adapting similar structures to fit into a common framework.

The cultural nature of the compared aspects needs to be emphasized, because the accent is put on perceptions and attitudes of two academic communities, which are preconditioned by their cultural peculiarities and traditions, as well as historical, social, economic and political environments, which have been influencing the formation and development of these communities.

Discussing the value of the field of comparative adult education Charters (1989) operates with the terms of vertical and horizontal comparison. In the first case the analysis of the past is emphasized as a source of information for understanding the ongoing process, which will help to plan functions in the present and future. The second one stresses the importance of looking at different countries and cultures to become aware of the diverse experience of adult education, to get insight into that experience, and make use of it:

> "Thus, this learning from each other ought to be both vertical and horizontal; that is across time as well as space. While across time means

learning from the past to improve the present and the future, across space means learning in the present from the practices of adult education in other countries and cultures" (Charters, 1989:14).

In his early writings on comparative studies, Kidd (1975) also emphasized the aspect of exploring the historical roots of the phenomenon under study in order to be able to develop criteria for assessing modern developments and planning the future. Among "common goals" of comparative studies he mentions that the benefit of a comparative approach is not only gaining profound information about the educational system of other countries, but also the better understanding of educational forms and systems in one's own country. The comparison is a tool to reveal the ways in which people in different countries carry out social functions by means of education.

The comparative approach was chosen because by comparing issues and problems, objectives, needs, programmes and other items in one country with the same phenomena in other countries, one can find new ideas or approaches helpful to educators in decision making and to learners themselves in finding better ways of interacting with their socio-economic and political environments. The comparative approach seems to be especially appropriate for such a current topic as university reforms. In his article on "Development and Fundamental Principles of International and Comparative Adult Education Research" Knoll mentions that:

> "nowadays comparative studies are required to transport the international argumentation into the decision making process of educational policy in individual countries or in international organizations (e.g. the EU), especially for structures and topics under reform" (Knoll, 2000[11]).

Thus, the present study aims to contribute both theoretically — to the field of higher education research and comparative adult education research; as well as empirically — to the understanding of the Bologna reforms in the two countries under investigation.

Methodwise, the comparative educational study has, like any study in social sciences, its limitations, which could be derived from the general limitations of science, defined by El Nejjar (1986:60-63) as follows:

1. any observation, despite of its objectivity, is "no more than an outward appearance of the actual truth";

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[11]In Adult Education and Development, Number 54, online source: www.iiz-dvv.de.

2. because of that, as well as due to the limitations of human existence with respect to time and space and the limitations of human senses, all the scientific conclusions should be considered as relative, and the scientific theories – as working hypotheses;

3. the ever-increasing knowledge about the universe demands continuous revision and amendment, which is a "clear evidence about the incompleteness of science and the limitation of its methods";

4. the continuously expanding range of science makes it impossible for one individual to grasp all aspects of the phenomenon under investigation from the point of view of all its components even in a very narrow specialization. Thus the researcher, through his investigations, represents only a tiny portion of global knowledge and "cannot answer man's comprehensive inquiries";

5. the limitations of human writings in relation to personal bias, as any intellectual work, are influenced by human's "cultural background, up-bringing and mental as well as psychological conditions, which are "ever-changing throughout one's life".

The cross-country studies are affected by these limitations especially in relation to the fact that there are too many variables that influence the compared objects and too few compared cases, which do not allow valid generalizations. The one way to overcome this limitation is to enlarge the number of cases. However it is not always feasible within the limits of one individual. To overcome this limitation it is important to use the method of "triangulation", i.e. using multiple methods and sources of data collection, which will give a possibility for cross-checking of the hypothesis, bringing the generalizations closer to the objectivity, and thus reducing the possibility for false judgements.

Another limitation of the cross-country comparison is related to the aspect of possible ethnocentric bias, i.e. the danger that one's way of thinking, system of values and cultural prejudices could lead to the cultural bias in gathering and interpretation of data. The task of a researcher in comparative education is to try to go beyond one's own cultural bias though critical thinking and critical questioning; and try to give an objective picture of the compared phenomenon, despite the fact that it can never be complete.

One of the most debated issues in comparative studies is the problem of comparability of research objects (Nowak, 1977; Szalai & Petrella 1977; Berting et al 1979; Raivola 1985; Pachocinski 1989). This problem arises in connection to the discussions whether scientific comparison is possible between culturally and socially different units.

For example, in relation to the present study, criticism occasionally was voiced concerning the fact that it does not compare like with like in either social or educational terms, that the factors which are known to have important influence on the functioning and development of educational systems (such as economic, social or political organization) differ greatly in two compared countries. Such a critique could be acceptable for a study where the direct influence of an economical or political organization on the educational process would have been examined. Different is the aim of the present study, namely, to try making general propositions about perceptions of the ongoing reforms and changing concepts of university organization in presence of such variations, because ultimately the current reform process is designed to change the educational systems in the participating countries in a way to make them compatible and comparable. Thus, the legitimacy of the present undertaking cannot be prejudged on the argument of broad socioeconomic differences.

To theoretically substantiate the validity of the present comparison, I will refer to the concept of equivalence, which implies the idea that in order to perform a cross-country comparison, the compared structures should not necessarily be identical but equivalent in the degree of similarity of relational structures across systems (Sandberger et al, 1982). Moreover, comparison cannot imply an absolute similarity or identity, because culture-bound phenomena cannot be quantitatively or qualitatively absolute (see e.g. Raivola, 1985, also Nowak, 1977).

Relying on the concept of equivalence, Nowak (1977:42-43) distinguishes five types of relationships as a basis for performing comparison: functional, contextual, cultural, correlative and conceptual. *Functional equivalence* is the case, where the compared objects have the same role in the functioning of the system. *Contextual equivalence* pertains to the case, where the compared objects (people or institutions) are part of a higher level of systems that have been defined as equivalent. *Cultural equivalence* refers to the case, where the phenomenon is perceived or judged similarly in different cultures. *Conceptual equivalence* is the case, where the phenomena under study derive from the same source or have the same conceptual ground. Finally, the *correlative equivalence* means that the phenomena under study correlate empirically in the same

way with the criterion variable.

In the case of the present study we can refer to several of these categories. On the one hand there is evidently a functional equivalence between the compared objects: the higher education systems within the societies concerned fulfill and perform an equivalent function of producing academically qualified personnel for the professions and for research and of being the centres of science development. On the other hand the compared objects are conceptually equivalent by being confronted with the same phenomenon of institutional change. Also, despite significant differences that the compared systems have, the point which makes them comparable is the same context — the shared arena of Bologna.

2.3 Selection of Cases for the Cross-Country Comparison

To carry out a cross-country comparison, the case study approach has been chosen. Two universities, as cases, have been selected for a detailed investigation with the aim to understand the phenomenon of university reform on an example of two naturally occurring settings. The comparative case-study analysis has been implemented in three stages. First, in-depth case studies of two universities in Germany and Armenia, which included a thorough investigation of both educational systems, have been implemented to reveal the attitudes and perceptions of university reforms in two academic communities. Then, a cross-case comparison was performed to analyse differences and similarities in the investigated field in two chosen settings. In the third stage, moving from concrete reality to abstract concepts, an attempt was made to reveal regularities and to generalize the outcomes for Germany and Armenia.

To fit into a case study design, according to social science researchers, the study should be qualitative, embedding small number of cases (Eckstein, 1975; George and Bennet, 2005; Yin, 2009); holistic, representing a more or less comprehensive picture of the investigated phenomenon (e.g. Ragin & Becker, 1992; Yin, 2009; Stake, 1995); should investigate a "bounded system" (Stake, 1995), exploring characteristics of a single phenomenon, instance or example in "real context" (Eckstein, 1975; George and Bennet, 2005, Yin, 2009) and use the method of triangulation, i.e. multiple methods of data collection (Maxwell, 2005; Yin, 2009). Yin defines the case study as:

> "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in
> depth and within its real-life context, especially when boundaries between
> phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 2009:18).

He suggests, that a case study method should be used when the researcher seeks answers to the questions on "how" and "why".

In a whole, the case study is a method, which allows through examination of a single instance to illustrate a more general principle. Thus, the purpose of the present case studies was to gain a detailed understanding of the processes involved within two different settings for their further comparison, which could allow the elaboration of the existing prepositions on a more general level. As Cohen et al. mention:

> "Case studies can penetrate situations in ways that are not always
> susceptible to numerical analysis" (Cohen et al, 2007:253).

Gerring (2007:86) mentions that because the case study analysis is focused on a small number of cases, which are expected to provide insight into a casual relationship across a large population of cases, the researcher is confronted with the "formidable problem" of case selection. Stake (1994) recommends to choose cases which are typical or representative of other cases, however noting that "the case study research is not a sampling research" (Stake, 1994:4). That is why, according to Stake, it is important to take into account, what one can learn from the case studies and chose cases, which "are likely to lead us to understanding, to assertions, perhaps even to modifying of generalisations?" (ibid). If classified through the nine techniques of Gerring (2007:86-150) in selecting the cases, the present case studies could be referred as "typical" in the sense of being representative to the educational systems concerned, and at the same time "diverse", in the sense of representing educational systems, which operate under the influence of a range of different factors.

Thus, the choice of the cases was conditioned by several aspects. First, it was interesting to examine two universities, which were formed and are developing under very different social, economical and political conditions, but which are expected to produce compatible and comparable programmes and degrees. That is why the universities in Germany and Armenia—countries which are so rarely compared—have been chosen.

Secondly, I have looked for universities which are representative of the countries concerned and which could be classified under traditional German or traditional Armenian universities. In this respect, the Friedrich-Schiller-University in Jena has long

traditions of the university organization, based on the Humboldtian principles, and a distinctive history of adult education tradition. The Yerevan State University was the first university that opened during the first Armenian Republic at the beginning of the twentieth century, after the long break of secular education provision in Armenia, which was due to the absence of statehood and long-lasting foreign occupations (see Chapter 5). It was founded on the principles of Armenian traditions in education and many prominent Armenian educationalists took part in its formation as a national educational centre.

Thirdly, being representatives of traditional forms of universities in the two countries, Friedrich-Schiller-University and Yerevan State University, at the same time, share a common socialist history. Thus, historically, the systems of East Germany and Armenia for a certain period of time shared the same centralized type of higher education governance and imposition of the communist ideology. Upon the collapse of the Soviet block, the both systems had to undergo significant reconstruction and outlasted a fundamental shift of values. Presently, they have to withstand another wave of university reformations, which, at the end, are designed to make them compatible.

Finally, practical considerations also influenced the selection of cases for the present study. First of all, familiarity with the educational systems: Armenian, where I have studied and worked for several years and German, which I got to know from the "inside" during the years of my doctoral study. Then, the command of languages: Armenian—as my native language, fluent English and good command of German greatly enhanced the accessibility of official or primary documentation, such as resolutions, laws, position papers, national reports, etc., which are generally available only in the original language. Also, in the Armenian case study, the interviews were conducted in the mother tongue of the actors involved, which reduced the risks of misunderstanding and misinterpretation. In German case, some of the interviews were conducted in German, but even during English interviews, I always had a chance to clarify, using German terminology to refer to nation-specific concepts or institutions, and this fact greatly eased the understanding.

In terms of Yin's (2003) classification, present case studies can be classified as "descriptive" case studies which tend to "explanatory". As a descriptive study, the individual case-studies represent comprehensive descriptions of the investigated issue in two academic communities, the cross-case comparison aims to explain how and why certain regularities happen to be similar or dissimilar. In terms of Stake's (1995) classification, the case-studies can be placed under the label "instrumental", since

they examine a particular case in order to gain insight into the issue of university reforms in two considered countries.

The common critique to the case study as a scientific research method is the problem of generalization. Despite the fact that they generate insights and concepts it is difficult to generalize about them. In a reply to this critique, Yin (2009) points out, that the results produced by case studies may be generalizable to the theoretical propositions rather than to populations or universes. In this respect, the case studies do not represent a "sample" and their goal is:

> "to expand and generalize theories (analytic generalization) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalization)" (Yin, 2009:15).

Thus, in light of above said, neither the number nor the choice of cases was guided by a "sampling logic" with respect to producing a representative set of cases. In terms of Yin's (ibid) terminology, the carried case-studies aim at analytical generalisation rather than statistical representation.

2.4 Interview as a Method of Qualitative Research

2.4.1 Purposes of interviews

A research interview is a method which the researcher uses to gather information in order to provide reliable evidence to answer his research question. This method enables him or her to generate insights and concepts approaching the issue through different angles of interviewees' viewpoints and thus to expand one's understanding of processes under research. Kvale (1996) compares the interviewer to a miner, who unearths knowledge like a valuable metal from the subsurface. He considers the interview as a conversation "that has a structure and a purpose" (Kvale, 1996:6). However, it goes beyond the casual conversational exchange of daily life, as it involves "careful questioning and listening approach with the purpose of obtaining thoroughly tested knowledge" (ibid), where the researcher is the one who defines and controls the situation.

Unlike quantitative methods (surveys, on-line questionnaires), qualitative interviewing does not seek to gain statistical data for testing hypotheses or defining proportions of population adhering to these or other opinions. It is rather an instrument, which can help to generate hypotheses or ideas about the research topic and is aimed

at getting the implicit aspects of the investigated phenomenon. Analysing the conceptional aspects of qualitative interviewing as a research method, Kvale mentions:

> "<...> the mode of understanding implied by qualitative research involves alternative conceptions of social knowledge, of meaning, reality, and truth in social science research. The basic subject matter is no longer objective data to be quantified, but meaningful relations to be interpreted" (ibid:11).

The qualitative interviewing is generally conducted in person, and because it represents an in-depth exploration of the given topic, the interaction of the interviewer with the interviewee is a part of the data collection process, where even gestures, pauses and other non-verbal expressions play a role, significant for further interpretation and conceptualization of the interview outcomes.

Rubin & Rubin (2005) emphasize the importance of listening, stating that:

> "qualitative interviewing requires more intense listening than normal conversations, a respect for and curiosity about what people say, a willingness to acknowledge what is not understood and the ability to ask about what is not yet known" (Rubin & Rubin, 2005:14).

In fact, in qualitative interviewing, the researcher is rather a listener, than an active participant, entrusted with a power to carefully conduct the direction of the answer and clarify, where necessary.

In light of this, we can say that the qualitative interviewing is a research process based on face to face conversation with the purpose of gaining knowledge, guided by the interviewer, whose task is to ask questions and to listen carefully, and to understand the meaning of the message conveyed.

Beyond getting factual knowledge it is even more important to derive interpretations. According to Kvale (1996) the qualitative interviews are designed to cover not only the facts, but also the subtext, though the latter is usually more difficult to implement. However, being conducted on more personal level, the qualitative interviews, unlike surveys and questionnaires, allow to obtain more information than was actually said:

> "Interviews are particularly useful for getting the story behind a participant's experiences. The interviewer can pursue in-depth information

around a topic. Interviews may be useful as follow-up to certain respondents to questionnaires, e.g., to further investigate their responses" (McNamara,1999[12]).

The choice of the qualitative interview approach for this study is conditioned by the fact that the kind of information which I intended to analyze, as a rule, is not present in numerous documentation and papers devoted to the Bologna process, namely, the attitude of academics, their perception and views on the debates surrounding the process. Rubin & Rubin mention that:

> "Qualitative interviewing projects are especially good at describing social and political processes, that is how and why things change" (Rubin & Rubin, 2005:3).

According to them, the qualitative interviewing is an adventure in learning about teaching in different countries and cultures, exploration of views, problems and solutions, the similarities and differences of practices to our own. In the present study, interviewing, as a method of qualitative research, was used to explore what the representatives of one academic community—German—feel and think about current educational processes, try to understand the major points of their messages and how it compares to the situation in another academic community, namely Armenian.

2.4.2 The type of the interviews conducted

Besides being qualitative or quantitative, the interviews can be classified in multiple of ways according to their purposes and characteristics—all requiring different approaches. Varying sources give different names to the same types of interviews. In an attempt to give a more or less complete picture, I have grouped the types of interviews according to their structure, nature, content and mode.

Thus, *structurally*, interviews can be classified as standardized (formal), non-standardized (informal) or semi-standardized (guided semi-structured). According to their *nature*, interviews can be distinguished as narrative, exploratory, focused or in-depth. With regard to their *content* there can be life stories, elite, expert, therapeutic, journalistic, ethnographic and investigative interviews. According to the *mode of conducting* interviewing can be survey-based, Internet-based, computer-assisted,

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[12]On-line source, McNamara, C. (1999), General guidelines for conducting interviews, available at http://www.managementhelp.org/evaluatn/intrview.htm

telephone-based, individual or group (Kvale, 1996; Berg, 1989; McNamara,1999; Cohen et al, 2000; Patton, 2002; Gubrium & Holstein, 2002; Rubin & Rubin, 2005; Flick, 2009; etc.). Also the interviews can be classified according to the form of questions and answers: as open-ended, where the interviewees are not limited in the choice of their answer; and close-ended, where the interviewees are asked to choose answers from the same set of alternatives. In this sub-chapter I will refer only to several of these forms of interviewing which are relevant for the present study.

Semi-standardized (or guided semi-structured) interviews are those based on a general common guideline in the form of structured open-ended questions, which leave at the same time a large room for improvisation and additional questions. The semi-standardized interviews lie somewhere in between strictly structured interviews with standardized questions and entirely non-standardized informal interviews. They focus on certain themes and the same questions are asked to generally all the interviewees. However, the interviewer has enough freedom to deviate from the questionnaire: to variate, add, clarify or modify the questions. According to Berg the interviewers in fact are "expected to probe far beyond the answers to their prepared and standardized questions" (Berg, 1989:17). Flick (2009) mentions three types of questions, which are usually asked at the semi-standardized interviews: "open questions", which start a thematic group of question; "theory-driven" or "hypothesis-driven" questions and "confrontational" questions, which conclude the group of questions. Open questions usually start with "what do you think? what could you say?" and contain such words as "generally", "as a whole" (see Fig.2.1). The theory-driven questions are based on the interviewer's theoretical presuppositions and aim at "making the interviewees' implicit knowledge more explicit" (Flick, 2009:157). The interviewer suggests an assumption, with which the interviewee can agree or disagree, providing appropriate argumentation. The confrontational questions are designed to critically re-examine the notions and theories presented by the interviewee. Flick names them "competing alternatives", which should

> "stand in real thematic opposition to the interviewee's statement in order to avoid the possibility of their integration onto the interviewee's subjective theory" (ibid).

Expert interviews are a specific form of semi-structured interviews, which aim at obtaining special information from people with an expertise in the given area. In contrast to life-stories or biographical interviews, in expert interviews the personality

Opening questions	What is your personal view of the Process? What is according to your estimate the official position of your university?
Theory–building questions	Which factors, in your opinion, impede and which promote the university transformations? One of the main objectives of Bologna Process is promoting employability. In your opinion, how does the university respond to the needs of the society and the labour market; and is it the task of the university to adjust to the needs of labour market?
Confrontational questions	Why is it important that a university with such old traditions, which once served as a model of a university for the world, now moves in this new direction? The university is so overburdened with responsibilities and expectations, that perhaps it cannot undertake also the functions of a Volkshochschule. Do you think that such a problem exists, that university performs functions of Volkshochschule, while undertaking the lifelong learning task?

Figure 2.1: Examples of Open, Theory-Driven and Confrontational Questions from the Interviews Conducted in the Present Study.

of the interviewee is much less important than his expertise in the field. It could be difficult to define who is an expert, as definitions vary from author to author. However, the general assumption is that an expert is a person with specific knowledge and competence in the certain area. The most detailed definition of the term is given by Bogner and Menz:

> "Experts have technical process oriented and interpretive knowledge referring to their specific professional sphere of activity. Thus, expert knowledge does not only consist of systematized and reflexively accessible specialist knowledge but it has the character of practical knowledge in big parts. Different and even disparate percepts for activities and individual rules of decisions, collective orientations and social interpretive patterns are part of it. The experts' knowledge and orientation for practices, relevancies etc. have also—and this is decisive—a chance to become hegemonic in a specific organizational or functional context. This means,

experts have the opportunity to assert their orientations as least partly. By becoming practically relevant, the experts' knowledge structures the practical conditions of other actors in their professional field in a substantial way" (Bogner and Menz, 2002:46)[13].

Meuser and Nagel (2002) mention the importance of interview guides while conducting expert interviews. The expert interviews are usually limited in time, and that is why it is important to concentrate on the topics of research interest. The interview guides will reduce the risks of long talks of no relevance to the research issue. Other problems of expert interviews, as described by Meuser and Nagel (2002), include the interviewee changing between his roles of an expert and a private person, or trying to involve the interviewer in the ongoing conflicts in the field.

For the purposes of the present study semi-structured expert interviews of exploratory nature were conducted. The interviewees were asked the same questions in more or less same order to provide better possibilities of comparisons, firstly, between the respondents within one country and, secondly, between the respondents of two countries. However, individual interviews deviated slightly from the prepared guide, as in some cases additional, explanatory or probe questions were necessary.

Kvale (1996:81-109) distinguishes seven steps of an interview investigation: *thematizing*—formulation of the purpose of investigation and the concepts of investigated topic before the start of interviewing; *designing*—planning of the study, including interview guide; *interviewing*—conducting the interview based on the interview guide; *transcribing*—transcription of the interviews from oral speech to written text; *analyzing*—deriving interpretations; *verifying*—proving the generalizability and validity of the interview findings and *reporting*—representation of the outcomes in a scientific manner.

The conducted interviews fit well into the mentioned research scheme. The questions were formulated in accordance to the thematic areas that I intended to cover. The time schedule was organized and the interview guide was drafted and finalized. The candidates for interviews were addressed through written letters with the brief explanation of the purpose of the study, the research interest, the purpose of interviews to be conducted and the special interest in obtaining particular expert opinions on the research topic. Some of the interviewees responded immediately and appointments were organized; to gain other interviewees second reminding letters were sent,

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[13]Translated and cited in Flick, 2009:166.

few of them succeeded to win interest. In case of Armenian interviews, several of the arrangements were made through e-mail communication prior to my trip to Armenia, but to most of them I contacted over the telephone while already in Yerevan. This was partly due to the fact, that it was difficult to figure out people who could have had appropriate expertise in the issue of my research. Some of candidates whom I intended to approach with the interview request, refused to participate with the reasoning of lack of information and knowledge on the topic. However, their recommendations of possible candidates for interviews, in some cases, proved to be very valuable.

Few of the interviewees both in Armenia and Germany were supplied with the interview questions according to their wish beforehand, but in most cases the interviews were conducted in a spontaneous manner, without any preliminary preparations.

Most interviews were recorded on tape or digitally with prior permission of the interviewees. The interviews were later transcribed, in other cases memory notes were taken immediately after the interview. In Armenia all the interviews except one were conducted in Armenian and later translated into English. A few of the German interviews were held in German, others - in English. The permission to cite extracts from interviews in the dissertation was given by all the interviewees. In my text I cite the German interviews in original form and give my translation in English in the footnote. The Armenian interviews are cited in their translated version.

2.4.3 Selection of interviewees

As mentioned before, the conducted interviews represent expert opinions. The goal was to obtain an inside view about the ongoing reform in general and some of its specific aspects in particular. Thus the selection of candidates for the interviews was guided by the following criteria:

1. Expertise in a certain field of activity. All interviewees were engaged in the process of implementation of the Bologna objectives on the university level. They had either functional or decision-making power concerning the issue of Bologna process at their universities. Several of the interviewees were engaged particularly in the issues concerning the organization and promotion of the university lifelong learning.

2. Particular view or knowledge on the subject. Selected interviewees possessed

first-hand insider information and appropriate knowledge of the Bologna process and its problems on the institutional and national level.

3. Understanding of educational processes. Besides having different administrative functions, the interviewees also acted in their capacity as representatives of respective academic communities—teachers and researchers. Their expertise and knowledge regarding the processes and concepts of educational organization at universities was of great value. The ability of scholarly critical approach to the discussed issues was of much significance for the present study.

The interviewees are composed of high level of university government: former rectors, vice-rectors, deans, institute directors, administrative staff; representatives of senior academic staff, professors and docents, HE and adult education experts; officials responsible for the implementation of the Bologna process. The number of expert interviews per country, which is 10 in Germany and 8 in Armenia, depends on my prior familiarity with the respective HE system. In both countries, the formal expert interviews were complemented with numerous informal exchanges with professors and academic staff by email and personal discussions. Despite the fact that there were no predetermined guidelines for conducting those talks, they provided an opportunity to obtain a great insight in the overall discussion and to enable a better understanding of the context of the study.

2.4.4 Reflexions on the limitations of interviews as research method

Inbound bias

An interview based on personal opinions, even if these are expert opinions, cannot represent a fully objective picture of the reality (see also sub-chapter 2.2). At least two kinds of biases, that of interviewee and the interviewer, influence the answers and thus the results. The interviewee's answers are affected by his background, experience, involvement, as well as by outer or inner pressure related to social desirability, such as the image that he [responder] wants to give of his institution or position. Depending on such biases, the answers could vary from very optimistic to very pessimistic. The answer is also influenced by the quantity and quality of information that the interviewee possesses. On the other side — the interviewer's perception of what is said again depends on a number of factors. Depending on his experience the interviewer

might have modified what is observed by presuming or assuming something that was not stated directly by the participant.

However, the task of any researcher is to strive to the objectivity by trying to overcome these bias through critical reflection and self-examination. Possibilities to minimize the influence of inbound bias include further communication of the results with the experts, clarifications of ambiguous issues, re-checking of presupposition through additional questioning and discussions; as well as, using the method of triangulation, which allows a more or less objective cross-checking of the outcomes obtained through interviews.

Language

Language plays a significant role in conducting qualitative research interviews. The interviews were carried out in most cases in English, which is a foreign language for both the interviewees and the interviewer. Thus, a notional loss in content was possible. There exists a danger that the same words or definitions could be understood differently, which could cause confusion and misunderstanding. The same problem could have affected also the interviews, which were carried out in Armenian, because all the interviews were translated later into English.

To minimize the impact of language inaccuracy, the questions which could have been misunderstood were repeated and clarified. Additional questions were asked to ensure that the concepts and contexts are perceived and understood in the same way by the interviewer and the respondent. I also consulted a native speaker in the process of transcribing the German interviews. In case of Armenian interviews my study background of English language and literature and several years of experience in translations from Armenian to English and conversely, were decisive in ensuring accurate and correct translations of transcriptions.

2.5 The Case-Oriented Comparative Research Scheme

Although comparable issues, concerns and phenomena can be identified relatively easily, the problem of how to study them properly across political, cultural and ideological boundaries is a topic of argument among comparativists.

I have chosen a comparative design proposed by Titmus (1987), in which he

schemes the following stages of comparison, and adopted it to the present study by embedding case-studies in it (Fig 2.2):

- Identifying the general goal.

- Defining specific objectives.

- Data collection (selection and obtaining).

- Description and interpretation of phenomena under study for each individual case.

- Juxtaposition of descriptions and interpretation.

- Cross-case analysis which consists of a) identification of differences and similarities; and b) interpretation of differences and similarities.

As one can see, this is not a linear process, where each stage is undertaken after the other, but a mutually interacting and influencing network. In the following every step will be presented in brief.

Thus, *the goal* of the present cross-country comparison was set to explore how two different educational structures operating within different social, political and cultural environments address the same tasks and, perhaps, run into similar (or different) problems, to reveal why certain differences or similarities happen and to analyze the changing contexts and conditions for German and Armenian universities. It is an attempt towards a better understanding of some aspects of educational processes in light of the ongoing reforms in two mentioned countries.

Specific objectives were defined in the form of research questions. The aim was to find answers to the questions: what is the attitude of two academic communities with regard to the current reforms—is it critical, or positive, or the both? What are the main aspects of these attitudes? How do the academic communities react to the drastic educational transformations, which overturn the familiar concepts of the education organization, content and provision? Are the universities in two countries open or resistant to the reforms? What are the promoting and hindering factors in the process of institutional change? What are the perceptions and understanding of lifelong learning and is it regarded as an important component of university organization? This core comprised the questions for the interview guide which is presented in Appendix C.

Data collection took place at all stages of the comparison as well as the research in general. Data was selected and obtained using multiple sources of evidence (also described in the previous sub-chapters). First of all that is data on the Bologna process and the issue of lifelong learning in the process. The data on the process was obtained through a number of basic and secondary documentation from ministerial meetings, reports of different national and international organizations, involved in the process, as well as scholarly studies and articles. Secondly, it is the data on educational systems of both countries, which is collected and presented through the historical perspective towards the present developments, and finally, that is data obtained through the expert interviews in both countries.

Description and interpretation of phenomena. Juxtaposition. The description of the phenomenon starts with the Chapter 3, which gives a thorough insight into the Bologna process, describing the main elements of the process, its development since the beginning until 2009 with a special emphasis on its lifelong learning line. Then, the Chapters 4 and 5 present the description of the educational systems in Germany and Armenia, outlining the issue, problems and debates surrounding the implementation of the Bologna process in German and Armenian universities in general. Chapters 6 and 7 picture the two case studies and the interpretation of the outcomes on the level of two universities under the study. Titmus mentions that:

> "Physical juxtaposition of descriptions on the paper may be helpful but the essential place for it is in the researcher's brain" (Titmus, 1987:263).

However, while the present study represents a comparative analysis of national case studies, the descriptions of the educational systems in two countries and case-specific interpretation are presented to facilitate the following stage of identification and interpretation of similarities and differences.

Cross-case analysis. Identification of differences and similarities and their interpretation. Chapter 8 deals with differences and similarities in the approaches to the problem in two countries. Here the reasons for and the consequences of the differences and similarities are revealed. Chapter 9 concludes with an attempt towards analytical generalizations and theoretical considerations on the ongoing university reforms and the implications of the concept of lifelong learning in the context of the communities studied.
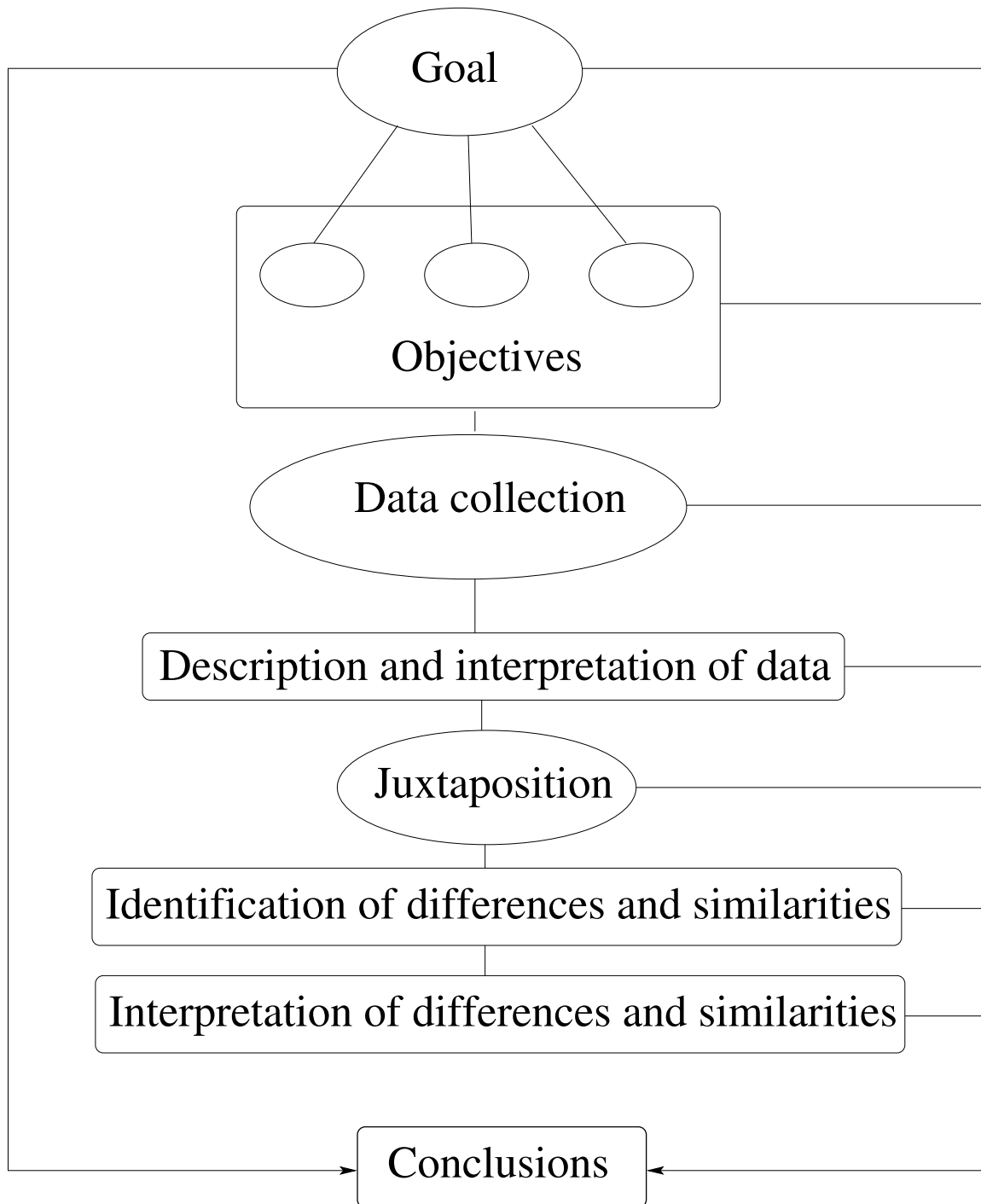
Figure 2.2: The Comparative Study Design.

Chapter 3

The Bologna Process

3.1 Introduction

As already mentioned in the previous chapters, the present study focuses on the lifelong learning issue at the university level in the context of the Bologna process. Before analyzing the case studies and the situation within the two countries, it is necessary to give a picture of the reform process at the European level. This chapter gives an overview of the Bologna process since its start and pictures its development up to the ministerial meeting in 2009. Through outlining the key issues in Bologna process with a special focus on the lifelong learning aspect, this chapter seeks to ensure a better understanding of the ongoing reforms on European level. It is an attempt to comprehensively describe the progression and analyze the consequences of the process for the signatory countries. It is especially exciting to retrace how the process started 10 years ago and where it landed one year before its official culmination—the deadline of 2010. However, it is not the aim of this chapter to give a complete analysis of all aspects of the process, which could be a topic of another or several other dissertations.

This chapter gives some background information on Bologna-related conferences and topics of discussion in the process, focusing on the aspect of particular interest for the present study, namely the lifelong learning issue in the context of the university reform. The chapter is organized in line with the series of intergovernmental conferences of the European education ministers, in which they drew up the declarations and communiqués, that compose the core of the Bologna Process. The sequence of events in the process is described and discussed as follows: Magna Charta Universitatum (1988), as the foundation stone of European dialog on higher education;

the declarations of Sorbonne (1998) and Bologna (1999); as well as communiqués of Prague (2001), Berlin (2003), Bergen (2005), London (2007) and Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve (2009).

3.2   Magna Charta Universitatum

The Magna Charta Universitatum can be considered as a cornerstone of the European dialog on the common educational space. On 18th September 1988, representatives of 430 European universities gathered to celebrate the 900th anniversary of the University of Bologna. On that occasion—"four years before the definite abolition of boundaries between the countries of the European Community"[14] (Magna Charta, 1988:13)—they signed the Magna Charta Universitatum, a declaration, which actually proclaims the constitutive concept of a university by affirming the principles of institutional autonomy, academic freedom, the unity of research and teaching, adherence to common European traditions and values, and stresses the important role that the university will play in the "changing and increasingly international society" (ibid).

The "true university", according to the Magna Charta, is based on three key pillars: the university as a centre of culture, knowledge and research; the university as an integral part of society; and the university as educator of esteem towards "the great harmonies of their natural environment and of life itself" (ibid). For the present study it is especially remarkable that in this primary paper the growing role of the university as a provider of lifelong learning is already advocated:

> "... the universities' task of spreading knowledge among the younger
> generations implies that, in today's world, they must also serve society

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[14] "Project 1992", which is commonly used to refer to the part of the Single European Act (SEA), that commits the European Community to the creation of the single unified market by the end of 1992 (Smith & Ray, 1993:3). The Single European Act was signed in February 1986 and came into force on 1 July 1987. This Treaty was the first profound and wide-ranging constitutional reform of the EC since the 1950s (more precisely since the Treaty of Rome from 1957, which formally established the single European market and the European Political Cooperation). The action lines of the SEA anticipated the establishment of an internal market (harmonization), as well as institutional changes related to these (such as a generalization of qualified majority voting and a cooperation procedure involving the European Parliament). It also provided legal form for European Political Cooperation (EPC)(Single European Act, 1987; Agnelli, 1989; Hoffmann, 1989).

as a whole; and that the cultural, social and economic future of society requires, in particular, a considerable investment in continuing education" (ibid).

This statement explicitly articulates the idea that the university, as a centre of culture and knowledge (1st pillar), is to play a bigger role in the modern society due to the new requirements of the internationalized market. The university, along with its primary task of delivering knowledge to younger generations, is called to fulfill its social functions through provision of continuing education.

The Magna Charta defines four fundamental principles that must guide the "true university" in its internal organization and the interaction with wider society. First and the foremost is the principle of autonomy. As an institution "at the heart of societies", which "produces, examines, appraises and hands down culture by research and teaching" (ibid), it must be "morally and intellectually independent of all political authority and economic power" (ibid). The second one is the principle of unity of research and teaching as a prerequisite for intellectual integrity of an institution. Then, the freedom of research and teaching as a guiding principle of "university life, and governments and universities":

> "Rejecting intolerance and always open to dialogue, the university is an ideal meeting-ground for teachers capable of imparting their knowledge and well equipped to develop it by research and innovation and students entitled, able and willing to enrich their minds with that knowledge" (ibid).

And finally, the university is considered to be a heritor of European humanist tradition that delivers universal knowledge and whose activity goes beyond "geographical and political frontiers" (ibid).

The paper further specifies the measures to assure the functioning of the university according to the above-mentioned principles. Thus, the organization and resource allocation of the university should be done in such a way that the freedom of research and teaching is preserved; faculty must be recruited in accordance with the principle that research is inseparable from teaching; the freedoms of students should be respected and the exchange and cooperation of students or faculty between different European universities must be encouraged.

The Magna Charta concludes by bringing into focus an idea which will later be developed in the Sorbonne and Bologna declarations and become one of the key

aspects in the process, namely the importance of cross-border exchange of knowledge through the mobility of students and faculty as well as the necessity for comparable degrees and diplomas:

> "Therefore, as in the earliest years of their history, they encourage mobility among teachers and students; furthermore, they consider a general policy of equivalent status, titles, examinations (without prejudice to national diplomas) and award of scholarships essential to the fulfillment of their mission in the conditions prevailing today" (Magna Charta, 1988:14).

As we see, the Magna Charta, which since 1988 has been signed by another 400 Rectors, is nothing else but a revision of the fundamental principles of the university, based on the long traditions and history of higher education and aligned to the needs of the modern society.

Exactly ten years later, four ministers of education of leading European countries met again, this time to celebrate the 800th anniversary of Sorbonne University. This meeting appeared to be crucial for the European universities and laid ground for the far-reaching reform process known as Bologna process.

3.3   Sorbonne Declaration (1998)

The Sorbonne declaration is the paper from which the whole story began. It was signed in May 1998 by the ministers of education of France, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom. At that time, nobody could have imagined what an impact this document would have on the further development of higher education in Europe.

The declaration on the "Harmonization of the architecture of the European higher education system" (Sorbonne declaration, 1998) was an initiative of French education minister Claude Allègre, who was looking for international means that could help him to reform the higher education in France (Witte, 2006). Therefore, he used the 800th anniversary of the Sorbonne University as an occasion for a European declaration. He invited his German, Italian and British colleagues: Jürgen Rüttgers, Luigi Berlinguer and Tessa Blackstone to discuss the problems that they experienced in their higher education systems and to try to find a common European solution to those problems. Allègre was very well acquainted with the US university system (Reinalda & Kulesza, 2005), and he wanted to reform the French HE in a way to make it more competitive

in the global educational market. Thus, not surprisingly, the American model of the two cycle system which later got the form of Bachelor and Master, penetrated into this first declaration: "a system, in which two main cycles, undergraduate and graduate, should be recognized for international comparison and equivalence, seems to emerge" (Sorbonne declaration, 1998:11).

This declaration came as a surprise not only for the European countries but also for the European Commission. For long time, higher education was not on the integration agenda for the European Community and educational decisions were involuntarily left to the national governments (Neave, 2003; Witte, 2006). The European Commission first became involved with educational directives beginning with the Maastricht Treaty[15] but its role was limited to those issues concerning the quality of education on European level or "instances where member states could not achieve an objective on their own" (Neave, 2003:154; de Wit & Verhoeven, 2001:206, de Wit, 2002:220). Moreover, the statements were characterized by a gently supportive character and the "harmonization"—a term which later appeared in the title of Sorbonne declaration— was an unacceptable concept in EU vocabulary. The Article 126 of the Maastricht Treaty reads as follows:

> " 1. The Community shall contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging co-operation between Member States and, if necessary, by supporting and supplementing their action, while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organization of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity.
>
> 2. Community action shall be aimed at:
>   - developing the European dimension in education, <...>
>   - encouraging mobility of students and teachers, inter alia by encouraging the academic recognition of diplomas and periods of

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[15] The Treaty of Maastricht, officially the Treaty on European Union, was signed on 7 February 1992 and came into force on 1 November 1993. It established the EU and initiated the road to political, economic and monetary union. It was drafted at a historic juncture in which the reunification of Germany and the fall of the Soviet block made necessary a re-thinking of the European project. Among several significant innovations, such as EU citizenship and the Euro, the Treaty of Maastricht created the so-called three pillar structure: the European Community pillar, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) pillar, and the Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) pillar (Maastricht Treaty, 1992, see for example Laursen and Vanhoonacker, 1994; Corbett,R. 1993; Baun, 1996; Gillingham 2006).

      study;

      - promoting co-operation between educational establishments;

      $<\ldots>$

3. In order to contribute to the achievement of the objectives referred to in this Article, the Council:

      - acting in accordance with the procedure referred to in Article 189b, after consulting the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, shall adopt incentive measures, <u>excluding any harmonization of the laws and regulations of the Member States</u>[16]"(Maastricht Treaty, 1992:28-29).

In this light, the Sorbonne declaration was a breaking point. The national educational systems of the biggest European countries encountered a difficult period at that time, which was caused by two major factors: expansion of higher education and financial constraints (see, for example, Hackl, 2001). The decreasing attractiveness of European universities for non-European students in comparison to other continents, particularly to the USA, was another factor that provoked the reform debates. Obviously, the systems needed some external impulses to get off the ground.

    Thus, the four Ministers acted intentionally outside of the context of the European Commission as they supposed that a joint initiative of a reform proposal from educational ministers would be better accepted by the communities than one, proposed by the EC or national governments. They needed each other to build support for reforms to deal with the resistance in their communities (Hackl, 2001; De Wit, 2007). De Wit explains it in the following way:

> "Such a proposal would have been far more difficult to sell if presented by the Commission, by one of the four larger countries, or by the smaller countries. Thus, the United Kingdom needed France, Italy, and Germany to convince the British public of the advantages of a joint initiative to harmonize European higher education with the British system. The Germans, for their part, needed the support of the other countries to sell a plan at home to introduce the bachelor's and master's degree structure. And the French and Italians needed the others to convince their publics of the need for reform of their higher education systems, something that had previously always been blocked by massive protests" (De Wit, 2007:473).

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[16]Emphasis added.

The Sorbonne declaration articulates the aim of "an open European area for higher learning" (Sorbonne declaration, 1998:11) and main areas to be reformed, which later will lie at the root of the Bologna declaration. It appeals to promoting changes in the architecture of higher education systems in Europe to facilitate mutual recognition of qualifications in order to strengthen the quality and effectiveness of higher education in Europe, but in a way that the specific national features are sustained.

Though the Sorbonne declaration does not specify the duration of study cycles, it defines the graduate and undergraduate levels and characterizes the programmes. For the undergraduate degree, it foresees access to a diversity of programmes, including "opportunities for multidisciplinary studies, development of a proficiency in languages and the ability to use new information technologies" (ibid). The graduate cycle is supposed to offer two alternatives; a "shorter Master's degree" and a "longer Doctor's degree", with the possibility to shift from one to another. It is remarkable to mention that the term "Bachelor" was never articulated in the declaration. The undergraduate programme was to represent "an appropriate level of qualification" and no notion of its orientation towards the labor market was done. Another interesting aspect is that originally, the Master and Doctor programmes were meant to be interchangeable. Witte (2006) asserts that the Sorbonne declaration resonated the French higher education reform efforts of the time, particularly the idea of introduction of the two cycle programme and the conception of Masters and Doctoral programmes not as a sequence but as alternatives had also been expressed in the French Attali report *"Pour un Modle Européen d'Ensignement Supérieur"* (Attali et al., 1998).

Other recommendations of the declaration include promotion of mobility and academic staff: the students in graduate or undergraduate programmes are supposed to spend at least one semester abroad. Accordingly the mobility of teaching and research staff should be encouraged.

The document proposes the introduction of a common credit system, mentioning the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) scheme as an example, and semesters for the better flexibility. The credit system is supposed to facilitate involvement into the educational process at any stage of professional life, at any time and place and "from diverse backgrounds" (Sorbonne declaration, 1998:11).

Though the term "lifelong learning" does not explicitly appear in the Sorbonne declaration, it underlines the continuous nature of education, stressing that lifelong education has become a necessity:

> "We are heading for a period of major change in education and working

> conditions, to a diversification of courses of professional careers, with education and training throughout life becoming a clear obligation" (ibid).

The next time lifelong learning—again in terms of "education throughout life"—is being mentioned is in connection with introduction of credit system which:

> "will allow for validation of these acquired credits for those who choose initial or continued education in different European universities and wish to be able to acquire degrees in due time throughout life" (ibid).

As we see, these are the first very vague notions of lifelong learning, without specific strategies or guidelines. Education is being linked to the working environment and the diversification of professional paths, thus the continuous acquisition of knowledge is stressed to be a clear obligation. It is remarkable to mention, that the connection of lifelong learning to university is articulated in relation to academic degrees and continuous education, which constitutes only a part of the general idea of lifelong learning. No definition of the term or the concept is present.

Finally, the declaration endorsed the Lisbon convention on the recognition of degrees that had been passed a year earlier by the Council of Europe and UNESCO-CEPES (1997) and calls on other Member States of the Union and other European countries to join them in this objective.

As a summary, the issues that later overpass and were fully developed in the Bologna declaration, were: the introduction of a two-cycle degree, the adoption of a common system of credits, the mutual recognition of degrees and diplomas and the encouragement of student and staff mobility. Lifelong learning issue entered in lexicon in connection to the introduction of a credit system, which will allow a student to enter studies at any time, irrespective of his academic background and as a general ambition conditioned by the change in education and diversification of courses of professional life.

The declaration incited intensive debates both in the political arena and in academic communities. On the one hand, the initiative attracted other European countries to join, on the other hand, there was kind of discontent about the actions undertaken by the four ministers due to a number of misunderstandings.

The misunderstandings which appeared in both European and national debates after the Sorbonne declaration are comprehensively described by Dr. Andris Barblan, the Secretary General of CRE of that time (Barblan, 1999).

The first misunderstanding concerned the length of the studies. Although the Sorbonne declaration did not specify the length of the studies, the general assumption was the 3-5-8 model (Haug, Kirstein & Kundsen, 1999; Witte, 2006), and that was perceived by outsiders as an imposition of irrelevant structures on their own system of higher education (Barblan, 1999).

The second misunderstanding concerned the term "harmonization" which appeared in the title and in the text of the declaration. "Harmonization", which is an intolerable word in EU vocabulary—"an anathema in European jargon" (Barblan, 2001:29), "banned from the Community jargon with respect to education" (Gori, 2001:151)—irritated the critics like a red cloth to the bull. Obviously, the declaration did not mean uniformity of curricula all across Europe, which has been commonly interpreted under "harmonization", but an overall framework of degrees and cycles.

Moreover the declaration expressed the need for diversity and the respect to national difference:

> "An open European area for higher learning carries a wealth of positive perspectives, of course, respecting our diversities" (Sorbonne declaration, 1989:11).

This is the most probable reason why the later documentation on the Bologna process (the "Trends" report of 1999; the Bologna declaration of 1999) did not speak of "harmonization" any more, but of actions, "which may foster the desired convergence and transparency in qualification structures in Europe" (Haug, Kirstein & Knudsen, 1999:4).

The third misunderstanding, according to Barblan (1999), concerned the fact that the Sorbonne declaration was discussed and agreed on among the largest countries of EU by "solemnly calling for a common endeavor to create a European area of higher education", neglecting the smaller countries. It could have been interpreted as "a national initiative, belonging to the re-nationalization processes that tend to submerge the European movement under the politically correct maxim of cultural diversity" and "the imposition of national interests behind supposed European requirements".

That is why a Sorbonne follow-up working group, which included the representatives from Austria, Germany, Finland (i.e. the "troika countries" of spring 1999), the hosting country of the Bologna conference, France and the United Kingdom (which joined the group later), the European Commission, the Confederation of European Union Rectors' Conferences, and the Association of European Universities (Hackl,

2001), was formed to carry a comparative study of trends and learning structures in higher education. The outcomes of the study were used to draft the text of the declaration for the upcoming Bologna forum. The "Trends" report was funded by the European Commission, and from then onward the Commission took a growing role in the process. However, until now the Bologna process remains an intergovernmental initiative. It is not an EU/EC project or an official programme, though the European Commission is a formal full member in the process together with the other 46 EU and non-EU States.

3.4 Bologna Declaration (1999)

On June 19th, 1999 the Ministers of Education of the 29 European countries met in Bologna to sign a declaration with an ambitious aim of creating a European Higher Education Area by 2010 as "a key way to promote citizens' mobility and employability and the Continent's overall development". The declaration states, that there is "the need to establish a more complete and far-reaching Europe, in particular building upon and strengthening its intellectual, cultural, social and scientific and technological dimensions" (Bologna declaration, 1999:3) and the higher education institutions are the main actors in the creation of this new competitive "Europe of Knowledge", as they are challenged to construct the common European educational space to achieve a greater compatibility and comparability of the systems. However, they should rely on the principles of Magna Charta Universitatum of 1988 and the full respect of the diversity of cultures, languages, national educational systems and of university autonomy is to be maintained.

A particular emphasis was made at the objective of increasing the international competitiveness of the European system of higher education to achieve "worldwide degree of attraction" according to the merits of Europe's "extraordinary cultural and scientific traditions" (ibid).

The declaration speaks of a "continual momentum" of the initiative, as well as "concrete measures" and coordination of policies to achieve the objectives. It identifies a set of action lines, which will guide the process towards its ultimate goal. The action lines could be summarized as follows:

- making degrees easily readable and comparable through a Diploma Supplement, a document describing in a uniform way the courses taken by the students;

- adopting a system based on two main cycles: undergraduate and graduate, where the first cycle comprises "a minimum of three years" and has a direct outcome to labour market, i.e. represents an appropriate level of qualification; and the second leads to master and/or PhD;

- establishing a system of credits, such as the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS), to promote student mobility, specifying that "credits could also be acquired in non-higher education contexts, including lifelong learning, provided they are recognized by the receiving universities concerned" (ibid);

- improving the free movement of students and faculty by eliminating the obstacles to effective mobility;

- promoting the European cooperation in Quality Assurance, evaluation and accreditation, and

- promoting the European dimension in HE, "particularly with regard to curricular development, inter-institutional cooperation, mobility schemes and integrated programmes of study" (ibid:3-4).

At the end, this declaration, like the Sorbonne, appeals to European universities to join and mentions the date for the next meeting in two years "to assess the progress achieved and the new steps to be taken" (ibid). The declaration was signed by 29, countries from which only 15 were members of EU by that time.[17]

If compared to the Sorbonne declaration, the Bologna declaration has expressed the objectives and intentions of the proposed reforms more precisely, though there is still a large room left for interpretations. The declaration does not mention the 3/5/8 years pattern of degrees but that was the common understanding of that issue. It does not name "the Bachelor" degree, instead, it mentions the minimum duration of the first cycle and its orientation towards the labour market. The second cycle, like in the Sorbonne declaration, can lead either to Master or Doctorate. There is not much notion of lifelong learning in the paper. It appears again in connection to introduction of credit transfer system which is supposed to help in assessment of skills

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[17]The Bologna countries of 1999 are: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Iceland, Italy, Lithuania, Latvia, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Czech Republic, Romania, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

and knowledge acquired in non-higher education context, "including lifelong learning" (ibid). Obviously, there is a development towards fostering transferability and accumulation functions of the system with the view to encouraging lifelong learning, but it is still a secondary notion and it is not clear what that "lifelong learning" is packed with.

Some points related to the Bologna declaration need to be clarified. First, there is usually confusion whether it is a Commission or intergovernmental paper. The confusion arises because many of the initiatives described in the paper echo the general strategy of EC regarding higher education, more precisely the principles on which such programmes as Socrates and Erasmus function: fostering mobility of students and staff, achieving transparency in higher education degrees, etc. As Hackl (2001) demonstrates, the question of its being intergovernmental or Community document, had been raised in one of the preparatory working group sessions, but had not been further discussed and formally remained to be intergovernmental. I assume, that this point is principal: to keep the process running on the basis of agreements between national governments and not to allow its merging with the framework of European Commission. It is a difficult task, taking into account the full membership of EC in the process as well as its significant financial contribution. A delicate balancing act, since there is the risk to lose control of the process or face resistance from academic communities.

The second point of confusion was whether the declaration is binding or voluntary. This question was also discussed informally by the working group (Hackl, 2001) and there was an implicit agreement between the signatories that the document is not binding. However, shortly after signing the declaration, the Confederation of EU Rectors' Conferences and the Association of European Universities (CRE) issued a paper entitled "The Bologna Declaration: an explanation" (CRE, 2000), which added fuss to confusion. In an attempt to explain the nature of the declaration it states:

> "It is a commitment freely taken by each signatory country to reform its own higher education system or systems in order to create overall convergence at European level" (ibid:2).

Several lines thereunder, in a box with an emphasis it is stated:

> "The Bologna Declaration is not just a political statement, but a binding commitment to an action programme" (ibid).

Yet, the general assumption is, and that is underlined in several documentation (e.g. House of Commons, 2007) that the process is a:

> "non-binding inter-governmental initiative between its signatory countries. To understand this is to understand the nature of the Bologna Process as intended from its origin. <...> The signatories to the Bologna Process are a voluntary collection of 45 countries (and growing)" (ibid:9).

The question—how these voluntary principles are being realized in practice—will be discussed in chapter 7 on the case of Germany. However, one could describe the nature of the process as implicitly binding. Despite the fact that the declaration simply represents a political statement with no legal power, i.e. its signing formally does not oblige the signatories to undertake actions and there can be no consequences for not complying with declared guidelines, there is a strong inner constraint which could be explained by several factors. One of them, as assumed by Ravinet (2006), is the fact, that it is signed by 29 ministers. The declaration would not have the power it has now had it been signed by few ministers. Having signed it deliberately, the ministers undertook commitment towards concrete actions. Another factor, also mentioned in the previous subchapter (see Sec. 3.3), is the fact that some of the national governments needed a joint European initiative to legalize the reforms on the national level. Other factors include the competitiveness and the risk of being left out, being considered "not modern and not progressive" (from interviews). In the course of time the constraints in the process grew due to the appearance of follow-up structures, which were designed to investigate, monitor and assess the progress of the process. In her article Ravinet (2008) discusses how the follow-up structures brought more pressure, turning a flexible European process of non-binding participation into a monitored system of coordinated national higher education policies.

3.5 Lisbon, Salamanca, Göteborg, or other cities that matter[18]

Before turning to the Prague meeting and communiqué, several events which took place between these two conferences and had significant impact on the further development of the process should be highlighted.

First, it is the creation of follow-up groups: a consultative and a steering group which later will form the so-called Bologna Follow-Up Group[19]. While the steering group was restricted to Finland, Portugal, France and Sweden, as representatives from the member states holding the EU presidency during the two years before Prague meeting, as well as to the Czech Republic (hosting the conference), the European Commission, Confederation of EU Rectors' Conferences and the CRE, the consultative group covered a larger scope: besides the members of the steering group, it included also the representatives from all signatory countries. The follow-up group appeared to be a tool for the continuous monitoring of the process and a concealed booster of process. Ravinet (2005b) demonstrates how the constraining mechanisms that occurred as a result of formalization and structuralization, developed in the Bologna process with the formation of the follow-up group. Hackl (2001) argues that such a structure provides a kind of compliance with the guidelines which are meant to be non-binding:

> "Follow-up processes or continuous monitoring have become a tool of the Community, also in other policy areas, to enhance compliance with non-binding rules" (Hackl, 2001:111).

Thus, we witness a process, which, starting with a political declaration, develops into an action project, demanding certain activities towards its implementation from the actors involved. This is an important point which can help us to understand the

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[18]This refers to the title of an article by Marijk van der Wende (2003) which reads: "Bologna is not the only city that matters in European Higher Education Policy". The article discusses the impact of the Lisbon Process on Higher Education in Europe and the title refers to Lisbon as another symbolic city for higher education.

[19]The Sorbonne follow-up working group met after Bologna conference, "to formally terminate its work" (Hackl, 2001:111) and as a result a new structure was born from it—to measure and assess, and, de facto, also control, the progress of the process—which later became known as Bologna Follow-up group (BFUG).

nature of resistance in academic communities related to the conflict of freedom and pressure. On the one hand they are free to decide whether to implement the objectives or not, on the other hand they are also expected to perform certain actions, as there is a body monitoring their progress[20].

Second, it is an event which requires particular attention both in the context of the Bologna process and the present study, namely the European Council in Lisbon in March 2000, which gave start to another process known as the Lisbon process[21]. In the following I will try to briefly present the effects of Lisbon agenda and its influence on the behavior of the higher education policy field with regard to the Bologna Process.

The Council of Europe met in Lisbon to agree on a new strategic goal for the European Union and set an ambitious aim *"to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion"* (European Council, 2000a). Recognizing, that Europe is confronted with a number of challenges resulting from globalization and emergence of the new knowledge-driven economy, which affect "every aspect of people's lives and require a radical transformation of the European economy" (ibid), the Council of Europe agreed on a programme to build "knowledge infrastructures, enhancing innovation and economic reform, and modernizing social welfare and education systems[22]"(ibid).

Thus, the accepted strategy rests on the three major pillars: economic, social and environmental. The economic pillar is to prepare the transition to a knowledge-based economy and society fostering policies for research and development, competitiveness and innovation. The social pillar is designed to foster European social structures by investing in people and promoting social inclusion. The environmental pillar is to sustain the healthy economic outlook and favorable growth prospects. Among others, the Lisbon agenda speaks of an information society for all and combat against illiteracy: "People are Europe's main asset", state the presidency conclusions. Lisbon agenda sets forth to achieve the common European Area of Research and increased

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[20]The countries are expected to present national progress reports on the action lines outlined in the declaration (these are 6 in Bologna declaration, which meanwhile grew to 10) to each ministerial meeting.

[21]Also referred to as Lisbon Agenda or Lisbon Strategy.

[22]Emphasis added.

transparency of qualifications. This resembles a lot of the initiatives undertaken under Bologna:

> "define, by the end of 2000, the means <u>for fostering the mobility of students, teachers and training and research staff</u> <...>, by <u>removing obstacles and through greater transparency in the recognition of qualifications and periods of study and training</u>[23]" (ibid).

The two action lines of Bologna process are mentioned explicitly: improving mobility and making degrees easily readable and comparable.

Another aspect in building a knowledge-based society, which deserves our special attention, is the application of lifelong learning as an employment policy. Under the title "More and Better Jobs for Europe", the lifelong learning strategy is prioritized "as a basic component of the European social model", which, among others, should further "all aspects of equal opportunities" and make it easier "to reconcile working life and family life". The educational institutions are being addressed to face the challenge of adaptation in the light of the new social demands:

> "Europe's education and training systems need to adapt both to the demands of the knowledge society and to the need for an improved level and quality of employment. They will have to offer learning and training opportunities tailored to target groups at different stages of their lives: young people, unemployed adults and those in employment who are at risk of seeing their skills overtaken by rapid change" (ibid).

The document also speaks of the "new basic skills" that should be provided through lifelong learning. These include: IT skills, foreign languages, technological culture, entrepreneurship and social skills. These new basic skills became the subject of the first key message[24] of the "Memorandum on Lifelong Learning" adopted by the European Commission several months later in November 2000 (European Commission, 2000a), the purpose of which, as stated in the paper, is "to launch a Europe-wide debate on lifelong learning" (ibid:3). The Memorandum refers to the European Council held in Lisbon affirming that:

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[23]Emphasis added.

[24]The Memorandum on Lifelong Learning rests on 6 key messages, which "offer a structured framework for an open debate on putting lifelong learning into practice": 1. New basic skills for all, 2. More investment in human resources, 3. Innovation in teaching and learning, 4. Valuing learning, 5. Rethinking guidance and counseling, 6. Bringing learning closer to home.

> "lifelong learning must accompany a successful transition to a knowledge-based economy and society. Therefore, Europe's education and training systems are at the heart of the coming changes. They too, must adapt" (ibid).

It gives a definition to lifelong learning, which is an "all purposeful learning activity, undertaken on an ongoing basis with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competence"(ibid), and defines the two "equally important" goals which the lifelong learning should be aimed at: promoting active citizenship and promoting employability.

Thus, we observe an increased interest on the issue of lifelong learning on European level right before the Ministerial meeting in Prague. The concept of lifelong learning is a term used in the context of employability and social cohesion. Later observation will show how "employability" penetrates more and more into the Bologna process becoming at the end its upper goal.

The Lisbon agenda was further developed at the meetings of the European Council in Nice (December 2000) and in Barcelona (March 2002). During the meeting in Nice, the discussions touched upon the questions of student/teacher mobility and building of a European Area of Research and Innovation (European Council, 2000b). In Barcelona, education, under the heading "A Competitive Economy Based on Knowledge", became an obvious part of Lisbon agenda. Most of the objectives of the Bologna process were addressed, including ECTS, diploma supplement, mobility, European dimension in education and a "closer cooperation with regard to university degrees in the context of the Sorbonne -Bologna-Prague process" (European Council, 2002b:19) was encouraged. From then on, the Bologna process became increasingly incorporated into the Lisbon process. This was justified also by the Commission's contribution to Bergen conference "From Berlin to Bergen. The EU Contribution" (17 February 2004), which states:

> "From EU perspective, the Bologna process fits into a broader agenda defined in Lisbon in March 2000" (European Commission, 2004b:1).

Coming back to pre-Prague events, it is worthwhile to mention the two conventions which made important input to Prague conference: the Salamanca convention of European higher education institutions and the Student convention in Göteborg.

The Salamanca convention organized as "an activity of the academic community" (Hackl, 2001; Reinalda & Kulesza, 2005) was marked by the merging of the

two university organizations—the Confederation of European Union Rectors' Conferences and the Association of European Universities (CRE) - into the European University Association (EUA). An important contribution to the conference was the "Trends II"[25] report—another study under the "Trends in Learning Structures in Higher Education" (Haug & Tauch, 2001a)—which was again funded by European Commission and carried out by the two mentioned organizations. The report examined the educational structures in the associated countries that signed the declaration but were not covered in previous "Trends I" report and provided a further update on the developments of Bologna process. On the basis of "Trends II" and further discussions at the conference, the EUA issued a "Message from Salamanca Convention of European Higher Education Institutions" (EUA, 2001), which, among others, addressed the principles of university autonomy with accountability, particularly the adherence to academic freedom: "to shape their strategies, choose their priorities in teaching and research, allocate their resources, profile their curricula and set their criteria for the acceptance of professors and students" (ibid:7), as well as the public belonging of the higher education, as a necessary prerequisite in shaping the European Higher Education Area.

Other important themes at Salamanca convention were the quality of education through provision of quality assurance mechanisms and building on the research dimension in higher education: alliance of the European Higher Education Area with the European Research Area. Especially noteworthy is the mentioning of lifelong learning in context of employability and relevance to the labour market:

> "Relevance to the European labour market needs to be reflected in different ways in curricula, depending on whether the competencies acquired are for employment after the first or the second degree. Employability in a lifelong learning perspective is best served through the inherent value of quality education, the diversity of approaches and course profiles, the flexibility of programmes with multiple entry and exit points and the development of transversal skills and competencies such as communication and languages, ability to mobilize knowledge, problem solving, team work and social processes" (ibid:8).

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[25]Since then it has become a tradition. In the period from Sorbonne to Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve meeting there have been 5 Trends reports issued so far: EUA Trends I–June 1999, EUA Trends II–April 2001, EUA Trends III–July 2003, EUA Trends IV–April 2005 and EUA Trends V–May 2007. The latest Trends survey of higher education institutions has been launched at the end of 2008 and will be presented at the Bologna Anniversary Conference in 2010.

As we see, the Salamanca discussions obviously carry signs of the influence from the Lisbon Summit, particularly the notions on the European Research Area which should "go hand in hand" (ibid:7) with the European Higher Education Area, the concept of the lifelong learning, thought linked to the labour market and employability.

The Students Göteborg convention in March 2001 revealed the issue of students' participation in the Bologna process. The students, represented by the National Unions of Students in Europe (ESIB), see themselves as "competent, active and constructive partners" (Students Göteborg convention, 2001:20) in the present process of educational reforms. The Students Göteborg declaration especially emphasizes the development of all types of mobility in the European Higher Education Area and the social aspect, to which the Bologna process failed to address, pointing out to equal access to higher education, regardless of social background and making a recommendation to provide "students with adequate funding in the form of study grants and the higher education institutions with enough funding to exercise their public tasks" (ibid:19).

All these (and many other) post-Bologna events were summarized in the first part of the official[26] Lourtie Report (2001) "Furthering the Bologna Process", which was presented as a contribution to the Prague ministerial conference. The second part of the report made recommendations for further actions on the basis of the analysis of the main issues that had been discussed on different levels.

In a separate section, devoted to the issue of lifelong learning, Lourtie reports that although the issue of lifelong learning arose in many discussions in the framework of the Bologna process, it was not incorporated as priority for higher education in most of the countries. He refers to the Council of Europe and the European Union, with reference to the Memorandum on lifelong learning, as actors that undertake a lot of work in the area, however "not specific to higher education" (ibid:13) and states that the issue is gaining increased importance within the Bologna process. Further, he makes recommendations concerning the involvement of the lifelong learning issue as a priority in the Bologna process. The recommendations read as follows:

"85. Lifelong learning is mentioned in the Bologna Declaration, in

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[26]The report was supported by the European Commission. As it is mentioned in the introduction, paragraph 1: The follow-up group decided that, besides the contributions coming from the stakeholders and the outcomes of the seminars and meetings, a specific report should be prepared for the ministers of education and commissioned the rapporteur to present this report (Lourtie, 2001).

relation with establishing a credit system and acquiring credits outside formal higher education. However, lifelong learning is not only a specific education and training issue, but involves also the employment policies. In fact, a comprehensive lifelong learning policy requires that the education and training systems are open to new publics and offer alternative learning paths to standard qualifications, as well as, a variety of non formal learning opportunities. $<\ldots>$

86. From the higher education point of view, the recognition of prior learning and prior experiential learning is one of the instruments to promote access to furthering formal education and, therefore, raise the levels of education attainment and of employability. Furthermore, it would be an additional contribution to make higher education internationally attractive and competitive $<\ldots>$" (ibid:16-17).

Thus, Lourtie suggests the integration of the concept of lifelong learning into the Bologna process, which could be made possible through the credit transfer system and the recognition of prior learning, in a support of two main Bologna goals: employability and international attractiveness and competitiveness.

Now, if we pay a special attention to the dates and developments, we can observe the following consistent pattern of how the things and events influenced each other and brought the occurrence of the lifelong learning issue in the Bologna process:

→ the Council of Europe launches the Lisbon Process, where lifelong learning is emphasized in the context of employability: March 2000;

→ the European Commission adopts a Memorandum on lifelong learning: November 2000;

→ the Salamanca Convention reveals lifelong learning in connection to enhancing employability and relevance to labour market: March 2001;

→ Lourtie report makes recommendation with a special sub-chapter devoted to lifelong learning: May 2001;

→ the Prague communiqué accepts the lifelong learning, as an additional action line of Bologna process: May 2001.

3.6 Prague Communiqué (2001)

The Second ministerial meeting was held in Prague on 18–19 May 2001, two years after the signing of Bologna declaration. At this meeting, the ministers adopted a communiqué, evaluating the process and outlining further issues that need to be addressed and setting priorities for the coming years. Three more countries (Croatia, Cyprus and Turkey) were formally invited to join the "Bologna family" (Tauch & Haug, 2001b), which thus grew to 33 countries and other European countries were called on to take part in the commitment to undertake the necessary reforms required for the implementation of the Bologna Process goals.

Starting with the words of appreciation towards the parties that contributed to the meeting, namely the follow-up group, that commissioned the Lourtie report "Furthering the Bologna Process", the higher education institutions in the name of EUA, students in the name of ESIB and the European Commission for "its constructive assistance" (Prague communiqué, 2001), the communiqué then comments on the six action lines acknowledged by Bologna declaration and, on the basis of reports and recommendations, adds the three new action lines:

1. lifelong learning, as an essential element of the European Higher Education Area, is stressed in the context of building a knowledge-based society and economy:

   > "In the future Europe, built upon a knowledge-based society and economy, lifelong learning strategies are necessary to face the challenges of competitiveness and the use of new technologies and to improve social cohesion, equal opportunities and the quality of life" (ibid:9);

2. involvement of students and the higher education institutions. While the involvement of the higher education institutions in the process of constructing the European Higher Education Area has been already acknowledged in Bologna declaration, the students' participation and role in decision making is a new dimension in the Process:

   > "Ministers affirmed that students should participate in and influence the organisation and content of education at universities and other higher education institutions. Ministers also reaffirmed the

> need, recalled by students, to take account of the social dimension in the Bologna process" (ibid);

3. promoting attractiveness of European Higher Education Area to other parts of the world. According to the communiqué the common framework of qualifications will enhance the readability and comparability of European degrees worldwide. This and the high quality of higher education and research should be "important determinant(s) of Europe's international attractiveness and competitiveness" (ibid). To achieve that, increased collaboration between the European countries is necessary, particularly in relation to enhancing the transnational education.

The communiqué concludes with the decision on a follow-up meeting which would take place in Berlin in 2003 to review progress and set directions and priorities for the next two years. To provide the continuity of the process, the ministers discussed and made changes in the further organization of the follow-up process. Thus, the former steering group was abolished and instead two groups: a small preparatory group (Bologna Preparatory group (BPG)) and an enlarged follow-up group (the so-called Bologna Follow-up group (BFUG)), were established. The follow-up group, the responsibilities of which include monitoring and different activities to forward the process, like the organization of Bologna seminars, would comprise the representatives of all signatories, new participants and the European Commission and be chaired by the EU Presidency at the time. The preparatory group, which would be responsible for planning of the next ministerial meeting, would consist of representatives of the countries hosting the previous ministerial meetings and the next ministerial meeting, two EU member states and two non-EU member states (elected by the follow-up group), the EU Presidency at the time and the European Commission; and would be chaired by the representative of the country hosting the next ministerial meeting. The non-governmental organizations (EUA, ESIB and EURASHE - the European Association of Institutions in Higher Education) and the Council of Europe would have a consultative role in the Process.

To summarize, the Bologna process in Prague grew from 6 to 9 action lines, the students became active participants in the process and the growing role of European commission was acknowledged: three years before that, the Commission was just an external observer, now it obtained "a special status of an additional full member" (Zgaga, 2003:18). If we look critically to the terms used in the communiqué, we can

trace the influence of the Lisbon process: the Europe of Knowledge, which was used in Bologna and Sorbonne declarations, turned into the "knowledge-based society and economy", for the achievement of which the lifelong learning strategies are needed. As we see the concept of "lifelong learning" appears in Prague communiqué as an action line, though in a quite ambiguous manner. However, lifelong learning is now included in the activities of the follow-up group, which is encouraged to arrange seminars to explore a number of areas (i.e. cooperation concerning accreditation and quality assurance, recognition issues, student involvement, etc.) including lifelong learning. We will find more references on the topic later in contributions to the Berlin conference: the Zgaga report (2003), the official rapporteur to the Berlin meeting, and the "Trends III"— the next trends study which reviewed the progress from Prague to Berlin (Reichert & Tauch, 2003).

3.7   Berlin Communiqué (2003)

Since the Prague conference the Bologna process "widened and deepened" (House of Commons, 2007). Increasingly more actors got involved in the Process with different contributions: seminars, studies, conferences, position papers. Among the other contributions to the Berlin ministerial conference, which include messages from higher education institutions (EUA. Graz Declaration—Forward from Berlin: the Role of Universities), students (ESIB and the Bologna Process—Creating a European Higher Education Area for and with Students), EURASHE and the Council of Europe[27], a survey on Masters degrees in Europe (Tauch & Rauhvargers, 2002) and others[28], the two papers, namely the "Trends III" report (Reichert & Tauch, 2003): a survey conducted by the EUA and funded by the European Commission, and the "Zgaga report" (Zgaga, 2003), entitled "Report to the Ministers of Education of the signatory countries commissioned by the Follow-up Group of the Bologna Process" deserve special attention.

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[27] All these contributions can be found in a compendium of documentation from the Berlin Conference issued by *Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung Kultusministerkonferenz*, entitled "Realising the European higher education area: Conference of European Ministers Responsible for Higher Education", 18–19 September 2003, Berlin, Documentation, W. Bertelsmann Verlag, Bielefeld, 2004.

[28] Zgaga (2003) in his report gives a detailed account on all the pre-Berlin events, conferences, contributions and other developments since Prague.

These contributions underline that the Bologna process between Prague and Berlin conferences got increased recognition not only at European level (both governmental and institutional) but also world-wide, attracting attention of other continents. As Zgaga writes in the introduction:

> ""Bologna" has become a new European higher education brand, today easily recognized in governmental policies, academic activities, international organizations, networks and media" (Zgaga, 2003:11).

The member list is growing, more countries wish to participate, nobody wants to stay outside of this overwhelming reality. According to Zgaga, the countries involved recognize the necessity and profitability of a joint initiative for their own national HE systems:

> "There is no country today which has not found it essential from the point of view of national interests—to search for complex answers for its future, also through the educational system" <...> (Zgaga, 2003:12).

What we observe is the presentation of the Bologna process as a reform process which originated from national interests and is not an action imposed by governments, from the EU or other supranational organizations. It is "a conviction of countries and institutions" to the idea of becoming more comparable and compatible as well as world-attractive, and nobody pushed them in that direction administratively; it became "more a national need and a national priority" (Zgaga, 2003:12).

At the same time we find an explicit reference to the Lisbon process and the coincidence of Bologna action lines with the EU policy regarding higher education (referred to such programmes as Socrates/Erasmus, Tempus, Cards, and so on), though geographically the map of Bologna signatory countries exceeds that of the EU. The Zgaga report states:

> "the Bologna process also fits as closely as possible into the broader agenda defined by the Heads of States and Governments at a meeting of the European Council in Lisbon in March 2000, setting for Europe "a new strategic goal for the next decade" and stressing the importance of "establishing a European Area of Research and Innovation" as well as "education and training for living and working in the knowledge society". From the point of view of (not only) higher education, these aims were confirmed in a more profiled way in Barcelona two years later, this time setting "the objective of making these educative and training systems a

world quality reference by 2010". These statements closely correspond to those from the Bologna declaration and the Prague communiqué" (Zgaga, 2003:18).

As we see the process is being more and more integrated into the EU framework which also means that the Commission obtains a greater influence on it. Thus, the nature of the process is becoming characterized by a mixture of top-bottom and bottom-up governance, gradually changing from an intergovernmental action to a supranational process. However, the unwillingness of the players to go into that direction can be traced in a number official documents where the intergovernmentalism of the process is continuously being emphasized. For example, the report of the House of Commons (2007:11), prepared prior to the Bologna summit in London, underlines:

> "<...> it is important to emphasise that the Bologna Process is a nonbinding intergovernmental initiative between signatory countries. It is not a European Community (EC) initiative, project or official programme. The signatories to the Bologna Process are the governments of 45 countries (a number which seems likely to grow ...)",

> "The European Commission has a formal role as a full member <...> but does not lead, direct, or legislate with regard to the conduct of the Process."

In an attempt to defend the bottom-up approach, the report expresses the concern, that the European Commission could obtain greater authority over the process thus corrupting its original idea:

> "<...> worries have been expressed in written and oral evidence that the role played by the European Commission might be contrary to the principles that inspire Bologna in that it may increase bureaucracy, centralize control and encourage conformity, whilst diminishing flexibility, responsiveness and creativity" (House of Commons, 2007:32).

> "The concern is, however, that if the European Commission becomes dominant, what is currently a bottom-up process might become increasingly subject to detailed, legislative rules rather being left to operate within broad, flexible frameworks agreed and developed by the higher education sectors" (ibid).

Despite such declarations, the facts speak for themselves: the interconnection between the processes on European level, such as the Lisbon process, and the Bologna process, as well as the increasing influence of European Commission on the process decision-making is hard to deny.

Further developments before the Berlin Conference, among others, include the issues of the two-cycles, the European Research Area and the lifelong learning. The discussions on two-cycle degree become more specific: now they mention Bachelor and Master terms, the number of credits are being circulated: 180–240 ECTS credits for Bachelor and 90–120 for Master (Zgaga, 2003; Conclusions and Recommendations, 2001). The Trend report states, that most of the governments have considerably improved the legal conditions and fixed deadlines for the transition to the two-tier degree system (Reichert & Tauch, 2003:16). Another topic which was raised at pre-Berlin seminars was the importance of integration of European Higher Education Area with the European Research Area. Recommendations were done to include a third cycle in the process, namely Doctoral studies[29].

Concerning the lifelong learning, we observe an increased attention to the issue. The Prague Conference on lifelong learning[30] makes the following recommendations to the Berlin Conference:

> "Higher education institutions and others should:
>
> - reconfirm their historical commitment to, and reconsider their approach and relationship to, lifelong learning, bring learning closer to the learner and interact more with local communities and enterprises;
>
> - adopt internal policies to promote the recognition of prior formal, non-formal and informal learning for access and study exemption; <...>
>
> - integrate lifelong learning into their overall strategy, global development plan and mission" (Zgaga, 2003:83).

The "Trends III" report has a subchapter devoted to lifelong learning. The main outcomes of the study reveal that the definitions of lifelong learning vary greatly from

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[29]The recommendations, made by EUA at Graz Convention (29–31 May 2003), also expressed by European Commission in its contribution paper to Berlin conference.

[30]Prague Conference on lifelong learning. Recognition and Credit Validation of Education Acquired in Non-Higher Education Contexts, Including Lifelong Learning, for Further Bachelor, Master and Doctoral Studies, held in Prague, Czech Republic, 5-7 June 2003.

country to country, the understanding of the concept is very vague and its relation to continuing education and adult education is unclear (Reichert & Tauch, 2003:13 and 94). What all these definitions share is an "emphasis on identifying how learning can best be enabled, in all contexts and phases of life" (ibid:94). The survey also reveals that, as of 2003, the majority of countries involved in the implementation of the Bologna process, either intend to or are in the process of developing a LLL strategy. The understanding of a need for a national polices is obvious and the Memorandum on LLL passed by the European Commission had a big impact on it (ibid:99).

However, it was identified that the policies and actions undertaken at European and national levels mostly are not targeted at the sector of higher education and "do not address the particular added value or conditions of LLL provision at HEIs" (ibid:14).

In a nutshell, the Trend survey of 2003 identified that at that time the provision of LLL at university level was marginalized and mostly excluded from their general strategies and core processes, even in those countries where the continuing education sector at universities have had long traditions and played an important political role (such as France, the UK or Finland). The report recommends that HEIs should "make more of an effort to integrate LLL into their core development processes and policies" (ibid:4), in order to reply to the demands of the expanding markets and make clear the added value of universities in provision of LLL.

All these and other issues were raised and discussed at the meeting in Berlin on 19 September 2003, where 7 new countries were accepted to join the "Bologna family": Albania, Andorra, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, the Russian Federation, Serbia-Montenegro, and the Vatican, thus expanding the number of signatory countries to 40.

The Berlin communiqué released as a result of this meeting reaffirmed the commitment of the ministers to implementing the Bologna objectives, underlining the social dimension and public belonging of the higher education. The interrelation of the Bologna process with the Lisbon process was explicitly acknowledged:

> "Ministers take into due consideration the conclusions of the European Councils in Lisbon (2000) and Barcelona (2002) aimed at making Europe "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion" and calling for further action and closer co-operation in the context of the Bologna Process" (Berlin communiqué,

2003:2).

Also the ministers agreed on the necessity to make efforts in order to provide a closer link between higher education and research systems, assuming that

> "the emerging European Higher Education Area will benefit from synergies with the European Research Area, thus strengthening the basis of the Europe of Knowledge" (ibid).

While assessing the progress, of the process the ministers discussed the action lines and outlined the intermediate priorities for the next two years. The points of particular attention for the coming years become quality assurance, the two-cycle system and recognition of degrees and periods of studies.

Concerning the quality assurance they agreed to support the development of quality assurance at institutional, national and European levels and defined the criteria according to which the national quality assurance systems should function by 2005.

The two-cycle system, where the "first and second cycle degrees should have different orientations and various profiles in order to accommodate a diversity of individual, academic and labour market needs" (ibid:4), should be started by 2005. The ministers agreed to develop a framework of compatible and comparable qualifications for the higher education systems "which should seek to describe qualifications in terms of workload, level, learning outcomes, competences and profile" (ibid:4), and an overarching framework of qualifications for the European Higher Education Area. Besides, the ratification of the Lisbon Recognition Convention has been made obligatory for all Bologna countries. Also, the students graduating in 2005 should receive the Diploma Supplement, issued by respective institutions automatically and free of charge.

The discussions of lifelong learning touched upon the role of higher education institutions as important contributors in making the learning society a reality. Thus the ministers committed to align the national policies in accordance to this goal and "urged Higher Education Institutions and all concerned to enhance the possibilities for lifelong learning at higher education level including the recognition of prior learning" (ibid:6).

Particularly, the ministers mentioned the ECTS system and qualifications framework for the European Higher Education Area, as tools to promote lifelong learning and to ensure the wide range of flexible learning paths, among others, "into and within higher education" (ibid:6).

In order to ensure the close link between the European Higher Education Area and the European Research Area, a new action line was added to the previous nine, namely, the Doctoral level, as the third cycle in the Process. The follow-up structures were again modified, becoming more complicated[31]. Some authors[32] consider it an indication for the increasing institutionalization of the process. A stocktaking activity was launched to monitor the progress and "take corrective measures, if appropriate" (ibid:7), while:

> "The closer we get to 2010, the more important it will be to assess whether policies have been implemented or are likely to be put in place in time for the EHEA to be established" (Zgaga, 2003:38).

It was declared that the next ministerial conference would be held in Bergen, Norway in May 2005.

The results of the Berlin Conference can be summarized as follows. The action lines of Bologna process grew to 10 and remained unchanged up to the conference in Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve. The process attracted national and international attention becoming a "recognized brand". Despite this, the concepts being articulated in the process, such as the term "employability", the relation between the two cycles, the role of higher education concerning the lifelong learning, etc., still remain unclear and vague "even in the minds of those who use these concepts most often" (Reichert & Tauch, 2003:16). Further on, the link to the Lisbon process, and thus the significant role of the European Commission in the process, was explicitly acknowledged. Remarkable steps towards discussions of lifelong learning were undertaken. Now, lifelong learning relates not only to recognition of prior learning or ECTS. The opportunities to use the expertise of HEIs and encourage the provision of LLL at university level are discussed.

3.8 Bergen Communiqué (2005)

The Conference in Bergen was held in May 2005. Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine were accepted as new members, thus enlarging the "Bologna

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[31]For the details on the follow-up structure see, for example, Reinalda & Kulesza, 2005:29; also the text of the Berlin communiqué, 2003:8.

[32]See, for example, Witte, 2006.

Family" to 45 member countries. Kazakhstan and Kosovo also applied for the membership, but their applications were rejected because the both countries were not signatories to the European Cultural Convention, adopted by the Council of Europe in 1954, which is one of the requirements for the membership in the process.

This time the General Report to the Conference, entitled "From Berlin to Bergen", was prepared by the Bologna Follow-Up Group and not by a general Rapporteur as it was in the case of previous conferences. However, the structure remained quite the same: an overview of all pre-Bergen activities and resulting recommendations. The European Universities Association again contributed with "Trends IV" report, prepared by Sybille Reichert and Christian Tauch and funded by the European Commission. A novelty which was not present at the previous conferences was the Stocktaking report, prepared by a working group appointed by the Bologna Follow-Up Group and again financed by the European Commission within the framework of the Socrates Programme.

The Stocktaking report relied on national reports, assessing the current situation, and information from the EURYDICE—the information network on education in Europe. The report focused on the three priority areas, which were set at the Berlin meeting: quality assurance, two-cycle degree system and recognition of qualifications. The progress in all the three areas was evaluated as "very good" and the process was declared to be a success:

> "there is good news for the countries involved in the Bologna Process: the collective and voluntary inter-governmental process is a success" (Bologna Process Stocktaking, 2005:5).

The report stated that the European Higher Education Area "is beginning to take shape": almost all the participating countries have started implementing the reforms according to the guidelines of Bologna declaration of 1999, most of them falling under the categories of "Excellent Performance" or "Very Good Performance" (ibid:26). In numbers this was expressed in the following way:

> "at least 55 per cent of countries have the system in place on a wide scale, with a further 21 per cent having it in place in a more limited capacity" (ibid: 43).

Conversely, the stocktaking revealed also low level of participation of students in quality assurance as well as in the two-cycle degree system and made a number of

recommendations[33].

The "Trend IV" report, too, fixed a significant progress, especially related to the implementation of the two-cycle degree, where, in comparison to the situation of 2–3 years ago, more disciplines, such as teacher training, engineering, architecture, law, theology, fine arts, psychology, etc., were being involved in the two-cycle systems, and the restrictions mostly apply only to medicine and related fields (Reichert & Tauch, 2005). The study addressed also the issue of attitudes in HEIs towards Bachelor and Master degrees, determining that the attitudes have also been changed positively:

> "Generally speaking, the higher education communities visited for Trends IV see the advantages of the two-cycle system, even though they may be critical with regard to specific aspects of the implementation" (ibid:11).

However, the "Trend IV" staff faced also negative attitude and criticism in some of the HEIs from academics who considered the reforms as being imposed on them by institutional leadership or ministry. Some criticism was directed against the conditions of implementations and the resulting extra work, against the growing burocratisation and curricula becoming more rigid and compressed with less space for creativity and innovation.

Though the "Trend IV" study covered more areas than the Stocktaking report, none of the reports had a special section to present the situation with the lifelong learning in HEIs. Lifelong learning was mentioned in the "Trend IV" report in relation to the issue of recognition, more precisely, the Recognition of non–formal/non–academic qualifications. Regarding the recognition of prior learning the "Trend IV" research determined that despite the existing debates on the issue of accreditation of prior learning (APL) and accreditation of prior experiential learning (APEL), "prior learning is still not perceived as an important topic in many institutions" (ibid:23). Moreover, the question on APL/APEL, being a part of Bologna objectives concerning LLL and increased mobility, were very often not clearly understood by the different groups, which shows the limited awareness on the topic that exists in many HEIs.

The Bergen Conference was marked by the adoption of the Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance in the European Higher Education Area elaborated by the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA). Fur-

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[33]See the Bologna Progress Stocktaking, 2005:48–51.

thermore, the ENQA was delegated with the further development the practicalities of implementation in cooperation with EUA, EURASHE and ESIB.

At the meeting in Bergen, the ministers adopted the overarching framework for qualifications in the EHEA. The framework comprises three cycles (keeping the possibility for intermediate qualifications within national context), descriptors for each cycle based on learning outcomes and competences, and credit ranges in the first and second cycles. For the Bachelor degree approximately 120 ECTS are allocated, Masters degree include 180–240 ECTS for Doctorate no ECTS are specified. Ministers committed themselves to elaborating national frameworks for qualifications compatible with the overarching framework for qualifications in the EHEA by 2010, and to having started work on this by 2007.

By May 2005 the European Commission has launched a consultation on another qualifications framework, namely the European Qualifications Framework (EQF) for lifelong learning. A blueprint proposing an 8-level framework was issued. The meta-framework was based on learning outcomes aiming to facilitate the transparency and portability of qualifications and to support lifelong learning. The function of EQF, as described in the consultation, would be strengthening mutual trust and co-operation between the different stakeholders involved in lifelong learning, which is important for reducing barriers to recognition of learning and for enabling learners to make better use of available knowledge, skills and competences (European Commission, 2005:7).

The proposed EQF consisted of three main elements: a set of common reference points, referring to learning outcomes located in a structure of 8 levels; a range of tools and instruments (such as integrated European credit transfer and accumulation system for lifelong learning, the Europass instrument, the Ploteus database on learning opportunities) and a set of common principles and procedures, which aimed to provide guidelines for co-operation between stakeholders at different levels focusing on quality assurance, validation, guidance and key competences. The 8 levels were designed to depict all the qualifications covering higher education and vocational education and training. Each of the reference levels are to reflect the distinctive features of the qualifications that are classified at that level. Qualifications at each level are to be described in terms of three types of learning outcomes: knowledge; skills; and wider competences denoting personal and professional outcomes. The reason for such a framework was grounded by the fact that the realization of lifelong learning is often hindered by the lack of communication and co-operation between education and training providers and authorities at different levels:

> "Barriers between institutions and countries not only prevent access to education and training but also prevent an efficient use of knowledge and competences already acquired" (ibid:8).

The Consultation referred to the lack of transparency of qualifications and a reluctance to recognize "foreign" qualifications and to the lack of arrangements that allow citizens to transfer qualifications from one setting to another.

The initiative of the European Community got a positive response at the ministerial meeting in Bergen. The ministers underlined the importance of providing complementarity between the overarching framework for the EHEA and broader framework for qualifications for lifelong learning proposed by the EC and assigned the European Commission fully to consult on the issue and its progress.

At the Bergen Conference the ministers agreed on priorities for the next two years stressing the following areas:

- Structured Doctoral studies, as the third cycle. The Doctoral level qualifications are to be aligned with the EHEA overarching framework for qualifications. Doctoral studies, the core component of which is the advancement of knowledge through original research" (Bergen communiqué, 2005:4) should last from 3 to 4 years and include interdisciplinary training and the development of transferable skills.

- Strengthening the social dimension to make the higher education equally accessible to all.

- Removing the remaining obstacles to mobility related to the delivery of visa and work permits.

- Increasing the attractiveness of the EHEA for the other parts of the world. The Follow-up Group was assigned to develop a strategy for the external dimension.

The intermediate priorities to be completed by the 2007 were defined as follows:

- Implementing the standards and guidelines for quality assurance as proposed in the ENQA report;

- Implementing national frameworks of qualifications;

- Awarding and recognizing joint degrees;

- Elaborating procedures for recognition of prior learning to provide opportunities for flexible learning paths in higher education.

3.9   London Communiqué (2007)

At the London ministerial meeting, held on 17–18 May 2007, the topic of lifelong learning came again to the forefront. The renewed attention to the issue was prompted presumably by the wide discussions on the issue on a European level (for example on European Qualifications Framework for lifelong learning), and criticism, coming from different organizations (e.g. EUCEN, 2005; EUA "Trends V", etc.), that the lifelong learning was very much neglected in the Bologna process. Some of the reports contributing to the Conference included a special chapter or subchapter discussing the issue. The "Trend V" report, for example, examined the response of higher education institutions to the challenge of lifelong learning in the scope of widening access and recognition of prior learning and revealed no coherent picture of the understanding and implementation of lifelong learning, despite the fact that lifelong learning was widely accepted as an area of growth and great possibilities for regional cooperation and development (Crosier, Lewis & Smidt, 2007:64). The statistical data shows that 97% of all European higher education institutions, questioned by "Trend V" research team find the widening of participation to be either "very important" or "important" (ibid:66). However, it remains on the level of rhetoric for higher education policy in most countries in Europe, and there is little evidence that institutions have actually considered lifelong learning challenges as a priority while reforming curricula (ibid:35). The "Trends V" investigations indicate that the implementation of the lifelong learning agenda is very complex and requires a multiform approach covering national policies, culture and attitudes to retention and employability of students. The report appeals to the HEIs to give a high priority to the issue and consider LLL agenda as central element of institutional strategic development:

> "Institutions in the process of reconsidering their traditional curriculum in the light of current needs should acknowledge that learning takes place in many contexts and this has implications for the design of study programmes in terms of structure, delivery and assessment. Flexible learning paths, and the accreditation of work placements, blended learning, company ,in-house training, distance education, e-learning and learning through work schemes all need to be increased and formally integrated

within mainstream higher education provision. These are issues that as yet seem to have been considered only on the margins of institutional strategic development" (ibid:69–70).

The conclusions of the Stocktaking report[34] confirm the gap concerning the lifelong learning action line, with the focus on recognition of prior learning and provision of flexible learning paths. The report shows that there are already mechanisms for recognizing prior learning and attempts to provide flexible learning paths in some countries. However, the general picture is not satisfactory:

> "There is a need to raise awareness of the role higher education can play in advancing social and economic cohesion, especially by providing increased access for people who have traditionally been under-represented at this level" (Bologna Process Stocktaking, 2007:41).

The report appeals to the ministers to set clear policy goals and specific targets for the next period of the Bologna process, among others, also in the area of lifelong learning and flexible learning paths. The report also mentions that there is confusion between the overarching EHEA framework, which was adopted in Bergen, and the European Qualifications Framework for lifelong learning, taking into account that these frameworks should be compatible with each other and the National Frameworks should comply with these two, too (ibid:16).

Regarding the other action lines of the Bologna process all the reports, including the "Trends V", Stocktaking and the general report[35], state that there has been an overall progress since 2005, particularly in the areas of student participation in quality assurance, access to the next cycle, implementation of a two-cycle degree system and the implementation of national systems for external quality assurance. Moreover, the Stocktaking report observes that the Bologna process is "an effective catalyst for the reforms at national level" (Bologna Process Stocktaking, 2007:3). According to stocktaking results, the areas which need a more precise attention are: implementation of national qualifications frameworks, international participation in quality assurance and recognition of prior learning.

Besides the structural changes, the "Trend V" study revealed the change in attitudes to the reforms—towards more positive. In comparison to the situation of

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[34]Bologna Process Stocktaking Report 2007. Report from a working group appointed by the Bologna Follow-Up Group to the ministerial conference in London, May 2007.

[35]Secretariat Report on the Bologna Work Programme 2005–2007. From Bergen to London 2007.

2005, more students, academics and administrative staff emphasized the opportunities rather than pointing to obstacles or drawbacks. The observations, according to "Trend V", show that the impact of the process is viewed more positively in those HEIs which have had more time to adapt to change (Crosier, Lewis & Smidt, 2007: 19).

The London communiqué issued as a result of the meeting took note of all the positive developments since Bergen and confirmed:

> "we are developing an EHEA based on institutional autonomy, academic freedom, equal opportunities and democratic principles that will facilitate mobility, increase employability and strengthen Europes attractiveness and competitiveness" (London communiqué, 2007:1).

Concerning lifelong learning, the ministers noted that a more systematic development of flexible learning paths to support lifelong learning is necessary and asked BFUG "to increase the sharing of good practice and to work towards a common understanding of the role of higher education in lifelong learning" (ibid:4–5). The BFUG has been further charged to develop proposals for improving the recognition of prior learning in cooperation with ENIC/NARIC.

The London ministerial meeting was also marked by the establishment of the first legal body to be created through the Bologna process–the European Quality Assurance Register (EQAR). The register is designed to provide information on quality assurance agencies that are working in line with the European Standards and Guidelines for quality assurance (ESG) adopted in the Bologna meeting in Bergen.

Concerns have been expressed in relation to mobility where the ministers see a number of obstacles to overcome, such as problems of immigration, recognition, insufficient financial incentives and inflexible pension arrangements and social dimension. So the ministers agreed to develop national action plans with monitoring of their impact.

Another development was in the area of global dimension, where ministers agreed on a strategy: "The European Higher Education Area in a Global Setting", which aims at improving information on, promoting the attractiveness and competitiveness of the EHEA, and linked it to the OECD/UNESCO "Guidelines for Quality Provision in Cross-border Higher Education". The new intermediate priorities were set as follows: mobility, the Bologna process in a global context and the social dimension. However, the ministers indicated that the stocktaking should not limit itself to these

priorities and include the analysis of the degree system, employability, recognition of degrees and study periods, quality assurance, as well as national qualifications frameworks, learning outcomes and credits, lifelong learning, and the recognition of prior learning.

The Republic of Montenegro was recognized as an independent State in the European Higher Education Area, thus expanding the country membership to 46 countries.

3.10 Leuven/Louvain–la–Neuve Communiqué (2009)

The increased discussions on lifelong learning resulted in a Charter on Lifelong Learning established by the European University Association on 25th October 2008.

The initiative came from the French Prime Minister François Fillon, who asked the European University Association to prepare a Charter on this key topic for Europe's universities and for society in the future. The request matured during the discussion and debates on the role of the universities in developing the European labour market and society at the conference on lifelong learning hosted by Sorbonne in December 2007. The purpose of the Charter, as stated in the preamble is:

> "to assist Europe's universities in developing their specific role as life-long learning institutions forming a central pillar of the Europe of Knowledge" (Charter on Lifelong Learning, 2008:4).

The Charter is based around a series of 10 commitments from universities in addressing the development and implementation of lifelong learning strategies, with a set of matching commitments for governments and regional partners to make. Thus, the universities are called to embed concepts of widening access and lifelong learning in their institutional strategies; provide education and learning to a diversified student population; adapt study programmes to ensure that they are designed to widen participation and attract returning adult learners; provide appropriate guidance and counseling services; recognize prior learning; embrace the lifelong learning in quality culture; strengthen the relationship between research, teaching and innovation in a perspective of lifelong learning; promote a flexible and creative learning environment for all students; develop partnerships at local, regional, national and international levels to provide attractive and relevant programmes; act as role models for lifelong learning institutions.

The governments, respectively, are called to adopt concerted actions to provide the appropriate legal and financial frameworks for lifelong learning development. The commitments of governments, which again count 10 in number, include: promoting social equity and an inclusive learning society; including lifelong learning objectives in national quality assurance systems; recognizing prior learning; removing legal obstacles that prevent potential learners from responding to lifelong learning opportunities, ensuring the necessary university autonomy and incentives for universities; acting as role models in relation to their own employees.

The Charter, as well as preceding and following discussions on lifelong learning in the context of higher education institutions, propelled the issue to one of the key aspects and a priority for the next decade at the ministerial meeting in Leuven, where the ministers particularly emphasized the input of the Charter on Lifelong Learning for the discourse and development of lifelong learning at the higher education institutions of Europe.

The ministerial meeting in Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve (Belgium) was held on 28–29 of April, exactly ten years after the historical Bologna declaration which made a revolution in the structures of higher education systems in Europe. The Benelux Ministers Frank Vandenbroucke and Marie-Dominique Simonet (Flemish and French Community of Belgium), Ronald Plasterk (Netherlands) and Franois Biltgen (Luxembourg) invited their European Colleagues in charge of higher education in the 46 countries participating in the Bologna process, to review the achievements of the last 10 years in the process and define the aims and goals for the coming 10 years.

The resulting communiqué was entitled: "The Bologna Process 2020—the European Higher Education Area in the new decade". While the previous communiqués presented a kind of appraisal of ongoing reforms resuming the achievements and setting priorities for the coming two years—in Prague they defined the goal "Towards the European Higher Education Area", in Berlin they were "Realizing the EHEA", in Bergen "Achieving the Goals" and in London "Responding to the Globalized World"—the meeting in Leuven denoted that the process entered a new phase.

The communiqué emphasizes the role of European higher education in realizing the Europe of knowledge through the next decade. It states, that the challenges of the new decade, such as the aging population in Europe, globalization and accelerated technological developments, global financial and economic crisis can be only faced "if it [the Europe] maximizes the talents and capacities of all its citizens" (Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve communiqué, 2009:1) through lifelong learning, widening

participation in higher education, student-centred learning and mobility, the integration between education and research; through achieving a "dynamic and flexible European higher education" (ibid).

To summarize the achievements of the past decade, the ministers affirmed that the European Higher Education Area was developed relying on the Europe's intellectual, scientific and cultural heritage and ambitions and is characterized by permanent cooperation between governments, higher education institutions, students, staff, employers and other stakeholders (ibid:2). According to the communiqué, higher education in Europe has achieved greater compatibility and comparability during the last ten years; mobility was facilitated and education in Europe became more attractive for non-European students; with the introduction of a three-cycle degree system and adoption of the European Standards and Guidelines for quality assurance, higher education has been modernized; a European register for quality assurance agencies was established and national qualifications frameworks compatible to the overarching European Higher Education Area framework were developed; the promotion of the Diploma Supplement and the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System increased transparency and recognition of European HEIs.

The ministers further mentioned that despite these achievements, not all objectives set in the Bologna declaration and later communiqués have been completely achieved and called for "increased momentum and commitment" beyond 2010 (ibid:2). Therefore, the ministers decide over the following 10 priorities to be achieved in the next decade:

1. Social dimension: to provide equitable access and completion through widening access to higher education and ensuring equal opportunities to quality education.

2. Lifelong learning: lifelong learning, which can be also achieved through widening participation, is to become an integral part of HES. Furthermore, the ministers gave the fullest definition of lifelong learning ever present in Bologna declarations or communiqués:

   > "Lifelong learning involves obtaining qualifications, extending knowledge and understanding, gaining new skills and competences or enriching personal growth. Lifelong learning implies that qualifications may be obtained through flexible learning paths, including part-time studies, as well as work-based routes" (ibid:3).

The ministers underlined the importance of the European Universities Charter on Lifelong Learning and encouraged cooperation of public authorities, higher education institutions, students, employers' and employees to implement lifelong learning policies which particularly include:

> "basic principles and procedures for recognition of prior learning on the basis of learning outcomes regardless of whether the knowledge, skills and competences were acquired through formal, non-formal, or informal learning paths" (ibid:3).

Lifelong learning is to be supported by appropriate organizational structures and funding. The ministers also stressed the importance of national qualification frameworks in the realization of lifelong learning. The national qualification frameworks are to be established by 2012 and be compatible with Qualifications Framework for the European Higher Education Area and the European Qualifications Framework for Lifelong Learning.

3. Employability: to improve employability, which, among others, means that institutions should become more responsive to employers' needs and employers to better understand the educational perspective.

4. Student-centered learning and the teaching mission of higher education: to continue the ongoing curricular reform geared toward the development of learning outcomes. Furthermore, the HEIs are asked to improve the teaching quality at all levels in compliance with the European Standards and Guidelines for quality assurance.

5. Education, research and innovation: to assure close links between education and research through improving Doctoral programmes.

6. International openness: to promote international cooperation and attractiveness of European HE globally.

7. Mobility: increasing mobility, so that:

> "In 2020, at least 20% of those graduating in the European Higher Education Area should have had a study or training period abroad" (ibid:4).

8. Data collection: to improve data collection and monitoring processes.

9. Multidimensional transparency tools: developing mechanisms for providing more detailed information about higher education institutions across the EHEA to make their diversity more transparent.

10. Funding: to increase funding to "guarantee equitable access and further sustainable development of autonomous higher education institutions", also through "seeking new and diversified funding sources and methods" (ibid:5).

At the end the ministers agreed to maintain the existing organizational structure of Bologna process, characterized by cooperation between a number of stakeholders, including governments, universities, international organizations, etc. They have also agreed that beyond 2010 the Bologna process will be co-chaired by a country holding the EU presidency and a non-EU country. In March 2010, ministers will meet again for a Bologna Anniversary Conference to celebrate the official launch of the EHEA and the end of the first phase of the process. The next regular conference will take place in Romania in April 2012 with further meetings planned for 2015 and 2018.

3.11 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have traced the development of the Bologna process from the very beginning up to the conference in Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve. I have shown how the lifelong learning concept appeared in Bologna policies and developed later. We have observed the birth of a process, initially with no official legal status, which has started with a declaration of intentions of four ministers of the biggest European countries with a set of non-binding commitments and ended (at least its first official phase) by measures which are of legal value, such as the creation of the European Quality Assurance Register, and the ratification of Lisbon convention.

We have observed how an intergovernmental initiative developed into a pan-European project, though its being a non-EU initiative is emphasized everywhere. It is remarkable to observe how the European Commission, which till the end of 1990 have had limited interest in HE, actually having no real higher education policy (Corbett, A. 2005, Ravinet, 2008), got involved in HE reforms, very soon gaining a special status as an additional member in the process and how the educational guidelines in Lisbon agenda reflect the initiatives undertaken through the Bologna process. However, these two processes influence each other in both directions.

As I have shown, the lifelong learning agenda was not at the centre of Bologna concerns till the meeting in Prague. The Bologna declaration made a passing reference on lifelong learning in relation to the European Credit Transfer System, which, among others, is to cover lifelong learning activities. In Prague, lifelong learning was added as an action line and declared an essential element of the European Higher Education Area. The decision to include lifelong learning as a priority in the Bologna process matured through pre-Prague events on the European level: the growing discussion on knowledge-based society, the Lisbon strategy of achieving "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy" and employability—a supreme goal—which could be achieved through lifelong learning. Actually, the Prague communiqué just emphasizes the importance of lifelong learning for the future European educational space. At this stage it is a rhetoric with no clear conception or characteristics. The Berlin communiqué specified the universities' mission in realizing the lifelong learning agenda. From the Berlin communiqué, we have also learnt that lifelong learning strategies mean recognition of prior learning and providing flexible learning paths. Nevertheless, despite these developments, lifelong learning remains secondary to the main concerns of the process. This is proved by the contributions and national reports to the next conference in Bergen, which show that the implementation of lifelong learning has not been a priority for national governments. Instead, at that time, the European Commission had started the elaboration of a European Qualification Framework for lifelong learning, a framework which is designed to organize and assess the knowledge gained by a person in multiple of contexts and environments, including formal, non-formal and informal education. At the same time, qualification frameworks are being developed also in the Bologna process: an overarching qualification framework and a national qualification framework in the countries involved in the Process. All these qualification frameworks are to be compatible to each other and are to facilitate recognition of qualifications and realization of individual learning paths. In the reality, however, it seems that these different types of qualification frameworks overlap with each other and, instead of facilitating transparency, they increase confusion in universities (Bologna Process Stocktaking, 2007:16). This can lead to increased bureaucratization and have the opposite effect of hindering the recognition process. During and after the ministerial meeting in London, the discussions of lifelong learning intensified. The ministers were criticized to have neglected the issue in the process and were appealed to set clear policy goals and specific targets in the area of LLL for the next years. As a result, the ministers mention in

the communiqué issued, that a systematic development of lifelong learning strategies should be undertaken. In Leuven, lifelong learning is declared a high-priority agenda for the next decade. The ministers give an extensive definition of the concept of and endorse the EUA Charter on Lifelong Learning as an imperative for the universities. Lifelong learning is to be supported also by appropriate organizational structures and funding. Thus, starting on the periphery of institutional strategy, the lifelong learning issue has become a priority issue on the Bologna agenda within a span of ten years, for implementation of which organizational structures are to be provided.

The reasons why the lifelong learning was not at the centre of university reforms despite the fact of being a priority action since the meeting in Prague in 2001 are multiple. One of them is, for example, the fact that the Bologna process was largely focused on the two-cycle (later three-cycle) structure and quality assurance, because the reforms of the study structure arose most of the debates and were seen as main elements in the construction of the EHEA. Also, at a national and institutional level, the shift to a cycled degree system caused the most dramatic changes in universities, thus averting attention from other important areas, such as lifelong learning or social inclusion. As the "Trends" (III-V) studies showed, the most universities admitted the importance of lifelong learning but it did not progress behind rhetoric.

It is also a question of traditionalism in education. The introduction of a three-cycle model, especially the fact that the programmes should provide direct output to the labour market, breaks the traditional ideas of the ways of knowledge organization at the universities, thus evoking resistance and adjustment difficulties. Whereas the concept of lifelong learning, despite its being considered as a progressive idea, roots back to the the uprise of educational thought and evokes mostly appreciation. Gidden (1994) defines tradition as a sedimented wisdom of earlier generations, a base on which the individual forms decisions:

> "Tradition refers to customs and ceremonials by means of which the past speaks to the present. It supplies reasons for the individuals actions: those reasons come from what has been rather than what will be. Traditions relate allegiance to authority, storing up as they do the sedimented wisdom of earlier generations" (Giddens, 1994:28–29).

Tradition is known and tested and thus secure. Conversely modernity is doubted and uncertain, and evokes scepticism. This partly explains why the structural transformations have been pulled to the centre, whereas lifelong learning was perceived as

self-evident and something that will develop because of momentum. If we abstract from the whole narrative of the Bologna process, especially looking back to its origins, we will find that actually the process was launched to change the degree system, the other aspects adjoined later as the process started to pick up steam.

Another reason is that it is difficult to assess the progress made in LLL, because the concept of lifelong learning has been quite loose and understood differently on different levels. The Bologna documentation did not provide clear targeted strategies as for example in the case of quality assurance and the three-cycle structure.

Further reason is the limited resources. The universities are being compelled to expand and reform their traditional teaching and research within their internal incentives, i.e., as a rule, there are no special funds allocated to implement Bologna reforms, although the expansion of lifelong learning demands targeted measures and additional resources.

The Bologna process, however, did not add much to the conceptualization of lifelong learning. For example, there is lack in understanding of the added value of university lifelong learning or "unique selling points" which universities have to offer in comparison with other LLL providers (Reichert & Tauch, 2003:94–95). From this point, the definition provided in Leuven communiqué, as well as the EUA Charter on Lifelong Learning, could ensure good ground for further developments, reflections on the issue and re-conceptualization of lifelong learning in university context.

As we see, though the issues of structural reforms have taken precedence over the issue of lifelong learning until lately, the economic imperatives seem to be bringing the agenda once again to the forefront of attention, as national and European policy discussions underline the importance of lifelong learning strategies in the light of better employment and realization of a knowledge economy.

On the other hand, the Bologna process offers an opportunity to rethink approaches to higher education through encompassing the lifelong learning concept into the university, also through its structural organization. This opens possibilities to develop relationships with multiple stakeholders of formal and informal educational provisions, and thus provides a chance to reach different quarters of society. Most Bologna documents mention widening access as primary of the lifelong learning agenda, which means that the institutions are challenged to revise their organization to enable a broader range of individuals to use their potential.

2009

Leuven/Louvain−la−Neuve

−fostering the social dimension by widening
  access into higher education
−adopting policies for lifelong learning, such as
procedures for recognition of prior learning
−encouraging internationalization to promote
 the openness and attractiveness of the EHEA
−opportunities for mobility within the structure
 of degree programmes and joint degrees

**Participating
countries**

46

2007

London

−creation of the European Quality Assurance
 Register
−fostering mobility and social dimension through
national action plans with effective monitoring
−adopting strategies to promote the global
dimension

recognizing
the Republic of
Montenegro
as an independent
state in the EHEA

2005

Bergen

−structured doctoral programmes
−strengthening the social dimension and
 mobility
−implementing the standards and guidelines
for quality assurance according to ENQA
−developing national frameworks of
 qualifications
−recognition of prior learning

+ Armenia,
  Azerbaijan,
Georgia, Moldova,
  Ukraine

2003

Berlin

−quality assurance at institutional, national
 and European levels
−overarching framework of qualifications
 for the EHEA
−synergy of education and research
−Doctoral level as a third cycle

+ Albania, Andorra,
Bosnia−Herzegovina,
Macedonia, Russia,
Serbia−Montenegro,
 the Vatican

2001

Prague

−lifelong learning
−involvement of students and
the higher education institutions
−promoting attractiveness of the EHEA

+ Croatia,
Cyprus, Turkey

1999

Bologna

−easily readable and comparable degrees
 (Diploma Supplement)
−adopting a system based on two main cycles
−establishing a system of credits, such as ECTS
−improving the free movement of
 students and faculty
−promoting the European cooperation in
Quality Assurance
−promoting the European dimension in HE

+ Austria, Belgium,
Bulgaria, Denmark, Estonia
Greece, Hungary, Ireland,
Iceland, Lithuania, Latvia,
Luxembourg, Maltha,
the Netherlands, Norway,
Poland, Portugal,
Czech Republic, Romania,
Slovak Republic, Slovenia,
Spain, Sweden, Switzerland

1998

Sorbonne

−introduction of two−cycle degrees
−development of a credit system
−recognition of qualifications
−promoting student and staff mobility

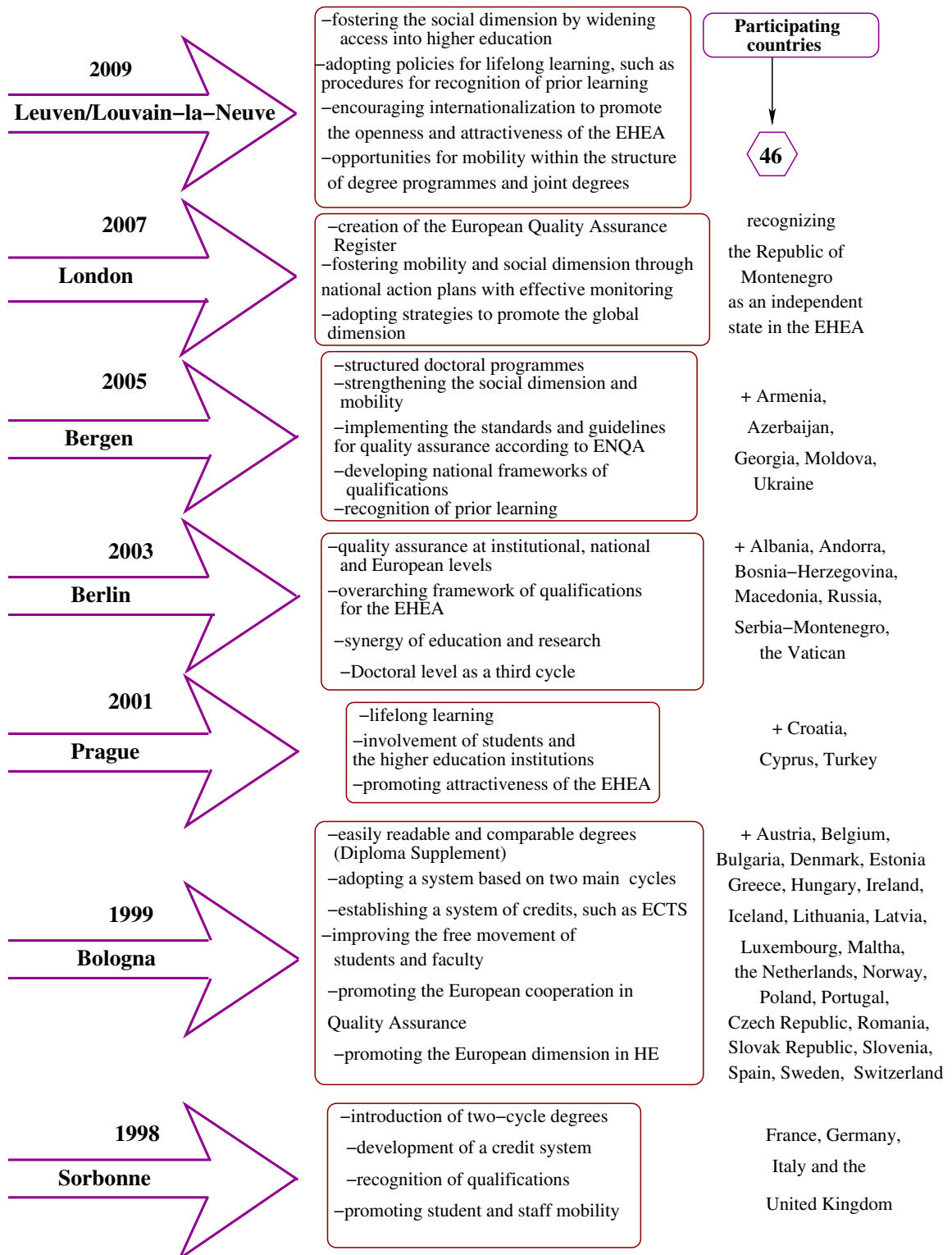France, Germany,
Italy and the
United Kingdom

Figure 3.1: The Bologna Timeline and Priority Table.

Chapter 4

The German System of Higher Education

4.1 Historical Context

4.1.1 The appearance of European universities

It is rather interesting to mention that the Bologna University, founded in 1088, is generally considered to be the first European university. However, there are disputes on the issue which university should be considered the first one: the Bologna University, the Paris University (founded in 1208) or, perhaps, the Byzantine University of Magnaura (9th century) (Rüegg, 1992). The point of argument relates to the definition of "university"[36]: should it denote a corporate body of students and professors engaged in different disciplines, or a corporate body of scholars joined by the shared desire of knowledge acquisition (such as the students' guilds at Bologna)? It is worth to mention that originally the word *universitas* did not have the conceptual meaning it has now. It denoted no more than a corporation of students and teachers and was

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[36]University: in the modern definition: "an institution of higher learning providing facilities for teaching and research and authorized to grant academic degrees"; in the archaic usage: "a body of persons gathered at particular place for the disseminating and assimilating of knowledge in advanced fields of study" (Webster's Third New International Dictionary and Britannica World Language Dictionary, 1986, VIII:2502). The word "university" is derived from the Latin *universitas*, which means "the whole, the whole number, the universe"; in latter juridical language: "society, guild, corporation"; the medieval academic use—*universitas magistrorum et scholarium* literally means "community of masters (teachers) and scholars" (The Oxford Dictionary of Etymology, 1966:961).

used quite neutrally[37].

The official term for the university was *studium generale*, and only much later did the word "university" gain its philosophical meaning (Pedersen, 1997). The status of *studium generale* was conferred to an institution of higher learning by a supreme authority, such as the pope or, rarely, an emperor; the members of such an institution enjoyed a number of rights and were under the safeguard of the authority. A *studium generale* could award its graduates with a license—*licentia ubique docendi*, which gave them right to teach at any university (Verger, 1992). However the Bologna University, being a body independent of the ecclesiastical schools, which awarded academic degrees for advanced studies, is generally accepted to be the oldest extant European university[38]. The first German universities were established at the end of the 14th and in the 15th centuries, the oldest of them being Heidelberg (1386), Erfurt (1379) and Cologne (1388).

The medieval universities have grown from ecclesiastic schools into institutions of higher learning as a result of the demand for more structurized educational forms. The demand for specialized training in such fields as law, medicine, theology and research of ancient knowledge was due to the advancing complexity of society: urbanization[39], technological development and increased economic activity required training both in practical and theoretical areas. Another boost for the occurrence of the universities in the middle ages was the rediscovery of ancient knowledge, such as new translations of the main works of Greek mathematicians and philosophers, first and foremost of all

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[37]The first time when the word *universitas* appeared as a description for the collected academic world was in April 1215 at the reading of the new work of jurist Buoncompagni "Retorica antiqua" in Bologna. It was said that the work was read aloud *"coram universitate professorum juris canonici et civilis et aliorum doctorum scholarium multitudine numerosa"*, which means "before a gathering of professors of civil and canonical law and a large group of student scholars" (Rashdall, 1936, Vol. I:115 and 146).

[38]The oldest document important for the history of Bologna University is the so-called *"Authentica Habita"*—a decree issued by the emperor Frederic Barbarossa in 1158, which placed the scholars under his personal protection (Edel, 2004). While the *Habita* is regarded as the forerunner of all later university privileges, the birth of universities is considered by some researchers as closely linked with the history of German imperial policy (Pedersen, 1997).

[39]The urbanization of society was significant for the development of the universities because it provided an increased quantity of dwellings in which students could find unoccupied room space for gathering together. All the big medieval schools, such as Bologna, Montpellier, Salerno and Paris, were built in towns, though they had different specializations (Pedersen, 1997).

Aristotle's and Archimedes'; and the intellectual challenge and attempts of scholars to deal with the huge amount of newly available knowledge[40]. On the other hand, the spread of the corporative idea of learning led to the development of student corporations (society or guild) with well-defined rights and duties, which were the predecessors of the universities in the proper sense of the word (Pedersen, 1997). At this point of development one could distinguish between two different types of university: a students' university and a teachers' university (Rashdall, 1936). Whereas the university of Bologna, for example, was a typical "students' university": students took the initiative for study organizations and hired the teachers who were dependent on payments received for delivering the knowledge, the Paris university was a "professors' university", organized by the faculty whom the church supported economically (Pedersen, 1997).

At the very beginning of their existence the universities had to fight on many different fronts for their existence and independence. All the powerful authorities wished to have control over universities: the bishop and chancellor, town government and king, emperor and pope. In this battle the universities both won and lost, gaining some degree of autonomy, being liberated from the tensions with the secular authorities but at the same time they had to comply with the statutes issued or approved by the pope. The statutes defined not only the form of the university governance but also the curriculum and textbooks (ibid).

The studies at the educational institutions of that period were basically organized at the four faculties: Theology, Law, Medicine and *Artes Liberales* (Liberal Arts). The Liberal Arts were divided into the trivium which included the three verbal disciplines: grammar, logic and rhetoric and the quadrivium which included the four mathematical disciplines: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music (Leff, 1992). Normally, the studies in the faculties were organized so, that the students entering the university (usually at the age of 14 or 15) should have to undergo the training at the faculty of Liberal Arts (usually taking the courses of trivium first and as a

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[40]This period is marked by the emergence of the Arab culture and the huge amount of translations of the Greek learning of antiquity (practically all main extant works of Greek scholarship) into Arabic. Subsequently, the Arabic versions were translated into Latin, circulating in Europe, thus becoming available to nearly every teacher and scholar. The great twelfth-century wave of translations contributed to the increasing growth of interest in Greek and the later translations were done directly from original sources. The most important translators of that time are Adelard of Bath, Gerard of Cremona, and Dominicus Gundissalinus (ibid).

prerequisite to study the quadrivium) before proceeding to more advanced studies in the areas of medicine, theology or law or they could have left the university upon the completion with the degree of Master of Arts.

In general, the medieval universities were open to anybody willing to learn. There were no entrance exams, no age limitations or any requirements related to the students' national, social, intellectual or linguistic background. The only restriction related to the clerical status of the students: they had to be baptized as Christians (Schwinges, 1992). However, the university studies required a certain level of qualification, as the studies were conducted in Latin. So, the knowledge of Latin was a precondition for studies (Pedersen, 1997).

4.1.2 The early modern times and the Enlightenment

The development of the universities in early modern times is marked by the conception of humanism[41]. Humanism, unlike the movement of Renaissance, which was born approximately at the same time and symbolized the new age of revival in every department of knowledge and art: philosophy, science, architecture, fine arts and religion (the Reformation of Martin Luther), was to denote the developments in education and literature. According to Rüegg (1992) humanistic ideas opened up a new epoch in education:

> "Humanism is a phenomenon of the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times. <...> In so far they [the humanists] placed at the centre of their intellectual interests the understanding which human beings have of themselves and the world, and the social activities of human beings as potential sources of conflict, they opened a new epoch in the history of the universities. In this new epoch, human experience and its translation in verbal and mathematical form became the task of the "scientific evolution"—or, more precisely expressed, the substantive extension, empirical deepening, methodological reformation and conceptual systematization of the results of scientific and scholarly research and their communication through teaching" (Rüegg, 1992a:467).

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[41]Initially *humanism* denoted a curriculum based on liberal education and the teaching of language (Niethammer, 1808), later it referred to the new intellectual movement initiated by Petrarch (1304–1374) and such terms as humanities or *studia humaniora* were in circulation. Humanism rediscovered the ancient authors, the literature and art which had been forgotten for centuries (Rüegg, 1992a).

Rüegg (1996) argues that this period was marked by the "change conception of time", as a result of major historical events, such as the invention of printing, the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the discovery of America in 1492. The discovery and the exploration of the New World led to the increase in the scholarly and scientific activity. The "new knowledge", new discoveries and works were often opposed to the "old knowledge" (Rüegg, 1996).

As a result of these changes, the social role of the university in the early modern society had been emphasized. Universities of early and modern times responded to the needs of society much more than before. The scholars of that time got more interested in *vita activa*[42]. Knowledge was seen to be a valuable part of the civil community as opposed to the graduates of the medieval universities who saw the ideal of education in *vita contemplativa*[43], "the knowledge for the sake of the knowledge" Rüegg (1996). In the 16th century the task of the universities was to train clergymen, lawyers, government officials and doctors.

The Reformation of Martin Luther had a significant impact on the universities, especially the German universities. Many of the universities, starting with Wittenberg in 1536, were converted to Protestant, and new reformist universities were founded. The Reformation made the universities in German Empire very popular in Europe and the students who shared the new reformist ideas were attracted to these universities (de Ridder-Symoens, 1996). The Reformation period was marked by several major developments. First of all, the universities were liberated from the papal or imperial power, they were more and more regulated by the sovereigns (at first those in the territories influenced by the Reformation, but later also in Catholic territories), thus becoming more secular (Hammerstein, 1996). Then, the emergence of other institutions of higher learning, such as the *"Hohe Schule"* (Stuttgart, 1781) or the *"haute école"* (France) broke with the traditional structure of the universities. Though these institutions claimed to have the privileges and status of the universities, their curriculum was completely new, more "practical"[44]: along with the teaching of pure science, they did not neglect active service to the state and public interests (Fri-

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[42]Literally means: active life.

[43]Literally means: contemplative, reflective life.

[44]In contrast to the traditional quadripartite structure, which composed faculties of Arts, Law, Theology and Medicine, this school had the following faculties: law, military science, public administration (Cameralwissenschaft), forestry, medicine and economics (Wagner, 1856).

jhoff, 1996). Also, affected by humanism, the term "academia" was more often used for the universities (mostly in Germanic and Scandinavian countries), which showed that "historical philology was being used as a new means of apprehending scientific truth" (ibid:44). Another important development was the confessional division of the universities: there were Catholic, Protestant and Calvinist universities. Some universities over time have even shifted from one confession to the other. In general in the early modern period, one can observe an increased differentiation between the universities in different countries in Europe. To a certain extent this was due to the emergence of national cultures that differed from each other.

The 18th century is characterized by the influence of the ideas of Enlightenment in many spheres of human life and particularly in education (Cassirer, 2007; Gay, 1977; Hammerstein, 1996).

Enlightenment, starting in England and shaping into its conceptual form in France, penetrated into all the spheres of educational life. Though the developments went differently among countries and traditions, the main understanding of the ideals of Enlightenment were similar both in Protestant and Catholic parts of Europe. The desire of improvement of human life streamed into the emphasis of education (cultivation of mind) and practical instruction. The critical approach to all the spheres of life in order to improve it led to the two main approaches: "finding a fresh rationale for the traditional arrangements, or they had to be changed along the lines implied by critical attitudes" (Hammerstein, 1996:622). The universities everywhere were in doldrums and students numbers decreased dramatically (Perkin, 2006). The main reason for that was the new skeptical outlook brought by Enlightenment: "a critical, rationalistic view of the world that eschewed the emotional fanaticism, as they saw it, of the old doctrinal wars" (ibid:173). The universities were believed to be unsuitable for the realization of the ambitions of the Enlightenment, as they were considered "homes of outmoded theoretical knowledge" (ibid), based on the "old" medieval doctrine which was opposed to the "new" view of the universe attributed to Newton and the Scientific Revolution (Outram, 1995; Porter, 2001; Israel, 2002; Perkin, 2006). In the second half of the 18th century, a number of patriotic and economic societies were created in different parts of Europe (in St. Petersburg, Graz, Vienna, Innsbruck, Manchester, Glasgow, New York, Madrid, etc.) to undertake the task of spreading Enlightenment and teaching technological and practical knowledge (Hammermayer, 1976; Voss, 1980; Hammerstein, 1996). As a result, new specialized colleges, in such fields as medicine, agricultural technology, military tactics,

engineering, fine arts and the natural sciences were created. They were a threat to the stagnating universities in many of European countries, as the scientists and the friends of Enlightenment focused mainly on these academies, technical colleges, societies and associations. In France, the French Revolution even led to the abolition of the universities (Anderson, 2004; Perkin, 2006). However, in some European countries, such as the Netherlands and the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, the universities underwent significant changes (Hammerstein, 1985). The best examples are, perhaps, the universities of Halle (re-founded in 1694) and Göttingen (1734)—"the most fashionable and the leading university of eighteenth-century Germany" (Hammerstein, 1996:629). The changes brought to an increased secularization of education, more emphasis was put on useful and practical aspects of a subject, as Latin lost its monopoly as the only language of instruction in favor of the native languages. The role of Theology, as a leading discipline ceased, while the faculty of Law undertook the leading position among academic disciplines. Another development was the increased differentiation among the various European universities. Despite the common features of science and the continent-spread academic theories and methods, the universities in different countries developed in distinctive ways (Hammerstein, 1996).

4.1.3 The Humboldtian idea of the university and the development of German universities before 1945

The beginning of the 19th century is denoted by the fundamental shift in the traditional concept of the university. The two new university models, the German and the French, came into view and had a great impact (especially the German model) on the universities all over the world. The French university was characterized by strong specialization and strict discipline. It had a rigorous organization and centralized state control over the curriculum, awarding of degrees, conformity of views and even personal habits. For example, in 1852, beards were forbidden in French universities. However, by 1866, the German model began to influence the strict French model (Rüegg, 2004).

The German university, in a sense, was opposed to the French "specialized schools" (Charle, 2004). The German model of the university, which later became known as Humboldtian model, was based on the liberal ideas of the theologian and philosopher Friedrich Schleiermacher and shaped by Wilhelm von Humboldt in the texts on the

foundation of the Berlin University in 1810[45]. According to Schleiermacher, the task of the university is not to teach students factual knowledge like in schools, but to show the process of knowledge discovery:

> "to awaken the idea of scholarship in noble-minded youths already equipped with knowledge of many kinds, to help them to a mastery of it in the particular field of knowledge to which they wish to devote themselves, so that it becomes second nature for them to view everything from the perspective of scholarship, and to see every individual thing not in isolation but in its closest scholarly connections, relating it constantly to the unity and entirety of knowledge, so that in all their thought they learn to become aware of the principles of scholarship, and thus themselves acquire the ability to carry out research, to make discoveries, and to present these, gradually working things out in themselves. This is the business of a university."[46]

The core philosophy of the classical German university can be expressed by the following description of vom Bruch (1997:8): "the community of scholars with equal rights, the union of research and teaching in place of the simple dissemination of knowledge, and the linkage of specialized training and general, humanistic education".

In an attempt of classification, the Humboldtian model can be abridged to the following principles (Scurla, 1970; Ellwein, 1992; Marga, 1994; vom Bruch, 1999; Rüegg, 2004; etc.):

1. The freedom of research and teaching: autonomy of the university, scientific self-regulation as a condition of individual cultivation. The relationship of the state to science, according to Humboldt, had to be restricted to the appointment of academic personnel and to the task of protection of the university's freedom to ensure its scientific accomplishment.

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[45]Wilhelm von Humboldt, "Über die innere und äussere Organisation der höheren wissenschaftlichen Anstalten in Berlin",(1809/1810), reprinted in: Ernst Anrich (Hg.) Die Idee der deutschen Universität. Die fünf Grundschriften aus der Zeit ihrer Neubegründung durch klassischen Idealismus und romantischen Realismus, Darmstadt 1956, 375-386.

[46]Friedrich Schleiermacher, "Gelegentliche Gedanken über Universitäten in deutschem Sinn. Nebst einem Anhang über eine neu zu errichtende". Berlin, Realschulbuchhandlung, 1808:33. Translated and cited by Charle (2004) in "Patterns", A History of the University in Europe, Vol. III:48.

2. *Die Einheit von Forschung und Lehre*[47]. Influenced by Romantic ideas and Kantian philosophy, Humboldt revived the idea of *"universitas litterarum"*[48]. The ideal of universal knowledge on humanistic grounds should have formed the foundations of the modern university, emphasizing the importance of the unity of teaching and research and the role of Philosophy as *"scientia scientiarum"*[49] in the provision of a man's all-round humanist education.

3. Unity between research and personal cultivation (*"Bildung durch Wissenschaft"*)—the formative character of science. In Humboldt's view, the true character of *Wissenschaft* (science, research) is to lead a person to personal development, to self-perfection and self-moralization, to *"allseitigen Ausbildung des Individuums zum harmonischen Menschen"*[50]. Humboldt's idea was that the university education is the process of self-cultivation through research, where education is a self-directed process in contrary to the one being led by a mentor.

4. The university as a *"Gemeinschaft der Lehrenden und Lernenden"*[51]. According to Humboldt, the university is not only a school but also a common enterprise (*Einrichtung*) of professors and students, where the professors are first of all researchers, who transmit their knowledge through lectures and seminars to their relatively mature young associates (i.e. students). The liberal ideas of Schleiermacher concerning the student's own responsibility for his studies are demonstrated in the following citation from his "Gelegentliche Gedanken":

> "The teacher must produce everything he says before his listeners: he must not narrate what he knows, but rather reproduce his own way to knowledge, the action itself. The listeners should not only collect knowledge. They should directly observe he activity of intelligence producing knowledge and by observing it, learn how to

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[47]The unity of research and teaching.

[48]From Latin: the search for and the teaching of knowledge in its universality.

[49]From Latin: science of sciences.

[50]An all-side development of an individual to a harmonic human.

[51]Corporative community of teachers and learners.

do it themselves"[52]

5. Finally, the principle that knowledge or science should not be composed of the tradition of encyclopedic knowledge, but be directed towards the principles of research. Study should aim not only to the acquisition of specialized knowledge, but more to the capacity of solving problems. This idea is well illustrated in the following quite often cited extract from Humboldt's *"Über die innere und äussere Organisation der höheren wissenschaftlichen Anstalten in Berlin"*:

> "In the organization of institutions of higher education everything depends upon retaining the principle that knowledge must be considered as something not yet wholly discovered and never entirely discoverable, and that it must incessantly be sought as such[53]".

The ideal of the Humboldtian university was never wholly coherent with the real German university both in the nineteenth century and thereafter. Some scholars even argue that the linkage of the German traditional university model to the ideas of Wilhelm von Humboldt is a myth and an invented tradition which became popular only around 1900 (vom Bruch, 1997; vom Brocke, 1997; Paletschek, 2001; Ash, 2005).

However, it is hard to deny that exactly these ideas shaped the German university, as it is perceived worldwide. These ideas dominated in the university organization during the *Deutsche Kaiserreich*, *Weimarer Republik* and also later after the traumatic experience of the National Socialist period, when the newly established Federal Republic had to reconsider the study organization through the appeal to traditions (Coing, 1992; Jarauch, 1997). These ideas were also reflected by Karl Jaspers, who, after being confronted with the task of rebuilding the Heidelberg University after the Second World War, expressed his views on university organization in a book entitled

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[52]Friedrich Schleiermacher, "Gelegentliche Gedanken über Universitäten in deutschem Sinn: nebst einem Anhang über eine neu zu errichtende". Berlin, Realschulbuchhandlung, 1808:63. Translated and cited by Rüegg (2004) in "Themes", A History of the University in Europe, Vol. III:21.

[53]Wilhelm von Humboldt (1809/1810), "Über die innere und äussere Organisation der höheren wissenschaftlichen Anstalten in Berlin", translated and cited by vom Bruch (1997:10) in "A slow farewell to Humboldt? Stages in the History of German Universities (1810-1945)".

"Die Idee der Universität" (1945[54]). Jaspers, like Humboldt, considered the university as a community of scholars and students, where the "communication of thinking men"(Jaspers, 1959:37[55]) is a necessary constitute of scholarly and scientific work. This communication can obtain different forms and meanings and is always aimed at seeking the truth:

> "The university is dedicated to the pursuit of science and scholarship. Research and teaching seek to contribute to intellectual culture as a way in which truth becomes meaningful and manifest" (ibid).

The foremost concern of the university, according to Jaspers, is searching for the truth through research:

> "The university is the place where truth is sought unconditionally in all its forms. All forms of research must serve truth" (ibid:62).

Like Humboldt, Jaspers underlines the unity of research and teaching as fundamental to the idea of the university and gives priority to philosophy, which he believes should guide any scholarly activity:

> "The task of the university may therefore be distinguished into the three functions of research, the transmission of learning, and education to culture. Each of these when considered in isolation is clearly inseparable from the other two" (ibid:37).

Thus, one could say, that despite the rhetoric, the "real" German university was based on these main principles, and drew its vitality from the original concepts.

Since the end of 19th century up to the beginning of the 20th, the German higher educational system has expanded and diversified: a number of technical universities (*Technische Hochschulen*) and business colleges (*Handelshochschulen*), as well as several colleges and academies in mining, agriculture, forestry, administration, veterinary medicine and five Catholic seminaries were established. Further diversification

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[54]The book was based on an earlier edition with a same title, published in 1923. According to Jaspers, it was revised to adjust to the needs of reconstructing the post-War German university (Jaspers (orig. 1957), "Philosophical Autobiography" in Paul Arthur Schilpp (ed.), The Philosophy of Karl Jaspers, 2nd augmented ed., 1981:45.)

[55]The citations are derived from the English translation of "Die Idee der Universität" published in 1959. The complete reference is: "The Idea of the University" by Karl Jaspers. Ed.: Karl W. Deutsch, Translators: H. A. T. Reiche and H. F. Vanderschmidt. Beacon Press, Boston.

occurred within the institutes: an advanced differentiation of study disciplines led to formation of a number of new disciplines (such as journalism, sociology and pedagogics) and sub-disciplines, particularly in medicine, natural sciences, philosophy and philology (Lundgreen, 1976; Jarauch, 1991). This expansion included also the quantitative and qualitative change in student body. The student number grew extensively, with more and more students from middle and lower-middle class; women were also allowed to enter universities as regular students.

The beginning of the 20th century was marked by the development of non-university research, as a result of scientific differentiation process and industrial advancement. A number of institutes under the auspices of Kaiser Wilhelm Society[56] were established. The research at institutes was financed partly by industry, individuals and the state, the other part of the funds came from such organizations as the Emergency Association for German Science (*Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft*), which later changed its name to German Research Association (*Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG*), and from sponsors like the Rockefeller Foundation. The research at the first institutes included such areas as chemistry, biochemistry, biology, coal studies, etc. (Burchardt, 1975; Günter, 1975).

During the years of German Empire (*Deutsches Kaiserreich*[57]) German universities were considered to be at the peak of their glory (Jarauch, 1991; Nipperdey, 1990; Titze, 1995). The German scholarly and scientific world, manifested by a high number of Nobel prize winners (particularly in chemistry, physics and physiology), significant input in the development of social sciences and high popularity of German scientific journals, was the most progressive at the time. During those years the German research university gained its world-wide recognition; serving as a model for such countries as the USA, Russia, France, Japan and China (Jarauch, 1991; Titze, 1995, vom Bruch, 1997).

However, the scholary world found itself in an extremely different situation after World War I. The 1920s were characterized by distress in German education and

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[56]The Kaiser Wilhelm Society for the Advancement of Science, officially Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften e. V.(KWG), was founded on 11th of January 1911, and comprised 21 research institutes (established in the period from 1911 to 1938), which were designed to conduct the so-called basic research (*Grundlagenforschung*). After the Second World War the Society was reorganized and transformed into the Max Planck Society, the final dissolution of the KWG took place on the 21st June 1960 (vom Brocke & Laitko, 1996; Nowak, 2001).

[57]1871-1918.

science due to economic crises and disastrous inflation (Schreiber, 1923; vom Bruch, 1997). The shortage of financial incentives hindered international scholarly exchange, the research and academic mobility decreased, recent foreign literature was hard to acquire (Ringer, 1990; Titze, 1995; vom Bruch, 1997). Vom Bruch (1997:19-20) assumes that the cleverly implemented scientific policy under the leadership of Adolf von Harnack, Fritz Haber and Friedrich Schmitt-Ott[58] and the creation of such organizations as the Emergency Association (*Notgemeinschaft*), the Donor Alliance (*Stifterverband*) for German Science and Helmholz Society, saved the German research university, despite the fact that a shift towards research outside universities could be clearly observed.

The general debates on university reforms of the time comprised of two opposing viewpoints: the university for specialized academic education and the humanistic university, as a guardian of "pure" science (Ringer, 1990; vom Bruch, 1997; Szöllösi-Janze, 2001). It is important to mention two Prussian policy makers and their attempts to reform the higher education system during the Weimar Republic: Konrad Haenisch, the Minister of Culture from 1919 and 1921, and Carl Becker, secretary for higher education within the ministry, who overtook the minister position in 1924. Becker, particularly, being opposed to radical thoughts of restructuring the university into institutions for professional training [59], wanted to strengthen humanistic origins of the university, advocating for *"selbstloses and zweckloses Suchen"*[60] (Becker, 1925:2), which should direct higher learning. In terms of practical measures, he promoted the development of sociology into a separate discipline, tried to bring higher education institutions in closer contact with "the life of the whole nation" (Ringer, 1990:69) and supported a more integral system of primary and secondary education, insisting on university degrees for, at least, some elementary school teachers. By their decrees, Haenisch and Becker hoped to increase the student and lower

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[58]Adolf von Harnack was the president of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society at that time; Fritz Haber— a prominent scientist, chemist and policy maker, winner of the Nobel price for Chemistry in 1918; Friedrich Schmitt-Ott—Prussian minister of Culture, later president of the Emergency Association for German Science (the predecessor of the DFG— *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.*)

[59]These views were shared for example, by Max Scheler (1926)

[60]Selfless and aimless search.

ranking faculty members' involvement and influence in university governance[61]. As Haenisch (1921) explained in his *"Staat und Hochschule"*, he wanted to encourage democratic tendencies among the students. However, their expectation were realized only to a limited degree.

On the contrary, the late Weimar Republic was characterized by anti-democratic and anti-Semitic (though not openly articulated[62]) resentments among academics, and most strongly among the students (Gallin, 1986; Titze, 1989; Titze, 1995; vom Bruch, 1997; Grüttner, 2005). The National Socialist German Student League (*Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbunt*), formed in 1931, had a very strong political influence at universities and after the 1933, obtaining unusual powers, played a decisive role in the nazification of German universities. Particularly the Nazi students were widely involved in faculty dismissals and burning of books (Sauder, 1983; Grüttner, 1995).

During the rule of National Socialists (1933-1945), the principles of traditional German university were abolished, the higher education institutions were under strict political control and delivered to a great extent Nazi ideology. In general, the Nazi university policy, which in its core deeply contradicted to the idea of university as an organization of intellectually autonomous and politically non-involved scholars, can be summed up by the following:

1. The so-called *"Gleichschaltung"*—the process of bringing the system to a totalitarian control over the individual and strict coordination over all aspects of life. In recent scholarly research, one speaks more of *"Selbstgleichschaltung"* (self-coordination) of German higher education, refering to political conformity, characteristic of academic life of the time (see e.g. Bracher, 1966; Grüttner, 1983; Faust, 1983; Reimann, 1986; Titze, 1989; Heiber, 1991; Langewiesche, 1997; etc.). The universities were criticized to have accepted the new rules almost without any resistance and with *"inneren Bereitschaft zur Gleichschaltung"*[63]

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[61]C.H. Becker, Gedanken zur Hochschulreform, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1920; C.H. Becker, Vom Wesen der deutschen Univerität, Leipzig, 1925; Konrad Haenisch, Staat und Hochschule: Ein Beitrag zur nationalen Erziehungsfrage, Berlin, 1920; Konrad Haenisch, Neue Bahnen der Kulturpolitik: Aus der Reformpraxis der deutschen Republik, Berlin, 1921.

[62]There was a kind of veiled anti-Semitism, which in practice led to discrimination of faculty of Jewish origin, for example in relation to open positions for Professorship (Kunkel, 1966; Hammerstein, 1995).

[63]Inner readiness to coordination.

(Titze, 1989:225).

2. *"Säuberung"* (literally: cleaning)—mass dismissals of university faculty and students: those of Jewish origin and politically dissentient. Many prominent scientists were forced to emigrate. From the period of 1933-1938 approximately 30 percent of teaching personnel of all German universities were expelled through direct administrative measures or indirect threat (Seier, 1984; Strauss, 1984; Müller, 1990; Titze, 1995).

3. Infusing individual disciplines with Nazi ideology, for examples, introduction of such concepts as "German Physics" or "German Chemistry" and establishment of politically-charged chairs, such as racial science (*Rassenkunde*), racial hygiene (*Rassenhygiene*), military science (*Wehrwissenschaft*), military history or prehistory (*Vorgeschichte*) (Grüttner, 2005).

In fact, the National Socialism destroyed the German traditional university as a self-administering body and independent research community. Only after the Second World War did it become possible to revive the traditional university through the implemention of the reconstruction policy of the Federal Republic of Germany.

4.1.4 Development of the higher education system in the Federal Republic of Germany

After the World War II the higher education systems in West and East Germany developed differently.

The postwar years in West Germany could be described with the word *Wiederaufbau*—rebuilding, which was taking place on both physical and conceptual level. The educational policy in West Germany was directed towards reopening of academic institutions, the majority of which were closed during the summer semester of 1944 (Jarauch, 1997); reconstruction of building and infrastructure demolished by the war; de-nazification of universities through removal of Nazi ideology, national socialist professors and institutional leaders, as well as re-education with emphasis on democratic values (Heinemann, 1981; Tent, 1982; Ash, 1995). University teachers and Professors, who survived in inner or outer emigration during the years of Nazi rule over the country, were coming back to universities.

On conceptual level, the German academic community appealed to the traditions of imperial Germany and *Weimarer Republic* in an attempt to revive the German

university (e.g. Anrich, 1956; Schelsky, 1963). However, the idealistic picture of Humboldtian university seemed to conflict with the reality. The principle of philosophic perspective confronted with the necessity for scientific specialization, the emphasis of individual cultivation with the needs of systematic scholarship. What happened was a kind of "conservative modernizazion" (Jarauch, 1997:37): the revived *Ordinarienuniversität* (university of full professors) coexested with the efforts of creating democratic structures, self-cultivation with the aim of professional training (Rudolph & Husemann, 1984; Jarauch, 1997).

The dramatic expansion of higher education after the World War II made the application of Humboldtian ideals even more problematic. The number of students at West German institutions almost doubled each decade (Teichler, 1986:24; Ellwein, 1992:244). This growth took place due to several reasons. One of them was, for example, sharp increase in the post-war demographic situation, which influenced the expansion of primary and secondary education, thus increasing the body of potential applicants. Not the least were also the social factors, such as the growing wealth of societies and the trends of justification of social inequality (*Chancengleichheit*) and equalitarian values[64] (Teichler, 1986; Jarauch, 1997). A gradual transition from elite university to mass higher education was taking place. For that reason the traditional university concepts, which were developed at the time of an elitist educational system, became hardly relevant to the realities of mass education.

On the legislative level, according to the Basic Law, which was passed in May 1949 as a foundation of a new Federal Republic of Germany, the *Länder* were granted autonomy in state matters (Basic Law, Article 30). This was partly a reaction to the misuse of central power by the Nazi regime (Teichler, 1986:95). Hence, according to the principle of cultural sovereignty (the so-called *Kulturhoheit*), which renders the *Länder* a complete authority in the sphere of culture and education[65], the governance of the higher education system became the prime responsibility of the eleven federal states.

Initially, the Federal Government had just a mere general control on the higher education institutions development. Later, in line with the expansion of higher

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[64]It is worthwhile to mention a prominent publication entitled "Education is a Civil Right" (germ.: Bildung ist Buergerrecht) by Dahrendorf, 1965.

[65]On the phenomenon of Kulturhoheit and the relationship between Federal and *Länder* governments in educational matters see: Zehetmair, 1982; Geis, 1992; Künzel, 1982; Gellert, 1982.

education, the Federal Government became increasingly involved in funding and in policy-making for higher education and research.

Peisert and Framhein (1978:29-46) define three periods of the development of cultural federalism in the FRG. First is the so-called "decentralized reconstruction", which lasted from 1945 to 1956. This period was characterized by a relative autonomy of the *Länder* in educational matters. The federal government provided some financial support and interaction with foreign countries. The policy on higher education was coordinated by the Permanent Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (*Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder—KMK*) established in 1948. Originaly the KMK was designed to provide a stage to coordinate the *Länder* in educational discussions, but since 1955 it also became responsible for setting guidelines for higher education in Germany (KMK, 1982:9-12). At this stage, the federal coordinating power was quite weak. Several independent tax-supported organizations were established: the West German Rectors Conference *(Westdeutsche Rektorenkonferenz)*, the German Academic Exchange Service *(Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, DAAD)* and the German Research Association *(Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft)* (Huber, 1983).

The second period of Federal involvement stretches from 1957 to 1969 and is characterized by "system-wide initiatives" (Peisert and Framhein, 1978; Teichler, 1986). The Federal government got more involved in financing research and expansion of universities, including the construction of new university buildings. The Science Council *(Wissenschaftsrat)*, established in 1957, as the first central agency for education, in which Federal and *Länder* governments worked together, was designed to coordinate the higher education planning.

The third period, according to Peisert and Framhein (1978) started in 1969 and denotes the end of decentralized policy of higher education. It became possible with an amendment in the Basic Law regarding the common tasks of Federation and the *Länder* (*Gemeinschaftsaufgaben*). The ground for such amendments was laid in the socially and politically accepted idea, reflected also in the Basic Law, that " uniform living conditions in all regions of the Federal Republic should be maintained " (Peisert & Framhein, 1990:16). Thus, the articles 91a and 91b of the Basic Law, among other joint tasks, included the participation of Federal Government in the expansion and construction of higher education institutions, as well as educational planning and the promotion of research activities (Basic Law, Arts. 91a and 91b). The Federal Government was also authorized to issue framework regulations with regard to general

principles of higher education (ibid, Art. 75,1a).

The former Federal Ministry of Scientific Research was then renamed into the Federal Ministry of Education and Science (*Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft, BMBW*) and a joint planning agency—Federal-State Commission for Educational Planning and Research Promotion *(Bund-Länder-Kommission für Bildungsplannung und Forschungsforderung, BLK)*—was found in 1970 to provide Federal-State cooperation in long-term planning and promotion of innovation in education. As Peisert & Framhein (1990) mention, this constitutional amendment marked a "turning away from the principle of genuine cultural federalism" and denoted a new type of cooperation between the Federal and *Länder* government, which the mentioned authors define as "cooperative cultural federalism" (ibid:7).

The students revolt of late 60s is well-known. The mass protests, which were directed towards changing the society for better democracy, did not overpass the educational system. In general, the students were protesting against traditional, parliamentary decision making-processes, social injustice and capitalist inequalities. Michael Löwy characterized these protests as "revolutionary romanticism, a protest against the foundations of modern industrial/capitalist civilization, its productivism and its consumerism, and a unique combination of subjectivity, desire and utopia" (Löwy, 2002:95). Particularly, they objected the Vietnam war, German emergency legislation (*Notstandsgesetze*)[66], Nazi remnants in government and universities and the right-wing press, particularly the publications from the Axel Springer publishing house (Allerbeck, 1973; Görtemaker, 2002; Klimke & Scharloth, 2007; Washington & Lee University GLJ Seminar Fall 2008, 2009; etc.)

Embedded in the students protests, the university reforms, which have been debated over already a long time, took on "revolutionary characteristics" (Peisert & Framhein, 1990:8). The reforms affected the organization of higher education and institutional governance: the large faculties were broken into smaller units; the students, junior academic faculty and other staff got more rights in university decision-making through obtaining more votes and seats in university senates and committees; the *"Ordinarienuniversität"*, with exclusive power and position of full professors, thus, was dissolved. So-called "reform universities" with liberal constitutions and arrange-

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[66]The German emergency acts were passed with the 17th amendment of the Basic Law foreseeing emergency clauses which granted the Federal government with special powers to act in crises, such as natural disasters, uprisings and war. The emergency legislation faced big resistance outside the parliament (see, e.g., Preece, 1969; Schweitzer, 1968).

ments, facilitating interdisciplinary cooperation, were founded in Bochum, Bremen and Konstanz (Oehler & Bradatsch, 1987; Peisert & Framhein, 1990; Jarauch 1997; Kehm, 1999).

The reforms were, to certain extent, reflected in the Framework Act for Higher Education (*Hochschulrahmengesetz, HRG*) which was adopted by Federal governement in 1976 after the long parlamentary negotiations. This was the first uniform nationwide legal framework on the general principles of higher education, including structural and curricular organization and the governance of higher education. The *Länder* had to adapt their state laws to the new Framework Act within three years (HRG, 1976).

With the expansion and diversification of higher education, several new types of institutes were established. *Fachhochschulen* (in English: universities of applied science) were established in late 1960s (officially in 1971) as a separate type of institution of higher education through upgrading the existing engineering colleges and other advanced vocational schools, such as for social work, business, design or agriculture. As Teichler (1986:32) mentions, this decision was taken by the *Länder* "to raise the standard and reputation of these institutions as well as to ensure the international recognition of their graduates". The *Fachhochschulen* were designed to offer professional education and conduct applied research while maintaining close links with industry and other fields of professional practice. The admission requirements to enter a *Fachhochschule* were lower than for the university: instead of 13 years of schooling with *Abitur* (the requirement to enter the university), the student should have completed the compulsory secondary education plus two years of vocational high school or 12 years of academic secondary schooling (Deutscher Bildungsrat, 1974; Rotenhan, 1980).

Alternatives to *Fachhochschulen* were *Berufsakademien* (vocational academies) and *Verwaltungsfachhochschulen* (colleges for public administration) established in late seventies. These professional academies, which functioned on the principle of the dual system of vocational training: the combination of practical and theoretical training, offered a shorter study opportunity for secondary education leavers. The study at *Berufsakademien* lasted from 1 to 2 years, at the *Verwaltungsfachhochschulen* the total training was three years of study and practice. *Verwaltungsfachhochschulen* provided training in public sector, such as public administration, library science, and training of personnel for employment agencies and were open only to the persons who had been given a contract by public agencies (Teichler, 1986:31).

Another type of higher education institution, which was established in the late sixties–early seventies were the comprehensive universities *(Gesamthochschulen)*. The idea behind the comprehensive universities was to integrate all universities and *Fachhochschulen* into one, so that students, eligible for different types of HEIs, could attend the same courses. It was planned that all higher education institutions should be merged into *Gesamthochshulen*, but in reality, the initiative was not a success, and only 11 comprehensive universities were established. As Teichler (ibid:34) mentions, the main reason for the failure of this initiative was the desire to achieve a "superficial compromise between conflicting goals": a synthesis of a theory-oriented university and practise-oriented *Fachhochschule*, and many universities strongly opposed to such a model[67].

4.1.5 Development of the higher education system in the German Democratic Republic

The German Democratic Republic (GDR) inherited six universities, three technical and five art and music higher education institutions (Baske, 1998:202). Most of the universities dated back to middle ages, among others Leipzig (1409) and Jena (1548). The famous Berlin University (1810)—the cradle of the German university idea—was also located in the territory of the Soviet Occupied Zone.

Higher education in the former GDR developed under completely different conditions. A centralized educational system, which functioned according to the principles of planned economy was established. Education became a bearer and "upraiser" of the concept of Marxist-Leninist party ideology. Once again the Humboldtian ideals were shattered: the universities, governed by the state secretariat, lost their institutional autonomy almost entirely; the freedom of teaching and research was hardly possible to maintain under the existing circumstances, as communist ideology was

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[67]On the original idea of *Gesamthochschulen* see e.g. International Association of Universities (Ed.) "Problems of Integrated Higher Education: An International Case Study of Gesamthochschule", Paris, International Association of Universities, 1972; on implementation: Cerych, L., Neusel, A., Teichler, U. and Winkler, H.: "Gesamthochschule - Erfahrungen, Hemmnisse, Zielwandel", Frankfurt and New York, Campus, 1981. Also: Kluge, N., Neusel, A., Oehler, Ch. & Teichler, U. (Eds.), Gesamthochschule Kassel 1971-1981: Rückblick auf das erste Jahrzehnt. Kassel, Stauda, 1981.

diffused into science, becoming a part of it[68], and education, which was expected to directly serve the state, became instrumentalized. The unity of teaching and research was preserved to certain extent. However, more research increasingly took place outside the universities, in special research institutes or Academies of Science. According to Last & Schäfer (1997:517), by the end of 1980s there were twice as many people doing research outside the universities than inside.

Despite this, the Socialist Party of Germany (SED) always claimed to have preserved the Humboldtian principles in education (Coonely, 1997:55), even the University of Berlin was renamed into the Humboldt University (Klein, 1985). In fact, that was far from reality and the SED educational policy, directed towards "building socialism" clearly demonstrated that[69]. Likewise, the political control of thought and of education is in its core antagonistic to the Humboldtian spirit of academic freedom.

Higher education historians usually distinguish between three stages of the development of higher education in the GDR, which are marked by the three "Reforms" (Buck-Bechler, 1997; Connelly, 1997; Baske, 1998; Kehm; 1999).

The so-called "first higher educational reform" was directed towards adjusting the "cadre" policy in the universities which directly concerned students and faculty. The policy of "denazification" of academic staff was implemented on a dramatic scale. The dismissals of higher education teachers counted to an approximate of 83 percent of all professors and docents who had taught before the end of the war (Burkhardt & Scherer, 1997:299; Jessen, 2005:249). However, in the 1950s the academics occupied in natural sciences, medical and technical areas, who had suffered from dismissals of the early post-war years, were rehabilitated and reintegrated to their positions. In social sciences and humanities the situation was different. Almost 80 percent of academic staff in social sciences and 50 percent in humanities (Jessen, 2005:250) were composed of newly installed personnel, some of them leftist intellectual èmigrès from the West, who became engaged in developing the "politically correct faculties" (ibid:252).

The other policy was directed towards increasing the representation of the working

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[68]For example the Marxist-Leninist Social Sciences (see: Vierzig Jahre Institute für Marxismus-Leninismus beim ZK der SED, 1949-1989, Berlin, Institute für Marxismus-Leninismus, 1989).

[69]At this point the Sixth Party Congress in 1963 is remarkable. During the Congress, Walter Ulbricht declared that the task of universities is "training of highly educated cadres who have mastered the scientific way of thinking and work creatively and economically for the attainment of the highest social use (Nutzen)", cited in Coonely, 1997:56, footnote 2.

class at the universities, thus "breaking the bourgeois education monopoly" (Connelly, 1997:58). To reach the aim, so-called workers' and peasants' faculties (*Arbeiter-und-Bauer-Fakultäten*) were established to provide university access to the sons and daughters of workers and peasants, thus eliminating the educational privileges for the higher social population group (Schneider, 1998; Miethe & Schiebel, 2008).

The "Second higher educational reform" significantly affected both the study organization and government of the universities. The Soviet model of higher education was gradually implemented in East Germany. According to the law on higher education reorganization from 22 February 1951, a "state secretariat for higher education", which overtook the overall control on educational matters, was formed. The semester system was changed and a strict planned study, that prescribed the sequence and type of courses to be taken by students, was being implemented. The study reforms in the universities were reminiscent of elementary and secondary school education, some scholars mention the term *"Verschulung"* (e.g. Connelly, 1997:63; Lenhardt, 2005:198) to describe this abrupt shift in the organization of the German university. The reform had an impact on the context of the study, too. Thus, the courses on Marxism-Leninism became obligatory and ended with an examination. The teaching was supposed to propound Marxism-Leninism and an active loyalty to the socialist state was expected (Pitchard, 2004). During this period, a number of new higher education institutions were opened. These were mostly specialized institutions with their own subject discipline (like higher educational institutions of transportation, finances, chemistry, etc.) and had the task of delivering specific training and education which fitted into the state plan (Buck-Bechler, Jahn & Lewin, 1997; Baske 1998). Another type of institution of higher education was created to deliver party ideology, the so-called *Parteihochschule*. This were the HEIs of the SED ("Karl Marx" Institutes) and the *Jugendhochschule* of the communist youth organisation (Freie Deutsche Jugend, FDJ) (Kowalczuk, 2003, Jessen 2005).

The "Third Higher Educational Reform" which took place in the late sixties was a reform of rationalizations. A unified system of education was planned to be installed, the studies should have become more specialized and at an earlier stage. Higher education focused to the requirements of the technological progress and to the formation of socialist character. The rationalization affected also the structural organization, thus the traditional faculties and institutes were replaced by the Sections (*Sektionen*). On the whole, the *Sektionen* made planning and control easier to realize. Also through *Sektionen*, it became possible to link the university to in-

dustry[70] (Connelly, 1997;Baske, 1998; Kehm, 1999). Another traditional feature of German higher education—the *Habilitation*—was abolished and instead, the "doctor of science degree", like in the Soviet model, was to take its place with an exception that it was not a prerequisite for a professorial position (Jessen, 2005).

The reforms of 60's made the university staffing relatively inflexible and immobile. Academics who spent their entire professional lives in one institution were not exceptions (Burkhardt & Scherer, 1997).

4.1.6 German unification and the aftermath

Following the peaceful revolution in the GDR in 1989 and its unification with West Germany in 1990, a process of adjustment of political, economic and social conditions in the newly established *Länder* to those of the FRG *Länder* was launched. The Unification Treaty, among other issues, also provided legal basis for the transformation and evaluation of East German educational system (Treaty of Unification, Articles 13 & 38).

The evaluation of the reforms implemented in the former GDR involves controversial, sometimes opposing viewpoints. Some critics assume that the Western model was imposed to the East Germany (Rosenberg, 1991; Macrakis, 1992), others are of the opinion that the change towards democratic structures was a necessity and speak of "renewal" in place of imposition (Ash, 1997). The debates escalate also to the point that the West German higher education by the time of late eighties was itself in crises and also needed reformations (see e.g. Wissenschaftsrat, 1993; Jarauch, 1997; Ash 1997; Peisert & Framhein, 2000). However, almost all the higher education experts agree on the opinion that, except for a few specifics, the West German model of higher education was completely imported to the educational system of the newly re-established five *Länder* (Mayntz, 1994; Buck-Bechler & Jahn, 1994; Schramm, 1993, Ash, 1997; Kehm, 1999).

The reconstruction policy after the unification can be abridged to the following points. A processs of restoring the traditional autonomy of institutions of higher education along with freedom of research and teaching was launched on the legitimate basis of the Basic Law and the Unity Treaty. On the *Länder* level, they were called

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[70]Best example is the University of Jena and the relationship of FSU's various Sections to the Carl Zeiss Optical Works (See for example: Schramm, M., 2005).

"renewal laws" (*Hochschulerneuerungsgesetze*[71]), which contained political-moral and competence standards for personnel evaluation.

The so-called "cleansing" (in German: *Abwicklung*) process has started immediately after the fall of the Wall. First of all, it related to the elimination of communist ideology from higher education. This concerned both the content of the study programmes and the personnel. The Marxism-Leninism studies were abolished. The ideological character within faculties was thoroughly investigated. Once again, the German academic community witnessed mass dismissals. The Humanities and Social Sciences were the first to suffer from the "cleansing". Almost one third of the total personnel, academic and non-academic, were dismissed, the percentage of professors who had to leave their posts in the first years after the *"Wende"* reached 26.4 percent (Burkhardt & Scherer, 1997:323; Ash, 1997:100). Thousands of academics and other university personnel lost their jobs, as a result of the ideological and competence evaluations and due to the general reduction of positions, which resulted from the closing of ideologically-oriented institutes or faculties.

The reorganization of higher education structures resulted in a closure of such HE institutions as the *Parteihochschulen*; others were integrated into universities. All the departments of Marxism-Leninism were closed, new faculties were set up in the fields of law, economics and social sciences. *Fachhochschulen* were established as a new type of institution. Reorganization affected also the inner organization of universities and other higher education insititutes: the curricula, the composition and size of disciplines were reviewed and modified in accordance to the western models. The evaluation and reorganization of non-university research resulted in the dissolution of the Academy of Sciences. Many research institutes were closed or integrated into universities.

Since the nineties, German higher education was subject to a number of changes. The reforms, which are still underway, were intended to increase the international competitiveness of German universities through amending the structural organization of studies and the internal organisation of higher education institutions.

Thus, with the fourth and sixth amendments of Framework Act for Higher Education, it became possible to introduce Bachelor and Master programmes on a regular basis (HRG, 1998 and 2002). The state educational policies were also directed towards granting a greater degree of autonomy and independence to higher education

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[71]For an analitical review see, for example: Ash, 1997:95-99.

institutions. The HRG amendments of 1992 dissolved the system of national subject-specific curriculum frameworks (*Rahmenprüfungsordnungen, RPO*) (HRG, 1998, Art. 9). Instead, accreditation became the responsibility of the *Länder*. Since 1998, accreditation procedures have been established to guarantee minimum standards in terms of academic content and the relevance of degrees (KMK, 1998b) and in October 2004, the German accreditation system was permanently established (KMK, 2004).

In 1999 Germany signed the Bologna declaration and joined the other European countries in the major reform process in Europe with the task of creating a European Higher Education Area by 2010. The Federal Ministry of Education and Research has articulated this initiative in the following way:

> "In Germany, we have taken advantage of the biggest higher education reform for decades to improve the quality of study courses, to enhance employability and to reduce the length of studies"[72].

The fifth HRG amendment (HRGÄndG, 2002a) affected the salary structures, which became more performance–oriented, and the academic career patterns, granting the possibility for academics and scientists to qualify at an earlier stage for a position in the academe through the introduction of Junior professorship[73].

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[72]From the official web-site of the BMWF: http://www.bmbf.de/en/3336.php, last retrieved on 05.08.2009.

[73]The issue of Junior professorship was a topic of heated debates in Germany, while it abolished the traditional German "Habilitation" degree, which was the obligatory procedure to qualify for a professorship. Three states—*Bayern, Sachsen* and *Thüringen*—appealed to the German Constitutional Court objecting to the new law. The Federal Constitutional Court's ruling of 27 July 2004 (BVerfG, 2004) declared the framework regulation for Junior professorship unconstitutional on the basis that it contradicts to the provisions of the Basic Law (Art. 72, §2), which confirms the right of the *Länder* to take the responsibility in educational matters. Thus, a new legal basis was provided by the "Amendment to Administrative and Labour Regulations in Higher Education" (HdaVÄndG, 2004) which granted more freedom of decision to the *Länder* regarding the *Habilitation* and the Junior professorship. The Junior professorship was confirmed as an academic position, however the *Länder* got more leeway with the organization of Junior professorship at their universities and with retention of the *Habilitation*. Since then, the Junior professorship and the *Habilitation* are the two alternative paths of academic career development at the universities. Despite the fact that the Junior professorship was designed to encourage academic career without the necessity of *Habilitation*, many young academics in the position of a Junior professor still additionally seek a *Habilitation* (CHE, 2007:30) to secure better career opportunities. This shows that the new academic position is still not well accepted and not trusted in the academic environment.

Another change in the higher education policy is the introduction of tuition fees in some *Länder*[74]. Since January 2005, following the decision of the German Federal Constitutional Court (BVerfG, 2005)[75], the *Länder* have been granted the right to decide on the imposition of financial contributions from students. Some of the *Länder*[76] made use of this opportunity and introduced tuition fees amounting to 500 Euro for the first time in the winter semester of 2006/2007.

On 23 June 2005 the Federal and *Länder* governments agreed on an initiative to promote top-level research in Germany *"Exzellenzinitiative des Bundes und der Länder zur Förderung von Wissenschaft und Forschung an deutschen Hochschulen"* (BLK, 2005). The initiative aims to promote top-class university research and to enhance the international appeal of excellent German universities. The excellence initiative is conducted by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the German Council of Science (WR) and has three targets: establishment of research schools for young scientists; creation of the so-called "clusters of excellence" (*Exzellenzclustern*), which are designed to link the universities with the non-university research establishments, universities of applied sciences and the private sector; and promoting the universities of excellence (*Elitenuniversitäten*) through funding their "future concepts" (*Zukunftskonzepten zum Ausbau universitärer Spitzenforschung*), which comprise strategies to enhance top-level research at universities. During the first years of cooperation, 1.9 billion of Euro was provided for the mentioned aims. Since June 2009, the Federal Government and the *Länder* agreed on the second phase of the initiative, which will stretch to the year 2017 and will involve total funding of 2.7 billion Euro for the mentioned period (HRK, 2005a; DFG & WR 2008, BLK, 2009).

Several of these reforms that particularly refer to the implementation of the Bologna process in Germany will be discussed in details in the section 4.3 of the present chapter. Before that, it would be reasonable to draw a comprehensive picture of the structural organization of higher education in Germany, its legislative

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[74]This topic is very controversial and highly debated. See, for example: Krause, 2008.

[75]The Federal Constitutional Court's ruling of 26 January 2005 declared the ban on tuition fees, introduced by the sixth amendment of the Framework Act (HRGÄndG, 2002b) unconstitutional on the same basis as in the case of Junior professorship, namely that it contradicts to the provisions of the Basic Law (Art. 72, §2), stating the autonomy of the *Länder* in the matters of education.

[76]The following *Länder* have since then introduced a tuition fees in the amount from 300-500 Euro per semester: *Baden-Württemberg, Bayern, Bremen, Hamburg, Niedersachsen, Hessen, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Saarland* (DSW ,2009).

background and specifics (see section 4.2).

4.1.7 A historical retrospect

The name of the city of Bologna appears symbolically twice in the course of the history of higher education development in Europe, having both times groundbreaking significance: at the very beginning of the emergence of the European HE in 12th century, as the city, which gave birth to the first university and, not to say at the end, but at the most recent developments in Europe of late 20th and beginning of 21st century, as the city where a major process of restructuring European higher education system was launched.

While observing the processes of educational development and change through the centuries, another consistent pattern can be traced. The universities started as highly international and relatively compatible, being based on the two models of Bologna and Paris universities, which in the core did not have significant differences related to the study organization and provision. The "internationalism" and compatibility was provided to a great extent by the same language of instruction—Latin, as well as the same kind of degrees—*Baccalaureus* and *Magister* or, for example the *"licentia ubique docendi"*, which enabled to teach at any university in Europe.

Through the centuries, as higher education in Europe became more diversified and differentiated, the educational systems in different countries developed according to their own patterns. Gradually, the compatibility was lost, due, on the one hand, to the introduction of native languages as the language of instruction and, on the other hand, the appearance of nation-states (Kerr, 1994; de Wit, 2002; Charle, 2004). Not least was the role of cultural specifics: traditional and national peculiarities.

Starting the second half of the 20th century, the question of fostering internationalization of education has become a priority agenda and the Bologna process at the end of 1990s has been launched as a process aimed at harmonization of European higher education, promoting compatibility and comparability, mobility, competitiveness and attractiveness of higher education in Europe. In this sense, European higher education is coming back to its roots.

It is also notable that for centuries, the academic degree *Baccalaureus* had disappeared from the majority of educational systems in Europe and is now being revitalized. However, it does not contain the original designation any more and is filled with new contents and concepts.

4.2 The Structure of the Higher Education System in Germany[77]

4.2.1 Legislative basis and general objectives of higher education in Germany

The tertiary sector of the German educational system includes different types of institutions of higher education and some alternatives to higher education, which qualify for practical professions or are targeted at certain groups, such as the higher education institutions of the Federal Armed Forces. In addition to institutions of higher education, some *Länder* have *Berufsakademien*, which are also included in the tertiary sector. They offer courses qualifying to practice a profession for those who have completed the upper level of secondary education and gained a higher education entrance qualification. According to the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED), the *Fachschulen*, the *Fachakademien* in Bayern and the two-

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[77]The structural data on higher education system of the Federal Republic of Germany, if not specified otherwise, is mainly drawn from the following sources: KMK (2009a), The Education System in the Federal Republic of Germany, A description of the responsibilities, structures and developments in education policy for the exchange of information in Europe; KMK (2009b), Basic Structure of the Education System in the Federal Republic of Germany, Diagram, Documentation and Education Information Service, Bonn; BMBF & KMK (2008), Education in Germany 2008, An indicator-based report including an analysis of transitions subsequent to lower secondary education. Summary of important results, Authoring Group Educational Reporting (Eds.), W. Bertelsmann Verlag, Bielefeld; EURYDICE (2009), National summary sheets on education systems in Europe and ongoing reforms: Germany (February 2009). Beside that, I consulted with the following research literature on the topic: Cortina et al. (2008), Das Bildungswesen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Strukturen und Entwicklungen im Überblick, Max-Planck-Institute für Bildungsforshcung, Reinbek bei Hamburg, Rowohlt-Taschenbuch-Verlag; Teichler, U. (1986), Higher education in the Federal Republic of Germany: developments and recent issues. New York; Teichler, U. (Ed) (1990), Das Hochschulwesen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Weinheim: Dt. Studien-Verlag; Peisert, H. & Framhein, G. (2000), Higher Education in the Federal Republic of Germany. In Barrows, L. (Ed.) Monographs on Higher Education, Translated from the German by R. Freemster and G. Framhein. Bucharest, CEPES/UNESCO; and Kehm, B.M. (1999), Higher Education in Germany. Developments, Problems and Perspectives. Bucharest, CEPES/UNESCO and Wittenberg, Institute for Higher Education Research. Statistics on HE is taken from: Statistisches Bundesamt (2008), Bildung und Wissenschaft. Statistisches Jahrbuch 2008, pp.: 125-167. Additionally, informative were the websites of deutscher Bildungsserver: http://www.bildungsserver.de and the Ministry of Education and Science: http://www.bmbf.de.

and three-year schools in the health sector are also part of the tertiary sector.

The responsibility for education system in Germany is determined by the federal character of the state. Thus, the *Basic Law* grants governmental and legislative powers to individual *Länder* unless provided or allowed otherwise. This applies also to tertiary education sector, where administration of educational system is almost exclusively the matter of the *Länder*. The responsibilities of the Federal government are very restricted and mainly affect the promotion of research, financial assistance to students and regulations related to employment. The "federalism reform" (*Föderalismusreform*) of 2006[78] had a significant impact on the relations between the *Länder* and the Federation. Changes also concerned the governance of higher education, bringing more freedom and autonomy to the *Länder* in decisions regarding education.

The legal basis of higher education is provided by the *Framework Act for Higher Education of the Federation* (*Hochschulrahmengesetz, HRG*), last amended on 12 of April, 2007 (HRG, 2007). The Framework Act describes the general objectives of higher education institutions and outlines the general principle of its functioning, such as structure, study, teaching and research, membership and participation, admission, staff, organization and administration. The provisions of the HRG are then transmitted into the laws on higher education of the *Länder*.

Previously, the *Länder* had to adjust their Laws on higher education according to the guidelines provided by the HRG. The degree of involvement of the Federation into the educational affairs was subject to numerous debates, as for example in the case of Junior professorship and tuition fees (see section 4.1.6 of the present chapter). After the "federalism reform" of 2006, according to the Article 125b, § 1 of the Basic Law, the *Länder* in some cases may enact regulations that deviate from the federal law. However, in the current regulations of the Framework Act and the respective *Länder*, higher education laws continue to remain in effect.

Presently, the federal government competences are restricted to establishing some rules regarding higher education admission and university degrees; in-company vocational training and further education; financial assistance to students; promotion of scientific and academic research and technological development; and legal employ-

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[78]On 30 June and 7 July 2006, the *Bundestag* (German Federal Parliament) and the *Bundesrat* (Federal Council) adopted the most extensive amendment to the German Basic Law, which introduced changes in the regulation of the relations between the Federation and the *Länder*, thus marking the start of the so-called "federalism reform" (see: Gesetz zur Änderung des Grundgesetzes, 2006; also: Borchard & Margedant, 2006; Kluth, 2007).

ment regulations (Basic Law, Art. 74). Despite the fact that the Federation still has legislative authority over the status-related rights and duties of civil servants, after the "federalism reform", the remuneration and pensions of civil servants (e.g. teachers, professors and junior professors) are now also under the responsibility of the *Länder*.

The section of the "joint tasks" of the Federation and the *Länder* has also been revised. Thus according to Article 91b, § 1 of the Basic law, in the "cases of supraregional importance" the Federation and the *Länder* may "cooperate to promote research and projects apart from institutions of higher education; scientific projects and research at institutions of higher education; and construction of facilities at institutions of higher education". However, the agreement of all the *Länder* should be a necessary prerequisite. Also the Federation and the *Länder* may agree to cooperate for the assessment of the performance of educational systems in international comparison and in drafting relevant reports and recommendations (Basic Law, Art. 91b). As a result of federalism transformation a new administrative unit, in which the Federation cooperates with the *Länder*, has been established with an intention to regulate the functional and organizational design of the new "joint tasks", called the joint science conference—*Wissenschaftskonferenz*. All other areas of higher education legislation, such as the tasks and structure of universities and university staff, are under the competence of the *Länder*.

Besides the mentioned regulations, the Basic law provides some fundamental freedoms related to education and science, for example the freedom of research and teaching (Basic Law, Art. 5, § 3), the freedom of faith and philosophical creed (Basic Law, Art. 4) and the free choice of profession and of the place of training (Basic Law, Art. 12, § 1).

Other laws regulating different forms of higher education include: the legislation regarding colleges of art and the legislation regarding *Fachhochschulen*. The *Berufsakademie* laws of the individual *Länder*, as well as the *Ausbildungsordnungen* (training regulations) and *Prüfungsordnungen* (examination regulations) of the Ministry of Science regulate the training at *Berufsakademien*. Continuing vocational education at Fachschulen is also regulated by the training and examination regulations and at the same time by the laws on education of the individual *Länder*.

The participation in the Bologna process enriched the German higher education field with several other regulative statutes. One is the National Qualifications Framework for German higher education degrees (*Qualifikationsrahmen für Deutsche*

Hochschulabschülsse) adopted on 21 April 2005 by the Rectors Conference (HRK), the KMK and the Federal Ministry of Education and Science. The National Qualifications Framework is designed to define qualifications with regard to work load, standards, learning outcomes, skills and profiles, also taking into account the interfaces with vocational education and training and lifelong learning. In order to receive accreditation, a degree programme must meet the requirements of the Qualifications Framework.

The Law on Establishment of the Foundation "Foundation for the Accreditation of Study Courses in Germany" (*Gesetz zur Errichtung einer Stiftung "Stiftung zur Akkreditierung von Studiengängen in Deutschland"*) adopted on the 15th of February, 2005 has given to the accreditation process a new legal basis. Generally, the regulations apply to all institutions of higher education, including privately-maintained establishments, which presently count to more than 370 institutions.

The upper aim of German higher education—teaching and research based on the principle of their unity—is shaped by Humboldtian concepts. The Framework Act of Higher Education defines the function of German higher education institutions as follows:

> "In accordance with the specific role assigned to them, the institutions of higher education shall contribute to the fostering and development of the arts and sciences through research, teaching, studies and continuing education in a free, democratic and social state based on the rule of law. They shall prepare students for occupations which require the application of scientific findings and scientific methods or creative ability in the artistic field" (Framework Act, Section 2.1).

In addition to encouraging the continuing education of their own staff, improving the social situation of students and the promotion of international and, in particular, European cooperation in the higher education sector, research is a significant and inseparable part of German universities:

> "The purpose of research at institutions of higher education may, subject to the specific role of the institution concerned, relate to any academic discipline and to the practical application of scientific findings, including the potential impact of such application. For the purpose of coordinating their research projects and research priorities and of planning and executing joint research projects, the institutions of higher education shall cooperate with one another, with other research establishments and with

establishments in the field of supraregional research planning and promotion" (Framework Act, Section 22).

The purpose of teaching and study is defined as follows:

> "to prepare students for a field of professional activity and to impart to them the requisite specialized knowledge, skills and methods in a way appropriate to each course so as to enable them to perform scientific or artistic work and to act responsibly in a free, democratic and social state governed by the rule of law" (Framework Act, Section 7).

Thus, the core principles of German higher education, as provided by the main legal act, rest on the traditional concept of the unity of research and teaching. The task of HEIs is to provide professional training to students in a way that directly involves scientific and academic research and artistic development. However, despite the fact that the unity of teaching and research refers to all institutions of higher education, a distinction should be made between the functions of universities and other types of institutions of higher education. University education is traditionally closely linked to basic and theoretical research, whereas *Fachhochschulen* and *Berufsacademien* are of a more practical nature.

4.2.2 Higher education governance

As described in the previous section, according to the Basic Law, certain responsibilities in the educational sector are allocated to the Federal government. These responsibilities are undertaken by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (*Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung* (BMBF)). The Ministry was established in 1969 in connection to the amendment of the Basic Law, which granted the Federation additional powers in educational matters (see section 4.1.4). The responsibilities of the Federal Ministry are restricted to proposing changes to the Framework Act for Higher Education and to the Federal Act on Payment of Academic Staff (*Professorenbesoldungsgesetz*); administration of the student funding scheme (BAföG) and, jointly with the *Länder*, representation of German higher education internationally.

According to cultural sovereignty, the legislation and administration of the educational system fall under the primary authority of the *Länder* and are governed by the respective Ministers of Education, Cultural Affairs and Science. Their scope of

responsibilities encompasses schools, higher education, libraries, adult education, arts and different cultural aspects.

The *Länder* cooperate with each other through the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs—the *Kultusministerkonferenz* (KMK)[79] to achieve a certain degree of compatibility between their educational policies. It is based on an agreement between the *Länder* and develops policies pertaining to education, higher education, research and culture that are of supra-regional importance, aiming, through representation of common interests, to achieve a common viewpoint and a common will. Formally, the decisions and guidelines of the KMK have no legal power. They obtain legal significance when they are translated into the *Länder* Laws, administrative actions or ordinances, which is generally the case.

The cooperation of the Federation and *Länder* takes place through different structures. Before the "federalism reform", in the matters of educational planning and promotion of scientific research of supra-national importance, they cooperated through the Commission of the Federation and the Länder for Educational Planning and Research Promotion—the *Bund-Länder-Kommission für Bildungsplanung und Forschungsförderung* (BLK). This was a permanent forum for discussion of issues concerning education and research promotion which were of common interest for the Federation and the *Länder*. However, the "federalism reform" abolished the joint task of "educational planning", as a result the BLK was also dissolved. Responsibility for ongoing projects was by 1st of January 2007 transferred to the *Länder*.

The tasks involved in the joint "promotion of research" has been transferred to the newly established Joint Science Conference—the *Gemeinsame Wissenschaftskonferenz (GWK)*—in 2008. The GWK is designed to addresses all questions of research funding, science and research policy strategies and the science system which jointly affect the Federal Government and the *Länder*.

The "federalism reform" has replaced the joint task of educational planning by the new joint task—"assessment of the performance of educational systems in international comparison" (Basic Law, Art. 91b, § 2). Thus the Federation and the *Länder* may now agree to cooperate for the assessment of the performance of educational systems in international comparison and in drafting relevant reports and recommendations, which they do in regular meetings of the Federal Minister for Education and Cultural Affairs and the ministers and senators of the *Länder* responsible for

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[79]For the history of establishment of the KMK see section 4.1.4 of the present chapter.

education.

The Science Council—*Wissenschaftsrat* (WR) is a council established by the agreement of the Federation and the *Länder* in 1957. It is an important advisory body in HE policy, which forms recommendations concerning development of the content and structure of higher education institutions, science and research. The Science Council unites scientists, recognised public figures and representatives from the Federal and *Länder* governments in an effort to find a compromise beweeen science and politics. Since the "federalism reform", the Science Council is also appointed to give recommendations on the joint promotion of the construction of facilities at institutions of higher education, including large scientific installations, in cases of supra-regional importance (Basic Law, Art. 91b).

Aside from these governing bodies, there is the German Rectors Conference—*Hochschulrektorenkonferenz* (HRK). It represents the interests of state and state-recognised universities, *Fachhochschulen* and other higher education institution. The HRK comprises Rectors and Presidents of the higher education institutions and aims at forming opinion regarding different aspects of educational policy and development. As formulated on the HRK web-site, it:

> "is the political and public voice of the universities and other higher education institutions and is the forum for the higher education institutions' joint opinion-forming process"[80].

The HRK intensively cooperates with the Federal government and the KMK and had a notable input in the higher education policy formulation.

4.2.3   Types of higher education institutions

According to the figures from the Federal Statistical Office, there were 391 higher education institutions, classified as Universities (*Universitäten*) and equivalent institutions of higher education in the Winter semester of 2007/8. These include Technical Universities (*Technische Hochschulen/Technische Universitäten*), Pedagogical Colleges (*Pädagogische Hochschulen*), Theological Colleges (*Theologische Hochschulen*); Universities of Applied Science (*Fachhochschulen*), including the Colleges of Public Administration (*Verwaltungsfachhochschulen*) and Universities of Art and Music (*Kunst und Musikhochschulen*) (Statistisches Jahrbuch, 2008:141). The German

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[80]http://www.hrk.de, last retrieved 24.06.1009

tertiary sector also includes some state-run *Berufsakademien*, *Fachschulen* and the *Fachakademien*.

In German tradition, *universities* offer a wide range of academic disciplines and focus in particular on basic research so that advanced stages of study have mainly theoretical orientation and research-oriented components. In addition to the traditional universities, the technical universities, that specialise in natural and engineering sciences also enjoy university status. Created from 1970 onwards, the comprehensive universities (*Gesamthochschulen*) have been also granted the status of universities since 2002/2003. Several of comprehensive universities have been functioning in Hessen and Nordrhein-Westfalen and provided a combination of university and *Fachhochschule* courses (see also section 4.1.4) Equivalent to universities are higher education institutions, that offer only a limited range of courses of study, such as theological colleges and pedagogical colleges. What unites all these institutions under the same section is their traditional right, as a rule, to award doctoral degrees. Academic and scientific research and the education of the next generation of academics are also distinctive features of the universities and equivalent higher education institutions.

The *Fachhochschulen* (universities of applied sciences), including the *Verwaltungsfachhochschulen*, concentrate their study programmes in engineering and other technical disciplines, business-related studies, social work, and design areas. The common mission of applied research and development implies a distinct application-oriented focus and professional character of studies, which include integrated and supervised work assignments in industry, enterprises or other relevant institutions. The colleges of public administration (*Verwaltungsfachhochschulen*) aim at training of civil servants for careers in the so-called higher level of the civil service. They are maintained by various federal and *Länder* ministries. Access is only for those who are civil servant employees.

The *Kunst- und Musikhochschulen* (universities of art and music) offer studies for artistic careers in fine arts, performing arts and music, as well as, television and media. The studies range from theoretical such fine arts, art history and art pedagogy, musicology, history and teaching of music, media and communication studies to practical fields, such as directing, production, writing in theatre and the like.

The *Berufsakademien* (professional academies) are based on a dual system of academic and practical training. Academic training takes place at study institutions, while the practical training is realised on-job and the employers pay wages to the students. Berufsakademien were established in 1974 in *Baden-Württemberg* as a part

of a pilot project, now they can be found in several of the *Länder*.

Higher Education Institutions are either state or state-recognized institutions. In their operations, including the organization of studies and the designation and award of degrees, they are both subject to higher education legislation.

According to data of the Federal Statistical Office, there were 1.932 million students in 2007/2008, approximately 48% of which are women. About two-third of all students were enrolled at universities, 28% at universities of applied sciences. The number of new entrants in Germany in the academic year 2007/2008 amounted 310,853 (Statistical Jahrbuch 2008:141-147).

4.2.4 Access to higher education

To enter a higher education institution the applicant needs to hold: either the *Zeugnis der Allgemeinen Hochschulreife/Abitur*, which, after 12 to 13 years of schooling, enables the holder to be admitted to all subjects and subject areas at all higher education institutions, or the *Zeugnis der Fachgebundenen Hochschulreife*—to study particular subjects at a university or equivalent higher education institution.

Admission to studies at *Kunsthochschule/Musikhochschule* generally requires the *Zeugnis der allgemeinen Hochschulreife* and proof of artistic aptitude. The *Fachhochschulreife* or the *Allgemeine/Fachgebundene Hochschulreife* is for admission to *Fachhochschule*, which can usually be acquired after 12 years of schooling.

Generally, there are no special admission procedures to enter the university for many courses of study. The applicants who meet the above-mentioned entrance requirements can just register at the higher education institution of their choice, study their chosen subject without having to go through any special admission procedures. However, there are nationwide quotas in certain areas, such as medicine, psychology, biology, etc., according to the State Treaty of the *Länder* on the Allocation of Study Places (*Staatsvertrag der Länder über die Vergabe von Studienplätzen*).

The amendment to the Framework Act in 2004 changed the regulations for the awarding of places on study courses with nationwide restrictions on admission. The reform was aimed to support the right of higher education institutions to decide on the admission of their applicants and thus, it was hoped, that the number of university drop-outs could reduce. The criteria for admission are, as a rule, the applicant's average mark in the *Abitur*, the waiting period between *Abitur* and applying and the selection procedures of individual higher education institutions, which additionally,
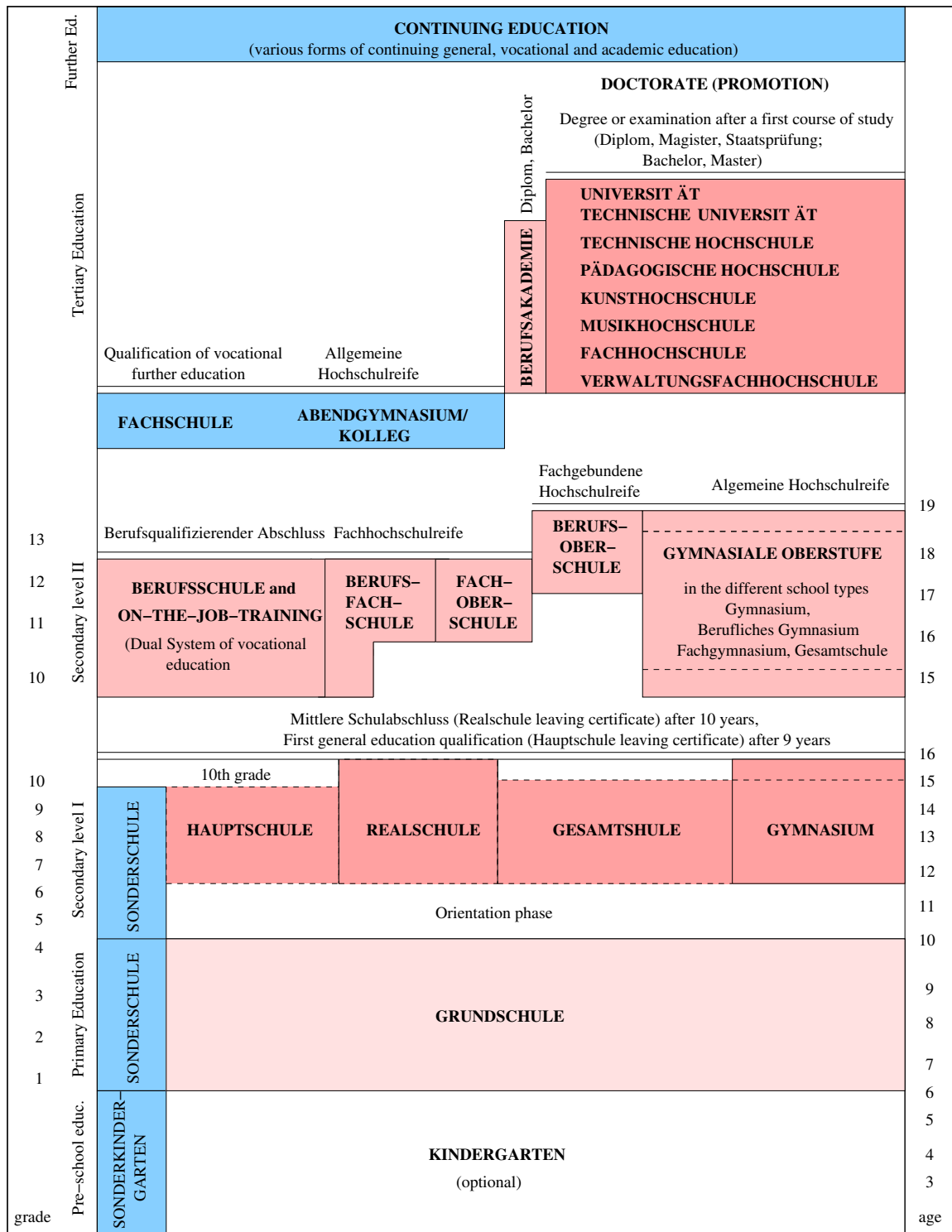
Figure 4.1: The Basic Structure of German Educational System. Source: KMK, 2009a.

can include tests or interviews.

At *Fachhochschulen*, access to almost all the subjects is restricted due to capacity constraints. As a rule, the Fachhochschulen decide on the allocation of study places looking at the average mark and waiting time, and the result of a test or interview. Also, any vocational training or the occupation of the applicant can play a role.

4.2.5 Degree structure and study organization

Degrees in Germany vary according to the length and type of the taken course. A higher education qualification to enter a profession is conferred upon completion of a final examination and/or a written independent research work.

With regard to traditional degrees, a distinction should be made between academic examination, which leads to *Diplom* and *Magister*; state examination—*Staatsexamen or Staatsprüfung* and ecclesiastical examination—*Kirchliches Examen* for Theology.

The traditional study programme is either mono-disciplinary (the *Diplom*, a number of programmes completed by a *Staatsprüfung*) or comprises of a combination of majors: generally that is one major subject and two minor subjects, or two equally weighted major subjects (*Magister Artium*). These three qualifications are academically equivalent. They qualify for admission to doctoral studies. Further prerequisites for admission could be defined by the individual institutions.

Traditionally, the first study cycle is organized in two stages: *Grundstudium* (basic studies) and *Hauptstudium* (advanced studies). The *Grundstudium* usually lasts four semesters (2 academic years) and has an intermediate examination: *Diplom-Vorprüfung* or *Zwischenprüfung*, which does not lead to a degree. This examination gives the right to continue on the *Hauptstudium*.

The *Hauptstudium* consists of more advanced studies leading to the final degree examination. The *Hauptstudium* usually lasts for five more semesters and leads to the award of the *Diplom* or *Magister Artium*. The *Diplom* is awarded in engineering disciplines, the natural sciences as well as economics and business and very often in social sciences (sociology, politics, education, psychology). The *Magister* is awarded by universities predominantly in humanities. The course of study comprises either two equally weighed major subjects or a combination of one major and two minor subjects. The *Magister* is usually awarded as a *Magister Artium/MA* without specifying individual subjects. The degree requirements include submission of a thesis (up to 6 months duration) and comprehensive final written and oral examinations.

Studies preparing for the legal, medical, pharmaceutical and teaching professions are completed by a *Staatsprüfung*. The qualification level of traditional degrees has been declared by KMK as equivalent to the Master's degree (KMK, 1998).

Traditionally, studies at *Fachhochschulen* led to the *Diplom* with the accretion "FH" in brackets to denote that the *Diplom* comes from *Fachhochschule* and not from the university. *Fachhochschulen* offer application-oriented study courses mainly in engineering, economics, social work, public and legal administration and health and therapy. The *Diplomgrad* is awarded after the *Diplomprüfung* (Diploma examination), with specification of the subject studied (e.g. *Diplom-Ingenieur (FH)*). According to the *Regelstudienzeit* (standard period defined for each period of study), a degree programme at *Fachhochschulen* should be completed in 6/8 semesters, including one or two practical semesters. Success in the final academic examination usually qualifies the candidate for a particular profession. Some *Fachhochschulen* have adopted the dual system (*duale Studiengänge*) and introduced courses that combine academic studies with on-the-job training. The *Diplom* of the *Fachhochschulen* can be put somewhere in between university Bachelor and Master. The KMK (1998) equals it to "Bachelor with honors" degree, awarded by a university.

Traditionally the pre-primary, primary and secondary *teacher education* has been organized according to the following scheme. The childcare workers (*Erzieher*) who do not have the training and status of teachers are trained at *Fachschulen* for youth and community work. Teachers for *Grundschule* are trained for three-and-a-half years in universities, *Pädagogische Hochschulen* and in colleges of art and music. The training incorporates study of an elective or specialist subject, as well as primary school didactics. At least one practical training period of several weeks and at least one guided didactics/subject related placement is a part of the programme. Teachers must pass the first *Staatsprüfung* in usually two subjects and in educational sciences. Training at universities is followed by two years of preparatory service—*Vorbereitungsdienst* which is finalized by a second *Staatsprüfung*.

Secondary school teachers (*Hauptschule, Realschule, Gymnasium, Sonderschule* and vocational school teachers) are also trained during 3.5 to 4.5 years in universities. Secondary school teachers are subject specialists. They must take two subjects together with appropriate incorporation of subject-related didactics and an accompanying course in education science. Students who intend to become teachers in vocational schools must also complete a period of work experience lasting for at least 12 months, which must be relevant to the vocational subject area chosen and which

must be completed before the first state examination. Teachers' state examination should be taken usually in two subjects and in educational sciences.

Since the amendment to the Framework Act for Higher Education in 1998 (HRG, 1998), the German higher education institutions are entitled to award Bachelor or Master degrees. The introduced system is defined as a consecutive study system, which means that the study programmes are built one upon the other, i.e. the second (Master) cycle can be accessed upon the successful completion of the first (Bachelor) and is meant to continue and deepen the subject, studied on the first level. However, there have been established also non-consecutive and the so-called *"weiterbildende"* (continuing) Master programmes (KMK, 2003, Sec.A4). The non-consecutive Master programmes do not base on the previous Bachelor programme in terms of their content. The *"weiterbildende"* Master studies are designed to provide further education and should take into account the qualified practical professional experience of the applicant. In any case, the Master's qualification is considered as a further degree and can be acquired if the first degree already exists.

The cycled graduation system was designed to replace the traditional scheme by the year 2010. However, for the time being, these systems run in parallel and are both reflected in the HRG §18 and §19. According to the HRK statistics (HRK, 2009a:21-22), the number of students entering and studying in the consecutive programmes, as well as the offer of Bachelor and Master programmes in German universities, is rapidly growing from year to year (Fig.4.2). In the winter semester 2007/2008 there were 30.9 % of students studying in Bachelor and Master programmes and 64.5 % new-beginners at Bachelor or Master programmes (ibid). In the summer semester 2009, 76 % of all study offers at German institutions of higher educations are Bachelor and Master study courses (ibid:7).

Based on the HRG (2007, §19) and according to KMK (2003), the consecutive system complies with the Bologna declaration's objective of dividing higher education into two clearly differentiated cycles, both qualifying for a profession: first degree (undergraduate studies) and a second degree (graduate studies). The first stage leads to a Bachelor degree after a minimum of three and a maximum of four years. Regardless of the standard programme length on which the Bachelor programme was based and the type of higher education institution at which it was offered, this Bachelor degree qualifies holders for entry into the Master level programmes, which should last at least one and at the most two years and qualifies the holder for the doctoral programme. The Master's degree is awarded as a further (second) degree
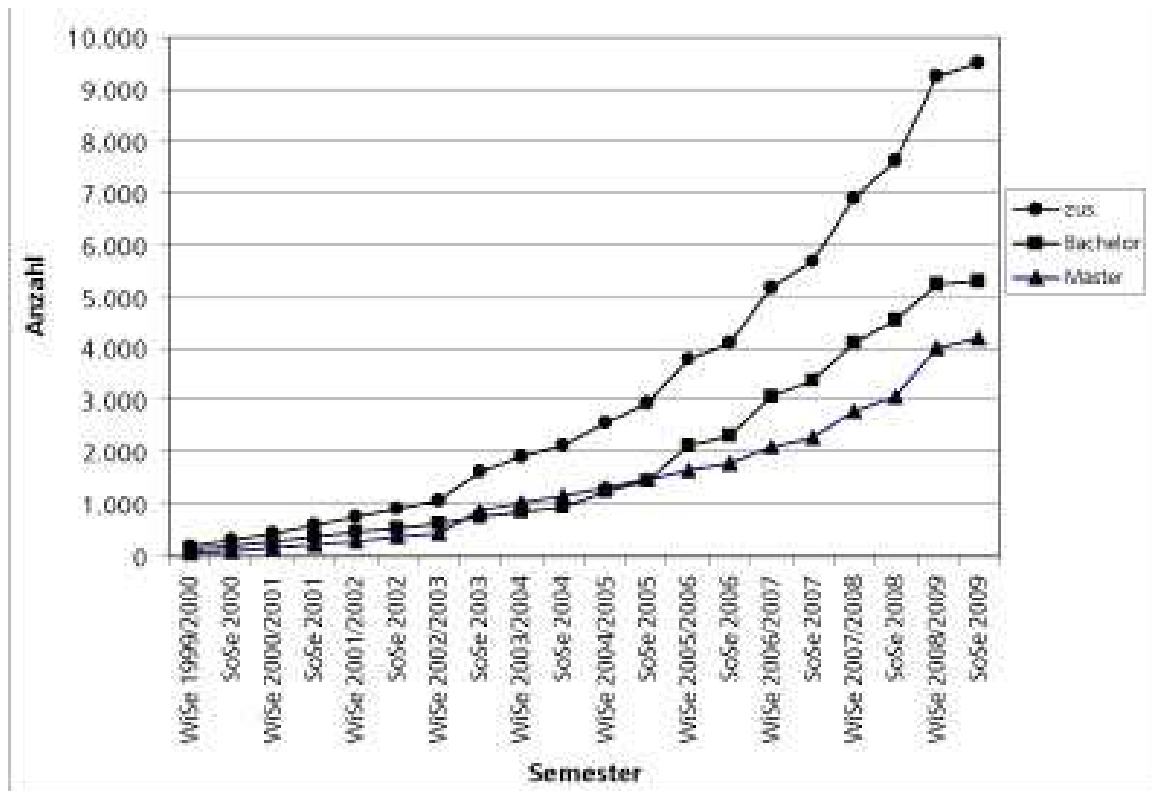
Figure 4.2: Growth of Bachelor and Master Programmes in the Period from Winter Semester 1999/2000 to Summer Semester 2009. Source: HRK, 2009a:8.

qualifying for a profession. Thus, the Master's degree can only be gained if the student already holds a first degree with professional qualification. The total period for a consecutive study on the both levels should not exceed five years. In special cases, qualified Bachelor graduates may also be admitted directly to doctoral study programmes subject to passing a variously organised aptitude test. The completion of the programmes in both degrees requires the submission of a written work: Bachelor thesis or Master thesis, respectively,

Despite the general perception that the Bachelor programme is more practice-oriented and Master's programme is more theory-oriented, the KMK (2003) sees no need to differentiate between practice and theory orientation of Bachelor programmes. According to the KMK resolution:

> "Bachelor's study courses lay academic foundations, provide methodological skills and lead to qualifications related to the professional field. There is no allocation of Bachelor's study programmes to the profile types "more practice-oriented" or "more research-oriented" (KMK, 2003:5).

Instead, Master courses should be differentiated by "more practice-oriented" or "more research-oriented" and that should be reflected in the Diploma supplement.

Since the Bachelor is an independent degree with professional qualification, it is also possible to establish Bachelor programmes even when no corresponding Master degree is offered at the university. Accordingly, it is also possible to establish one- or two-year postgraduate Master's programmes at a university even if that university does not offer a corresponding Bachelor programme.

Since 1998, the *Fachhochschulen*, along with the traditional *Diplomgrad*, have been also granted the right to introduce Bachelor and Master degrees on the same basis as the universities. The addition "FH" is no longer required to accompany the new degree titles.

Since October 2004, the *Berufsakademien*, which traditionally conferred *Diplom* after three years of education (e.g.: Diplom-Ingenieur or Diplom-Sozialpädagog) gained the right to award Bachelor degrees. The Bachelor degrees can be obtained after at least three years of training courses and should be equivalent to Bachelor degrees obtained at institutions of higher education, which will allow the graduates of *Berufsakademien* to conduct further studies on Master level at higher education institutions (KMK, 2004:3).

The Bologna changes affected also teacher education. In June 2005, the KMK passed guidelines for the mutual recognition of Bachelor's and Master's degrees in teacher training courses conveying the educational prerequisites for teaching positions (KMK, 2005). The KMK resolution states that the educational careers based on Bachelor and Master structures in teacher training may be acceptable and their degrees accredited if they meet certain requirements (see ibid: 2-3). Accordingly, the structural guidelines of the introduction of Bachelor and Master's study courses were amended to include the Bachelor and Master designations for teacher training, as Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) and Master of Education (M.Ed.).

The new academic study structure was also introduced along with the new grading system. The KMK resolution of 1999 (KMK, 1999) specifies that all Bachelor and Master programmes must be modularized and must be based on the award of credit points. In September 2000, the KMK adopted general criteria for the introduction of a credit system based on ECTS principles (KMK, 200b). The system is based on student workload and is used for accumulation and transfer. According to the ECTS model one year of full-time study is equivalent to 60 credits.

As provided by the HRG and KMK resolutions (KMK, 1998b, 2003), all Bache-

lor and Master programmes must be accredited. Accreditation defines whether a programme meets the minimum standards and whether it is relevant to professional requirements in the field through the review of the programme's academic and disciplinary content.

Also, universities and equivalent institutions of higher education are obliged to issue a Diploma supplement to the leaving certificate of all the programmes, including the *Diplom*, *Magister*, Bachelor and Master. The Diploma supplement should be issued at no charge and, as a rule, in English and should represent a description of taken courses and student's academic performance.

As prescribed by the structural guidelines of the KMK (2003), the designations for the Bachelor and consecutive Master degrees at institutions of higher education should not be distinguished by the profile types (i.e. theory or practice orientation) and should be limited to B.A./B.Sc. (Bachelor of Arts/Bachelor of Science), B. Eng. (Bachelor of Engineering, LL.B. (Bachelor of Laws) and M.A./M.Sc. (Master of Arts/Master of Science, M. Eng. (Master of Engineering), LL.M. (Master of Laws). For the continuing education and non-consecutive Master's programmes the designations can diverge (e.g. MBA) (see Fig. 4.3).

Universities and equivalent institutions of higher education hold the right to award doctorates. Traditionally *Fachhochschule*, as well as, *Berufsakademien*, did not have the right of awarding doctoral degrees (*Promotionsrecht*). The *Fachhochschule* graduates holding a Master degree or a qualified *Diplom (FH)* degree may be admitted for doctoral studies at a university with specified additional requirements.

Doctoral studies can be pursued at universities or equal higher education institutions, some universities of art and music are doctorate-granting institutions. Formal prerequisite for admission to doctoral work is a qualified Master/*Magister* degree, *Diplom*, *Staatsprüfung*, or a foreign equivalent. There are several procedures for admitting particularly qualified holders of Bachelor or a degree obtained at a Fachhochschule (Diplom (FH)) to doctoral studies at universities. Admission further requires the acceptance of the dissertation research project by a professor as a supervisor. The period for doctoral studies, known as the *Promotion*, consists of two to four years' independent research and the submission of a thesis. The title of *Doktor* is conferred following upon a written thesis and either an oral examination or the defence of the thesis.

The *Habilitation* is a traditional post-doctoral qualification proving ability to teach and engage in research in an academic subject. It is awarded by the departments

Subject group	Qualification designation
Language and cultural studies Sport, sport science Social sciences Fine arts	Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) Master of Arts (M.A.)
Mathematics Natural sciences Medicine Agriculture, forestry and food sciences	Bachelor of Sciences (B.Sc.) Master of Sciences (M.Sc.)
Engineering	Bachelor of Sciences (B.Sc.) Master of Sciences (M.Sc.) or Bachelor of Engineering (B.Eng.) Master of Engineering (M.Eng.)
Economics	depending on the content of the study course: Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) Master of Arts (M.A.) or Bachelor of Sciences (B.Sc.) Master of Sciences (M.Sc.)
Law	Bachelor of Laws (LL.B.) Master of Laws (LL.M.)

Figure 4.3: Bachelor and Master Titles. Source: KMK, 2003:8.

of universities and equivalent higher education institutions, usually on the basis of a post-doctoral thesis and a public lecture followed by a discussion.

There is no legal provision for a special training of higher education teachers. Recruitment requirement for higher education staff is usually the PhD title (*Doktor*).

Since 2002, young scholars could decide between two alternative paths towards professorship: the traditional *Habilitation* or Junior professor position. Thus, the present academic ranks include: *Assistent, Oberassistent, wissenschaftlicher/künstlericher Mitarbeiter, Lehrkraft für besondere Aufgaben, Hochschuldozent, Juniorprofessor* and *Professor. Juniorprofessor* comprises of different stages: *Assistent, Oberassistent* and *Hochschuldozent* and is characterised by an accumulative form of proving academic achievement.

Alternative structures.

Distance higher education. Courses leading to a *Diplom* and *Magister*, as well as to Bachelor and Master degrees are offered by the *Fernuniversität* Hagen (Hagen university for distance studies), founded in 1974 as a comprehensive university of the state of *Nordrhein-Westfalen*. It is the only university in the German-speaking world to solely offer distance courses and is the largest provider of distance learning facilities at university level in Germany.

Alongside the *Fernuniversität* in Hagen, private *Fernfachhochschulen* or *Fachhochschulen* for distance studies offer distance learning courses of study all over Germany. A number of higher education institutions have joined forces to form distance learning associations (*Fernstudienverbände*) with the aim of developing distance learning courses. In addition, an association of private, state-recognized institutions offers first degree and post-graduate courses at university level to employed persons (*Hochschulen für Berufstätige*) in several study locations.

Lifelong education. Continuing education in Germany is mainly regulated by the *Länder* on the basis that the diverse and rapidly-changing demands on continuing education can best be met by a structure which is characterised by diversity of courses and services to be offered. The responsibilities of the Federation are restricted to laying down principles and to issuing regulations relating to organisation and financing (Berufsbildungsgesetz, 2005; SGB, 1997).

All the Länder have specific legislation on continuing education— *Gesetze zur Förderung der Weiterbildung* or *Erwachsenenbildungsgesetze* (for example: Thüringer Erwachsenenbildungsgesetz, 2005; Gesetz zur Förderung der Erwachsenenbildung im Lande Sachsen-Anhalt, 1992; Gesetz über die Weiterbildung im Freistaat Sachsen, 1998; Weiterbildungsgesetz Rheinland-Pfalz, 1995, etc.). In addition, the higher education acts contain regulations to deal with the development of continuing education opportunities at an academic level. In most *Länder* (11 of 16), the educational leave acts allow employed persons to obtain time off (usually 5 days), every year on full

pay, in order to take part in continuing education programmes.

Continuing education is provided by municipal institutions, in particular *Volks-hochschulen*, as well as by private institutions, churches, trade unions, various chambers of industry and commerce, political parties and associations, companies and public authorities, family education centres, academies, *Fachschulen*, institutions of higher education and distance learning institutions. Radio and television companies also provide continuing education programmes. In total, there are about 2500 officially recognised institutions that provide continuing education. Most of these are *Volkshochschulen* (2384 in 2007) (Huisman & Kaulisch, 2007:12).

4.2.6 The grading system

The traditional grading scheme in Germany usually comprises five levels (with numerical equivalents; intermediate grades may be given): "Sehr Gut" (1) = Very Good; "Gut" (2) = Good; "Befriedigend" (3) = Satisfactory; "Ausreichend" (4) = Sufficient; "Nicht ausreichend" (5) = Non-Sufficient/Fail. The minimum passing grade is "Ausreichend" (4). Verbal designations of grades may vary in some cases, and, traditionally, for doctoral degrees another scheme is in use.

In addition, and in line with the developments in Bologna process, the institutions of higher education, as prescribed by the KMK "Framework guidelines for the introduction of credit point system and modularisation of study course" must now use the ECTS grading scheme, which operates with the levels A (best 10 %), B (next 25 %), C (next 30 %), D (next 25 %), and E (next 10 %) (KMK, 2000b:2-3).

Thus, according to KMK structural guidelines (KMK, 2003) the Bachelor studies should comprise a total of 180 ECTS, whereas the number of ECTS points for the Master programme is 300, from which 6-12 ECTS are allocated for a Bachelor thesis and 15-30 for a Master thesis.

4.3 The "Bologna" and Germany: Beginning, Progress and Ongoing Debates

Since mid-nineties, the debates on the necessity of an overall reform of HE in Germany again began to escalate. There was a general discontent about the present system of HE in many aspects (see e.g. Wissenschaftsrat, 1993). Debates related first of all to the long average duration of studies and the relatively high age of

graduates, the mismanagement in universities, inadequate financial resources and quality of teaching, which was supposed to be quite low in comparison with the research. Other aspects of the debates, concerned deficits of measures to promote young scholars and the long way towards professorship. The question of introducing tuition fees has been highly discussed, but at that time the issue did not receive much appreciation, because the tuition fees could bring to inequality in access to education due to the absence of approriate scholarship mechanisms. That conflicted with the provisions of free access to all public education provided by the Framework Act for Higher Education and the Basic Law (Kehm, 1999; Mayer, 2008). One of the main concerns was the decreased attractiveness of German higher education to foreign students. The long duration of studies, non-transparancy of German degrees and unattractive curricula, as well as insufficient counseling to foreign students has been criticized.

As some higher education researchers point out, the internationalization argument, which recieved highest priority and relative concensus among universities, served as a "catalyzing force for the university reform" (Kehm & Teichler, 2005:24). The enhancement of internationalization also pushed forward the reform of study structures and higher education control and management system

Thus, in the Resolution of 182 plenum from 7th of July, 1997, the Rectors Conference (HRK) spoke about the desirability to introduce credit systems, "possibly in association with modularization" [81], to enhance the international attractiveness of German degrees and studies for the foreigners (HRK, 1997). Then, on 24th of October, 1997, the Conference of Ministers (KMK) issued another resolution on "Fostering the international competitiveness of German study locations" [82], stressing the importance of developing new study offers and modernizing the system of study and exams. Particularly, these should relate to the opening of German HE system towards "introduction of Bachelor or *Bakkalaureus* and Master or *Magister* degree, which can lead to a tiered study structure" [83] (KMK, 1997:4). Following that, the Rectors

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[81]Own translation, originally: *"eventuell in Verbindung mit einer Modularisierung von Studiengngen"*.

[82]Own translation, originally: *"Stärkung der internationalen Wettbewerbsfähigkeit des Studienstandortes Deutschland"*.

[83]Own translation, originally: *"der Öffnung des deutschen Studiensystems für die Einführung von Bachelor– oder Bakkalaureus– und Master– oder Magisterabschlüssen"*.

Conference resolution of 10th of November, 1997 explicitly read: "To the introduction of Bachelor and Master study programmes" *(Zur Einführung von Bachelor– und Masterstudiengängen/–abschlüssen)* (HRK, 1997a). This resolution stated, that the Bachelor and Master programmes should be implemented both in *Fachhochschulen* and at universities, and should be carried along with the traditional programmes. The universities were free to decide, in which majors the Bachelor or Master programme were to be implemented.

Finally, with the fourth amendment of the Framework Act for Higher Education in the 1998 the Federal Government opened the German higher education for the Bachelor and Master structures (HRG, 1998: Art. 19). The Bachelor (or *Bakkalaureus*) and Master (or *Magister*) programmes were to run on a trial basis and alongside the traditional degree system and should lead to a professional qualification. Also, the amendment specified the regular study periods in Bachelor programme: at least three and at most four years, and in Master programme: at least one and at most two years, thus summing the entire study period to a maximum of five (ibid, Arts. 19.1-19.4).

The amendment was passed shortly after the Sorbonne declaration of 1998. Nevertheless, it could not have been influenced by the European declaration since the preparation and discussions of HRG amendment had been launched long before the European initiative (Witte, 2006:163). However, the coincidence of policy direction at European and national levels clearly shows that similar sentiments were characteristic of higher education debates of other European countries, too.

An important detail is worth mentioning: the amendment of HRG did not differentiate between universities and *Fachhochschulen* with respect to the new degrees, their length and title. This changed fundamentally the status quo of the *Fachhochschulen*. Thus, the *Fachhochschulen* were granted the opportunity to offer newly adopted Bachelor and Master programmes and formally, the degrees awarded did not differ from the same university degrees. In the later specifications of KMK, it was said that the both programmes could be established:

> "at universities and higher education institutions of equivalent status as well as at *Fachhochschulen* without challenging the different educational objectives of these types of higher education[84]" (KMK, 2003:2)

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[84]Emphasis added.

Other organizations, too, emphasized the the preservation of the applied character of studies at *Fachhochschulen* through different position and recommendation papers on Master and Bachelor degrees (e.g. WR, 2000; HRK, 2001; BDA, 2003). However, the later notions that the Master degrees at FH can also be market-oriented or theory-oriented, made this different almost delusive[85].

Another feature of the future Bologna process was also introduced with the HRG amendment of 1998, namely the creation of a "credit point system" (*Leistungspunktesystem*), however the ECTS was not explicitly mentioned (ibid, Art. 15). Besides that, the Fourth Amendment of the Framework Act abolished the system of national subject-specific curriculum frameworks (*Rahmenprüfungsordnungen, RPO*) (ibid, Art. 9). Instead, a system of accreditation should be established to replace the RPOs[86] and this task was entirely left on the responsibility of the *Länder*. Some months later, in December 1998, KMK issued a resolution outlining the main features of the accreditation system for Bachelor and Master programmes to be established. The accreditation system should be coordinated by one central accreditation council (*Akkreditierungsrat, AR*) and several decentralised accreditation agencies (KMK, 1998b).

In March 1999 the KMK issued another resolution, this time providing structural guidelines for the introduction of Bachelor and Masters degrees (KMK, 1999). Actually, it appeared as a detailed explanation on the new degrees, introduced by the HRG amendment and, among others, specified issues which were not regulated by the law, for example, the titles. Thus, the programmes which intended to be more "theory-oriented" (*stärker theorieorientiert*) should have been entitled as B.A./B.Sc.and M.A./M.Sc.; those with more practice-orientation (*stärker anwendungsorientiert*)—"Bachelor of [subject]" or "Master of [subject]" (ibid, §2)[87]. The new degrees were planned to be offered along with the traditional degrees, Magister and Diplom equalling to Master; the Diplom of the *Fachhochschule*—to Bachelor with honours (ibid, §4). The new Bachelor and Masters programme were declared

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[85]The disappearing difference between universities and *Fachhochschulen* has been articulated multiple times during my interviews with university professors.

[86]Factually, this was not explicitly mentioned in the Law, but in the official explanation of the amendment (Deutscher Bundestag, 1997: 19).

[87]With the later amendments of the "Structural Guidelines" (KMK, 2003b), the differentiation between practice and theory orientation became valid only for Master degree programmes and the degree titles were restricted to ensure "transparency and clarity" (see also section 4.2.5).

to be subject to modularization and specification in terms of credits (ibid, §4). The question whether the new degrees will later replace the traditional has been left to future considerations (ibid:2).

As Witte (2006) points out, the new developments in the German higher education landscape did not raise much disputes at that time, first of all because of the "trial" character of the innovations and because the universities were free to decide whether to implement the new degrees or not and to what extent. The introduction of Bachelor and Master programmes seemed to be optional, nobody would have imagined that time that in a couple of years the new degrees would become mainstream.

In June 1999, Germany, together with the other 28 countries, signed the Bologna declaration, thus committing to adjust its national policies to make the implementation of Bologna objectives possible, with the upper goal of creating a European Higher Educational Area (Bologna declaration, 1999; also see Chapter 3). However, this event did not affect directly the national policy formulation in Germany and it took some time before the official organisations, like KMK, and the Federal government started to refer to the Bologna process in their documents (Witte, 2006).

The Sixth HRG amendment in 2002 made the Bachelor and Master regular study programmes offered by the universities. So, officially, the trial period came to the end. However the amendment did not specify if a nationwide introduction has to take place on a mandatory basis and the deadline for completion of this process.

The amendment of 2002 stated that the new first-degree cycle should allow immediate access to the labour market. The legislation also stipulated that the standard period of undergraduate study shall be between three and four years (within a 3+2 or 4+1 framework).

Around this period and also in connection to the approaching Bologna follow-up meeting in Berlin, the debates on introduction of a cycled system began to gain momentum. Several organizations came up with position papers, mostly favouring the introduction of the cycled degree structure. The recommendations from *Wissenschaftsrat* (WR, 2000; WR, 2002) played a significant role. Some of its recommendations were later put in the basis of KMK structural guidelines. The recommendation concerned, for example, the organization of Bachelor programme, which should transmit "basic subject and methodological and social competences" for employment and future studies (WR, 2000:128); and entrance to the Masters programme, which should demand additional requirements besides the Bachelor degree. Moreover, the WR made recommendations that the state examination degrees (*Staatsprüfung*), ex-

cept medicine, also need to be converted to the cycled degree programme. Positive positions were also expressed by HRK resolution from February 2001 (HRK, 2001), where the Rectors conference expressed the possibility that the new cycled system in the future will replace the traditional one in all the subjects, where it is reasonable.

Surprisingly, the position of the German Employers Associations (*Bundesvereinigung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbnde, BDA*) was very supportive. In the memorandum on the "cycled degree system", the BDA expressed its appreciation of the Bachelor and Master degrees and the willingness to adjust to the new degrees (BDA, 2003).

In June 2004, the representatives of the leading German businesses came up with a declaration welcoming the cycled system (Bachelor Welcome, 2004). They expressed readiness to open attractive opportunities for Bachelor graduates and possibilities of development in managerial and specialist positions upon appropriate further training. Willing to cooperate with the universities, the leading German businesses posed also certain demands relating to the new degree quality, comparability and content.

The students expressed a somewhat "middle" position: on the one hand welcoming the new degree structure and the goals of better mobility and international recognition (fzs, 2002b). On the other hand, they criticised the way the Bologna objectives were implemented, especially the low student involvement. Their report to the Berlin ministerial conference was entitled "Failing Bologna" and, among others, criticized the limitations of access to the Masters level, the lack of information and lack of real curricular reform (fzs, 2003). Since the Berlin conference, German students got more involved into the policy formulation process. They also were included in the German Bologna Follow-up Group[88].

Criticism came from the association of university academics (*Deutscher Hochschulverband, DHV*) and the general Faculty conference (*Allgemeiner Fakultätentag, (AFT)*. They "warned" that an overall introduction of a two-tiered structure can lead to the loss of scientific quality (AFT, 2003a). Also the AFT criticised the accreditation system, which, they said, could not provide necessary level of quality due to the absence of appropriate quality standards (AFT, 2003b).

Debates started to gain momentum also in academic circles, the reflection of which were the articles that since then regularly appeared in the journal *"Forschung & Lehre"* (see for example: Müller-Böling & Rauhut, 2003; Grigat, 2005, 2008; Strat-

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[88]The National Bologna Follow-up Group comprised of the KMK, BMBF and HRK, representatives of the DAAD and since May 2004, students representatives(fzs) and the AR were also included.

mann & Kleimann, 2007; Nida-Rümelin, 2007; Stein, 2008; Herrmann, 2009; Winter, 2009; F & L, 2009; Gaehtgens, 2009; Reiser, 2009; etc.).

Finally, the KMK, appeared with a strong position paper, entitled *"10 Thesen zur Bachelor- und Masterstruktur in Deutschland"*[89] (KMK, 2003a), which later became the basis of more binding amendments of KMK specifications on the introduction of Bachelor and Master degrees in German universities, issued later the same year (KMK, 2003b). This paper was the first time in which the KMK explicitly articulated the commitment of Germany (on behalf of the ministers of education of the *Länder*) to implement the two-cycle study structure at German higher education institutions, as an important step towards the common European educational area, and mentioned also the deadline for achieving the mentioned goal—2010. In this paper the KMK further specified that the Bachelor degree should become a *Regelabschluss* (regular degree programme), leading to the labour market and admission to Master programmes. However, acceptance would still depend on additional requirements demanded by the HEIs.

The HRK responded to the KMK position paper with appreciation (HRK, 2003). In its plenary statement, the HRK made a recommendation, that the *Diplom, Magister* and *Staatsexamen* programmes in the course of time should be replaced by the Bachelor and Master. However, exceptions would be possible in the subject areas where the new degrees does not prove to be reasonable (HRK, 2003:5).

The third Bologna follow-up conference, which took place in Germany in September 2003 was hosted by the KMK and BMBF and had a significant role in the overall debate round Bologna in that respect, bringing the issue of structural transformations to the fore. The pressure of politics was obvious and it became clear, that the Bologna process will affect every single university.

In October 2003 the KMK undertook the third amendment to the "Structural guidelines" and issued ultimately more binding structural specifications (KMK 2003b). Unlike the HRG amendment of 2002, which only regulated a few basic points of the new degree structure, the KMK guidelines represented a framework for introducing the cycled study structure and outlined in details all aspects of introduction of the cycled study structure at German universities. Thus, the guidelines specified the length of the programmes: three to four year for Bachelor (180-240 credits), one to two years for Master (60-120); the type of Master programmes to be implemented:

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[89]10 theses to Bachelor and Master structure in Germany

consecutive, non-consecutive and further education programmes (*weiterbildende*); the differentiation of Master programmes according to the profile of being "more research oriented" and "more practice oriented". Bachelor programmes were prescribed to impart basic knowledge, methodical competence and job-related qualifications; admission to Master programme should be subject to admission requirements defined by the universities. The KMK guidelines also specify requirements for implementing a credit system, modularization, Diploma Supplement and accreditation.

By 2004, the Accreditation system was fully established (KMK, 2004) acquiring legal status in 2005 through the "Law on Establishment of the Foundation "Foundation for the Accreditation of Study Courses in Germany" (see sections 4.1.6 & 4.2.1). In April 2005 the HRK, KMK and Federal Ministry of Education agreed on a National Qualifications Framework for German higher education (*Qualifikationsrahmen für deutsche Hochschulabschlüsse*, which included also Doctoral degree, as a third level (see fig.4.4).
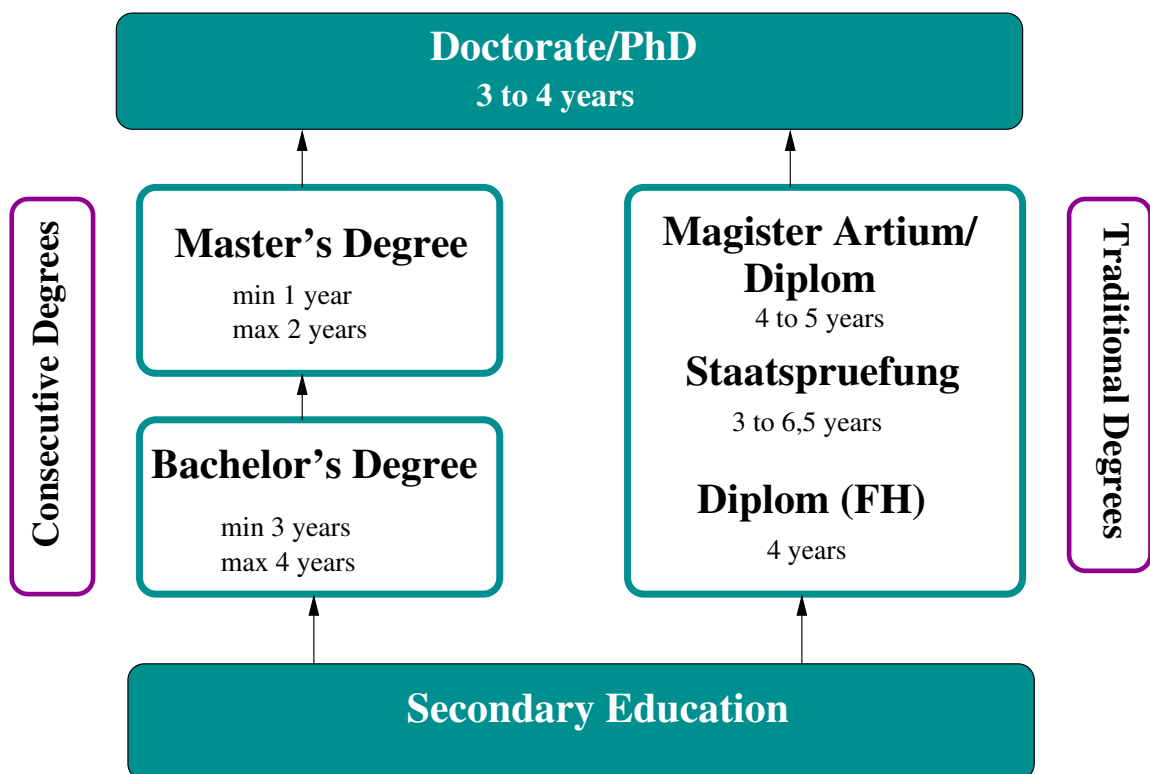

Figure 4.4: Qualifications at German Universities: Traditional and New Consecutive Degrees.

Despite the fact that the legislative and policy fields of implementation of the

Bologna process in Germany looks very optimistic— i.e. policies have been formulated on Federal, *Länder*, and HEIs level, grounded by the recommendations of major actors in HE policy making, such as WR, DAAD, etc.; laws have been adjusted to the needs of implementation of the consecutive study programme; appropriate structure have been created (such as accreditation agencies) to monitor the process—the debates on the cycled system did not cease and even grew with the realisation of the fact that the shift to a new type of higher education is unavoidable. This is also proved by the rapidly growing number of Bachelor and Master programmes and students studying at the new consecutive programmes (see fig. 4.2).

In an attempt to generalize, the actors involved in the debate can be divided into two main groups: those who are convinced of the new structure and promote it (mostly the policy makers) and those who are critical of it (academics: faculty and to some extent also students).

The first group, which, according to some scholars, is still in the minority (Huber, 2007:108), represents a significant driving force. This group is expecting positive results in terms of reduced funding and study duration; increased competitiveness and attractiveness of Germany as a study location; attracting more international students due to transparency of programmes offered; providing greater flexibility for students with modularization of the study, which should make it easier to interrupt their terms to fulfil family responsibilities or to study abroad; increased mobility on national and international levels and enhancement of lifelong learning through the credit system. Implementation of Master degree programmes at *Fachhochschule* provides the students with the opportunity to acquire an internationally recognised degree above the Diplom (FH).

The second group expresses discontent with the new structure in relation to a number of aspects. One of the them is, for example, the disappearing difference between the universities and *Fachhochschulen*. If the *Fachhochschulen* are allowed to introduce Master degree programmes, which would be designed similarly to university Master degrees, i.e. with more theory inclination or practical inclination, what would then be the difference between classical universities and universities of applied science?

Another important issue in the debate is the German notion of *"Bildung"*, the unwillingness to give up with the humanistic ideas of personality development and Humboldtian concepts of university.

The critics assume that instead of achieving the goals of the Bologna process,

the implemented structures conversely obstruct their realization, for example in the case of mobility or achieving coherence and comparability. There is also a danger that an unchanged degree course can be just "re-labelled" without the content of the new programmes actually having been restructured. This concerns, in particular, the Bachelor degree which is designed to be an independent degree, leading to a professional qualification and is not just a new name for the intermediate examination in a German Diplom degree course.

The criticism comes also from certain faculties. For example, Theology, Law and Medicine, where the Bachelor degree is considered unpractical and not appropriate.

Despite of the employers' appreciation in the official public debates, the professional communities seems to be hesitating to absorb the graduates of the new degrees, especially Bachelor graduates. The place of Bachelors in the public and private sector still remains rather unclear.

The students have expressed their discontent with the way the reforms are being implemented through nation-wide education strike, which took place in June 2009. They were protesting mainly against the tuition fees, which hinders the equal opportunities for students, demonstrating with placards like: *"Reiche Eltern für Alle"*[90] (Spiegel online, 2009). They criticized the rigid programmes and time limitations[91], the heavy workload, the exhausting number of exams, the pressure of performance and competition, which does not leave any space for personal choices and self-determined learning (GEW, 2009). On the nineteenth of June[92], during the meeting of the KMK, they protested in Berlin under the slogan "Block KMK—Fight Bologna!".

The reaction to the education strike from the policy makers was ambiguous: nobody wants to return to the times before Bologna. The advantages of the new degrees are obvious and indisputable. The Minister of Education Annette Schavan expressed it in the following way:

> "Es bestand Konsens, dass niemand zurück will in die Zeit vor
> Bologna. Niemand will die Abschaffung der Bologna-Reform. Wir haben

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[90]Rich parents for everybody.

[91]Another placard read: *"Ich bin mehr als vier Module"*—I am more than four modules (ibid).

[92]The symbolic date of the tenth anniversary of the Bologna declaration has been chosen intentionally.

gemeinsam über notwendige Korrekturen beraten"[93] (BMBF, 2009).

The same opinion was shared by the HRK president Prof. Wintermantel, who emphasized the obvious advantages of the new system: the students plan their studies better due to the modularized structure, the content of the study is checked for the relevance with the labor market which will ease the transfer to the job, the drop-outs in many subjects have decreased and the mobility of students has increased (HRK, 2009b).

According to official data, student mobility doubled compared to 1999, Germany is the third favorite country for the foreign students and the latest students survey showed that on the whole students are satisfied with the consecutive system (BMBF, 2009).

Whether this progress is the result of Bologna process or not—is a matter of heated disputes. As one can see the two "fighting camps" express sometimes precisely opposite opinions, having different expectations and making inverse predictions. The attitude of the German academic community will be analyzed in more details in the Chapter 6 on the case of the Friedrich Schiller University of Jena.

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[93]There is a consensus that nobody wants back to the times before Bologna. Nobody wants the abolishment of the Bologna reform. We have collectively discussed on the necessary corrections.

Chapter 5

The Armenian System of Higher Education

5.1 Historical Context

5.1.1 Sources and studies

Though there is no comprehensive literature on the history of Armenian school and pedagogical thought, there are a number of works on individual schools and leaders of the schools or prominent educationalists[94]. The synthesis of this separated data gives an opportunity to build a concept on the development of education and particularly of higher education in pre-Soviet Armenia. The works of Movsisyan (1958) and Sarafian (1978) (in English) represent a comparatively thorough outlook of the topic and were widely used to draw the historical part of the present chapter. Another source for the historical part was the extensive literature on the history of Armenia[95]

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[94]The majority of literature on the history of education in Armenia is available mostly in Armenian. These are for example [own translation of the titles, please find original writing in bibliography]: Movsisyan A. Kh., "Outlines from the history of Armenian school and pedagogy (10–15 century)", Yerevan 1958; Abrahamyan A.G., "The Bibliography of Hobhannes Imastaser", Yerevan, 1956 on the School of Ani; Voskanyan H. "Cloisters of Bardzr Hayk", Venice, 1951, on the School of Avag Cloister; Orbelyan S. "The history of Sisian region", Tiflis, 1910 on university of Tatev; Alpoyachyan A. "History of Armenian School", Kairo, 1946; etc.

[95]For example, the works of famous Armenian historians: Movses Khorenatsi (1913), Leo (1917), Pavstos Byuzand (1912) and most recent: Kurkjian, V.M. (2008), all entitled "History of Armenia".

and Armenian cultural heritage[96], which, among others, contain notions about the state of education in different time periods. The Soviet, post-Soviet, structural and legislative parts of the chapter are based on a number of papers by international organizations such as UNESCO (1998), UNESCO-IBE (2006, 2008), UNESCO-IIEP (2009), UNDP (2005 and 2007), World Bank (2004a and b), reports (e.g. Gabrielian, 1999; Varghese, 2009) and official governmental and ministerial documentation, such as Republic of Armenia, Law on Education (1999) and Law on Higher Education (2004), resolutions of the Ministry of Education, as well as scholarly descriptions of the Armenian educational system by native or foreign authors (Haroutounyan & Davtyan, 2006; Perkins & Yemtsov, 2001; Schmidt-Braul & von Kopp, 2007).

5.1.2 Early times and the Golden Age of Armenian literature

It is hard to define the time when formal education was introduced in Armenia. The historical records provide little information about the pre-Christian period, which is, to a degree, due to the absence of written language during this period. However, some historians assume that there were schools operating in the pagan temples educating the future pagan priests. Plus, the fact that the Armenian language was in full bloom at the time of the introduction of Christianity is a proof that intellectual classes existed in Armenia, at the courts and in the shrines of paganism, long before the Christian era (Sarafian, 1978).

Upon the adoption of Christianity as the official religion in 301 AD, King Trdat, under the influence and leadership of Saint Gregory the Illuminator[97], started a se-

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[96]The recent English language publications of Agop Hacikyan et al. (2005a, b & c) is worth mentioning. It represents a monumental three-volume comprehensive anthology of Armenian literature in English translation, shaping the entire historical, social and literary panorama of Armenia from the ancient times of oral tradition, through middle ages to modern times. Another important publication is the two-volume fundamental work, edited by Richard Hovhannisian (2004a & b), on the history of the Armenian people from ancient to modern times.

[97]Saint Gregory the Illuminator or Saint Gregory the Enlightener (Armenian: Գրիգոր Լուսավորիչ (Griqor Lusavorich), the founder and patron saint of the Armenian Apostolic Church (born ca 257 AD - died ca 331 AD) was a religious leader, whose missionary work brought and spread Christianity in Armenia (see for example Malan (1868); also chronicles of Agathangelos, (4th century), "History of St. Gregory and the Conversion of Armenia" available in English translation at http://www.vehi.net/istoriya/armenia/agathangelos/en/AGATHANGELOS.html, last retrieved 02.08.2009.

ries of educational initiatives, directed towards establishing of schools in a number of provinces (Movsisyan 1958, Sarafian, 1978). Some historians (Bastamyan, 1912; Movsisyan, 1958, etc.) argue on the purpose of education received at these schools. However, the general assumption is that the main goal of these schools was educating priests and ecclesiastics with the intention of dissemination of Christendom through the country. Syriac and Greek served as instruction languages. Education was financed by the state (from the King's treasury) while the spiritual leadership was provided by the church. Agathangelos, the fourth century historian, describes the initiatives as follows:

> "Trdat, the King, gave orders to gather together Armenian children from different provinces and different locations in the confines of Armenia to train them in the literary arts; he ordered also the appointment of faithful teachers for these children. Furthermore, he ordered the bringing together of some of the foul and pagan priesthood at suitable places in different groups and classes, and financed the education of all by royal subsidies. The plan was to separate them into two major groups, one group to study the Syriac language and literature, the other the Greek. And all at once, in a very short period, the sections of the country in which the people were savage-minded, sluggards and brutish, they all became scholars of the prophets, erudites of the apostles, the heirs of the Gospel, and not at all ignorant of all the Commandments of God."[98]

The creation of the Armenian alphabet in 405–406 AD by the eminent Armenian enlightener and teacher Mesrop Mashtots[99] had a crucial impact on the further development of Armenian language, literature, culture, historiography, the sciences and, of course, education. He and the Catholicos (supreme Patriarch) of Armenia—St. Sahak[100] (353-439) are considered the forerunners of the Armenian intellectual movement (Boyajian, 2007:201). Mashtots was much worried about Armenian students who travelled abroad to Assyria, Greece, Persia and Rome to acquire education, because it proved to be very expensive and did not pay off at the end. The burden of paying travel, lodging and stipends to students was on the shoulders of the state

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[98]Citation from Kurkjian, V.M, A history of Armenia, 2008:365.

[99]Saint Mesrop Mashtots (born ca. 360, Hatsik, Armenia [modern Mus, Turkey] died 440), monk, theologian, and linguist, who, according to tradition, invented the Armenian script in 405 and played a major role in founding Armenia's *Golden Age* of Christian literature (see e.g. Aghayan, 1986).

[100]Isaak of Armenia, also called "Isaak the Great", in Armenian Սահակ Պարթեւ (Sahak Parthev).

(Parpetsi 1908; Movsisyan, 1958). This proves the assumption, that education was prioritised and that there was an urgent need for educated people, if the state was ready to pay so much money for student mobility. Beside that, Mashtots was very conscious about the necessity to develop Armenia's own educational structures, which would promote scholarly culture and fill in the educational gap in the country. Thus, by an edict of King Vramshapouh, Armenian-language schools were established in a number of provinces, villages and cities. These were qualitatively a new type of schools—public or folk schools (Movsisyan, 1958; Sarafian, 1978).

The 5th century historian Ghazaros Parpetsi describes them as *"Dprocq Hotin usmac"* (Parpetsi, 1908:32), which means "schools educating people". Another 5th century Armenian historian, Movses Khorenatsi writes about these schools:

> "At that time Mesrop came with the alphabet of our tongue and, selecting clever and healthy children with nice voices and deep breath, by the order of Vramshapuh and Sahak the Great, established schools in all the provinces."[101]

Education in these schools was free of charge. The state financed the schools, providing dwellings, appointing teachers and directors, allocating salaries from the state treasury. One could distinguish two types of schools which were established and functioned at that time:

1. public schools for common folk, which had a mass character and provided first of all elementary knowledge, and

2. ecclesiastical Academy centers of higher education which were established at large monastic complexes.

Around that time, the culture of translation began to develop. Mashtots sent his students to Alexandria, Edessa, Amida and other educational centres of the time to study Greek and Syriac and to master the art of translation (Khorenatsi, 1913, Movsisyan, 1958). Mastots wrote and translated textbooks for schools. The translations of ancient authors such as the "Church History" of Eusebius, "The Life of St. Anthony" by Athanasius, works of Philo, Aristotle, Eucledis and others opened new

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[101]Movses Khorenatsi (5th century) "History of Armenia" (Patmutiun Hayoc), Chapter 54 "On Armenian, Georgian and Albanian scripts", p. 328. From http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/arm/mokhor/mokho.htm, on the basis of the edition Movses Khorenacvoy Matenagroutivnk, Venetik 1865. Last retrived: 12.08.09.

depths for development of all areas of the scientific thought, including philosophy, history, law, ethics, political and social thought, and literature. But above all, the most important was the Armenian translation of the Bible in the period of 410-414 AD. It was translated from Syriac and Greek by Mashtots and St. Sahak with assistance of his students. This translation has been named "the Queen of Translations" (Nersessian, 2001:7; Boyajian, 2007:199) for its accuracy and style of perfection and is one of the oldest translations of the Bible and the oldest Armenian book extant.

The translation of the Bible and ancient authors appeared crucial both for the development of Armenian as a literary language, enriching its lexicon and scientific terminology, and the rise of Armenian intellectual thought. The students, returning from their educational journeys, originated a new literature in Armenian, which was dominated by the Christian ideas[102].

Unfortunately, the *Golden Age* of Armenian literature did not last long. After the fall of the Arsacid (Arshakuni) dynasty (429 AD), Armenians lost their political independence, succumbing under the rule of Byzantine and Sasanian empires. Armenian public schools also ceased to exist, as every invader sought to establish his own schools, teach his own philosophy and impose his own religion (Movsisyan, 1958; Hacikyan et al. 2005a, Hovannisian, 2004b; Boyajian, 2007; Kurkjian, 2008).

Thus, through its history, the responsibility of educating the young generation fell upon the shoulders of the Armenian Apostolic Church. However the Church was able to educate only a limited number of people for leadership and first education became available to masses only at the beginning of the 20th century.

5.1.3 Middle Ages

In the seventh century, a breakthrough in the country's educational development happened in the school of Anania Shirakatsi. Anania of Shirak was a unique figure in early Armenian scholarship. He studied in Alexandria, Rome and Constantinople and was interested in mathematics and natural phylosophy. His books on arithmetic, astrology, calendar and pedagogical science enjoyed wide recognition and were used as textbooks, but most he is known for his "Geography" (*Ashkharhatsuyc*). Contemprorary researchers assume that the book was based on the earlier Greek original of Pappus of Alexandia (Thomson, 2004:222), which has been lost. However, the work

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[102]A number of ancient Armenian writings date back to the *Golden Age* and are marked by outstanding figures like Movses Khorenatsi, Pavstos Buzand, Yeznik Koghbatsi.

of Shirakatsi is enriched with a very detailed description of Armenia, the Caucasus and Persia. Immediately upon return home from his study journey, Shirakatsi established a school which dates to approximately the year 651 AD (see e.g. Hacikyan et al, 2005b:56). The school provided knowledge in grammar, arithmetic, star systems, astrology, geography and calendar science. Factually, he laid ground for the study of exact sciences in Armenia, having a big impact on future Armenian scholars. The Anania Shirakatsi school is also significant for its time in the respect that the period 500-800 AD is generally considered to be the dark age of mathematics in the West (see e.g. Bergamini, 1963; Teresi, 2003). Mathematical activity was preserved only in a few centres at the time, one of them being the school of Anania Shirakatsi, another is the Tychikos schools in Trebizond. As an educationalist, Shirakatsi emphasized the importance of teaching methods, and divided the teaching material according to age groups.

In the tenth to the eleventh centuries, a number of higher learning schools were functioning in different parts of historical Armenia: in Sanahin[103], Haghpat, Ani, and Karmir Vank. Students in schools of higher learning studied theology, philosophy, rhetoric, grammar, literature, art, as well as mathematics and astrology. A prominent figure of that period was Grigor Magistros (ca. 985–1059)—a linguist, writer and politician—one of the most educated and respected persons of the time. He founded a school of higher learning at the monastery of Surb Karabet in Taron, where he had his residence, but his name is also closely connected to the school of Sanahin. The distinguishing feature of medieval Armenian schools was their peripatetic character. When the leaders of the universities (*Vardapets*) moved to another location, their students, not wishing to separate from their teachers, followed them (Hacikyan 2005b:207).

Unlike other Armenian scholars, predecessors and contemporaries, Grigor Magistros was a layman. He believed in an encyclopedic education and in the principle of going from simple to complex. He organized the school according to Greek *trivium* (philosophy, rhetoric and grammar) and *quadrivium* (arithmetic, astronomy, geometry and music). Besides that, the school studies included biblical literature and classical mythology. He also emphasized the importance of mathematics, believing

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[103]The school of Sanahin was one of the most significant study centres of the time. Founded at around 966 by the order of Queen Khosrovanush, it has been functioning, with interruptions, up to the present. It had a large Library of manuscripts, some thirty of which still survive (Movsisyan, 1958).

that it leads the mind from physics to metaphysics (Hacikyan et al., 2005b; Cowe, 2004).

Hovhannes Sarkavag (1050-1129), who was the follower of Grikor Magistros, studied at the schools of Haghbat and Sanahin. After moving to the Armenian capital at that time—the city of Ani—he founded the higher school of Ani, where he taught theology, philosophy, grammar, mathematics, music and cosmography. He introduced *quadrivium* in his school and was one of the first to recognize the importance of experimentation in science (Hacikyan et al., 2005b; Hovhannisian, 2004a).

In the late eleventh century, a new Armenian state was formed in Cilicia—in the region of Asia Minor, which lasted almost three hunded years (1080-1375) (Atamian Bournoutian, 2004). This period is marked by the growing relations of Armenia to the Western Europe. The king Levon II (Rubenid dynasty), crowned 1198, looked at European institutions while establishing his kingdom and invited many French, English and German experts to take positions at the court, army and council (Boyajian, 2007). Some of the schools that were found in Cilicia through the twelve and thirteenth centuries were state-owned, financed from the state treasury, while teaching was entrusted to educated Europeans as well as Armenians. Literature and scientific thought flourished again and this period became known as the *Silver Age*, marked by the names of Nerses Shnorhali (1100–1173), Mkhitar Gosh (1130–1213) and Vardan Aygektsi (d.1250).

The growing secularization, which was characteristic for this period affected a number of areas. The Church was still very powerful, but criticized from progressive scholars, for example, Nerses Shnorhali , who discussed theological, social and political issues in his *Tught endhanrakan* (General Epistle) (Shnorhali, 1838). Secularization had an impact on the language, too. Classical Armenian—*grabar*—gradually became the language of the Church and the new diction became the so-called "middle Armenian", which could be comprehended by the common people.

Nersess Shnorhali was one of the most remarkable persons of the time. A poet, theologian, composer, pedagogue and publicist, he was the Catholicos for 7 years. He wrote didactic poems and riddles in middle Armenian (the spoken language of the time) to teach the children the alphabet and for diversion by ordinary people (see e.g. Movsisyan, 1958; Nersessian, 2001; Hacikyan et al., 2005b:392; Kurkjian, 2008:320-323). He is also known for his short didactic speeches and quatrains. These are a couple of them on learning and studying:

> "Consider the man your friend who slaps you in the face to impel you

to study, for you will surely reap the reward of such effort."

" Value learning and you will win the esteem of everyone."[104]

During this time many monasteries became centres of higher learning and homes of poets, philosophers and scholars. The organization of studies in these centres was quite similar to European universities, the only difference was that the language of instruction was Armenian instead of Latin. These institutions taught the seven liberal arts, with arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy receiving special attention. However, the Armenian universities lacked the stability of their European counterparts, because of the political turmoil of the region.

During the reign of Rubenid and Hetumid[105], who were big supporters of scholarship and arts, Cilicia got the reputation of being a "land of philosophers and lovers of learning", where both women and men could read and write (Hacikyan et al, 2005b:207).

The two medieval Armenian universities, whose fame spread beyond the borders of the country, were the Universities of Tatev and Gladzor, which were referred to as "second Athens and the capital of all learning" (Sarafian, 1978:118).

The University of Gladzor was one of the most celebrated study centres in medieval Armenia. It was founded by Yesayi Nchetsi (1260-1338)—an illustrator, teacher, philosopher, grammarian and rhetorician—as a monastery school of Aghberts in 1281. In manuscripts it is referred to as Gladzor university since 1291. Its 700th anniversary was commemorated by UNESCO in 1984. The university had three departments: of inner and outer studies; of manuscript writing and miniature painting; and the department of music. It was especially famous for its miniature paintings. The courses at the university lasted from seven to eight years and both sacred and secular disciplines, which corresponded approxamately to *trivium* and *quadrivium*, were taught. The university had its own statute, confered degrees and held graduation speeches. In its fifty years of existence it produced about 360 graduates (Movsisyan, 1958; Hovsepyan, 1942).

The monastery of Tatev, founded in 895, got university status in 1390 through the efforts of Hovhan Vorotnetsi (1315-1386), who restructured the monasery's educational foundations to the needs of higher learning. The Tatev university encompassed

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[104]Cited in Hacikyan et al, 2005b:394

[105]The Hetumids became the successor of the Rubenid dynasty through the daughter of Levon II—Queen Isabella of Armenia who married Hetum I, and ruled Cilicia from 1226 to 1373.

once five hundred monks, scribes, students, musicians and painters. It became the center for Armenia's most eminent philosophers and polemicists. It was financed by the Orbelian noble house and the church government of Syunik region. The studies comprised a variety of areas, including philosophy, theology, grammar, as well as translation techniques, mathematics, natural sciences, medicine, architecture and music. Grigor Tatevaci (d.1409), a scientist, philosopher and educator, who left a large legacy of written works, including many pedagogical writings, undertook the duties of the leader of the university after the death of Vorotnetsi. In didactical aspect, Tatevaci emphasised the distribution of learning material according to the age of the students, believing that the education should start at the age of six and should proceed from simple knowledge to gradual complex study. The period under his leadership marked the peak of the development of Tatev university. However, the active functioning of the monastery as a university was limited after his death in 1410 and completely ceased in 1435 (Orbelian, 1910; Alpoyachyan, 1946, Movsisyan, 1958).

Some common features of Armenian medieval universities can be outlined in the following. First, their success and quality greatly depended on the leader of the school—the *Vardapet*. Several of the schools even ceased their active functioning upon the death of the leader. Second, the universities were characterised by a kind of mobility: in cases, when *Vardapets* moved to other monasteries, their schools migrated with them and, as a rule, they were followed by the crew of their students. Then, the studies at the universities comprised more or less the same disciplines of *trivium* and *quadrivium* with minor deviations. Finally, the scientific degree conferred was *Vardapet*[106] (literally: head teacher) which can be equaled to a title of Doctor (of Theology or Philosophy), or Archimandrite. There was a certain procedure which promoted the person to the rank of *Vardapet*. The student should have demonstrated the level of his knowledge to two or three *Vardapets*, despite the fact that his training was headed by only one *Vardapet*. The manuscripts, preserved form the university of Gladzor, reveal, that at this university there was a developed system of conferring the degree, which ended with a formal ceremony. The title of *Vardapet* was conferred by the leader of the university upon an official oration, which dealt with specific theological or philosophical themes, and was attended by other faculty members as well as students, clerical and lay dignitaries. Those who got the title, obtained the right to teach (Mathews & Sanjian, 1991:23; Thomson, 2000:43).

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[106]This title also was given to celibate priests of the Armenian Church.

By the end of the fourteenth century, with the fall of the last Cilician King Levon V, who was not able to withstand the invasion of Mamluks, the glory of Cilicia and the Armenian medieval scholarship, vanished. After three centuries of sovereignty and prosperity, Armenia again became a battlefield and the scene of turmoil and bloodshed. In the next two centuries the Ottoman and Persian empires struggled for a land which belonged to neither of them and extremely devastated it[107]. Towards the end of fifteen and the entire sixteen century the famous educational centres fell into obscurity.

5.1.4 Developments between seventeenth and twentieth centuries

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, due to the endless wars and the unstable political situation in the region, the migration of Armenians to the different parts of the world became more frequent. Ironically, the biggest centres of scholarly activity in the next centuries opened and operated outside the Armenian proper.

The first Armenian printed book was issued in Venice in 1512. It was a collection of prayers and incantations for healing the sick, entitled *Urbatagirq* (Book of Fridays), and was followed by other five publications of religious nature. Later (mid-1630), an Armenian printing press was set in Constantinople (1568), Rome (1584), Lvov (1616), New Julfa[108] (1638), Livorno (1670) and Marseilles (1673) (Hacikyan et al. 2005b:646). An Armenian publishing press in Amsterdam (established 1660) is noteworthy because it published a number of non-religious books and the first publication of Armenian Bible (1666)[109]. In Armenian proper the first printing press was established in the Holy See of Etchmiadzin[110] in 1771 by Catholicos Simeion Yerevantsi.

However, despite the hardship, learning and scholarship was revived in the seventeenth century in a number of monastic schools, often referred to as universities

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[107]During the period from 1512 to 1746 there were eleven wars between the Ottomans and the Persians on Armenian soil, resulting in depopulation and devastation (see e.g. Hovhannisian, 2004b; Kurkjian, 2008).

[108]Or Nor Jugha, an Armenian settlement in Isfahan, Iran.

[109]The first published Bible was based, with some additions, on the Bible of King Hetum II of Cilicia, dating back to the year 1295.

[110]Armenia's spiritual centre, the residence of Catholicos of all Armenians.

(Bardakjian, 2000:47), two of them, the monasteries of Khndrakatar and Amlordi (or Amrdol), located in Baghesh[111], gained relative prominence. Some scholars trace the origin of the learning tradition in these monasteries to the students of Grigor Tatevaci (Akinian, 1952). Many of the old manuscripts of early Armenian historians survived only in the copies made in the monasteries of Baghesh. Another type of learning centre which gained momentum during this period were hermitages. The Great Hermitage of Syunik was founded near Tatev in 1610, in the following years similar Hermitages appeared in Hovhannavank, Etchmiadzin, Sevan and elsewhere. The Amenaprkitsch monastery in New Julfa, founded in 1630, had a scriptorium, a library (which still exists) and a printing press, the first in Iran.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Mkhitar Sebastatsi, an Armenian monk, founded a Catholic order—*Mkhitarean Miabanutyun*—in Constantinople, which in 1717 moved to the islet of St. Lazarus in Venice. The order, with a branch in Vienna (established 1811), has since become one of the biggest centres of Armenian scholarship and still exists up to this day. Its input into the development of Armenian culture and scholarship is invaluable. The original idea of Sebastaci was to establish a centre to bring a religious and cultural revival among the Armenians, through periodicals, printing, translations, research of Armenian language, literature and history (see e.g. Langlois, 1874). But the influence of *Mkhitareakans* was much more thorough, and, according to historians, stimulated change and progress in Armenian realities in the eighteenth century and appeared as a forerunner of the Armenian intellectual revival in the nineteenth (Hacikyan et al, 2005c:50-56). Education has been one of the first priorities for the *Mkhitarists*, and a number of academies were opened first in Europe, then in other continents (in Venice, Padua, Paris, Aleppo, Buenos Aires, Los Angeles). The one in Venice became (and still remains) one of the most prominent centres of Armenian studies, that hosted also well-known European men of letters, among them, Lord Byron, who for some time lived in St. Lazarus, where he studied Armenian under the tutorship of one of the *Mkhitarist* fathers (see e.g. Djanachian, 1961).

In nineteenth century, as a result of Russian-Iranian wars of 1804-1813 and 1823-

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[111]Presently Bitlis, in eastern Turkey.

1828, some provinces of Armenia came under the control of Russia[112], thus Armenia was divided into Western Armenia (under Turkey) and Eastern Armenia (under Russia).

In the "Russian" part national schools were soon opened though a set of regulations enacted by the Russian Tsar Nicholai I (the so called *Polozhenie*), which granted autonomy to the Armenian church and, among others, allowed the establishment of Armenian schools under the supervision of the Church. Though the *Polozhenie* brought a kind of religious, educational and cultural autonomy to the eastern Armenians, its real purpose, by the assumptions of some historians, was to serve as a political tool for the goals of the Russian Tsar (Bardakjian, 2000:149; Hacikyan et al, 2005c:11).

Other two big centres of learning were established in Moscow and Tiflis[113]. The Lazarian Academy in Moscow was founded in 1815 by the Lazarian family— educated Armenian businessmen from New Julfa. Originally it offered the full programme of Russian gymnasium, but later it developed into the centre of Eastern and Armenian studies, becoming an attractive research centre with a rich library and its own printing press. It was closed in 1918 with the arrival of communists.

The Nersissian Seminary in Tiflis was founded in 1824 by the archbishop of Tiflis— Nerses Ashtaraketsi (1770-1857). Despite having religious courses, the school had a secular character and a diversified curriculum. Among its students and faculty there were some of the most liberal-minded political activists, such as Khachatur Abovian and Stepan Nazarian. It was open until 1925.

On Armenian proper, a school which deserves special attention, is the *Gevorgian Chemaran* (Gevorgyan Seminary) of Etchmiadzin, founded by Catholicos Gevorg IV in 1874. The Gevorkian Seminary was designed to train teachers and prepare students for the priesthood, incorporating, among others, such subjects as the science of education, psychology, logic and philosophy. Over the course of time, the study at the Seminary resembled more a lay college and later it became a hotbed for political activism. The Seminary operated until 1917 and was temporarily closed because of

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[112]In 1828, by the Treaty of Turkmanchai, the regions of Yerevan and Nakhijevan were integrated into an administrative unit called the Armenian Province. Earlier, by the treaty of Gulistan, the Armenian khanates of Ganja and Artsakh (Kharabakh) were already incorporated into Russia. Thus almost all the eastern Armenia, separated by the river Araks from its western part, came under the control of Russia (see e.g. Nersissian, 1972).

[113]The official name of Tbilisi before 1936.

political situation in the country. There were several unsuccessful attempts to reopen the Seminary in the next years. During the Soviet rule, the Seminary was raided and closed down by the communist government and the manuscripts of the Church were given to Matenadaran—the ancient manuscript repository, which also hosted the Seminary in the period between 1945 and 1991. After the collapse of USSR, the old building of the seminary was returned to the Church and the Gevorgyan Seminary reopened. Since 2002, by the decree of the Ministry of Education of Armenia, the Gevorkian Seminary was granted a status of a Religious University.

In "Turkish" part, Constantinople and Smyrna became the cultural, political and intellectual centre of Armenians. The first Armenian school in Constantinople was founded by the efforts of Cathalicos Hovhannes Kolot in 1715. Its main purpose was to educate seminarians but the curricula also included philosophy, literature and the natural sciences (Hacikyan et al, 2005c). Later, a number of schools for boys as well as girls were founded in Constantinople, Karin (Erzrum), Van, Kharberd and elsewhere. In 1865 there were forty-six schools with over 5500 students in Constantinople alone (Siruni, 1987:310). These were mainly secondary-level schools. Several schools also opened at lycee and college level, for example boys' Rober College for boys (1840) and Home School in Constantinople for girls; Euphrates College (1878) in Kharberd was a prestigious institution with a rich wide-ranging curriculum; the College of Marash for women, and the Theological Seminary at Ayntap (1855). Unfortunately these schools lived and functioned only until the 1915 genocide, when most of the teachers were killed or deported and the buildings were destroyed. The genocide of 1915 brought the dynamic cultural atmosphere in Western Armenia to an abrupt end.

In these Western and Eastern cultural centres the revolutionary movements gained momentum in the second half of the nineteenth century, bringing a cultural revival, named as *Zartonk* (Awakening). The Armenian intellectuals, who have studied abroad (in Russia and Europe, particularly Germany, Switzerland and France), were influenced by revolutionary ideas, which were sweeping across Europe and were fueled by a longing for an autonomous homeland. Imbued with new ideas and ideals, they were trying to reaffirm their national identity, also through education, by instilling the knowledge of their past, as a nation, and of European revolutionary concepts among common people. As a tool to reach the general public, Armenian newspapers were founded and published in different parts of the world, one of the most successful was the *Arevelian mamul* (Eastern Press)—a strong proponent of democratic ideology—issued in Smyrna and edited by Matteos Mamurian (1830-1901).

The educational revival denoted a new era for Armenian literature, as well as, the Armenian language. Until the nineteenth century classical Armenian (*grabar*) was the language of religion and scholarship. During the Cilician period a number of literature was written in the so-called "middle Armenian", which became the formal language that could be comprehended also by common people. However, after the fall of Cilician Kingdom, the "middle Armenian" dispersed into dialects and *grabar* once more confirmed its position. The nineteenth century witnessed development of a modern literary Armenian (*ashkharhabar*). However the modern Armenian, too, became divided into Western Armenian (based mainly on the dialect of Constantinople) and Eastern Armenian (based on the Ararat dialect) (Bardakjian, 2000; Oshagan, 2004b, Hacikyan, 2005c, Boyajian, 2007).

5.1.5   Foundation of modern universities

Armenian statehood was reestablished after an interruption of about six hundred years when the independent Republic of Armenia was proclaimed on May 28, 1918. The young republic was experiencing grave political and economic problems trying to cope with the consequences of the Armenian Genocide and widespread famine and deprivation among its citizens. However, the education was on the priority agenda and the first university was founded on May 16, 1919.

A number of Armenian specialists, among them prominent scholars, were returning from different parts of Russia, Europe and the United States to take part in the construction of the Armenian state. Their efforts were directed towards the reorganization of the legal system, introduction of a national currency and budgetary system, development of an educational system, based on universal secular education, which would include elementary, secondary, advanced technical training and higher levels of education (Herzig & Kurkchiyan, 2005:101).

With the foundation of the Armenian National University (later renamed into Yerevan State University), the university life was revived after an interruption of several centuries. At the beginning the university consisted only of one faculty, the Faculty of History and Linguistics with 262 students and 32 lecturers[114]. In the first decade it expanded with the faculties of Biology, Oriental Studies, Technical Studies, Pedagogical studies, Soviet Industry and Medical Faculty. Later, with the

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[114]From the official web-site of the Yerevan State University: `http://www.ysu.am/`, last retrieved on 27.07.2009.

development and diversification of the specializations provided by the university and formation of new faculties, some of them separated from the university and formed autonomous institutions of higher education: for example, those of pedagogy (in 1934) and medicine (1930).

The foundations of contemporary higher education in Armenia were laid down during the first years of the first Armenian Republic (1918–1920) and subsequently developed in the Soviet era. In 1920, school was separated from the church and became secular. With the formation in 1922 of the Soviet Union, the Armenian educational network was included in the all-union educational system and, as a constituent part, shared in its characteristic strengths and weaknesses. In 1920–1930, a strategy towards the elimination of mass illiteracy was implemented throughout the USSR. A transition to compulsory primary (in 1930s) and secondary (in 1960s) education was realized. Extensive constructions were undertaken to provide school and university buildings.

During the years of Soviet power the whole system of education was state-owned, including: pre-school, vocational, secondary vocational and higher education subsystems. The level of education in Armenia allowed to develop activities and research in the fields of hydro-energy, nuclear energy, radio-electronics, machinery production, precise machine-making, laser technology, biochemistry, microbiology, light and heavy textile industry.

The Soviet system of education had a number of characteristic drawbacks shared by all the republics. The education sector had a strong ideological-political orientation and was strictly centralized. The authoritarian methods of administration left no room for any kind of autonomy. The education in the institutions was carried according to unified educational plans and methods throughout all the USSR republics. The standardized content of education did not take into account national peculiarities, traditions and culture. There was a unified approach to all the students, referred to in post–Soviet discussions as *"uravnilovka"*[115] (gray-out), neither the students abilities, nor their likes or dislikes were taken into consideration. There were no opportunities for alternative education.

Beginning from 1988, due to the social and political events, which affected all the spheres of life in the country, the education sector underwent massive transforma-

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[115]Gray-out or levelling was characteristic of many spheres of life, including wages, work opportunities, personal growth (see e.g. Lane, 1992).

tions. The first heavy blow to education was the earthquake in 1988 December which destroyed or half-destroyed 277 schools and 245 kindergartens and several higher and technical school buildings (UNESCO-IBE, 2007:2). The collapse of the Soviet Union, the conflict of Nagorno-Karabakh, which resulted in war with Armenia's eastern neighbour Azerbaijan, the blockade imposed by Azerbaijan and Turkey and the energy crises contributed to a sharp economic decline in Armenia. The political changes, the budget deficit and lack of resources also had very negative impact on education.

A number of fundamental changes appeared unavoidable after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The schools and universities that used Russian as the language of instruction began to teach in Armenian. The teachers were not prepared for that and this fact had a negative impact on the quality of education. Then, the Soviet Armenia, like other republics in the USSR, had a system of state employment of the graduates of vocational and higher education. After the shift to market economy, this kind of system was not possible to maintain. The ties between the educational institutions and the labor market were broken and finding employment became the responsibility of graduates and not the state.

Trying to cope with the enormous cuts of state funding in higher education, the tuition fees were introduced in state HEIs alongside free education. A number of private higher education institutions started to emerge and absorbed around 15% of students (ibid).

Through the years of transition, the educational system in Armenia has undergone significant transformations trying to update and renew the curriculum to adjust to the demands of the market economy and adapt to the new social, economical and political situation.

At present, the educational system is exposed to the new wave of reforms brought to Armenia by the Bologna process. Armenia joined the Bologna process in May 2005 in Bergen. Educational authorities and policy makers recognize the importance of participation in the creation of European Higher Education Area by 2010, convinced that the cooperation and exchange between Armenia and Europe in the educational sphere will facilitate the process of reformation and advancement of Armenia's higher education system.

5.2 The Structure of the Higher Education System in Armenia

5.2.1 Legislative basis and general objectives of higher education in Armenia

The higher education sector of the Armenian educational system includes different types of institutions of higher education, entitled as universities, institutes, academies and conservatory and qualifying for a profession. The high schools of Armed Forces and Police are also included in the higher education sector and are regulated by the Law on Higher and Postgraduate Education, as well as other Laws that concern their area of activity.

The *Constitution* of the Republic of Armenia entitles every citizen to have a right to education, which should be free of charge in state secondary educational institutions. Every citizen can also obtain higher or professional education at state HEI or other institutions of professional education free of charge on a competitive basis[116] (RA Constitution, 1995, Article 39).

The legal basis of higher education in Armenia is provided first of all by the *Law on Education*, adopted in April 1999, which defines general principles of the educational system in Armenia, specifying the responsibilities of the government, the Ministry of Education and educational establishments. Among others, the Law on Education entitles the university teaching faculty, researchers and students with academic freedoms to teach and study, carry research and participate in elections of university administration, as well as discussions related to all the activities of the university. The student body in the governance of higher educational institution should compose not less than 25 % (Law on Education, 1999, Article 28). The Law on Education also regulates the establishment of branches of foreign educational institutions and their activities in Armenia,

The specific aspects of higher education are defined by the *Law on Higher and Postgraduate Professional Education*, adopted in 2004. The law determines the principles for acquisition of academic and professional qualifications and degrees, the scope of the autonomy of higher education institutions, characterized by academic

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[116]The tuition free places are limited. Those who get the highest grades at the entrance exams receive scholarships, the less successful applicants could be admitted, but must pay tuition fees.

freedoms and self-governance, as well as the responsibilities of the state in the HE governance process. The Law on Higher and Postgraduate Education also defines the rights and responsibilities of the faculty and students; the legal grounds for the establishment, reorganization and liquidation of higher education institutions; the admission procedures; the basic requirements of study organization and study programs; the principles of evaluation and registration of study programs as well as the principles of higher education institutions accreditation and financing. The law outlines the system of state order placement and the system of scholarships and student loans. Further, the law foresees reforms in relation to the shifting to a two-cycle degree system, in accordance to the Bologna process, also providing definitions of the new concepts in Armenian higher education, such as "quality assurance", including the definitions of "quality", "quality provision", "quality improvement", "self-evaluation", "accreditation" and the "credit system", "institutional autonomy" and "academic freedom".

Another legislative document, which regulates the status of HEIs as organizational entities is the *"Law on State Non-Profit Entities"* adopted in October 2001. It regulates the procedure of establishment, reorganization and abolishing of higher education institutions, as well as their administration and financing principles. It entitles the HEIs to be regulated by the statutes of the individual HE institutions. The statute of a higher education institution is a legal act regulating its activities. The statutes of state and non-state higher education institutions and their amendments must be approved by the Ministry of Education and Science.

Other important documents regulating the tertiary sector in Armenia are: the *Regulations of Licensing and Certification of Higher Education Institutions*, the *General Regulations of Awarding Scientific Degrees and Academic Titles* and *Law on Scientific and Scientific-Technical Activities*. General requirements to the content of higher education are established by the Higher Education Standards, validated with a decree of the Government.

As stated in the Law on Education, the main state educational policy is directed towards the promotion of humanistic nature and common human values in education; free and well–rounded development of the individual; education in citizenship and patriotism; ensuring accessibility of education and its secular character; provision of diversified educational forms and management of a democratic educational system (Law on Education, 1999, Article 5). The Law on Higher and Postgraduate Education adds to the policies the points related to the on-going Bologna process: provision of

competitiveness, transparency, compatibility of education in Armenia with those in European and other foreign countries; promotion of student and staff mobility and autonomy of universities (Law on Higher and Postgraduate Education, 2004, Article 4).

The Law on Education defines the mission of higher education as follows:

> "to prepare and retrain specialists of higher professional qualification, to reply to the needs of an individual for an educational development building on general secondary or vocational secondary education" (Law on Education, 1999, Article 24).

5.2.2 Higher education governance

State higher educational institutions in Armenia, as defined by the Law on Education and Law on Higher and Postgraduate Education, are under the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Science. Some of them, like the State Medical University and Armenian Agricultural Academy, are reportable also to the system of the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Agriculture. All universities are coordinated by the central government. The higher education system in Soviet Armenia was highly centralized and strictly controlled by the state. In post-Soviet Armenia, the educational policies are directed towards the promotion of decentralization and confining the state to general supervisory functions. However, it still remains one of the most regulated spheres (Sargsyan & Budaghyan, 2004a:4). At present, the right to main decision making within the academic community is mostly reserved to the institutions of higher learning. They are autonomous in determining the main spheres of activity, adopt budgets and supervise execution thereof, introduce new majors and upgrade the existing ones, adopt curricula and teaching methods. Rectors and deans are elected by the academic community of each institution instead of being appointed by the Ministry as was the case in the Soviet Armenia.

The *Government* of the Republic of Armenia issues a state order defining the student quota depending on the course and on the institution, as well as available funding. The higher education institutions can establish quotes for tuition free and tuition paying enrollment of students based on the total quotas for academic admissions allocated by the Government, providing unpaid education for at least 10% of the admission figure for each major[117]. The Government approves the state educa-

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[117]The issue is regulated by the Law on Education.

tional standards and their formation mechanisms; the fields of study and the list of specialties to be taught; the state order for higher education institutions. The *Ministry of Education* then defines state educational standards; issues licenses; forms the list of the specialties provided; develops the state order for colleges and universities; approves the admission rules for the state and private accredited higher education institutions and supervises their implementation. It also conducts state accreditation for the institutions and their programs irrespective of the organizational–jurisdictional and ownership form of the institution. The Ministry is responsible for the elaboration of state policy-related legislative acts, regulations, quality control and provision of appropriate conditions for the successful functioning of educational institutions, intellectual development of students with guaranteed knowledge and qualifications to international standards.

Within the Ministry, various departments operate to hold supervisory tasks in their scope of activities. Educational and training tasks are assigned to the Department of Higher and Secondary Education, questions relating to science sector—Department of Science, financial problems—Department of Finance, etc.

Special tasks and responsibilities of the Ministry are carried out by its affiliated agencies: the Research Institute for Education, the Research Center for Higher Education issues, the Institute of Pedagogy (former Teachers' Retraining Institute). These institutions are mandated to elaborate the principles of the state educational policy, the state standards, to develop curricula, new syllabi, textbooks, teaching aids and guides to set up licensing and accreditation criteria and procedures.

According to the Law on Education the state *higher education institutions* in Armenia are autonomous, non profit legal entities that possess, utilize and manage the property allocated to them according to their mission and policies developed by the founder (the government). The private higher education institutions can have any organizational-legal form provided by the law. The most important parts of the autonomy of higher education institutions are self-governance and corporate leadership. Higher education institutions can provide any commercial, research and development services provided it complies with their mission and can implement tuition-based education according to the regulations stated by the government. They independently define their budget and the usage of funds received from other non-state sources, including the size and amount of salaries and remunerations to be paid to the faculty and staff. The public funds received from the state budget constitute only a part of their overall budget and they, within very broad limits, are free to distribute these

funds internally at their own discretion, as long as the funds are used in line with the educational mission of the HEIs.. Higher education institutions are autonomous in determining main spheres of their internal activities, such as introducing new programs and upgrading the existing ones; adopting curricula and teaching methods. Higher education institutions are also free in organizing the educational process, choosing teaching and learning modes etc.

The Statute of a higher education defines the mechanism of formation of its governing bodies. The administering bodies of higher education institutions include the Council of Institution, Academic (Scientific) Council and the Rector. The Council of Institution is a corporate governing body and responsible for the overall management and organization of the higher education institution. Composition and membership of Council of the HEI is formed according to the regulations assigned by government. The Academic Council deals mainly with academic and scientific issues. Executive management of higher education institution is implemented by Rector, who is elected by the Council of Institution in an open competition process.

The members of the university administration are the rector, all vice-rectors, deans and heads of chairs, representatives of students, and academic and non-academic staff with certain electoral procedures.

The Scientific Council is the supreme collective body of the institution, which is composed on the basis of election procedure. It is a representative and decision-making body for all the population enrolled and employed by the university or institution. Deans, heads of chairs are elected by scientific councils.

The Faculty, or Department, Council and Dean's office are responsible for operational and educational activities within faculties. Professors and instructors are selected by faculty councils upon results of a preceding competition for vacancy posts. They sign employment contracts with the rector. The duration of the contract is usually not more than five years.

Chairs represent the first operational level functioning within faculties, they have methodological and discipline-oriented responsibilities and are accountable to the faculty council and the dean's office.

The academic and non-academic staff and students take part in the internal governance of institutions through their representatives in the Scientific Council and Faculty Council. In addition, there are trade union committees and Student Councils, which co-ordinate their activities with the university administration.
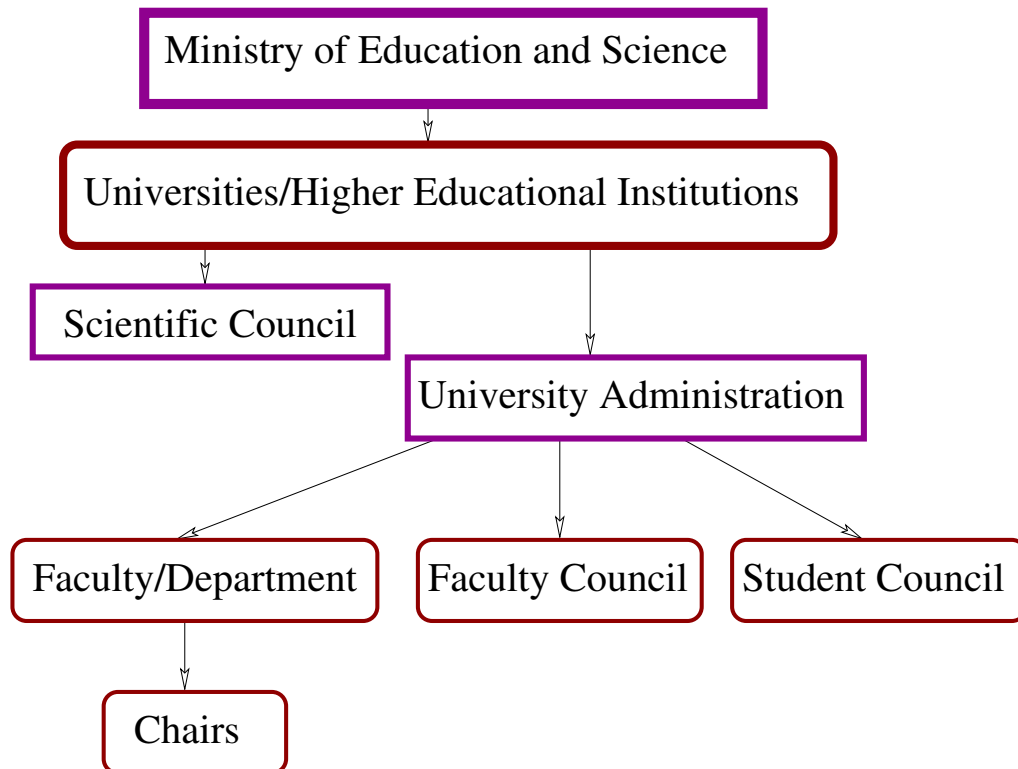
Figure 5.1: Coordination of Armenian Higher Education.

5.2.3 Types of higher education institutions

According to the data of national statistical office, in the 2008/2009 academic year there were 90 state and private higher education institutions with 12 branch campuses in Armenia, comprising total of 114,399 students, 53.5 % of which were women. The number of entrants counted to 27,657, the number of graduates was 26,107 (National Statistical Service, 2009:97).

The majority of students—89,573 in number—were studying in 23 state higher education institutions and their 12 branch campuses, while only 24,826 students were enrolled in 67 private HEIs (ibid:98 & 109). Despite the bigger number of private HEIs (which are almost three times as many as state HEIs), they do not enjoy popularity and are restricted in their capacities: both in terms of faculty/student involvement and disciplinary provision.

Non-state higher education institutions are totally dependent on tuition fees (90% of revenues), while state higher education institutions have more diversified sources of funding: the state budget (almost 30%), tuition fees (50%), and other sources (20%)

such as renting premises and Research and Development. During the academic year 2008/2009, 78 % of state HE students paid tuition fees, while 21,1 % of all state students were studying at tuition-free places, 97,6 % of tuition-free students received state stipends (ibid: 98 & 101).

The number of state higher educational institutions has increased for 14,2% compared to the level of 1995 (National Statistical Service, 2001 & 2008). Despite the economic and social crises that followed the independence, numerous private schools have been established; the number of state schools has also grown. However, this growth in the number of schools should not be considered a positive phenomenon, taking into account the efficiency of education in private schools with small student body and small departments.

According to the Law on Education and Law on Higher and Postgraduate Professional Education, the types of Higher Education programs and institutions are as follows.

For the higher professional education the following types of institutions are operational:

1. *University*—provides higher, postgraduate and continuing education in multi-disciplinary fields of natural sciences, social sciences and humanities, technology, culture, as well as provides opportunities for scientific research and research studies.

2. *Institute*—conducts specialized academic programs and scientific research in a number of scientific, economic and cultural disciplines on undergraduate and postgraduate levels. These are, for example, the Yerevan State Institute of Economy or the State Institute of Pedagogy.

3. *Academy*—an educational institution, activities of which are aimed at the development of education, science, technology and culture in a specialized field of study. The studies are conducted both on graduate and postgraduate levels. Such are, for example, the State Academy of Arts and the State Agricultural Academy.

4. Conservatory prepares specialists in the field of music, provides postgraduate academic programs, as well as continuing education programmes. There is only one Conservatory in Armenia, located in Yerevan with a branch campus in Gyumri.

Doctor of Science

Aspirantura (Candidate of Sci./ PhD)

Master's Degree	
	Diploma
Bachelor's Degree	
Junior specialist	

HIGHER EDUCATION

17
16
15

Grade 10		III level
Grade 9		II level
		I level

HIGH (SENIOR) SCHOOL   **TECHNICAL COLLEGE**

14
13
12
11
10

Grade 8
Grade 7
Grade 6
Grade 5
Grade 4

MIDDLE (SECONDARY) SCHOOL

9
8
7

Grade 3
Grade 2
Grade 1

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

6
5
4
3

Pre−school
Senior
Junior group
Nursery

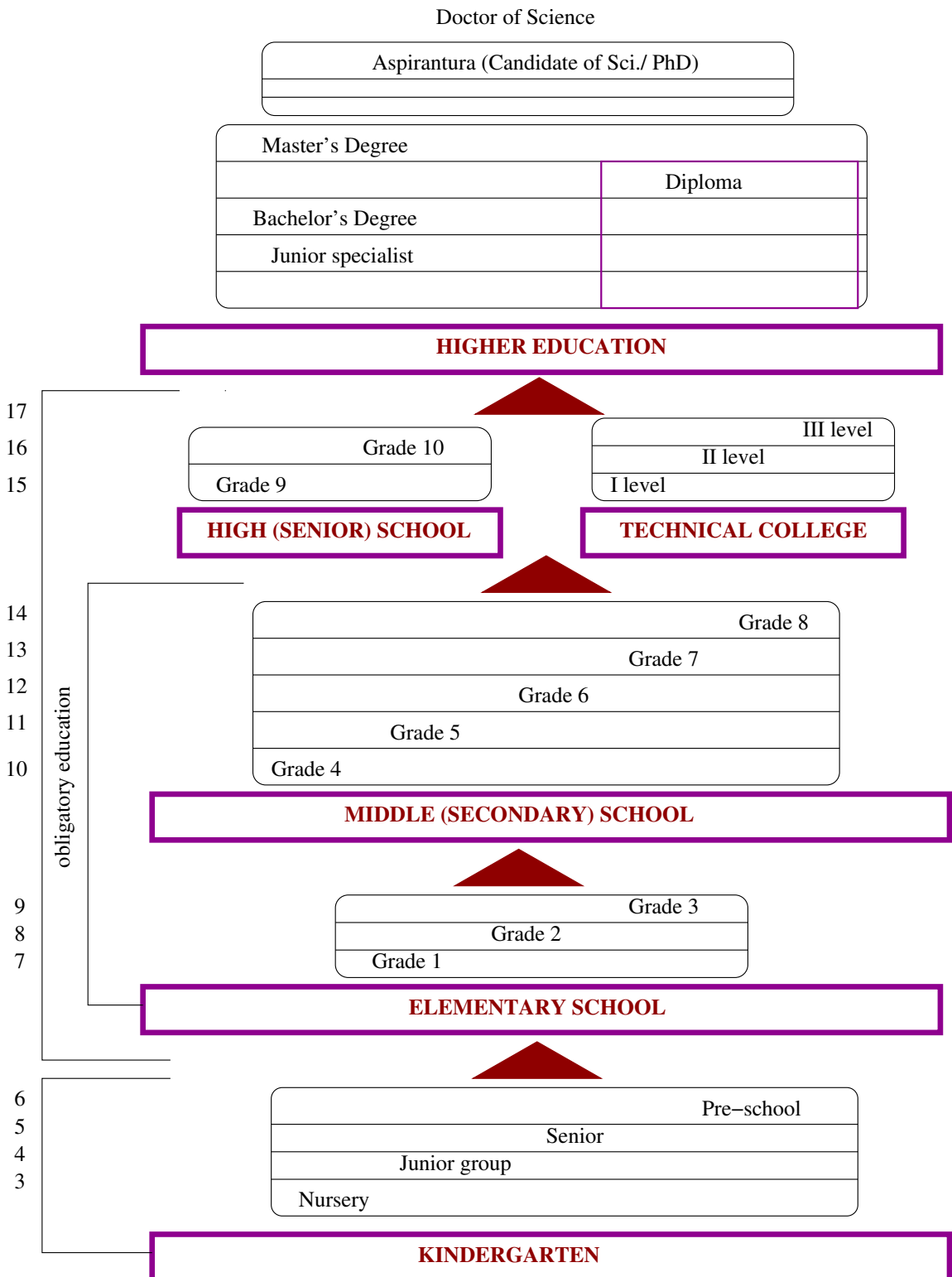**KINDERGARTEN**

obligatory education

Figure 5.2: The Basic Structure of Armenian Educational System.

The same regulation and requirements are stipulated by the Laws on Education and Higher Education both for state and non-state education institutions. All the higher education institutions are considered to provide a same level higher knowledge. However the prestige of state HEIs is much higher than those of private HEIs.

5.2.4 Access to higher education

To enter a higher education institution the applicant needs to hold an Attestat (*Mijnakarg Krtoutian Attestat*), which testifies a successful completion of 10[118] years of secondary education, or its equivalent from a vocational training institution or institution of secondary professional education.

The applicants need to pass the competitive entrance examinations in a number of areas, which are held every year by the Ministry of Education and Science. The most successful ones occupy the places of state order and do not pay the tuition fees. Instead, they receive a state stipend which amounts to approximately 10 euros monthly, which is not enough to cover any living or study expenses. Those who have insufficient scores may also be admitted on tuition-based places, if vacancies exist.

Despite the fact that access to higher education is quite open legally, students from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds are the most underrepresented group in Armenian HE (Sargsyan & Budaghyan, 2004b:19). This is due to number of reasons, not least financial. Although there is a tuition-free quota at all state HEIs, the competition for these places is very serious. The entry scores to tuition-free places are very high, if not the highest possible. In many cases the school graduates ask for private tutoring to better prepare for entrance examinations. Socially disadvantaged families can hardly afford to pay for private tutoring, thus the chances of children from low-income families to get tuition-free places are much lower than of those from middle and high income families. Also, the children from low-income families are more apt to leave the school after the 8th grade[119], some of them continue education at vocational training institutions. As statistical data shows, only 30 % of graduates from vocational education and training institutions are able to continue studies on higher education level in contrast to 70 % of school graduates (ibid:22). Finally, absence of appropriate student loan and scholarship mechanisms makes it very difficult

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[118]Recently, reforms have been undertaken also at secondary education level. There is a tendency to prolong studies at school up to 12 years, like in most systems in Europe.

[119]The compulsory education ends with the 8th grade of secondary school.

for economically–disadvantaged students to study at HEIs even if they are accepted at HEIs.

5.2.5 Degree structure and study organization

The old structure inherited from the Soviets comprised of five-year study programmes (in all the institutions of higher education except for the Medical University) and led to Diploma (Specialist Diploma). After obtaining the Specialist Diploma, which is formally equal to a Master's degree, post-graduate studies could be realized in Aspirantura[120] leading to the qualification of Candidate of Sciences (equal to PhD), which normally lasts three years.

The current structure of Armenian higher educational system is realized in accordance to the reforms outlined by the Ministry of Education and Sciences in the strategic plan for the Armenian higher education development (2001-2005) and declared by the Law on higher and postgraduate education from 2004.

The following degrees of higher professional academic qualifications are established:

The *Bachelor's* programme realized at higher educational institutions lasts at least 4 years (for medical professions at least 5 years) and leads to a Bachelor's Degree. Bachelors with high rating (that is GPA not lower than 4.0 on a 5-point grading scale) have the opportunity to continue education in magistracy[121].

The *Diplomized Specialist* programme lasts 5 years (in areas of art studies and physical culture at least 4 years) and leads to Diploma (so-called "Specialist Diploma" Degree). According to the Law on Higher and Postgraduate Education, starting from the academic year 2005/2006, the admission to higher education should be realized only on two-cycled programmes (Bachelor and Master), however those already involved in one-cycle Diplomized specialist programme will continue and graduate in this programme, which will be in place until the academic year 2009/2010. Also, certain majors in Art HEIs were allowed to keep the Diplomized specialist programme and specialist Diploma degree, accordingly (Law on Higher and Postgraduate Education, 2004, Article 26).

The *Master's* programme is more theory-oriented and stipulates fundamental and thorough education and the acquisition of knowledge needed for research work and

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[120] Aspirantura was the name for the department of postgraduate Studies.

[121] Division conducting Master studies.

self-education. Education in magistracy lasts at least 1 year (for medical professions up to 4 years). The graduates receive Master's Diploma and the right to continue studies in Aspirantura on terms of competition.

The *Researcher* programme (*Hetazotoghi tsragir*) is conducted in postgraduate divisions (aspirantura or internatura, ordinatura in Medicine) of HEIs as well as in Scientific-Research Institutions, which are under the supervision of the Academy of Sciences of RA. The following qualifications of the postgraduate professional education are established: Researcher and Clinical Resident (2 years), Intern (1 year). Only those holding Master's degree can be admitted to Researcher programme. Postgraduate study lasts 3 years and gives an opportunity for Master's degree graduates to acquire the necessary knowledge in order to conduct scientific-research work. After completion of the study and the defense of the dissertation the students are awarded the "Candidate of Science" degree equivalent to PhD. Some graduates, particularly in technical HEIs, who do not defend the PhD thesis and receive the degree of investigator (e.g. Engineer-investigator).

Doctoral Study (Doctorantura) lasts 2–3 years when researchers conduct independent research in one of the research institutions of the Academy of Sciences of Armenia. This leads to the defense of Doctoral dissertation and acquisition of the Doctor's Degree[122].

All the HEIs and programmes need to be accredited. The decree 372 of the Government of the Republic of Armenia foresees procedures aimed at licensing and accreditation of educational activities in the republic. The ground for accreditation is also provided by the Law on Education. All institutions, offering education, in Armenia require a license. The system provides equal opportunities for state and private institutions.

As for December 2006, 28 private universities have already been accredited and at 8 private HEIs only certain majors have been accredited. None of the state universities have apparently passed the state accreditation yet, as the process has been suspended due to difficulties related to the development and adoption of relevant criteria.

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[122]The Candidate of Science degree is equivalent to the German *Doktor* (PhD), while Doctor Degree equals to German *Habilitation*.

5.2.6 The grading system

The following grading systems are operational in Armenian higher education institutions:

The 5–point system comprises five levels: *"gerazanz"* (5) = excellent; *"lav"* (4) = good; *"bavarar"* (3) = satisfactory; *"anbavarar"* (2) = non-sufficient/fail. Other schemes of grading system include the 20–point system: 18–20 = excellent; 13-17 =good; 8-12 = satisfactory; under 8 = fail. Also, the letter grading system (A-F) is in use with the introduction of credit system.

The cumulative grade point average (GPA) of not less than 3.0 by the 5 point grading scale is required for obtaining a Bachelor's diploma. If it is lower than 3.0, the student is required to retake the failed exam. In order to be admitted for the Master's programme, one must have a GPA of undergraduate study not lower than 4.0.

The evaluation system is based on semester examinations which are supposed to assess the student's knowledge of the taken semester courses in a given subject. In case the examination is failed by the student, he/she has an opportunity to retake it twice. If the result is again unsatisfactory, he/she is required to retake the whole course. The semester examinations are also based on the 5 point grading scale.

5.3 The "Bologna" and Armenia: Beginning, Progress and Ongoing Debates

There are no other questions discussed so actively in academic circles today in Armenia as the educational reforms—the Bologna process and its consequences for the Armenian Higher Education. A country, which has a 1600 year old history of literacy, where the education has been always prioritized and the school has been the cornerstone of the nation's political and cultural survival and the incentive for national progress, is today back at the bottom of the ladder.

After the collapse of the central planning system the Armenian society inherited a distorted, inefficient and obsolete national economy. Fundamental reformations of the country's political and economic system became necessary to meet the needs of the changing world and respond to new economic conditions. Obviously in the educational sphere, too, the changes were inevitable. Armenia faced a problem of developing the national school and creating its peculiar system of education, which

will meet the needs of society. Through the years of transition the higher educational system in Armenia has undergone major transformations. On one hand, the system had to resist to the upheavals of transition: the multifold cuts of state financing due to the economic crisis, the poverty of the population and severe social polarization, dramatic drop in the labor market demand and, at the same time, it had to adequately adjust its educational system to the new social and economic conditions and allocate local resources effectively.

A number of reform processes which are in line with the present Bologna objectives started in Armenia in early 90s, long before joining the Bologna declaration. As early as in 1992, the State Engineering University and later the Yerevan State University (1995) and Armenian Agricultural Academy (1998) also decided to shift to the two-tier system aiming to reconstruct the higher education system in Armenia according to the university models abroad (Sargsyan & Budaghyan, 2007:18). At that time they took the experience of American colleagues and the American model of higher education served as an example for transformations. At the end of 90s, the European educational policy makers started to think about a common structure of educational system, which finally streamed into the Bologna declaration. Armenian universities, too, adjusted their policies in accordance with processes in Europe and the state development strategies were elaborated pertaining to the new developments with the far–reaching plans of joining the Bologna Process.

On the legal level, the Law on Education, adopted in 1999, already contained provisions for introducing a two-cycle degree system with the intention of promoting integration in the international educational system. The Law also contained description of state policies of the future development of higher education in Armenia, directed towards establishing a more democratic system, which will stipulate autonomy of educational institutions, academic freedom, universalism of education, strengthening the cultural and humanistic aspects in education, integration of the education sphere into other spheres, etc.

The Law on Higher and Postgraduate Education, which came up in 2004, outlined the main principles of functioning of higher and postgraduate education and provided concrete measures which were in line with the Bologna principles. Thus, the essential part of intended reforms mentioned in the document is related to integration into the European higher education scheme and international scientific systems. The transition to a two–cycle degree structure in higher education with qualification degrees of the Bachelor, Master and Researcher/PhD had been foreseen in the years

of 2005/2006, transition to ECTS in all higher education institutions of Armenia starting in the academic year of 2007/2008.

The State Educational Development Plan for the years 2001-2005 did not refer directly to the European developments, however it outlined some important aspects of educational development, such as:

- quality of education—making it meet the internationally accepted standards of education;

- creation and promotion of an education network through the new legal, economic, and organizational mechanisms;

- promoting the professional qualification and social protection level of the education specialists;

- introducing new technologies into the educational institutions;

- becoming a part of the international education community;

- revision of the structure and the content of general secondary and higher education;

- revision of the curriculum from the aspect of developing critical thinking, communication skills and promoting self-education in students, etc.

The first document which explicitly referred to the Bologna process was the Strategy of Higher Education Reforms, approved by Government in 2003. It provided a detailed analysis of higher education in Armenia with a reference to the Bologna six action lines, substantiating the strategic and educational importance of joining the Bologna process for Armenia.

In May 2004, the ministers of higher education of Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan expressed willingness to become members of the "Bologna family". Their applications were accepted and approved and thus, a year later, in May 2005 in Bergen, Armenia, together with the its neighbors—Georgia and Azerbaijan—officially joined the Bologna process.

Since then, the Armenian government has developed special policies related to the reform. For example, there is a timetable of activities, approved by the RA government (Government Decree, 2006, N 43-N), which contains directions on the implementation of the Bologna objectives and concrete deadlines for their realization.

A National committee on the Bologna process was established to coordinate the activities of the working groups, which are designed to work in each specific field of the Bologna process, such as the shift to the cycled system, implementation of ECTS, accreditation, quality assurance. Unfortunately there is no separate group that would be concerned with the issues of lifelong learning.

In May 2005 the National Information Centre for Academic Recognition and Mobility (ArmENIC), which became a part of the ENIC/NARIC network, was established. It is designed to promote the system of recognition of educational qualifications on international, national and institutional level.

A Licensing and Accreditation organization has been established in 2000 and is functioning under the supervision of the Ministry of education, which means that the accreditation process is still controlled by the state. The accreditation takes place on different levels: either the whole university or just a programme can be accredited. To get accredited, the HEI should comply with accreditation requirements such as: having appropriate technical and curricular base, appropriate library, and 80% of the graduates should pass special exams.

In the current stage of development of Armenia, the main role of education, as declared by politicians and educationalists, is to meet the need for creating a democratic and rule of law state and to comply with the international tendencies in economy and society. In a landlocked country such as Armenia, with limited natural resources the development of education and science is regarded as one of the ways out of the poverty and towards economic prosperity. At one of the meetings with teachers in the Aragatsotn region, the former Minister of Education and science, Mr. Levon Mkrtchyan, expressed the inevitability for reforms:

> "There is no alternative to the process of educational reforms in Armenia and unless we take this way we will miss the opportunity to be considered an educational state we were in the years of Soviet Union"[123].

The educational reforms, as reported by the ex-Minister at the annual ministerial account[124], are designed to increase the quality of education, which, in his opinion, is as a key factor of poverty reduction and socio-economical development in the Republic and a prerequisite for effective functioning of the system and equal accessibility for

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[123]In Noyan-Tapan News from February 7, 2007, http://mirror.nt.am/eng/news/07.02.2007/All/, last retrieved 16.07.2007.

[124]In Official News of the Government of RA from January 2, 2007.

the population to appropriate educational programmes according to their capabilities and ambitions.

Another expectation from the current reform is the struggle against corruption. In the situation when the living standards are extremely low, unemployment is very high and the higher educational institution are poorly funded by the state, corruption appeared to develop in all the spheres of education starting with admission exams and ending in bribes for the course works or a better mark. In such conditions the quality of education is at stake and the further progression of corruption could bring to incorrigible consequences for the whole system, especially with regard to the European integration.

> "There is corruption in Armenian universities",—said the ex-Minister.— "We're trying to fight against it with this process[125] and the students also have to get involved"[126].

Apparently the increased student participation in the educational matters is considered on the one hand as an effective tool in the struggle against corruption and on the other hand it is one of the state strategies towards compliance with Bologna objectives. As mentioned by the ex-Minister an open memorandum is planned to be signed by all the student organizations and individuals according to which every student can take part in the HE monitoring:

> "You can't fight against corruption with an axe and a cane",—says Mr. Mkrtchyan.—"This [the Bologna reform] is the only way"[127].

One of the positive consequences of the Bologna process is considered the creation of the national educational network in order to ensure the development and compatibility of Armenian education system with European standards and be able to integrate into the international educational network.

Despite the seemingly supportive legislative basis for the implementation of the Bologna process in Armenia, there are a number of problems of structural, legislative or conceptual nature.

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[125]The Bologna process.

[126]In 168 Hours Weekly News from December 24, 2006, The "Euro-remodeling" of the educational system, http://www.168.am/en/articles/3815, last retrieved 16.07.2007.

[127]Ibid.

Among others, higher education experts mention the lack of substantial and methodical support, difficulties with implementing the ECTS system, which are conditioned by the inherited rigid system of Soviet education (Sargsyan & Budaghyan, 2007:28). According to a number of reports, there is a definite need for legislative amendments and formulation or updating of the higher education reforms strategy to take into account the new development of the Bologna process.

Some experts mention the low-rating of Bachelor programme in comparison to Diploma and the re-labeling of the old degrees, i.e. that very often the one-cycle Diploma programme is just being "mechanically divided" (Sargsyan & Budaghyan, 2007:19) into Bachelor and Master degree without the necessary changes in curricula, thus becoming impossible for a direct output to labor market after the first cycle.

The problems, which are faced by the Armenian academic community, as well as their attitude towards the ongoing reforms will be discussed in more details in Chapter 7, based on the interviews of Armenian HE faculty and HE development experts.

Chapter 6

The German Academic Community and the Ongoing Reforms

6.1 Appreciation and Critique of the Bologna Process

> "Es ist also ein System, was den Schwächeren etwas bringt, aber die Stärkeren schwer behindert."[a]

> [a] "This is, thus, a system, which is advantageous for weak students and disadvantageous for strong ones."(extract from an interview)

The commitment to take part in the re-invention of the European higher education area for German universities means a fundamental restructuring of higher education system which affects not only the structure and content of study programmes, but also the concepts of the university organization that led the German university throughout the last two centuries. Exactly this point represents, according to opinions in academic circles, the biggest challenge for the German university, since the implemented reforms touch upon the foundations of the German idea of the university education, especially with regard to modularisation, shortened and labor-market oriented degrees and programmes. The main principles of the Humboldtian idea of

the university—(self)education through research (*Bildung durch Wissenschaft*), the academic freedoms: the freedom to teach and the freedom to learn and the central role of philosophy in the cultivation of the mature self-directed student—are believed to be endangered and yielding to more practical considerations of structured and economy-driven education.

Despite the fact that all the interviewees consider the goals of Bologna process very meaningful and important, there is more criticism than appreciation of the Process in the attitudes of academics. The criticism is directed both at the individual elements of the Process, as well as at the general character of its implementation, especially regarding the reorganization of study programmes.

> "Ich habe auch viele Kollegen getroffen",—tells a Dean of a faculty,— "die in ihren Fächern selber vor der Aufgabe stehen. Eigentlich alle beurteilen den Prozess sehr kritisch."[128]

> "<...> im Moment",—notes a university professor,—"wird der Prozess überall sehr kritisch beurteilt."[129]

It is believed that the European higher education system needs to be reformed on the one hand to further the European dimension of higher education as a corollary of the European integration process and as a way of promoting mutual understanding among European cultures and worldwide through strengthening intercultural and democratic competencies, while raising international competitiveness and worldwide attractiveness to be able to withstand the US rivalry in the global educational market.

> "It is a problem",—says a university lecturer,—"that, for example, the best European scientists move to the USA because their working conditions are better there and the level of research is higher. So the European university has to undergo a reform if it is to be as attractive as the American university."

The goals of bringing the systems to better comparability and transparency through introducing the tools for mutual recognition of degrees and diplomas, promoting

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[128]I have spoken to many of my colleagues, who themselves are confronted with the same task [reorganization of programmes according to Bologna directives]. In fact, all are looking at the Process very critically.

[129]At the moment the Process is being very much criticized.

mobility and lifelong learning, implementing a common system of quality assurance—all are seen as very attractive, but the ways to achieve them are disputed. The Process is criticized as not being implemented "in an organic way" (from an interview), but abruptly and disregarding the national specifics.

> "Das Ziel ist gut",—says a former Rector,—"Nur dann alles über einen Leisten zu schnüren und ein System zu etablieren, dass seine Nachteile hat, das halte ich für falsch."[130]

It is very often mentioned that the Bologna process is a political initiative, it takes into account political interests and neglects the educational. This approach can have very crucial consequences, for example, for a country like Germany with its Federal States, where regional characteristics have been always played an important role:

> "Der Bundesrepublik Deutschland hat eine Federale Bildungs- und Wissenschaftsstruktur und man hat die regionale Besonderheiten Jahr zehnte lang gepflegt",—says an adult education expert.—"Dann haben die Bundespolitiker gesagt: wir geben das auf und gleichen dass an, und dass war nicht organisch vorbereitet."[131]

The chosen reform methods, according to some opinions, could even hinder all the important educational reform processes:

> "[Ich] Sehe <...> die Notwendigkeit auch, die Formen der Universitätsausbildung in Deutschland zu verändern und zu verbessern. Ich glaube nicht, dass der Bologna-Prozess uns dabei helfen wird",—says the Dean of a Faculty,—" meines Erachtens wird er uns eher schaden, weil er alle nötigen und wichtigen Veränderungen blockiert, die eigentlich jetzt in Angriff genommen werden müssten."[132]

Noteworthy to mention that the two opposing sides—against and in favor of Bologna—agree in the opinion that the reforms were driven by the politicians and

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[130]The goal is a good one. But to tar everyone with the same brush and to establish a system which has its disadvantages is wrong, I think.

[131]The Federal Republic of Germany has a federal structure of education and science, and the regional specifics have been honored for many years. Then, the federal politicians have decided to give it up and to make it equal, and this was not prepared organically.

[132]I see the necessity to change and improve the forms of university education in Germany, but I do not think that the Bologna process will help us here. It will actually harm this process, because it blocks all the important and necessary transformations that actually need to be implemented.

people, who do not understand the educational processes. A very critical university professor of Education expresses it in this way:

> "The words are driving forces in this process. The catchphrases are moving and nobody really gets the meaning of these phrases. Politicians are making the job of educationalists, not really thinking deep into the issues."

A professor of Roman studies, who favors the Process, seeing more positive than negative implications of Bologna initiative for Germany and Europe in a whole, shares this opinion:

> "Der Bologna-Prozess ist eine Erfindung von Politikern, genau genommen von den Wissenschaftsministern und ihren Beratern. Die Wissenschaftsminister und ihre Berater haben meistens sehr wenig Ahnung von der Realität des Hochschulsystems."[133]

There is an opinion that the reforms are especially crucial for the German system due to its national particularity. It is believed that the Germans tend to perfectionism in anything what they do and that is why there is a danger that the Bologna objectives would be taken and implemented literally. This, in its turn, could lead to the abolition of long traditions of the German university, yielding to the requirements of a new system, since for Germans, bringing the system to convergence and at the same time keeping the individuality would be a very difficult task.

Thus, the more explicit the goals of the Bologna process are, the more crucial the consequences for the German educational system are, because that is not just a re-labeling of the old structure, but creating a new one, which is being done with the so-called "German precision". The strict adherence to guidelines, according to the opinions of German academics, can cause the loss of flexibility and certain disadvantages in the German educational system.

> "<...> ich glaube",—says the former Rector,—"dass wir Deutschen, anders als andere Nationen, dem Buchstaben getreu alles umsetzen und damit an Flexibilität verlieren."[134]

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[133]The Bologna process is an invention of politicians, namely, the ministers of science and their advisers. The minister of science and his advisers mostly have very little idea of the realities of higher education systems.

[134]I think we, Germans, in contrast to other nations are different since we will implement everything accurately as prescribed and because of that will lose flexibility.

The professor of Roman studies confirms it:

> "Allerdings stellen sich die Deutschen relativ stur und legen das Ganze strenger aus, als es in den Erklärungen zu Bologna eigentlich gedacht ist. Die Sturheit, mit der jetzt gerechnet wird, ist kontraproduktiv."[135]

Thus, the general perception is that the idea of Bologna sounds good on paper due to its aims of bringing comparability to European higher educational landscape, shortening of study periods and promoting better employability. However, the argumentation does not always correspond to the real situation, but despite of that some positive development is also taking place.

6.1.1 The arguments pro et contra

(a) Positive

The main arguments in favor of the process could be summarized in the following:

- the study programmes are outdated and need to be reorganized;

- a more effective system would be established;

- students will take their studies more seriously and the drop-out rate will decrease;

- Master level will have better students;

- the credit system will allow more freedom between the study settings, programmes and countries.

Study programmes. There is an opinion that the traditional study programmes do not respond to the needs of the modern university. The traditional system gives very broad scope of knowledge, which is oriented towards science and scientific research, whereas the biggest part of graduates would go into industries and offices, which means that only a very small part of the knowledge gained at the university will be used by the modern students in their further professional life.

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[135]However, the Germans are relatively determined and implement the whole thing [Bologna process] much stricter than it is actually intended by the Bologna declaration. This obstinacy is counterproductive.

> "I think that many of traditional study programs are sort of outdated",— says an official responsible for Bologna reforms in the university,— "because people are trained in very wide areas and to get into a specific field [when] they need only a very tiny part of what they have learned. And what we are doing now is that we train people basically for the needs of science and for being a university professor later. But this is only something that the smallest part of these people will ever do. I don't think that the study programs as they are now (there are exceptions of course) would really match very well the needs and considerations of the outside world."

An administrative leader, responsible for international relations, has a similar point of view:

> "At the moment we have a situation in the labor market that students that have Magister degree work in positions which are much lower then their academic level. This is something that we waste."

More effective system. There are two aspects which are supposed to make the system more effective: the modularization and the introduction of Bachelor programmes. It is believed that the modularization and the intermediate examinations will compel the students to take the studies more seriously; the strict curriculum could hinder dropping out of the course. The introduction of a shorter, professionally–oriented Bachelor degree will give the students, who do not wish or cannot continue their studies, opportunity to leave the university with a proper degree, which will allow them to pursue the chosen career path.

> "Now, we have the case that they drop out of a course if they feel that it is connected with too much work or if they simply change their minds",—says the university official responsible for reforms.—"In the new system, dropping out will not be easy."

The traditional system proclaiming academic freedom demands a lot of self-control and self-responsibility from the student, expecting, that an "academic person" should be able to self-manage and self-direct. Most of the students, in the opinion of academics, do not possess that ability of self-responsibility and will benefit from more control and consultation.

The tiered system is believed to be more effective as all three stages of university education will absorb students, who are best prepared for that stage. For example,

there is a hope, that weaker students will get a chance to leave the university already at Bachelor level and, as a result, the Master programs will absorb better qualified, more talented students.

> "I think we will have a more effective system",—says the administrative leader.—"I hope those students in undergraduate studies, who drop out now, or who slow the level of learning and teaching, will leave the university with Bachelor. That means that there is a chance that in Master programmes we will have a higher level."

However, this issue has two edges. From another point of view there is a fear, that the good students will get jobs after the Bachelor and leave, those who do not get a job will stay for the Master.

Increased mobility. It is arguable if the Bologna process will in fact increase the mobility. There are different opinions concerning it. According to one of opinions the modularization and the credit system will promote students mobility within Europe:

> "Another advantage is that due to modularization it will be possible for students to move on with their credit points all over Europe. You can do some credits here and then move to another university and do some credits there and you would not have any trouble to transfer what you have done." [Administrative leader, responsible for implementation of Bologna process]

Aother opinion states just the opposite, namely that the mobility will be hindered first of all because of the rigid system of studies, which will be formed due to modularization and secondly due to incompatibility of attained knowledge. In the modularized system it is not clear how and when the students should take advantage of their semester abroad since the course sequence is rather fixed. The non-comparability relates to the fact that the modules are differently defined and filled in individual universities, which makes it difficult to compare studies in two different universities.

The positive effect of the Bologna process is also seen in its impact on stimulating higher education reforms on the national levels, as an external power which forces the higher education systems to undertake reforms and to reflect upon the issues what a higher education system needs and what could be changed to make it better.

(b) Negative

The criticism of Bologna process can be mainly grouped around the following topics:

- comparability cannot be achieved by intended means;

- modularization hinders the mobility;

- shortening of study periods means less qualified graduates;

- cutting the study content transmits the idea that the theory is not important;

- breakdown of the traditional idea of the university;

- there is a tendency that the university education becomes more like education in schools (*Verschulung*);

- equal standards means no elite universities, which will bring to lowering of the level of education;

- university loses its autonomy;

- the student loses his freedoms;

- university is moving towards *Fachhochschule*;

- the Bachelor programme is not accepted well in the labor market;

- the Bachelor programme is not appropriate for certain specialties (such as Law, Theology, Education).

(1) "You can't compare apples with oranges"

A very widespread critiquie is that the comparability—one of the priority goals of the proces—could hardly be achieved. What the Bologna process aims at is to have a coherent and transparent system, so that the degrees and the courses taken in one university (or country) could be comparable to the degrees and courses at another university (or country). Some academics doubt that the introduction of Bachelor and Master programmes and the modularization will serve to the goal—just the opposite, the comparability will be hindered, first of all, because of the lack of coordination:

> "Das Ziel, das einmal politisch damit verbunden war—nämlich eine Angleichung von Studienabschlüssen zu erreichen und mehr Austausch innerhalb Europas—scheint, im Moment jedenfalls, nicht erreichbar zu sein",—says a professor of Theology.— "Im Gegenteil, dadurch dass die Prozesse der Umsetzung von Bologna nicht koordiniert verlaufen, führt

das wenigstens kurzfristig zu einer größeren Inkompatibilität von Studiengängen und Studienabschlüssen. Man kann nur darauf hoffen, dass irgendwann einmal künftig doch eine Angleichung wieder passiert."[136]

The next argument results from the previous one, namely that the definition of modules and courses is not quite clear, there are no accepted standards or models and the universities should define them themselves. Each university has different requirements, different notions of what the modules and the credits are, which brings also to differences in the study contents. Thus, the universities, even within one country, create their own profiles which makes the comparison difficult.

"Im Moment führen die Bologna Richtlinien dazu, dass jede Fakultät ihre eigenen Maßstäbe hat und der Student nicht mehr davon ausgehen kann, mit einem Leistungsnachweis, den er in Halle erworben hat, in Jena weiterstudieren zu können",—says the Dean of a Faculty.—"Und das wird genauso in Europa passieren: es ist keineswegs der Fall, dass Studiengänge mit BA/MA automatisch in der EU anerkannt werden, geschweige denn in Amerika oder sonst wo."[137]

It is also argued that in order to have a comparable higher education one should ensure that the level of entrance is the same within Europe, which means that comparable structures should be established already on High School level.

2) Contradiction on mobility issue

Another goal of the Bologna process is to achieve a high level of mobility, so that students, teachers and researchers could move freely between the learning settings. The critics of the Bologna process are sure that in a system, where the students are bound to a strict curriculum, moving from one university to another would be quite difficult, if not impossible.

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[136]The goal, which was once politically grounded—namely, to achieve convergence of degrees and increased mobility within Europe, seems not achievable, at least, presently. Just the opposite, lack of coordination in the implementation of Bologna process, leads to a greater incompatibility of study programmes and degrees. One can only hope, that some day in the future the compatibility will take place.

[137]At present, the Bologna transformations bring to the situation, when each faculty has its own rules and the student cannot be assured, that credits obtained at Halle will be accepted in Jena. It is the same in Europe. It cannot be expected that the BA/MA degrees will be automatically accepted in EU, not to mention America or other countries.

> "Im Moment",—says the Theology professor,—"wird das Gegenteil damit erreicht: unmittelbar in Deutschland wird die Mobilität durch Umsetzung der Bologna richtlinien eingeschränkt."[138]

It is unclear—when the right time in such a rigid system to travel to another country for studies is. If a student studies at Bachelor programme that takes 3 years and does it exactly as prescribed—what to study and when— at which point can the student shift to another university? It is assumed that the mobility will be possible at least on Master level, but the Master programme is so short (from 1-2 years) and just the orientation period for the student would take a couple of months. Moreover, the incompatibility of the modules at different universities also impedes this process. An example from the chair of German literature and language studies:

> "Am Beispiel Germanistik: In Deutschland muss z.B. ein Modul gewählt werden "Literatur der Gegenwart", das in Frankreich jedoch nicht vorgeschrieben ist. Und es gibt dieses Modul in dieser Situation gar nicht. Oder es ist auf die anderen Module nicht abgestimmt, z.B. in den methodischen Grundlagen. Welchen Sinn macht es dann zu wechseln? Bzw. wenn man wechselt, dann verliert man etwas, weil ein Teil der Studierenden in der Zeit ja nicht das Modul wählen kann, das man in einem in sich geschlossenen System erwirbt."[139]

3) Shortening of study period

Whether the 3 years of Bachelor study is enough to acquire a professional qualification is being hotly debated. As also mentioned before, it is supposed that a great part of students will leave the university with the Bachelor degree, which means that they will be less qualified for work than those graduated with the former, the "old" degrees. Is it possible to transmit the knowledge which is designed for 5 years in a 3-year period?

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[138] At the moment, with the implementation of Bologna objectives just the opposite will be reached: directly in Germany the mobility will be restricted.

[139] For example, the studies of German literature and language: in Germany a module "Modern Literature" should be chosen, which is not the case in France. Moreover, there is no such a module in France at all. Or, it is possible that other modules are not coordinated, too, for example in methodological principles. What the sense would it make to change? Or when one shifts to another university, he loses something, because some students do not have much choice within a module which they acquire in such a self-contained system.

> "Can, for example, competences such as intercultural competence, really be developed in three years without having time to think longer about it, to reflect and discuss it?"–asks a lecturer in Education.

The Bachelor programme cannot be just a jumping point to the Master, but, as designed by the Bologna process, it should be a complete and independent qualification with output to the labour market. That means that in order to make the studies shorter, one should cut either in quality, in content, or in knowledge.

> "The idea of politicians is as follows: they want more people with the degree and they want to spend less money",—says a reforms expert at the university,—"and if you want to do this and at the same time to keep the same amount of quality then you end up in the middle of nowhere."

There is an opinion among politicians that the shortening of studies will be cost–effective, but the academics do not share it:

> "They want to have a cost effective system at the cost of a lot of money",—says the person responsible for implementing the reforms.
> "Ich befürchte auch, dass die Politik immer noch nicht begriffen hat, dass das Bachelorsystem nicht—wie diese Leute glauben—Geld spart, sondern Geld kostet. Denn die Betreuungsintensität ist deutlich höher"[140],—says a Law professor.

The general trend is that some study content, which is not considered relevant to the labour market, will be eliminated. This means that the educational organization becomes more specific, more professionalized—the students get concrete knowledge in the area, in which they are planning to work in the future. As a result certain study contents, such as history, for example, are considered as less important. This suggests the idea that theory is not as important as the university had claimed before, as one can easily reduce the amount of studies and give up certain areas of knowledge and research.

> "This is, I think",—says the Education lecturer,— "a big mistake to concentrate on topics that seem immediately connected with the phantom of the labour market."

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[140]I am afraid that those in politics still do not realize that the Bachelor system does not save money—as these people think—but costs money. Because the students will get more guidance.

4) Mass and elite universities

The issue of mass and elite universities is a complicated one. However, there are two contradicting approaches in relation to the Bologna reforms, the German universities and the growing massification of higher education. On the one hand, the traditional systems (not only in Germany, but also in remaining Europe) have been designed to absorb much smaller number of students than they are doing now. In the knowledge-based economy there should be more opportunities for educational and professional development and the modern university in its traditional shape is not capable to deal with this task.

> "Das traditionelle deutsche Studiensystem, das humboldtische ist natürlich auch nicht mehr den Bedürfnissen der heutigen Gesellschaft angepasst. Es ist nämlich ein Studiensystem, das für viel weniger Studierende konzipiert ist. In einer Welt, in der — wie noch 1950 oder 1960—nur ca. 20% Abitur machen und davon dann wiederum nur ca. 15% an die Universitäten oder die Fachhochschulen gehen, muss ein Studium ganz andersorganisiert sein als in einer Welt, in der dies 40% tun. Da wir haben alle nicht wollen können, dass es in der Realität wirklich nur 20% sind, sondern wir eigentlich wollen müssen, dass möglichst viele Menschen die Chance haben, auf ihre Art einen grösseren Bildungshorizont und mehr Berufsmöglichkeiten zu haben, kann man das alte deutsche Studiensystem auch nicht anwenden. Es ist, also, ganz unvermeidlich, dass sich dies ändert. Und wenn wir es schon ändern, dann doch lieber in Europa und alle zusammen anstatt jeder für sich."[141] [Extract from the interview with the chairman of the German accreditation council]

On the other hand, it is believed that the "standardisation" will lead to a lower educational level. In a system, developed for mass universities, where all the universities are to be equal in quality and content, there would be no good or bad universities.

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[141] The traditional German system—the humboldtian system, is certainly not adjusted to the needs of modern society. This is, namely, a system, which is planned for much less students. In the world (like of the 1950s or 1960s), where only 20% of school graduates had the high school diploma and only appoximately 15% of those then went to universities or *Fachhochschulen*, the organisation of study programmes is definitely different from that in a world, where 40% of high school graduates go to universities. Because we all should not want that in reality only 20 % of graduates study at a university, but we actually should want that as many people as possible get a chance for educational and professional development, we cannot use the old system. It is, thus, inevitable, that the educational system will change. And if we do change it then better it is that Europe does it all together than everybody for himself.

The question is what the Bologna process aims at. Right the opposite, the Process was launched to create a higher educational system in Europe which is attractive for its citizens and international students, teachers and researchers, and competitive in the world educational market.

> "I really think you can't have a university for all and you can't have a university system where all the universities are as good as others",—says the lecturer of Education.—"That is also a problem of the mass university. Because you can't bring let's say 40% of people to the universities and at the same time have the best university system ever."

5) Good-bye to Humboldt's idea of the university

A big concern among the German academic community is the failure of the Humboldtian ideas and traditions of the German university.

Humboldt's vision of a university education contained the idea of a unity between research and personal development (*"Bildung durch Wissenschaft"*). The role of *Wissenschaft* was to lead through self-directness to self-perfection and self-responsibility. Through the process of research, according to Humboldt, the character of an individual was elevated to a new level of moral freedom, where education, in the sense of being led by a mentor, was substituted by self-cultivation. The academic freedom is in the centre of this concept—the freedom of the teacher to teach what he wants and the freedom of the student to study what he wants. Such a system demands a lot of self-control and self-responsibility from a student, expecting, that an "academic person" is capable of self-management and responsibility. Despite of its attractiveness, this model is believed to be outdated for the modern society and less effective than the new one, which is proposed by the Bologna process.

> "What we have in Germany now is the ideal structure for the ideal student",—says a university administrative leader.—"If you know what you are committed in, and if you are very ambitious, it's the best system you can have. You can choose all your courses, put them together, take something from here and something there. If you are this ideal student, this is the best benefit you can ever have. But what's the real situation? In Germany everybody with *Abitur* can go to the university and then, lots of students, who comply with formal requirements, but not with the requirements for certain subjects—try to get through. It may happen, that you study, let's say, romance languages and literature and you get

through and you never had a seminar on Dante and you never know, who is that."

The university representative for Bologna reforms confirms this viewpoint:

"The trouble is that there are really a few people that are like Humboldt, who really would use their time to sit and think. Most people are like the normal students, if they have plenty of time they would sit in bars and not thinking. I believe for most people it's beneficial, for some people it's bad. So it is hard to say whether it is good or bad."

Today, the main principles which have been guiding higher education through the 19th and 20th centuries, namely—the principle of the unity of research and teaching, the academic freedoms: the freedom to teach, to do research and the freedom to learn, the importance of philosophy—are being questioned and reconsidered.

First of all there is a tendency towards transforming the university education to school–type education, in German referred to as *"Verschuhlung"*. In traditional system, the university lecturer or professor sees himself primarily as a researcher, who also has students and guides their research. Attempts to reform the university teaching in the direction of broader course variety or modularization are met with the fear of becoming a mere school.

"Wir haben große Schwierigkeiten, diese Studiengänge in ihrer Qualität zu erhalten",—says a Dean of a faculty,—"auch was die Wissenschaftlichkeit der Studien betrifft—wenn wir streng die Richtlinien des Bologna-Prozesses anwenden. Es führt offenkundig zu einer Verschulung des Studiums."[142]

With the standardization of study programmes and modularisation, the university loses its freedom in Humboldtian sense. In the school–like system, students get more directions, and have less freedom of choice concerning lectures and seminars. Thus, self-responsibility is reduced and students are told what to study and when.

"Wir werden, wenn der Bologna-Prozess so durchgeführt wird, wie es bisher geplant ist, einen großen Vorzug des deutschen universitären Ausbildungssystems—das ein wirkliches Studium ist—verlieren: nämlich

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[142]We have big difficulties in maintaining the quality of these study programmes, also concerning the scholarly standard of studies—if we strongly stick to Bologna directives. This leads apparently to making the university education school–like.

> die Freiheit des Studenten über seine Gegenstände zu entscheiden,"[143]—
> says the former Rector. . "Wann soll man eigentlich lernen, selbstständig
> zu entscheiden und Verantwortung für sich selbst zu tragen, wenn nicht
> in dieser Phase? Da ist man noch besonders prägsam, man kann seine
> Persönlichkeit noch sehr entwickeln. Und in dieser Phase soll nach dem
> Bachelorsystem der einzelne Student genau das tun, was irgendwo in
> einem System vorgeschrieben ist. Ihm wird also die Freiheit genom-
> men."[144]

The academic freedom is reduced also with the respect to the teacher—he has a more
limited level of freedom within the given framework of the module.

> "Your options are not as wide as you had before, but within one mod-
> ule you are free to choose",—says the university lecturer.— "And, per-
> haps, as you are allowed as a university to define what the module is, you
> can define it intelligently so that the studies needn't be dull and you are
> not obliged to teach all the time the same."

Secondly, the idea of a university as a place where such features as ability of inde-
pendent thinking and researching, development of a widely educated personality are
promoted, yields to the idea of a university as a place where qualified professionals
are prepared.

> "The university in its Humboldtian sense will lose its freedom and
> independence",—says the professor of Education,—"will lose its tradi-
> tions, but will not become less attractive to the students, because what
> the students need is professionalized education to get jobs in the Labour
> market. But the creativity, the ability to think, the ability of indepen-
> dent thinking and researching what the traditional university valued will
> be lost."

Then, as for practical relevance, Humboldt's idea was that an action in and through
ideas would ultimately lead to a practical mastery of the world on a much higher

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[143]In case the Bologna process will be implemented as it is planned, we will lose a great advantage
that the German system of education had—the one which is a real study—namely the freedom of
students to make decisions upon the subjects of their studies.

[144]When should one actually learn to think independently and to take the responsibility for
himself, if not in this phase? At this age, one is especially perceptive and can very much develop
his personality. And in this phase, according to Bachelor system, an individual student should do
exactly, what somewhere in some system is prescribed. Their freedom has been taken away.

level than a direct practical instruction. Humboldt was much opposed to any kind of overspecialization. Philosophy including both the natural sciences and the study of man, was of prime interest for this truly searching spirit that should be dominant in all students. In the "new" university, there is a tendency towards professionalization, more specialization and practice-orientation on the Bachelor level and as a result of it, also bearing in mind the shortening of study period, the study content which is not relevant to the labour market or which is not directly connected to the specialty is cut off. In the new system more emphasis will be put on competences that can be measured and less—on general development of an educated personality.

> "The German system is a very free system. It was a system which trusted people. Every form of administration framework is distrust: you have to pay more papers, credits, and so on... Trust is the basics you need in the modern world, you don't need administration."—criticizes the professor of Education.

6) Development towards Fachhochschule

It is often criticized that the difference between university and *Fachhochschule* is becoming less and less evident. The worst is the current trend towards *"Fachhochschulisierung"*[145] of the university and not vice versa, which is considered as lowering of standards.

> "I believe",—says an administrative leader,— "this process [Bologna] was pushed by such institutions as FH, the same as in the Netherlands, to come to the same level as the universities. But this is a little bit wrong way."

> "We have the *Fachhochschule* as the original idea which prepares for immediate work in industry or public administration on a certain level",— says the professor of Education.—"This would have been the better way, so that the university prepares for the academic career or some degree above the degree of *Fachhochschule.*"

However, the fact, that the *Fachhochshulen* together with the universities are allowed to introduce Bachelor and Master programmes and in some cases also PhD programmes, arises big concerns among university professors. Taking into account that

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[145]Bringing the university to the level of *Fachhochschule.*

the universities are to distinguish between more practice-oriented and more theory-oriented programmes, the difference between a degree, gained at the university and the *Fachhochschule* becomes indiscernible.

> "Ich glaube dass es künftig egal sein wird, ob jemand von einer Universität kommen wird oder von einer Fachhochschule",—says a university professor.—"Entscheidend wird in 20 Jahren sein, was in einer Einrichtung geschieht. Das deutsche Hochschulsystem wird sich in diesen Qualitätsstufen ordnen. Es wird mindestens drei Gruppen geben: die Besseren, die Mittleren und die Schwächeren. Auf die Dauer wird es egal sein, wie sich dieses Institut dann nennt. Aber so renommierte Einrichtungen werden, wenn sie ein Selbstwertgefühl entwickeln, diese Qualität einfach produzieren."[146]

In general this development is considered as a very negative consequence of the Bologna process because both these higher education institutions have their individual place and are designed to satisfy different needs.

6.1.2 Shortcomings and difficulties

Problem of Bachelor

It is also a problem that there is no field of work in the labour market for Bachelor graduates in certain areas, such as Psychology, Pharmacology, Law, Medicine and Theology. It is not clear in which areas these Bachelors should be occupied.

> "Keiner möchte sich von einem juristischen Bachelor-Anwalt vor Gericht vertreten lassen. Keiner möchte sich von einem Bachelor-Arzt operieren lassen",- says the dean of the faculty of Theology,— "und deshalb können wir es auch kaum jemandem zumuten sich von einem Bachelor-Pfarrer eine Predigt halten zu lassen."[147]

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[146]I think that in the future it will not matter, if somebody is graduated from a university or a *Fachhochschule*. In 20 years, what will be important will take place at individual institutions. The German system of education will be arranged on certain quality levels. There will be at least three groups: best, intermediary and worst. No matter how these institutions are called. But these famous institutions will organically produce this quality, if they develop self-esteem.

[147]Nobody wants to be defended by a Bachelor Lawyer at the court. Nobody wants to be operated by a Bachelor Doctor and that is why we cannot expect anybody to listen to a sermon held by a Bachelor Priest.

Many of the faculties, who have now to reform their structure in a two-tier manner, question what the occupational aim of Bachelor studies at their faculties could be. It is not clear how to shape the BA studies leading to jobs and in some areas where there is no certain qualified profile for the BA.

> "For example—a Bachelor of Education what should that mean?"— asks an educationalist.—"Is that for kindergarten? What is it good for? You have to have a minimum level for certain qualifications. For example in Law. Of course you can be a paralegal, someone who works in the office of a lawyer and have a higher qualification than a normal secretary, but you can't be a lawyer. There is a reason why for something which is important for people lives, like medicine, law—they have to pose two state examinations. A bachelor of Medicine—what is that? To put a plaster on or what?"

Also, the faculty of Theology, among others is confronted with the new realities and the problem to find a place for Bachelors of Theology:

> "Ich kann es mir noch nicht richtig vorstellen",—says the Dean,— "weil keiner sagen kann, welchen Sinn ein solcher Bachelor haben soll. Es gibt keine beruflichen Tätigkeiten, die mit einem solchen Bachelor ausreichend vorbereitet werden. Und das sagen auch diejenigen, die für die Lehramtsausbildung zuständig sind: es gibt auch keinen BA der ausreicht, um am Gymnasium irgendein Fach zu unterrichten. Es wird dann höchstens ein Etikettenschwindel passieren: man wird irgendetwas "Bachelor" nennen, obwohl jeder weiß, dass das lediglich eine Erfüllung von politischen Pflichten ist."[148]

"Freiheit von Forschung und Lehre"

Despite of all these difficulties, there is very little probability that a faculty or a university would refuse to implement the Bologna directives, though officially they can do that. The reasons for that are the following: in case of refusal the faculty or the

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[148]I cannot really picture that, because nobody can say what the sense of such a Bachelor is. There are no professional positions which could be filled with Bachelors of that level of preparation. And those responsible for teacher training, say the same: there is no such Bachelor programme, which will suffice to teach any subject at High School. In this case, just a re-labeling would take place: we will call something "Bachelor", though everybody will know, that it is simply a fulfillment of political obligations.

university will be left behind in a number of aspects- they would not be comparable to others, their degrees would be considered outdated, they would not get financing.

"We would then become an island",—says a member of the university administration,—"and we would produce students with degrees that are not very common anymore and might not be accepted by future employers. <...> I don't think we should maneuver ourselves into these island positions. I think we should take the challenge, we should do something about our traditional study programs even though we might not really like it that we have to change so much in such a short time."

"We have the right to do that",—confirms another administrative leader.— "We have the right to keep the system we have now. We can do that but at the end the money will go to the new projects. And the government will say we will support the new developments. That means we have a basic level of budget and the rest of the budget goes to new developments. Of course if you stay with old degrees, that is not regarded a new development."

"Das wäre möglich gewesen",—says the professor of Law,—"wenn die meisten Universitätsrektoren und Präsidenten mit ihren Senaten deutlich gesagt hatten: das wollen wir nicht. Dann müsste der Staat nämlich ein Gesetz machen, mit dem er die Universitäten zwingt. Und dann wäre der Staat in der Pflicht auch zu anzugeben, was denn der Inhalt sein soll. Aber das ist eine ganz theoretische Angelegenheit. Deutsche Universitätsprofessoren haben sich vorsichtig ausgedrückt—doch immer wieder den Grundlinien der Politik untergeordnet. Wenn die ganze Umgebung das macht, wird der Druck so hoch sein, dass es so kommen wird, auch ohne dass der Staat das anordnet. Im Gesetz steht bisher nämlich lediglich, dass auch konsekutive Studiengänge eingerichtet werden. Und trotzdem gibt es einen politischen Druck das zu tun. Es ist auch immer eine finanzielle Frage."[149]

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[149]It would have been possible, if most of the university rectors and presidents with their senates would have clearly said that they did not want it. In this case the government would have been obliged to issue a Law, which would force the universities to do it. And then the government would have had the responsibility to direct also the content. But that is a very theoretical case. In reality, the German university professors have very carefully expressed themselves, over and over again conforming to the guideline of politics. When everybody else is doing so, the pressure will be so high, that it will also happen without the governmental arrangements. Until now, the law states that also consecutive degree programmes should be implemented and there is also a big political pressure. That is also a financial question.

So, do the Bologna directives conflict with the German Basic Law? How are the university self-government and the constitutional directives regarding university autonomy, freedom of academic research and teaching maintained regarding the Bologna process? Is there any imposition from the part of the government? These are the questions to reveal the nature of "Freiheit von Forschung und Lehre" stated in the Basic Law in relation to the Bologna process.

There are again two contrasting opinions. According to one of them the freedom of academic autonomy and research will be maintained. The government will not impose concrete concepts on the universities. It will not prescribe what to teach, neither how to teach. Each scientist will still be free to choose what to devote his research to and also what to teach within a module in some way. The universities themselves are the institutions which interpret the Bologna guidelines and set up conceptions for practical realization. However it is accepted that the autonomy of the university is never absolute and the universities must always abide the laws (e.g., educational laws). The Federal State has a covering Law which serves as the framework for the universities: the *Hochschulrahmengesetz*. The *Länder* have their own *Hochschulgesetz* and the universities have to follow them. It is not possible to evade the Law.

> "Autonomy in deciding—yes, but to a certain degree",—says a member of administration,—"mainly it has to be something where the result is BA and MA. What's inside the package—that is our business. But the result should be BA, MA. No way out."
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> "It's not that we have legal acts",—says a professor.—"It's just the matter of money. Of course you can teach and research whatever you want. But you need money to have professors in different fields. Then you have to apply to regional government and to convince them you need this professor. Normally they would say, well, you have a budget and you have to decide what you will develop and what you will close".

However, the freedom of research and teaching does not mean self-governing:

> "Da steht zwar "Freiheit von Forschung und Lehre", aber nicht, dass wir Selbstverwaltung haben. Ich z.B. habe Freiheit von Forschung und Lehre—also ich kann sagen was ich will, z.B. "Das Grundgesetz ist schlecht"—das kann mir keiner verbieten, da kann mir z.B. der Staat nicht das Gehalt abziehen. Da bin ich vollkommen frei, freier als in manchen anderen Systemen. Aber wir sind nicht frei darin, welchen Tisch, wie viel Bücher wir kaufen. Das schreibt der Staat vor. Z.B. wie groß dieses

> Zimmer für einen professor sein darf, das schreibt der Staat uns vor.
> Das ist doch absurd. <...> Ebenso die Freiheit zu sagen, wir wollen
> mehr Hörsäle, mehr Bibliotheksplätze haben. Da gibt es Richtlinien aus
> unserem Finanzministerium—nicht einmal aus dem Kultusministerium,
> auf wie viel Studenten wie viel Bibliotheksplätze gebaut werden dürfen.
> Wo ist da Wettbewerb, Freiheit der Entscheidung?"[150] [Professor of Law]

The other point of view is that "the freedom of research and teaching" is just a
slogan. The Federal government tries to push this process forward and the imposition
of Bologna directives by the government is obvious.

> "Die Freiheit von akademischer Lehre und Forschung ist eine Losung",—
> says the university professor.—"Solange es nur eine Losung bleibt, halte
> ich es auch nicht für besonders sinnvoll. Es war zu allen Zeiten so,
> dass so eine Losung in der praktischen Arbeit an den Universitäten
> umgesetzt werden muss. Und da sollte doch der Grundsatz gelten, dass
> diejenigen, die unmittelbar diese Arbeit verantworten und organisieren,
> auch gehört werden, wenn man nach Strukturen/Strukturveränderungen
> fragt. Im Moment haben wir die Situation, dass die politischen Vorgaben
> massiv—vor allem von der Bundesebene—gemacht werden, und zwar von
> Bereichen, die nicht unmittelbar in der Universität stehen und auch die
> Probleme offenkundig nicht erkennen. Ich kann mir nicht vorstellen, wie
> man ansonsten solche Richtlinien mit aller Macht durchsetzen wollte,
> wenn man wirklich an dem Ort wäre, an dem die Probleme entstehen."[151]

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[150]The Law indeed states "Freedom of research and teaching", but that does not mean self-administration. I have, for example, the freedom of research and teaching, that means I can say what I want, for example that "Basic Law is a bad one"—nobody can forbid me, nor can the State cut my salary for that. Here I am totally free, more free than in other systems. But we are not free to decide what table, how many books to buy. This is prescribed by the State, for example how big this room for a professor should be. It is, however, absurd. <...> Likewise, the right to say we want more lecture rooms, more library places. There are concrete directives from the Ministry of Finance, not even the Ministry of Culture, how many library places for how many students should be built. Where is here the competitiveness, the freedom to decide?

[151]The freedom of academic teaching and research is a slogan. As long as it remains a slogan, I do not perceive it as meaningful. It has always been that way, even if such a slogan should have been put for practical work of the university. And yet, there should have been a basic principle, that those, who directly do this job, should be heard, when the question concerns structures and structural changes. At present, we have a situation, that political guidelines are consequently implemented and first and foremost on the federal level and namely by branches, that do not have direct connection to the university and apparently do not recognize the problems. I cannot imagine any other way of fully implementing such directives, than being at the place where the problems are coming from.

"It's an authoritarian state in this respect",—criticises the professor of Education.— "The universities are agents of states and will accept whatever the policymakers decide. You can't resist it. The autonomy is just reserved to the contents of the curriculum and the form of the curriculum is defined by Law."

6.2 Lifelong Learning and the German University

The discussions with the German university academics and administration proved that the issue of lifelong learning is not paid much attention at universities. On the one hand it could be due to the fact that the Bologna declaration does not prescribe ready directions for implementation of LLL in universities as it does, for example, in cases of Bachelor and Master structures, on the other hand lifelong learning is usually seen as something distinct from the university education and cannot be directly connected to the reform process.

However, some believe that the importance of lifelong learning should be increased at the university level. Yet, there is not enough understanding within the academic community: what the university has to do with lifelong learning, why the university should integrate lifelong learning in its structure, when there are so many other providers outside it. It is also related to the specifics of organization of German educational landscape, which comprises a diversity of paths for professional training and education.

"We have in Germany some specific hurdles in this [provision of university lifelong learning], because we have a system of *Laufbahnen*[152]",— explains the former Rector.— "In other countries it is not that way. In Germany it is the profession–oriented system of education. We have a system of skilled workers for specific purposes, like for automobiles, etc. *Berufsakademien* are higher oriented than this. That is the system of *Facharbeiterausbildung*[153]. In the United States everyone can have a job without a special training. In Germany it is state oriented. The government has regulations, which are controlling and monitoring this type of training. Therefore, people educated in this German system are more trained for a specific profession. That is why the demand (for lifelong

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[152]Career paths.

[153]Apprenticeship as skilled worker.

learning) is relatively low. We have an opportunity and an obligation to
do more."

It is believed that the mission of the university regarding lifelong learning is different
from that of external providers, for example the *Volkshochschule*. First of all, the
university operates on a completely different level: it has different resources and
different expertise. It would be wrong to expect that the university would turn into
"a first-class *Volkshochschule*". But the university possesses the knowledge that such
providers do not have (and do not need). The kind of knowledge delivered by the
university is research and science oriented. *Volkshochshule* and other lifelong learning
providers such as churches, companies, political academies, state and private suppliers
have other foundations. Every educational institution is based on a kind of ideology
of its own making. These different types of ideologies can be sustained and all are
important for the coherence of the society.

The role of the university is seen as an institution of lifelong learning in the higher
education sense and not in the basic education sense. On the other hand this means
that not all persons in the society can profit from the seminars and courses in the
university. The university can contribute to the reflection on learning and to the
understanding of lifelong learning.

> "What our job now is—to make clear to everybody that learning is one
> of the most fascinating jobs you can do",—says a professor of Education.—
> "To keep an open mind to all things we are confronted within the world
> . . . We as educators have to struggle with motivation. You can do it
> with just representing how important is learning, getting knowledge for
> yourself. That is the message you have to bring to all people."

> "The main function of universities is to show the students that there
> is not such a point after the examinations when they are ready and can
> stop learning."—confirms the former Rector.

Other ways that universities contribute towards the promotion and development of
lifelong learning, according to the professors and lecturers interviewed, are to be seen
in the continuous learning opportunities they offer to graduates; advising ministries
and professional councils; opening certain lectures and seminars for public; taking
part in lifelong learning initiatives, such as "learning festivals"; cooperating with
industry and providing a specific kind of knowledge; providing framework, rooms,

payment, possibilities, administrative support, etc. needed in order to realise lifelong learning in the university.

One of the ways to promote lifelong learning at the university is developing policies aimed at supporting young people who raise families. In this respect it was observed that the task of integrating a person's life (with or without children) and the study is considered (by the university) to be of person's individual responsibility. The state (and the university) can merely offer some options.

> "In my opinion it's a task of the government and the State, and the university, and the public institution, and the educational system to be family friendly",—says a lecturer.—"And that means to have facilities— like a baby changer, for example! Did you notice baby-changing stations in this university? I think—not. In America in every university in the Ladies rooms there is a baby changing station."

Meanwhile, at the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena there have been efforts to bring family closer to the university and even a special Family service has been opened, which deals with different aspects of combining family with education at the university, with the provision, for example, of childcare services for students, organization of different seminars on the topic and so on.

In general, according to the opinion of most respondents, the university is not open enough to involve all kind of students (of older age, retired), despite the fact that there are courses for elderly people—the so–called *Seniorenstudium*, since the image of the university as a place for young people is very strong. There is a need to lower the threshold and to make the university a part of everyday life.

6.3   Concluding Remarks

The concerns of representatives of German academia escalate especially around the question—why the university with such old traditions, which once served as a model for the world, has now to adopt the models of others to reform its educational structure. Despite the fact that this delicate issue could not be perceived without bitterness for the loss of the traditional system, the majority of respondents agreed in the point that reforming the German educational system was inevitable and necessary.

The driving forces, which directed the German higher education system towards a common European model, were mentioned as follows.

Firstly, the pressure of globalization. It is clear that the formation of global economies would not leave aside the higher education. With rapidly enlarging European consolidation, it became obvious that there is a necessity to provide comparability and compatibility of educational qualifications Europe-wide in order to enhance mutual recognition of degrees and diplomas, as well as professional and educational mobility.

> "We do change it because we want a European equivalent",—says a member of the university administration,—"and there are only two ways: either others take over our system or we come to a sort of agreement which is a compromise between everybody, and the second strategy has been chosen for obvious reasons."

> "Das ist ja eine europäische Vorgabe",—says a university professor.— "Als solche ist sie nicht verkehrt. Es ist richtig, dass man als zusammenwachsendes Europa auch im Bereich der (Hochschul) Bildung im Bereich der Integration anstreben muss. Ich bin mir ziemlich sicher, dass das deutsche Universitätsmodell nicht allein der einzige Integrationsweg sein kann. Das englische und amerikanische System hat ebenfalls Vorteile. Das Schlimmste wäre, diese Systeme miteinander zu vermischen, das geht sowieso nicht. Sowenig ich glaube, dass das deutsche System alle Vorgaben machen muss, glaube ich ebenso wenig, dass es völlig aufgelöst werden muss, wenn es ein europäisches System geben soll."[154]

Secondly, the pressure of competitiveness in relation to the provision of university education in USA, making the European education more attractive to the other parts of the world.

> "All this was caused by this overwhelming role of the US political and economic influence",—says the administrative leader, responsible for the international relations at the university. <...> "I think, something in this process is that all of Europe tries to adapt to the American model,

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[154]This is a European requirement. As such it is not wrong. It is right that as a coalescent Europe, one should also strive for an integration also in the area of (higher) education. I am very sure, that the German university model is not the only integration model that could be adopted. The English and American systems also have advantages. The worst, I think, will be to mix these two systems together. This is not possible anyway. Also, I do not believe that the German system should implement all the demands [of the Bologna process] and that it should be totally resolved when a European system is established.

which is dominating, because of the overwhelming economic power. Of course they have some of the best universities but they have the worst, as well. Europe tries to have something similar which is comparable to this."

So, does it mean that the German system is not competitive when compared with the US system or is not good enough? Most opinions denied that supposition, stating that the German diplomas always have been highly valued in America as well as in Europe. Moreover, some academics think that the German system is much better than the others:

> "Nur wir sind, gemessen an dem, was wir an Geld in dieses System stecken—das ist meine feste Überzeugung—besser als andere Bildungssysteme im Schnitt. <...> Deutsche Studenten wissen, wenn sie einen Abschluss haben, sehr viel besser, wie sie einen Weg ins Unbekannte finden. Und das spätere Berufsleben besteht aus lauter Unbekannten. Da kommt man mit einem "Wissen" nicht aus. Und gerade in einer Welt, die so dynamisch ist, wo die Halbwertzeit des Wissens so kurz ist, ist es nicht wichtig, was sie gelernt haben, sondern wie sie es gelernt haben und wie sie es gelernt haben zu lernen. Und das hat das deutsche Systemes sicher besser gemacht, trotz aller Studienabbrüche."[155][Professor of Law]

Another opinion regarding this issue is that the process is driven by politics without thorough analysis of the needs of the present system of education.

> "Die Politiker haben schlicht so gedacht: wenn in den USA das System so gut funktioniert, dann übertragen wir es auch hierher",—says a professor.—"Dann muss das ja gut, da die USA eine erfolgreiche Volkswirtschaft sind. Sie haben aber überhaupt nicht analysiert was das System in der Feinstruktur ist, z.B. mit diesem gestuften Qualitätssystem. Zwischen einer fünftklassigen und einer Spitzenuniversität gibt es da einen

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[155]I am convinced, that, in average, we are better than other systems, taking into account the money that we invest in higher education.<...> German students know, when they get the degree, how they can find their way into the unknown much better. And the professional life consists of many unknowns. Here the pure "knowledge" is not enough. And in such a world, that is so dynamic, where the knowledge is ever changing, it is not important what they learned, but how they learned it and how they learned to learn. And in this area the German system is surely better, despite all the drop-outs.

riesigen Unterschied. Diesen Unterschied gibt es bei uns nicht."[156]

Further reasoning of why the European countries want to introduce the Anglo-Saxon model is that the image of the American system is very high worldwide.

> "We have lots of inquiries from India: "I want to take a Master's degree at your university." Well, we don't have that",—tells the head of the international office,—"but that is the model in their heads. How can you change it? If you run the campaign and say that is the right model. The same model as we have, have Austria, Switzerland, Poland, all Easter European countries."

Some academics think that Germany, being a part of Europe, just does not have any choice:

> "We are in this situation that politicians have set this aim and there is not much choice—the process is running and nobody can stop it anymore",—says the person responsible for Bologna reforms.

> "Ich glaube aber, dass wir in Europa nicht anders können, weil alle es machen"[157],—confirms another professor.

Some self–critical academics think that Germany could not do otherwise, because the Germans have very little self–confidence:

> "Der Grund, warum Deutschland sich damals dagegen nicht gewehrt hat in Bologna und den Folgekonferenzen, war schlicht ein—inzwischen zutiefst verankerter—Minderwertigkeitskomplex, den wir in Deutschland haben. Wir glauben uns selbst nicht mehr. Wir glauben nicht mehr an unsere Leistungsfähigkeit. Und natürlich sind die USA ein erfolgreiches System."[158]

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[156]The politicians have simply thought, if this system functions well in the USA, then we will bring it also here. And it will be fine, because the USA has a successful economy. They have absolutely not analyzed the micro-structure of the system, for example, this tiered-system. There is a huge difference between a second–rate and a top university. We do not have this difference here in Germany.

[157]I think that we in Europe cannot do otherwise, because everybody is doing that

[158]The reason, why Germany did not decide against it at that time at Bologna and the following meetings, was a simple one— but deeply anchored—inferiority complex, that we in Germany have. We do not trust in ourselves any more. We do not believe in our potential. And, of course, the USA is a successful system.

As one can see, the chosen reform format is an ambiguous and multifaceted issue, which cannot be judged unilaterally as positive or negative. The fact that is most commonly agreed upon, is that the launched processes are irreversible and it is important to make the best of it. As mentioned by an official responsible for the Bologna reforms at the university:

> "That is really not the question of to do or not to do, but of how to do."

The biggest hindrances in the process are—the resistance in the academic community; the fact that many scientists are not convinced by the implemented reforms, as well as the dis–coordination of activities undertaken on national levels, which was multiply mentioned during the interviews; the lack of information and appropriate knowledge about the ways to transform the universities and how to find a concept that will meet the objectives. Finally, the conservatism of the university, as an institution, and unwillingness to change the accustomed matter of things, does not play a minor role, either. However, there is a pressure "from the top", the political priorities and inner pressure of individual universities, which want to be modern, liberal and open to reforms. These aspects are driving the process to its objectives. Also, the Bologna process is a driving force in itself. By launching a Europe-wide discourse on educational reforms, it inspires and boosts reforms on the national level, which were long recognized as necessary but hard to implement because of the conservative character of the higher institution of learning. As articulated by one of the interviewees, that is one of the positive aspects in the process—"der Zwang, über Studienreformen nicht nur zu reden, sondern sie durchführen zu müssen"[159].

As concerning the issue of lifelong learning, the Bologna process did not add much to its general organization at the German universities. The most of the interviewees did not directly connect the fostering of lifelong learning opportunities with the Bologna process itself. However, the Bologna process contributed to the increased discussions around this topic and development of diverse offers in continuing education, as well as establishment of appropriate structures, such as the *Jenaer Akademie Lebenslanges Lernen e. V.*[160], which unites the Friedrich Schiller University and the Fachhochschule Jena in their effort to provide more opportunities for

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[159]The compulsion not only to talk about study reforms, but be obliged to implement them.

[160]The Jena Academy of Lifelong Learning.

continuing education to the people with different backgrounds and different needs. According to its administrative leaders, the establishment of this association was a direct effect of Bologna process and its directives of incorporating lifelong learning into the universities.

Chapter 7

The Armenian Academic Community and the Ongoing Reforms

7.1 Appreciation and Critique of the Bologna Process

Despite a number of difficulties which occur in course of implementation of the Bologna process in Armenia, it is generally seen as very positive for Armenian higher education. The reason for being optimistic and open towards the new reforms is mainly the willingness to join the European Union in the broader perspective, and participation in the Bologna process is considered as a step towards European integration.

> "Since Armenia has a principal priority decision to join the EU in the long run",—says a former Rector of a university,—"the higher education system should pave the way for the country preparing our human resources for this participation, for the active involvement and participation in the European area; and while the Bologna process moves to the common Higher Education Area, Armenia should become a part of it."

While the Bologna process is an imperative of the launched Lisbon strategy in Europe, for Armenia it would become a prerequisite for the declared European integration policy. Moreover, the Bologna process is seen as a natural development, a process as a "demand of the time", which is unavoidable in the conditions of globalization.

> "The general development in the world is towards globalization and that happens independently of the wishes of people",—says a Vice-rector for international cooperation,—"and it is natural that in this process of globalization, the education cannot remain in a vacuum."

The recognition of academic qualifications is considered a key aspect in the process as globalization of economy leads to increased mobility, and the recognition of diplomas becomes essential to facilitate it. In other words, the globalized labour market demands compatible degrees and qualifications and these are possible when the system is the same or at least when different systems function under the same framework, which would mean the globalization of educational process.

Armenia needs to be a part of a big system

Well, why are the reforms especially important for Armenia? Could the country not just stand aside and maintain the old system? Does the joining to the process mean that the soviet system of education which served so efficiently for 70 years is no longer functional?

The answer to these questions is simple. Armenia, being restricted in its resources, needs to be a part of a broader community and cannot sustain itself in isolation, especially taking into account its regional allocation.

> "Armenia has proved that it cannot prosper outside big systems",— says the former Rector,—"in the Soviet Union Armenia was prosperous. Again we need to be a part of a big system as a framework."

Similar points of view were expressed in the light that Armenia could not afford delaying the reforms, unlike powerful countries such as Russia or America, which have big economies:

> "It is obvious that Armenia could not remain in a vacuum, it would mean suicide. If we cannot stay in a vacuum, we should join a global system, that is the only way of our development." [Vice-rector for international relations]

According to this opinion, there are two global systems that Armenia theoretically could have joined: American or European. Historically, culturally, economically and even geographically Armenia is more attached to Europe, and the integration with Europe is regarded to be more reasonable.

The opinions regarding the question whether the Soviet system was not functional any more split. Some academics think that the Soviet higher education model, which was quite effective for the planned economy, i.e. the closed soviet system, is totally inadequate in the conditions of market economy. The changing socio-economic environment demands new approaches to education.

> "Sure",—says the former Rector,—the old system is not there any more. It has gone, this one–cycle system. If it exists somewhere, I don't know what kind of future it has."

Another opinion regarding the same topic, is that the old system was a good one:

> "I think that the secondary education in the USSR was even better than that of America or Europe, perhaps higher education had some drawbacks but for the country that we lived in that was a good system; and that is not true that it is not functional anymore, but the advantages of the two–tier system in comparison with the five–year degree programme, are obvious. Technology is developing very fast, knowledge is changing rapidly and the degree studies of a rather long duration become unprofitable." [Vice-rector for educational activities]

The advantage of shorter programmes and faster outcomes has been mentioned in several of interviews in comparison with old long–duration degrees:

> "If we wait 5 years to see what kind of specialists we get, we would be left behind",—says the Vice-rector for international relations, while talking about the IT sphere,—"and the knowledge they got 5 years ago would be outdated in this fast developing area of modern technologies."

Among those who favoured the old kind of system, some kind of "nostalgia" for soviet times could be observed. The general critique was that the fundamental type of education is being replaced with one which is expected to produce immediate outcomes for the labour market.

> "During the 1960s there was the boom of Soviet science, when the USSR had the first orbiter and had sent the first person into the space, the Americans were very surprised how such a country which is so less economically developed compared to America can have such progress. So they made investigations and the research showed that the general educational level in the USSR was much higher",—tells a Dean of a Faculty.

He suggests to make use of the heritage of the soviet system, particularly preserving the principles of fundamentality and polymathy in education.

The Society is not ready

Though the reforms look so promising at the first glance, there is an opinion among academics that the Armenian society is not ready for the new system. However, it would be wrong to "sit and wait" until the society becomes conscious of the reforms and their necessity. The issue here is a very delicate one: on the one hand it is necessary to push forward and stimulate the change, on the other hand the educational system is a conservative organization and hastening could lead to serious damages.

Several reasons were brought to substantiate the "unreadiness" of the society. One of them is the opinion that the society is "not healthy" and in such society any kind of reforms can have serious consequences. It is rather difficult to define what is meant by an "unhealthy society", because this term, being rather conditional, is arbitrary. In our case, the "unhealthy society" would mean a society with distorted concepts of values, norms and morality, as a result of its Soviet past and deprived economic and social conditions.

> "Once in the Soviet Union a concept of "experiment" was introduced",— tells another Dean, formerly Vice-rector,—"those with high grades (4 and 5) could enter the university without entrance exams and it led to the phenomenon that everybody who graduated from High School had only 4 and 5 in their Attestats. That already speaks about the level of society."

In a normal situation, one could understand from this statement that the school students were so motivated with the new decision, that the level of academic progress in schools jumped at once. That is, however, not the case. In reality, the "experiment" stimulated increased corruption at school level and that was brought as an example of unhealthiness of the society.

As a sign of "unhealthy society" the same Dean speaks of unfair distribution of job opportunities at labour market:

> "Unfortunately until now it is possible to get a job through a phone call[161], that means a person having high position can call appropriate people to promote his friend's child or relative to a job, and no matter what kind of knowledge that student has."

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[161]recommendation of some authority in some cases complemented by a bribe

According to some opinions in the conditions of a depressed economy, any reform introduces corruption both on school and higher education level, and the corruption can damage the system and cause the mistrust in reforms. That is why the reforms should be implemented with high level of caution, taking into account all the possible factors. A tricky point here, as compared to the intentions of the government, is that the government wants to fight against the corruption with this reform process while the academics think that the reform can worsen the situation with the corruption, because of the unfavourable economic situation and the general chaos connected with the implementation of the new system.

Another argument to the thesis "the society is not ready" is that until now the soviet mentality remains dominant. To define the "Soviet mentality" seems even more difficult than the "unhealthy society". What people mean by "soviet mentality" is the unwillingness to change, lack of critical thinking, non-professionalism, not doing the job properly, incapacity of individual work and self-directed education, not valuing knowledge.

> "The further success of a student in economical, personal, social areas does not have any connection now with the knowledge he gained at the university",—says a former Vice-rector, presently professor of physics.— "The demand for thinking individuals is very low. Professionalism is not at the first plan in our society, starting with the government."

The academics assume that the shift in the mentality is necessary but it would not happen within one or two generations:

> "Unless the student will realize that he needs knowledge, not the Diploma, the situation will not improve. For this we should restructure mentally. Some two generations should pass to come to the understanding that knowledge is important and not that piece of paper called diploma."
> [Dean of a faculty, formerly Vice-rector]

The change in the way of thinking and in comprehension of the educational process as such should take place at school age already, according to the opinion of academics:

> "The students should realize that they should do a lot of self-work, self-study. Our students are not ready for that. Because we don't teach them starting from school to work independently, to do self-study. That is the main drawback. Very often the students of 3rd year become very surprised when they get a task to do some research or to study something

without teachers instruction, only by getting the literature to the topic. They think what is the point of the teacher if he does not explain the lesson before giving the task? That demands a long time to change such kind of mentality." [Dean of a faculty, formerly Vice-rector]

7.1.1   The arguments pro et contra

(a) Positive

"I am of the opinion that any reform should be done for a positive purpose. If we expect negative outcomes the reform should not be implemented." [extract from an interview]

This is the response of one of the interviewees to the question on advantages and disadvantages of the current reform process for Armenian universities, but similar sentiments were usual among most of the interviewees. However, the interviews revealed not only positive but also negative aspects of this reform.

The advantages of the new system and the ongoing reforms for the Armenian higher education have been specified as follows:

1. For the Armenian higher education system, which is quite inhomogeneous due to the appearance of a great number of private universities and due to the drawbacks in legislative field, the Bologna process is an opportunity to harmonize the system, uniting the whole variety of educational establishments in an attempt to follow its developmental guidelines.

2. The educational system will be updated and brought to international standards which will provide its comparability and compatibility with the European higher education.

3. A cooperation of the universities within Armenia will be established, which was not the case before. As the Vice-rector for international cooperation mentioned:

   "That can sound strange but we have always had better contacts with our partners from Europe and America than with our Armenian colleagues."

4. The shift of the system from teacher-centered to student-centered, which will provide the students with more opportunities of individual development and self-directed learning and strengthen their role in educational matters.

5. Armenia will have a quality assurance system corresponding to the European standards, which will affect the quality of education in a positive way. The Bologna process provides an opportunity to cooperate with European universities in quality assurance and that will lay ground for mutual recognition.

> "If you don't check each other, don't trust each other how can you recognize and admit the degrees?"—says the former Rector.— "Measuring the quality is a precondition for good implementation of Bologna issues."

The importance of a quality assurance system has been multiply articulated by the other interviewees. It seems to be one of the priority concerns in the ongoing reforms:

> "It is very important to have a common system of quality assurance, because if I take a credit and estimate it, I should be sure that the criteria of and qualitative demands to acquiring that credit were the same." [Vice-rector for international cooperation]

6. The mobility of students and staff will be facilitated.

> "I think that would be wrong to restrict oneself in his own shell." [Vice-rector for educational affairs]

7. A more flexible system will be established due to the implementation of the credit system, which gives more flexibility, more individual freedom to make choices in life.

> "Formerly if a student did not pass a test in one area he could have been dismissed from the university",—tells a professor.—"That means if for example he had a conflict with a teacher, that teacher could bring him to dismissal. Now that is not possible. The students can gather their credits during the year, or get the missing credits next year, and so on."

However, if the credit system will be implemented just formally and not substantially, that can damage the higher education system and can negatively effect the quality of education.

8. There will be better students at Master level and the university will not have the added baggage of students who may not be capable or not willing to study the whole 5 years. The students, who need limited or specific knowledge, get a chance to leave the university after the Bachelor programme in search of professional fulfillment at the labour market.

> "That is very important",—says the Dean.—"The atmosphere on Master level is very important, if one part of students in the classroom is not aware of what's being talked about, that hinders the whole teaching and learning process. This two-cycle system gives us an opportunity to have better students on Master level, but of course as always and everywhere where are students who just slip into the Master programme and somehow manage to finish it. In any case if the 8 students out of 10 are above average, then the whole process of learning and teaching is on a better level, on a higher level."

9. Another advantage, according to different opinions, is that the new system is more adjusted to the needs of an ordinary student and to the provision of concrete specific knowledge. Such students are the majority and the demand for this kind of knowledge is higher:

> "There are people that would be excellent students no matter in what system of education they are involved. The best students will find their way anywhere, but this kind of system helps the students who have average capabilities. <...> The modern ordinary student cannot deal with the old five year programme. It is very difficult for them, moreover we gave much more knowledge than they would need during their later work." [Dean of a Faculty, formerly Vice-rector]

10. Bringing more democracy into education. According to academics, the reform process is an attempt towards the development of democracy in education, denoted by involvement of students and faculty into the university governance structure, though there are some doubts that the restructuring could take place more on paper and in words, than in reality, i.e. developing into just a formality:

> "I would not say that something has really been changed, the influ-
> ence of the state is still very strong. 50% of the university governance
> are the representatives of higher administration, 25% are student rep-
> resentatives and the other 25% are faculty representatives. There are
> lots of political struggles taking place, students are being involved in
> these political games." [Professor of physics, formerly Vice-rector]

(b) Negative

The disadvantages were defined as follows:

1. Possible organizational chaos during transition to the two-cycle structure and
   the implementation of ECTS.

2. Reduced duration of the first cycle. It is sometimes questionable if the 3 or
   4 year Bachelor programme can encompass all the necessary education for a
   separate outcome to the labour market.

3. Problem of the labour market: lack of trust and in some cases negative response
   to the Bachelors degree among employers and in society.

4. The risks regarding the quality of education. On the one hand the quality
   assurance system is supposed to boost the quality, on the other hand there is
   always a risk that the quality could suffer from the changes. Thus, according to
   academics, the reforms need to be implemented "carefully and thoughtfully".

5. Brain drain. It is assumed that the brain outflow from the country will increase
   as a result of improved mobility, comparable degrees and globalized labour
   market:

   > "I understand",—says the Vice-rector for educational activities,—
   > "that in condition of globalization that is inevitable.'

6. University education in Armenia becomes tuition-bound, the non-paid places
   are limited. That means that higher education will not be accessible for a large
   swath of the social stratum, for those from suburbs and remote villages, though
   the government develops scholarship and student loan programmes.

7. Some people look negatively at the fact that now, due to the transition from the planned economy to the market economy, the state does not control job placement and is not concerned how many specialists and in which areas does the country need.

> "At least",—wonders a professor,— "for example we could define how many teachers we would need, right? Because these are concrete numbers and we could know that."

8. The Bachelor programme is inappropriate in certain areas, such as Medicine and Art, due to their specifics:

> "Recently our Art Institute and Medical Institute by the decision of the Ministry of Education also shifted to the two-tier system",— tells the Vice-rector for educational activities.— "and later they started to think if that was appropriate, because these areas have their specifics. What a Bachelor of Art would mean or a Bachelor in Medicine? Even more, this two-tier system in Medicine is in the contradiction with the standards of World Health Organization."

7.1.2   Factors promoting and hindering the reforms

(a) Reform boosters

Among the factors promoting the reforms in the country there have been defined:

- supportive national legislation—the Law on Higher and Postgraduate Education;

- the state policy towards European integration;

- Armenia's membership in the Bologna declaration;

- traditional Armenian strive towards education;

- good contacts and cooperation with European universities.

One of the challenges of the Bologna process is to make the higher education across Europe more compatible at the same time retaining and promoting the cultural diversity. That is also the wish of Armenian higher education policy makers: to keep their own principles and create their own model which would take into account

Armenian peculiarities and at the same time be comparable with European higher education and comply with Bologna principles.

> "Finally there are no obligatory structures that we should apply",— tells the Vice-rector,— "that is a question of comparability. There are no ready prescriptions that one should just take and apply and say that it complies with Bologna directives. <...> Of course it can happen that we do not implement all the changes as they are written in the papers, but keep some individuality, maintain the distinctiveness of Armenian higher education."

The Bologna process is seen as a framework, which outlines the main principles but the specifics of the national system of education should be preserved. On the other side, this framework and the willingness to match with the European scheme appears to be one of external driving forces, which promote the reforms in the higher education landscape in Armenia.

(b) Shortcomings and difficulties

The hindering factors were defined as follows:

- low motivation and resistance to changes in Armenian HEIs;

- insufficient awareness and lack of information on Bologna process;

- lack of incentive and necessary financial resources;

- lack of qualified leadership for the reformations in HEIs;

- conservatism of the higher education system, especially of universities;

- underdeveloped legislative field: there are no state standards and norms concerning the place of Bachelor-Master in the labour market.

1. The haste.

The pressing deadlines put by the European and national authorities lead to the haste in educational reforms. The European Higher Educational Area should be established before 2010 and the Armenian authorities have placed the deadlines at 2005/06 for the shift to the two-tier system and 2007/08 for the shift to the credit

system. Such pressure and haste can have negative consequences and result in the formalized but not substantial reforms.

> "Any reform can just harm the system and never lead to any positive result, if it is realized in an accelerated tempo and without any fundamental and preliminary work and research," [Vice-rector for educational activities]

2. Re-labeling.

Re-labeling is a phenomenon that is taking place in a number of Higher education institutions in Armenia. The old curriculum is just divided in two, this divisions get their labels: Bachelor and Master, thus only a nominal change is taking place and not substantial. In other cases, the 5-year programme is just pressed in 4 years and named Bachelor and the Master program repeats most of the main courses in a shorter period.

> "It's a very erratic approach",—says the former Rector.—"Because the main essence of this transformation is that every level should have its own exit to the labour market. <...> Each one should be a full cycle; we cannot just divide it into parts, artificially. We should reinvent two independent programmes."

3. The sequence of the programmes.

The principle that each of the programmes has a separate outcome and is a complete cycle is not always preserved. The Master degree is often considered as a "jumping point" for the PhD studies but as an interviewee says Master should not be a preparatory course for the PhD:

> "If some of Master graduates will study at postgraduate level—that is a different question. But we should prepare our Master students to work in the labour market and their qualification should be higher than at the preceding level." [Professor]

According to his opinion, all three cycles have their assignment: the first cycle produces the operators, the second one—innovative people, and the third one—scientists:

"The first one we need to maintain our industries, next level is pre-condition for developing of industries and the third level is the engine for innovation and technological development of national industries." [former Rector]

An actual repetition of the Bachelor programme, though more theory-oriented, takes place at the Master level, because "all teachers and professors wanted to put their courses in Bachelor programme", However the Master program should be a new separate programme with new courses and new material being a new study level, and not a repetition of Bachelor.

4. The response of the labour market to Bachelor and Master structure.

The problem of the labour market can be considered from two points of view:

- there is no appropriate legislative ground for job positioning, and

- the Bachelor degree is wrongly regarded as an incomplete higher education degree.

The cause of the major difficulties is that there is no structured educational market in Armenia, no regulations defining criteria concerning the job requirements and the lack of legislative standards for job positioning, leading to a kind of confusion: which are the positions that should be occupied by Bachelor and which are those designed for the Master graduates?

The second cause is the belief that the Bachelor degree is an incomplete higher education degree. Despite the fact that the Law on higher education in 1999 declared the Bachelor degree a separate full higher education degree, Armenian society stubbornly refuses to accept this.

"It is very difficult to change the mentality of people",—says the Dean.— "Until now some professors at the university think that the Bachelor is not a higher education degree, but is an incomplete higher education degree. The reason for that is that until now our government has no law or order which states where the Bachelor can work. That's why those who graduate from the Bachelor programme want by any means to continue in Master—something that is not intended by these reforms."

As a matter of fact the Armenian labour market today is still in free–fall.

5. Lack of awareness and appropriate information.

One of the main problems and a hindering factor is the lack of information and low awareness on current reforms among academics, students, administration and even policy makers. There is no clear understanding of the Bologna process, of the principles of reforms, of such issues as modularization, and the credit system.

> "We are doing the reforms but we do not realize to the end the core of these reforms. We have a lot of issues which we understand only up to half. This can bring to loses." [Dean, formerly Vice-rector]

This can be explained partly by the fact that there are no clear definitions what a credit should mean and what a module should be composed of.

6. Resistance and unwillingness to change.

There is a resistance towards the changes within the academic community and in the society. Where does the resistance come from? First of all, it is connected with the general unwillingness to change and the necessity of taking additional knowledge and doing extra work.

> "Any new thing is not welcomed",—says the Vice-rector for international cooperation,—"people say why should we change, what's wrong with the old system? Some people do not want to make efforts to obtain additional knowledge."

Secondly, there is an aging problem at the universities. Most of the faculty and staff are people of retirement age or close to that. Young people rarely stay at the university because the state salaries are very low, especially for those who have just started their academic career. After graduation, they either leave to work in the private sector, or the most talented of them go abroad for further studies. The older faculty is very conservative. They have their own conceptions of how the things should look like, there is very low motivation towards acquiring the new information and mistrust in the reforms.

> "That is a universal problem everywhere, I think",—says the former Rector.—"Most of professors and administrators face aging problems. They are more conservative. They don't want to learn what they don't know. They don't trust it. They think its something artificial."

7. Financial difficulties and lack of resources.

Lack of funding. The reforms need serious investments which the state cannot provide. The higher education institutions mostly use their own resources or get support from different European granting programmes, like Tempus, or the Open Society Institute, which also cannot cover all expenses.

> "We need serious financial investments",—says the Vice-rector on international cooperation,—"which we do not have, especially on the national level. The support of the government is only on the words and papers. We get money through different European projects, but that could be only a supportive means. We need the national financial policy in this respect."

Poor technical equipment and access to the Internet. Most of universities lack good technical infrastructure, and the students do not have free access to computers and the Internet. In the new system, where self-study and individual work should compose the greater part of students educational process, that is a big disadvantage:

> "According to the new system, the student should be loaded not more than 24 hours (the seminars and lecture hours) but today we have 34 hours",—tells the Dean.—"Well, why don't we shift to a 24 hour load? Because to shift to 24 hours, we should have a good library, a good technical base, every teacher should have his workplace, so that the student could find him if he wants."

The conditions in which the faculty works are no better. There are even not enough working places for teaching staff.

> "We have Chairs at our university",—tells the same interviewee,— "which have only one working room and 50 teachers and it is obvious that 50 teachers cannot sit in one room. Of course, some teachers have lectures seminars when others do not have, but imagine if by chance all the teachers appear in that room at the same time. That is not normal. Consultations are not possible in such conditions."

Similar is the situation with libraries. The newest literature is hardly accessible, because it is not affordable for most libraries. Though there are big libraries, there is no "culture of library usage".

> "Our society has no library culture, has no culture to use the libraries.
> For example we are not allowed to enter the place where the books are
> stored, something that in Europe is practiced more than for 50 years now.
> We have to get the books from librarians, because there is fear that the
> books can be stolen or destroyed." [former Vice-rector]

8. Problems in implementation of the credit system.

The implementation of the credit system is progressing with difficulties first of all
because of resistance of the academic staff which does not want to change. There is
not a clear understanding of what a credit should mean. Some teachers think that
it is a new grading system, most of them are not used to this kind of knowledge
assessment where a lot of factors should be taken into account, such as self and group
work.

Then, some academics think that the credit system is very formalized, like any
testing system, because it cannot estimate the real knowledge of the student, it just
makes sure that the student knows the subject but *"you can't know the abilities of the
student to think, at which depth the student knows the subject"* [Professor, formerly
Vice-rector].

9. Emergence of private universities.

Another process which took place in higher education system after the collapse
of the USSR is the appearance of non-state Higher Education Institutions, which
could have formed a competitive base. Over the last decade their number increased
enormously and reached 72, while there are only 18 state universities. The quality
of education in these institutions is very low, despite the fact that they are formally
accredited. But due to the lack of common state standards in higher education, the
assessment criteria are very unclear.

> "I am very against opening so many private universities",—says the
> Dean.—"The people who are opening them just have found a way to
> make money. The private universities don't provide quality, they don't
> have appropriate teaching resources, don't have a serious library."

Some academics are concerned that the Diplomas of these universities can be used
to occupy good jobs or to continue studies abroad and that can bring to a kind of

mistrust in educational institutions. The quality assurance system, corresponding to the European standards, in their opinion, can struggle against this phenomenon.

> "All these private institutions, they cheat people. They say they are international and such things, but nobody cares, nobody checks. If you have a good quality assurance system, everything would be different. Accreditation agencies in Armenia should have a very good assessment base." [Former Rector]

7.2   Lifelong Learning and the Armenian University

The idea of lifelong learning is not well developed within the Armenian society. Armenia has no structurized national system of lifelong learning though there are a number of non-university providers for education and training. These are small private organizations, private handicraft workshops and enterprises, which provide trainings in a number of popular areas, like language training, ICT literacy, management, economics, accountancy, and audit. Recently an "Adult Education and Lifelong Learning Association" was established as an association of individuals willing to promote the development of Adult education and lifelong learning in Armenia. The aim of this Association is to develop an effective system of adult education in Armenia. Its activities are directed towards creation of strategies and legislative base for the development of lifelong learning in Armenia, the organization of Adult Education weeks, conferences, workshops, assisting to elaboration of AE training programmes and introduction of Adult Education chairs at Armenian universities.

On the governmental level, the Law on Education articulates the term "supplementary education" under which lifelong learning is understood. The Article 26 on Supplementary Education of the Law states:

> "Supplementary academic programs shall be implemented with the aim of meeting the requirements of individuals and the society. The major objective of supplementary education at each level of professional education is the continuous development of persons' professional qualification."

> "Supplementary education shall be conducted in general, professional and supplementary educational institutions, as well as through individual pedagogic activity, procedures of which shall be defined by the Government of Armenia. Higher Education Institutions may provide lifelong

learning programmes within the framework of their educational activity, either free of charge, or in return for payment."

Within the academic community there is an opinion that, because of the lack of Adult education and lifelong learning structures in Armenia, the universities should become the main provider of lifelong learning by reaching out to broader communities through their outreach structures.

Lifelong learning is understood as a very broad term which can include supplementary education, continuous education, faculty retraining courses, and correspondence courses.

Correspondence course

The soviet system had two types of structures which, in the opinion of some academics, could be considered as lifelong learning provision. These were: correspondence courses and quality improvement trainings. The correspondence courses were organized at the HEIs and presented a type of compact lectures and seminars delivered during a short period of time in an intensive form and followed by exams. Quality improvement was organized at profile-specific organizations and had no connection to the university.

Presently, there is a debate to re-open the correspondence courses. With the improvement of labour market conditions the demand for such courses increased.

> "We want to restart the correspondence courses using the new technologies",—says the Vice-rector for educational activities,—"to organize distance courses to promote adult learning. Once we had to stop the correspondence courses because they became unnecessary. The correspondence courses are intended to respond to the need of people on job and if there is no job these courses just disturb the regular courses. Now the situation is different. We want to restart the correspondence courses to give working people opportunity for extra studies, also that is a chance to acquire second higher education degree."

In general there is a lack of understanding and awareness of the concept of lifelong learning in society and non-formal education is low valued.

> "Lifelong learning is very important in the modern society",- states the Dean,— "because the life is fast, the life is changing fast, the technologies

are changing fast and you should go in line with changes. If you want
to be an educated person, you should become a lifelong learner. But our
society is not aware of that, these ideas are not integrated in the society.
A lot of people think if you have a diploma, so you can stop studying and
live happily the rest of your life. But that's not the case in the modern
society. For example in the IT companies today if you don't learn all the
time, your knowledge becomes outdated and maybe in some years you
would be asked to leave the company if you do not conduct self-study."

The task of the university

The main task of the university in promotion of lifelong learning concepts in
society is seen in "teaching to learn" rather than providing factual knowledge.

> "The main task of the university in this area is to teach people to
> learn, not to teach them everything, not to give all the information they
> need, because that is not valid, information changes",—says the former
> Rector.—"One of the most important competences is to learn how to
> learn. If you have this tool you learn what you want, you can get the
> information you need. That is very important, it is a new paradigm."

Then, development of appropriate structures, such as additional and continuing edu-
cation structures, faculty development centres, which could respond to the needs of
"inside" and "outside" people, is emphasized.

> "We are now creating a research and study centre in the area of in-
> formation technologies, one of the important functions of which will be
> also additional and continuing education",—says the Vice-rector for in-
> ternational cooperation.—Also, we have retraining courses for the faculty.
> That is concerning the "inside" people. It is also very important that peo-
> ple from "outside" have access to the university. It is necessary to build
> appropriate structures. So that any person who graduated from our uni-
> versity or another university could any time come here to renew or refill
> his knowledge in the area he needs."

The role of information technologies is seen as very big in the organization of lifelong
learning opportunities at the university level: organization of online and distance
courses, provision of materials, books and journals electronically.

"Information technologies are one way to learn how to learn,"—says an interviewee. Here, the free access to the Internet is essential and the lack of computers and Internet access hinders the realization of such projects.

The introduction of credit system is supposed to promote LLL within the university and facilitate the involvement of adult learners:

> "An adult learner can come and participate in regular courses with the younger fellows, take one or two courses and then obtain certificates with credits mentioning that he participated in such a course and take it to his employer. If somebody wants to obtain a degree, let's say a Master, it is not necessary that he participates in admission exams and becomes a full time student. He can take his credits from here and there in parallel to his job and collect the certificates. At the end when he has the necessary amount of credits he can apply to one of the universities for writing his final work and in case of success get the degree." [Vice-rector for international cooperation]

Another very important point, by the opinion of some academics, is encouraging the acquisition of foreign languages, as a way of promoting lifelong learning.

> "If you want to succeed scientifically",—says the Dean,—"if you want to be aware of all the modern developments, you should know English. Sometimes people say that we don't have professional literature in Armenian. But I ask myself if that is really necessary in such a small country as Armenia. All other people in the word use the English language literature. In countries like Denmark or Sweden, do they translate all this literature? No, they use English literature and nobody is surprised."

Openness of the university

The question of the openness of the university towards involving students of older age revealed several contradictory positions. First of all, it is necessary to mention that on the legal level there are no age limitations for entering the university but a regular student upon 28 is an extraordinary phenomenon at Armenian universities.

One of the positions regarding this question is that at present no university in Armenia is ready and capable to involve adult learners because of lack of experience in adult education organization and marketing, in organization of online courses on one hand and lack of demand on another hand and the major drawback is the lack of national strategy on LLL.

> "Of course we have some experience in adult education, for example offering computer courses to adults with the help of the faculty development centre",—says the former Rector.— "But in other domains there is no demand. For example, I don't see people willing to come and improve their knowledge in the energy field, machine building or whatever."

It is interesting that people correlate the increase for demand of additional knowledge with the improvement of economic situation in Armenia:

> "But as soon as the economic situation improves I think the need to get additional knowledge for adult learners will rise." [Vice-rector for international cooperation]

That can be explained by the fact, that if the labour market grows, it will be capable to absorb older employees and there will be more demand for new knowledge.

The low demand of LLL within the university structure is explained by two factors. First, the employers tend to employ people of younger age and adults don't have much job opportunities. Second, the employers prefer to organize such retraining courses within their own structures at their own enterprises because that requires less investment. Some academics find that a wrong approach and have an opinion that such trainings should be organized by the university in cooperation with the industry.

The other position is that the university is ready but the society is not ready yet. Adults will hardly come to study at the university or take a course.

> "That is now only a good nice intention",—tells the Dean.—"People themselves are not ready: a thirty-five or forty years old person is not ready to come to the university for attaining new knowledge. This culture is not developed yet. We have now so called continuing education courses, after the higher education. These are courses for teachers for faculty, providing newest developments in specific areas. But the teachers do not wish to participate. These courses are constructed on the same base as the general courses, providing actual stand of science. But very few people wish to take part."

Another opinion is that there are no age limitations and there are adults studying at the universities.

> "I remember",—tells a forty-five years old administrator,— "when the Russian-Armenian university held admission exams, they invited me to

take the exams and there were students who were even older than me. At
our university we also have students of older age."

The Armenian universities do not have a concept of family-friendly or family-
supportive education and there is hardly anybody who would understand what is
meant by that.

7.3   Concluding Remarks

It is supposed that the deadline of 2010 would be reached formally, but in fact
only some of higher education institutions will be close to the Bologna aim. Perhaps,
some compatibility with European universities would already be possible, but in a
whole the process of reforms should be done "slowly and carefully".

The higher education is moving towards European integration. As some academics
think that does not necessarily mean accepting and applying everything European.
The Bologna process is regarded as a framework under which a national higher ed-
ucation system will be established. The last signs of the Soviet model of education
will disappear and a new Armenian model will be created. The academics see their
task in providing more substantial education and preparing better informed students
and qualified professionals. They believe it is important that the students get more
freedom and do more independent work. Some academics expressed an opinion that
new interdisciplinary specialties need to be opened, such as Biophysics, and Biotech-
nology.

As many of the interviewees mentioned, the development of Armenian higher
education strongly depends on the developments in the country. There is a hope
that with the development of industry, the demand for new specialists and specialties
will grow. Many academics are of an opinion that the economic situation in the
country is gradually changing for better. This develops opportunities for more and
better professional chances of university graduates inside the country which means
the decrease of brain-drain. Another vision is that Armenia has all the chances to
become a regional provider of education in case the government conducts appropriate
politics.

"The higher education system of Armenia cannot have serious devel-
opment by only concentrating on the inner market,—says the Vice-rector
for international cooperation.—"If we want Armenia to become a country

> which provides education (because education can be also a product) then appropriate state policy should be formed and directed to that goal. I think it could become an intellectual centre for the neighboring Eastern countries. Among the three republics (Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia), Armenia is the leading one in the sphere of education and has much bigger potential to become a regional educational centre."

On the one hand, the expectations related to the implementation of the Bologna process are quite optimistic and refer to the increase of quality of education and approximation to "European standards". On the other hand it is seen as the only possible way to develop the country's educational system as there are no alternatives. Theoretically, there could have been other scenarios. Located on the crossroad of Europe and Asia, Armenia is forced to joined one of them. It is obvious that culturally and historically Armenia, as a Christian country, is closer to Europe. Another important factor is the influence of Russia. It is expected that Armenia will follow Russia, which is an important strategic partner, also in education:

> "Gradually we will come to European standards",—says the former Rector.—"Russia is also going in that direction. We cooperate with Russia in some projects and we will go in concert with Russia towards Bologna principles. I don't believe that Armenia will change this course, because there is no other way. We are not a Muslim country, we don't have another choice in this region."

Chapter 8

Comparative analysis

8.1 Preamble

Before turning to the discussion of similarities and differences in the approaches of the Bologna process in the two educational communities under study, it is worthwhile to throw a short comparative glance at the higher educational systems of the two countries presented in Chapters four and five.

Historically, the systems of East Germany and Armenia for a certain period of time shared the same centralized type of HE governance and imposition of the communist ideology. Both systems had to pass significant reconstruction and outlasted the fundamental shift of values upon the collapse of the socialist block.

Structurally, both German and Armenian systems were functioning according to the one–tier system which was mostly theory oriented. The duration of study programmes at universities in both cases lasted around 5 years, though in the German system the study period was not strictly fixed, like in the Armenian system. The study at Medical Schools in both cases was longer (6-7 years) depending on the area. There were, certainly, deviations too. For example, in Armenia the teacher training was realized at a Pedagogical Institute and lasted 5 years (with one semester internship at school), after which the graduates could directly enter the job. In Germany, *Lehrerausbildung* (teacher training) lasts shorter and is usually realized at the university (in rare cases at *Pädagogische Hochschulen*). After that, there is a formal trainee phase (2 years) in schools under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture, which ends with a second examination of final teacher qualification. Also, the Armenian educational system lacks such HEIs as *Fachhochschule*.

As we see the two systems have quite different foundations. However, their further

development is envisaged towards a common direction provided by their affiliation to the Bologna declaration. This gives enough stimulus for research and comparison of trends, tensions and issues, which appear to be similar or different on their paths towards the common goal.

8.2 Bologna Process: Appreciation and Criticism

8.2.1 Similarities

Resistance

One of the hindering forces in the process of educational reforms in Germany as well as in Armenia is the resistance of the academic community[162], which is expressed in the form of intensive criticism and scepticism about the "new" system of higher education, quite often in comparison and opposition to the "old" system. The in-

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[162]The observations are based on the interviews with academics in Germany, particularly Friedrich Schiller University, and in three Armenian universities: State Engineering University of Armenia, Yerevan State University and Russian-Armenian University. Similar perception is also true for the overall situation in Germany and Armenia. In the case of Germany, it can be traced through a number of scholarly articles published in "Forschung & Lehre" (see, for example, Müller-Böling & Rauhut, 2003; Stratmann & Kleimann, 2007; Stein, 2008; Grigat, 2008; Reiser, 2009a) and press (see, for example, Vobruba, 2009a, b; Schimank, 2009; etc.). The resistance in Armenian educational circles does not explicitly appear in published works. This is connected to the fact that: a) there are almost no academic writings related to Bologna process, as already mentioned in Chapter 1 and a very thin empirical base of official nature (Reports to Ministerial meetings); b) the policy related papers or official publications on university reforms are usually concentrated on the strategies of achieving Bologna objectives and, in their majority, are of declarative character. The ministerial communications often present an optimistic picture of the situation, usually celebrating the achievements of Armenian HE on the way to the European Higher Education Area and lack critical content. Thus, the data is mainly obtained through interviews and discussions (formal and informal) with academics from three leading universities and their assumptions on the general situation in Armenia. However, a limited number of critical articles appears in mass media, for example, in the issue of "Panorama" from 22.12 (Panorama:2006b), that reports about the Minister of Education trying to convince HE Rectors in the advantages of Bologna system, pointing out to the drawbacks of the old Soviet system. "Panorama" from 14.02 (Panorama:2007a) tells about the leadership of non-governmental educational and cultural organization "Reforms", who speaks against the Bologna reforms, arguing that the Bologna is not appropriate for Armenia and will only contribute to the brain-drain, which is a priority problem in the Republic. See, also, Seyranyan, 2009 (in English).

terviewed academics in both communities agree that the resistance comes from the conservatism of universities as learning institutions. However, the motivation of this resistance is slightly different in both communities.

What is similar is that in both countries the teachers and professors are not convinced by the intended reforms and do not believe that the current reforms could bring to better educational standards[163].

The German academics do not wish to renounce the traditional idea of the university. Grown on the Humboldtian ideas of the university with the notion of academic freedom and the unity of research and teaching, the professors feel that they will become like school–teachers under the "new" system, forced to undertake unnecessary didactical functions and brought under more control[164].

Some Armenian professors believe that the Soviet system of education with its fundamentality and polymathy once proved to be among the best ones in the world, the evidence for which is a number of prominent Soviet scientists and the scientific achievements of the USSR. However, they do not take into account that the system was under strong ideological direction. It was designed for the planned economy and the system is not adjusted for the conditions of market economy. The kind of nostalgia to the old Soviet system can be explained by the fact that during the transitional years to market economy, the educational system totally deteriorated, which brought to extensive losses in the quality of education. The efforts of educational policy makers to remedy the educational system did not bring much success: the quality being still rather low, the corruption progressing and the best students—looking at universities abroad. So, what these professors witness is that the old system is broken, the new system is not yet built, and they doubt if the new system could be as good as the old system once was.

Another reason of resistance, which is a universal problem, is that the higher education system as an institution is rather conservative and the academic communities in both countries are in a sense quite reluctant to change. It may be in human nature that people do not want to change the work process they have been doing for a long time, or may not want to learn new things, especially if they are not convinced of the reasonability of new developments.

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[163]Compare e.g. with Edel, 2006; Stratmann & Kleimann, 2007; Grigat 2008; Thurau, 2008; Gaehtgens, 2009; Reiser, 2009a, b; Brandt, 2009.

[164]Compare e.g. with Grigat, 2005; Edel, 2005; Thurau, 2008; Schimank, 2009.

What was similarly asserted by two academic community members, was the fact, that resistance comes mostly from the older academic personnel due to the reasons described above. Younger teachers, even if not very positive, are more optimistic and open to the reforms. In Armenian case that is because younger faculty members, as a rule, are more involved in international projects, thus being more aware of the diversity of educational structures world-wide and the reform process abroad. They have a more objective picture of the organization of studies on the higher educational level. In German case, the younger faculty is more ready to undertake additional functions; they accept that the process is inevitable and try to find acceptable solutions to cope with it [165].

Differences in the assessment of the process were also observed among academic faculty and administrative staff in the two communities studied. While the professors were mostly critical, the administrative officials were more positive. In Armenian case that is because usually the administrative staff is younger than the professorial; these are, except few cases, people who are directly involved in the implementation of Bologna objectives in Armenian universities. Also, as official representatives of the universities, they pose themselves as modern and progressive, as opposed to conservative and resistant, moving in concert with international developments. In German case, it is quite similar to the Armenian situation in a sense that administrators are the official representatives, who are there to push the process forward and to provide its implementation according to Bologna directives. Surely, they see the drawbacks, but they also see the advantages and try to achieve the objectives with minimum losses[166].

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[165]However, the results of the recent WiNbus survey (Jaksztat & Briedis, 2009) commissioned by the Federal Ministry for Education and Research, revealed that the majority of young scientists appraise the Bologna process critically, only 16% of the respondents have a positive opinion on the process (ibid: 7). Demonstrative is the fact that there is a large group of young scientists who changed their attitude to the process in the course of its implementation. Thus almost 50 % of respondents confessed that they are more sceptical to the Process today than five years ago, some referring to the process as an erroneous trend (*Fehlentwicklung*) (ibid). Nevertheless, despite the general discontent regarding the Bologna process, a great number of young scholars (41%) recognize the urging necessity for the reforms and think of Bologna process as an impulse for reconstructing the higher education system (ibid:8-9).

[166]Compare e.g. with Müller-Böling & Rauhut 2003; F & L, 2009.

Ambiguity of concepts and terms

The both communities mentioned difficulties in comprehension and perception of certain concepts articulated in the Bologna process, such as "employability", "module", "fostering lifelong learning". Characteristic were the remarks, like:

> "Den Begriff "employability" finde ich sehr misslich[167] (from a German interview).
>
> "Very low awareness about what they are doing, about the Bologna principles. Artificial approaches prevail. I brought just one example how they build the Masters cycle. The second can be ECTS. The people think that ECTS is a grading system only" (from an Armenian interview).

The problem of unclear conceptions is a common problem in Armenian and German universities. That is also one of the factors hindering the reforms. In both cases there is no clear understanding what modules, credits, etc. should mean and how the reforms should be implemented. As asserted by the interviewees, this is a universal problem for all the Bologna countries. The goals, the objectives, the guidelines are clearly described, but how to achieve them is left up to each individual university to decide. The problem occurs because the Bologna declaration and relevant documents do not provide exact definitions, which is also not always possible. Confusion also arises in the ways of implementation, as well as regarding the different perception of the same phenomenon in different countries. This means that if such terms as modules and credits can be interpreted differently in different countries (and even universities), the goal of compatibility and comparability of degrees becomes rather factitious. In Armenian case, the lack of information is another issue. Though the catchphrase "Bologna Process" is known, perhaps, to any person working at the university, only very few percent of them know the core, the meaning and the principles of the reforms[168]. That is due to the lack of resources to provide appropriate dissemination of information and consultations on the subject. Also, the inaccessibility (or difficulties in accessibility) of different sources of information such as the Internet and international journals on higher education issues plays a significant hindering role.

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[167]I find the term "employability" very awkward.

[168]Compare e.g. with 168hours, 2009b (in English).

Tensions regarding the Bachelor programme

In both communities studied, the introduction of Bachelor degree was accompanied with a number of difficulties. Similarities in assessment of the status of the Bachelor degree can be explained by the fact that the German as well as the Armenian higher education systems formerly functioned under the one-tier five year degree and are now faced the same problem of re-structuring the one-tire system to the new Bologna model. Thus, it was possible to draw several parallels between the two communities in respect to Bachelor degree:

1. In both countries, it is argued that the Bachelor is inappropriate in certain areas, like Medicine, Law, Theology, etc.[169].

2. The Bachelor is not regarded as a complete higher education degree qualifying for a profession[170].

3. The Bachelor is mistrusted by the labour market[171]

The question, which has not found its answer yet—if the Bachelor programme is suitable for studies in all study disciplines—is relevant for both countries. Faculties such as Law, Philosophy, Art, Medicine, Theology, even Psychology, and Chemistry are very uncertain about the occupational aim of the Bachelor in the mentioned spheres. If the Bachelor is to lead to a profession, then the graduates should find appropriated jobs at the labour market. However, the labour market cannot absorb these graduates, because it is not clear what they are good for.

This problem persists in both countries because there is no structurized labour market for the Bachelor graduates in general, and particularly not so in the mentioned areas. The labour market has not formed the regulative basis to involve the Bachelor graduates. There are no regulations defining criteria concerning the job requirements for Bachelors and Masters, and no legislative standards for job positioning.

Secondly, in some cases, the Bachelor is seen as a stepping stone to the Master degree, whereas the Bachelor is designed as a full-fledged programme leading to a valued professional qualification.

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[169]Compare e.g. with F & L, 2005; Arzt und Krankenhaus, 2009; Schulz, 2009.

[170]Compare e.g. with Panorama, 2007a; Fachschaftsrat der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Göttingen, 2008; Herrmann, 2009.

[171]Compare e.g. with Kaluza, 2008; Klaassen, 2008; Thurau, 2008.

The reasons for such a perception are similar in both countries. The first reason is the shortened period of study. The general attitude is: if the Bachelor is designed as an independent qualification with an exit to the labor market, it should provide enough knowledge for a profession, which is hardly possible to achieve within 3 years. This means that some study content should be reduced to fit in this period, which in its turn would decrease the quality of education. I see one major misunderstanding in such an approach, namely that Bologna degrees demand not only a reorganization of the system but also reconsideration of the concept. That means that the Bachelor programme is designed to be a lower qualification and not a pressed adaptation of the 5-year degree and that is not the intention of the process to make a shorter degree equivalent to the former long one. That is one of the main risks, that the 5 year study content could be compacted into the 3-year Bachelor; and the Master would be just a repetition with more theory, whereas the Master program is intended to be a new study level with new courses and new material. Another risk is that the old programmes could be just split into two and relabeled.

The mistrust towards the Bachelor programme in two countries is due to several reasons, which are similar in both cases. First of all, the novelty of the introduced degrees plays a big role: any new thing should pass the test of time before being accepted. Secondly, the absence of appropriate profiles for certain specialties makes it difficult to perceive the Bachelor programme as a qualifying degree. Another hindering factor is the absence of legislative standards on the state level regarding the descriptions and requirements to the graduates.

Better students on Master level

In both communities studied, the anticipation of getting better students on the Master level is very strong. The reasons are simple and quite similar in German and Armenian cases. The German academics believe that the drop-out rate will be reduced because of the modularization and that most of the students will leave with the Bachelor degree for the labour market, so only the best students will continue at Master programme. However, the recent HIS survey on drop-out rates at the Bachelor programme (Heublein et al, 2008 and 2010) revealed that despite the general decrease of drop-out rates in German universities, which now comprise 20 % (Heublein et al, 2010:6), there is a problematic development regarding the drop-outs in different fields of study. Thus, in contrast to the humanities and social sciences, where the

drop-out rates are now less than before, the drop-out rates increased, against the expectations, at the *Fachhochschulen*: from 17 % in 2004 to 22 % in 2006 (ibid) especially in Engineering and Economic studies (ibid:9). The highest rate of drop-outs was observed on Bachelor programme at *Fachhochschulen* (ibid:10). In Armenia, some professors believe that the five year programme is rather difficult for an ordinary student and those who do not wish to continue or do not have the capabilities, get a chance to leave with the Bachelor degree. Thus, the Master programme will absorb only the most talented ones. Another comment should be made here regarding the studies on Master level. Despite the expectations of academics in two communities studied, the students in both countries are not satisfied with limited quotas for Master studies. German students demand free access to Master independent of the Bachelor notes (e.g. Herrmann, 2009). The criticism is accepted by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research, and it has been promised that appropriate measures will be undertaken (e.g. F & L, 2009; Kaube, 2010; FAZ, 2010). In Armenia the situation is slightly different. There are limited number of Master places for immediate access upon completion of the Bachelor programme. As a rule the students need to pass the military service[172] before they can apply for Master degree studies. Only applicants who have the best grades can qualify for these places, distributed by the Ministry of Education, which grant postponment of military service duty until the end of studies. The students demonstrated against these quotas, arguing that it can hinder the scientific development because it is hardly probable that those returning from military service would be interested in continuing studies on Master level (Panorama, 2010). The representatives of both communities, however, do not take into account that the situation could develop quite oppositely: namely, that the best students get good jobs and leave with the Bachelor degree and the less successful ones stay to

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[172]Some clarifications here seems worthwhile. In Armenia there is a compulsory military service for men, which lasts as a rule two years. Studying at the state higher education institutions authorize the students to postpone their military service for the years spent at the university. However, this system functions only with regard to the Bachelor programme. For the Master programme, as already, mentioned, quotas exist. In Germany the military service is a mandatory component, too. Upon completion of the school, 18-years old men are obliged to serve nine months in the military. However, there are possibilities of alternative civil service (*Zivildienst*): the young men can refuse and opt for voluntary work (also 9 months) in nursing homes, hospitals or other civil organizations. In Armenia similar structures do not exist and it is very hard to avoid or not qualify for the service in the army. That is why, many young men would prefer to escape from the hardships of military service in favor of education at the higher education institutions.

continue for the Master, because they do not have alternatives.

Armenia vs Europe, Germany vs USA

The issue I am going to discuss now perhaps doesn't fall under similarities in the strict sense—that is the question of competitiveness and perception of national educational concepts or identities, if one can say that, in an international context. The parallel which one can draw out of the interviews in this respect is that Armenia is looking towards Europe and compares itself with Europe with regard to educational transformations, whereas Germany is looking towards the USA, comparing itself and being in competition with the USA[173].

The internal integration processes in Europe, including the creation of a common educational area, started as a response to the overwhelming role of the US political and economic influence, whereas in Armenia it is a part of the general strategy towards European integration.

It is remarkable that the same parallel is apparent when talking about the availability of resources for implementation of educational activities, as well as educational reforms: Armenian academics claim that the resources are different when looking at Armenian and European universities in comparison, there are much less financial incentives for Armenian universities than for European, the working conditions and research level is higher in Europe, while the German academics claim the same in comparison with the USA. Armenian universities strive for competitiveness with regard to Europe, while European universities tend to compete with American universities.

8.2.2 Differences

Flexibility

Some of the most striking differences are the perceptions of how the Bologna reforms affect the educational system of the both countries. For Armenian HEIs the reforms mean that the educational system is becoming more flexible, students get much more freedom in their choices. For the German system it is exactly the opposite: the system is becoming more school–like, students are told what to study,

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[173]Compare e.g. with Mkrtchyan, 2006; Panorama, 2006b; Tomusk, 2006:157.

and when[174].

This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that Armenian HE, which functioned according to the model of the Soviet HE, had a very rigid system: the curriculum was fixed, all the courses were consequently organized, the students were guided and controlled, they had only very little freedom to select between elective courses on the third or fourth year of studies. Now a shift from teacher–centered to student-centered teaching is taking place while self–directed learning and group-work (something which was not commonly practiced before) are being emphasized. The students are expected to spend less time at lecture halls and seminar rooms, and instead the time for individual and group work is to be increased. A more flexible system is to be established due to the implementation of the credit system, which will grant the students individual freedom to make choices regarding their educational preferences.

However, some academics think that the students themselves are not ready for such a shift. For those who are used to the system where the educational plan is prescribed beforehand it is difficult to change to a new comprehension of educational process. The students are not used to much individual work and self-study, because until recently the instructional methods of teaching were dominant. The Armenian academics believe that the reforms should start already at the school level, where basics of self-directive learning should be transmitted.

Also, as a heritage from the Soviet times, Armenia got a number of Research Institutions. Thus, research was for a long time separated from teaching. It took place mainly in these Institutions and the Academy of Sciences. The new requirements for joining and becoming a part of the European Higher Education Area demand the integration of research and teaching as a cornerstone of university organization. This, along with the structural transformation, is an issue of primary concern of the Ministry of Education as well as of HE leadership.

Quite the opposite is the perception in Germany: modularization brings a loss of flexibility, individual freedom of students (as well as teachers) is reduced. The university is becoming more school–like; and the loss of traditions is the major concern in the German academic community and is one of reasons of resistance.

The difference in the perception of German academic community from Armenian,

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[174]Compare e.g. with Fachschaftsrat der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Göttingen, 2008; Thurau, 2008; Winter, 2009; F & L, 2009; Reiser, 2009a; Stäudner, 2009; FAZ, 2009; etc.

can be explained by the fact that the traditional university education in Germany, based on the Humboldtian idea of the university, always ensured (except during the Nazi period and the socialist period in East Germany) a large degree of freedom for the student as well as for the teacher. Now, with the introduction of the new degrees and the modularized structure, this freedom, as assumed, will be reduced for the both partners in the academic teaching and learning process.

This happens, first of all because of the tendency towards a more school type education at the university, which is referred to the German debates as *Verschulung*[175]. In traditional system, the university lecturer or professor was regarded primarily as a researcher who transmits knowledge to his younger colleagues (students) in the community of teachers and learners (*"Gemeinschaft der Lehrenden und Lernenden"*). The new system is more school–like: due to the standardization of study programmes and modularisation, students get more directives, and have less freedom of choice concerning lectures and seminars. Thus, self–responsibility is reduced and the students are told what to study and when.

The academic freedom is reduced also with respect to the teacher. Within the given framework of modules his freedom to decide upon the topic of courses is more limited.

Secondly, the idea of the university as a place of independent thinking and researching and the development of a widely educated personality, is yielding to the idea of the university as a place where qualified professionals are prepared.

Mobility

Another difference in the perception of reforms between Armenian and German academic communities regarding the implementation of Bologna objectives is that the Armenian academics and administrative leaders expect the facilitation of student mobility. In opposite, the German academics believe that student mobility within Europe will be hindered by the current reforms[176].

The reasons for this are as follows. It is obvious that the creation of the European Higher Educational Area is a chance for Armenian students to have comparable degrees and programmes and to be able to continue their studies in European univer-

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[175]Compare e.g. Grigat, 2005; Stäudner, 2009; FAZ, 2009.

[176]Compare e.g. with Müller-Böling % Rauhut, 2003; Täubner, 2008; F & L, 2009; Meyer, 2009; Pfeilschifter & Wicht 2009; Balzter, 2010.

sities. The introduction of Diploma supplement and ECTS will enormously facilitate this process. Also, with the involvement of Armenian HE in the Common European Higher Educational Area, there is a chance that student exchange programmes will be established which will help to solve a part of the financial obstacles to mobility.

In German case, such exchange programmes have long been established and has been proven to function in the best manner, and student and faculty mobility was always encouraged. Among academics, there is an opinion that instead of promoting mobility, the Bachelor–Master structure and the modularized programmes will hinder it. Mobility on the Bachelor level could not be realized: a) because the short period of studies does not allow the students to accomplish a semester abroad; b) the modularization leads to an increased profiliation of the universities, which means that the modules differ widely everywhere. So the only possibility for shifting from one university to another is the so-called vertical mobility, which takes places first at Master level, i.e. Bachelor in one university, Master in another.

8.3 Fostering Lifelong Learning—the Same Formula for Both Cases? Similarities and Differences

8.3.1 Lifelong learning structures

Unlike Germany, which has a long tradition of organized forms of adult education and quite a differentiated lifelong learning system that includes *Volkshochschule*[177], Churches, Companies, Political Academies, State and private suppliers, Armenia has no structurized national system of lifelong learning. There are a number of non-university providers for education and training in Armenia, which are small private organizations and handicraft workshops, providing trainings in a number of popular areas, such as language training, ICT literacy, management, economics, accounting, and audit.

The inherited Soviet system of correspondence courses and quality improvement, that could be categorized under lifelong learning, did not work after the collapse of the Soviet system. However there is an ongoing debate to re-open these courses.

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[177]Community college.

Furthermore, the Armenian universities have in their structures such divisions as Faculty development centres or career development centres which the German universities do not have. The Department of Continuing education in Armenian universities can be compared with the Division of Further Studies (*Weiterbildung*). Here there are also differences in the organization and provision. For example, the PhD in German universities is considered to be a *Weiterbildung*, whereas in Armenian universities it is carried out at the Department for Postgraduate Studies—*Aspirantura*. Another difference is that the Department of Continuing Education in Armenian universities is like a small university within the university, providing diverse educational possibilities for graduates and students, whereas in German universities the *Weiterbildung* is integrated into each Faculty and the organization of lectures or courses is the responsibility of the Faculties.

Recognition of prior learning as one of the aspects of lifelong learning in Bologna process is underdeveloped in both countries. There is no established system for the assessment of prior learning in Germany as well as Armenia. It is supposed that the introduction of the credit system will promote accreditation of prior learning. The Armenian academics believe that within Armenian society the non-formal education is undervalued.

8.3.2   The role of the university

It is to be expected that given such different conditions in the adult education provisions in the two countries, the approach to lifelong learning in universities will be also different.

In Germany, the role of the university in integrating lifelong learning approaches is seen as a provider of higher knowledge, which is also research–oriented, in comparison with, for example *Volkshochshulen*, which supply a more practical training. It is believed that the university presupposes a certain level of education and familiarity with scientific methods and standards. Some opinions claim that it cannot be a legitimate task of the university to ensure broad educational opportunities for all. Another point of view is that lifelong learning is something that the university does not need to undertake, as there is a number of other institutions providing training and education in a number of areas, like *Volkshochschule*, Political Academies, etc.

However, the designation of the university regarding the development of lifelong learning approaches is assumed to be different from those of the *Volkshochshulen* or

other non-university providers of lifelong learning. The kind of knowledge delivered by the university is research and science oriented. *Volkshochshulen* and other lifelong learning providers have other fundamentals.

On the Armenian side it is believed that because of the lack of Adult education and lifelong learning structures, the universities should become the main providers of lifelong learning by reaching out to broader communities through their outreach structures and cultivating the idea of lifelong learning in students. Also, within Armenian society there is a lack of understanding and awareness of the concept of lifelong learning.

8.3.3   Adult learners

The degree of involvement of adult learners in universities is also varying in the two countries.

In German case the involvement of adults is quite high: the adults can attend (and they do attend) lectures and seminars as guest students. In Jena university there is, for example, the established *Seniorenstudium*, where any person above 50, irrespective of his other educational background, can enroll. As for faculty training, there are always opportunities to attend courses, e.g. in foreign languages or in didactics. However there is an opinion that the university's threshold is high and the image of the university as a place for young people is very strong.

In Armenian case, the situation is different. Though on the legal level there are no age limitations for entering the university, a regular student of 28 years of age is an extraordinary phenomenon. The are several reasons: firstly, at present very few universities in Armenia are ready and capable to involve adult learners because of the lack of experience in adult education organization and marketing, and in organization of online courses. Secondly, there is no national strategy on lifelong learning which is a big hindering factor. The third reason is the lack of demand. The culture of adult learning is not developed in the society, the image of the university is very alien to that: adults will hardly go to the university to study or take a course.

The one perception which is common in both communities studied is the belief that the university can contribute in the reflection on learning and the understanding of its importance. The task of the university, as expressed by interviewees from the both sides, is to teach people to learn and to instill the desire for search of truth and for lifelong learning.

8.3.4 Family-supportive education

Though the idea of family supportive education is new both to German and Armenian universities, there are still slight differences in the approach to the problem. In Armenian case hardly anybody would understand what a family-supportive system means. There are kindergartens integrated in some German universities, there are also young mothers who take their babies to the seminars, and the teachers are mostly supportive. That is not the case in Armenian universities: it is very improbable that a student will bring his or her child to the seminar. This can be explained also by the fact that family relations are still very strong in Armenian society and usually grandparents undertake the responsibilities of looking after the children, when the parents are busy with their study or job duties.

In German universities there is usually also a representative for women's equal opportunities who tries to find good solutions for students who try to combine studies and raising children. The Friedrich Schiller University, for example, has a Family service, which provides with a wide information bases for studying parents, as well as with practical help: every newborn receives a welcome package from the Student Union. Additionally, there is a baby-sitting service called "Juni-Kinder" with affordable prices for students. However even in Germany, like in Armenia, there is an understanding that the family–supportive strategies are not developed enough.

In both countries women (also men in Germany) raising children may leave for a certain time without any consequences for endowment or the threat of expulsion.

8.4 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, we have observed, that despite of different foundation on which the two educational systems rest, the academic communities under study share certain similarities, but also differences in the perception and estimation of the Bologna process. Regarding the lifelong learning concept as a task of the university, it was quite difficult to draw parallels between the Armenian and German systems because the background and the level of development of lifelong learning structures in both countries differ extremely. However, the comparison showed that even given the dissimilar starting positions the systems encounter similar problems.

One of the reasons to conduct international comparative analysis is finding solutions to revealed problems through an insight into a different system which faces the

same problem, thus contributing to the development of the field through "borrowing":

> "<. . . > it is hoped that learning from experiences abroad helps to adapt foreign experiences to one's own practice, avoids repeating mistakes and "reinventing the wheel" (Reischmann, 2005:136).

Gaining an insight into the structures and forms of education in different societies is also considered to be the main benefit of an intercultural comparison in education:

> "<. . . >to become better informed about adult education in other countries, its historical, societal, and cultural roots" (ibid).

The comparison is also important as a prerequisite of getting an in-depth understanding of one's own system:

> "<. . . >Observations made in a foreign country help to better perceive and understand adult education not only in the other, but also in one's own country" (ibid).

Another point is also winning an objective view of the processes in education. The analysis of a system in itself can be rather one–sided, whereas the comparison enables to view a phenomenon from different angles. Just one simple example worth mentioning: not knowing the German realities, I would probably have thought that the "Bologna system" would make the university education more flexible, also I would not have recognized the drawbacks in understanding of the principles of the reform process in both countries.

Chapter 9

Conclusions

1. General thoughts.

As we have observed, the Bologna process is a complex and a dubious undertaking. It was launched as a deliberate declaration of intentions of the European ministers of education to undertake actions in order to find common solutions to problems faced by the universities in Europe, confronted with expansion, globalization and fast technological development. In the course of these ten years, it developed into a highly committed undertaking, integrated into a broader Europeanization agenda with the European Commission playing an important role. Its non–binding character soon evolved into binding and even legally-binding for the signatory countries, given that the proposed HE transformation policies were translated into national legislations, thus obtaining a legal status.

It is safe to say that despite of its official deadline of 2010, Bologna is the kind of a process that will never cease at a point, unless it is replaced by another process, because it is improbable that the higher education system remains outside the dynamics of economical and political life. Moreover, it has a continuously expanding agenda, as we have observed, starting with a few action lines, where the shift to a two-tier educational system was the main issue, and gradually extended to ten action lines, including the lifelong learning agenda, doctoral degree, social dimension, etc. However, the shift to a tiered degree system is at the centre of the reform and public attention, the other components are there to ensure its successful shift and functioning.

The goal of achieving a European higher educational space, where the students and faculty will be able to move freely, where the recognition of degrees and diplomas

will be easy, where the quality of education will be high and the universities will be attractive to the other parts of the world is of course very enticing, but also ambitious. However, the implementation of the strategies, in the form of action lines, stirred a great deal of controversy in the countries involved. Apparently, the ambitious goals have not been achieved so far. As we learned from multiple studies, even after 10 years of Bologna process on the European arena, the process, its aims, and the methods to achieve these aims are interpreted very differently throughout the countries. The implementation of the Bologna process, too, proceeds differently and at a different pace, and as a result has diversified impact on the educational structures of the countries involved.

This observation is also true for the two educational communities under study.

2. Case-specific considerations.

As the study showed, the implications of the Bologna process for the educational systems of the two countries under investigation were multifarious. However, a certain convergence in approaches has been also observed.

Let us revisit the research questions defined in Chapter 1 and check the hypotheses. Regarding the first question, which concerns the attitude of the two academic communities towards the Bologna reform, the study revealed that the German academic community is more critical to the reforms, whereas the Armenian academic community is more positive and has big expectations connected to the Bologna reforms. This departs from the assumption that the two educational systems have joined the Bologna process from different starting points.

When Germany signed the Bologna declaration, the ideal of the German research university was, and still is, very strong and world–renowned. The necessity of restructuring the study programmes in the new tiered way, where the studies should be modularized, and the prospect of giving up the traditional *Diplom* and *Magister* evoked disagreement and resentment in the academic community. The resentment increased when it became clear that the situation with the mobility and the drop–out rates—one of the strongest arguments in the German debate in favour of the reforms (see e.g. HRK, 2009b), did not become better with the introduction of the new degrees. Moreover, the introduction of the new structure, instead of curing the existing problems, added new ones.

The Armenian starting point was the deteriorated educational system, as a result

of the collapse of the Soviet Union. Several years of persistent efforts to reestablish the educational system increased corruption in the universities as a result of the poor economic situation, which in its turn resulted in devaluation of knowledge, not to mention the diminished image of the Soviet educational system, though some nostalgic sentiments have been also observed (see Chapter 7). Thus, the Bologna process appeared as a chance to restructure the higher education system along with the European standards and as a prerequisite for the intentions of European integration in the long run.

Despite these two major contrasting points in the attitudes of the two academic communities under study, similar perceptions have been also observed. For example, the resistance as a result of the conservatism of the university as a learning institution; or similar problems faced by the two academic communities, such as the ambiguity of such conceptions as employability[178], labour-oriented degrees, lifelong learning; problems with introduction of the Bachelor degree; possible re–labeling of already existing degrees, a formalized way of implementation of reforms, etc.

One major aspect that was equally emphasized in the two academic communities was that the reform of the higher educational system was an urgent necessity in both societies, and the Bologna reforms, in this sense, have triggered an enormous reform dynamic, causing profound transformations not only on structural level: like the change of degree structure, introduction of ECTS, Diploma supplement, qualification frameworks, but also on curricular level[179]: revision of educational programmes, student–oriented approach, and more. The fact that the Bologna process gave an impulse for reflections and discussions about the reforms, and about the drawbacks of the current educational systems, was assessed as a positive aspect in both communities studied.

Here we come to the first hypothesis. Namely, that the study proved, that even given different starting positions, different backgrounds and incentives, the two compared academic communities encounter similar problems and share similar approaches to certain aspects of the process.

Regarding the second research question, which concerns the lifelong learning im-

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[178]For example, in Germany confusion occurrs regarding misunderstanding of the concept of employability, which is often translated into German and understood as *"berufsqualifizierend"*— qualifying for the labour market, although *"Berufsvorbereitung"* is meant—readiness or capability to be involved in the labour market.

[179]Particularly relevant for the Armenian universities.

perative in the new reform process and the attitude of the two academic communities, the comparison revealed that despite the significant differences in the organization and operation of lifelong learning provision, both German and Armenian academic communities under study recognized the need of reforming and restructuring their educational systems pertaining to bringing the university closer to society and integrating lifelong learning in its structure. However, despite the commonly agreed statement on the importance of lifelong learning for the future development of the university, lifelong learning is realized quite differently in the two universities studied. Another constant pattern could be observed in the two academic communities: the image of the university as predominantly a place for young full-time students.

For the German university this was one of the most important points—to break down barriers and make the university a part of everyday life, so that people of every age, of different cultural and social backgrounds work together at the university. For the Armenian university this was mainly the mentality problem, that hardly any person above 40 would come to the university for obtaining knowledge, notwithstanding the fact that legally, there are no age restrictions. The absence of demand in the Armenian society for such kind of education is also one of the reasons why lifelong learning strategies have not been thoroughly worked out.

In the case of Germany there is also a point of view that the university cannot be for everyone. This can be related to the fact that the German system of education has a very diversified vocational training provision, in the form of *Berufakademien*, *Fachschulen*, etc., as well as multiple lifelong learning formations, such as *Volkshochschulen*, different political and church organizations. Apparently, the university has always been in a certain distance from social issues.

Within the Armenian realities, the integration of lifelong learning in university strategy is to be even more emphasized because the Armenian educational system lacks such structures of lifelong learning and adult education as the *Volkshochschule* and the university is assumed to be the main source of knowledge acquisition.

With regard to the second hypothesis, we find out that the impact of the Bologna process on lifelong learning opportunities in both universities under study has been so far very modest. The Bologna process stimulated increased discussions on the issue of lifelong learning in the university context and provided policy directions. In this sense the two communities constitute a part of the international debate on the issue. However, so far the Bologna process does not have a serious effect on the concrete implementation of lifelong learning in universities which is predominantly impacted

by country specific considerations. In the two cases, but especially in the case of the Armenia, the discussions on lifelong learning did not proceed beyond rhetoric.

The reasons for such a peripheral approach to the issue of lifelong learning are several. The major reason is, however, the challenge of shifting to a three-cycled degree programme, but mainly the Bachelor and Master structure, and to a credit system. In both communities under study, the shift to Bachelor and Master, as well as modularization and implementation of the credit system, caused the most dramatic changes and has been regarded as the main issue in the realization of the Bologna process. It is possible that once the issue of tiered degree programmes and credit system is settled, more attention will be devoted to the aspect of lifelong learning and other Bologna priorities, like the social dimension. Other reasons include the perception of lifelong learning as something self–evident that will develop because of momentum (also discussed in Chapter 3:82) and limited financial incentives. In this case, too, the majority of available funds are allocated to the implementation of the structural shift, credit system and dealing with accreditation issues, whereas the expansion of lifelong learning, too, demands targeted measures and additional resources.

3. Implications for the idea of university.

When we now throw a retrospective glance at the discussions on the idea of the university, we can observe that the university is losing its elitist character. On the one hand, it is true that the university is being influenced by neo-liberal tendencies, on that other hand that does not mean that it is giving up the fundamentals of university education: the unity of research and teaching, academic freedoms and liberal education. It is hardly possible that the university will transform into a first class vocational training institution and it is definitely not the intention of the Bologna process. The university provision traditionally included a very wide spectrum of study areas and dimensions, and also today it cannot be limited to the professions demanded at the labor market. What would be then the economical purposes of philosophy studies, or literature, or linguistics and the like? If we interpret the "employability" as more related to the capacities of an individual to deal with professional situations and an ability to find solutions in a multiplicity of professional happenings, characterised by a combination of skills and competences that demand renewal in the dynamics of economical and technological development, then it could be acceptable even for the

university.

The traditional idea of the university is changing, but not disappearing. It is changing into a new idea, which is perhaps more economically–oriented but at the same time more emancipatory. Maybe the new idea is the balance between the two poles of economical aims and science for its own sake, in between of which is the society and its needs.

One thing became clear, that there is a strong understanding that the university should deal with the environment as it has certain responsibilities in the society. The well–functioning of the university could be realized only when the university is responsive to the cultural changes and will not be viable in isolation from the society and social needs. For that the university needs to open up to the wider society and be prepared to offer new forms of learning and of being educated in science. The university, indeed, has something to offer in this respect, namely, the really genuine living agenda of science and the scholarly world.

The study has shown that there exist a number of drawbacks in the Bologna process and certain areas demand reconsideration of methods, for example in relation to mobility and profiliation of the universities, inappropriateness of the Bachelor programme for certain areas (e.g. Medicine, Theology), measures that could harm the autonomy of the university or that restrict student choices and opportunities for self-development. On the other hand, the Bologna process offers opportunity to rethink approaches to higher education through encompassing the lifelong learning concept into the university, also through its structural organization. This opens possibilities to develop relationships and intelligent cooperation with the labour market, with different actors of formal and informal educational provision, thus creating quality for lifelong learning.

4. Outlook.

The present study contributes to comparative research by linking a scholarly analysis of the Bologna process to the existing traditions of the higher education research by applying a comparative design to the issue of implementation of the Bologna process in two different countries. It enriches the empirical understanding of the Bologna process in general and the understanding of the reform dynamics in the two investigated countries, in particular. The case studies of German and Armenian universities provide an in–depth exploration of the tensions and concerns regarding the

implementation of the Bologna objectives in the two academic communities. Besides providing a factual basis for further investigations, the study can help policy makers, administrative executors responsible for the implementation of Bologna directives, in understanding the developments in the two investigated communities.

The study could be also of interest for other higher education researchers, investigating the Bologna reform or other reforms in a cross–national context. The study contributes to the field of adult education and comparative education, enhancing our knowledge about the issues of adult education in the two diverse countries. The study could also be of interest for scholars, who deal with institutional change, particularly, who investigate the changing patterns of the university.

This study investigates the attitude of the academic community, focusing on the university faculty and administration. It would be worth, however, to inquire also about the attitude of the students towards Bologna reforms, as they constitute the other major group of the academic community. It especially becomes worthwhile in light of student strikes and the growing discontent about the new study structure.

This is one of very few studies which explores the situation in the so-called peripheral countries in Bologna process. It could be interesting to further investigate the implementation of the Bologna process in East European or CIS countries, also in comparative perspective. Examples include comparison of the implementation of Bologna process in two CIS countries to identify if convergence could be observed in realizing the Bologna polices, national policy change or in attitudes.

Further studies could concentrate on the investigation of individual problematic issues in the Bologna process which were identified by the present study in a case study or cross-country comparison perspective. Examples include the access to Master level: what is the situation in the different countries in comparison; how does the Bologna process impact on the relationship of different higher education institutions: did it facilitate the cooperation? Is there any tension between these institutions? In what form? What are the reasons? Examples include tensions between the universities and *Fachhochshulen* in Germany, also in comparative framework with similar formations in other countries, like universities and applied colleges in UK, etc. The relationship with the labor market and acceptance of the Bachelor degree could also be investigated in depth.

Further, given the dynamic of the Bologna process and its ever developing character, it could be interesting and worthwhile to observe how the attitudes of the academic community have changed in the course of implementation and explore the

reasons of the change, whether it is proceeding in a positive or a negative direction. It could be also useful to return to the issue of lifelong learning in a several years perspective to observe if the situation has changed in this regard and what are the impetus for that change.

Now, when the European Higher Education Area is officially launched, one could do a historiographic research. It could have been interesting to follow the process from its beginning to end and explain why it has taken a certain shape.

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Appendix A

Abbreviations

AE—Adult Education

AR—Akkreditierungsrat (Accreditation Council, Germany)

BDA—Bundesvereinigung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände (Confederation of German Employers' Associations)

BFUG—Bologna Follow–up Group

BMBF—Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung (Federal Ministry for Education and Research)

BP—Bologna Process

CHE—Centrum für Hochschulentwicklung (Centre for Higher Education Development)

CRE—Conference of European Rectors (the Association of European Universities)

DAAD—Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (German Academic Exchange Service)

DHV—Deutscher Hochschulverband (Association of University Professors)

EC—European Commission

ECTS—European Credit Transfer System

EHEA—European Higher Education Area

ENQA—European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education

ESIB—The National Union of Students in Europe

EQUAR—European Quality Assurance Register for Higher Education

EU—European Union

EUA—European University Association

EURASHE—European Association of Institutions of Higher Education

FRG—Federal Republic of Germany

fzs—Freiwilliger Zusammenschluß der StudentInnenschaften (The National Union of Students)

GDR—German Democratic Republic

GEW—Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft (The union of Education and Science)

GG—Grundgesetz (Basic Law, constitution of Germany)

HE—Higher Education

HEI—Higher education institution

HRG—Hochschulrahmengesetz (Federal Higher Education Framework Act,)

HRK—Hochschulrektorenkonferenz (German Rctors Conference)

KMK—Kultursministerkonferenz (Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Länder in the Federal Republic of Germany)

LLL—Lifelong Learning

OECD—Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development

RA—Republic of Armenia

RPO—Rahmenprüfungsordnung (Framework regulation for examinations, Germany)

SEUA—State Engineering University of Armenia

SFUG—Sorbonne Follow-up Group

UK—United Kingdom

UNESCO—United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNESCO-IIEP—UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning

UNESCO-IBE—UNESCO International Bureau of Education

USSR—Unity of Soviet Socialist Republics

WR—Wissenschaftsrat (Science council)

YSU—Yerevan State University

Appendix B

Interviewees

B.1 Germany

Prof. Dr. Reinhold Grimm: Professor of Romanic Studies at the Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena; Chairman of the German Accreditation Council (*Akkreditierungsrat, AR*); former President of the General Faculty Council (*Allgemeiner Fakultätentag*). Interview on 12.04.06.

Prof. Dr. Elisabeth Meilhammer: Head of the Chair of Adult and Continuing Education, University of Augsburg, at the time of the interview: Docent at the Chair of Adult Education of the Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena. Interview on 16.01.05.

PD Dr. phil. Eva Schmitt-Rodermund: Head of the Department of Academic and Student Affairs, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena. Interview on 20.01.06.

Dr. Jürgen Hendrich: Head of the International Office, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena. Interview on 03.03.06.

Prof. Dr. Michael Winkler: Head of the Chair of General Pedagogy and Theory of Social Pedagogy, at the time of the interview: Director of the Institute of Education at the Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena. Interview on 18.01.05.

Prof. Dr. Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr: Professor of Theology, at the time of the interview: Dean of the Faculty of Theology at the Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena. Interview on 03.02.06.

Prof. em. Dr. Karl-Ulrich Meyn: Professor emeritus for Law. Former Rector of the Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena. Interview on 26.01.06.

Dr. Andreas Unkroth: Head of the Study Center of the Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena in Erfurt; head of the Jena Academy for Lifelong Learning (JenALL). Interview on 16.03.06.

Prof. em. Dr. Ernst Prokop: Professor emeritus for Education at the University of Regensburg; visiting Professor at the Donau-Universität Krems and former Chairman of the Working Committe for University Adult Education (Arbeitskreis Universitäre Erwachsenenbildung). Interview on 28.04.06.

B.2 Armenia

Prof. Yuri Sargsyan: Former Rector of the State Engineering University of Armenia; Head of the Board of Trustees of the SEUA; Member of the Academy of Science of Armenia. Interview on 20.12.06.

Dr. Ruben Aghgashyan: Vice–Rector for International Cooperation and Educational Reforms at the State Engineering University of Armenia. Interview on 21.12.06.

Dr. Alexander Grigoryan: Vice–Rector of Yerevan State University on Educational Activities; Member of the National Committee on Bologna Process. Interview on 22.12.06.

Prof. Edik Ghazaryan: Former Vice–Rector of the Yerevan State University; presently Professor of Physics at the Russian-Armenian State University. Interview on 26.12.06.

Prof. Edward Chubaryan: Dean of the Faculty of Physics at the Yerevan State University; Member of the Academy of Science of RA; former Vice–Rector of the Yerevan University. Interview on 27.12.04.

Dr. Armen Budaghyan: Associate Professor at the State Engineering University

of Armenia; Deputy Dean of the Graduate Division. Interview on 21.12.06.

Dr. Arevik Sargsyan: President of the Adult Education and Lifelong Learning Association of Armenia. Interview on 20.12.06.

Dr. Benjamine Janpoladyan: Head of the Faculty Development Center at the State Engineering University of Armenia. Interview on 28.12.06.

Appendix C

Interview Guidelines

I have divided the questions into four main blocks. First are the general questions concerning *the perception of the Bologna Process*, second are *the legislative aspects in the process*, third is *the lifelong learning aspect* in the process, and final block refers to *internationalization and university strategic development*. Where necessary, the questions were adjusted to the local specifics. I also kept in mind some background questions (marked as BQ), which were designed to clarify the question asked or direct the answer to the relevant route.

Before the start, the interviewees were asked permission to record the interview. I have explained the purpose of the interview and my research interest. The recording device was checked and the interviewees were asked if permission was needed for verbatim quotes.

Bologna Process: General perception

1. "Bologna Process" has become a favourite catchphrase of journalists and policy makers at the same time provoking active academic debates. It has also become a key movement directing the reform of Higher Education Systems in Europe and still excites some confusion and perhaps certain resistance. What is your personal view of the Process?

2. Do you personally tend more to a positive or sceptic/critical view on the Bologna Process and what are your reasons?

3. What kind of expectations do you have from reforms?

4. What is, according to your estimate, the official position of your university (the Friedrich Schiller University/Yerevan State University/State Engineering

University) towards the BP? (BQ. Is it more open to accept and implement the changes or resistant?)

5. How can the certain position (positive/resistant) be explained?

6. What advantages and losses will bring the implementation of BP for the education system in your country (Germany/Armenia)?

7. What are the consequences for your university (the Friedrich Schiller University/Yerevan State University/State Engineering University) in particular?

8. Why is it important that a university with such old traditions, which once served as a model of a university for the world now moves in this new direction? (BQ: Do you think that traditions of German university are not quite competitive with democratic education system or cannot produce sufficient excellent scholars?) / Why is it important that the Armenian university with old traditions and established system of soviet school which once produced prominent scientists and scholars, now moves in this new direction?

9. Which factors do, in your opinion, impede and which promote the university transformations?

10. What are the difficulties of adopting the new structure?

11. Why are certain points particularly difficult?

Legal aspects

1. According to which model does the innovation and change take place?

   A. Top-Down: The Ministry sends directives to *Länder* (in the case of Armenia: to university rectors) and imposes the changes to universities.

   B. Self-government/self-decision: The Professors/Faculties/Chairs are completely autonomous in their decision to implement the innovation and perform changes.

2. How does the government cooperate with the *Länder*[180] and universities in the matter of BP?

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[180]omitted in the case of Armenia

3. Is there any kind of imposition from the part of the Federal government and how does it go in line with the constitutional directives (Basic Law) regarding *Länder* sovereignty in educational matter and autonomy, freedom of academic research and teaching?[181] (BQ. Does the university resist certain policies transmitted from the State? To which extent is the university independent to accept or reject certain Bologna directions?

4. How is the university self-government maintained regarding the Bologna Process? (BQ Is there a room for manoeuvre for the university? In which area?)

5. What are the legal consequences of not accepting certain directives?

Lifelong Learning

1. The EU memorandum of LLL states that Lifelong Learning is no longer just one aspect of education and training, it must become the guiding principle of provision and participation across the full continuum of learning contexts. What is your opinion on this statement?

2. During the meeting in Berlin the Ministers emphasised that Higher Education authorities of all countries involved should urge Higher Education Institutions and all concerned to enhance the possibilities for lifelong learning at higher education level including the recognition of prior learning. What is your opinion on this statement? Has anything been done already at your university?

3. Which is the university's contribution towards the promotion and development of LLL?

4. One of the main objectives of Bologna Process is promoting employability. In this respect I would like to ask, how does the university respond to the needs of the society and the labour market and is it the task of university to adjust to the needs of labour market?

5. Individual motivation to learn and a variety of learning opportunities are the ultimate keys to implementing lifelong learning successfully, states the Memorandum of LLL. It is essential to raise the demand for learning as well as its supply. How would you interpret this utterance on raising demand for learning?

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[181]This question is irrelevant for the Armenian case.

6. Is the university ready/open to deal with recruiting new types of students (of older age): pensioners/adult learners in job or unemployed?

7. What kinds of possibilities exist at your university for adult learners, re-entry women and for faculty training/retraining?

8. The university is so overburdened with responsibilities and expectation, that perhaps it cannot undertake also the functions of Volkshochschule[182]. Do you think that such a problem exists, that the university performs functions of Volkshochschule while undertaking the LLL task? What is your point of view in this respect?

9. The main idea of lifelong larning is equal opportunity to education for everybody. In your opinion, how could the university contribute to this idea? Does your university have certain policies (position) towards family supportive education? Does it orient itself towards people who raise families? Is it a family-oriented system (in Germany/Armenia)?

10. What should (or could) be changed in this respect?

11. To your opinion, are there generally any needs for reforms in the area of LLL?

12. From the point of view of LLL perspective is there a vision what the university should reach within the 10 years?

13. Who will be the customers of the university in 10 years, taking into account the low birth rate? Does this problem really exist?

Internationalization/University strategic development

1. Is the university sufficiently active in the matter of international /intercultural exchange/communication?

2. In former times the students from abroad were more eager to study at German universities but now they prefer English/US universities more. How it can be explained? [183]

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[182]Omitted in the case of Armenia.

[183]Omitted in the case of Armenia.

3. What does the university do to promote the university internationalisation?

4. What kind of system for accepting/assessment of foreign degrees exists (existed) at your university?

5. What are in general the perspectives of the university development? Is there any vision of what the university should reach within the next 10 years?

6. What are the main elements of that vision?

Thank you for the interview.

Summary

The past decade was marked by extensive transformations in the European higher education landscape, caused by the so–called "Bologna process". This decisive process, aimed at the creation of a European Higher Education Area, is reshaping European higher education today, evoking profound structural and cultural changes in the organization of the university in Europe. It aims at bringing the educational structures to a better convergence in order to enhance the employability and mobility of European citizens and to increase the international competitiveness of European higher education. At the same time, the Bologna process touches upon not only the mechanisms of higher education, its organization, structure, curricula, but also upon the concept of the university as such.

One of the aspects in the process, which has been formulated as a separate action line, is promoting lifelong learning as an essential element of the European Higher Education Area. On the supra–national level, too, lifelong learning has been declared a prerequisite to achieving the goals of better employment, promoting economic growth, enhanced competences, high qualifications and mobility (UNESCO, OECD, EC). Higher education was for a long time separated from the discourse of lifelong learning and the Bologna process stipulated a new wave of discussion on lifelong learning in university context. The university now is expected to integrate lifelong learning strategies and concepts to meet the needs of individuals, society and the economy.

What we observe is that on the one hand the university is challenged with a dramatic shift of its structural organization, influenced by the imperative of employability and making the study organization relevant to economic demands. On the other hand the university is challenged with the imperative of lifelong learning, namely the necessity to realize education different from traditional means. And in-between is the academic community which is there to deal with these new imperatives.

The present study investigates the attitudes of two academic communities in relation to these new imperatives of the Bologna reform: the change of educational structures and the lifelong learning perspective in university context.

The implications of the Bologna reform and its lifelong learning imperative on the academic communities in two countries: Germany and Armenia are investigated. The two educational systems in transition—German, as one of the countries of European Union and Armenian—as one of the countries of Commonwealth of Independent States, are confronted with the same restructuring agenda in concert with Bologna

objectives. An analysis of the impact of Bologna policies on two very different communities, which are both signatories to the Bologna declaration and which are expected at the end to reach comparability and compatibility is undertaken on the example of two universities, namely the Friedrich Schiller University of Jena and the University of Yerevan.

Methodologically, the study is based on a cross-cultural comparative design with case studies. A comparative design proposed by Colin Titmus (1987) was chosen and adopted to the present study by embedding case-studies in it (see Fig 2.2). The focus of the case studies is not on the structural, curricular or policy level, but on the socio–cultural level: exploration of attitudes and opinions and analysis of argumentation.

The combination of methods used for the aims of this study included: review of literature and primary document analysis, the cross–cultural comparison based on case studies and expert interviews. For the purposes of the present study, semi–structured expert interviews of exploratory nature were conducted. The interviewees were asked the same questions in more or less the same order to provide better possibilities of comparisons. The interviewees comprised of former rectors, vice-rectors, deans, institute directors, administrative staff, professors and docents, higher education and adult education experts, officials responsible for the implementation of the Bologna process.

Based on these interviews, the study investigates the relationship of the two academic and research communities towards the current reforms, their expectations and their response to the drastic educational and cultural transformations. In a comparative context, the study addresses two issues: to which extent the universities are open or resistant towards the reforms and how the both communities are dealing with the appeal of fostering lifelong learning on the university level.

The intercultural comparison was mounted to discover how different educational structures operating within different social and cultural environments have addressed the same tasks and, perhaps, run into similar (or different) problems. The study reveals problematic points that have turned up during implementation of the Bologna process in the two countries and gets an insight into the two academic communities coping with social and cultural changes. In particular, it identifies forces and factors driving or retarding the transformations.

As the study showed, the implications of the Bologna process for the educational systems of the two countries under investigation were multifarious. However, certain convergence in perceptions of Bologna process and approaches to its implementation

has been also observed.

In particular, the study revealed that the German academic community is more critical to the reforms, whereas the Armenian academic community is more positive to the Bologna reforms. At the same time, similar perceptions, for example resistance to changes in both academic communities, have been also observed. The study proved, that even given different starting positions, different backgrounds and incentives, the two communities encounter similar problems and share similar approaches to certain aspects of the Bologna process.

Regarding the imperative of lifelong learning, the study revealed that despite the significant differences in the organization and operation of lifelong learning provision, both German and Armenian academic communities under study recognize the need of reforming and restructuring their educational systems pertaining to bringing the university closer to society and integrating the lifelong learning in its structure.

The study also revealed that the impact of Bologna process on the lifelong learning opportunities in the both universities under study has been so far very modest. Bologna process stimulated increased discussions on the issue of lifelong learning in the university context and offered some policy ideas. In this sense the two communities are part of the international debate on the issue. However, the Bologna process does not have a serious effect on the concrete implementation of lifelong learning in universities which is predominantly impacted by country specific considerations. In the two cases, but especially in the case of Armenia, the discussions on lifelong learning did not proceed beyond rhetoric.

The study has shown that there are a number of drawbacks in the Bologna process and certain areas demand reconsideration of methods. On the other hand, the Bologna process offers opportunity to rethink approaches to higher education through encompassing the lifelong learning concept into the university, also through its structural (re)organization.

The changing concept of the university in this respect could be perceived as under influence of neo-liberal tendencies, but at the same time shaping to a more emancipatory concept of an institution open to the wider society and serving to a wider spectrum of population of different age groups, social status or educational backgrounds.

Zusammenfassung

Das Jahrzehnt zwischen 2000 und 2010 zeichnet sich durch beträchtliche Veränderungen der europäischen Hochschullandschaft aus, verursacht durch den so genannten "Bologna–Prozess". Die diesem Prozess zugrundeliegende Absicht zielt auf die Schaffung eines gemeinsamen Europäischen Hochschulraums. Dieses Paradigma ruft tief greifende strukturelle und kulturelle Veränderungen in der Organisation der Hochschulen Europas hervor. Ziel ist es, die Konvergenz der Bildungssysteme zu verbessern, um sowohl Berufsvorbereitung und Mobilität europäischer Bürger als auch die internationale Wettbewerbsfähigkeit der europäischen Hochschulen zu steigern. Der Bologna-Prozess betrifft nicht nur die Formalien der Hochschulbildung—ihre Organisation, Struktur und Lehrpläne—sondern auch das Konzept der Universität als solches.

In einer eigenständigen Richtlinie im Bologna-Prozess wurde das Lebenslange Lernen als essentielles Element der Hochschulbildung identifiziert. Auch auf supranationaler Ebene wurde Lebenslanges Lernen als Voraussetzung für bessere Arbeit, Förderung des ökonomischen Wachstums, gesteigerte Kompetenzen, höhere Qualifikationen und Mobilität deklariert (UNESCO, OECD, EC). Während die Hochschulbildung und das Lebenslange Lernen lange Zeit Gegenstand getrennter Diskussionen waren, löste der Bologna-Prozess eine Welle aus, in deren Zuge Lebenslanges Lernen im universitären Kontext neu diskutiert wurde. Von Universitäten wird nun erwartet, dass sie Strategien und Konzepte Lebenslangen Lernens integrieren, um den Bedürfnissen von Individuen, Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft zu genügen.

Man kann zum einen die Herausforderung eines drastischen strukturellen Wandels für die Universitäten, bezüglich des Imperativs von *Employability* und wirtschaftlicher Interessen, beobachten. Zum anderen steht die Universität vor der Aufgabe, Lebenslanges Lernen jenseits traditioneller Formen des Lehrens zu realisieren. Zwischen diesen Anforderungen befindet sich die akademische Gemeinschaft, die mit den neuen Imperativen umgehen muss.

Die vorliegende Studie untersucht die Einstellungen zweier akademischer Gemeinschaften in Zusammenhang mit den neuen Anforderungen der Bologna Reform: dem Wandel der Bildungsstrukturen und der Perspektive Lebenslangen Lernens im universitären Kontext.

Insbesondere geht es um die Auswirkungen der Reform auf die deutsche und die armenische akademische Gemeinschaft. Die Bildungssysteme sowohl in Deutschland—als ein Land der Europäischen Union—als auch in Armenien—als ein Land der Gemeinschaft Unabhängiger Staaten—befinden sich im Übergang und werden mit derselben restrukturierenden Agenda der Ziele Bolognas konfrontiert.

Die Analyse bezieht sich auf die Auswirkungen der Bologna Richtlinien in zwei sehr unterschiedlichen Gemeinschaften, die beide Vertragspartner der Bologna–Erklärung sind. Bei beiden war es ein Ausgangsziel, dass sie gegen Ende des Prozesses in höherem Grade miteinander vergleichbar und kompatibel sein sollten. Die Analyse wurde anhand der Beispiele der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena einerseits und der Universität von Jerewan andererseits vorgenommen.

Die Studie basiert methodisch auf einem vergleichenden kulturübergreifenden Design, welches von dem Erwachsenenbildungswissenschaftler Colin Titmus (1987) übernommen und durch die Einbettung von Fallstudien auf die vorliegende Studie angepasst wurde (siehe Abbildung 2.2).

Die Methodenkombination beinhaltet Literatur- und vorrangig Dokumentenanalyse sowie einen kulturübergreifenden Vergleich anhand von Fallstudien und Experteninterviews. Zum Zweck der vorliegenden Studie wurden explorative Leitfadeninterviews mit Experten durchgeführt. Es wurden bei jedem Interviewten dieselben Fragen in derselben oder einer ähnlichen Reihenfolge verwendet, um eine möglichst hohe Vergleichbarkeit zu garantieren. Der Kreis der Befragten setzte sich aus ehemaligen Rektoren, Vize-Rektoren, Dekanen, Institutsdirektoren, administrativen Mitarbeitern, Professoren, Dozenten, Experten der Höheren Bildung und der Erwachsenenbildung sowie speziell Beauftragten für die Durchführung des Bologna-Prozesses zusammen.

Anhand der Interviews wurde in zwei Ländern der Zusammenhang zwischen Universität und europäischer Reform untersucht. Das Interesse galt der Ermittlung der Erwartungen an und der Reaktionen auf den Bologna–Prozess. Vergleichend wurden zwei Fragen beleuchtet: in welchem Ausmaß die Universitäten offen oder resistent gegenüber den Reformen sind und auf welche Weise in beiden Gemeinschaften

mit dem Appell zur Förderung Lebenslangen Lernens auf universitärer Ebene umgegangen wird.

Der interkulturelle Vergleich soll zeigen, wie Bildungsstrukturen, die durch vergleichbare Funktionen geprägt sind, in unterschiedlicher sozialer und kultureller Umgebungen interpretiert werden und auf welche ähnlichen bzw. unterschiedlichen Bewertungen der Reformprozess stößt.

Die Studie zeigt problematische Aspekte auf, die sich bei der Durchführung des Bologna-Prozesses in den beiden Ländern ergeben und skizziert, wie die beiden akademischen Gemeinschaften die sozialen und kulturellen Veränderungen bewältigen. Dabei werden insbesondere die vorantreibenden und die hemmenden Kräfte und Faktoren identifiziert.

Es wird ersichtlich, dass die Auswirkungen des Bologna-Prozesses auf das Bildungssystem beider Länder sowohl vielfältig als auch unterschiedlich ausfallen. Bei der Wahrnehmung des Prozesses sowie der Art der Umsetzung konnten jedoch auch partielle Übereinstimmungen und Analogien festgestellt werden.

Der Vergleich ergab, dass die untersuchte deutsche akademische Gemeinschaft den Reformen eher kritisch gegenübersteht, während die armenische diesen gegenüber eher positiv eingestellt ist.

Trotzdem konnten in beiden Ländern z.T. ähnliche Sichtweisen, wie zum Beispiel Widerstand gegenüber Veränderung, beobachtet werden. Die Studie kann nachweisen, dass—ungeachtet der unterschiedlichen Ausgangssituationen, Grundlagen und Motivationen—die Gemeinschaften überraschend ähnlichen Problemen begegnen und zu einigen Aspekten des Bologna-Prozesses auch ähnliche Ansätze der Umsetzung und Bewältigung entwickeln.

Dabei erweist sich das Gebiet des Lebenslangen Lernens als besonders aussagekräftig: Trotz signifikanter Unterschiede in der Organisation und Funktionsweise der Einrichtungen Lebenslangen Lernens auf der jeweiligen nationalen Ebene erkennen sowohl die deutsche als auch die armenische akademische Gemeinschaft die Notwendigkeit der Reformierung ihrer Hochschulbildung. Durch die strukturelle Integration des

Lebenslangen Lernens in die Universität soll diese zentrale Einrichtung näher an die Gesellschaft insgesamt herangeführt und enger mit ihr verbunden werden.

Die Arbeit zeigt, dass in beiden Universitäten der Einfluss des Bologna-Prozesses speziell auf die Organisation des Lebenslangen Lernens ein eher mäßiger ist. Immerhin wurden im universitären Kontext überhaupt Diskussionen über das Thema des Lebenslangen Lernens angeregt und entsprechende strategische Konzepte erörtert. Insoweit haben beide Bildungssysteme zu diesem Thema den Anschluss an die internationale Debatte gefunden.

Was nun die konkrete Umsetzung des Lebenslangen Lernens an den untersuchten Universitäten betrifft, so konnten im Untersuchungszeitraum gravierende Effekte des Bologna–Prozesses auf die konkrete Umsetzung noch nicht nachgewiesen werden. Im Verlauf der Umsetzung bringen sich zudem landesspezifische Gesichtspunkte zur Geltung. Gelegentlich zeigte sich auch, dass Diskussionen über Lebenslanges Lernen für allgemeine Phrasen ohne Tiefgang anfällig sein können.

Die Studie bestätigt einerseits, dass eine Vielzahl von Hindernissen im Bologna-Prozess existiert und verschiedene Bereiche methodisch überdacht werden müssen. Andererseits wird gezeigt, dass der Bologna–Prozess eigene Möglichkeiten bietet, um Ansätze der Hochschulbildung, die das Konzept des Lebenslangen Lernens in der Universität betreffen, auch bezüglich deren struktureller (Re-)Organisation, neu zu durchdenken.

Das sich wandelnde Konzept von Universität wird hier im Lichte von spannungsvollen Tendenzen gezeigt: Einerseits sind in der Folge der Bologna–Vereinbarung neo-liberale Einflüsse wirksam und andererseits bringt sich dabei doch auch eine emanzipatorische Zielsetzung zur Geltung, nach der die Universität sich der Gesellschaft gegenüber weiter öffnen und ein breiteres Spektrum der Bevölkerung bezüglich des Lebensalters, des sozialen Status und des Ausbildungshintergrundes einbeziehen soll.

Ehrenwörtliche Erklärung

Ich erkläre hiermit ehrenwörtlich, dass ich die vorliegende Aufgabe selbständig, ohne unzulässige Hilfe Dritter und ohne Benutzung anderer als der angegebenen Hilfsmittel und Literatur angefertigt habe. Die aus anderen Quellen direkt oder indirekt übernommenen Daten und Konzepte sind unter Angabe der Quelle gekennzeichnet.

Bei der Auswahl und Auswertung des Materials sowie bei der Herstellung des Manuskriptes haben mir keine Personen entgeltlich/unentgeltlich geholfen.

Weitere Personen waren an der inhaltlich-materiellen Erstellung der vorliegenden Arbeit nicht beteiligt. Insbesondere habe ich hierfür nicht die entgeltliche Hilfe von Vermittlungs- bzw. Beratungsdiensten (Promotionsberater oder andere Personen) in Anspruch genommen. Niemand hat von mir unmittelbar oder mittelbar geldwerte Leistungen für Arbeiten erhalten, die im Zusammenhang mit dem Inhalt der vorgelegten Dissertation stehen.

Die Arbeit wurde bisher weder im In- noch im Ausland in gleicher oder ähnlicher Form einer anderen Prüfungsbehörde vorgelegt.

Die geltenden Promotionsordnung der Fakultät für Sozial- und Verhaltenswissenschaft ist mir bekannt.

Ich versichere ehrenwörtlich, dass ich nach bestem Wissen die reine Wahrheit gesagt und nichts verschwiegen habe.

Jena, den 31.5.2011   Hasmik Hunanyan

Lebenslauf

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