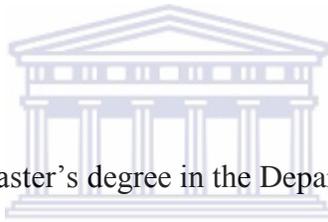


Title:

“POLITICAL CHANGES AND ACCESS POLICIES IN MALAGASY HIGHER EDUCATION
SINCE INDEPENDENCE (1960-2008)”

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A full-thesis for Master's degree in the Department of Education

University of the Western Cape

WESTERN CAPE

Supervisor: **PROFESSOR NICO CLOETE**

July 25, 2011

KEYWORDS

- **Madagascar**
- **Higher education**
- **Politics**
- **Changes**
- **Government**
- **Access policy**
- **Responses**
- **Autonomy**
- **University of Antananarivo**



ABSTRACT

The objective of this research was to investigate the relationships between the political change and the access policy changes in Madagascar since independence. In this study qualitative and quantitative data were used. The qualitative research consisted of eleven in-depth interviews and the collection of policy documents from 1960 to 2008. Open-ended questionnaires were utilized to collect data and to achieve the objectives of the research. Policy documents were analyzed to identify government policy changes. The main findings from the research showed that access policy changed with each major change in political leadership. Four major political periods and four respective main access policy changes were identified from 1960 to 2008. Higher education policy in general changed when there was a major change in presidential leadership. The main conclusions of this study were that access policy changes were the result of major changes in presidential leadership and that in spite of rhetoric to the contrary, universities did not have the autonomy to resist changes in access policy because of the top-down state system and the institutional financial dependence on the national government. The Malagasy government's attempt to increase access resulted in the deterioration of the quality of higher education. It later attempted to increase the quality of higher education which required a decrease in the total number of students. In spite of the four major political changes identified here and attempts to expand access, the system of higher education in Madagascar remained elitist with only 3.3% participation rate in 2008 with the largest enrolments of students from the capital Antananarivo. The major impediments for the government and the universities hindering major policy changes in Madagascar were the financial constraints which limited their ability to make major shifts in policy. This shaped the political decisions and resulted in dependency especially on foreign aid. The changes undertaken in higher education policies in Madagascar did not become an engine to the economic development as expected and instead became a kind of political theater for each successive group in power.

DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled: 'Political Changes and Access Policies in Malagasy Higher Education since Independence (1960-2008)' is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Rasoanampoizina Hanitra



July 25, 2011

Signed: _____

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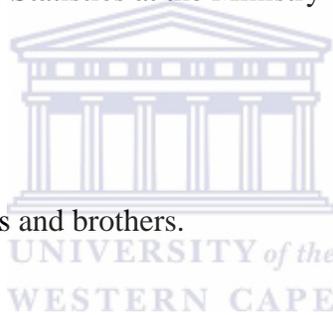
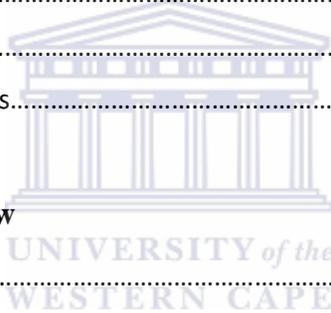


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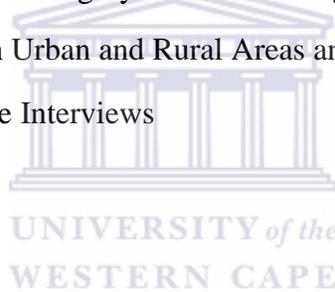
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FDES	H igher E ducation F unding D evelopment
ICM	C atholic I nstitute o f M adagascar
IST	H igher I nstitute o f T echnology
ISTD	H igher I nstitute o f T echnology D iego
ISTT	H igher I nstitute o f T echnology A ntananarivo
MoE	M inistry o f E ducation
UoT	U niversity o f A ntananarivo
EPA	I nstitution for A dministrative P urpose
EPIC	I nstitution for I ndustrial and C ommercial P urpose
MAP	M adagascar A ction P lan
CNTEMAD	N ational C enter of D istance E ducation in M adagascar
QMM	Q it M adagascar M inerals
PHEI	P rivate H igher E ducation I nstitution



CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the Study

Access to higher education has become increasingly important in Madagascar from its origins during the colonial period until the present. This was because of its central role in the history of Madagascar as critical to elite training and socialization, a bastion of elite control, a source of political opposition, and as a catalyst for social conflict. As Allen described it, quoting Chaigneau: “To frustrate a generation in the educational process is tantamount politically to frustrating a regiment of military. As Chaigneau described it, more than a simple reproductive function, the [educational] system proved a true catalyst for social conflict” (Allen, 1995: 65). The importance and endurance of higher education has been highlighted by scholars for decades. Castells notes the importance of higher education in elite socialization and training. He argues that: “Universities have always been mechanisms of selection of dominant elites. Including of such mechanisms, beyond selection in the strict sense, are the socialization process of these elites, and the formation of the networks for their cohesion” (Castells, 2001: 207). Kerr emphasizes the fact that universities are among the few original institutions that have survived over the centuries, speaking of their enduring quality and importance (Kerr, 2001: 115). The importance of universities frequently has been neglected in recent years, especially in the context of African higher education by the World Bank prior to 2002. Brock-Utne points out that the World Bank at one point suggested that: “Higher education in Africa is a luxury” (Brock-Utne, 2002: 8). That view has changed more recently with the World Bank coming to recognize its vital role in economic development.

The growth of *globalization* has made it apparent that individual economies need to become increasingly competitive. If nations are to compete in the global environment they need high quality higher education. In that context there is a growing need to expand access to quality higher education to provide the human capacity needed to be competitive. The recognition of the effects of globalization and the need to develop a knowledge-based economy and societies to deal effectively with globalization has important implications for this study. Among the most important features of globalization are the impact of the evolution of technology, the

development of network society, and the increasing role of information. Castells explained the principle of network society and the global economy in terms of the need for global financial markets, the opening of international trade as well as the globalization of science and technology. He notes that “The main process of circulation of science and technology is the human mind” (Castells, 2001: 9). The UNESCO paper (2009) demonstrated the high private and public returns from higher education. *Peril and Promise*, a World Bank’s publication, concluded that “without more and better higher education, developing countries will find it increasingly difficult to benefit from the global knowledge-based economy” (World Bank, 2000: 9).

The World Bank publication *Constructing Knowledge Societies* showed the importance of knowledge as a key to development for a knowledge-based economy and society. It emphasized the importance of high quality higher education systems to knowledge development. The UNESCO 2005 publication on *Knowledge Societies* emphasized that knowledge is important for development stating that: “...The link between knowledge and development is fundamental to the building of knowledge societies – knowledge being both a tool for the satisfaction of economic needs and a constitutive component of development” (UNESCO, 2005: 27). The critical role of higher education to the development of knowledge-societies has been emphasized by a number of studies. For example, Castells notes that “...The most obvious function of the university...is the generation of new knowledge” (Muller et. al., 2001: 208). Castells goes on to suggest that higher education is an engine of development (Castells, 1996).

Higher Education represents an investment in human capital which can contribute to development. The most important capacity needed to contribute to development is the ability to use knowledge. Pillay pointed out the relationship between higher education and development in the case of South Korea. He also explained in his South Korea case study that the government in South Korea “has been generally successful in providing and expanding education system based on the industrial needs of human resources.” (Pillay, 2008: 2). In order to be able to have capable, competent and competitive human capital, government has a very important and crucial role to play in shaping policy for higher education to reach that goal. Higher Education institutions have a major role in producing sufficient human capital to bring about that development. Cloete suggests what government must do in order to help higher education

produce appropriate human capital. He states that: “In the short term, government should sustain funding levels, both in order to stabilize the system and to provide higher education the space to increase efficiency, increase participation rates and put in place better internal and external accountability measures” (Cloete, 2000: 2). Cloete (2000), Pillay (2008) and the UNESCO paper (2005) all pointed to the need to be careful about increased access to higher education because of the risk of a decrease in quality which could undermine the intended objectives to have high level skills. As the author of the UNESCO paper noted: “[H]igher education institutions must often try to meet a number of contradictory demands: to respond adequately to the ‘massification’ of higher education while ensuring the quality” (UNESCO, 2005: 91)

In the context of human capital production with appropriate skills, access to higher education institutions became an important key to achieve development. In most countries, changes in higher education policy became necessary to meet the social and economic demands of developing human capital with the appropriate knowledge and skills. Most developed countries shifted their higher education systems from elite to mass higher education to respond to those needs and demand. For many developing countries, the response to expand access is daunting, as Chapman et.al. argued: “In many cases, such supply side expansion policies certainly have helped to increase the number of students accessing [higher education]. But expanding access has not necessarily led to ‘mass access’ systems in most developing countries” (Chapman et.al., 2002: 171).

In the case of Madagascar, increases in participation in higher education that were intended to help bring development have usually been related to political change. As stated in the National Report of the Development of Education: “The ideological and political changes drove the Malagasy education policy through new laws since 1991” (National Report of the Development of Education, 1996: 4). Access to higher education has been fundamentally affected by the three political crises in 1972, 1991 and 2001 from which four distinct political phases can be identified. These four political phases are the *Period of Tutelage* from 1960-1970, the *Period of Growth of Nationalism* 1970-1990, the *Period of Instability* 1990-2001, and the *Period of Redirection toward Democratization* 2002-2008. The details of each of these four periods will be discussed in chapter five.

Improvement in the quality of higher education has always been a major priority of the government's policy and access to higher education remained one of the dominant problems at the institutional level within the system. Nonetheless most research has focused more on quality rather than participation as can be seen, for instance, in the World Bank study in 2002. That has resulted in neglect of the important detailed issues related to access. This study seeks to overcome that omission by focusing this research on access issues in higher education in Madagascar.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

This study aims at investigating the complex relationship between the political changes and higher education policy focusing particularly on access to higher education. During the period under review Madagascar's participation rate in higher education was relatively constant at about 2.17% of the college age population as noted in *Draft Strategic Planning* (2006: 3) regardless of the efforts of the government to increase participation or the country's state of development. Part of the problem was that the population was growing faster than the expansion of higher education. Part was the limited resources of the government and the successive political changes. Madagascar was a low income country from the time of independence and became a highly indebted one. As Collier noted: "When Mauritius escaped the traps in the 1980s it rocketed to middle-income levels; when neighboring Madagascar finally escaped the traps two decades later, there was no rocket" (Collier, 2007: 6).

There were some causal relationships between the political changes and the changes concerning access policy. However, these relationships have never been clearly explained and there has not been any research undertaken focusing particularly on these relationships.

1.3. Aims of the Study

The main objective of this research is to investigate the complex relationships between major political events and the changes in higher education policy in general and the participation policy in particular. The research is intended to shed light on the impediments to the

development of access to higher education. That analysis includes discussion of the impacts of the major political changes on the access policy changes in Madagascar since independence in 1960 and the major changes in higher education policy in general.

1.4. Research Questions

The main question this research seeks to answer is the following:

- How did major political changes in Madagascar after independence (1960) affect higher education policies in general and access policies in particular?

1.5. Rationale of the Study

The global economy has been changing at a faster pace than most African countries can adapt to or catch-up with. As Collier emphasized: “The main challenge of development is that there is a group of countries at the bottom that are falling behind, and often falling apart....As the bottom billion diverges from an increasingly sophisticated world economy, integration will become harder, not easier” (Collier, 2007: 3-4). In line with the global economic changes, higher education was recognized to have the potential to contribute to development through production of knowledge and skilled human capital. Gibbons noted this recognition and emphasized that: “The democratization of politics and society that followed World War II; the growth of the public sector that required more white collar workers (and university graduates); an expanding industrial economy that required more highly skilled and educated workers; the widespread belief that further economic development depended on a supply of educated manpower, especially scientists and engineers; and finally the attractiveness of education itself as a major element of the new welfare states, sustaining and legitimating democratic societies” (Gibbons, 1994:7). Most developed countries revised their higher education policies and shifted their system from elite to mass higher education from early 1950s in the USA and mainly during the 70s-90s for most European countries in order to meet the new demand for knowledge workers and skilled graduates in the economy. By the 1990s the shift to mass higher education resulted in a deteriorating quality of higher education in many countries and increasingly high costs. Because of the threat of deteriorating quality, developed countries began to change the focus of

higher education to improve quality higher education and control costs. Understanding the causes of the changes in access policy over the years helps understanding of the general situation of quality of higher education during the period studied. The level of autonomy of universities will be examined in terms of access policy.

The findings of this research are particularly important since they shed light on the many ways in which policy on access was influenced in Madagascar. This study explores these influences, some of which were hidden or unintended, or even unrecognized by government. In that way the outcome of this research will make a unique contribution to knowledge about Madagascar and to knowledge about factors influencing policy changes in Madagascar. The research will also help clarify some of the important policy determinants for those involved in policy themselves. One of the most important outcomes expected from this research is to identify some of the factors which pose serious limitations for government policy – limitations such as inadequate financial resources. This research is particularly important as an effort to contribute to providing information that will help fill a gap in material focused on political changes and their effects on access changes.

This research therefore will make a significant contribution to information about future access policy formulation processes in Madagascar thanks to the explanation of major influences and impediments concerning access. Future policy plans can be informed by the outcome of the research. Last but not least, all education officials interviewed during the data collection expressed their full appreciation for this research because it was bringing the topic of politics and access policy together – topic that have always been hidden to Malagasy society.

1.6. Organization of the Thesis

The dissertation is divided into six distinct chapters. They include the general introduction that describes in general the background, focus, aims, objectives, problem and question for the research. The second chapter focuses on literature review and attempts to give an overview of the existing research concerning higher education access policy changes and literature concerning governance of access. The third chapter focuses on methodology and

research design. It is basically descriptive and exploratory. The fourth chapter focuses on the general overview of the system of higher education in Madagascar and the political context impacting on the changes of higher education policies. The fifth chapter focuses on data presentation and analysis. The last chapter, the general conclusion, provides a brief summary of the findings and conclusions from the findings.



CHAPTER II. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The central problem this research addresses is the change in access policy in Madagascar and its relationship to political changes. The potential contribution of higher education to development highlights the importance of access to increase human resources available for development. The following section of this chapter deals with some of the elements that make access to higher education important for economic and social development. The arguments of the authors reviewed showed that access became important thanks to the production of new knowledge and skilled labor (human capital) able to take advantage of new technology. The second section of this chapter deals with the discussion and literature about access and mainly the transition from elite to mass higher education.

In general the literature showed that access to higher education has become a primary concern and that most of European countries have reached the stage of mass higher education whereas the majority of developing countries are still at the stage of elite systems. Various arguments were developed around the factors that resulted in the massive increases in access in developed countries. Authors reviewed in the literature showed that the factors affecting the shifts were mainly external and demand-driven such as markets and new technology. All authors reviewed shared the idea that massive increases in access to higher education may affect the standards of quality of higher education as well as the cost. Some authors therefore concluded that cost-sharing or privatization were a way to sort out the problem while others recommended distance and open education. In the third section of this chapter, I deal with the governance and political options for access. The last section of this chapter is focused on some concepts of policy. However, very little literature tackled the problems of access policy in the perspective of political change. The outcome of this research is, therefore, expected to contribute to filling that gap.

2.1. The Importance of the Issue of Access to Economic Development

2.1.1. Investment in Human Capital and Higher Rate of Returns from Higher Education

By 2000, research concerning the potential contributions of higher education to economic development had become increasingly common. Tilak described the contribution of higher education to economic development as an important form of investment in human capital development (Tilak, 2003: 3). Tilak quoted from *Peril and Promise* five variations of possible contributions of higher education to development:

It helps in the rapid industrialization of the economy, by providing manpower with professional, technical and managerial skills. In the present context of transformation of nations into knowledge economies and knowledge societies, higher education provides not just educated workers, but knowledge workers to the growth of the economy. It creates attitudes, and makes possible attitudinal changes necessary for the socialization of the individuals and the modernization and overall transformation of the societies. Fourthly and most importantly, higher education helps, through teaching and research in the creation, absorption and dissemination of knowledge. Higher education also helps in the formation of a strong nation-state and at the same time helps in globalization. Lastly, higher education allows people to enjoy an enhanced 'life of mind' offering the wider society both cultural and political benefits (Tilak, 2003: 3).

Bloom strongly supported the idea that higher education can be a means to improve economic growth and mitigate poverty. Bloom demonstrated that higher education has a positive rate of return and yields private and public benefits. He argues:

Higher education can lead to economic growth through both private and public channels. The private benefits for individuals are well established, and include better employment prospects, higher salaries, and a greater ability to save and invest...Public benefits are less widely recognized, which explains many governments' neglect of tertiary schooling as a vehicle for public investment. But individual gains can also benefit society as a whole. Higher earnings for well-educated individuals raise tax revenues for governments and ease demands on state finances. They also translate into greater consumption, which benefits producers from all educational backgrounds (Bloom, 2005: 16).

In line with the positive rate of return from higher education, Tilak gave some reasons why the public should subsidize higher education. He listed the social benefits, the equality of opportunities, the market in developing countries and the importance of seeing education as

subject to economies of scale. He argued that governments are responsible to make people aware of the importance of the return from education and should invest. He noted: “People could be ignorant of the benefits of education, or may not be appreciative of the value of education, or may not be able to foresee the implications of their investment decisions in education, and may be unwilling to invest in education. But governments are expected to have better information than individuals or families, and should be wiser and more able to look into the future and accordingly take wise decisions regarding investment in education” (Tilak, 2003: 13). Tilak also noted some arguments against public subsidies in terms of efficiency, equity and pragmatic considerations. Bloom reported that international institutions have begun to shift the focus of their policies on education with a new emphasis on higher education. These policies have begun to be reflected in Sub-Saharan countries too. He wrote: “Signs of progress for higher education are appearing in Sub-Saharan Africa. The international development community has begun to realize the importance of advanced schooling, while some African countries have introduced innovative policies to strengthen tertiary education systems” (Bloom, 2005: 16).

Smith (2006) explained how the pressure of the state and industry on higher education produced new paradigms of accountability for higher education to contribute to development. Smith argued that mass higher education was one of the interconnected paradigms to the current expectations about universities and their contributions to innovation and economic development. She stated that spin-offs such as patents and licensing as means for technology transfer can be regarded as the potential contribution of higher education to development. However, she mainly argued that the causal link between universities and economic development has not been proven. Nonetheless she agreed that upgrading skills through university training and strong human capital development are necessary to improve performance. She stated: “University scientists who work with firm scientists have a strong positive effect on products in development, products on the market and employment growth” (Smith, 2006: 44). She asserted in her writing that: “University activity differentially affects the demand for workers with specific skills and is consistent with the finding of other researchers that a firm’s ability to implement new technologies is dependent on worker’s skills” (Smith, 2006: 85).

The World Bank study in 2002 emphasized the use and importance of knowledge for development, as the authors noted:

Knowledge by itself does not transform economies, nor is there any guarantee of positive returns to investments in research and development or in other products of tertiary education. Numerous countries, including large ones such as Brazil, India, and some of the former Soviet republics, had invested heavily in building up capacity in science and technology without reaping significant returns. This is because scientific and technological knowledge yields its greatest benefits when it is used within a complex system of institutions and practices known as a national innovation system (World Bank, 2002: 24).

A UNESCO report in 2005, entitled *Towards Knowledge Societies*, describes the role of knowledge as a source of sustainable development but also noted the threat of inequality of knowledge sharing and the growth of a digital divide caused by the inequality of access to new technology and the information it can engender. The writers noted:

To have the Might we now have the means to achieve equal and universal access to knowledge, and genuine sharing. This should be the cornerstone of true knowledge societies, which are a source of human and sustainable development. Every society has its own knowledge assets. It is therefore necessary to work towards connecting the forms of knowledge that societies already possess and the new forms of development, acquisition and spread of knowledge valued by the knowledge economy model (UNESCO, 2005: 17).

The authors went further to explain how knowledge contributes to development and the importance of young people especially in technological development. The authors of the paper stated: “Young people are bound to play a major role because they are often among the first to use new technologies and to help establish them as familiar features of everyday life” (UNESCO, 2005: 18).

2.1.2. Need of the Support of Government

Tilak argued that it was essential to increase public financing for higher education and challenged the view that higher education is not necessary for economic growth and development. He showed that primary education is not sufficient to foster economic development and pointed out that higher education is critically important for economic growth.

He also showed that neglect of higher education especially in developing countries had especially negative consequences. Brock-Utne also made this case noting that in the 1980s the World Bank had argued that higher education in Africa was a luxury – that those funds would better be spent on primary education. She criticized their analysis that suggested that the rate of return on primary and secondary education was much higher than higher education. It turned out that this World Bank finding was based on faulty data. The Bank changed its view after additional research in the 1990s and argued by 2002 that higher education was essential to development (World Bank, 2002). The World Bank publication in 2000 goes on to repudiate the previous position and endorse the importance of quality higher education stating that: “During the last two or three decades, however, attention has been focused particularly on primary education especially for girls. This has led to a neglect of secondary and tertiary education with higher education in a perilous state in many, if not most, developing countries. With a few notable exceptions it is underfunded by governments or donors.” As a result: “Quality is low and often deteriorating, while access remains limited. Higher education systems are highly politicized, poorly regulated and sometimes corrupt” (World Bank, 2000: 14).

Cloete supported the argument that the government should sustain funding levels to give space to higher education to increase efficiency, increase participation rates and put in place better internal and external accountability measures. Cloete discussed the contribution of higher education to democracy, skills and knowledge. In terms of democracy he asserted: “...One of the strongest claims higher education can make is that it can contribute to democratization in two ways: citizenship and equality” (Cloete, 2000: 5).

All the authors reviewed here shared the same argument that higher education contributes to economic development. Knowledge and quality higher education are essential to achieve that. Higher education also needs government’s support in order to increase access and to reach the goal to contribute to economic development. The following section delves with the literature and discussion about the issue of access to higher education.

2.2. Literature and Discussions about the Issue of Access to Higher Education

2.2.1. Introduction

A variety of reasons and expectations have been behind governments' changes in policy to increase participation and enrolment to higher education. One of the prominent reasons has always been for economic development in the long term. Most governments in developed and developing countries sought to increase participation in higher education in order to reach a certain expectation of economic development through the use of capable human capital. However, the drastic increase in students' enrolment that occurred in many countries resulted in deterioration in the quality of higher education. The increase also affected the cost of higher education such that many governments were not able to support the costs anymore. Alternative sources of funding to maintain quality at a high standard led many countries to choose the policy of cost-sharing by students which might include charging fees and a system of loans to help them pay the fees. The complex relationships between the increase of access, maintaining high quality and finding additional sources of funding posed difficult political questions especially in regard to equity. The following section maps out the main arguments about problems resulting from the shift from elite to mass system.

2.2.2. Problems of Inequality

Chapman et. al (2002) and the World Bank paper (2002) all supported the idea that the expansion of access to higher education in the developing world did not necessarily solve the problem of inequality of access. Chapman et.al noted: "The rapid growth in the number of place has not necessarily led to greater equality of opportunity. Rather, expanded access to higher education has often come at the expense of equity" (Chapman et.al., 2002: 15). The author of the paper of the World Bank (2002) noted: "Along with rapid enrollment growth, noteworthy progress has been made in many countries in access to tertiary education for traditionally less-privileged groups, including students from rural areas and women. Yet tertiary education, especially in the university sector, generally remains elitist, with most students coming from wealthier segments of society" (World Bank, 2002: 52). The same paper of the World Bank

identified few of the determinants of inequity and stated: “In francophone Sub-Saharan Africa one of the main determinants of inequity is family income, but, depending on the country, other factors may contribute to unequal access and outcomes. Among these are caste, ethnicity, language, regional origin, gender, and physical disability” (World Bank, 2002: 52).

Badat (1999) and Saunders (1994) addressed the access policy changes in South Africa during the 1990s. They addressed the problems of limitation of access to higher education only to white people during the politics of Apartheid. They both showed the changes concerning the increase of black access to higher education thanks in part to students’ movements. However, Saunders mentioned that even though the total black student numbers increased by 1993, the black universities remained black universities and limited to certain disciplines. They recommended a few strategies at that time to address the increase in access of black students to higher education. They recommended: “The realization of these goals will require at least the following changes within the university: a. the acceptance of national policy,..., the need for differential increases in different disciplines; and the need to spread responsibility for the academic development challenges of admitting larger numbers of underprepared students, b. modification of the plan, organization and finance to enable the effective implementation of national access and other policies; c. the development of a national student financial aid program for students unable to meet the tuition and living costs of university study; d. development of curricula appropriate to the needs of students; e. the refinement of selection criteria to allow for the admission of talented students who are most able to benefit from university education” (Saunders, 1994:3-4).

Chapman et.al. mainly focused their discussion on equality of access in developing countries. They opposed the view that low or no tuition and fees can promote equality of educational opportunity. They argued: “Most public institutions and politicians in the developing world have mistakenly argued that low or no tuition and fees have provided greater equality of educational opportunity through providing greater access to historically underserved populations” (Chapman et.al., 2002: 172). They added their argument concerning equity of access that governments in developing countries tended to underestimate other aspects of equity when they focused on the increase of access. They argued: “to the extent that policy discussions about equity have occurred, concerns have focused on access and expanding enrolments with

very little discussion concerning the other aspects of equity such as choice or persistence to graduation. As a consequence, very little public or institutional policy has been directed to expanding student choice or reducing student dropouts” (Chapman et. al., 2002: 176). They argued that most of governments’ policy in developing countries mainly focused on supply rather than demand. They laid out five main strategies to increase enrolments to meet the objective of equity. They noted: “As a result of restructuring efforts within transition economies during the 1990s, strategies to increase enrolments while at the same time enhancing equity have typically followed one (or more) of five tracks: (1) sharp increases in enrolments in the existing institutions, (2) establishment of new universities, particularly outside of the major cities, (3) expansion of two-year vocational colleges, (4) expansion of non-conventional approaches to higher education such as distance education and evening programs, and (5) development of private higher education institutions” (Chapman et. al., 2002: 176). We will see in the case of Madagascar that four of these strategies were utilized.

Fulton et.al. argued that higher education in England can and should adapt in ways which encourage greater participation. He supported the principle of Robbins when he stated that: “Courses of higher education should be available to all who are qualified by ability and attainment to pursue them and who wish to do so” (Fulton et.al., 1983:1). Even if he supported the idea to widen access, he argued that increasing access would not reduce inequality and stated: “It is arguable that the postwar expansion of higher education, far from creating new opportunity, served to re-establish the traditional social hierarchy in new forms” (Fulton et.al., 1983: 36). But he also emphasized that if access to higher education is to be reduced, it would not reject the group of elite but the marginal ones, as he argued: “Reductions in opportunities will not affect all applicants equally: it will be ‘marginal’ applicants who will be rejected” (Fulton et.al., 1983: 10). He argued that access to higher education is important not only for its potential economic and social benefits but also as a right in a modern democratic society. As he noted: “However, the most convincing argument against restricting access is the simplest. The right to education, whether as a means to other goals or simply as an end in itself, is one of the rights of citizenship in modern democratic societies” (Fulton et.al., 1983: 10). He recommended few policies to increase access to higher education while trying to preserve the practice of the notion of equality. This argument about equality will be useful for this research during the socialist period when the government attempted to move to massification of higher education under the Democratization

policy. The decentralization policy was particularly intended to give the same opportunity of higher education for students in the provinces in Madagascar. However the result was that the University of Antananarivo, the privileged one, responded largely to the change to widen access with students from the capital itself.

Trow discussed the shift from elite to mass education and then a universal higher education system and the complexity of the shift with its large expansion of the system in the United States in his paper *Problems from the Transition from Elite to Mass Higher Education* in 1973. He pointed out the difficulties concerning equality of opportunity facing the higher proportion of the age grade going to higher education. He argued: “The higher the proportion of the age grade going on to higher education, the more the democratic and egalitarian concerns for equality of opportunity come to center on the increasingly important sector of tertiary education” (Trow, 1973: 5). He mentioned the differences of the functions of the three systems as they differ quantitatively and qualitatively. He explains that: “Elites higher education is concerned primarily with shaping the mind and character of the ruling class, as it prepares students for broad elite roles in government and the learned professions. In mass higher education the institutions are still preparing elites but a much broader range of elites that includes strata of all the technical and economic organization society.... [F]or universal higher education system the chief concern is to maximize the adaptability of that population to a society whose chief characteristic is rapid social and technological change” (Trow, 1973: 8). The most striking concern in the shift from elite to mass system is the shift of the principle on the preparation and the selection of university entrants. He sketches out series of phases of the principles:

- The most obvious one was the meritocratic system when the admission is based on qualification.
- The next stage is the set of complementary forces: increasing democratic pressures, needs of the economy and the growth of higher education itself. This phase is marked by a growing concern for an increase in educational opportunities that would enable ‘able’ students from lower strata to enter university.
- The third is partly as a result of the work of sociologist and partly under political pressures, there emerge a clear and more widespread recognition of the effect of social inequalities on educational achievement.
- The fourth stage is the egalitarian attack the selective principle and demand for ‘open access’ to the universities or a greater expansion of non university institutions of higher

education that do not require the same formal academic qualification for entry as do the universities. (Trow, 1973: 24).

Trow (1973), Fulton et.al. (1983), Chapman et.al. (2002), Badat (1999), Saunders (1994), and the World Bank paper (2002) had the same argument that increasing access to higher education did not necessarily address the problems of inequality of access both for developing and developed countries. The following section maps out the funding problem facing the increased access.

2.2.3. Problems of Funding because of Increase of Access

Lumumba (1993), Shabani (2004) and the World Bank paper (2008) noted the same problems of quality and funding problems in the francophone developing countries because of expansion of access. Shabani noted:

In French-speaking African countries higher education institutions started facing problems during the 1970s, such as a rapid increase in student enrollments, the insufficiency of financial resources allocated to the higher education sector and the implementation of policies which allocated a significant share of the resources to student scholarships and various subsidized social services provided to students. This trend, which continued at least until the end of the 1980s, led to a significant deterioration of staff working conditions, the degradation of infrastructure and facilities and a lack of teaching materials. Together, these resulted in a major decline in the relevance and quality of higher education offered in these countries. At the beginning of the 1990s, the decline in relevance and quality of higher education had reached such an alarming level that several French-speaking countries decided to undertake major reforms of their higher education systems. Towards the end of the 1990s, all the major stakeholders in higher education in Africa had agreed that there was an urgent need for revitalizing higher education in Africa (Shabani, 2004: 1).

Lumumba (1993) noted the problems of expansion of access in francophone developing countries in Africa: “African states have too limited a financial capacity to enable them to continue to finance the kind of large-scale programs that were common in the 1960s and 1970s, when the present universities were built” (Lumumba, 1993: 3). She continued “higher education in francophone Africa south of the Sahara is suffering from a decline in the financial resources provided by the state” (Lumumba, 1993: 64).

Trow, in his paper *Reflections on the Transition from Elite to Mass to Universal Access: Forms and Phases of Higher Education in Modern Societies since WWII*, emphasized his arguments in a previous paper in 1973. He classified the differences between each of the three transitions, elite, mass and universal system. For elite higher education the access rate ranges between 0-15%, for Mass 16-50% and Universal over 50% and the functions of higher education in each of the phase were also different. He explained the problems of the transition from elite to mass higher education in developed countries and argued that the transition was the effect of the high population growth. He mainly argued that the structure for mass higher education has already existed in USA whereas the European countries and Britain did not. Trow argued: “The United States had the organizational and structural framework for a system of mass higher education long before it had mass enrollments” (Trow, 2005: 48). He pointed out the differences between the elites, mass, and universal access and the dimension of changes that the transition brought about. He argued that the main problem of the transition from elite to mass higher education was mainly based on the difficulty of funding to support the growth as he stated: “No society, no matter how rich, can afford a system of higher education for 20 or 30 or 40% of the relevant age group at the cost levels of the elite higher education that it formerly provided for 5% of the population” (Trow, 2005: 41). He also went on to note that the transition to mass higher education put the quality of higher education at a risk. However he noted that: “No society could make the political and financial decision to radically restrain expansion in order to maintain an equality of cost and provision at high standards across the board... and that was unstoppable for a variety of social, political and economic reasons. The solution everywhere was a combination of the creation of cheaper alternatives to the elite universities, plus a reduction in per capita support for higher education institutions of all kinds by central governments” (Trow, 2005: 44-45).

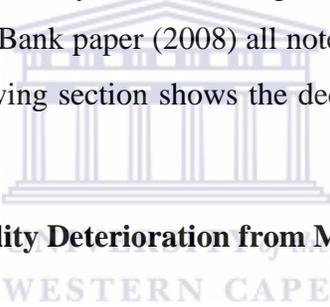
Slaughter pointed out some of the changes concerning access in her book addressing the dynamics of higher education policy in the context of the American system. She explained the shift from a meritocratic to a mass higher education system. She defined meritocracy as “those with the greatest intellectual capacity enter into strenuous competition with their fellows...rather than a means for production” (Slaughter, 1990: 30). She explained that access to higher education was initially limited to middle class people and regarded as a way to obtain privilege as well as economic benefits. The demand from the excluded classes that resulted in the great

expansion was focused on the economic benefit rather than the social privilege and she argued: “Initially, demands by those excluded from higher education—working class youth, minorities, women—were for the most part not directed toward the redistribution of educational goods and services but toward obtaining economic benefits” (Slaughter, 1990: 31). She went on to make the argument that the changes in access due to economic conditions put pressure on the government concerning funding and led to a shift to private funding. Ford emphasized the same view regarding the British higher education system. They suggested that the massification of higher education implied many changes including in the system of funding of higher education. They argued “Funding pressures and the increasing pressure from government and industry to encourage vocational learning, and other factors, mean that higher education institutions now inhabit an increasingly competitive environment” (Ford, 1996:10). Ford mainly emphasized the need of a new framework for the management of changes that included the massification of higher education. Both Slaughter and Trow arguments about funding support the explanation of the context of the dilemma in an attempt to increase access to higher education in Madagascar, after the period of the collapse of socialism, in a way that government tried to find alternative funding and higher education provision because of the constraints of the high demand.

McNay in *Beyond Mass Higher Education* emphasized the problems of funding resulting from the shift from elite to mass higher education in the context of England. He stated that the funding system remained the same even if the access increased and he argued: “The pressure was, therefore, to recruit more students at lower prices just to maintain overall institutional budget levels” (McNay, 2006: 5). He mentioned the two contradictory views of Bekhardnia, who stated that the shift in access is mainly because of demands but not the result of a policy decision whereas Mayhew stating the reverse that expansion was a matter of government decision. The latter argued that the supply creates its own demand. McNay pointed out the three major reasons for non-participation in higher education. He argued from his findings: “We identified three main areas of risk: financial risks, risk of failure and identity risks” (McNay, 2006: 19). He explained the financial risks to the non-participants because of the gradual reduction in state financial support for students and the introduction of top-up fees to be paid after graduation. The students had the risk of failure if they could not get a job after graduation as well as the risk of non-completion of their studies. The working-class students were worried about the fact of being in debt because the employment opportunities for them after graduation would not be as rewarding

as the one from the few elite institutions. As McNay stated from his findings: “Other felt that a degree from the kinds of universities that would be open to them was likely to be less highly valued by employers than one from a more prestigious institution” (McNay, 2006: 20). The third risk to the non-participants was the identity risk to change their social status. McNay pointed out: “...Many resisted higher education on the basis that they did not want to change or to become middle-class, but to hold on to working-class values.... [G]oing to university would necessitate changing their identities” (McNay, 2006: 20). He added: “For non-participant men, higher education appeared to provide an unwelcome challenge to their masculine identities” (McNay, 2006: 21). This idea of non-participant will shed light about the causes of the non-participation of many students in Madagascar after the secondary school leaving and the drop-outs as well.

Ford (1996) stated the need of appropriate conditions and a need of framework to establish mass higher education. McNay (2006), Slaughter (1990), Trow (2005), Lumumba (1993), Shabani (2004), the World Bank paper (2008) all noted that expansion of access resulted in financial problem and the following section shows the decline of quality because of massive increase in higher education.



2.2.4. Risk of Quality Deterioration from Mass Higher Education

Lumumba (1993), The World Bank papers (2000) and (2002), Chapman et.al (2002) and Bollag (2003) all noted that the majority of developing countries in Sub-Sahara Africa tended to expand their higher education access. The authors cited in here all emphasized that various challenges have been facing the majority of higher education system in developing countries because of the expansion of access. All these authors noted that the expansion of access to higher education was confronting with the decline of quality and the problem of insufficient funding. Bollag pointed out the main problem of expansion in developing countries:

For many tertiary institutions, relentlessly expanding enrollments, coupled with two decades of economic stagnation, have generated a sustained crisis in higher education. Poor pay and deplorable working conditions have led many of the continent's best minds to abandon their universities and often their countries. Numerous institutions receive little budget for equipment, library acquisitions, research activities, or maintenance of buildings. (Bollag, 2003: 1).

Bollag emphasized the serious problems of underfunding caused by the increase of access and he noted:

Many of the problems involving higher education are rooted in a lack of resources. For example, developing countries spend far less than developed countries on each student. But finding new funds is not easy... Most public universities are highly dependent on central governments for their financial resources. Tuition fees are often negligible or nonexistent, and attempts to increase their level encounter major resistance. Even when tuition fees are collected, the funds often bypass the university and go directly into the coffers of ministries of finance or central revenue departments. Budgets must typically be approved by government officials, who may have little understanding of higher education in general, of the goals and capabilities of a particular university, or of the local context in which it operates (Bollag, 2003: 25).

The author of the World Bank paper emphasized the problems of funding resulting from the expansion of access and noted “Expansion has caused the average quality of education to decline in many countries as resources are stretched increasingly thin” (World Bank, 2000: 17). He continued and emphasized that expansion resulted in the decline of higher education quality because of deteriorating conditions of work, as the author noted: “In many institutions, students face difficult conditions for study. Severely overcrowded classes, inadequate library and laboratory facilities, distracting living conditions, and few, if any, student services are the norm. The financial strains currently faced by most universities are making conditions even worse. Many students start their studies academically unprepared for higher education. Poor basic and secondary education, combined with a lack of selection in the academic system, lie at the root of this problem” (World Bank, 2000: 24).

Chapman et.al. noted some of the major causes of the increase and stated: “[T]he increase is the result of several interconnected factors: demographic growth, wider provision of secondary schooling, increased retention rates, rising social mobility, higher expectations, economic and labor market needs, the demand for multiskilling and reskilling, and the need for an informed and critical citizenry in an information and knowledge-dominated society” (Chapman et.al., 2002:109-110). He noted as well the major problems that developing countries encountered in higher education “Higher education institutions in developing countries are confronted with

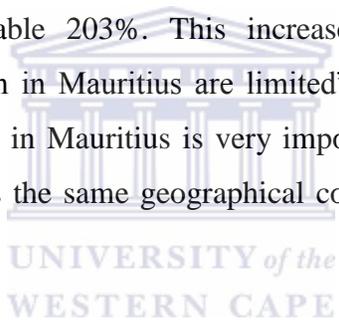
deteriorating buildings, inadequate libraries, and scientific equipment that cannot be used because of lack of supplies” (Chapman et.al., 2002: 113).

The World Bank paper (2002) emphasized the deteriorating working conditions of higher education because of the expansion: “Although there are exceptions, the quality and relevance of research, teaching, and learning have tended to decline in public tertiary education institutions in developing countries. Many universities operate with overcrowded and deteriorating physical facilities, limited and obsolete library resources, insufficient equipment and instructional materials, outdated curricula, unqualified teaching staff, poorly prepared secondary students, and an absence of academic rigor and systematic evaluation of performance. Similar conditions can be found in many of the new private universities and other tertiary institutions that have emerged in many countries, especially in those that lack a formal system for licensing or accrediting new institutions” (World Bank, 2002: 58).

Mohamedbhai stated that massification of higher education in the institutions of Africa has occurred without an accompanying increase in financial, physical and human resources. He argued that the effects of massification in most of African countries with few exceptions resulted in a more negative effects than a positive one. However he supported the idea that massification is a positive sign of democratization of access as he stated: “Massification is therefore seen in a positive light, because it is a proof of the democratization of access and is no longer elitist” (Mohamedbhai, 2008: 11). He also agreed on the fact that access to higher education can contribute to development by producing skilled human capital. As he noted: “It also leads to greater human capital formation, providing countries with expert human resources needed for development” (Mohamedbhai, 2008: 11). He also added in his arguments that massification in most of the African countries was not planned and most of them suffered from financial constraint. He noted: “Indeed the unavailability of enough financial resources has led to the inability to sustain growth of enrolment and improve quality” (Mohamedbhai, 2008:12).

However, the case of the efforts of Mauritius to widen access to higher education in order to contribute to development was one of the exceptions in Africa. The main objectives of the government were mainly aimed at both increasing access to higher education and keeping the standards of quality high. The government focused its strategy changes on increasing and

improving the production of skilled workers to be able to contribute to economic development. As Mohamedbhai argued: “After independence in 1968, Mauritius consolidated its economy with the priority to produce skilled workers for staffing public and private institutions and for supporting the main drivers of the economy” (Mohamedbhai, 2008: 267-268). Mohamedbhai argued that Mauritius has a successful policy to increase the participation rate in higher education. Expanding the Open University and private higher education institutions were part of the strategies to achieve the promotion of access. He noted that funding and quality became part of the critical issues when access was increased. But the most striking policy of the Mauritian government was the government’s investment in overseas’ students. He argued: “One striking feature is the increasing number of students studying overseas. While students enrolled in publicly funded institutions increased by 70% from 1999 to 2005, it was slightly surpassed at 74% by those in private institutions/distance education. The increase in students overseas over the same period was a remarkable 203%. This increase came about primarily because opportunities for tertiary education in Mauritius are limited” (Mohamedbhai, 2008: 265). The case of access to higher education in Mauritius is very important here in this literature review given the fact that the country has the same geographical conditions as Madagascar and many common historic ones.



Radford et.al. shared the same idea that the shift to mass higher education affected the quality of higher education. They focused their research on the dilemmas caused by the shift to mass higher education in UK and the need of an academic standard and quality assessment that revealed another debates. They addressed the issue of the difficulty of the shift to mass higher education, that can invoke the idea of ‘more means worse’, or to keep it highly selective as they argued: “When entry was highly selective, there was undoubtedly a pool of able students who ‘missed the boat’ at A-level, but later did very well at degree work through exceptional entry” (Radford et.al., 1998: 11). But being concerned about the quality standards in their research they also pointed out the fact that for increased access, quality must be affected as they stated: “*Quality* would presumably mean that all or nearly all students graduated satisfactorily, even if none were outstanding. It is this line that leads to the ‘more means worse’ argument, it being supposed that standards must be progressively lowered to avoid failures” (Radford et.al., 1998:

13). They also recommended that even the shift to mass higher education resulted in the heterogeneity of university, the system should be kept independent from politics as they stated:

Despite this actual heterogeneity, a number of explicit or implicit assumptions became general about the proper nature of universities and university education. It came to be widely felt that a university was, or should be, a place apart, preferably physically, from the rest of society, enjoying political independence and governed by some form [of] academic democracy, where staff would pursue scholarship and research more or less wherever they might lead (Radford et.al., 1998: 33).

Scott argued that the shift from elite to mass system cannot be understood simply by the evolution of the system and the structure of higher education but has to consider various factors and conditions. As he stated: “The transition from elite to mass higher education cannot be understood simply in terms either of the evolution of higher education systems, such as the expansion of student numbers or structural reforms; or of the substitution of one paradigm, labeled ‘mass’ for another labeled ‘elite’. Instead it must be interpreted in the context of the restless synergy between plural modernizations –of the academy, polity, economy, society and culture” (Scott, 1995: 9-10). He also explained and argued that there were many determining factors that have contributed to the shift to mass higher education. He noted that the shift to mass higher education in Britain and European countries were not the same as in USA. He emphasized that the welfare state and the Fordism eras conditions that had transformed society and the economy had influences on the shift from elite to mass higher education. He added that political shifts did influence the change to mass higher education. He argued: “...[C]hanges in the political system present a powerful challenge to higher education systems, which are themselves caught up in the transition from elite to mass forms. The most significant change is the shift from a fiduciary state, or the state as trustee of the national interest to the contractual state, or the state as market-maker and over-mighty contractor” (Scott, 1995: 171). Scott stated that mass higher education is an ambiguous, diverse and volatile phenomenon. However, he identified two characteristics of mass higher education which was its reflexivity and the fact of being open as he argued:

...[T]wo primary characteristics of mass systems were identified. The first, reflexivity, can be observed in the ‘public’ life of higher education, its political and organizational forms and its interaction with the wider socio-economic arena. The second characteristic,

apparent in the 'private' knowledge-based world of higher education, is the shift from closed intellectual systems to open systems (Scott, 1995: 168).

Scott's approach to understand the meaning of mass higher education in England is suggestive to Madagascar and helps us understand a country's local context for the massification of higher education. Though the stage of massification was less advanced in Madagascar, many of the driving forces were the same.

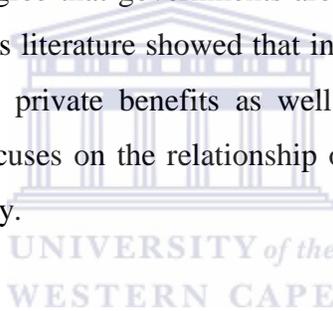
Lumumba (1993), The World Bank papers (2000, 2002, 2008), Chapman et.al. (2002), Bollag (2003), Mohamedbhai (2008), Radford et.al. (1998) and Shabani (2004) all argued that the increase of access resulted in a decline of the quality of higher education. They all stated that the working conditions of higher education decreased when access to higher education was massively increased. Scott (1995) argued that there is a need of understanding various contexts and conditions in order to move to massification. In the following part alternative options for higher education are provided.

2.2.5. Alternative Options for Higher Education

Braimoh and Daniel et. al. both argued about the importance of distance higher education as a way to widen access. Daniel et. al. address mainly the challenges developing countries are facing when increasing access to higher education. They noted the complexity of the interdependence of access, quality and cost, as he called it, the iron triangle. He asserted: "It is impossible to change the vector on one side without ill effects on either or both side" (Daniel et. al. 2009). He raised the issue of the importance of private higher education, open and distance learning to face the challenge to provide wider access to high quality higher education at a low cost. He emphasized "Support through distance learning is particularly appropriate for reasons of convenience and economics" (Daniel et. al., 2009). But they mainly argued that developing countries are not yet at the point to tackle the dilemma, and some developed countries also still facing the problems. Braimoh emphasized the importance of having distance education increase opportunities for higher education access as an important strategy to face the demand. She argued: "Distance education has a great potential, in that it is used to provide far more than what

the formal system can offer” (Braimoh, 2003: 14). She stated that it still remained a challenge for most developing countries.

The literature showed that the move from elite to mass higher education resulted in various changes including to the structure, the organization and even the role of higher education. The move from elite to mass higher education created the risk of deteriorated quality and constraints of funding as well because of the government’s inability to support the increases fully. Goedegebuure et.al. (1993) noted that these three parameters access, quality, and funding are interdependent and called it the trinity. Daniel et. al. (2009) supported the idea and called it the iron triangle. The literature also showed that authors agreed that increasing access widely can also be one of the ways to reduce inequality but not necessary. However, they all noted that a cost-sharing policy to benefit higher education is likely to cut out low income and grassroots population. Nonetheless they all agree that governments are not able to fully fund mass higher education. Authors reviewed in this literature showed that increasing access to higher education does contribute to individual and private benefits as well as potential social and economic benefits. The following section focuses on the relationship of the state and institutions and the issue of governance of access policy.



2.3. The Relationships between the State and Higher Education

2.3.1. Roles and Functions of Universities

Olsen listed four functions of universities in order to explain and understand the dynamics of changes in Universities in the European context. He mainly focused on the questions that he posed about the kinds of universities and for what kind of society. He argued that “The university can be seen as an organizational instrument for achieving predetermined preferences and interests” (Olsen, 2007: 25). Olsen emphasized that the university is portrayed as a rule-governed community and is supposed to benefit society as a whole and not specific stakeholders. He argued also that the University is an instrument for shifting national political agendas when he noted that: “Change in the University is closely linked to political decisions” (Olsen, 2007: 31). Olsen added that the university in the European context can be a

representative of democracy and described the University as a service enterprise embedded in competitive markets (Olsen, 2007: 32).

Castells identified four roles and functions of the university. He described the roles of the universities as: ideological apparatuses, mechanisms of selection of dominant elites, generators of new knowledge, and as a trainer of the bureaucracy. About the role as ideological apparatuses, he noted: “Universities have historically played a major role as ideological apparatuses, rooted in the European tradition of church-based universities, either in the statist version of the French, Italian or Spanish universities or in the more liberal tradition of theological schools of Anglo-Saxon variety, ancestors of the liberal arts colleges. The formation and diffusion of ideology has been, and still is, a fundamental role of universities, in spite of the ideology of their ideology-free role” (Castells, 2001: 206). He noted about the elite training role that: “Included in such mechanisms, beyond selection of the strict sense, are the socialization of these elites, the formation of the networks for their cohesion, and the establishment of codes of distinction between these elites and the rest of the society” (Castells, 2001:207). In discussing the generation of new knowledge, he stated: “What seems to be the third and most obvious function of the university, that it is the generation of new knowledge is, in fact, the exception throughout the world. In many countries it had not yet been fully recognized as a fundamental task by the political institutions and private firms” (Castells, 2001: 208). Castells described the training of the bureaucracy as a basic function of the universities ever since its days as a church school.

Veld et.al. identified four education traditions in Europe. They listed out the Napoleonic, the Humboldtian, the American and the Newmanian tradition. They suggested that the Napoleonic tradition is characterized by the centralistic tradition and the dependence of universities on the state. They noted: “The Napoleonic tradition fits into the broader centralistic tradition of the French state. The main decisions concerning the affairs of a university are all made at the national level, even including the appointments of functionaries and professors. The individual university has hardly any autonomy at all” (Veld et. al., 1996: 46-47).

The Humboldtian tradition was the second tradition they identified, they described the tradition as follow: “The research it performs is aiming at pure science, the accumulation of knowledge, and absolutely independent of any outside societal interests.... The teaching is derivative of research, and it is characterized by the freedom to teach and the freedom to learn”

(Veld et. al., 1996: 47). In contrast to the Napoleonic tradition, in the Humboldtian, the decisions on the presidency and on professorships are made inside the university. They noted that the Napoleonic tradition student access to studies was generally free and for the Humboldtian it was open.

The third tradition they described was the American tradition which is mainly the opposite of Humboldtian tradition. According to Veld et.al. the American model is characterized by its commitment to deliver service to society. As they noted: “The characteristic [of the American model] is the idea that a university exists in order to render services to society, its external orientation towards society at large can be considered as the prime reason of its existence” (Veld et. al., 1996: 48).

The fourth tradition was the Newmanian. They described its characteristics and noted that: “The central objective of the presence of students at the university is only partially accounted for if one restricts it to the teaching of knowledge and skills, as the preparation of students for later life, and the balanced development of students’ personalities are also considered important. Therefore a university cannot only consist of faculties, but also of colleges and often the most influential teacher is not the professor but the tutor” (Veld et.al., 1996: 48).

Authors noted here stated that there are different roles and functions of universities. The Napoleonic tradition described by Veld is useful and informative. It is especially helpful to an understanding of Malagasy higher education which is a copy of that tradition. The Malagasy system of higher education has always been a centralized one and controlled by the state. French colonization brought a higher education system based on the Napoleonic tradition. The following part focuses on the governance in higher education policy changes.

2.3.2. Governance in Higher Education Policy Changes

Saint suggested that: “Universities and the governments that support them exist in an often uneasy and sometimes adversarial relationship across much of Sub- Saharan Africa. The principal sources of this tension are governments' perception of the university community as a frequent locus of criticism and political opposition, the increased involvement of governments in university affairs, and the inability of governments to provide for the financial needs of

universities on a sustainable basis” (Saint, 1992: 32). In his paper, Saints mainly argued that in African countries, governments have control and power over universities. He also pointed out that governments frequently interfere and are involved in university affairs. As he stated: “Governments routinely appoint key administrators and members of the university councils. Governments may also mandate the closure of universities, determine the terms and conditions of staff appointments, set enrolment levels, and censor staff research, teaching and travel agendas” (Saint, 1992: 34). Saint, therefore, identified three basic ways that governments control higher education policy in African countries. He wrote:

Governments control the policy environment for higher education in three basic ways. First, they set access policy, whether it be open access as in Francophone countries, expanded access as in Kenya, or limited access as in Tanzania. Second, they control the sources and mechanisms of finance. Third, governments determine the extent to which universities possess the administrative flexibility to reallocate budgets internally so as to provide incentives or to put efficiency savings to other uses (Saint, 1992: 36).

Neave et.al. emphasized the conclusion that governments control higher education in developing countries as they noted: “An important aspect of the crisis of higher education in developing countries has to do with the ways governments in these countries try to steer the higher education system. Decisions about the higher education budget, about the expansion of the higher education system, about the enrolment policies and about the costs of higher education are usually taken at the governmental level. And university personnel often belongs to the civil service” (Neave et. al., 1994: 3).

Saint was basically arguing that the model of governance of many African countries fits into what Neave et.al. described as the state model in which “the state control model is largely based on the strategy of rational planning and control” (Neave et.al., 1994: 18). Saint defined the government’s role as follows: “Government is the central actor in African higher education. It finances the lion’s share of university budgets, set access policies, appoints key officials, and ensures that standards are maintained through accreditation or other mechanisms” (Saint, 1992: 126).

The literature demonstrated the important role played by governments in policy formation and the funding of higher education in many countries. Most European countries have

moved to a much looser relation with the state than in the past. In contrast, most African higher education systems, modeled after the European systems, still have a close relationship between higher education and the state.

2.3.3 Concept of Policy

Trowler defined policy as: “The implicit or explicit specification of courses of purposive action being followed or to be followed in dealing with a recognized [educational] problem or matter of concern, and directed towards the accomplishment of some intended or desired set of goals. Policy also can be thought of as a position or stance developed in response to a problem or issue of conflict, and directed towards a particular [educational] objective (Trowler, 2002: 2). The term may apply to government, private sector organizations and groups, and individuals.

Trowler continued that at the institutional level, policy was not always a result of careful planning as he noted: “At the institutional level as at the national, policy-making and policy implementation are more likely to be the result of negotiation, compromise and conflict than of rational decisions and technical solutions, of complex social and political processes than careful planning and the incremental realization of coherent strategy (Trowler, 2002: 5).

Lall emphasized that there were different contexts that influenced the policy decisions and described the policy cycle. She noted: “The notion of a policy cycle is...where and how policy is made and remade in different contexts. Each of the three contexts described below have public and private arenas of action and each involves compromise and in some cases even the repression or ignoring of certain interest groups altogether:

- *Context of influence* is where interest groups struggle over the construction of policy discourses and where key policy concepts are established;
- *Context of policy text production* is where texts represent policies. Texts have to be read in relation to time and the site of production, and with other relevant texts;
- *Context of practice* is where policy is subject to interpretation and recreation” (Lall, 2007:5).

Trowler emphasized the fact that policy formation is related to social and historical contexts and stated: “Problems do not exist in isolation from the social and historical context; like the policies that are designed to address them they are created, given shape, in a social and discursive process of problem constitution” and he pointed out the higher education policy “The ‘problem’ of how to widen participation in higher education is usually formulated as such on the basis of taken-for-granted assumptions about the nature of higher education, the forms of propositional knowledge that need to be acquired and notions of ‘quality’ and ‘standards’. These in turn derive from ideological positions and usually latent sets of values and attitudes” (Trowler, 2002: 19).

Smith argued that “The political process generates both demands for policies and a number of supports for governmental outputs. Those demands and supports on the input side are converted into outputs through political processes. All societies have ways of converting inputs into outputs – they constitute its political system”. (Smith, 1996: 96)

Trowler, Lall and Smith’s concept of policy all supported the idea that there are forces influencing the political decision. Political decisions and choices cannot be isolated from the social and historical contexts. In this research the definition provided by Trowler and the concept of the influences that shaped the policy decisions are useful to explain the access policy changes. The Malagasy government’s recognition of the problem for the establishment of higher education during the period after the independence influenced the decision to cooperate with the French. During the *Period of Growth of Nationalism* 1970-1990, the previous policy decision engendered the problem and shaped the policy decision to set a goal of open access. Failure to develop the economic during the 1980s shaped the policy decisions of the government during the *Period of Instability* 1990-2001. The problem of economic development and its social consequences of a lower standard of living influenced the political decisions about cost-sharing. The decision during the last period from 2002 was determined by social demands to establish a more democratic society. In general the political changes in the case of Madagascar have been influenced by social pressure through demonstration and strikes which took on a coercive form. The coercion was seen between the civil society and the government which had the power and authority. After each of the three social strikes, 1972, 1991 and 2001 the political leaders changed and the policy changed as a consequence. The changes in the political decisions

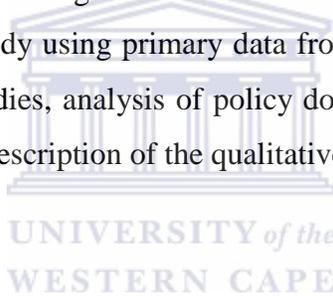
followed the political cycle as described by Lall: “Policy is made and remade in different contexts” (Lall, 2007:5). The details of the access policy changes are discussed in the analysis chapter. The following chapter focuses on the methodology and research design of my research.



CHAPTER III. METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

3.0 Introduction

This research is an empirical case study which includes both qualitative and quantitative data. Most of the data used in this research were qualitative data since there were not much quantitative data especially for the early period under review. The study is based on analysis of historical evidence, government and NGO documents, primary and secondary data. Material has been gathered through semi-structured questionnaire and focus groups. Analysis included examination of political histories as well as higher education policy documents in Madagascar. Numeric data about student's enrolment, graduation rate, funding of higher education, and total number of students gaining scholarships at the University of Antananarivo and enrolment of students in Madagascar were used. Budget data were also collected for the period 1990-2008. This study is thus an empirical study using primary data from interviews and focus groups and secondary data from historical studies, analysis of policy documents and quantitative data. The following section delves with the description of the qualitative research.



3.1. Research Design

By definition a “research design is a plan or structured framework of how you intend conducting the research process in order to solve the research problem.” A research design is also defined as “a plan or blueprint of how you intend conducting the research” (Babbie et.al., 2001: 74). My research is descriptive and analytical as Denzin and Lincoln noted: “First, the design of qualitative studies can in a real sense be seen as analytic” (Denzin et.al., 1998:184) and exploratory. The design of this research is also basically inductive as Denzin et.al. emphasized: “The former [inductively oriented designs] work well when the terrain is unfamiliar and/or excessively complex, a single case is involved and the intent is exploratory and descriptive” (Denzin et.al., 1998: 185). The design is purposive, and includes interviews of key actors, and secondary analysis.

Much of my research is qualitative research using policy documents on higher education and political and historical documents. Creswell defined the qualitative approach as follows: “Qualitative approach is one in which the inquirer often makes knowledge claims based primarily on constructivist perspectives or advocacy/participatory perspectives or both. It also uses strategies of inquiry such as narratives, phenomenologies, ethnographies, grounded theory studies or case studies. The researcher collects open-ended, emerging data with the primary intent of developing themes from the data” (Creswell, 2003: 18). Creswell continued and noted the advantage of qualitative research. He noted that the: “Qualitative approaches allow room to be innovative and to work more within researcher-designed frameworks” (Creswell, 2003: 23).

Policy documents from 1960 to 2008 for higher education were used to identify the government’s plans to changes higher education. The policies outlined in those documents were not necessarily the policies that were developed at the institutions. In some cases they were just symbolic policy, declarations of intention or wish lists of the government. The outlines of policy gained through the policy documents were based on data analysis intended to give an overview of the framework of policy orientations for the Malagasy higher education system. They were interpreted to provide an in-depth analysis to answer the research questions. As Creswell noted: “Qualitative research is fundamentally interpretive. This means that the researcher makes an interpretation of the data” (Creswell, 2003: 182). He added later that: “The process of data analysis involves making sense out of text and image data... moving deeper and deeper into understanding the data, representing the data and making an interpretation of the larger meaning of the data” (Creswell, 2003: 190). Silverman emphasized the advantage of qualitative research compared to a pure quantitative research project when he noted: “The methods used by qualitative researchers exemplify a common belief that they can provide a ‘deeper’ understanding of social phenomena than would be obtained from purely quantitative data” (Silverman, 2001: 32). The qualitative research used in my research is interpretative. The interpretation of policy documents is designed to have a deeper understanding of access policy changes of Madagascar.

3.2. Methods of Data Collection

3.2.1. Interviews

Semi-structured questionnaires were prepared and administered by the researcher. The interviews were purposive since the respondents were chosen because they were the major actors in higher education policy in the process under review. Open-ended interviews were utilized to allow them to respond openly without restraint. As Denzin et. al. pointed out: "... Interviewing is one of the most common and most powerful ways we use to try to understand our fellow human beings" (Denzin et.al., 1998: 47). Close-ended interviews would have limited responses and deprived the author of valuable information. Again, as Denzin et.al. emphasized: "Unstructured interviewing provides greater breadth than the other type, given its qualitative nature" (Denzin et.al., 1998: 56). Under the political situation that existed in Madagascar when this research was undertaken and the sensitivity of some aspects of the topic, it was necessary to probe very carefully in the course of the interviews. Part of the approach was to carry out multiple interviews with these respondents over several months to build confidence and trust. The questionnaires were formulated and established according to the stated objectives. The questions were classified according to the themes of the research.

The type of questions employed was primarily what Brown and Dowling define as a probe. They noted: "A probe is a question used in an interview to gain further information, clarification, or which seeks to access underlying causes or reasons for a particular response" (Brown et.al., 1998: 62). The questions used during the research were primarily designed to gain further information and clarification about the changes brought to higher education policy in Madagascar during the various political periods that will be discussed in details in chapter five. The questions were also designed to obtain a broad understanding of the issues related to access policy for higher education in Madagascar. Babbie et. al. also suggested that: "Probes are more frequently required in eliciting responses to open-ended questions" (Babbie et. al., 2001: 253). The open-ended interviews were especially useful in providing the flexibility to allow the interviewer to guide the respondents to subject areas which provided the information needed. The interviews undertaken during the field work were used to investigate the changes that

happened at the institutions and the application of the policy intentions at the level of institutions. Multiple sources of interviews were utilized to ensure the reliability of the information and data gathered through interviews. Interviews were also used to investigate political interferences in the policy formulation process and during its implementation. The Interviews were transcribed in order to allow me to scrutinize the contents and the details easily. Interviews were also useful to find out whether the institutions resisted the government's policy or not during the periods of changes. The interviews were interpreted, compared, and analyzed to provide a broader understanding and explanation of the complex relationships between the political situation and policy for higher education in Madagascar. The following part focuses on the process of construction of the questionnaire utilized during the interviews.

a. Development of Interview Schedules

The topics of the research were classified by research question and the documents identified that should provide explanations as a result of in-depth analysis. I utilized open-ended questions for all the interviews. The questionnaires were constructed at the beginning of the field study while collecting the existing materials, and revised as I gained more information. Information obtain from existing material, including historical documents, books about politics and history of Madagascar and higher education policy documents such as laws, decrees and the strategic plans provided the basic questions. The questionnaires were modified to reflect the data gathered from other sources. The preliminary findings were used to focus the discussion during the interviews, to go into greater depth and to collect the maximum possible amount of relevant information and data.

Questionnaires were recorded by the researcher and reviewed many times as a way to become very familiar with the questions and to catch ambiguous and unclear questions before the interviews. The questionnaires were pre-tested on some friends to check their coherence, the flow and the relevance of the questions. As Babbie et. al. noted: "No matter how carefully you design a data instrument such as a questionnaire, there is always the possibility – indeed the certainty -- of error... [T]he surest protection against such errors is to pre-test the questionnaire

in full and/or in part” (Babbie et.al., 2001: 244). During the preparation process the questionnaires were sent to the supervisor for comments and feedbacks.

b. Research Population and Sampling

The University of Antananarivo (UoT) was particularly chosen to study the case of access policy changes in Madagascar because this is the oldest and the biggest university in Madagascar. The UoT accommodated the majority of the total net enrolments of higher education students in Madagascar and the change affecting the UoT reflected the changes of the general system concerning higher education policy and access policy. Respondents from the Ministry of Education (MoE) and the UoT were selected in order to collect qualitative data to achieve the objective of my research.

After the questionnaires were revised, the selection of respondents was finalized. The respondents were from two different pools, the Ministry of Education and the institutions. The respondents at the MoE included the Director General of Higher Education, the official responsible for budget preparation for higher education, a former director of higher education becoming the Director of Research, and the official responsible for statistics and programs for higher education related to access. Two of the staff at the department of statistics and programs were also interviewed primarily about the reliability of the data collected as well as the topics of the research.

At the institutional level the President of the University of Antananarivo was interviewed since this institution was the focus of the research. The General Direction of Institute of Higher Technology of Antananarivo (ISTT) as well was interviewed. Given the political situation and the delay in opening the UoT because of the threat of turmoil due to the coup which was taking place at this time, interviews with the Director of Finance and the Deans at the university were not possible. The University was closed during the period of field work.

The design of the interview was purposive and in-depth. The interviews were purposive in the sense that the respondents were chosen because they were the primary actors at the university

or Higher Technology Institute of Antananarivo (ISTT), or primary actors involved in access policy, budget and policy planning at the Ministry. The following respondents were selected for the interviews:

➤ **At the Ministry**

- The Director General of Higher Education at the MoE,
- The official responsible in the department of finance for higher education,
- The official responsible in the Department of Statistics and Programs of Higher Education,
- The former Director of Higher Education and currently Director General of Research
- Two staff members responsible of data collection at the Department of Statistics and Programs.



➤ **At the Institutions:**

- The President of the UoT,
- The General Director of ISTT,
- The official responsible in the department of finance at ISTT.

➤ **Other Interviewees**

- International World Bank consultant on higher education

The Director General of ISTT, the Director General of Higher Education, the former Director of Higher Education currently General Director of Research, and the President of the UoT were chosen because they were the heads of higher education development at each of the three institutions to be examined for the research i.e. the ISTT, the MoE, and the UoT.

The General Director of Higher Education had been the Deputy President of the University of Toliary in Madagascar and he was involved as part of the Ministry's team for higher education policy changes and part of the recent strategic planning committee. He has been

teaching at the university for many years. The combination and the variety of his experiences along with his higher education expertise made him a particularly helpful respondent. He knows a great deal about higher education at both the administration level and at the institutional one. Therefore, he was chosen to be one of the people interviewed.

The General Director of ISTT has been the General Director of the institution since its creation in 1992. Three different sessions were held with him. He was among the key people to plan the creation of ISTT. In addition to that, he has always been part of the Ministry's team to work on higher education policies and the changes as well as a former advisor of the Minister of Education. He also taught at the UoT prior to his position at the ISTT. It was recommended by the General Director of ISTT to interview two ISTT senior administrators working on access and funding in the administration to collect the quantitative data. However, because of the violence created by the political turmoil toward the end of my research period, I was only able to talk to the one that worked on the funding. She provided me with the final signed version of the budget of the ISTT which has proven to be very helpful.

The former Director of Higher Education, in 2003 was particularly chosen to be interviewed because he has been involved in the fields of higher education for many years. He has been teaching at the UoT as well as conducting research. He was a member of the team for change called the 'Task Force' created at the MoE for the transformation of higher education in 2005. The fact that he became the General Director of research later showed his experience and the close relationship between higher education and research as well as a good understanding of the policy of higher education. He has been working with the Minister of Education and higher education as well for many years.

The President of the UoT was selected as a key person to be interviewed in this research, not only because the UoT is part of the case study of this research but also because he is the senior administrator involved in the relations with the MoE. Therefore he was a key person since he knew in details about the policies of government concerning higher education and the realities of relationship with the institution.

An international consultant on higher education was particularly interviewed because he reviewed the World Bank policy on FDES (Support Funding for Higher Education) which was

one of the projects to attempt to bring policy changes in Madagascar. He was also hired by the MoE in Madagascar to work and to bring his expertise on the strategic planning development for higher education from 2005 to 2008. He was an international consultant in Madagascar to help the country to establish a quality assurance agency as one of the major components of the strategic plan. Not only were his inputs useful on the FDES policy but also about the changes during the last period of this research where he played an important role.

Two other informal interviews were also carried out. They included the official responsible for the budget at the ISTT and the official responsible for budget planning for higher education at the MoE.

The senior official for finance at the ISTT was interviewed. The discussion with her was limited to the major sources of income of the ISTT and the state of funding from the government. The annual reports of the budget of ISTT from 1993-2000 were provided to assist me in carrying out my research. The other reports 2001-2008 on funding were provided by the MoE and checked at the ISTT with her.

The senior official for the budget planning at the MoE was interviewed several times. The focus of the interview with him was about the process and mechanisms of budget planning for the funding allocated to the six public universities and the ISTs. Explanations of the amount of funding allocated for these institutions were given. It was clear from the interview with him that the money allocated for education and higher education did not have any specific relationship to budget request or mechanisms to raise funding but depended totally on the money available at the treasury. The historical background of higher education policy since 1990 was also discussed briefly with him.

The work I had been doing at the Ministry of higher education helped me to understand the government's policies from 2004-2008 and I had a chance to talk to, and work with, the Minister of Education fairly regularly during that period. I was also secretary to the Strategic Planning Committee and a research assistant to its Chief Consultant and Advisor to the Minister. This allowed me to see the policy process in action. I was also present during several informal

discussions with him when he was Minister of Finance when some of these policy issues were discussed. That information proved helpful.

3.2.2. Focus Groups

Working for the MoE, I facilitated four focus groups at the UoT designed to get students and faculty attitude about higher education change. The focus groups conducted at the University of Antananarivo was not primarily conducted to achieve the objectives of this research but the data and the outcomes from the focus groups were very useful for this study. This provided a wealth of information which proved invaluable for this research project. The data from the focus groups provided details about the changes of access policy and some of the views of students and faculty members about the changes of policy of higher education. The focus groups were designed to provide information on the views of some of the faculty members and students at the UoT concerning the government's policy and their thoughts about changes in higher education. The focus groups were also utilized to bring clarification about aspects of resistance to change by teachers at the university. This was the very first focus group ever run at a University in Madagascar. With permission of the Minister of Education during this period, I used some of these data for my analysis. The focus groups were not particularly designed for this particular research but the topic and themes of the discussions were very useful to meet some of the objectives of this research. They were very useful in a way that they talked about changes and the attitudes of students and especially faculty members towards government's policy. During the focus groups, the participants in general did not have contradictory views about the situation of higher education, the need for change, and the failure to bring transformation to the system. Various arguments and ideas came out of the focus group questions but they were mainly complementary. Therefore, the outcomes of the focus groups undertaken had basically consensus arguments.

a. Formulation of Interview Schedule for Focus Groups

Bringing about changes in higher education was high on both the government's and institutions' agendas. The assumptions of most people about the universities and changes were

that universities were not willing to cooperate with the changes that the government wanted to put in place. The Focus Groups were mainly designed to provide an overview of opinions of faculty members and students and a sense of the current environment of higher education at the institutions. The Focus Groups also were designed to find out whether the faculty members resisted the changes proposed in the government's plans or that their resistance was just a myth.

b. Selection of the Participants

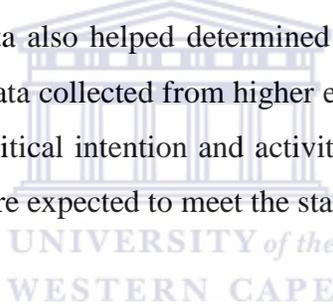
Participants in the focus groups were chosen to provide a broad representation across disciplines. There were two faculty (junior and senior) and two student (undergraduate and graduate) focus groups. The focus group lasted about one to two hours for each group. The first respondents were the group of senior faculty members. They included about six members for each team. The Vice Chancellor (President) and the Deputy Vice chancellor of the UoT were informed about the project to run focus groups at the University. The aim and objectives of the focus groups were explained to the Vice Chancellor and the deputy vice chancellor. They took the responsibility to choose the respondents accordingly at the institutions. While this might have introduce some bias into the results, the interviews were so broad, it would have been hard to affect the comments and responses. The basic criteria of the selection of students and faculty were based on the idea that the respondents were to include a broad representation across disciplines to allow us to obtain a holistic view. We also wanted differences in rank for the faculty and year for the students. The senior faculty participants –as Group 1- included disciplines on Economics, Science Engineering, and Medical study. The list of the participants is in Appendix 1.

The two focus groups were carried out in the University Council Chamber with the Vice President introducing the process after which she left. The respondents were consulted and invited by the Deputy Vice Chancellor (Deputy President) to join the Focus Group session. The same process of selection has been applied to the other participants who were the junior faculty members and the two groups of students. The first group of students was a group of graduate students. All respondents were anonymous and were assured that they would not be identified by name. They were also asked to respect the confidentiality of the responses made by other

participants in the focus groups. The list and the backgrounds of the participants are in Appendix 1.

3.3. Quantitative Data

Part of the design of this research as well, was the collection of quantitative data on access and funding of higher education. The Quantitative data concerning access in particular have been used to verify and check the effectiveness of the policy plan for access at the institutions. Quantitative data on access were used to measure the level of implementation of the policy plan identified from the policy documents. They were also used to as an indication of the ability of the universities to respond to the proposed changes in time or not. Quantitative data on budget and funding were utilized in particular to identify whether the policy changes and the access policy planned by the government were accompanied by financial support to achieve the goals. The use of the financial data also helped determined the level of implementation of the changes. The combination of the data collected from higher education policy documents, and the data from the interviews about political intention and activities, as well as the quantitative data concerning access and funding, were expected to meet the stated objectives of this research.



3.4. Process of Data Collection

3.4.1. Collection of Policy Documents and the Early Stage of Interview

In my research, both qualitative and quantitative data were used. The process was carried out in three steps. The first step was the collection of secondary data including the written higher education policy papers published by the government or/and the World Bank. They were the documents that provided the general outlines and content of the policy and the changes of policy that the government intended to bring about. These documents included the economic policy papers and plans of the government, the strategic plans of the government intended to achieve the goals and objectives of the policy for economic and social development, master plans, institutional plans and the laws and decrees for higher education. This material was utilized to complete the two aims of the study, that is, to identify the major policy changes of

higher education in general and about access policy in particular in Madagascar since independence 1960. But the problem for the first step in data collection in this research was that it did not provide enough information to find out what had been achieved by the plans. The key questions required identifying the achievements of the plans, whether partly or substantially at the institutional level. Those conclusions would indicate whether or not there were real higher education policy changes. For example, in this research the government, with the financial support of the World Bank, decided to set up a National Agency for quality evaluation in 2005, and the laws stipulated that the agency was created to carry out external and internal evaluation as a policy change to bring about an improvement in the quality of higher education. Therefore, according to the policy papers and the government's plan, the changes happened. However, when interviews of actors involved in different aspects of higher education were carried out, the intended objectives of this particular change were neither achieved nor effective. This was but one demonstration of the importance of understanding policy goals and examining implementation in both the short and long run. Just looking at the plans and initial implementation would suggest success. But interviews have provided a different take on these higher education policy changes and the level of their effectiveness. This is where depth was provided by the second and third steps carried out during the field work.

3.4.2. Multiple Sources of Data from Interviews

The second step was the collection of primary data carried out through multiple source interviews. They were open-ended interviews designed to help understand and assess what the policy papers and documents in the first step meant for institutions in real terms – that is their effects. The findings from the first step were primarily analyzed in a descriptive way at an early stage of the process. Then the interviews were utilized to analyze the findings of the first step, which were the identification of the higher education policy changes. The interviews with open-ended questions were built upon the results of the first step, i.e. the policy changes identified from the policy documents were checked and amplified by means of interviews. The interviews were also planned to provide additional information about the process. For instance, autonomy granted for financial affairs, pedagogy and administration in 1993 by the government had very ambiguous meanings in the relationship between the government and the institutions. It was

more symbolism than reality. But the perspectives and points of view of the actors at the institutional level were very important to understanding what had happened. Their views about the reality of institutional financial autonomy were revealing – their conclusions were that finance was still in the hands of the government within the context of the state-funding system.

3.4.3. Collection of Quantitative Data

The third step which was the collection of quantitative data, focused on access and funding. Quantitative data concerning participation rates were collected. The participation rate of the year 1969 was calculated with the college-age of 15-20 because this was the only accessible data about population nearest to the college age. For the period of socialism, the participation rate was calculated with the college age 20-24 because there was the national service during this period, therefore, students were likely to start at about the average age of 18 to 20. The data concerning the total population number of the age 18-23 were not available during those two periods. The method of calculation of participation rate was the same as the one established by the Ministry of Education. Quantitative data facilitated the operationalization of the findings from the qualitative data. Quantitative data were used as an indication of what the government did to support the policy changes at the institutional level. This was to explore whether there were contradiction or coherence between the government's plans for change and its actions toward the institutions. The following table summarizes the data collected.

3.5. Reliability and Validity

3.5.1. Cross-checking Approach

The data collected were checked with the head of data collection (at the MoE). I asked about the processes they used to insure the reliability of the data. He confirmed that they required the data from the universities and they checked them for reliability. This was also true of the data on both access and funding – that is their quantitative data. There were some data modifications after October each year. There is always a slight change in higher education student number due to late registration but they are negligible. This department of statistics, that oversees data collection, is responsible for finalizing the data collected by sending them back to the institutions and universities if necessary or when they do not meet the standards required. They gave me the final version of all the data I needed about access and funding (the budget situation from 1990-1999 was not available at this department). They mentioned that some of the recent data are still provisional like the yearbook 2008 and I have noted that.

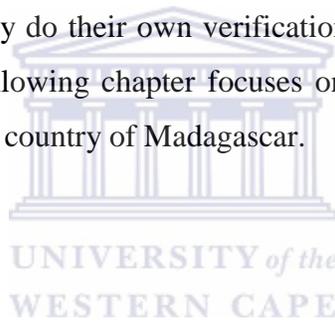
For analysis of the budget situation from 1990-1999, I collected information from the Ministry official in charge of the higher education budget during this period. The budget speeches for these years were provided. Therefore, comparison of figures with the initial budget speech (*Lois des finances*) and the rectified budget after treasury review and allocations, allowed me to have reliable data about funding and to see any changes that happened in the interim. Understanding the mechanisms of the funding allocation system in Madagascar, included a standard increase of about 10% of the whole budget as part of the strategy the Ministry of Education adopted. Therefore the total amount of the budget should reflect the 10% increase in the budget and significant increases or decreases will be identified by major policy changes.

Access policy changes, the relationship of the government to the institutions, and funding were the main topics of the interviews done during the field work. The most critical questions focused on those issues. My interviews grew out of my research questions and the objectives they engendered. Many of the questions included in the interviews were open-ended questions. This gave greater scope to their answers and helped provide additional data. It has been useful to

have multiple sources of data, to check the data collected as part of my effort to guarantee reliability and validity.

All the policy documents used in this research were from the MoE. They were the final drafts or final versions. The ministry policy documents were intended and used to frame the policy changes that the government wanted to implement. They contained the outlines of the new policies. They originated from the government's plans for economic and social development, where they existed. They were the formal policy documents utilized by the institutions and the MoE.

The World Bank used Ministry data to carry out its research. They always cross checked them carefully before they used them. I checked some of my data against theirs and it was the same. The same data have been used by many other international consultants working for the Ministry, NGOs, and funders. They do their own verifications. Thus I am very confident about the reliability of my data. The following chapter focuses on the historical backgrounds of the system of higher education and the country of Madagascar.



CHAPTER IV. HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS

4.1 Overview of the System of Higher Education in Madagascar

4.1.1 Introduction

In order to investigate the relationships between political changes and higher education access policy changes and put them in context an overview of the Malagasy higher education system and the historical background of Madagascar are useful. The following section delves with the presentation of an overview of the system of higher education since the independence of Madagascar in 1960 and the historical backgrounds of Madagascar.

4.1.2 Brief History of the System of Public Higher Education

Madagascar has six provinces including Antananarivo, Antsiranana (also called Diego), Majunga, Toamasina, Toliary and Fianarantsoa. The Malagasy higher education system was created at the eve of independence in 1960. Medical studies had been established in 1896 and the studies were undertaken in France. Towards the end of the colonial period, in the late 1950s, the French established the University in Antananarivo according to the agreement No. 11713 between France and Madagascar. The agreement between the French and the Malagasy government on 27 June 1960 established the rules and regulations for the Malagasy higher education system. There was only one university, the University of Madagascar at the beginning. Within the University of Madagascar there were three faculties. Each of the faculties was sponsored by the *Institut des Hautes Etudes* in France. The Faculty of Laws, Sciences and Medicine and the Faculty of Letters and Humanity were respectively sponsored by the Faculty of Laws of Aix-En-Provence, the Faculty of Medicine of Marseille and Bordeaux and the Faculty of Letters and Humanity of Marseille and Aix-En-Provence. The combination of these three faculties constituted the University of Madagascar.

The system of higher education of Madagascar during this period included the University of Madagascar, the National Ecole of Administration (ENAM), the Post and Telecommunication Institute and the laboratory for *Radio-Isotopes*. The National Ecole of Administration institution

was fully supported by the Malagasy government. The French government supported the university financially. During the first decade following the independence of Madagascar the system of *Grandes Ecoles* and *Institutes* was established. By 1969 there were two institutes and five *Grandes Ecoles*. There were nine different programs at the University of Madagascar. In 1970-1971 the higher education center of Toliary was created with the Faculty of Natural Sciences. The students at the center of higher education in Toliary were only 1.6% of the total system and the rest 98.4% was at the University of Antananarivo. During the early period of socialism of 1976-1990 four new regional university centers were created. The *Ecole Normale Supérieure* was created in 1980.

In 1988, the five regional university centers became universities and there were a total of six public universities in Madagascar. The University of Madagascar became the UoT (The UoT is also known as the *University of Ankatso* or *Ambohitsaina*). Each of the six universities is located in one of the six provinces of Madagascar. In 1992, two Institutes of Higher Technology (IST) were created thanks to the World Bank funding. One IST was created in Antananarivo but separate from the University of Antananarivo (UoT) and one was in Antsiranana. Short professional courses within the faculties are available within each of the six public universities as well as regular undergraduate instruction. Institutions were also able to open new short courses at the universities with the approval of the Ministry of Education (MoE). For short professional courses, the institutions have the right to set the amount of funding they charged to students. They have total autonomy to recruit as many students as they want. Students taking the short courses at the universities have to pay fees at the public higher education whereas those taking the normal multi-year program leading to the bachelor's degree do not pay fees. All regular programs at the six public universities are free of charge but all students have to pay a small registration fees.

4.1.3 Private Higher Education

In 1995 a decree concerning the organization of private higher education was published by the MoE. Recognition of the right to open a private higher education institution was called *homologation*. Private higher education institutions were allowed to open with a few criteria that

included infrastructure and human resources requirements. The government had to approve the curriculum proposed by the private institutions. By 2003 the system of homologation was suspended by the government because it was not effective and had led to corruption of the inspectors. Thereafter private higher education institutions had to apply for permission to open but no *homologation* or other recognition was delivered by the government. A project on accreditation was underway from 2005 and was designed to assure quality and overcome the weaknesses of homologation. In 2009, the statistics showed that there were about 21 private higher education institutions *homologué* and 47 having their permission to open. The combination of the total students of the two types of private institutions made about 34% of the total number of students at the six public universities. The majority of the students enrolled at private higher education were in the capital Antananarivo. Private higher education institutions tended to have short courses and their programs were mainly classified as professional courses. Most of the students who failed the examination to enter public higher education registered and enrolled in the private higher education institutions.

4.1.4 Distance Education

In 1992 the government published a decree to establish a new form of higher education which was called the national center of distance education of Madagascar (CNTEMAD). The decree stated that distance education was mainly established to provide an additional tertiary institution to accommodate the high demand for higher education that the universities were not able to accommodate. Fields taught at the distance education center were based on the fields that were highly demanded at the UoT. Law and Management were the first foci of the distance education institution at the beginning. They were intended to duplicate and ease the pressure in the fields that were overcrowded at the UoT. Teachers from the public universities, mostly from the UoT, have been teaching at the distance education center since the beginning.

The original idea of the Center as conceptualized by the government was to regulate the flow of students at the UoT and to accommodate the high percentage of students failing the entrance examination and dropping out when they could not get into public universities. Distance education has been extended to the provinces of Madagascar. The programs offered included more professional courses such as Commerce and Computer Science. The system was designed

to allow students to make money to support their own studies. Students taking courses through distance education were charged for fees for the courses and for the examination. The government funded partially the institution as a public higher education institution. There were no government scholarships for the students registered at the CNTEMAD. As opposed to the university system, CNTEMAD can admit as many students as it wants. The government did not establish a limit on the total number of students to be admitted to the institutions. That was the decision of the institution itself.

4.1.5 System of Degrees and Diploma

During the first decade after independence, the degree and diploma delivered from the University of Madagascar were organized and recognized by the French. They had the same value as the French diplomas and students from the University of Madagascar had easy access to continue further studies in France. During this period the baccalaureate examination as well was similar to the one in France with the pre-baccalaureate examination. After the students' strike of 1972 (which is discussed below) the baccalaureate level was adjusted to the Malagasy context. It was known as the Malagasy baccalaureate standard and different from the French. The pre-baccalaureate examination was abolished.

The Ecole of Polytechnics and the Ecole of Agronomy train engineers in a program that lasts five years and does not deliver in-between degrees or diplomas. For the *Ecole Normale Supérieure*, the programs are dedicated for teacher training for civil service. The training lasts for five years and results in a *Certificate d'Aptitude Pédagogique de l'Ecole Normale* (CAPEN). The system of diplomas delivered at the faculties was a three-year study for a license (the equivalence of Bachelor degree of the English system), four year for a *Maitrise* and six year study for a *Diplome d'Etude Approfondie* (DEA: the equivalence of Master's degree of the English system), and a doctorate after that. The Faculty of Medicine awards a diploma of Medical Doctor after eight years of training and after presentation of a thesis.

The distance education institution awarded a two year degree at the beginning and more recently a baccalaureate plus five.

IST was originally designed to train higher technicians for a two-year duration. In 2001 the ISTs began to train engineers with four years of studies with a two-year compulsory internship in between. After the first two year of training followed by the two year of internship or work, students have to sit for a competitive examination for engineer training and have to be presented by a company in order to have access to the engineer training.

Private higher education institutions mainly delivered short courses designed to be the equivalent of the baccalaureate plus two or three years of the public universities. Private higher education institutions are free to establish the diplomas they want to deliver. However, students from private higher education institutions are not able to transfer to the public universities unless the equivalence of their diplomas is recognized by the government, which is generally not the case.

4.1.6 Mode of Admission

Admission to all types of higher education in Madagascar has required the baccalaureate diploma from its establishment in the colonial period to the present. During the first decade after the independence, admission to higher education was based on the selection of applicants' documents after passing the baccalaureate. Access to higher education was free of charge. The University of Madagascar was mainly intended to train students in traditional academic courses. There were the national Administration Ecole, the National Institute of Post and Telecommunication and the Laboratory of Radio-Isotopes. Those three types of institutions were considered to be professional programs during this period.

Access to the Grandes Ecoles type of institution and Institutes was also through competitive examination. All programs in the various Faculties admitted students based on their application forms judged on merit. For the Faculty of Medicine, the departments based admission on the selection of students' applications for the first year and the second year was based on the results of a competitive examination. Faculty and Grandes Ecoles systems are free of charge but students have to pay a small registration fees and do obtain a partial scholarships

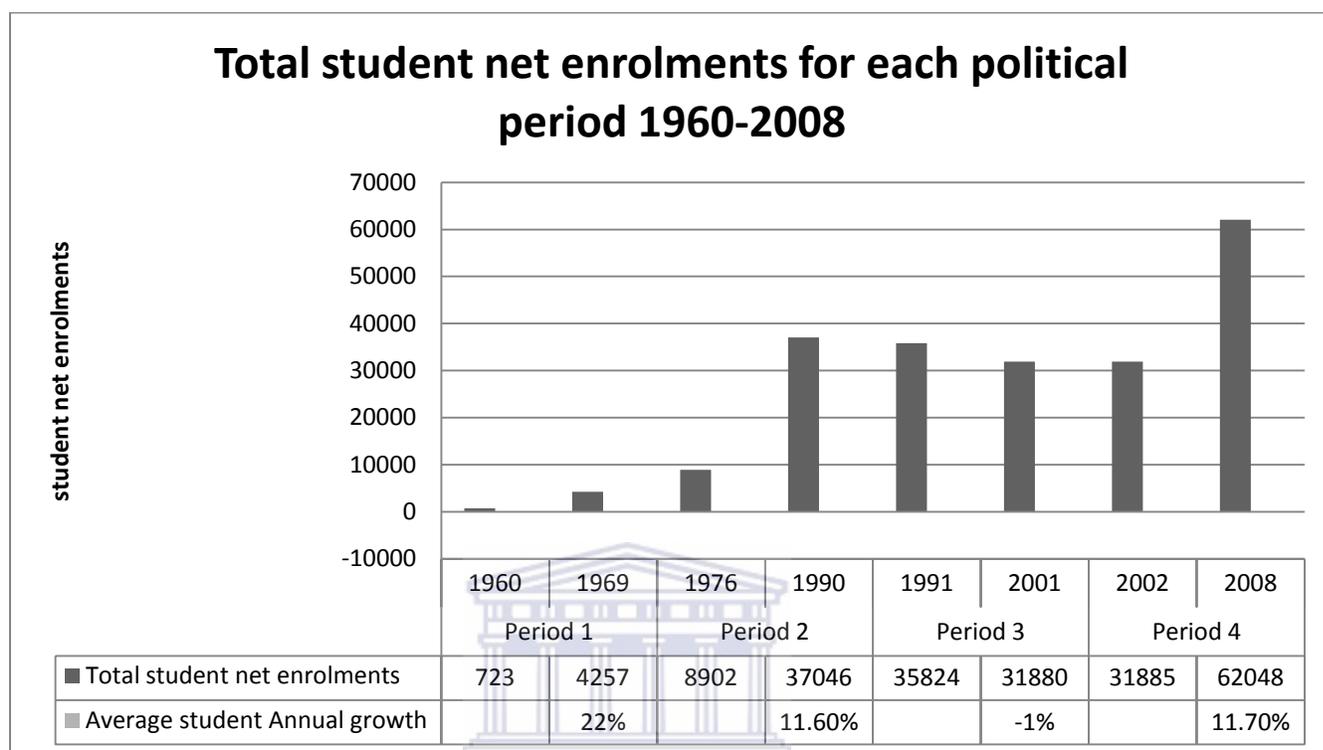
for a period of nine months per year with one *equipment*¹ a year. Good performance during the baccalaureate is required to be admitted to IST institutions. The total number of students admitted to these institutions was limited to 26 per year per field. The IST, the short courses at the universities, private higher education institutions and distance education charged tuition and fees. The only criterion to gain admission to the distance and private education in Madagascar was the baccalaureate degree, regardless of the performance of the results of the examination as long as they passed. The total number of students to be admitted in those two types of institutions has not been limited to date.

For a general picture and overview of access changes in Madagascar the figures below show the students' enrollment to higher education since the independence 1960.



¹ An amount of money provided in addition to the scholarship for all students once in one year.

Table 4.1: Overview of the Total Net Enrolments of Students at the System of Higher Education in Madagascar 1960-2008



Source: Data from Government of Madagascar National Statistics 2007-2008

Period 1: Period of Tutelage 1960-1970

Period 2: Period of Growth of Nationalism 1970-1990

Period 3: Period of Instability 1991-2001

Period 4: Period of Redirection toward Democratization 2002-2008.

4.2 Political History Background

Madagascar was a monarchy ruled by the Merina kingdom since late 18th century to 1896. Madagascar was colonized by the French from 1896. Madagascar was granted a negotiated independence from France in 1960 and Philibert Tsiranana was elected president of the first Malagasy Republic. The Malagasy government agreed to continue to cooperate with the French. The *assimilés* during the period of colonization of Madagascar allied with the French to allow them to continue to control Madagascar. Those few elites were mainly those highly qualified who wanted to protect their positions in the government.

4.2.1 Assimilation Policy

During the colonization of Madagascar the French practiced the policy of *Assimilation* as a way to inculcate the values and cultures they wanted in those who worked with them during the colonial period. In writing about the period, Suret-Canale suggested: *assimilation* had only a negative meaning as he noted: “It suppressed or ignored the political structures that were truly African and the African culture, replacing them by colonial structures and French colonial education” (Suret-Canale, 1971: 83). This *assimilation* policy affected mainly the training of elites in higher education. The French policy had two-objectives for education: work toward the provision of higher education for a small select elite, those deemed to become in time the *evolués* or ‘black Frenchmen’ and by contrast provided a low level of education for the masses (Lulat, 2005) – just enough to make them literate. However, Ralibera saw in a positive way the presence of French under the policy of *Assimilation* in the context of Madagascar. He stated that the French during colonization did not have any discrimination according to the existing local classes or races. He argued: “In my opinion, the way my family experienced it, the French people were never racist” (Ralibera, 2007: 14). He saw the French policy of *Assimilation* as an opportunity for certain low class people in Madagascar to change identity through education provided by the Metropole. As he argued: “We, the *Black people*², especially catholic, learning at catholic schools, we feel that the French has freed us of the social system and hierarchy of the Merina monarchy. The colonization allowed us to have the right to study as the children of those

² Black people here in this context is one of the four classes of the Merina ethnic group.

of higher caste³” (Ralibera, 2007: 52). Cossa argued also in this line that the western education was essential for the development of the colonized African countries as she noted: “Although there may be some exceptions, the underlying assumption is that we all understand that ‘Western’ education for Africans is essential for its development” (Cossa, 2008: 36). The assimilation policy allowed the French government to extend and keep control after independence in 1960. This resulted in a form of neo-colonialism that is the focus of the following section.

The government in power during the first Republic maintained close ties with France to aid its political, social and commercial development. As Allen stated: “Guided by its special relationship with Paris, Tsiranana’s independent republic followed a rigorously pro-western, anticommunist course” (Allen, 1995: 51). The French worked to inculcate their culture and values in some of the Malagasy elites to serve their interests. As Cossa argued: “Each of these colonizers aimed at training elites, although from different structural and strategic standpoints, which would facilitate these colonizers’ aspiration for a hegemonic status in world politics” (Cossa, 2008: 39). To have more political influence the French signed an agreement with Madagascar. The agreement signed by the Malagasy government focused on the French continuing to control higher education policy. As Covell noted “There were over a dozen such agreements in the post-colonial period, covering a diverse range of topic, but the four most important dealt with defense, foreign policy, economic policy and education” (Covell, 1987: 33). The political situation of Madagascar for the French during this period was seen as ‘before independence equals after independence’. The students’ discontent with the higher education policy resulted in a massive opposition to the government. A general strike was undertaken by the students in 1972.

4.2.2 The Students’ Strike of 1972: A Move to Change the Incumbent Regime

The push from the students’ strike in 1972 to open access to higher education changed the political regime in Madagascar. The strike of the students was powerful because they were a group of powerful interests who had strong anti-French feelings. This anti-French demonstration

³ All references from Ralibera were translated from French

was initiated by students from the capital. As a result of the demonstration, the Malagasy regime allied with the French collapsed. A new socialist regime replaced it in power.

In 1972, the separation of two medical institutions, the one at the University to provide training for the urban population and the other at the hospital Befelatanana for the rural one, raised the anger of those who were to be trained for the rural one. As Rahajarizafy argued: “They sought an increased amount of scholarships, a better condition of management, and to have the same curriculum of medical study at the professional training at the hospital as the one at the Faculty within the university⁴” (Rahajarizafy, 1982: 17). The main reasons for the students’ strike in 1972 can be laid basically on social, catering, scholarship, and pedagogical reasons. There was also the desire of students at the Befelatanana institution⁵ to have the same program and opportunity as those at the Faculty of Medicine at the university – a demand for equality. The students at Befelatanana demanded that the government close the institution at the hospital and set up a unique institution at the University for students from both institutions, with the same opportunity and level of education.

The government reacted to the students’ demand and closed the institution for few days to end the strike. It was in vain and the strike continued. Rahajarizafy stated in his book that, the MoE, favoring the elitist system, did not agree to combine the two institutions and stated that: “The graduates from the Faculty could not work in the rural areas since there were no equipments appropriate to their knowledge from the university in rural areas” (Rahajarizafy, 1982: 20). Brown emphasized that the cause of the strike was the desire to have better social conditions and added that the strike became a political one. Covell viewed the cause of the strike as a political one but more orientated to end the dependency on French policy decision over many crucial areas and its domination over the system of higher education in Madagascar. As Covell noted in her discussion of these events: “.... In the course of the uprising its meaning widened to include to ouster the French technical assistants, and then the real departure of the French and the regime they had installed” (Covell, 1987: 45-46). They were joined by secondary education students, who also wanted a national education program appropriate to the Malagasy context.

⁴ All references from Rahajarizafy were translated from Malagasy

⁵ There were two distinct training for medical students: One at the hospital Befelatanana and one at the University

After the general strike initiated by the students the head of state stepped down in 1972 and Madagascar had a transitional regime headed by a military president, Gabriel Ramanantsoa during 1972-1975. That was followed by another one led by Ratsimandrava in February 1975. The latter was assassinated after only five days in office. A referendum followed in 1975 and that led to the establishment of a socialist regime headed by Ratsiraka who was elected in 1976. The period after the collapse of the social democrat government saw a socialist regime come to power.

The student opposition to these policies was demonstrated in protests against the ruling government and particularly in demands they made to oust the French and end their domination of Madagascar. The social democratic government of the first Republic collapsed eventually, in 1972, in the face of another general strike led by students from secondary and higher education. The following section focuses on the socialist regime resulting from the political crisis.

4.2.3 The Socialist Regime 1975-1990

Ratsiraka became president in 1976 and the political regime adopted a socialist ideology. One of the main objectives of Ratsiraka's revolutionary socialist regime was to end the dependency on the French. The socialist regime was built on an anti-imperialism ideology aiming at ending dependency (Chart, 1976 and Razafimpahanana⁶, 1993). Covell and Brown supported this argument. Ratsiraka's ideology of socialism was mainly aimed at the development of an independent economy, society and culture, and respect for human rights. The main strategy of the socialist ideology was focused on the benefits to the most deprived and poor class of the Malagasy population. The strategies to achieve these objectives were the development of foreign policy, internal policy, an economic strategy for budget management, agriculture, education, media, public goods, employment, land reform and transport (Chart, 1976: 11). The socialist strategy to achieve economic objectives was focused on equality of benefits for all citizens.

The government's policy focused the socialist regime into Democratization, Decentralization and Malgasization. The Democratization and Decentralization policies resulted

⁶ All references from Razafimpahanana were translated from French and all the references from the Chart were from Malagasy.

in difficult economic conditions. The government could not afford to continue to have free institutions under the state budget and funding. Therefore the government had to liberalize and privatize the economy. The failure of the socialist period is the focus of the following section.

4.2.4 The Failure of the Socialist Regime

Razafimpahanana (1993), Allen (1997), Urfer (2006), and Ralibera (2007) all agreed that the socialist regime was a failure in Madagascar. They all argued that the economic conditions were exacerbated and the standards of living of the Malagasy people declined during this period. Urfer stated: “Five years are enough for a policy called ‘excessive investments’ to develop ‘white elephants’, that ruined the economy, submerge the population in misery and mortgage the future under the heavy debt impossible to reimburse ...Increasing poverty between the majority and minority, with the minority grow richer” (Urfer, 2006 : 40). Allen shared the same view and stated: “The gaps between rich and poor spread wider....Inability to pay a \$3 billion (and growing) overall debt, to balance national accounts, and to rectify a chronic payments deficit inevitably led the Ratsiraka government to the World Bank and the IMF” (Allen, 1995: 194-195). Razafimpahanana emphasized that: “The debt of the country piled up. The leaders of the country were obliged to negotiate with international monetary organizations to gain a moratorium of the payment of debt. This situation imposed on the regime to liberalize and privatize the economic sector” (Razafimpahanana, 1993: 23). The Period of Socialism from 1976-1990 under Ratsiraka was mainly notable for severe economic conditions and high inflation. The devaluation of the Malagasy Franc against the French Franc was an indication of the declining economy and high inflation. The value of the French Franc against the Malagasy Franc declined from 1FF for 50.00MGF – Malagasy Francs, to 1FF for 319.77MGF from 1981 to 1991 (Data from the UNESCO website 1993). The poor economic conditions resulted in the government seeking international funding mainly from the World Bank and the IMF. Madagascar ended up with a high national debt. These political and economic conditions resulted in a growing opposition to the incumbent government and a new change of government characterized by political instability.

4.2.5 The Strike of 1991

The growth of the opposition to the revolutionary socialist government resulted in difficult political conditions and instability for the half-decade after 1991. The failure of the liberalization of economic policy in Madagascar and its contradiction to the socialist revolutionary ideology led the opposition to demonstrate against the incumbent president, Ratsiraka. The resulting strike, initiated by the opposition, was a purely political act designed to take over power. The demands of the opposition were based on “establishment of Democracy – a state of law; transparency as the principle of the new politics and the respect of the principle of separation of power” (Razafimpahanana, 1993: 56). As a strategy, the opposition leaders included economic and social issues to attract large numbers of the population to their cause. As Razafimpahanana noted: “The opposition realized that the mass of population is neither going to follow nor support the contestation movement that has just started if it has a purely political one. The political contestation should be expanded to a socio-political, socio-economic and socio-cultural one” (Razafimpahanana, 1993: 51).

A strike followed which focused first on the decline of the economy having as its origin the socialist revolutionary strategy for economic development. The opposition leader campaigned against the government holding it to be responsible for the decline of the population’s purchasing power, the high rate of inflation and the devaluation of the Malagasy currency. ...As Razafimpahanana noted: “[at the moment of the demonstration] the opposition leader declared: the regime in place is accused to be the responsible of the important unemployment that is hitting the population and in particular the young people that cannot find employment. The future of these young people is stuck” (Razafimpahanana, 1993: 54). Civil servants joined the demonstration since they experienced inflation more than other business given the fact that they had a fixed salary or a systematic increase in salary which was not in proportion to the rate of inflation. The incumbent government did not agree to resign unless there was an election. The demonstrators decided to establish a parallel government to the existing one. Their efforts finally resulted in a mass march to the presidential palace. The government opened fire on the demonstrators. That action weakened the power of the president and resulted in his having to leave office. After the strike of 1991 Madagascar continued implementing a policy of liberalization and privatization. Starting first with the IMF’s structural adjustment

program towards the end of 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s policies were put in place designed to attract investors. Madagascar continued the policy of liberalization of key economic sectors as well as tightening the financial sector, civil service reform, and privatization of public sector reform. The implementation of these policies saw political turmoil resulting in economic decline, after which a transitional government was established.

The failure of the socialist regime resulted in further economic decline. The civil servants put pressure on the government because of its failure to bring development and improve their standards of living. The national strike of 1991 led to a series of elections and change of political leaders. The political crisis and instability, with its frequent changes of the presidents, affected the economic development of the country. The government in place had to run to international aid to help support the economy. The main funder during this period was the World Bank. The latter had a powerful influence to shape political decisions based on the policy of liberalization and privatization. At this point, most of the societies and institutions run by the government were privatized.

4.2.6 The Series of Presidential Changes from 1990-2001

The period after the strike of 1991 was notable for political instability and a series of changes of presidents. The period was characterized by political turmoil when the government of Ratsiraka resisted demands that he resign. The massive protests of the population, especially in the capital Antananarivo, resulted in establishment of a transitional government. The primary reason for the protest was the failure of the socialist government to develop the economy and the falling standards of living of the population. In the view of the opposition leaders, the consequences of Ratsiraka's regime were a disaster and the population needed change after Ratsiraka's 15 years being in power. As Urfer described the consequences of the socialist regime: "Ratsiraka left behind a country falling apart, a disastrous economy, a dispirited society, and an uncertain political situation" (Urfer, 2006: 47). What was basically demanded by the demonstrators was a change of government. He continued noting: "In all point of views, the 15 years of socialism was a disaster for the country and the population" (Urfer, 2006: 47). The strike became popular and its success resulted in a transitional government formed in 1992. Following the political turmoil, a constitutional referendum was held in August 1992 and a presidential

election was held later in November the same year. A runoff election between Zafy, the leader of the opposition, and Ratsiraka was held again the following year. This resulted in the victory of Zafy that ended the socialist regime. The political situation during this time was followed by the impeachment of Zafy in 1996. The impeachment of the president Zafy in 1996 came about when he was accused of violations of the constitution and abuse of authority. As Allen noted, the decision came from Parliament. “The impeachment complaint transmitted to the High Constitutional Court (HCC) by parliament on July 26, 1996, charged President Zafy with several violations of the constitution and other abuses of his authority” (Baumgartner et.al., 2003: 86). Madagascar then had to pass through a transition phase when the Prime Minister, Ratsirahonana, became the acting president. Another presidential election was held in November 1996. That election resulted in a runoff between the two previous candidates Zafy and Ratsiraka in December the same year. The ex-president Ratsiraka was the victor of the runoff election. After 1998, the political situation calmed down and became more stable until 2001 when the next political crisis over a presidential election occurred.

4.2.7 The Political Crisis 2001 and its Economic Impacts

Because of the dispute about the election results of 2001 between Ratsiraka and Ravalomanana, Ratsiraka requested a runoff election with the potential support of the HCC. Ravalomanana with a majority of the vote refused the runoff election and sought support from the mass of the population of Antananarivo. Ravalomanana rapidly obtained tremendous support from the population, as Marcus and Cornwell noted. He rallied 500,000 supporters including people from the coasts of Madagascar. The main argument of Ravalomanana was focused on what he spoke of as ‘democracy’-- where the mass of population should take the decision. As a result of the dispute a general strike occurred in January 2002. Ravalomanana and his supporters refused the call for a runoff election by his opponent. As Marcus noted, Ravalomanana called for mass action. “He called the masses on to the streets on 17 January with a statement that ‘as long as the HCC does not make any effort to check the return sheets, we would go all the way with our protests” (Marcus, 2004: 7). All administrative buildings and the majority of factories were closed and the civil servants and workers joined the demonstrations to support Ravalomanana. At the same time the majority of investors and funders left Madagascar. Many export processing

industries were closed. The closure of many factories resulted in a drastic increase of unemployment among the young people. The unemployed and some laid off employees joined the general strike and many of the civil servants also joined the demonstration. At the end of February 2002, Ravalomanana proclaimed himself the president of the Republic of Madagascar and was inaugurated. Madagascar had two presidents during the next two months after the inauguration. International help was needed to solve the problem. It recommended a recount of the votes. As a result once again the result showed that 51.46% of the votes were for Ravalomanana. Ravalomanana was re-inaugurated for a second time in May 6th 2002 in front of the Court and representatives of the international community. He therefore was the recognized legal president of Madagascar from May 2002.

As was the case in the two previous street demonstrations, the consequences of the political crisis in 2001 resulted in the loss of investors and the suspension of aid from international donors. The successive periods of political turmoil affected the economy of Madagascar. As a result, it has never been fully developed. The economy of Madagascar also lagged behind many other developing countries because of its dependence on foreign markets concerning exports and the disturbance of its market during the crisis. Inflation was high during 2002 and the purchasing power of the average population decreased. The inflation rates showed the economic decline, it was 16.2% in 2002 and -1.1% in 2003 (Source: Data from the World Bank Database 2004). The World Bank became the major international funders of the country during the period of crisis. These historical contexts are useful to identify the four major political periods and to provide details of the changes of access policy in Madagascar. The following chapter focuses on the data presentation and the analysis.

CHAPTER V. DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.0 Introduction

In Madagascar the political crises of the state were usually a consequence of political pressure by factions or special interests and social pressure by activist pressure groups. The political crises that affected on higher education policy decisions were usually related to the government response to pressure by internal and external forces. The definition of policy used here is based on Trowler's definition, noted above, stating: "[Policy is] the implicit or explicit specification of courses of purposive action being followed or to be followed in dealing with a recognized [educational] problem or matter of concern, and directed towards the accomplishment of some intended or desired set of goals. Policy also can be thought of as a position or stance developed in response to a problem or issue of conflict, and directed towards a particular [educational] objective. (Trowler, 2002: 2). As a result of this research, we see that the government's political changes were largely a response to a problem or conflict which was mobilized by powerful forces from the civil society and as a consequence of international pressures. The civil society included mainly the students and the civil servants. The international forces were mainly the result of policy pressure by the French or the World Bank.

5.1 The Four Political Periods

From the historical context described in the chapter above, four distinct political periods affecting higher education policies were identified. They were *the Period of Tutelage* from 1960-1970 that was featured by the extension of the French control. The policy of the government and the policy of higher education were shaped largely by the external force, which in this period was the French. The French elitist policy of higher education had tremendous impact on the formation of higher education policy in Madagascar. The French extension of control was demonstrated by the limitation of production of elites. The Malagasy government with the assimilés team implemented an elitist system of higher education. Higher education policy plans focused on high quality standards to achieve the elitist system and to limit the total number of students registered at the university.

The second political period, the *Period of Growth of Nationalism 1970-1990*, was characterized by the government's political choice for a divorce from the French. The government took the policy decision to oust the French because of pressure from the student activists. The political leader of the socialist government had to reward the students who had supported his victory. Thus, elitist higher education policy changed to a move toward massification of higher education. Access to higher education institutions became free and the criteria of admission were eased by the government in order to be able to admit more students.

The third period, *the Period of Instability 1990-2001*, was marked by an economic struggle caused by the political turmoil and a series of changes of presidents. The government's policy on higher education was largely shaped by the external forces from the World Bank. The economic and political trouble made the government vulnerable to the influence of the World Bank policy on liberalization and privatization because it needed Bank funds. Higher education institutions were affected by the privatization through the abandonment of free higher education and requirements that students participate in contributing to the costs of education.

The last political period identified was *the Period of Redirection toward Democratization 2002-2008*. The government focused political decisions on a move to a more democratic system. The political decisions of the government were largely driven by both internal and external pressures. The activist students' pressure from the strike of 2001 shaped the government's policy to offer scholarships to all students admitted to the university. The external pressures were mainly featured by the introduction of the World Bank policy focused on high quality standards for higher education with an emphasis on democratic processes. The focus on democratic policy was envisioned as a tool to have political stability and to develop economically. The incumbent government had a clear policy orientation seeking international standards and a transformation geared to democracy for sustainable development.

The following section focuses on the analysis of access policy changes for each period in line with the political changes. The discussion on access will be preceded by the description of the relationship between political change and higher education policy change. This is followed by the policy plan of higher education for each of the four periods. The discussion which follows focuses on *the Period of Tutelage*.

5.2 The Period of Tutelage 1960-1970

The critical policy decision of the government during this period was a result of a rational plan established by the French. The French signing of a cooperation agreement with the Malagasy government put pressure on the Malagasy government. The desire of the Malagasy government was to satisfy the French demand to continue to allow the French to rule Madagascar. The Malagasy response shaped the political decision to continue to rule Madagascar in exchange of the French support. Part of the response was to continue to satisfy the French demand that the system of higher education remain elitist and controlled by the French. This was reflected in limiting Malagasy enrolment in higher education to those who would serve French and Malagasy elite interest and based on service to the French government and to their ability to select the best performing students. The best performing students from the University of Madagascar were supported to study further in France. They were expected to return with French values and the training which was seen as a way to make them better civil servants. This went along with the presence of 21% of foreign students among the total student net enrolment at the University of Madagascar in 1969. The French strategy was based on a policy of higher education focused on high quality standards and the training only of assimilés elites. The policy orientation of the Malagasy higher education at this time is the focus of the following section.

5.2.1 The Policy Orientation of Higher Education

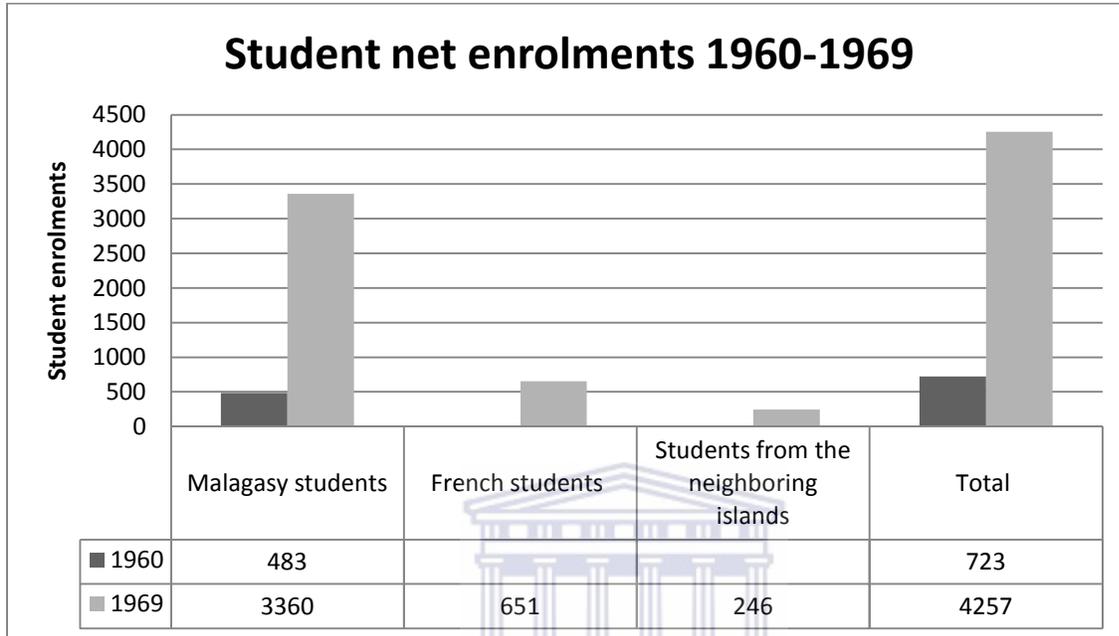
The documents regarding the policy plans for higher education during this period were not accessible. However, the content of the signed agreement on cooperation between the French and the Malagasy Republic provides the outlines of the orientation of higher education policy. The main focus of the agreement was aimed at reaching a high standard of quality in higher education. The same document showed the status of funding for higher education during this particular period in that the three existing faculties in Madagascar were attached and fully sponsored by faculties in France. The major share of the university costs were borne by the French Government.

Higher education policy at this time was oriented to high quality equaling that of the French system and French diplomas. The main objective was to achieve international standards of quality higher education. The objective of the policy plan was to deliver the same degrees and diplomas from Madagascar as were delivered in France. The policy also included the prohibition of the establishment of private or foreign higher education institutions without meeting the requirements established by the French. The strategy used to achieve the goals was highly selective access to higher education institution. (The details of the agreements between the French and the Malagasy Republic are in Appendix 3).

5.2.2 Selection Policy

A baccalaureate diploma was the requirement for students to be admitted to the university and the National Ecole of Administration. For the fields of Post and Telecommunication training and Agronomy, an equivalent of baccalaureate –*a brevet* (Certificate) was accepted for the admission. Students who had passed the baccalaureate could sit for the competitive examination to access higher education. Some of the programs at the University of Madagascar made the recruitment of new students based on the selection of students' application. The institution established the criteria for admission based on the result of baccalaureate. Admission to higher education was a merit-based system. The Malagasy government provided partial scholarships to all students admitted to the National Ecole of Administration. The Malagasy government only allowed the institution to recruit new students according to the total number of positions available for employment within the government as civil servants. The Malagasy government fully supported financially the Post and Telecommunication and the Agronomy institutions. As part of the cooperation agreement between the French and the Malagasy government, the former fully supported financially the University of Madagascar during this period. The French government supported all the French and foreign students as well by providing scholarships. The table below shows the total number of students enrolled at the University of Madagascar.

Table 5.1: Total Number of Students Registered at the University of Madagascar and the Total Number of Malagasy Students 1960-1969



Source: Data from the University of Antananarivo 1970. The total number of foreign students in 1960 was not accessible.

The table 5.1 shows that the total number of students registered at the university increased drastically with an average of 22% annual growth rate. 21% of the total students at the university were foreigners and 15% of them were French. All interviews undertaken during the field work showed that higher education during this period was highly elitist. As most of the respondents stated: “During that period university was only for very bright students” (Interviews of Education Officials, Antananarivo, February 2009). With the high increase of the student net enrolments, the French government only supported a few of them to be trained further in France. The following section maps out the French approach to select only elites for further studies and training.

5.2.3 The Strategy Supporting Only Elites

The French government did not support all the students registered at the university during this period. The French only allocated full scholarships for further studies based on the needs of the French to train the assimilés and elites imbued with French cultures. Those students who were to become the elites for the French were the students who performed well at the University of Madagascar after a few years – one or two years of studies at the University of Madagascar. Students from the neighboring islands such as Seychelles and Mauritius were priorities and fully funded by the French government. After one or two years of studies at the University, the students had to sit for a highly competitive examination to be able to access French financial supports and further studies in France. Respondents of interviews noted: “During this period, access to university was very difficult because the baccalaureate examination was very difficult. But those who had access had a high chance to be trained further in France” (Interviews of Education Officials, Antananarivo, February 2009). Even though the French policy of higher education was mainly supporting only the best performing students, the total number of students of the system of higher education increased. The following section maps out the strategy of expansion undertaken by the government.

5.2.4 Strategy of Expansion

The Malagasy government expanded the number of students at the professional higher education institutions by increasing progressively the government positions offered. The Malagasy government provided scholarships to those students and guaranteed employment for them after they had completed their studies and competed for the employment. The employment guaranteed by the government was mainly established to hold key positions to keep the power of the president of the Republic. The incumbent government during this period established a network of support through appointing elites to key positions. Most of these students were those who were willing to support the Malagasy government.

During this period, the Malagasy government financially supported some students according to the needs of the Malagasy government. The expansion of access to higher education

in Madagascar during this period was undertaken by the Malagasy sponsorship of all the students of the National Ecole of Administration and the other form of professional training – Post and Telecommunication and Agronomy. The financial supports of the government were only limited to the total number of students to whom government position could be offered. The limitation of available public positions of employment resulted in a limited number of students. Despite the limited offer of government employment, the Malagasy government expanded progressively the participation of students in higher education. The expansion was undertaken partly thanks to the financial supports provided by the French government. Nonetheless, the individual universities had no autonomy to expand higher education without the consent of the government. The limitation of institutional autonomy was partly based on financial constraints and the limitation of available government employment for those students.

5.2.5 The Level of Autonomy of Institution in Terms of Access

The model of higher education applied by the French for the establishment of the Malagasy higher education system was based on institutional dependence on state funding. This model did not allow academics to have the power to decide on programs to be delivered and especially to determine access policy. The government made decision about the total numbers of students to be admitted to the university in Madagascar with the guarantee of employment. The French administration had total control of the policy of higher education in general thanks to the bilateral cooperation and agreement between Madagascar and France in 1960. Merit and the needs of the French and the Malagasy governments were used as the basic reasons and justification for the limited access. The small group of elites produced by the university became the future modern-cultured citizens inculcated with French value and culture -- the *assimilés*. This has been seen in other colonized African countries such as the cases of Senegal for France and Mozambique for Portugal. As Cossa argued: “The education of indigenous people was an instrument to produce human capital that would serve the economic interests of Portugal, therefore such education had to be done the Portuguese way to reflect accurately the culture and ideologies of Portugal” (Cossa 2008: 65).

The system was very hierarchical with the government at the top position. Institution did not have any right to admit more students than allowed. What is striking is the contrast between the European experience and that of Madagascar and other post-colonial countries in that the structure of Madagascar education from the outset was defined by the colonial power. At the same time, this European model had a profound impact on the ideals of Malagasy scholars trained abroad. It also influenced French leftist intellectuals who taught and worked in Madagascar in that they saw the Humboldtian model as an idea to be emulated. That would have important implications during later periods.

5.2.6 The Elite System Favored Advantaged Students from the Capital

The existence of ethnic division between the Merina from the capital and coastal people allowed the French to easily manipulate the related political differences after independence. The French continuation of power and control had been exercised by weakening potential opposition to authority. The French developed a dependency relationship with the government of Madagascar with the latter very dependent on the former. The French inculcated French values over higher education contents and encouraged conflict between ethnic groups, in this case between the Merina and the coastal people. The Merina ethnic group was the main potential opposition to the French because of the history of opposition to French conquest and the overthrow of its kingdom. Therefore, the French encouraged other groups that were supportive of its maintaining control. The French had developed close tie with some of the elites from the coast in any way that fit their purpose to weaken the Merina.

The Merina people had more advantage for education since they were the dominant group in the capital as opposed to the coastal people. They had better opportunity to become elites. This was because of the fact that good secondary education was only available in the urban capital of Antananarivo. The Merina people felt the need to be trained in order to challenge the French oppression. However, the paradox was that higher education provided by the French was one of the ways to keep the superiority dynamics that Merina people have had. One of the French strategies limiting formation of elites would limit the promotion of Merina elites. The limitation of the Merina elites benefited the French by increasing their ability to

maintain its power because of the limitation of access to a very few students. That helped limit the potential opposition group formation. This policy advantaged a small Malagasy elite group.

People from the capital would be the ones who had more advantages if higher education was open thanks to their ease of access to good schools in the capital. The strategy of continuing to maintain power through limiting the formation of elites was masqueraded by the higher education policy orientation which focused on a concern seeking for high quality higher education. The focus on high quality standards legitimized the exclusion of average students from higher education. As the table 5.1 above shows that there were a large number of foreign students at the university. The presence of a large number of foreign students at the University of Madagascar at that time in large part explained the French concern about the quality of the higher education training. The assimilés needed good education as well. Allen supports this argument and notes: “In effect, even these minutely crafted accords reserved several important prerogatives for the French -- in foreign affairs, higher education and state finance” (Allen, 1995: 51). However, it was difficult to strictly limit and guarantee access to higher education to human resources serving the French. At least training a small number of elites would reduce the potential risk of opposition to the French and maintain political stability. Training elites might also promote potential supporters of freedom who were likely to be students or faculty members at the university. The French had seen the problems that large numbers of students could create elsewhere such as the case of many of former African colonies. One of the major goals for the French was to maintain stability and avoid potential opposition so as to continue to control the economy and businesses in Madagascar. Therefore there were no motives for the French to financially support an expansion of higher education. That led to resentment by many young people and their families about their exclusion from higher education with the many employment opportunities that secondary education provided. The people from the capital, the Merina, were those who had more advantages compared to other ethnical groups since good higher education institutions were available largely in the capital. The high performing students became the assimilés to protect the French cultures. The result was an unequal access system favoring the people from the capital.

In the following section we see how the continuation of French control built up opposition to French control and led to many changes in access policy during *the Period of*

Growth of Nationalism. The following section focuses on the discussion concerning the changes of access to higher education as an impact of the political changes during *the Period of Growth of Nationalism.*

5.3 The Period of Growth of Nationalism 1970-1990

The policy decision of the government for higher education policy was not a result of a carefully planned and thought out policy for higher education by the Malagasy government. Rather it was a response to the demands that arose during this period because of the problem of inequity and the growing anti-French feeling. In the long run that led to a decision which was a result of problems created by the students. The response of the government was mainly designed to satisfy the student pressure group and resulted in rewarding the students' demonstration in 1972 that brought a new group of political leader into power. The students demanded equal treatment for higher education access. Their discontents were expressed through the anti-French attitudes focused particularly on the fact that they were responsible for setting up the elitist system. The students put pressure on the government to change the policy of elitist higher education. In the end, by mid-1970s the government had to agree and substantially opened access to higher education. As a result access to higher education institutions became free and the criteria of admissions were eased by the government in order to be able to admit more students. The government focused the policy text on Democratization and Decentralization of higher education to encourage the participation of students and to insure equity. This was reflected in the increase in the total number of students enrolled at the universities which increased from 8,902 in 1976 to 37,046 in 1990. The focus of the plans of the government for higher education is presented in the following section.

5.3.1 The Policy of Democratization, Decentralization and, Malgasization

This period ushered in an era of reform with Democratization, Malgasization, and Decentralization used as tools to achieve the goals of socialism and the goals of education. As Allen noted: “[The socialist] proclaimed as a ‘socialism of the poor’, the revolutionary democratic ideal followed three guiding principles: ‘equitable distribution of wealth and income, fair and equitable acquisition of cultural assets, power to those who produce’” (Allen, 1995: 79).

The chart 1976 stated the objectives of the policy of higher education:

- “The Regional University of Toliary will be improved and expanded,
- To build a Polytechnics institution in Diego,
- To build academy center for each province to take care of the management of education for each province.
- The University of Madagascar will be extended progressively to the provinces of [Madagascar] because the UoT is already overcrowded. To start with, the *Ecole* of Polytechnics will be built in Diego in 1976-1977
- Concerning Malgasization [the aim] is to construct a socialist Malagasy society.” (Chart, 1976: 148-149)

The new 1978 law for higher education stipulated that higher education policy was to be oriented toward Democratization, Decentralization and Malgasization in order to give the same opportunities of education to all Malagasy citizens.

Article 3: The structure to put in place, the contents of the programs, the pedagogical methods and the management of the system have to respect the imperatives of the construction of a Malagasy socialist society.

Article 5: These general principles govern the concrete objectives to reach, the orientation of young people, the application of Democratization, Decentralization and Malgasization. (*Law number 78-040 : Journal Officiel de la République de Madagascar 31 juillet 1978 n1260 –Ed. spéciale*).

The detailed analysis of those access policy changes are the focus of the following section.

5.3.2 Selection policy

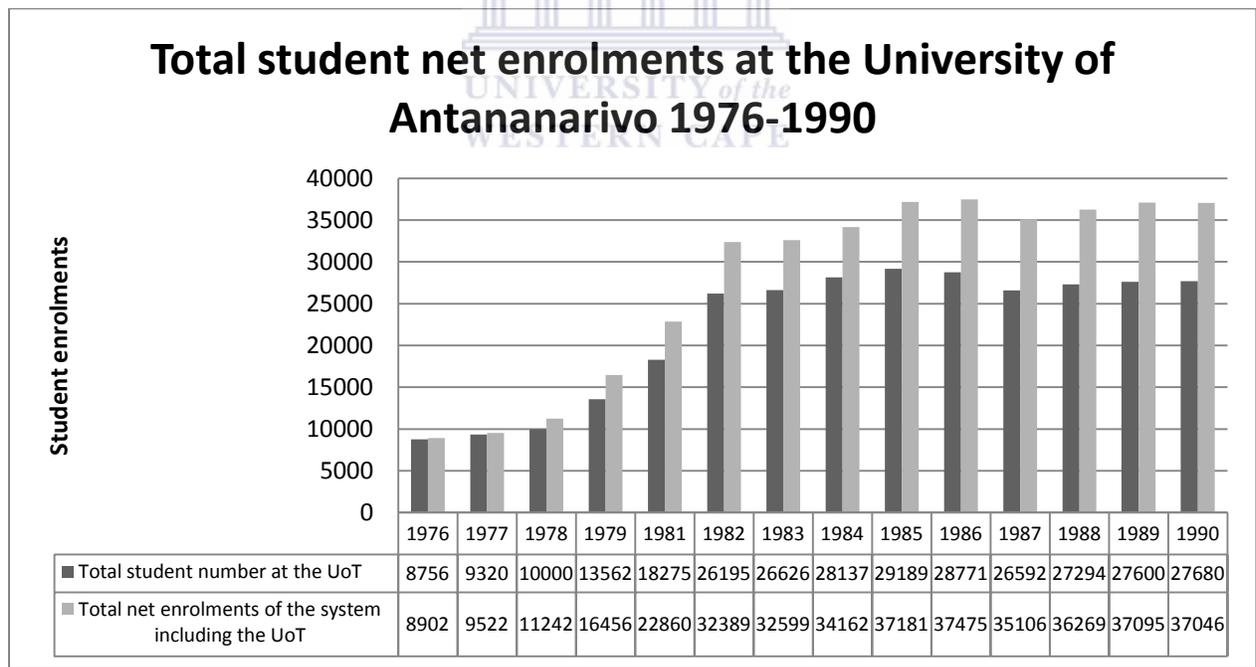
Admission to any form of higher education system in Madagascar required the diploma of baccalaureate or any degree recognized by the government as an equivalent of the baccalaureate. All students obtaining the baccalaureate diploma could have a direct access to the university after the national service of two years. All existing higher education institutions were free of charge and required no competitive examination except the Grandes Ecoles. Some of the students following the national service continue to work for the government and did not return to study.

During this period, as a result of the socialist regime there were no private higher education institutions. The strategy of expansion of the public higher education is the focus of the following section.

5.3.3 Expansion Strategy

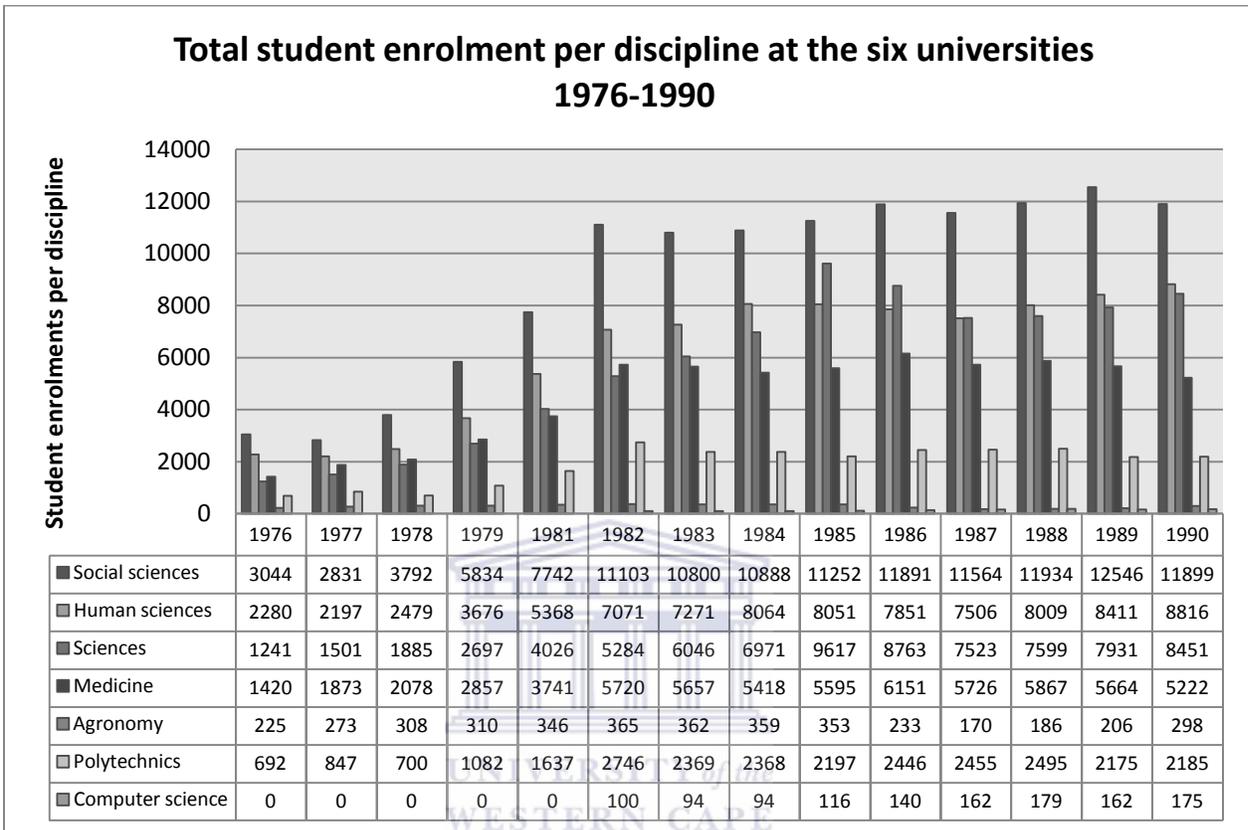
The government built new four institutions to absorb the high demands of students to get admitted to the university. The Malagasy government accomplished the construction of new institutions during the early phase of socialist. All students passing the baccalaureate had the right to enroll at the university. The following tables show the increase of the total number of students at the six universities of Madagascar including the University of Antananarivo and the total student enrolments at the six universities per discipline.

Table 5.2: The Total Number of Students of the System and the UoT 1976-1990



Source: Data from Government of Madagascar National Statistics 1975-1990

Table 5.3: The Total Number of Students at the Six Universities 1976-1990 per Discipline



Source: Data from Government of Madagascar National Statistics 1975-1990

From 1976 to 1990 the total number of students grew from 8,902 to 37,046 with the highest total number in 1986. During the period of the Democratization policy, the government regarded higher education as a right for all students finishing their secondary education. The government managed to increase the total student net enrolment at an average of 11.7% annual growth. The government lowered the level of difficulty of the baccalaureate examination and provided partial scholarships, boarding and housing for students to encourage their participation in higher education. Some respondents of the interviews stated: “The government managed to increase the total number of students passing the baccalaureate examination by lowering the level of difficulty of the baccalaureate examination” (Interviews of education officials, Antananarivo, February 2009). In 1978, 60.7% of students sitting for the baccalaureate examination succeeded. The total number of student succeeding in the baccalaureate did not cease to increase until 1990 except in 1980 when success rate of baccalaureate dropped from

54.7% in 1979 to 21.9% 1980 due to control quality measure. To achieve the objective of the government focusing on equality of access for Malagasy citizens, more space for students were created by building four new higher education institutions so that there was one in each of the six provinces of Madagascar. The *success* of the democratization of secondary education as well put pressure on the government for a larger demand for higher education. For instance 52,137 in 1988 students applied to sit for baccalaureate examination compared to only 8,201 in 1975 (Data from the government of Madagascar National Statistics 1975-1990).

Higher education policy was under the control of the Malagasy government during this period. Nationalism became a national goal for the Malagasy government to show sovereignty. As a result higher education has been open to Malagasy students as a direct impact of political shift. The attempt of the government to protect the very few elites benefiting from the government behind the French resulted in the confrontation of the mass of population and the government. The raise of awareness of the French leftist intellectuals and the Malagasy population over the French manipulation of the Malagasy government coincided with the increase of demand for higher education. The immediate impacts of the strike of the students in 1972 was the change of the French and Malagasy political agreements on French keeping control over few key arenas. Access to higher education was seen as right for citizens in Madagascar to provide equality of opportunity. However the government success to expand access lowered the quality of higher education which is the focus of the following part.

5.3.4 Increased Access and the Deterioration of Higher Education Quality

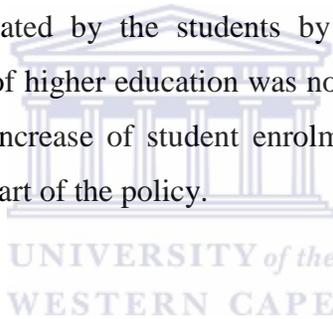
During this period of increase of access, the participation rate of higher education was about 3.79% of the college age between 20-24 year old students in 1984 (Data from the government of Madagascar National Statistics 1990). The increase was drastic since the participation rate during the early period was less than 1%. The government's plan to democratize higher education began to be effective during this period. However, all interviews showed that the quality of higher education during this period deteriorated. The shortage of human resources appropriate to the needs of the increase at the university was among the serious

problems at the university. Some of the respondents stated: “My view is that the problem of lack of human resources is more acute than the problem of infrastructure for higher education” (Interview of Education Official, Antananarivo February 2009). The materials and equipments and pedagogical supports of higher education were not sufficient. The government’s detachment from the French republic did run into shortage of materials and funding to support fully the increase of students for a better quality. Therefore the quality of higher education did not improve. Some of the respondents stated: “The quality was deteriorating because of the high increase of student numbers. The level of students is low and many of them dropped out especially in the first year” (Interviews of Education Officials, February 2009). Figures from the MoE showed that 49.7% abandoned in the first year at the faculty and 34.8% repeated the first year in 1987-1988 (Data from the Government of Madagascar national statistics 1990. See Appendix 3 for the details). The fact of having mass of students at the university also resulted in a mistrust of the quality of national higher education for some of those rich families. As some of the participants of the focus groups described the situation of access to higher education and noted: “Rich people go abroad, middle class go to the local universities and the poor have no opportunity. They just become taxi drivers” (Focus Group, Antananarivo, 2007).

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The main goal of the socialist regime during this period was to demonstrate that the Malagasy government was independent from the French and external pressure. There were significant changes brought about by the government during this Period. These changes were driven by the Malagasy discontent over French influence and control, unhappiness with the elite nature of higher education, and demands that the university recognize and include Malagasy culture as part of the curriculum. As one of the respondents mentioned: “The higher education policy during this particular period was only a policy of *expel the French*” (Interview of Education Official, Antananarivo, February 2009). The main influence of the change in access policy was the demands of the students and civil society to have a higher education system which allowed a high absorption of secondary school leavers. This was associated with the demand to meet national needs and to have higher education appropriate to the local context. However, the total number of students at the universities (Table 5.3 above) shows that the programs established by the French (Social Sciences) were highly increased as a result of Democratization policy. Interviews also showed that the French values did not disappear and the respondent

noted: “Even if the government imposed the socialist ideology, higher education kept the French value” (Interviews of Education Officials in Antananarivo, January and February 2009). Malgasization policy as well was opposed by the University. Some of the respondents argued: “Malgasization was not practiced at all at the University” (Interviews of Education Officials in Antananarivo, February 2009). Ralibera pointed out the refusal of higher education to apply the policy of Malgasization by using Malagasy language as language of instruction. He argued that the policy of Malgasization was a failure and noted: “The higher education faculties did not accept the Malgasization of the language of instruction: faculty members continued to teach in French.... The result: rich people and those who could afford send their children to private school especially to the Catholic schools in town” (Ralibera, 2007: 178). This resulted in an assumption that higher education still had residual influences by the French though the political agreements were changed during this period. The socialist government, however, felt obliged to reward the successful strike initiated by the students by providing more places at higher education institutions. The policy of higher education was not a rational plan but a response to a problem. At the same time the increase of student enrolments was also intended to address ethnic divisions and inequality as part of the policy.



5.3.5 Attempt to Address Ethnic Divisions

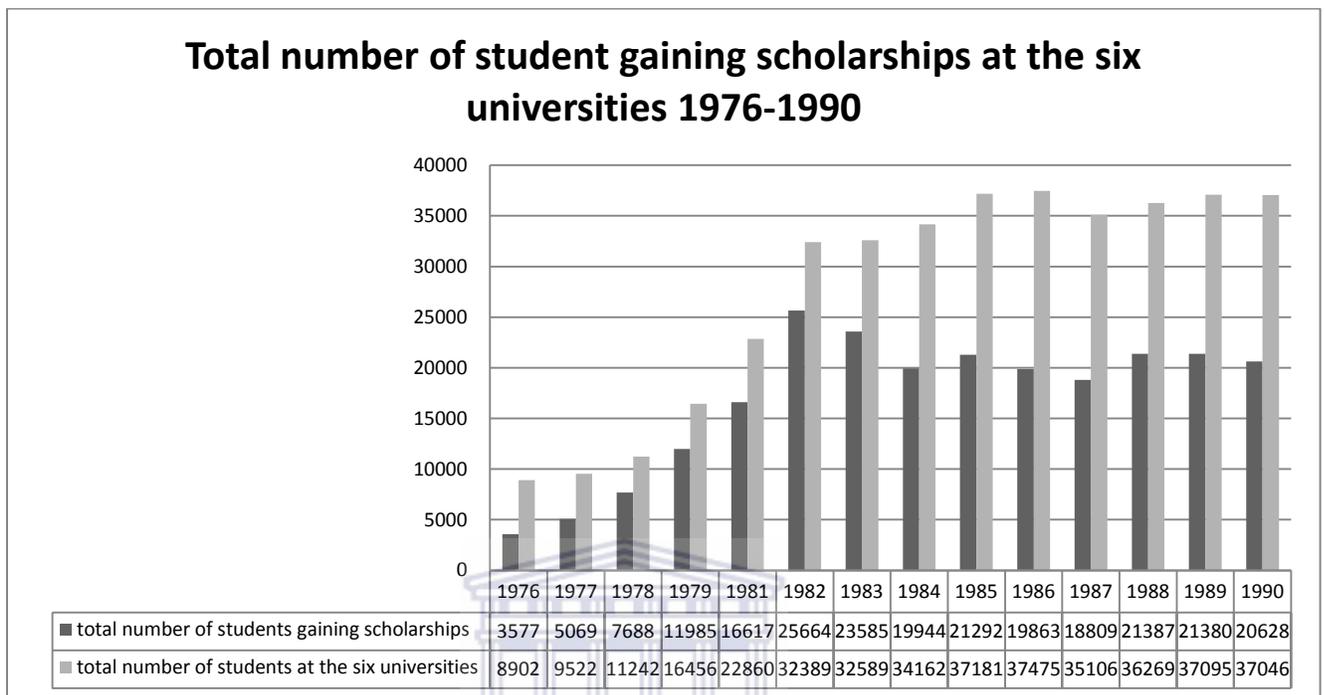
As a continuation of the policy to oppose the French and to be independent, the socialist regime sought to end the domination of one ethnic group over the society and the higher education system. One of the direct impacts of the political changes was the socialist government decision to build new higher education institutions in each of the provinces of Madagascar to give the same opportunity of higher education regardless of the ethnic group of students. Opportunities for higher education were extended out of Antananarivo right away. The existence of new higher education institutions in each of the province of Madagascar was planned to give the same ease of access of all Malagasy students. The changes to the Malagasy baccalaureate as well were intended to increase the number of qualified students able to access higher education. These policies were mainly designed to address the problem of inequality of opportunity in higher education for students from the coast in contrast to those in the capital. As a result the

promotion of increased students' access to higher education had more impacts at the UoT, where the Merina people come from, because they had already wanted to be part of higher education but many were left out because of the elitist system. As some of the respondents noted that: "The government planned to give the same opportunity of access to higher education to the students from the coast. But in fact, the people from the capital benefited more from the opportunity. The total increase at the UoT was remarkable. But we should not forget that the total population of Antananarivo is higher than the other provinces and the demand for higher education is higher." (Interviews of Education Official, Antananarivo, February 2009). Those coastal people that the government tried to push to have access to higher education were not totally prepared for higher education especially those in the provinces since the learning environment was not appropriate while the government promoted the Democratization and Decentralization policies. The focus on equality of access resulted in a system of higher education that was free of charge which is discussed below.

5.3.6 Free Higher Education

The socialist regime focused on nationalization of businesses resulted in the government supporting and promoting higher education during this period. The focus of the socialist regime on business run by state resulted in free higher education for all as an anti-elitist system. The socialist regime seeking for the development of the citizens of Madagascar run the majority of businesses in Madagascar such as petroleum and airline. Higher education was part of the institutions run by the Malagasy government as a result of the political change as well as to oppose the French political strategy during the previous period. The state therefore took full responsibility in the funding of the system. Drawing from the Table 5.4 below we see that the government increased the total number of students obtaining scholarships from 40% of the total net enrolment at the six universities in 1976 to 79% in 1982.

Table 5.4: The Total Number of Students at the Six Universities and Those Gaining Scholarships 1976-1990



Source: Data from Government of Madagascar National Statistics 1975-1990

The aim of the socialist regime to improve the conditions of life of all citizens had an impact on promoting access to higher education. But the main ideology behind the government's funding the students and promoting their access was to reward the students' success in support of the political movement. The government had to meet the demands of the students who helped to put the President in power. They were regarded as one of the powerful forces for support of the government.

To some extent the Malagasy government had the same goal as the French goal that educated elites might create potential opposition to power. However, the socialist regime made a national push to increase the number of students able to access higher education. The incumbent government prevented any form of capitalism and other ideologies that were or might be against the socialism and might weaken the government's power. All other potential opposition ideologies to socialism were censored at the universities in Madagascar. This has been hidden under the nationalism principle, and the move to massification was a way to demonstrate

politically that the Malagasy government was independent. Later toward the end of this period, the government ran into the problems of increased free higher education.

5.3.7 The Dilemma of Free Higher Education for All

As a result of the failure of the socialist regime to bring economic development, the IMF and World Bank's policy of liberalization and cost-cutting became a dominant theme at this time in the context of the weakness of the government economically. The social sector benefits were seen as budget consuming and thus the World Bank reform policy called on the government to tighten the budget allocated to this sector. Freeze in the hiring of teachers at the universities was among the strategies initiated by the IMF. This was successful in a way that there was no new recruitment until 2006. However, the structure of the funding system of the universities and the difficult financial conditions remained a constraint on both the operation of the institutions and the government. The hiring freeze did not bring much of a change in the funding of higher education. Limiting the grant of partial scholarships to students was also among the strategies to save some funding for the government to face the economic crisis. The table 5.4 above showed that the total number of students gaining scholarships declined in 1982 to 1984.

The government was not able to increase the total number of students gaining scholarships after this period and the total number had to be decreased. The impacts of the international economic crisis and the failure of the Malagasy government to bring economic development became a force leading to political instability. The failure of the socialist government to bring economic growth emphasized its inability to sustain public funding and that pushed to a shift to access policy for cost recovery for higher education. The policy of cost recovery resulted in greater inequality of access.

5.3.8 Inability to Continue Free Higher Education Resulted in Inequality of Access

Another aspect of the equity issue was that of wealth. The issue is access for the rich in contrast to access for the poor. Although it did not become a political issue, it is important to examine. During the *Period of Growth of Nationalism* the government attempted to encourage

students from different classes to be part of higher education by providing scholarships, room and board. Though the government's policy was to promote all different classes of wealth the government failed to have appropriate policies to promote students from the poor rural areas. As one of the respondents noted: "To get admitted to the universities there were no different treatments between rich, from province or rural students" (Interview of Education Official, Antananarivo, January 2009). There had never been any university built in the rural areas. The same treatment between poor and rich students was seen as a step toward equity because it seemed to remove the need to be from a middle class or wealthy family in order to cover the costs of a higher education. Nonetheless, people from rich or middle class backgrounds continued to be those who were most favored to obtain places at the universities because their families had access to better preparation in private expensive schools, and they were able to continue their education without having to work. Furthermore, the system of higher education in Madagascar has never had part-time student system to allow some flexibility for students to have a job to support their studies. The poor rural students were still victims of marginalization because the opportunity of good education was mainly in urban areas and especially in the capital. The partial scholarships the government provided to the students could not cover the total expenses of students and refrained most of the students who came from poor rural areas to move to urban areas for higher education.

The government also had pressure from the World Bank to reduce the total amount of funding allocated to scholarships and to stop the board toward the mid-1980s. Another strike was undertaken by the students in 1986 to oppose the government's policy decision on scholarships and to decrease the total number of students. That effort was a failure. Part of the reason for that was the willingness of the same government to respond violently to this strike – in part was because they were under immense pressure from the World Bank to resist the students. Thus, the push from the students to prevent the government from reducing access failed. This shows that the government policy was strongly influenced by the World Bank and the IMF because the government was dependent on World Bank's finance to allow government to operate. The World Bank and IMF suggested that the government spent too much funding on student scholarships. The government established criteria based on the incomes of the parents of students to gain scholarships as a way to support the needy students. But the problem was that the government was unable to adequately scrutinize the declarations made by students concerning the incomes of

their parents to identify poor students, in a way to ensure that there was no fraud. The majority of all the students enrolled at the university met the criteria coming from a low income family and gained partial scholarships. Thus cost climbed higher than need would indicate. The government could not afford the cost of free higher education and the result was that the total number of students gaining partial scholarships from the government dropped from 79% of the total number of students in 1982 to about 56% in 1990. The reduction of the total scholarships granted to students affected mainly those from rural because the government failed to identify the needy students and the criteria for grants were changed to merit-based. This fact shows that the inequity of access between the class of poor and rich students was emphasized because the poor people could not continue without the government's financial help. Whereas the total scholarships granted were reduced. This also showed the dependence of the government which was compromised by the fact that it could not function without funding from external sources. The influence of the World Bank and the IMF was stronger than that of the push from the students because the government could not afford to continue the policy combining massification and free higher education. In addition, the middle and rich family had another opportunity for alternative higher education such as higher education institution abroad. At that time there was little information about the wealth of students or their families. But when it came to financial help every students claimed to be from a poor family without ignoring the fact that about 70% of the Malagasy population are classified officially poor.

This period was featured by a high increase of free access to higher education during the first stage as a policy to divorce the French elitism. However the economic crisis did not allow the government to continue the free higher education. The continual high demands of higher education during the socialist period ran into the international crisis during the 1980s. The Malagasy government was not able to afford the cost of free higher education at an increased demand. The financial constraints of the universities and the government did not change the level of autonomy of institutions from the previous period. The following section discusses about the static level of autonomy of the institutions.

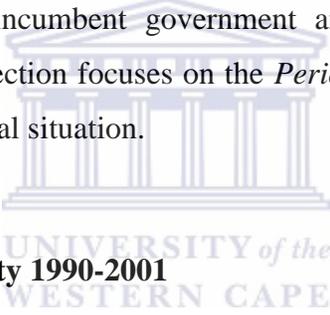
5.3.9 Static Level of Autonomy but under the Malagasy Government

During this period there was very little change in the steering system where the state had the power and control over access policy, except that French government control was replaced by Malagasy government control. The Malagasy Government now defined the funding to be allocated to the institutions and made decision concerning access issues. Nonetheless very little concerning access policy was changed. The institutions, under the administration of the MoE, remained the agent of the government's policy. The Malagasy government still remained the body that had the power over decision making for access policy. However, the government allowed the institution to recruit more students by building new institutions and providing partial scholarships to all admitted students. The government imposed a new policy of open and free access to the institutions. Universities were seen as the agents of political agendas of the government. The move toward massification during this period was a sign of the government's assertion of responsibility to control the access and their desire to shift from elite access in the direction of massification.

The notion of equality for all citizens and the argument of the need to promote higher education to contribute to economic and social development legitimated their decision. The Malagasy government, in part under pressure from the public and the institutions, had wrested control in the sense that the Malagasy government now had autonomy when it came to decisions about higher education. The government was now able to impose the access policy changes it felt necessary to respond to social demands. University administrators had no voice in this process and were expected to apply the government's decision as they had done during the previous period. The situation of autonomy of the university was static during this period and the previous period. However, power was now controlled by the government of Madagascar and not France.

During this period, the political choice of the government to increase and open access to higher education to students was mainly influenced by the push from the students that were victims from the elitist system adopted by the previous government. The government's main political ideology behind the increase of access was to end the French elitist policy and to provide wider access and same opportunity to the other ethnical groups other than the one from

the capital of Madagascar. The paradox of the Malagasy policy was that the main focus was about ending dependency on French and the policy it established. However, 23.55% of the total full time Malagasy faculty members at the Universities were still French in 1982. The government had only 4% of faculty members from USSR of the total full time Malagasy teachers at the universities (Data from the Government of Madagascar National Statistics 1975-1990). There was a huge dependence on French human resources. This was mainly because during the *Period of Tutelage* the French did not train the Malagasy people for academics especially for scientific subjects but only trained the assimilés to transfer the French cultures. Cooperation with those socialist countries developed progressively over the few following years. The dependency of the Malagasy government to foreign aid and the collapse of the socialist regime resulted in an economic crisis that defined the political choice of the following government. The failure of the socialist regime to bring transformation of public sectors and to bring economic growth resulted in a massive opposition to the incumbent government and political instability during the following decade. The following section focuses on the *Period of Instability* and the changes of access that resulted from the political situation.



5.4 The Period of Instability 1990-2001

The major higher education policy decisions during this period were a result of the political instability and the failure of the former government to deal with economic development. International funders and especially the World Bank put pressure on the government to liberalize and to privatize the economy. The civil servants and the students also put pressure on the government to improve their standards of living. The government's policy decisions were also a response to the World Bank push to have the government resolve severe problems in the economy. This ran counter to the goals of the students. Thus the policy of the government on higher education was not driven by a careful thoughtful policy but rather a response to the demand of the World Bank. They had more power to influence government than the students at this point in time. Yet, to gain more World Bank loans the government had to cut the costs of higher education. The need of the government to respond to the World Bank was greater than the fear of students to demonstrate. As a result the costs of public higher education had to be decreased though it was not in the interests of the students. This was reflected in the cut of the

total number of the students enrolled at the public universities and the participation in the costs of higher education. The government decreased the total student net enrolments with an average annual growth of -1% from the 1990 to 2001. The total number of students at the six public universities decreased from 37,095 in 1990 to 18,945 in 1997. In addition the government started to charge some students fees. The total student number enrolled at higher education institutions charging fees was 10,188 compared to all free higher education institutions until 1990. The details of the higher education policy changes resulting from the political instability are the focus of the following section.

5.4.1 Policy Plan focused on Quality Improvement

The main focus of the plan for higher education during this period was to increase the quality of higher education and to control the cost and funding given the huge increase in demand from the students who passed the baccalaureate. The main issue about higher education policy for the government of Madagascar during the 1990s was to focus on the development of the quality of higher education mainly by improving efficacy and efficiency. It was also aimed at promoting research that potentially meets the national demands.

The National Plan for the Development of Education (PNAE I) stated the goals as:

1. “Improvement of the quality of education
2. Control of students’ flow
3. Control of costs and funding
4. Improvement of the management of the education system and professional training
5. Reorganization of professional training
6. Establishment of an efficient post-secondary education” (National Plan for the Development of Education 1989: 4).

The details of the Law 1994 and the National report on education 1996 that include some policy orientations during this period are in Appendix 5.

a. Policy Plans Emphasis on Quality Improvement, Diversification and Modernization.

The Master Plan of 1997 aimed primarily at improving the quality of higher education with the goal to reach international standards by continuing and emphasizing the policies on modernization and diversification of the system. The Master Plan of 1997 stated:

Having a system of higher education with low internal and external efficacy and a quasi-monopole of the government, the policy of the government for higher education focuses on its diversification and on the emphasis on its efficacy and efficiency in order to have a system of training, research, expertise and modern service of high quality meeting international standards which was orientated toward sustainable development for the nation (Master Plan 1997: XI).

In order to achieve these objectives the government focused on the potential contribution of higher education to development. The principles below were laid out in the Master Plan of 1997. The Plan listed these major principles:

- “Diversification of the system
- Rationalization of human resources management
- Improvement of the quality of training
- Advanced research
- Modernization of the administrative and financial organization
- Rationalization of the strategies for budget and finance
- Establishment of a system of evaluation and emphasis on the system of control
- Integration of the system in its environment” (Master Plan 1997: XI).

The strategies to achieve the diversification by the government were:

- To freeze traditional programs and close programs that do not meet the required standards and put in place programs or new training that are more professional that meet the needs of the sectors.
- To extend the existing IST and creation of institute of the same type –to have 5 new ISTs in 2005.
- To promote the development of private higher education as part of the whole system accompanied with measures to encourage its emergence.
- To promote distance education and new programs
- To promote and facilitate the development of in-service training” (Master Plan 1997: xi).

The second priority of the objectives of the plan was the rationalization of the management of human resources aimed at reform including the students, teachers and the non-teachers employees at the universities.

b. Policy Intention Aiming at Transparency and Equity of Access

Concerning the students, the main strategies of the government included the issue of transparency and equity of access. The Master Plan stated “Transparency and equity will be the rules to access higher education. The conditions to continue studies and to select students will be improved and the mechanisms to support students at private higher education institutions will be identified and established” (Master Plan 1997: xii).

The goals of the government stated in the same Master Plan were:

To have 38,000 students for the whole system including public, private and distance education within which 60% will be for the public institutions, 10% for the private higher education and 30% for distance education.” The same objectives established the targets to have a maximum of 40% of the total students’ population to be admitted in human and social sciences and 40% in professional training in the public institutions”(Master Plan 1997: xii-xiii). The reform also envisaged a motivational system to award prizes for excellent students. The plan of the government to implement the issue of equity included the principle of selection and competitive examination to be admitted. In addition to the plan for the access of students to higher education, the government focused on the plan for transparency and equity concerning the scholarships and aid allocated to the students. The plan noted: “The actions to develop internal efficacy will be focused on having a uniform rate of scholarships for some students for them to finish the studies properly and also to allocate scholarships in taking into consideration the family incomes and especially pedagogical criteria for transparency and equity concerns. (Master Plan 1997: 18)

To achieve the plan to improve the quality and the internal efficiency of higher education, the government planned to recruit permanent teachers to replace vacant positions instead of creating new positions.

The plan mainly aimed at the improvement of the quality of the training at the university by seeking to make higher education more professional. The plan noted “Computer science and foreign languages will be taught at each field” (Master Plan, 1997: 21). The plan for quality improvement mainly concerned the pedagogical aspects of the training such as the norms of teaching (theoretical and practical studies), the process of the elaboration of new programs, the improvement of the conditions of teaching and its efficiency and the standardization of diplomas. The government planned to establish and expand private higher education institutions into the provinces of Madagascar.

During the *Period of Instability* with the problem of economic development, the government included higher education policy as one of the many ways to achieve economic growth. The government planned to have a more equitable system of higher education and better management of funding. The plan envisaged a professional system of higher education and private and distance education to accommodate the flow of students and to have equitable opportunities for education. The plan for change in the higher education system during this period was to decrease the total enrolment at the public universities as part of the government strategy to lower the cost and to improve quality. The World Bank policy on cost-cutting and cost-sharing for higher education influenced the higher education policy. The following section focuses on the influence of the World Bank.

5.4.2 The World Bank Policy and its Influence

During this period, the IMF and the World Bank encouraged a policy of liberalization and privatization. The economic crisis during the late 1980s led the World Bank chose those policies to solve fiscal problems. The government, along with external funders, was especially aiming to change the view of the public that higher education equals free education. The winds of change from the external view were that higher education should be oriented to the market and to a more economic model than before. This was particularly a way to address a problem of funding that was growing even for developed countries. Success of a market-oriented policy was expected to solve the problem of access in a way that higher education could be expanded. The

view of having non-free higher education was introduced progressively to the system in Madagascar to address access problems. The World Bank and IMF and other international organizations continued to strongly influence the policy choices of the government concerning access in part as a condition of additional funding. The Malagasy economy was in very poor condition and the government thus quite dependent on their resources. All respondents of interviews and most of the participants of the focus groups shared the same view that the problem of access in Madagascar was one of budget constraints and the inability of the government to build new infrastructures to meet the high demand. The problem was especially serious at the UoT which was over capacity already.

The government had a fear of students who recently before this period reacted violently against the cut in student numbers when government failed to meet their demands. The University of Antananarivo had to be closed by the government as a result of political tension in 1992. As some of the respondents stated: “Although the government budget constraints that suffered from in 1992 were severe, the closure of the UoT for one year academic in 1992 was not about funding but a real political one” (Interviews of education officials, Antananarivo, February 2009). The fight over power between the incumbent president Ratsiraka and the opposition leader Zafy pushed the former to take the decision to close the university to avoid the involvement of the students in the political demonstration. Some of the respondents noted the government’s definition of students and stated: “The government refers to higher education as a center to quiet down a big group of potential protestors.” (Interviews with education officials in Antananarivo, February 25 and March, 2009). Confrontation between government and the university was common in Africa during this period. Closure of university happened in several other African countries over fear of student protests as well. This was the case in Kenya during the early 1991 and Gabon, Dar Es Salam and Zambia in early 1992. This indicated that these governments were mainly concerned about influences from students for political reasons and to maintain stability and power rather than being concerned about disruptions in education.

When government’s funding was scarce because of financial crises, the government’s plan to change access policy during this period could not have happened without external funders’ support, which in this case was mainly the World Bank. As one respondent noted: “There was very little change in higher education in Madagascar and the influence of changes

was voiced from the World Bank. I found it very sad, the push should come from professors and academics and I don't see any group of people anywhere pushing for change" (Interview, Antananarivo, February 2009). External funders were not encouraging building new infrastructure even if that was the basic problem of access. This shows that the World Bank had a strong influence over the formulation of higher education policy because universities were financially dependent on the government and the government on the Bank. The following section focuses on the government's policy to reduce the total number of students at public higher education institution and the situation of budget for higher education.

5.4.3 The Strategy to Decrease Access

During the first stage of the political instability, as seen in tables 5.5 and 5.6 below the total number of students at the six universities and at the UoT declined.

Table 5.5: Total Number of Students at the Six Universities 1990-1997

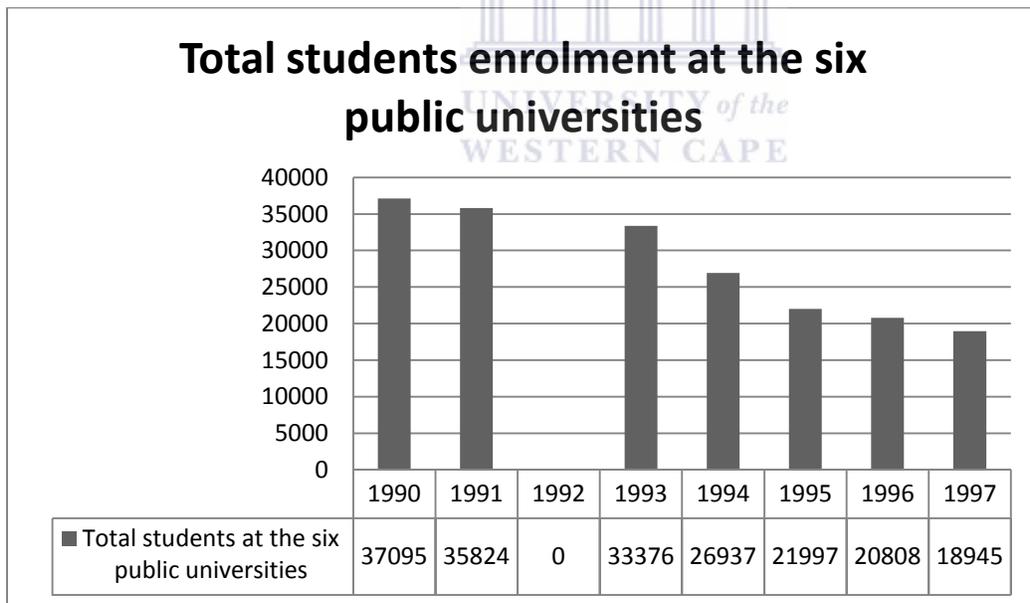
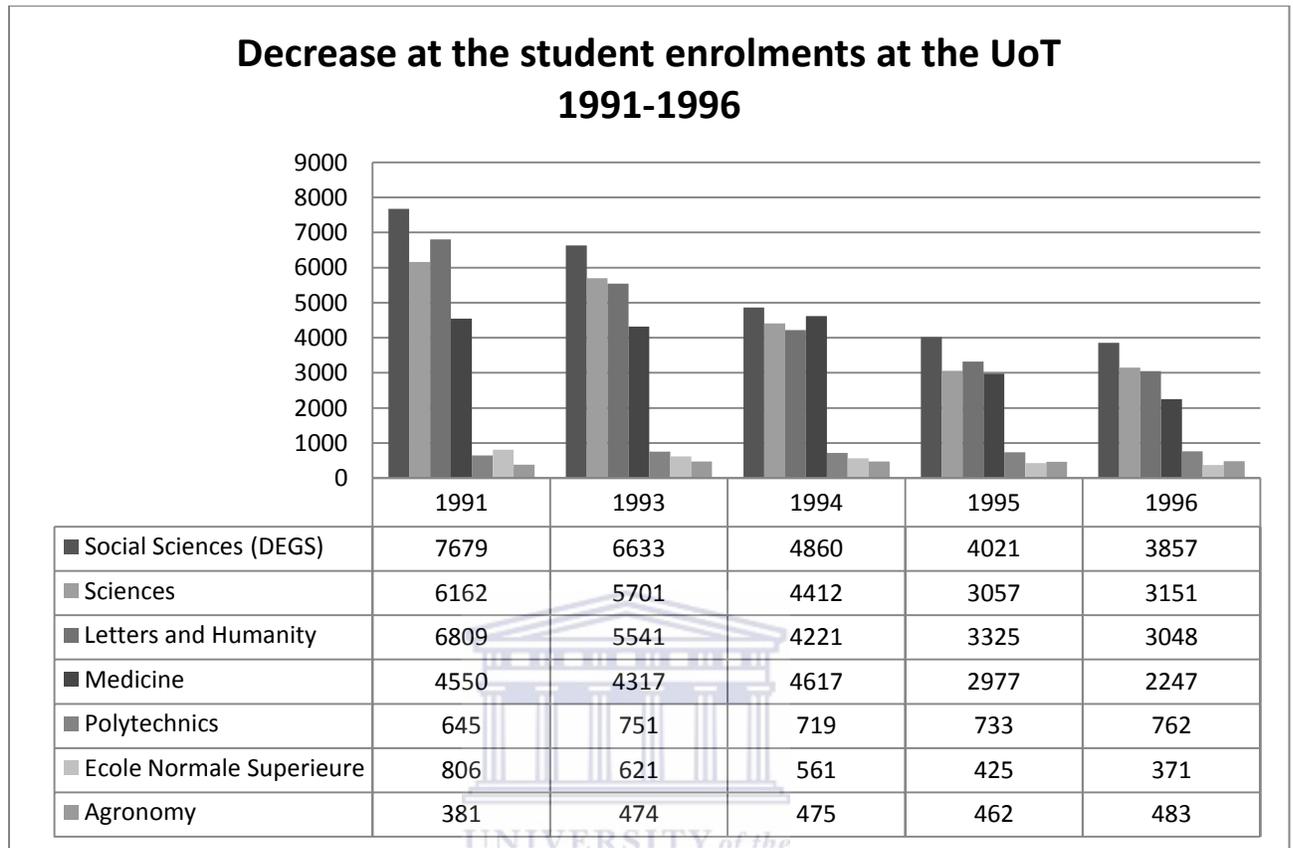


Table 5.6: The Decrease of the Total Students Number per Field at the UoT 1991-1996



Source: Source: Data from Government of Madagascar National Statistics 2004

DEGS: Faculty of Law, Economy, Management and Sociology

The policy of the government was to limit the total number of the student only to those who could be accommodated in the existing current capacity. The Table 5.5 and 5.6 showed that the government policy had an immediate effect on student numbers right after the crisis of 1991. The decrease demonstrated by the drop in number took place mainly at the faculties, in contrast to the *Grandes Ecoles* in higher education that were already affected by the government's restrictions on the number of students they could enroll. This was because faculties had the dominant proportion of students free of charge. The institutions started to establish meritocratic selection criteria and competitive examination to admit students at the universities. Some of the respondents of the interviews noted: "The control of the system of limitation of students' access to the university was very harsh and effective" (Interview of Education Official, Antananarivo,

February 2009). Students passing the baccalaureate could only sit for the admission examination to the university only the year they obtained their baccalaureate. Students admitted to the university could only repeat once. The government established a system of control to verify students that repeated more than two years. The system of limitation of students' number was effective since public institutions could not absorb more students than the budget allocated by the government could pay for.

The policy of the government to accommodate the high demands for higher education was vehicle through which they introduced a system that charged fees and/or tuitions. The Malagasy government started to establish alternative mechanisms for higher education provision for more professional training. These new institutions included the higher technology institutes (ISTs), private higher education and distance higher education. The total number of students registered at the public universities was still higher than the one absorbed by those other forms of higher education. The participation rate of higher education in 1996 was about 2.6% (of 15-19 of college age). The participation rate of the same college age decreased to about 1.89% during the following year. Toward the end of the *Period of Instability* in 1999 the government managed to increase the participation rate to about 2.06% ((Data from the Government of Madagascar National Statistics 1996-1999) thanks to the existence of ISTs, distance and private education. However, the participation rate decreased compared to the previous political period. The selective criteria adopted by the public universities, tied to budget constraints, pushed out and eliminated students who failed to register. Not all students who could not access public universities could afford to access these alternate institutions which charged fees. However, all public higher education institutions operated under stringent budget and had financial constraints at this time. They had to limit the total number of students admitted. This financial situation of higher education, which led to a decrease of student numbers, is the focus of the following section.

5.4.4 Political Choice Defined by Budget Constraints

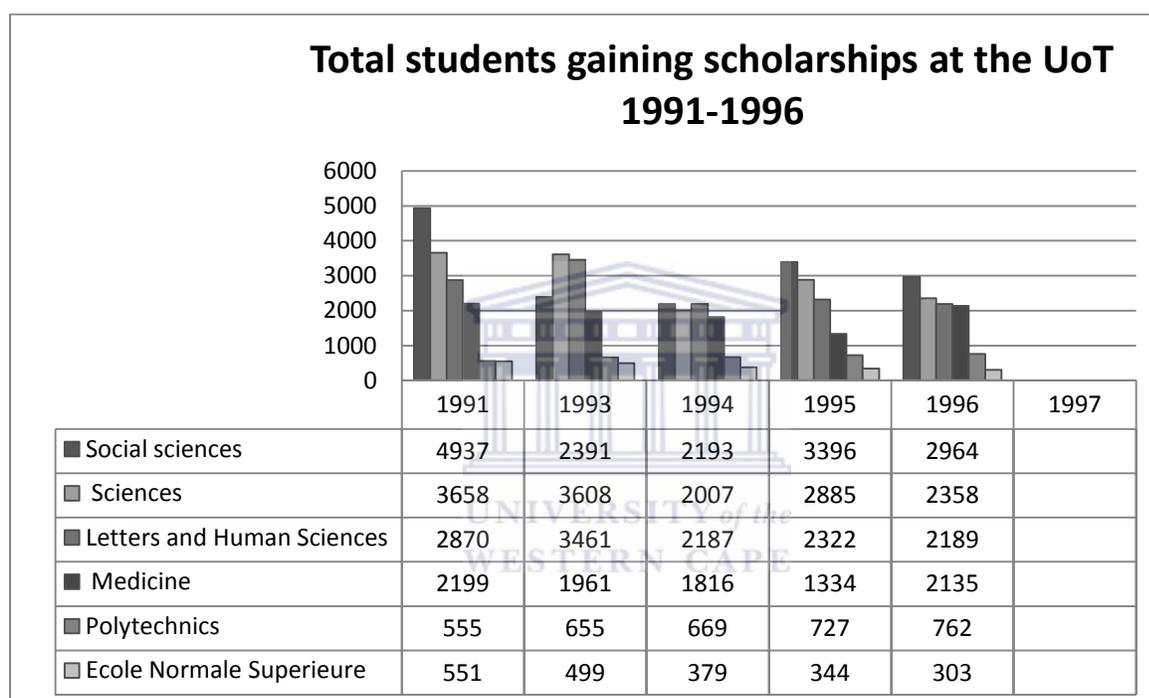
The exacerbation of the crisis in the economy was a consequence of the loss of capital investment and suspension of aid from donors because of the political turmoil. The political

crisis also resulted in a high level of inflation in Madagascar. The crisis conditions in the economy therefore left the Malagasy government weak. Public sectors funding including higher education was among the victims of economic deterioration. Expenses on successive elections became commonplace and were a priority for the government in order to guarantee external funding.

However, transparent and democratic election required more funding than was available. The government was under pressure from external forces to trim the budget and had to reduce expenses on higher education as one of the means to cut funding. The World Bank was willing to cut down on the number of students and to cut the budget allocated to higher education. The government adopted the policy of cost-cutting which was justified by the need to improve the quality of higher education and to discontinue a waste of funding. In addition, some higher education institutions were seen to have been invaded by squatters because of the massive student increase during the policy of *Democratization*. Some of the interviews revealed that the World Bank had asked for a decrease in student numbers at the public universities as a conditionality for a loan to the government. One of the respondents stated that: “The World Bank required the control and cut of students number at the universities in order to continue to subsidize and provide financial help for higher education” (Interview of Education Official, February 2009, Antananarivo). There was clearly waste involved since many of these “students” were not going to classes but just living in the dormitories and getting their social benefits there including meals, housing and partial scholarships. In order to meet the requirement to bring the number of students down to a lower level, the World Bank urged the government to cut the budget allocated to higher education by eliminating the squatters, reducing the number of students, and reducing spending on partial scholarships. As a consequence of the political instability the government granted some financial, administrative and pedagogical autonomy to the universities in order to allow institution to take partial control over access policy changes. As a result all institutions established their own criteria for admission. They were all based on merit through competitive examination for admission. The institutions managed to cut the total number of students and those gaining scholarships. Table 5.7 below shows the total number of students obtaining partial scholarships from the government and their decline over the years at the UoT. The government under fiscal constraints caused by the loss of investors and the suspension of international aid had to find a solution to cut some spending on higher education. The number of

students that received partial scholarships was the victims of the political decision influenced by financial pressure to satisfy the demands of the funders to save some funding and to guarantee potential financial help. The Table below shows the total number of students gaining scholarships at the UoT.

Table 5.7: Total Number of Students Gaining Partial Scholarships per Field at the UoT 1991-1996



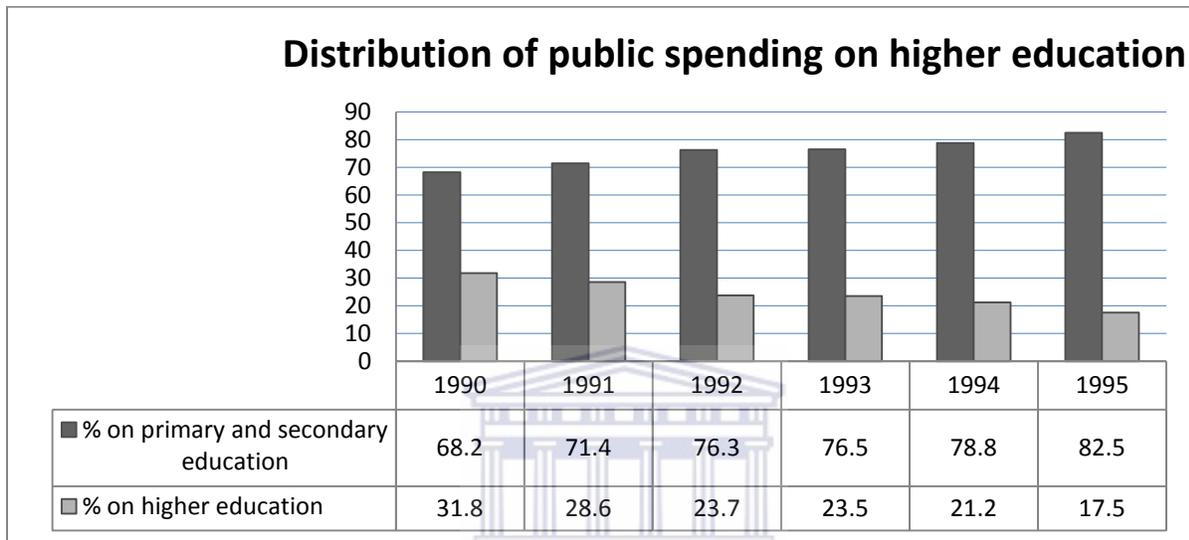
Source: Data from the Government of Madagascar National Statistics 1997

5.4.5 The Public Funding Mechanisms are Subject to Changes

The public system of funding of higher education in Madagascar allowed the political decision of the government a level of control that made it easy to cut down on the student numbers. The strategy was exercised by cutting the budget allocated to the institutions. This was because the government had always been the major funder of higher education and cuts in the government's budget had direct impacts on access to higher education. The cut in the higher education budget forced public universities to follow the government's policy and to cut the

student number to cover the financial gap that would otherwise have occurred. The Table below shows the total percent of funding allocated to higher education. There was a decrease of funding starting in 1990.

Table 5.8: Distribution of Public Spending on Education by Level Madagascar 1990-1996
(Total spending)



Source: World Bank Report 2001: 36 –Report No.22389-MAG

In terms of funding problems for institutions, the funding mechanism of higher education system in Madagascar can be classified as “negotiated funding” as described by Albrecht et. al. They noted that “allocations are based not on objectives criteria but on the allocations of the previous year and are the outcome of negotiations between representatives of education institutions and of the government (Ministry, funding council). Usually the budget proposals by the institutions form the starting point of the negotiations” (Albrecht et.al., 1992: 17). Higher education institutions made decisions on new student recruitment based on the funding available from the government. This was generally based on numbers from the previous year or the changes that the government wanted to have. Institutions had partial autonomy on the number of students to be recruited and proposed their budgets accordingly. The MoE annually revised the budget proposals and decided on the amount of money to be allocated. Respondents of the interviews stated the system of budget allocation for higher education: “The MoE did not considered the inflation rate in allocating funding for public higher education institutions. Rather

it provided a systematic 10% increase every year.” (Interviews with budget officials at the MoE Antananarivo, December 2008 and February 2009). Policy changes that required additional funding had to be fully planned and supported by the government. That created additional problems when inflation was very high.

Given the mechanisms adopted by the government, institutions still had to make proposals about their funding needs. This was much more an input-based funding “...allocations are made according to measures of the costs of higher education... in which a budget is derived from multiplying enrolments or staffing patterns by a parameter of unit cost” (Albrecht et.al., 1992: 18). The Malagasy public institutions were not able to recruit more students than the government planned in the policy. Some of the respondents noted: “During the early 1990s the World Bank cut the budget allocated to higher education. Public institutions could not do any activities more than the government assigned and funded” (Interviews of Education Officials, February 2009). They otherwise experienced a shortage of funding. Or students would have had to participate in the cost of their education, which they did not. The reduction in the number of students at the six universities was an immediate response to budget cutting in higher education resulting from budget constraints created by political instability.

Partial cost-sharing began to be effective during the second stage of this period. The government feared potential political opposition from students during the political tension during the first stage of the *Period of Instability*. Potential opposition of students encouraged the Malagasy government to give more autonomy to the universities. The institutions were granted autonomy to establish their own criteria of selection for admission. The following section deals with the institutional autonomy concerning access.

5.4.6 Institutional Autonomy only Under Difficult Conditions

During the *Period of Instability*, funders pressured the government to cut expenditures on higher education. At the same time, the government granted greater autonomy to the universities. One change concerning autonomy of universities was that the state did not impose access policy on the institutions. As one of the respondents noted: “By early 1990s, I think there was a remarkable turning point, when the government did not impose on universities to admit every

student seeking access in higher education. They were free to apply selection criteria for admission, as they wanted” (Interview of education official in Antananarivo, February, 2009). But the reality of the system was that the budget of the system remained under government control. Universities had gained some autonomy, such as the right to open new short courses for which they could charge fees and/or tuitions. The financial autonomy granted did not solve the problems of the universities to allow them to make profits freely according to the statutes of institution for administrative purpose. The government did not moot the law stipulating that public universities had the statute for administrative purpose not for commercial one. As one of the respondents noted: “It is possible to make profits out of service providing from the faculty and the students but the statute to be an institution for administrative purpose is the problem [to prevent us to make profits]” (Interviews of respondents, Antananarivo, March 2009). The institutions regarded the financial autonomy granted not strong enough to allow them legally to make profits since the statute of the university as an administrative institution (EPA) was not abolished. This situation left the institutions scarce of resources and at a disadvantage in terms of private institutions which were free to charge fees and make money. The fact of noting on the existence of the EPA statutes could be a way of the faculty and institution to resist the government’s encouragement of cost-sharing policy. This was because they worried about the reaction of students about the cost-sharing or their private incomes would become public ones through service providing.

Courses for which fees were charged did not attract as many students as the free higher education. This context as well did not allow much autonomy to the institutions to open up access further because students were limited in their ability to take courses for which fees were charged by their high level of poverty. Though the universities partly implemented the policy of cost-sharing, still, there was a lack of efforts to really promote the policy. As Ball points out: “Policy is not passively received and automatically implemented rather it is actively interpreted, decoded and responded to in a complex social and cultural contexts” (quoted in *Academics Responding to Change*, Twoler 1998: 56). The government’s lack of responsibility to plan potential results and consequences of cost-sharing left an ambiguity and a high risk of opposition at the universities to implement the policy. Faculty members’ awareness about the implication and consequences of cost-sharing policy especially in terms of equity of access between rich and poor resulted in their indirect resistance to the policy of the government. The administrative and

financial autonomy granted to the universities legitimized the universities autonomy to choose to follow or not the plan of the government to change. Thus, autonomy for the universities when it came to access policy still remained a myth because of the government's pressure on funding as well as limitations on their control of their own budgets. But both the government and the institutions could play over the ambiguity of the concept of autonomy when it comes to a difficult decision such as the cost-sharing policy. Still, the level of autonomy of institutions is very limited. This is the focus of the following section.

5.4.7 Limited Power of Institutions

The universities had associations of faculty members that used to be involved in political protests against government's decision such as matters concerning salary increase or funding of research. Not much data were found about the strike of the faculty members and their claims to the government because the tension between the government and the faculty members was not public. However, some of the respondents during the interviews suggested that the trade unions of the faculty at the UoT is very strong and striking is always one way that they use to request something they want. Some of the respondents as well noted that the students became the blackmail for faculty members to claim something from the government or to resist the government's policy. As a respondent stated: "Students became a subject of blackmail, that's the cause of the loss of academic year in 1992; faculty members do not care about students. Civil servants think they can do everything because the process to fire a civil servant is very difficult." The most important argument the respondent made was about the lack of clear performance evaluations at the university. He noted: "Faculty members do not graduate students because they have the monopoly that students should not perform more than the faculty" (Interview of Education Official, Antananarivo, February 2009). That is faculty members were not totally willing to help students to get further knowledge beyond what the faculty members had. This line of arguments can be a partial explanation of the low graduation rate and the problems of throughputs, and can be assumed to be one of the forms of resistance. One of the respondents stated: "Graduation rate has always been low and everybody kept quiet because university was the only institution that dared to respond to government through strikes. Government keeps quiet because teachers at the universities are doing politics" (Interview of Education Official,

Antananarivo, 2009). It can happen as well that faculty members were those trained elites during the *Period of Tutelage*, therefore, they evaluated students according to the standards they had had. The government had no control on individual faculty member responsibility to graduation of students. The faculty members therefore had total autonomy over graduation of students.

During this period the government granted some autonomy to universities but at the same time continued to have the final decision-making authority on policy changes and on funding to be allocated. The decision-making process was centralized at the MoE. Institutional representatives were not involved in decisions. However, higher education institutions were recommended by the MoE to establish their own institutional development plan. They had to be in line with the general vision and main goals of the government. Interviews showed that the institutions only established their plans but the government did not provide additional funding to support the plans. Some of the respondents stated: “Higher education institutions decided to stop writing their institutional development plans because there was no difference in funding support. The government did not provide additional funding to help achieve the institutional plans.” (Interviews of Education Officials, Antananarivo, February 2009).



The fact that the major funding for public universities came from the state made the state-steering model flow easily. Institutions were dependent on the financial support from the government and were not really able to make important decisions especially in terms of access or admission of additional students because of the government’s policy to cut funding. The budget constraints and the level of autonomy of the public universities pushed the start to the practice of partial cost-sharing system. The following section delves with the details of the policy of partial cost-sharing.

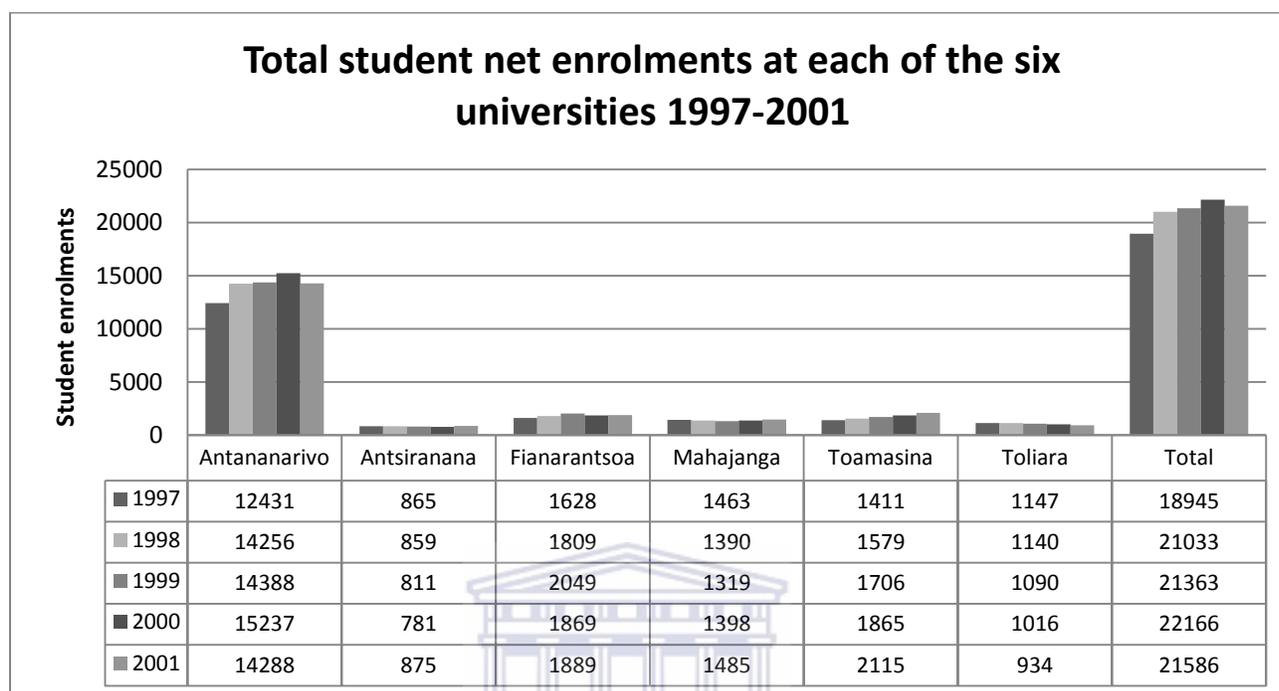
5.4.8 Relative Political Stability: A Corner to Move to Partial Cost-Sharing Policy

The successive changes in the heads of state in Madagascar resulted in period of difficult economic development. The discontinuity of the affairs of state from one president to another did not create favorable conditions to develop plans for economic development. This political

turmoil, created much the same conditions as we saw in the early phases of the *Period of Instability* that allowed external forces to continue to have influence over major policies of the Malagasy government. Earlier during this period, a policy of privatization and liberalization was recommended by the World Bank to be implemented as a way to fix the economic crisis in a way that would benefit the population. However, the notion of privatization conflicted with the decreasing purchase power of Malagasy population. The liberalization policy decreased the income from taxes for the government and impacted on the funding of the public sectors. This decrease in the revenue obliged the government to continue to seek additional funding to keep the development of public sector.

Both the policy of liberalization and privatization resulted in a form of cost-sharing for access to higher education. The government's political choice for higher education had to deal with the difficult budget conditions because the government could not afford to cover the full cost of higher education. The government prepared and published texts to allow private and distance education to operate. The form of cost-sharing has been seen through the generation of income for higher education institutions that was undertaken by partial fee-charging at the existing universities and full fee-charging at new institutions such as the ISTs, the distance and private higher education institutions. Since the conditions of the economy of Madagascar did not improve, the funding allocated to the public universities did not change. The funding allocated remained stable at the reduced amount despite the high inflation rate and student numbers remained lower than they had been. The Table below shows the total net enrolment of students during the second stage of the *Period of Instability* 1997-2001.

Table 5.9: Total Number of Students at Each of the Six Universities of Madagascar from 1997-2001



Source: Data from the Government of Madagascar National Statistics 2004

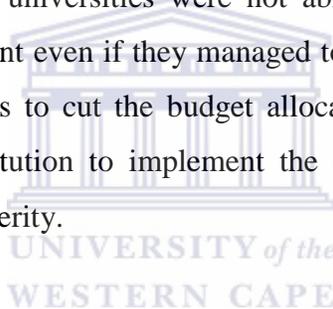
This Table shows that the government's policies to control student number and to keep the average total number of students at the six universities at a stable reduced level were largely effective. The government with the limited budget and revenue had no option rather than following the cost-sharing policy in terms of public spending. The Table 5.10 below shows the budget allocated by the government to the six public universities.

Table 5.10: Budget Allocated by the MoE to the Six Universities Value in US \$ 1995-1999

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Budget allocated by the MoE for the six universities	7,796,975	5,604,249	5,636,079	5,067,194	5,046,572
Income generated by the institutions	-	805,980	328,475	853,625	905,700
Percent of income generated by the institutions	-	14%	6%	17%	18%

Source: Data from the Government of Madagascar National budget speeches (value adjusted to the rate of US\$ per year)

This Table shows that the budget allocated by the government to the six universities decreased in 1995-1996. After 1996 the government maintained the reduced amount of funding allocated to the universities. The universities were not able to fund students more than the funding allocated by the government even if they managed to generate 18% of the total income. The policy of the government was to cut the budget allocated to the institutions and to give financial autonomy to allow institution to implement the cost-sharing system as a result of political instability and budget austerity.

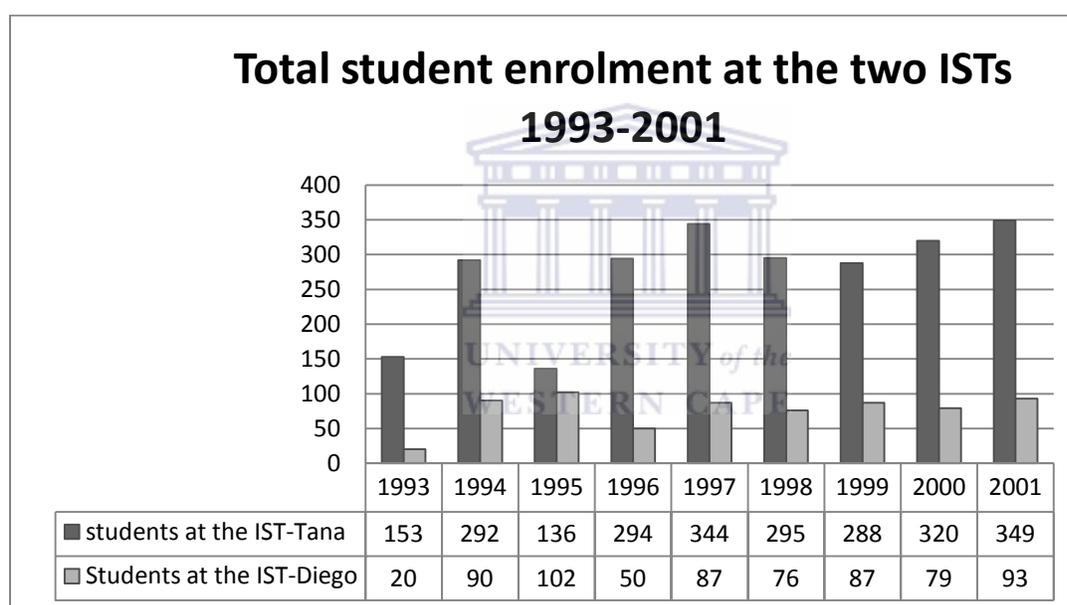


5.4.9 Financial Autonomy: A Strong Push to Encourage Participation of Students in Costs of Education

Madagascar found a certain level of political stability after the election of 1996. This new found stability allowed the government to attract a few investors and funders to provide aid and give support to some public sectors. From 1997 higher education began to obtain partial funding support from the World Bank. With the better political and social conditions at the universities the World Bank started to allocate funding. The funding allocated was mainly focused on projects and research intended to help improve economical sectors such as fishing and tourism as well as capacity building. While some of the funding allocated focused on research, it is curious that both government and scholars ignored the issue of access to higher education since it was such a prominent part of the response of government and resulted in a substantial cut in student numbers. The inability of the Malagasy government to fully fund higher education and the high demand of students seeking access therefore pushed the government to adopt a partial cost-

sharing system during the second half of the *Period of Instability*. The main change caused by the political situation was the shift of paradigm from one of total government to one of partial cost-sharing by students was a major shift. The policy was to focus on the notion that higher education should become much more professional and technical with short courses for which students would participate in the cost of instruction. Thus the principle of a market-based policy instrument had been introduced. The World Bank therefore created two higher technology institutes. The table below shows the total number of students enrolled at the two ISTs as a first move to cost-sharing system.

Table 5.11: The Two ISTs 1993-2001



Source: Data from the Government of Madagascar National Statistics 2004

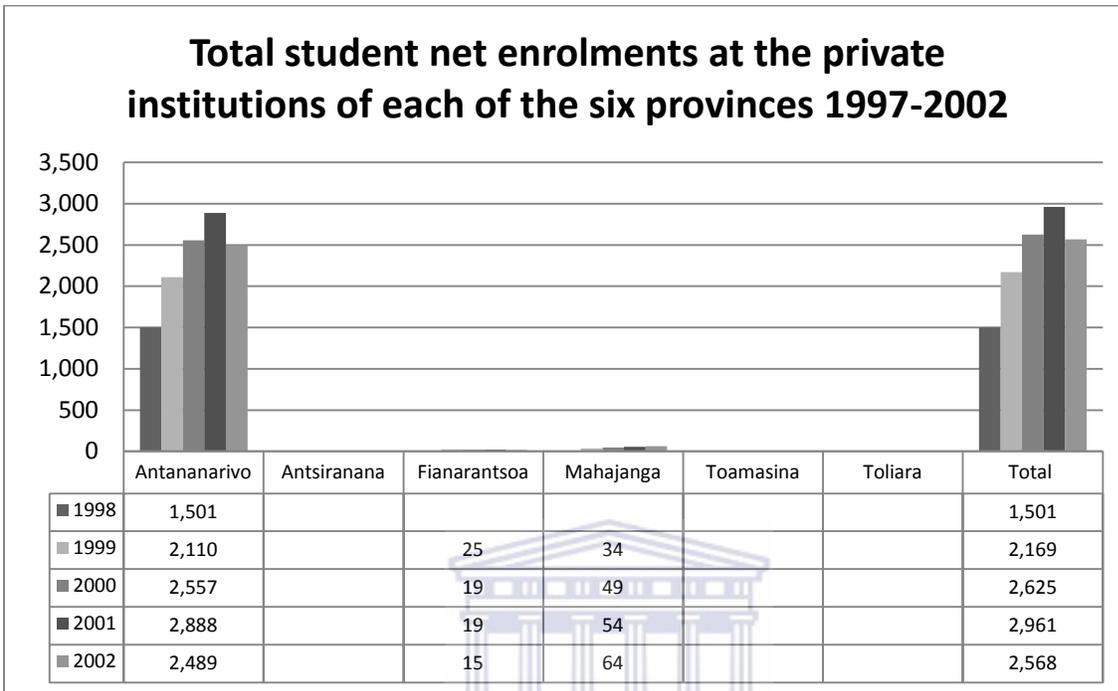
As part of this process, The World Bank fully funded a project to establish a pilot institution in Madagascar that included a form of cost-sharing – tuition for students. The institution was the ISTs and the creation was funded by the World Bank in 1992 as a model of the cost-sharing system. The IST institutions charged full fees to students that were admitted. In order to keep the model of cost-sharing institution good, the admission criteria were very selective and only a few students were admitted. The total number of students registered at the ISTs remained very low compared to the total number of public universities. The creation of ISTs was not planned to solve the problems of excess of demand of higher education and the

flow of students at the existing universities. The limitation of the total number of students admitted to IST institutions was mainly to guarantee the success of a model of cost-sharing institution. At the same time, the creation of IST institutions was mainly intended to have institutions offering programs appropriate to the needs of the economy. This has been done in a way to provide the public an example of the needs to invest and pay for good education leading to an employment. The focus on quality guarantee of IST was also aimed at pushing the public and the students to consider that investment in higher education is necessary to contribute to its quality. Private and distance education were created because the recruitment of new students at ISTs was very elitist.

The government policy on cost-cutting pushed the public universities to charge fees to the students to obtain additional funding. The move to fee-charging education was challenging at the existing public universities because the public had a general view that higher education should continue to be free and the majority of Malagasy population is poor. Some of the participants of the focus groups argued that the government did not put higher education as a top priority of the policy and stated “Government tries to fineness things. If government borrows money to make roads – why not borrow money to improve education. They may not because it does not have immediate outcomes” (Focus group, Antananarivo, 2007). Some of the participants of the focus groups emphasized: “I think higher education is not ranked at the right level [by the government]. It depends on the state politics.” (Focus Groups, Antananarivo, 2007). By “right level” the respondents meant high enough among their priorities. At the same time the political situation was not stable and risk of opposition to cost-sharing policy was high. At this time then, faculties at public universities needed to open new courses and programs to allow the system of partial participation in costs to flow and keep the traditional long courses free of charge. As a result, all new created programs and institutions during this period required fees or tuition for courses. Though the policy plans of the government was to promote professional courses it was the traditional courses that have been free of charge.

The expansion of higher education system in Madagascar has been developed by the expansion of private sector that charged full fees. The Table 5.12 below shows that the total number of students at private higher education institutions increased.

**Table 5.12: The Total Number of Students at the Private Higher Education Institutions
1997-2002**



Source: Data from the Government of Madagascar National Statistics 2004

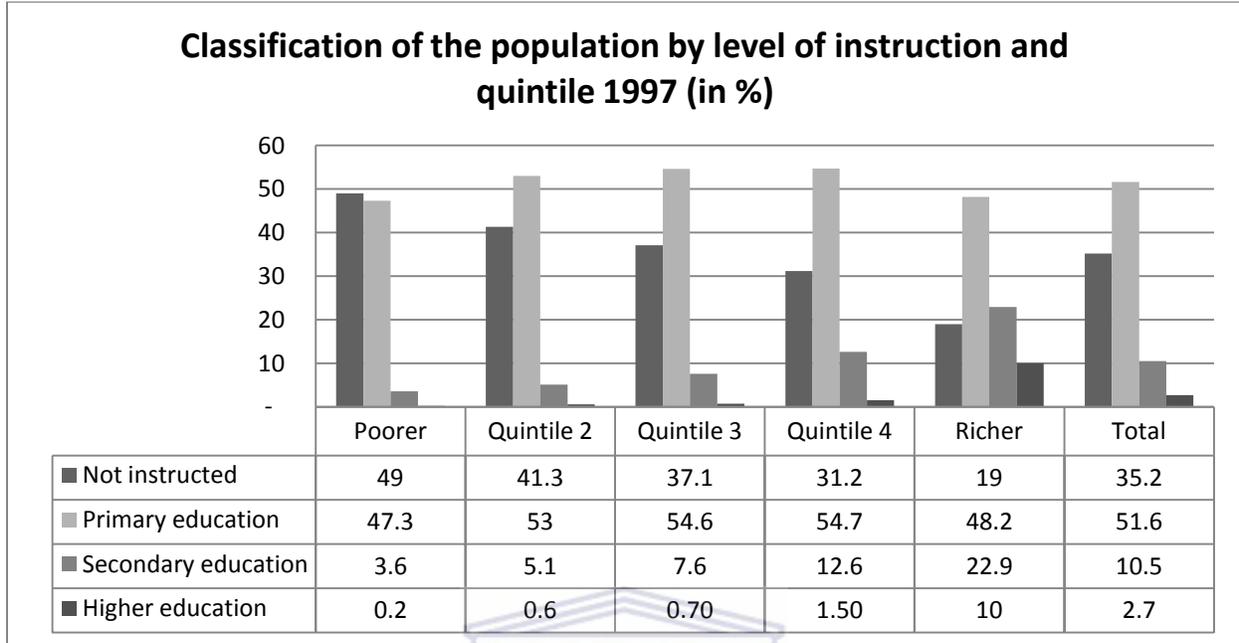
As opposed to the case of IST, private higher education institutions were open to students. The students joining private higher education institutions were mainly those who failed to have access to public higher education and could afford the cost of private institutions. The majority of the students registered at private higher education institutions were in Antananarivo. The Table 5.12 shows that private higher education began to grow in the capital Antananarivo starting in 1998 and has doubled in total student number in about three years from 1998-2001. The strategy of the government aimed at having the impetus for private higher education was to place limits on expansion of public higher education. However, the high level of poverty among the majority of the Malagasy population and the merit-based principle excluded a major part of students. Interviews showed that the main problem of higher education was the high level of poverty, as few of the respondents stated: “One of the main problems of higher education here in Madagascar is the high level of poverty” (Interview of Education Official, Antananarivo March, 2009). The limits placed on expansion of public higher education left no alternative options of higher education than the open admission system such as the private and the distance education.

The distance and private higher education were expected to satisfy the excess of demand for higher education that the public system could not accommodate. However, the government has never provided any financial support for private higher education. This resulted in full fee-charging for students. The latter led to the progressive expansion of private higher education because of the cost and the doubt of the quality of private higher education as well. The majority of students still run for free public higher education in terms of its quality and the recognition of the diploma. The establishment of the policy of partial and full cost-sharing resulted in an increased number of students that was kept out of the system.

5.4.10 High Level of Poverty: An Impediment to Cost-Sharing and Equity

The change in policy to a partial cost-sharing system for higher education access was designed to solve the problem of stringent budget limits for the universities, the high demand, and to improve quality. The cost-sharing policy also resulted in a problem for the enrollment of poor people who now had additional financial impediments to their continued education. Higher education became more expensive with the co-payments and that has a disproportionate effect on poor students. More than 70% of the Malagasy population fell into the class of poor people. Those who were able to support and attend good quality secondary education (which was primarily private) mainly belonged to the rich or middle-classes. They were the only classes that were able to afford the cost of higher education at the universities or the one who are competitive and well qualified for the free higher education. Higher education, even with the government support, has been open largely only to the rich class of people. “In 1997, a survey showed that 80% of the population of the students that have access to higher education belonged to the 25% of the very rich class (quintile)” (Zaafran 2007: 26). The table below shows that the government invested primarily in the rich class of people whereas the poor class of people has always been dominant in the Malagasy society.

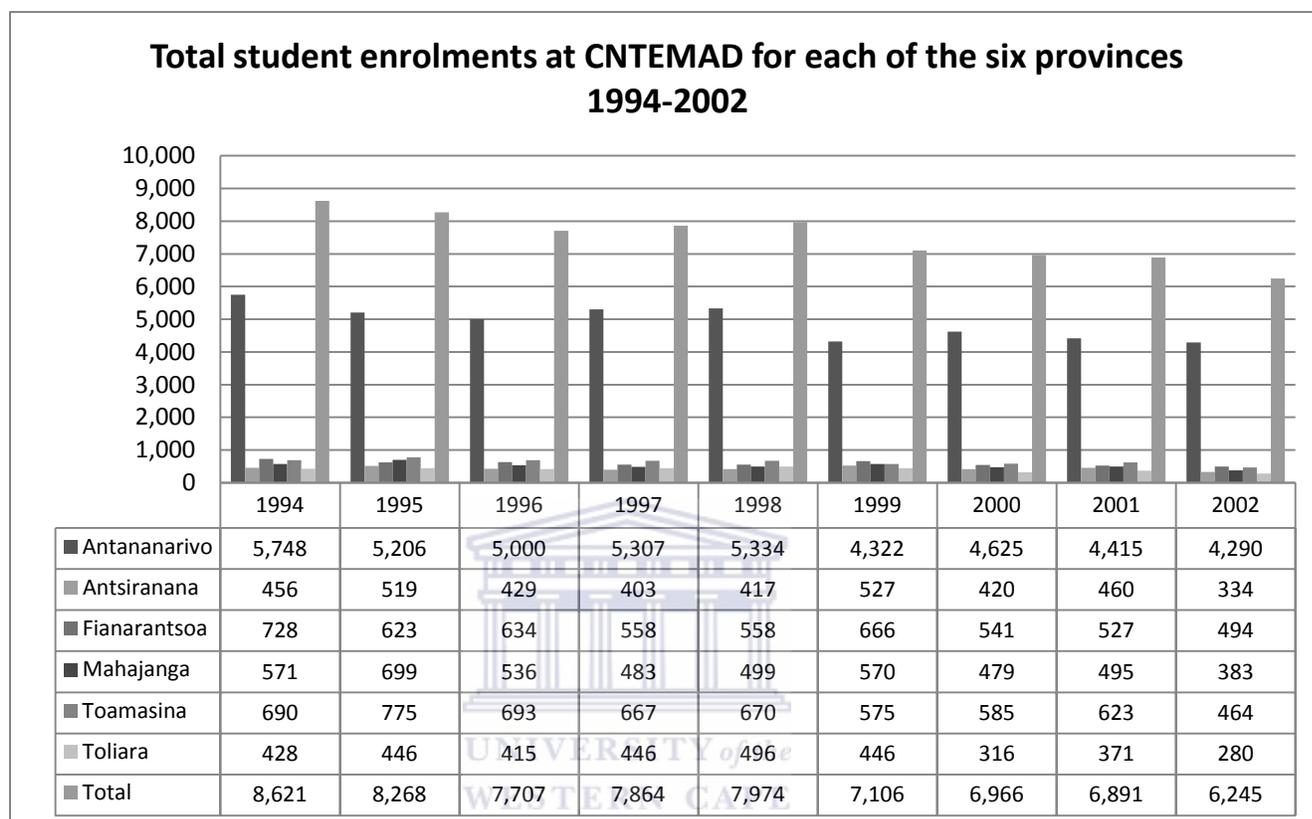
Table 5.13 Classification of the Population by the Level of Instruction and Quintile 1997



Source: Data from the World Bank 2007

The efforts of the government and the World Bank to achieve high quality higher education ignored the issue of the increasing number of students out of higher education system. The government became increasingly dependent on external donors again after the crisis. However, the government was afraid to charge fees for the regular university courses because they feared students would demonstrate against the decision and create another political demonstration. As a result, the traditional long courses at the six public universities remained free of charge but only for a few meritorious. Private and distance education provided a new type of access. Distance education had greater appeal to students because distance education system allowed the students to enroll at the same time as having employment. The Table 5.14 below shows the total enrolment of students at the distance education institution.

Table 5.14: Total Number of Students at the Distance Center (CNTEMAD) for each Province 1994-2002



Source: Data from the Government of Madagascar National Statistics 2004

In 1997 the total percent of enrolment in distance education increased to 41% of the total enrolment of students at the six universities. The cost of education at CNTEMAD was high facing the high level of poverty of Madagascar and the average income of family. Therefore, it was very difficult to increase the total number of students registering at CNTEMAD to solve the problem of overcrowd at the existing public universities. Students who failed admission to free public higher education still took a second chance later after they had followed some other courses at any other institutions than the public one.

The government's policy on 'improvement of quality' remained unclear because there were no new disciplines introduced whereas the existing system did not meet the needs of the economy and society. But a general impact of these policies and strategies was to leave the poor

out of the system if they failed to be admitted to those free higher education institutions. It is true that the justification of the policy of the government and the institutions was based on merit i.e. those who are highly qualified gained free higher education if they have chosen it. But the reality was that those who were highly qualified predominantly belonged to middle and upper income families. The beneficiaries among the students once again became those of the rich powerful families (as the Table 5.13 above shows) who had been the beneficiaries of training for the elites under the colonial and early post-colonial periods.

5.4.11 Partial Cost-Sharing System: Promotion of Middle and Rich Classes

The questions about equity became of less importance. In part this was a reflection of the fact that the government could not afford the cost of the massive increase of additional students. At the same time maintaining standards of quality also had costs. However, the government's policy during this period, if we refer back to the policy plans stated earlier, did not address the issue of equity to make these particular class quintiles part of the higher education system. The chances of poor students were still lower than the ones who were classified in the quintiles of the rich since rich people had access to good expensive and more advanced learning materials. Already if the majority of the left out students had mainly been those of poor background during the expansion of the previous period, there was no doubt that when the government cut off the total number of students at the universities, those who were restricted from admission were still those categories of people. However, there was no evidence that the government attempted to solve the problem of marginalization of poor students. The government policy of access was only focused on the decrease of the number of student substantially because of lack of funds. There was no plan to think about the issue of those students or any possibility of loan from the government. Instead the government requested participation in the cost to make up for limited government resources in order to have a wider access. The consequence of these fees was the elimination of the poor from access to the system of higher education. The evidence was that the higher the price of attendance to higher education, the less likely lower-income students had opportunity to access. The following period attempted to address this situation and focused on democracy.

5.5 The Period of Redirection towards Democratization 2002-2008

Policy decisions during this particular period were also a result of the political tension, those taking place in 2001. The population and mainly the civil servants demanded a more democratic and transparent political system. The elite urban population from the capital and the World Bank separately put pressure on the government to seek political stability and the introduction of democracy. The government's policy was a response to the demand of these interest groups. The policy decisions were both driven by the government responses to reward the groups which supported the victory of the president and a rational carefully planned policy. The government introduced the policy of 'democratic scholarships' for higher education to reward the students that supported the government. All students having access to public higher education gained scholarships. The policy decision resulted in a progressive increase of the total number of students enrolled at the public universities. The total number of students at the public universities increased from 22,587 in 2002 to 42,353 in 2007. The participation rate of the college age between 18-25 years old increased to 3.1% in 2007 compared to 2% in 2000. As a consequence of the World Bank pressure on the government to introduce greater democracy, the government started to plan a new policy for higher education by carefully identifying and analyzing the roots of the general problems of access. This was reflected in the move to a participative decision taking, that is, the government took access policy decision with the participation of the representatives of universities. The focus of the democracy of the Malagasy government and the new higher education policy of the government are the focus of the following section.

5.5.1 The Focus of the Democratic Move of the Regime in Place

After the political and economical crisis the government committed to improving the economy by adopting several strategies designed to bring about rapid and sustainable development. The Government of Madagascar engaged in the preparation of a policy paper for poverty reduction in 2000. The main focus of the government's plan to reach that goal was to have a more democratic country and to develop leadership.

Democracy is a very difficult and complex concept (Sorensen, 2008). Olssen et.al. explained that “democracy must be seen as a comprehensive discourse of (1) safety and security, (2) freedom and autonomy, (3) inclusion, (4) fairness and justice, and (5) equality of resources and capabilities.” In terms of equality they argued that: “equality of resources and capabilities ensures opportunities and conditions for the development for all” (Olssen et. al., 2004: 263). Sorensen argued about the impacts of weak state on establishing democracy. He argues that “when the economy is defective, there is a lack of a coherent national economy capable of sustaining a basic level of welfare for the population and of providing the resources for running an effective state.” The second major deficiency, as he notes, in weak states concerns relations between people in society; they do not make up a national community. The third major problem in weak states concerns the state apparatus in a direct sense. Weak states lack effective and responsive institutions. He continues that in weak states, “the bureaucracy is incompetent and corrupt and the leadership does not seek to provide public or collective goods” (Sorensen, 2008: 66-67). Starting with the first and the third of his arguments, the state of the Republic of Madagascar experienced a lack of a large enough national economy to sustain the basic welfare of the mass of population and poverty persisted and became dominant in the society. However, the transition towards democracy was at the level of the dominant elites that had the political power. The elites having the political positions protected their interests and lacked responsiveness that would have benefited the majority of the population. As Sorensen noted: “Political leadership seeks to mold the state apparatus into a personal source of income” (Sorensen, 2008: 67).

In Madagascar the main aim of the government of Ravalomanana was to have good governance in a way that would achieve sustainable social and economic development. Part of the democracy approach included the fight against corruption in order to provide benefits for the majority of the population, and in that respect they were quite successful. The move of this government to reach a certain level of democracy and to attain economic and social development required the strengthening of the state in the way that Sorensen described the impacts of weak state in the establishment of democracy. The efforts of the government of Ravalomanana during his presidential terms were focused on establishing a democratic country in order to develop the economy of Madagascar. As part of the strategy to seek democracy in Madagascar, the

government engaged in a major effort at transformation of higher education and established the plans as below.

5.5.2 Plans for Transformation to Reach International Standards

The policy documents reviewed outlined here included the Action Plan of 2003-2005, the Madagascar Naturally 2004, the Madagascar Action Plan 2007 and the draft strategy of 2007 and 2008. The orientation of the four policy plans all concerned about high quality higher education to contribute to economic development. The foundation of the action plan in 2003 and of the MoE policy was the fight against poverty. Higher education was seen as a potential engine of economic growth for the country. As stated in the Action plan 2003-2005, the second objective after the fight against poverty was the “production of fundamental knowledge and indispensable know-how for economic, social and cultural development” (Action Plan, 2003-2005: 5). The government expected the universities to develop research through extended internal and external partnerships. To do this the government focused on the diffusion of knowledge for all classes of the population and especially the younger generations. The strategy focused on the improvement in the conditions of life and the environments of human resources. Students, researchers and faculty at the university were the main focus of the efforts to achieve the generation of new knowledge and were seen as the means to achieve economic and social development. The government’s plan in 2003 was to develop a new system to improve student aid allocation, catering system and housing (Action Plan, 2003-2005: 7).

In 2004, the government started to launch a national plan for transformation of the Malagasy economy including higher education. Agriculture was an additional priority of the Malagasy economy and the primary source of income in the rural areas. As stated in the program entitled *Madagascar Naturally*: “Measures to be taken [to bring development for rural areas were]: Education, training and import of know-how:

1. Teaching agriculture at school
2. Encouragement and training of peasants in mining sector
3. Creation of mine and geology fields at the technical high school
4. Professional training (agriculture, textile, gem, tourism)
5. Emphasis on agriculture research

6. Joint programs on food production, textile and tourism
7. Institute for food processing technology
8. Emphasis of the 'Agronomy Ecole'
9. Putting every agriculture institutions in function
10. Transfer of technology
11. Public and private partnerships with big international factories
12. Seeking support from international expert (PRSP 2005:11).

The *Madagascar Action Plan* (MAP) a five year plan was finalized in 2007. The MAP vision focused on rapid and sustainable development based on the use of national resources and their 'transformation' which was interpreted as improving the well-being of the people of Madagascar.

Madagascar will become a prosperous nation. We will have a high growth economy and will successfully compete in the global market place. Our environment will be cherished and protected and used in a wise and responsible way to enhance our development. The core of our growth shall come from our unique natural resources and from the transformation of our natural products.

The Malagasy people, equally in rural and urban areas, will be healthy and well-educated. They will be active participants in the development process and be gainfully employed in agriculture, industry and the provision of services. As a nation, we will honor the multitude of cultures and traditions of all the people of Madagascar. We will be proud of our country, united in national solidarity, and work together to achieve our dreams (Madagascar Action Plan 2007: 5).

The MAP has eight major commitments of which responsible governance is the top priority. This first commitment included seven major challenges. One of the last challenges was to become a learning nation. Among its goals the following were stated:

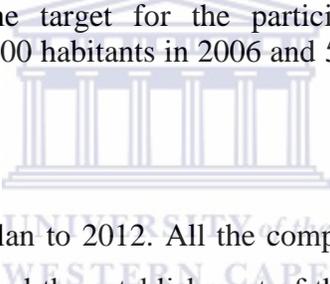
"Madagascar will be a learning nation. Knowledge will be actively pursued locally and abroad in order to support the rapid development process." The strategies identified to achieve this goal were:

1. Create learning networks throughout the country to improve public problem solving and sharing.
2. Send missions abroad and call for international expertise to study and implement best practices on specific issues.
3. Develop mechanisms for citizen training and participation in the governance of their local, regional and national communities" (MAP 2007: 24)

In the MAP, the transformation of higher education was its fifth challenge after primary, secondary, technical and vocational education. Out of 54 challenges of the total of 8 commitments, higher education transformation came at the 19th challenge under the third commitment.

The global goals for higher education in the MAP were to transform it in order to:

1. Ensure competitiveness, creativity, employability of the graduates.
2. Produce scientific and technological research and innovation to meet the needs of the socio-economic and cultural development.
3. Offer diversified courses for higher education to meet the economic and social needs for the MAP.
4. Improve the governance of public universities.
5. Encourage the development of high quality private universities and technical institutes.”
6. The MAP established the target to have 4,750 graduates per year in 2006 and 10,000 graduates in 2012. The target for the participation in tertiary education was established to 280/100,000 habitants in 2006 and 550/100,000 in 2012 (MAP 2007:8-9)

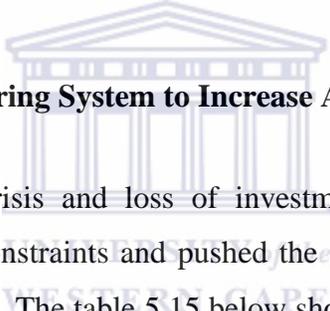


The strategy paper was a plan to 2012. All the components of the strategy papers were closely tied to quality. They included the establishment of the Licence, Master’s and Doctorate system (LMD), the establishment of a digital library, the recruitment of new teachers at the university, the expansion and extension of IST, the creation of centers of excellence and/or a Reference University, an increase in the total number of graduates as well as training for more Master’s and PhDs as part of faculty development, and improved teaching and learning (Draft Strategy Planning 2006-2007). The analysis of the policy of access is the focus of the following section.

5.5.3 Strategy of Expansion

During this period, public universities continued to apply competitive examination for admission except in the field of Sciences which was by selection based on the marks of baccalaureate. Private and distance education established free access but charged fees. The institutions managed to increase the total number of students registered at the universities

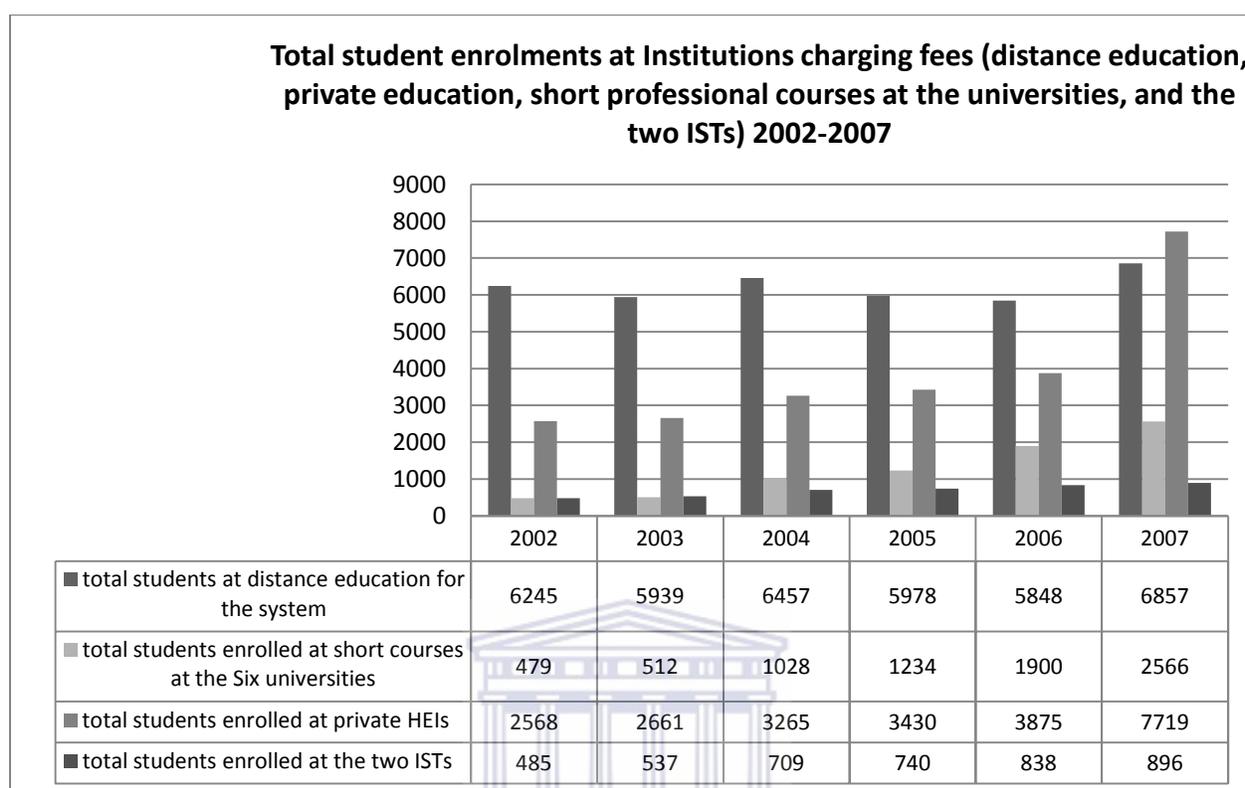
because the government provided scholarships to all new admitted students. The institutions proposed the estimation of the total number of students to the MoE and the latter approved the increase suggested by the former. The government provided financial support for the plan to increase the total number of students. The expansion of higher education has been undertaken by the progressive increase suggested by the public institutions. The government encouraged the opening of private higher education institution and professional courses at the public universities. Public universities started to have autonomy to increase access through progressive increase of total student number enrolled at academic courses and through new programs of short professional courses. The total student net enrollments at short courses at the university were only about an average of 3.6% of the free higher education from 2002-2007 (See Appendix 4). The total number of students enrolled at the system of cost-sharing however reached an average of 37% of free higher education from 2002-2007 (See Appendix 5).



a. Cost-Sharing System to Increase Access

As a result of political crisis and loss of investments after the strike of 2001 the government experienced budget constraints and pushed the system of cost-sharing to solve the problems of high demand of access. The table 5.15 below shows the total students net enrolment at each of the institution charging fees including the ISTs, the short professional courses within the public universities, distance and private education.

Table 5.15: Total Students Enrolled at Institutions Charging Fees 2002-2007



Source: Data from The Government of Madagascar National statistics 2007

The government was unable to continue to provide increased free higher education at the same time envisioning to reach international quality standards. However, the demand for higher education did not cease to increase. The government increased progressively the total number of enrolment at the same time introducing new courses charging fees. The cost-sharing policy of higher education in Madagascar was mainly undertaken by the expansion of private and distance education and short professional courses.

As the same problem during the previous period after the crisis, the economy of Madagascar exacerbated and resulted in financial crisis. Though the budget for higher education was not cut the static share of budget allocated to higher education (See Table 5.16 later below) associated with high inflation rate resulted in the inability of the current government to promote free higher education. The government therefore needed additional funding for higher education. The democratic approach of the incumbent government attracted external and international funders. This period was ushered in with a new promise of political stability to guarantee

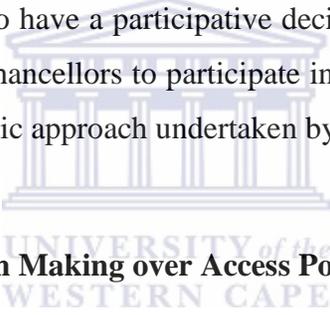
financial funding. Therefore, the World Bank became active in the effort to transform higher education quality to reach international standards. However, a form of dependency was once again part of this cooperation between the World Bank and the government. The financial dependency resulted in a stronger influence of the funder over policy formulation and process. And in some respects it resulted in efforts by the Bank to push policies not favored by the Ministry. The potential contribution of higher education to economic development favored by the World Bank resulted in the development of short professional courses. They were mainly designed and expected to meet the needs of the economy and skills required to human resources to contribute to development. Thus private higher education and short courses at the universities began to increase progressively.

The Table 5.15 above shows that there was a high increase of number of students at private higher education. The meritocratic system applied by the government did not allow a massive increase of student number at the public universities. The total number of students who could not access free public higher education institutions increased. The short courses at the public universities as well required some minimum qualification for admission even if students pay fees. The fact that access to private higher education was open to any students that obtained the baccalaureate explained the high increase in 2007. But still the proportion is lower compared to the total number of students enrolled at the public universities. Public universities had the right to increase the number of student enrolled at the university. However, the autonomy was limited by the funding allocated by the government. The following section deals with the institutional autonomy.

b. Institutional Autonomy

The myth of autonomy of the universities about access policy persisted. It was a myth because the state still controlled funding and that dictated access. However, the government decision to establish democratic partial scholarship allowed institutions to admit a few additional students based on the total number from the previous year. The universities had some autonomy over access policy in that the universities established the total number of new students targeted for recruitment. Nonetheless, the government had to approve the universities estimates before allocating the scholarships. The universities could not make a drastic increase but could add a

few students depending on the results of the examination for admission or on the results of baccalaureate. For most of the departments at the universities, the total number of students to be recruited was around the pre-defined total numbers defined by the decree published by the government. As one of the respondents stated: “The total number of students to be recruited at the universities has been established before, except for the department of Sciences where the total number depended on the results of baccalaureate. When the results were better -- according to selection criteria -- the threshold increased. However, the department cannot make a big increase” (Interview of education official, in Antananarivo, March 2009). Universities therefore had to estimate the total number of new students to be recruited based on the potential number of scholarships available from the government. They did not have the autonomy to change the policy of access or to make significant decision about it. Nonetheless, they now had a level of freedom they had not had earlier, even if the margin was a small one. In addition to institutional autonomy, the government began to have a participative decision making in order to highlight a democratic approach inviting the chancellors to participate in the process. The following section provides the details of the democratic approach undertaken by the government.



5.5.4 Participative Decision Making over Access Policy Formulation

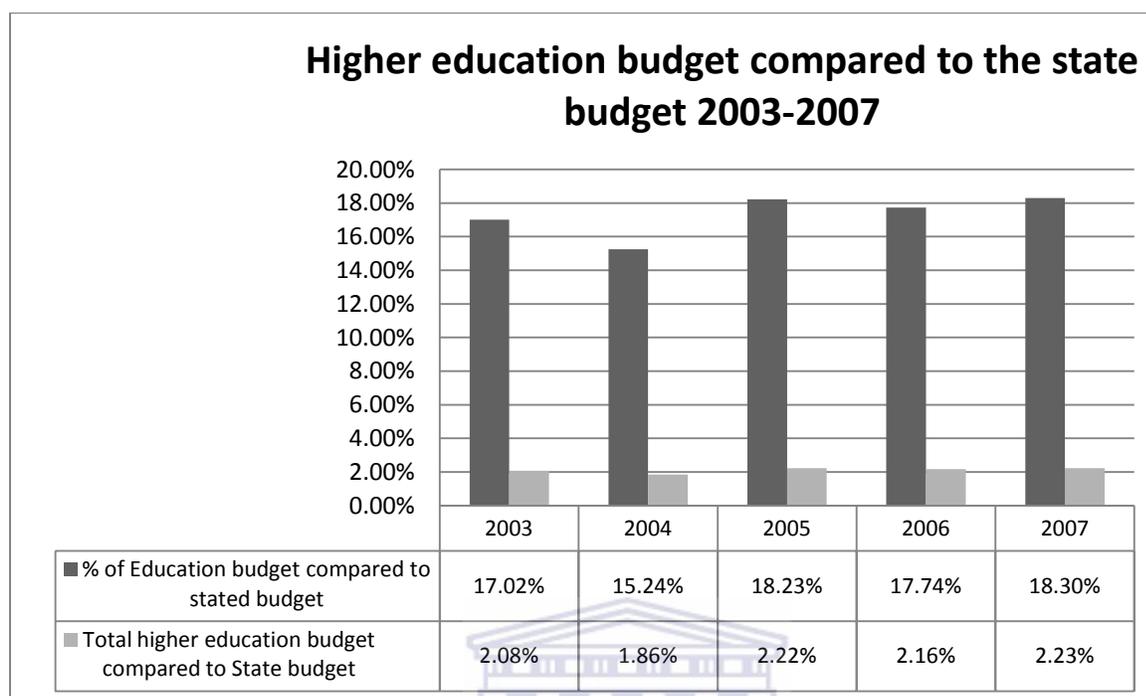
From 2002, building democracy was part of the political strategies to achieve economic growth. This transformation plan affected higher education policy through the effort to achieve good governance in order to reach economic development in a long run. One of the elements of democracy that impacted on higher education transformation in Madagascar was the participation in decision taking for access policy formulation. The change of the government after the political crisis of 2001 fostered a democratic step in higher education concerning changes of policy formulation which included great university participation. Concerned with the development of leaderships in higher education, the Malagasy government chose to change the decision taking process concerning access policy. The Malagasy government encouraged the participation of higher education institutions in the policy process and formulation. Public higher education institutions had the freedom to establish their own institutional development plans in line with the government’s plans. The representatives of the public higher education institutions were included in the debates and discussions concerning the development and the orientation for

higher education. Democracy was fostered through giving higher education institutions the freedom to be represented and to express their views and to contribute directly to policy formulation. The Malagasy government was able to publish a strategic plan for the transformation of higher education in a participative way as product of the democratization policy. The participation in decision making for the transformation of higher education was seen as a participatory democratic step by the government. Though the implementation of democracy in this decision making was very elitist, the big change was that decisions were not taken in an authoritarian way at the Ministry. The plans made to change access policy in higher education were decided by agreement between the government and the representatives of the institutions. The government, with the cooperation of the institutions, began to pay close attention to the importance of the issue of access to higher education. They started to scrutinize the factors that impeded good functioning of the system of higher education. From 2003, the government focused on producing enough qualified human resources to stimulate development. As part of planning they analyzed the tremendous number of student dropouts and the high failure rates, especially at the first year of the university, seeking to understand their causes. The government began to try to identify the factors leading to the inability of the institutions to graduate large numbers of their students. The debates and the discussions which resulted from the scrutiny of access problems were undertaken in an informed and democratic way involving debate between the government and the institutions. Even if the notion of democracy over policy formulation had some impact from the external funders, it was internally inspired and external support helped the higher education plan have a great deal of influence. That influence is the focus of the following section.

5.5.5 World Bank Influence for International Standards

As described in the previous chapter, the political crisis of 2001 resulted in an economic crisis and loss of investments as many foreign firms left Madagascar. During this Period the same sequences of the impacts of budget constraints affected higher education as had happened during the second stage of the *Period of Instability 1997-2001*. The following table shows that the share of higher education budget remained static after the political crisis of 2001 and the high inflation.

Table 5.16: Higher Education Budget Compared to the State Budget 2003-2007



Source: Data from the Government of Madagascar National Statistics 2007

The government after the dispute over the results of presidential election experienced a severe economic crisis characterized by high inflation and decreased public revenue. However the total budget allocated to higher education was not adjusted to the inflation rates and the share remained at an average of 2% of the state budget. In order to guarantee funders to Madagascar, the country had to have political stability after the repetitive political troubles that happened during the previous periods. The focus on democracy by the government aimed at having sustainable political stability for sustainable economic development. The World Bank encouraged the move towards democracy and continued to provide financial and technical support for Madagascar. As was the case during the previous period, the World Bank became influential in the policy process and formulation for changes for the sector it helped financially. Higher education was part of those sectors, but the difference was that changes for higher education needed to be discussed in a democratic way between the government, the funder and the institutions. However, the World Bank's influence over international standards and quality improvement and cost-sharing policy became a dominant part of the focus of the transformation.

Having high quality standards for higher education was a central part of the transformation and impacted directly on the issue of access. A careful strategy designed to increase quality prevented the decision makers from increasing access to higher education because they feared it would lower quality. To achieve a high quality higher education system required more funding and materials and infrastructures. However, the goal of equality would have been difficult to achieve if the government decided not to increase the student number at the university because of funding limitation. The budget constraints of higher education did not allow the government and the institutions to expand higher education faster and to update the equipment and material such as those for laboratories. They required additional funding. The government and the institutions had to adapt the total number of students to the existing material and equipment to avoid overcrowding and to keep the quality high. This affected the number of students that have access to higher education. The limitation of the total number of students however would result in inequality of access. The other problem was whether or not Madagascar had enough qualified faculty members and other human resources to meet international standards. Therefore, the goals for the need of high quality higher education resulted in a slow progressive increase of access to higher education. The careful progressive increase of access was mainly to avoid overcrowding of higher education to guarantee the quality of higher education while efforts were made to improve laboratories, add computer facilities, and encourage research. The decision of foster a slow increase in access was initiated in order to provide good conditions of works with existing materials and facilities.

5.5.6 Other Major Influences over Access Policy Formulation

During this Period, the government focused on the impact and importance of having international standards and especially the shift of paradigms to recognize that higher education has an important role to play in economic development. As some of the respondents noted, higher education's role was shifting to become that of a provider of service to economy. Part of that concern led the government to recognize the need for high quality higher education and to understand that high quality required more funding. However, some respondents found that the government influence about policy changes was to seek political stability and only to manage

ordinary university affairs such as staff, preparation of baccalaureate examination⁷, payment of staff salary, and so on. As some of the respondents noted: “Government’s decision over access policy was rather an effort to seek peace and serenity instead of an ideological one” (Interview of Education Official, Antananarivo, February 2009). Some of the respondents argued that there was no planned policy of access in Madagascar but what happened was just the management of urgent problems and current affairs. “What has happened was not a desired and intended change rather an adjustment by accident” (Interview of Education Official, Antananarivo, December 2008). On one hand the argument about the government’s effort to seek peace and serenity was what mainly happened during the period under review because of the pressure that the government had from funders. External funders needed and required political stability in order to guarantee the ease of payment of their loans. This was also due to the fact that strikes and demonstrations were repetitive. The management of the risk of opposition and demonstrations was among the policy agendas of the government to stay in power. The consideration of those facts influenced the change of policy made by the government. For instance the case of cost-sharing and payment of fees and tuition by students required very careful decision from the government to avoid opposition. On the other hand the argument of seeking for political peace was not absolute during the last period under consideration. The MoE had largely thought through the policy formulation before the publication of the MAP that included the transformation of higher education. New policies for access, quality improvement in cooperation with public and private higher education, and various stakeholders were formulated in cooperation with the World Bank.

A major change during this period was the government’s initiative to begin to identify national needs in the context of international standards and to build the policy around the findings. The major influences for the changes in access policy were very much a combination of increased awareness by the government that higher education cannot escape international influences and that it was susceptible to changes in the national environment as well. However, the government failed to implement the quality improvement at the same time as it was increasing participation in higher education. As one of the respondents noted: “In 2003, the increase of the number of student at the university was cyclic. The government increased the

⁷ The preparation of the national examination of baccalaureate is included in the budget of higher education.

admission of students at the universities without considering efficiency. There were no discussion or policy debates about internal and external efficiency” (Interview of Education Official, Antananarivo, 2008). The government needed funding it did not have and thus the proposed changes languished. Nonetheless, this government did make major efforts to improve quality and plan for the future at the same time increasing progressively the total number of students. The government started to establish accreditation with workshops and agreed with the standards of accreditation along with the plan to increase the total number of students.

5.5.7 Legitimization of the Influence of the World Bank

The Bank provided the majority of funding and had a great deal of influence on the decision made by government. Some of the interviews revealed that the World Bank had a lot of influence over such decisions. One of the respondents noted: “From 2004, the cooperation with external funders and the World Bank was emphasized. Soon after that the cooperation with World Bank became very big” (Interview of Education Official in Antananarivo, January 2009). Another respondent stated: “What I can see is that neither the government nor the institutions can handle and fix the problems of higher education” (Interview of Education Official, Antananarivo, February, 2009). The respondent was emphasizing the ease with which the World Bank or other funders could influence policy changes. Despite the strong influence of funders on change, the decision on democratic partial scholarships for students was from the government as a result of the political crisis. The government in one way could control access to higher education by providing additional funding to students to keep the calm or to reward them. As one of the respondents noted: “The 2003 huge increase of students was not a real intended or a result of a policy but just happen to open access to students after the crisis –students supported the president of the Republic and he rewarded them by fully-funded access university – if you meet the requirements for admission then you get a scholarship automatically. Access policy of higher education was most of the time a result of political and social decisions” (Interview of Education Official, Antananarivo, February 2009). This line of arguments emphasized the fact that politics influenced on policy change on access. The government also implemented immediate actions over access policy changes before or after crisis in a way to prove a result and a positive political image. The quality improvement included the objective to increase the total number of graduates

and to train human resources with up-dated skills. Though the plan had a good start toward implementation, the coup of 2009 resulted in the loss of investments of the country. Funding for the intended planned policy for higher education had to be suspended. The government was not able to convince major funders, especially the World Bank, to provide sufficient support for quality improvement and increased access after the coup of 2009.

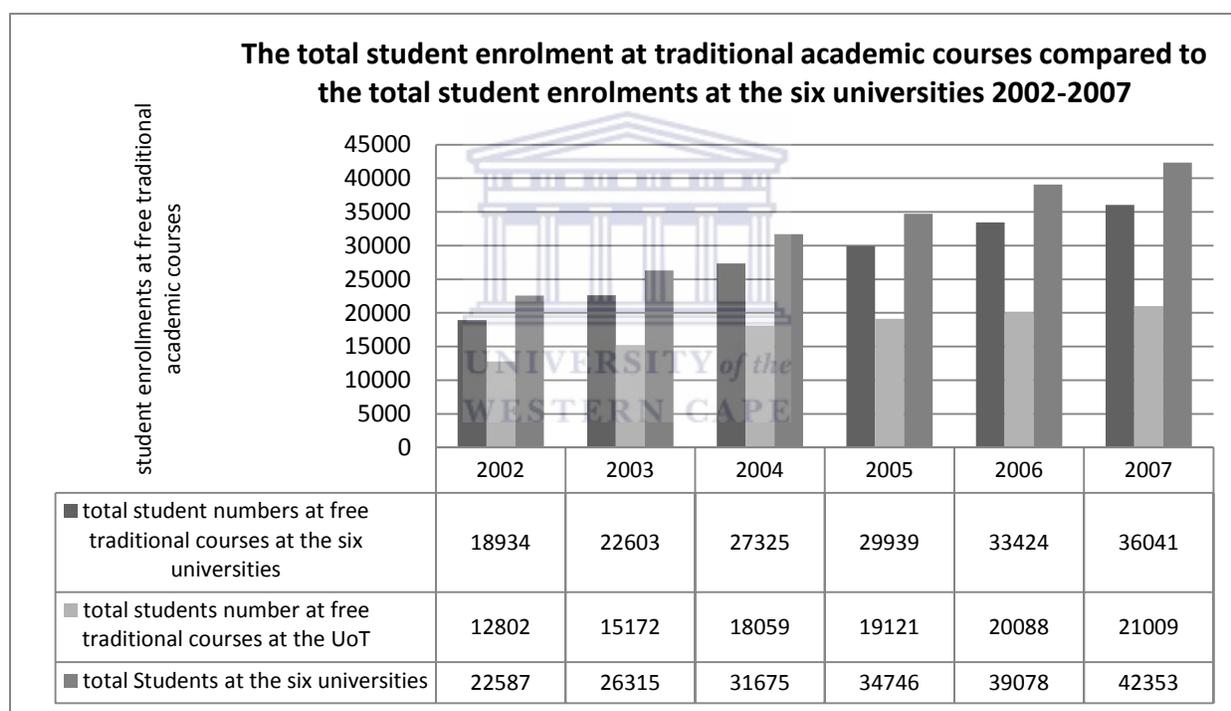
It is clear from the analysis above that the government's political choices on access were often the voice of the World Bank that provided funding. The World Bank played important roles in contributing to aid and grants to the Malagasy government and therefore had strong influence over access policy. Concern about equity was a minor concern limited to a few senior MoE officials in 2006-2007, and not one expressed by the World Bank. The government's adoption of a cost-sharing policy, influenced by the World Bank, resulted in channeling money to the middle classes and the rich through partial scholarships and free higher education. Some higher education officials were very concerned about equity and the advantages of the system to the middle class and wealthy at the expense of the poor. However, work on rectifying these inequities was cut short by a shift in the senior management of the Ministry and then by the coup. They failed to consider equity in terms of income or make special provisions for the poor. The government was under substantial pressure from the society and the very high demand for higher education. The pressure on government to have a favorable political image was strong as they sought to meet demand. At the same time, the lack of sufficient funding to do that resulted in a succession of dependencies on external donors – both countries and international organizations. The following section highlights the aspects of the inequality of access to higher education because of the slow increase.

5.5.8 Inequality of Access

The Ravalomanana government was concerned about the notion of equality as one of the constitutive elements of democracy. The notion of equality of opportunity was reflected in the changes in access policy for higher education in a way to benefit the citizens in large. This was a major change from the past. Nonetheless, access to higher education at the public universities of Madagascar still remained elitist during this period. Because of that the government put more

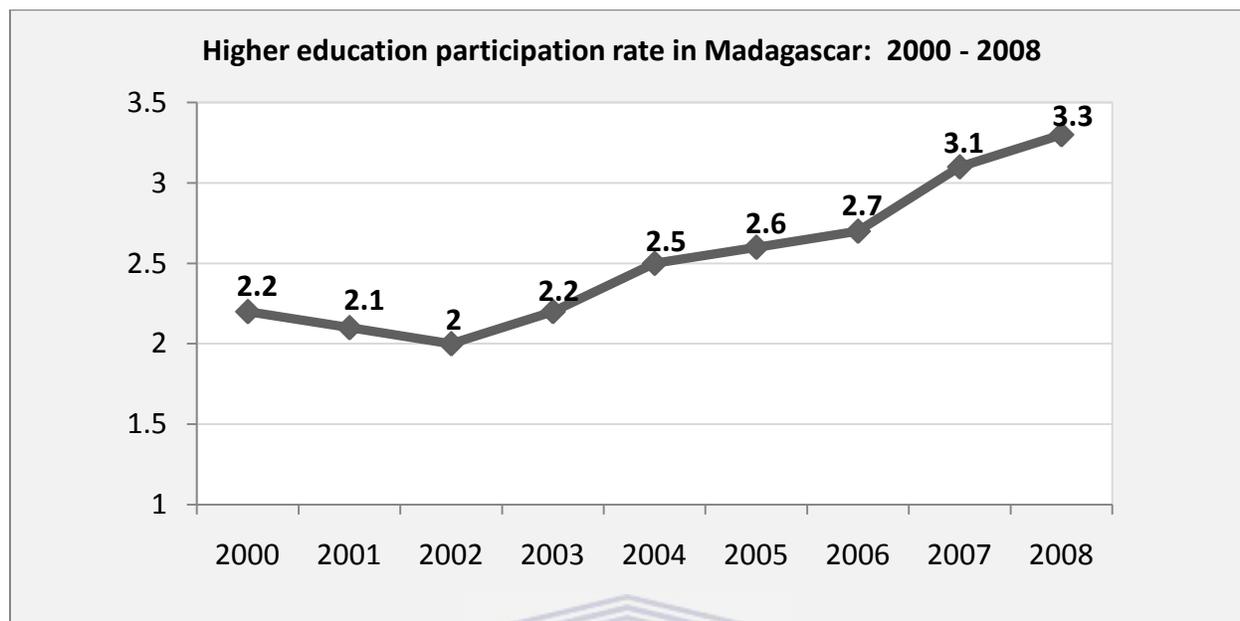
effort, as a product of democratic move, to increase access to higher education for people from rural areas and for students from poor families as the policy plans above noted the target of the government. The Table 5.17 below shows the increase of the total number of students at the universities. The progressive increase of students at the universities was associated with partial scholarship granting, the Table 5.19 shows the increase of students gaining scholarships at the UoT.

Table 5.17: Total Student Enrolments at the Six Universities and the Total Number of Student Enrolments at Free Traditional Academic Courses at the Six Universities and at the UoT 2002-2007



Source: Data from the Government of Madagascar National Statistics 2007

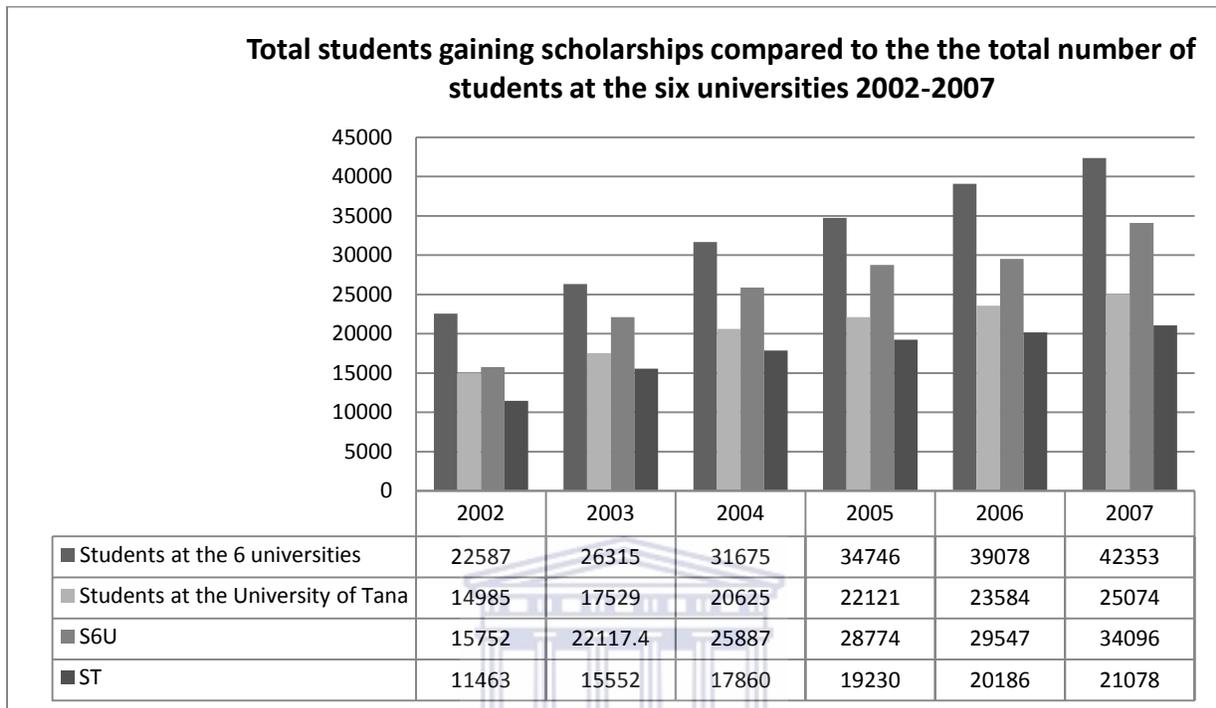
Table 5.18: The Participation Rate in Higher Education of the Malagasy System 2000-2008



Source: Data from Government of Madagascar National Statistics 2007-2008

84% of the total students of the six universities were enrolled at free traditional courses in 2002 and increased to 85% in 2007. The proportion of students enrolled in traditional courses at the UoT compared to the student enrollments of the six universities decreased from 57% in 2002 to 50% in 2007. However, the total students enrolled in traditional courses at the UoT still made 58% of the total students enrolled in free traditional courses of the six universities. The total number of students increased thanks to the increase in scholarships provided by the state as a result of a change policy. The table below shows the increase.

Table 5.19: Total Number of Students at the Six Universities including the UoT and the Total Students gaining Scholarships 2002-2007



Source: Data from the Government of Madagascar National Statistics 2007

S6U: Total students gaining scholarships at the six universities

ST: Total students gaining scholarships at the UoT

The increase of student enrollments at the six universities was about 87.51% within five years. The total increase at the UoT was 67.32% within the same period of time. The government managed to increase the proportion of students gaining partial scholarships for the six universities from 69.73% in 2002 to 80.50% in 2007. For the UoT 76.49% of the total number of students gained partial scholarships in 2002 and increased to 84% in 2007.

The notion of a democratic regime, defined the policy which provided all newly admitted students with scholarships as a ‘democratic scholarship’. In one sense it did make admission more democratic in that income no longer was a barrier to admission. Nonetheless, the criteria for admission for students did not change and the government did not have any plan to loosen the entrance examinations. The ‘democratic’ argument of providing scholarships to all new admitted students still left the university focused on the elite level not because they favored elite education

but because that was a consequence of the distribution of high quality primary and secondary schools. Thus, although policy under the Ravalomanana government was less elitist than the policy before, it still benefited the elite even if that was unintended. In reality the change only affected the minority that had the chance to be admitted thanks to good educational background, though income now was not a barrier. Besides, the progressive increase of access affected more the traditional academic courses rather than the professional and private courses as planned by the government. However, most of the students admitted to the universities were still from middle class or wealthy families as during the previous periods. There was no new university created in the rural areas. This was part of a democratic process because there was no distinction between the classes or gender of those admitted students to gain scholarships. In reality access was not open to everyone since the merit criteria were affected by class and access to quality primary and secondary schools. The results of access to higher education by means of very selective examination to identify the better students had the unintended effect of continuing to benefit the middle and upper classes (The figures showing the percent of students having access to higher education in urban and rural area in 2001 are in Appendix 8). While the admission criteria remained static, the introduction of democratic scholarships encouraged and promoted more students to participate in higher education and helped to eliminate the financial barrier. In spite of the high inflation rate that affected the economy of Madagascar, the government had no serious difficulty in finding the funding to support this change concerning scholarships. The universities managed to increase the student number as a result of the policy changes and the granting of partial scholarship. They did not have difficulty since the government allocated full funding to support the change.

5.5.9 Absence of Clear Policy to Support the Class of Poor Students

The total number of new students to be recruited was allowed to increase slowly. Though the government discussed the marginalization of the poor students, no major decision was taken to either identify or support the neediest students. Even with the experience learned from the previous period, the government did not make any plan to fix the persisting problems of inequality of access. The plan of the government was focused on partial support of those who could have access to higher education which were admitted following the same patterns and

conditions as the previous period. Some of the students, who failed the admission examination because of the limitation of the place at the public universities, were nonetheless able to pay fees in order to be able to follow the same courses⁸. That situation may result in a better opportunity for rich or middle-class people as one of the participants of the focus group stated: “If public university charge fees, it may lead to discrimination among students. There are those who cannot pay. It is best to keep public education free” (Focus Groups, Antananarivo, 2007). The limits on the number of student admitted were defined by the limitation of accommodation capacity. One of the respondents stated: “The main problems of access policy here in Madagascar was the inability of the government to build new infrastructures.” Other respondents who agreed with the question of the problems of building new infrastructures added: “The main big problem that higher education is facing is the high level of poverty of Malagasy people” (Interviews of Education Officials, Antananarivo, February and March 2009). The government’s access policy though merit based resulted in government being more heavily invested and supportive of the middle class and rich students than of the poor students. The reality for the government was that there were budget constraints and they made it hard to respond to unintended consequences of the overall education system. The economy of Madagascar has never been able to grow fast and thus government revenue did not grow. The government remained the main funder of higher education and its costs were increasing including the need to update facilities. Consequently the government was not able to support higher education at a certain quality standard as outlined in the policy plans and required additional funding both to increase access and improve quality. The policy therefore continued not to focus on access for the poor because of the high costs. Adding fees only made the situation worse for those poor students. At the same time to keep the quality at least level, the government had to ignore the plight of the poor students even in the last period when some effort was made to understand the problem.

Although some concern about the elite nature of access was expressed by the Minister of Higher Education from 2004 to 2007 and an effort to increase scholarship to help poorer students, there was still no means test and it remained the case that the rich and middle income families benefited disproportionately. As one of the respondents noted: “The Minister was shifted to become Minister of another department, nothing further was done. The poor lost their

⁸ The students that can be admitted with payment of fees were few of those who were ranked after the limited number to be recruited after competitive examinations.

advocate” (Interview of Education official, Antananarivo, February 2009). Given the extremely elitist nature of higher education, it is surprising that no other government before or after has given this issue much thought. The main concern of government was access, not who gained free higher education. The solution, however, was not to eliminate entrance criteria but to improve the quality of schools in rural and poor areas. That would avoid having the large number of college-age population left behind largely in the rural areas and partly in the poor areas of the capital because they did not have access to good primary and secondary education. Those who could afford joined those institutions that charge fees. The fact that not all the average of students could afford the cost of higher education emphasized the inequality of access. Because the system of higher education left out the majority of students and the notion of equality as an element of democracy was not achieved through higher education.

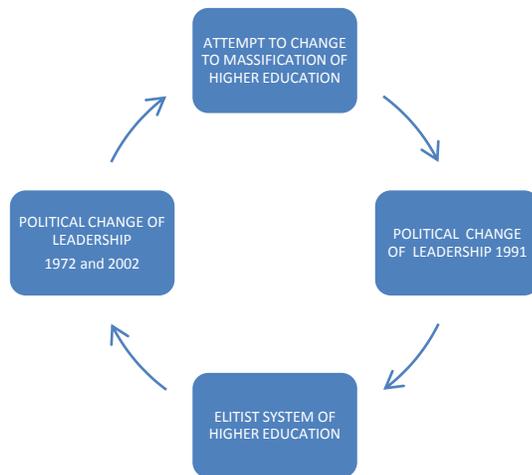
The government’s policy on access to higher education during this period was mainly influenced by the political decision of the incumbent government to move to democracy. The democratization process allowed the government to take decision in participation with the representatives of the public universities. The democratization process resulted in a progressive increase of student enrolments at the free traditional courses and with the progressive expansion of private and distance education that charged fees. However, the high level of poverty of the majority of Malagasy population slowed down the government’s policy to address the problem of inequality of access. The following chapter focuses on the general conclusion and findings.

CHAPTER VI GENERAL CONCLUSION

6.0 Introduction

Access to higher education from 1960 to 2008 has always been a victim of political crises. Political decisions were influenced by external forces which have changed over the years but have always played an important role in shaping the changes. The system of higher education of Madagascar has always been an elitist system with the highest participation rate about 3.3% in 2008. None of the changes of government within the four political periods under review solved the problem of inequality of access in spite of some claims to the contrary. The inequality of access persisted with a large enrolment of the students from the capital Antananarivo and from the rich and middle class. Each of the successive regimes has had a strong influence over the policy on higher education and brought changes in access policy. However, the result of the political process of each of the successive governments was that access to higher education made little contribution to economic development because of the government's politization of higher education. The students, since their success in overthrowing the president of the Republic in 1972, became a threat to the government and at the same time became the source of blackmail by the faculty members at the universities as a way to resist the government's policy. Students became the victims and victimizers of political changes. The figure below shows the cycle of the changes of politics and access changes during the period under review.

Figure 6.1 The Cycle of Access Policy Changes with the Political Changes from 1960 to 2008



This pattern seems likely to continue in the future, especially since Madagascar is undergoing a similar political change, and the problem of class division and tension between classes persisted. The political decision about higher education access policy did not manage to address the inequality of access. I suspect, from the outcomes of my research that, if these political and economic conditions persist in the Malagasy society, the trends that the system of higher education will follow will lead to a decrease in the total number of students at the universities during the near future following the 2009 crisis. Since the government is weak and the economy is in a very serious crisis, external actors will exert a powerful influence over decision makers.

6.1 Top-down Relationships between the Government and the Institutions

Successive governments recognized the power of the students to support them to remain in power to carry out their objectives or to remove them from power. Scholarship granting was one of the main strategies utilized by the government to gain the support from students as was done by the governments during the *Period of Growth of Nationalism* 1970-1990 and the *Period of Redirection toward Democratization* 2002-2008. Granting scholarships was also used to increase the total number of student enrolled at the university. Keeping the total number of the students low at the university was one of the main strategies of the government to avoid the risk

of massive opposition from the students against the government as was the case during the *Period of Tutelage 1960-1970* and the *Period of Instability 1990-2001*. Each successive government then had to find a strategy to maintain the role of higher education institution as a potential political supporter or at least to keep a non-threatening relationship with it. The government in power had to placate students to maintain political stability and power and had to cut student number if needed to maintain peaceful students as was the case during the *Period of Instability* from 1990-2001 with an average annual growth of -1%. The role of higher education was very much similar to what Saints (2002) noted earlier in the literature review that the principal sources of the tension between [the government and the institutions] are governments' perception of the university community as a frequent locus of criticism and political opposition. The policy of the government to cut the number of students was justified by the need for a better quality.

Facing the political changes, it was very clear that the institutions did not have the autonomy or power to resist the changes that government planned to introduce because the government had the full power to establish the political and policy decision and has always been the main source of funding for institutions. The government has always been involved in higher education affairs with decisions usually taken at the national government level as Saints (1992) and Chapman et.al. (2002) noted in the literature review. The Napoleonic steering mechanisms noted by Veld et.al. (1996) in the literature review portrayed the relationships between the government and the institutions in Madagascar. Universities were dependent on the state. The government had control and power over universities in the establishment of access policy. The public universities had no power to take decision to massively increase or decrease the total number of students to be admitted to the universities. Direct institutional resistance to policy changes in general was unusual however there was a tension between the government and the institutions. The resistance of institutions was sometimes expressed through students and faculty members in the form of a strike which often created new political problems such as strike that resulted in a death of students. Often students became the victims of resistance by faculty members through delayed courses or cancelation of the academic year or even non-graduation of students. However, the government had more power over institution such as the one noted, in the quote under the chapter of literature review, by Saint (1992) to appoint key administrators and may also mandate the closure of universities which happened in Madagascar in 1992 and

resulted in a huge cut in the number of students at the public universities. During the *Period of Redirection toward Democratization 2002-2008* in Madagascar, however, this relationship between the government and the institutions had undergone a drastic change, engineered by the government that encouraged more inputs from the institutions. They were allowed to make decision in a more democratic and participative way. But still the government established the policy and had the final decision and was able to impose any changes it felt were needed. Institutions claimed to be autonomous, though as we have seen, they had little of it.

Higher education institutions acted as the agents of the political decisions of the government. The government tried to produce results and exercise their power over the institutions. Throughout the entire period under review, the political changes in higher education reflected initiatives from the top – from government – and in some cases those changes were initiated by external funders who fostered the myth of government autonomy but were nonetheless under external control. The government used its power to bring about specific changes or to put into place changes suggested by external funders. The institutions, which had theoretically been given greater autonomy, were in reality living a symbolic autonomy and participating in a myth. Institutions were not able to take decision that would result in drastic changes unless they had consulted the government and had the approval of the latter. The relationships between the government and the institutions have always been a top-down where the government had the power to decide on the policy in general and especially on policies concerning access. As Saint (1992) noted that the government for most African countries set access policy.

Government granted limited autonomy to universities only in difficult decision areas and with high risk of opposition if the government took the initiative. Even then, higher education institutions only applied the cost-sharing system on a small scale for new fields but not to the existing fields. This was in part because they feared student and family backlash that might become catastrophic in terms of national instability. There were good historical reasons for these fears. The resistance of the institutions to compliance with the cost-sharing policy was legitimized both by their fear of student demonstrations and by their concerns about equity of access of poor students versus rich. The inability of the government and the institutions to

implement the policy of cost-sharing system resulted in a slow increase of the total number of students enrolled at the universities and made the system elitist up to the present.

6.2 The Continuing Elitism and Inequality of the System up to the Present

Policy changes regarding student access occurred during all four political crises in Madagascar, but the government failed to radically change the system. One of the most interesting conclusions of my research was that the values fostered by the French that focused on the goal of training elites, has resisted the democratic and non-elite changes that the government has tried to bring about throughout the period under review. The case of higher education in Madagascar was very similar to what Castells (2001) stated that one of the main functions of the university was a selection of elites. The data also showed that the conditions of access to higher education sift only a very few elites of the college-age that performed well through competitive examination. The government attempted to reverse the notion of elite training and to create a mass higher education system during the period of *Growth of Nationalism* and later during *the Period of Redirection toward Democratization*. They did not achieve the goal even though the total number of students increased. The move to massification of higher education was partly implemented by fee-charging education through short professional courses, private and distance education during the last period. But the result was the emphasis of inequality of access and rejection of the class of poor people from the rural areas since all higher education institutions are located in urban areas. This emphasized the idea developed by Fulton et.al. (1983), earlier in the literature review noting that increasing access would not reduce inequality instead a new opportunity to re-establish the traditional social hierarchy with still the domination of the people from the capital of Madagascar and the class of rich from the urban areas. The World Bank paper (2002) developed the same argument that most of the elitist came from the wealthier segments of the society mentioned in the literature. One of the most important issues to be ignored in government policy making was the fact that the poor and rural students were largely excluded from higher education in spite of the talk of expansion of higher education. The distribution of students by income, as shown in the study by Zaafran (2007) earlier, with only 0.2% coming from the poorest segment of the population as opposed to 10% from the richest segment in the study of 1997, never became a public issue in spite of the inequities. Only in the final period did

the government identify the problems and try to do something about it. Even there, what is surprising was that there was not a public cry for greater equity.

Admission to higher education in Madagascar has always been based on merit. The elitist nature of higher education system in Madagascar fits in the description of elite system described by Trow earlier in the literature review -- that one of the main features of elite system is the admission based on qualification – a meritocratic one. The driving forces of the changes of access policy in the case of Madagascar fits in with Trow’s argument that changes were mainly caused by political pressure, Trow (2005) quoted in the literature review chapter. However the case of Madagascar was not moving to massification. But the excluded students were always those from the poor class and those from the rural areas primarily because their schools were inadequate to prepare them. The majority of the students from urban Antananarivo, the capital, had the best opportunity because they had the much better learning environments in the capital and there is no university in any rural areas of Madagascar.

The problem of access to higher education in Madagascar followed the iron triangle as described by Daniel et.al. (2009) earlier, the increase of access resulted in a deterioration of quality, which was caused by a lack of sufficient funding to provide good working conditions to update research. This became a cycle process. The political choice from the push of students during the *Period of Growth of Nationalism* 1976-1990 under the policy of Democratization resulted in the recruitment of new students at a lower cost as a solution for the increased demand. Trow argument was very relevant in this particular context that “No society, no matter how rich, can afford a system of higher education for 20 or 30 or 40% of the relevant age group at the cost levels of the elite higher education that it formerly provided for 5% of the population” Trow (2005). The political pressure from the students to expand access to higher education during the *Period of Growth of Nationalism* resulted in a system of ‘more means worse’ noted by Radford et.al (1998).

The development of access policy at the universities in Madagascar has never been the top priority of the government compared to the political role it can play. It can be concluded that attempts to change access policies in Malagasy higher education have never been accompanied by real public political debates to solve the problems associated with the issue of access especially the problem of inequality. Chapman et.al. (2002) was quoted in the literature review

noting the fact that for developing countries there are very little concerns about the details of the aspects of equity such as graduation which was one of the main problems of the Malagasy system that kept the system elitist. Overall, the political impacts of the changes in policy about access to higher education have always ended up being superficial even if transformation was the goal. Indeed, there has been no real transformation to the system resulting from the political decision. Part of the main reason for the lack of transformation was the cyclic political crises that stuck the economic development of Madagascar in order to support expansion financially for the college-age mass of population. Access to higher education, remained very competitive and elitist and the only people who succeeded in passing the entrance examination were those who had access to high quality secondary education and they were mainly those from the capital.

6.3 Little Contribution to Development

The failure of the government to provide increased and diversified access to students to high quality higher education resulted in the lack of sufficiently competent and skilled human resources to help develop the economy. My research made clear that the government in Madagascar was unable to increase access to higher education, especially high quality education, which would have enabled them to be able to contribute to development. The total number of students accessing higher education was very low compared to the total number of the population and the needs of the economy in human capital. Those students having access to higher education were expected to be trained to acquire relevant, updated skills. As Tilak (2003) noted in the chapter on literature review earlier that higher education can contribute to economic development by providing manpower with professional, technical and managerial skills. The competence acquired from the universities was expected to allow them to become the major actors and agents of economic development. Those competent graduates could be the drivers of development especially in the ability to use the new technology which is necessary in knowledge economies and knowledge societies. The graduates produced by higher education institutions were expected to be those human resources having the right skills to be able to meet the needs of social and economic demands of development. However the total number of students entering and graduating the system of higher education was very elitist because of over politicization and lack of sufficient funding to increase access with a high quality. To be able to overcome the main problems of increasing access, the point noted by Cloete (2000) that government should sustain

funding space to allow the growth could be suggestive to improve the access system of Madagascar in order to lead to economic growth. Graduation of students became blackmail because of the tension between the government and the faculty members. Students' graduation was the victim of political crises because of delays and cancellation of academic years. Not enough qualified students were graduated to meet the nation's needs because of political crisis and the financial constraints. When coupled with the disruptions caused by political strife, this partly helps explain the continued underdevelopment of Madagascar.

Another important policy omission was that the system of recruitment of students at the universities was not based on the economic needs of the nation but depended on the availability of funding provided by the government and the capacity of accommodation at the universities. Higher education focused on supply rather than demand as Chapman et.al. (2002) noted. The policy debates and policy formulation during the period under review have never included the details of elements of access policy such as the promotion of particular disciplines to contribute to economic development even if the government planned higher education to contribute to economic development. The mechanism of steering access has always been a state model control as Neave et.al (1994) noted earlier. The human capital produced by the Malagasy higher education system lacked practical skills and competence for the labor market. Higher education still remained focused on Social Science, dominated by Management and Laws. The government and institutions failed to change the focus of higher education to a more scientific and technical orientation when they formulated the access policy for students' recruitment. This can be illustrated by the experiences of a major new investor in Madagascar, Qit Madagascar Minerals (QMM). Since it had opened it suffered for a lack of sufficient skilled labors and employees to meet their demands. As one of the local newspaper noted about the shortage: "The QMM had difficulties in their recruitment of specialized labors. To solve the problem QMM established a contract project for training. They aimed at having competent human resources for the labor market where there are shortages. The training is free of charge and only available for few selected people having their baccalaureate. QMM suggested that their priority fields for the training included: Production, Mechanics, Electric industry and Mineralogy laboratory" (Madagascar Express, 31st May 2010). Castells (1996) and the World Bank (2000, 2002) authors reviewed in the literature showed that higher education can be an engine for economic development and the case of ISTs could be and started to produce skillful and competent human

resources but the access to this kind of institution was very limited. This example is one of many that illustrate the shortage of human resources and helps explain the fact that the skill levels provided by the system in Madagascar did not achieve the diversification needed to meet international standards. Such as the failure of the government to promote more students in the field of agriculture (As Table 5.3 earlier showed) is one of the examples of the non coherence between the potential contribution of access to higher education and development in Madagascar. There were not enough competent and skilled human resources to foster expansion in the agriculture sector. The inability of the universities to produce enough competent human capital led to a failure to develop the potential pillars of the economy of Madagascar. The system of recruitment of students to higher education was not conducive to successful economic development. The total human capital resources in Madagascar that might have led to development therefore has remained very limited and has not had the results hoped for in terms of the potential contribution of higher education to development.

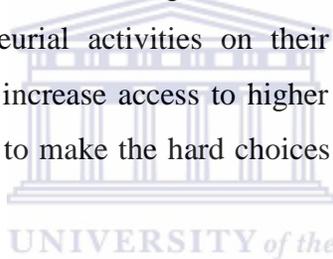
Both during the *Period of Growth of Nationalism* and the *Period of Redirection toward Democratization*, the government included agriculture as among the top priorities to help foster economic development of the country. But when the changes in access policy for higher education allowed an increase in access during these two periods, the department of Agronomy did not experience the massive growth expected to be able to help the development of agriculture. Part of this was a failure of government to make these priorities clear and expand the access to universities accordingly. Growth in specific areas such as agriculture or science, unlike in the case of South Africa in the post-apartheid period, was not targeted in admission policies in Madagascar. The few engineers produced at the universities mainly worked in more administrative positions rather than helping the development of agriculture in the rural areas by developing new kinds of equipments appropriate to the Malagasy agricultural needs for instance. Most of the graduates of the department of Agronomy in Madagascar were not willing to work in agriculture in the rural areas and they were not trained with that in mind. Most of the students who graduated preferred to have administrative positions in NGOs or organizations located in urban areas. The fact of already having 80% of the Malagasy total population involved in agriculture led to an illusion that the agricultural sector had enough human resources. Whereas, the majority of those people involved in agriculture were not educated in ways that would have helped them to be able to use advanced agricultural materials or new technology for agriculture.

They were mainly those poor rural people left out of the system of higher education. The agriculture sector in Madagascar did not experience transformation in part because the contribution of appropriate educated human resources was very limited. Production in agriculture remained traditional and on a small scale and that did little to help the development of the economy of Madagascar. The government did not make significant efforts to improve the level of education of rural people and most important, did not make agriculture a priority in higher education. The higher education policy did not make any attempt to address the inequality of access between rural and urban people. Surprisingly, the field of Agriculture at the university was not promoted by the government as a means to help the development of rural areas. The majority of the contents of the policy plans of each of the four periods were a declaration of intention only for political purpose.

Part of the problem was also the pedagogy in higher education. It did not focus on problem solving or creativity but was only limited to studies to be memorized and regurgitated on the examination in order to pass. There was also little required in the way of writing and thus graduates had little experience writing or making presentations. There was no emphasis on creativity and research practice which the World Bank paper (2002) noted that the development of research can contribute to the development of developing countries. The absence of competitiveness of many of the graduates of the Malagasy higher education system in terms of international standards results in their unemployment because businessmen substitute international graduates or at least those Malagasy trained abroad for local graduates. The failure of the Malagasy government policy to make higher education needs clear and to manage to upgrade higher education to a high standard of quality needed, along with a failure to increase participation rates, has resulted in a shortage of skilled human resources. This shortage has affected the progress of development and leaves Madagascar lagging behind much of the rest of the developing world. The potential contribution of higher education to economic development in the context of Malagasy government remained only as policy plans and declaration of intentions. Their implementation has not been realized from independence in 1960 to the present period. The major efforts made by successive governments was to periodically increase access to higher education only to have to rescind it when political situation did not allow and funding ran. There was never a major effort seeking real change in the system including mechanisms for funding it. As I have shown, this led to a series of political crises which became a vicious cycle

and affected the economy, produced recurring difficulties with economic growth, and had negative implication for the development of the public sectors including higher education.

The most critical theme that runs through this whole period is the continued failure of successive governments to expand access and to improve the quality and relevance of higher education because of political crisis and their consequences. That has had a long-term negative impact on the social and economic development of Madagascar that is likely to continue for some years to come. The level of poverty in Madagascar remains very high and the country became dependent on foreign aid. That has created a kind of vicious circle that has impeded the development of the public sector including higher education. The development of higher education, in spite of fleeting efforts to transform it, has not taken place and this has left Madagascar struggling and lagging behind most of the rest of the world unable to solve most of the problems of poverty and without the trained graduates to attract investment, foster knowledge production, or develop entrepreneurial activities on their own. The high level of poverty continues to be an impediment to increase access to higher education. This becomes a vicious circle with no government willing to make the hard choices and allocate the funding needed to transform higher education.



To sum up, political changes in Madagascar since independence 1960 have played a very important role in access to higher education. However, the elitist system of higher education survived over the period under review up to present with only a 3.3% participation rate in 2008. The effort of the government to increase access was not drastic and no transformation over access policy was successfully implemented. As a result instead of contributing to economic development and to increase equality between ethnical, poor and rich, and urban and rural divisions, access to higher education became an instrument of class domination and a political tool for clientelism to support the government in power. The political process was characterized by battles for power between the competing class and ethnic forces, the Merina and the people from the coasts. The persisting political tensions allowed external forces to interfere and to have strong influence over policy decisions as well. The system of higher education has undergone cyclical changes, considered as adjustment after each political crisis, and periodic changes in government regime, but it has not seen substantial increases in quality or a major reduction in the inequities limiting access for the poor.

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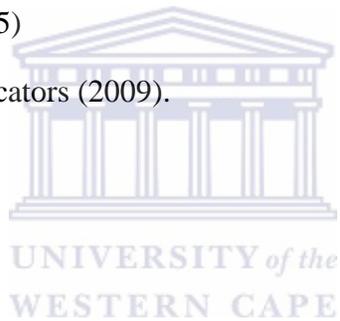
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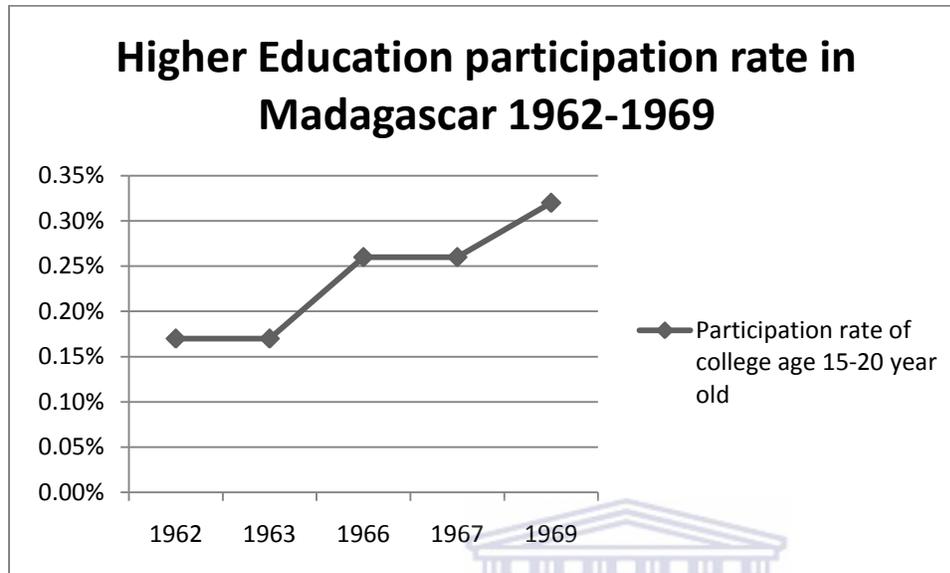
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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Participation Rates during the *Period of Tutelage* 1960-1970



Source: Data from the Government of Madagascar National Statistics

Appendix 2: List of the Participants of the Focus Groups at the University of Antananarivo

1. The senior faculty participants

The senior faculty participants –as Group 1- included disciplines on Economics, Science Engineering, and Medical study. The participants were:

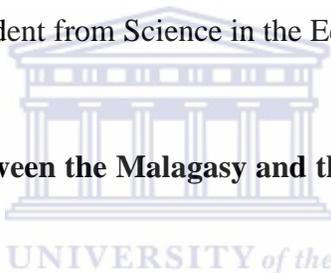
- Director of Research
- Ecole Normale Supérieure – economist
- Polytechnic faculty member
- Professor at the Faculty of Medicine
- Professor at the Faculty of Medicine

Professor at the Faculty of Science

2. Group of graduate students

The first group of students of graduate students included:

- 6th year from the Faculty of Medicine;
 - Two 6th year students from the Faculty of Arts and Letters
 - Doctoral student from Science in the Ecole Normale
 - 2nd year student from the Polytechnic;
- **Background of participants from the group of students**
 - 6th year from the Faculty of Medicine;
 - 6th year student from the Faculty of Arts and Letters
 - 2nd year from the Faculty of Medicine
 - 2nd year student from the Polytechnic;
 - 4th student from the department of economics
 - 4th year student from the Ecoles of Agronomy;
 - Doctoral student from Science in the Ecole Normale



Appendix 3: The Agreement between the Malagasy and the French Government on Higher Education

The agreement on co-operation in the field of higher education signed in Antananarivo on 27 June 1960 stated the following as guiding outlines for higher education policy.

- “The Malagasy and the French Republics agreed to combine their efforts in order to develop higher education in Madagascar and in the Indian Ocean.
- The French Republic cooperates with the Malagasy Republic to insure that the quality of higher education of Madagascar equals that of the French.
- The French Republic insures the payment of exclusive expenses of the staff at the university according to the existing rules and regulations.
- The French Republic contributes to the expenses on the materials and development of higher education as well.
- Degrees and diplomas delivered from the higher education institution in Madagascar with the same programs and examination conditions as the one in the French Republic will be valid in the French Republic and be considered having the same value.

- French degrees and diplomas of higher education are valid in the Malagasy Republic and be considered having the same value as the one delivered in Madagascar.
- Private or foreign higher education institutions are not allowed to establish in the Malagasy Republic unless they meet the conditions required by the legislation and regulations and received the approval of the Council of National Foundation with the agreement of stakeholders. The Rector and the Director of Higher Education supervise the application of these conditions (Agreement on Co-operation in the field of Higher education 1960: 272-280).

Appendix 4: Success, Repeating and Dropout Rates in % of the Academic Years of 1987-1988 according to the Admission Criteria

	Rates	1 st year	2 nd year	3 rd year	4 th year
Faculty type of institution admission criteria only baccalaureate	Success	15.5	34.9	26.8	15.5
	Repeating	34.8	56.3	65	4.1
	Dropout	49.7	8.8	8.2	20.4
Institutions that applied selection based on good results of baccalaureate	Success	17.6	36.8	31.8	63.2
	Repeating	31.3	51.9	61.8	31.6
	Dropout	51.1	11.3	6.4	5.2
Institutions applying admission based on national competitive examination	Success	82.7	72.1	79.1	86.1
	Repeating	8.3	12.6	13.9	8.7
	Dropout	9	15.3	7	5.2

Source: Data from the Government of Madagascar National Statistics 1975-1990

Appendix 5: The Law of 1994

The law of 1994 stipulates that:

“Higher education contributes:

- To the development of research, necessary support for provided trainings and also to increase the scientific, cultural and professional level of the nation and the individual.

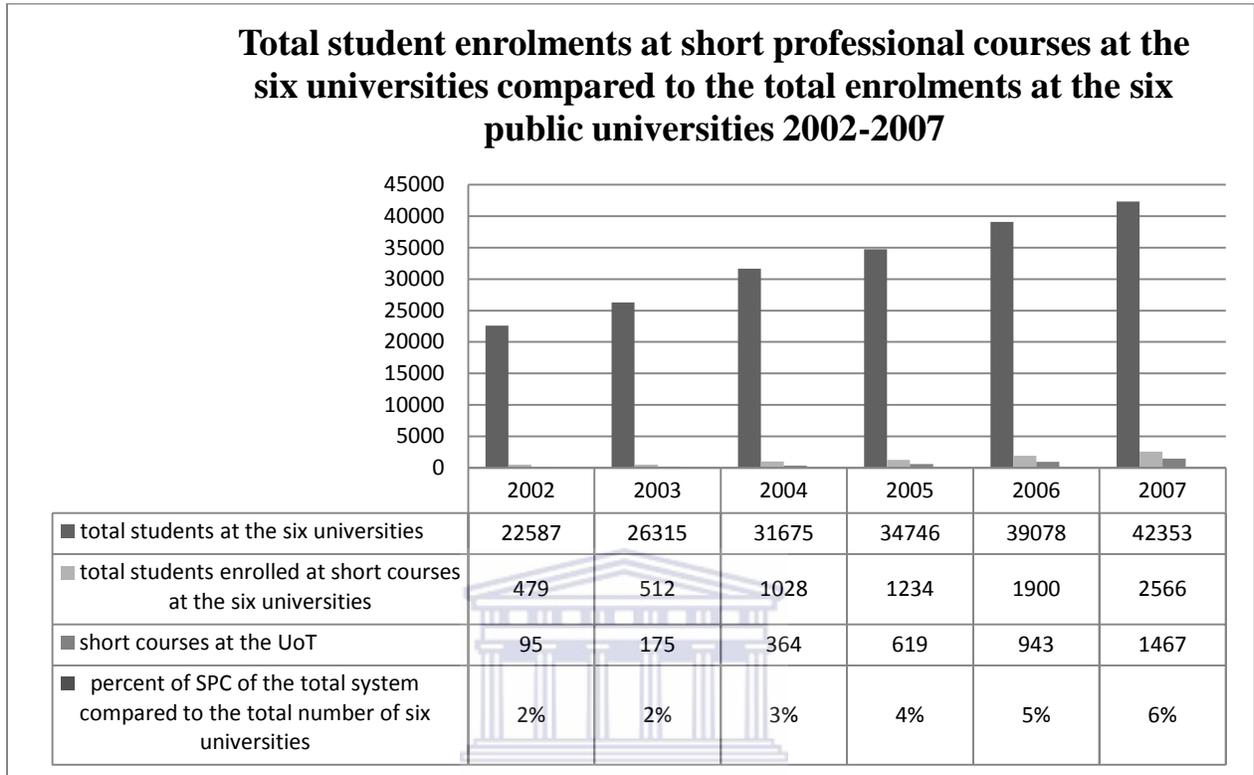
- To the individual development through high level training aiming at the development the individual on scientific, cultural, moral and physical plan.
- To the regional and national development and to the economy of the nation
- To the promotion of improvement of fundamental values of national identity.” (Laws 1994-033 published in the Journal Officiel de la Republique de Madagascar 1996: 1684)

The national report on the development of education stated that the main focus of the policy of the government concerning the reform of higher education was to emphasize:

- “Policy on training and research;
- ‘Adjustment [of students numbers]’ by adapting the total number of the student with the existing accommodation capacity as well as the human resource number; regulating the flow of students and reviewing the opportunity of certain programs
- Issue of funding which aimed at promoting income generation by the institution, encouraging the participation of some private sectors,
- and promotion of private higher education by preparing rules and regulation for private institutions”. (National Report For the Development of Education 1996: 13-14).

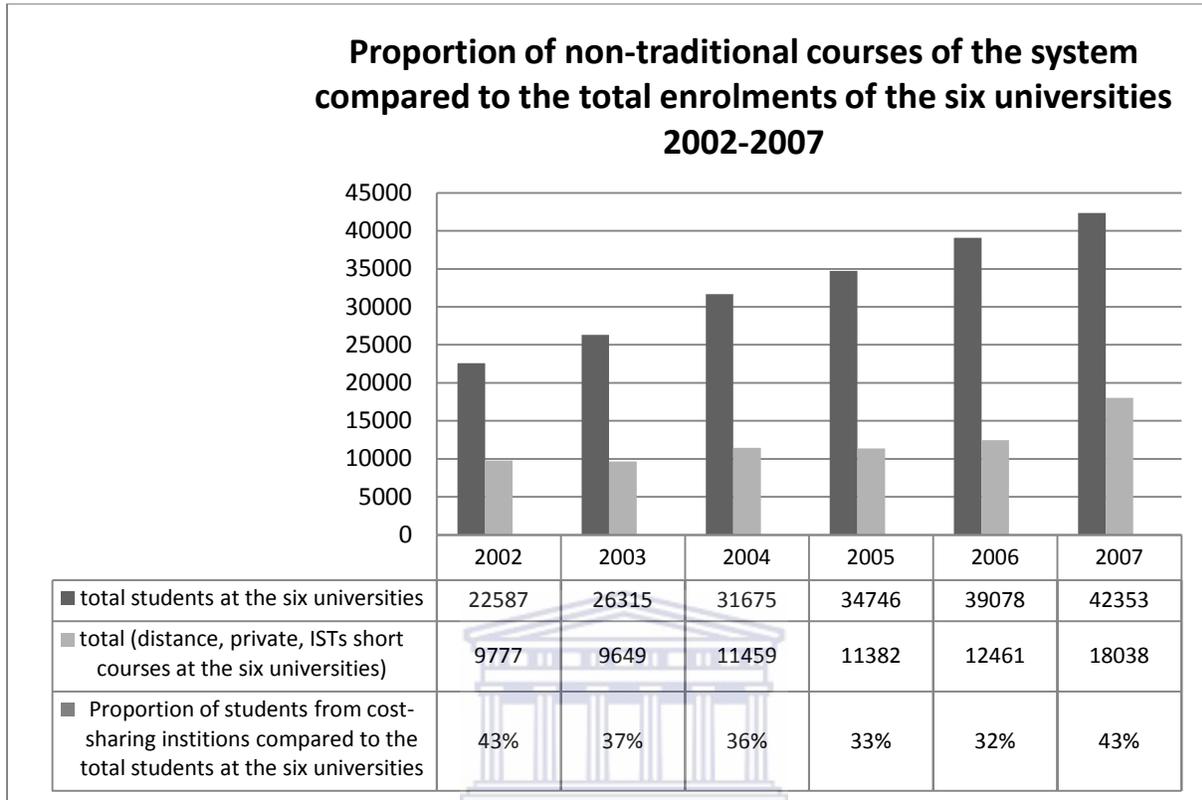
The published Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper by the Malagasy Government outlined the general reform that higher education has been directed to by 1993. This included the modernization and diversification of higher education.

Appendix 6: Total Student Enrolments at the Short Courses at the Six Public Universities 2002-2007



Source: Data from the Government of Madagascar National Statistics 2007

Appendix 7: Proportion of Cost-sharing System to Free Higher Education 2002-2007



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Appendix 8: Instruction Level in Urban and Rural Areas and per Gender 2001 (in %)

Level of Instruction	Urban	Rural	Female	Male	Total
Not instructed	30,2	53,4	49,7	46,2	48,0
Primary education	47,4	40,3	41,5	42,4	41,9
Secondary education	17,3	5,5	7,4	9,2	8,3
Higher education	5,2	0,8	1,4	2,2	1,8
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Data from the Government of Madagascar National Statistics 2001

Appendix 9: Questionnaire of the Interviews

QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire includes the general questions that should be asked but the questions will vary depending on the respondents.

ACCESS

1. What have been the government's policies on access to higher education since 1990? What are the main effects of political changes in access policy changes?
2. Do you think increasing access is an important policy goal? Why or why not?
3. [If there is a policy for access in Madagascar] How was it encouraged? How did the government carry it out? To what extent did it leave implementation to the universities and other higher education institutions?-
4. Has increased access (admission of students) increased graduation rates proportionately? Why or why not?
5. What have been the major changes during this period?
6. Did it target specific areas for access (e.g. science, engineering) or just a general statement about increasing or decreasing access?
7. Did it focus on throughput and graduation problems as well as admission? How?
8. What, if any, funding consequences did the policy have?
9. How did the government expect university to handle it?
10. Was there any public debate or higher education discussion about what should be the government's policy? If yes, what?
11. Were you able to reach your access target during your period in office? [If yes] Explain how?
12. Did people think about the consequences of increased access such as the need for increased numbers of scholarship or the need for student housing?
13. Is the problem of access related to the fact that universities did not graduate many of the students? How? What are the main problems for institutions in terms of student dropouts and failure to graduate? Does the high dropout and failure rate suggest problems with the selection process for students and the way potential merit is assessed?
14. Since only about half the students who pass baccalaureate are able to gain entrance to higher education, what happens to the rest of the students that are not admitted at the first year? What might be done to lower dropout rates?
15. Do you have any figures about what happens to the students that do not graduate? Have any studies been done to follow up on them? What might be done to improve graduation rates?
16. What are the most difficult problems related to increased access?
17. Do you think that access should be tied to scholarship?
18. How would you plan to fix the problems that affect access? –admission, retention and graduation rates-
19. Do you think private higher education institutions play an important role in expanding access?
20. Have policy makers ever made a survey of higher education institution capacity as far as you know? If so, did it result in any changes in access policy at your institution? [If yes, do you mind giving me a copy?]

21. Uganda has been able to increase access by charging fees for students just below the cut off point for regular admission. They limit the number admitted in this still merit-based system to about 10% of those admitted with scholarships and use these funds to expand capacity (e.g. hire more faculty, provide more infrastructure). Do you think that a Uganda-type system would work here in Madagascar? Would it be a good way to increase access without increasing cost to the government and the tax payer?
22. Are there particular groups or sectors of society who are more likely to get admitted to higher education? What groups are disadvantaged? Should government be concerned about who should get access (e.g. urban, rich, gender)? Should other factors than merit, such as geographical origin, income level, ethnicity, or gender, be included in admission decisions?
23. How do higher education institutions currently treat the conditions of students from urban areas and from the rural one? Are there any preferences?
24. Do you have special conditions to make it easier for disadvantaged students to be admitted to your institution (such as geographically disadvantaged ones)?
25. [If yes]. How do you deal with it?
26. Can you identify the kinds of applicants that are most likely to get a place at universities in general? What about at the University of Tana? And at the IST?
27. Is there a study or a survey concerning the class (rich, middle class and poor) of students that have access to the university? If yes, what is the distribution by type? [Request a copy]
28. What should be the role of university in terms of access ideally? How close does the current system come to your ideal?
29. What have you been doing since you have been in your position to foster access?
30. What are the main purposes for increasing access from your perspective?
31. What are the consequences of increased access for quality?
32. Has increased access in the past affected the quality of higher education?
33. Are you aware of any studies (or ongoing surveys) about the workforces requirements and needs of the country? [If yes.] Who carried them out? Is this done systematically on a yearly or periodic basis? [If yes] Where can I find the data?
34. Are there enough qualified students taking the entrance examination to increase access if the number of places were to be increased?
35. Does your institution take into account national workforce needs as you proceed with student recruitment? [If yes.] How do you make that judgment?
36. Do you have a sense of the kinds of graduates Madagascar needs to produce to attract foreign investment? (e.g. QMM...)
37. What do you think are the most important academic areas potentially for employment needs over the next five years?
38. Are you aware of any estimates or surveys carried out to estimate employment needs for the next five years? What do you think will be the differences from what is required of the current workforces? (E.g. demand in English...)
39. What kinds of general efforts (if any) are made by the institution and the government to improve the entrepreneurial skills of students?
40. What are the main reasons of the government to decide to cancel one academic year in 1991-1992? (Can the cancellation of one academic year (1991-1992) and the decreasing number of students at the university during the following decade be seen as a way to reduce the costs, to

improve the quality, or students or faculty punishment of higher education for political reasons, or something else?)

41. Do you think funding for higher education should be increased in order to allow for increased access?
42. What do you think about the current institutional capacity to meet expanded access?

FUNDING

1. What are the current criteria for students to get scholarship? How has this changed over the years?
2. Who should cover the cost of student education? Parents? The government? Students? Other?
3. Where is the other money for students should come from?
4. What are the biggest problems for institutions in terms of financial shortages for the support of higher education?
5. Are there existing mechanisms to improve funding? (For fees, tuition, tax...). Could government impose output-based funding to increase graduation and retention rates such as providing more funding to those institutions that increase the graduation rate?
6. Should students expected to pay a greater percentage of the cost than they do today?
7. How would you do that? How much should it be increased – (e.g. to ¼ of the cost? One third? Other?
8. Where does the most significant amount of funding come from at the present time? How much as a percent of the total recurring budget of your institutions comes from external funders – (e.g. France, World Bank, Japan, Canada, NGOs, USA....)
9. Should government control higher education institution or should there be some defined level of autonomy? [If some level of autonomy] How would you define the areas of autonomy?
10. Do you think international donors have obligation to support higher education in developing countries like Madagascar? What does government do to encourage that? Should it do more?
11. Should the law –EPIC, EPA- be changed to allow university to be more entrepreneurial?
12. Do you agree that lack of funding remains the most acute problem for higher education today? [If yes] What are the measures that the government has taken in recent years -2005- in order to solve the problem? [If no] What is the most serious problem?
13. What would you think more appropriate to Madagascar, to pay more tax for the government to support the costs of higher education or to share the costs with students or parents or to rely on philanthropists?
14. What policies can you identify that were made during the last two decades concerning funding of higher education?
15. How should the annual budget for higher education be prepared? (All budget, unit costs...)
16. Does government push and support specific fields of study and if yes, how much money was allocated?