To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Glenda J. Ross entitled "A Case Study of an Institution of Higher Education in Bulgaria: The Transition from Communism to Democracy." I have examined the final paper copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommended that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education with a major in Education.

Gerald C. Ubben, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:

Joy T. DeSensi

Grady E. Bogue

Stephen H. Blackwell

Accepted for the Council:

Vice Provost and
Dean of Graduate Studies

A CASE STUDY

OF AN INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN BULGARIA:

THE TRANSITION FROM COMMUNISM TO DEMOCRACY

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Education

Degree

The University of Tennessee

Glenda J. Ross

December 2001

DEDICATION

As a first generation college student, the oldest of four siblings,

I pay tribute to my parents:

To my father, James Hugh Ross,

Who taught us all that NOT going to college was NOT an option,

I pay tribute and gratitude.

To my mother, Helen Bryan Ross,

Who entered the textile mills when I entered college,

I pay supreme honor and respect.

I dedicate this work to you, Mother and Daddy,

And thank you for everything.

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To my beloved husband, Dr. Paul Baxter, who never, ever, not even once ceased to encourage, support me, and cheer me on. I thank you to eternity. You are my greatest Life Teacher and my finest academic role model. This was truly impossible without you.

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ABSTRACT

Bulgarians use the term "The Changes" to represent the event in 1989 of the displacement of communism by democracy and the consequences which followed. The purpose of this qualitative case study was to develop an organized body of information to understand the progress and the problems of Bulgaria's oldest institution of higher education, Sofia University, in transition from communism to democracy.

The researcher interviewed administrators, teachers, student services personnel, and students at Sofia University and people from government and society in general. Transcripts of interviews were examined using QST NUD*IST 4 text analysis software. Texts of the interviews were coded into the database according to the Original Categories of inquiry basic to the definition of an institution of higher education: contexts, mission, access, governance and structure, function and resources. Cross-categories were coded as they emerged and interacted with the Original Categories giving rise to a two-dimensional weaving metaphor for the presentation of the data. The Emergent Cross-Categories were: accountability, public information, and public relations; change; collectivism and individualism; internationalization; quality and autonomy; suspicion of corruption; inefficiency and bureaucracy; and money.

The major findings in the research were the outcomes of drastic changes in the political and economic contexts of higher education. Money for salaries, operation expenses, maintenance, and modern technology are now at a fraction of what is needed. The communist legacy of central control, layers of bureaucracy, elitist thinking about access to higher education, suspicion, lack of public information and accountability,

collectivist thinking, assumptions about a hierarchy of quality all emerged as dysfunctional for higher education in a democracy and a world economy. Many challenges lie ahead: achieving true institutional autonomy, facing the looming teacher shortage because aging teachers can't afford to retire, and coping with unemployment at home and the Brain Drain of graduates to the West.

Sofia University's strong commitment to international involvement and quality education may be functional in acquiring the necessary new habits of thinking and new entrepreneurial skills to survive the change from communism to a democracy in a free market, global economy.

PREFACE

Because of the international and cross-cultural nature of this research, the preface will serve as an orientation to a country not commonly known to American readers.

Background Information on Bulgaria: An Ancient Balkan Culture, a Young Democracy, and a New Participant in a Global Market Economy

In the year 2000, Bulgaria is a nation struggling to reconcile the hope and disappointment of the birth of democracy and a free market economy. Centuries of invaders have marched across the landmass encompassed by today's Bulgarian borders: Persians, Macedonians, Romans, Goths, Huns, Slavs, Bulgars, Byzantines, Tartars, Ottoman Turks, Nazi Germans and Allied Forces (Crampton, 1997). Liberation from the Ottomans at the hands of Russia in 1878 and from Nazi Germany by the Soviet Union in 1944 resulted in a strange mixture of benevolence and domination by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) between the end of World War II and 1989 (Pantev, 1996). Through it all, ancient ethnic cultures and Bulgarian Orthodox Christianity survived as uniquely Bulgarian.

Bulgaria, today, is a country ambivalent about its conversion from communism to democracy. Beyond that, there is uncertainty about its future as a possible member of the European Union. In the first democratic elections of 1990, former communist leaders won by a substantial majority (Crampton, 1997). By 1994, election turnout demonstrated

that, in fact, nothing had changed. (Meininger & Radoeva, 1996). Orthodox Christians failed in an early attempt to oust powerful communists from church leadership.

In 1997, the communists-turned-socialists were forced out of office after violent public confrontations and replaced by a government formed from a coalition of parties. The election in the summer of 2001 was the first peaceful transfer of power from one democratic Parliament to another. The former king of Bulgaria, who as a child had fled into exile after the communist came to power, returned in triumph to lead his newly formed party to a landslide victory. At this writing, he is scheduled to assume the role of Prime Minister of Bulgaria and renounce his claim to the throne. From monarchy to communism to a parliamentary democracy led by a former king within half a century, such is the precedent for dramatic change on one level of Bulgarian society.

On other levels, after decades of collectivism, the re-privatization of land has moved with considerably less than deliberate haste. Passage from the security of a Soviet controlled economy to the chaos of on-the-job training in a market economy has been economically painful to the nation as a whole as well as individual citizens (Daskalov, 1998).

Geographically, Bulgaria is a country the size of Tennessee nested in the countries of Eastern Europe formerly known as the Soviet Eastern Bloc (Rosenberg, 2000). From west to east, Greece skirts the southern boundary of Bulgaria to the Thracian portion of Turkey and separates it from the Aegean Sea. The Danube River outlines most of the northern border with Romania. The Former Yugoslavia and the Republic of Macedonia edge the western border. To the east is the shore of the Black Sea that is encircled on its other sides by the Romania, Ukraine, Russia, Georgia and Turkey.

Bulgaria's terrain is mostly mountainous or hilly with 35% in forests and 37% in arable land (Rosenberg, 2000). Under the direction of Soviet developers, major shifts from an agrarian to an industrial economy accompanied by massive forced population shifts from rural to urban settlements have precipitated significant environmental problems. By 1992, 41% of the workforce was occupied in industry while 18% were employed in agriculture.

Bulgaria's population growth has been in the negative in recent years bringing it to an estimated 8.2 million in 1997 (Europa World Yearbook, 1999). Low birth rate and massive exodus of Turkish citizens due to a short-lived legislated discrimination in the mid-1980s have contributed to the decline. Ethnic and religious compositions of the population are closely related. The major ethnic/religious groups are Bulgarian Orthodox Christians composing about 85% of the population and Turkish Muslims about 13%. All other groups, including Roma, Jewish, and others have less than 1% each.

Comecon, the centralized development-planning agency for the Soviet Union, controlled Bulgaria's recent economic history. The Comecon model, specializing in national production and trade chiefly among other Comecon members, left Bulgaria with an outdated, military, heavy industrial infrastructure with a legacy of acute environmental depletion. The challenge for the new economy has been the diversification of products, services and international markets (Marsteller, 1993).

In 2000-2001, the educational system in Bulgaria was centrally governed by the Ministry of Education and Science headed by one of the Deputy Prime Ministers, the Minister of Education and Science. Since the 1878 liberation from the Ottoman Empire,

Bulgarian public education has been free and compulsory, currently between the ages of 7 and 16 (Europa World Yearbook, 1999) (Mitova, 1993).

In the recent past, profuse changes have transpired in Bulgarian government, society and higher education, some of them dramatic in the fast pace of change with others equally dramatic because of the maddeningly slow pace. Sofia University, the case of this study and the oldest and most revered institution of higher learning in Bulgaria, has shared with the rest of the nation the painful consequences of changes both too swift and too imperceptible.

Sofia University

Located a short walk from the Parliament building in Sofia, Bulgaria, it is known as the highly respected Св. Климент Охридски Университет. Translated, its name is St. Kliment Ohridski University, better known in the West by its other official name, Sofia University. A giant, seated figure dignifies either side of the massive front entrances. If one is susceptible to symbolism at first sight, one could read many layers of meaning into the façade and physical location of this, the oldest institution of higher learning in the newly democratic Republic of Bulgaria.

The pair of monuments, known as The Two Brothers, seated at the entrance represents Evlogi and Hristo Georgiev, successful philanthropists of the 19th Century. They contributed funds sufficient to build the university in honor of St. Kliment of Ohridski, a disciple of two other brothers, Cyril and Methodius, credited with the creation of the Cyrillic alphabet. The building itself is a testimony to the value placed on

knowledge by both sets of brothers and the university's namesake. Given the massive architecture, the fine quality of materials and attention to artistic detail, it appears that no expense was too great for the sake of educating the youth of Bulgaria. The great doors appear to welcome many; The Two Brothers appear to verify the worthiness of those who enter.

The Brothers Georgiev sit in view of the place just down the street where momentous decisions are made by the leaders of the new democracy, the building that houses the nation's governing body, the Parliament. The stern, watchful brothers appear capable and ready to counsel or defy those who might lead the nation into harm's way. All these symbols of image and place convey a strong positive meaning, but they carry strong negative significance as well.

The Two Brothers, for all their benevolent dignity, are immobile, helpless and blackened statues. The massive doors are chain locked, as are most of the other entrances of the university complex. The astonishing beauty of the building is blotched with neglect and disrepair. If symbolic places have memories, the territory between these halls of learning and the halls of governing can recall scenes of protests and violence against young scholars in times of political upheaval.

Св. Климент Охридски Университет, as a building and as an institution, was built to honor and impart higher learning. St. Kliment Ohridski University, as a building and as an institution, has passed through times of plenty and times of difficulty, suffering violence and neglect both real and symbolic. Without benefit of champion sports teams or rich alumni donors, the university holds a special place not commonly held by Western institutions, that of respect and awe in the hearts of ordinary citizens and intelligentsia

alike. The story of the past and present of Sofia University and its symbolism to the people of Bulgaria is far too complex for an outside researcher to tell, even with the help of scholarly literature, documents, academic mentors, and computer research technology. It is a trophy of Bulgarian culture. An outsider can get close enough to *observe* that which is cultural, but never close enough to *feel* it like an insider. Without the feeling, the total meaning of a culture remains elusive.

What Sofia University meant, what it means and what it may come to mean in the future, a foreign researcher can only attempt to understand through the dedicated administrators, professors, students, student service workers, office workers, the tired cleaning lady with no soap, and the laughing woman who sells pumpkin seeds behind the grand portals of The Two Brothers.

Neighborhood Travelogue

When a Westerner first sees the main building of Sofia University, it is likely to be from the window of a taxi or a bus packed with people blocking the view. Even with a clear line of sight from the vehicle, by the time one confirms arrival at the correct destination, one is already too close to the building to see it as a whole. In fact, a photographer on foot can spend a considerable amount of time walking around the neighborhood trying unsuccessfully to find a place to frame the whole building in one shot.

Sofia University is indeed a city campus. The perimeter of the building is a polygon of no name filling the large space between odd angles of pre-existing streets.

There are parks nearby on three of its odd sides, which might lead a photographer to expect a clear shot, but either trees or parades of buses interfere. On other sides, the view is obstructed by buildings or metal and glass cubes on the sidewalks housing vendors of flowers or food. On the back alleyway, assorted tiny businesses and snack shops face the side of the Sofia University Library. Every little snack shop has two or three sets of tables and chairs crammed on the sidewalk. Even in cold weather, students sit outside with coats and gloves sipping tiny cups of potent, rich black coffee resembling what is only slightly better known in the USA as Turkish coffee, but without the "mud" in the bottom of the cup.

One opening on the alleyway leads into a courtyard, then to a house that was apparently once a single family dwelling. Going all the way around to the back, one climbs to a porch and enters an empty room followed by a hallway, which finally leads to the destination promised by the small sign on the street written in Latin letters, an "Internet Café." Students quietly wait their turn to "surf the Net," send e-mail messages or play computer games for an hourly fee. They smoke and drink coffee without chatter while they wait or work to the tune of Ricky Martin's latest hit blasting from one of the computer speakers. If the room is empty, it means that there is "no connection". No one seems to know exactly what that means, but it happens often, for long periods of time, and everybody leaves.

Sidewalks near the university side entrance are only incidentally used for walking. Vendors' folding tables covered with pencils, pens, various styles and sizes of writing pads crowd each other near the bank of doors. Other tables hold jewelry, hosiery, and assorted articles of clothing. The vendors in the metal cubes cover the glass portions

from the inside with their wares. Conversation and money are exchanged through the waist-high peephole. A semi-permanent stall specializes in hats, displaying them on tables, overhead and behind the vendor. In the Christmas season, screen-style displays covered with greeting cards are spread open all along the street-side edge of the sidewalks. Some of the cards incessantly carol to passersby with short melodies generated by a tiny, high-pitched buzzing device. In season, chestnut roasting paraphernalia and pots of boiling corn add to the compression of bodies and portable jumble on the sidewalk. There is some kind of agreement among vendors and car owners in the neighborhood. Vendors occupy the sidewalks on one side of the street and cars park on the sidewalks on the other side. Except for the major thoroughfare directly in front of The Two Brothers, students walk in the streets and dodge cars.

At the side entrance to the university, where the buses unload and pick up students, is the part of the street most crowded with vendors in cubes, at folding tables, in front of screens and behind boiling pots. Sometimes Roma children work the crowds begging for stotinki, the smallest Bulgarian coins. Western prejudice and tourist guidebooks dictate checking the fastener of one's bag. Observation, however, teaches what the children already know, that students are generous enough to give but don't have enough to rob. Of all the varieties of Americans, only the savviest New York veteran would plunge without pause into the mass of passengers, moving as a solid block to board or exit a bus at the Sofia University stop.

Still greater pause is required to sort through something else puzzling to the American passenger. It's the quiet. The norm is not to yell or even talk at medium volume at the bus stop or on the bus. If they talk at all, people on the bus often whisper.

Otherwise, the firmly packed passengers are often on more physically intimate terms than polite Bulgarian society would permit in any other public circumstance.

Opposite the bus stop side of Sofia University is the Bulgarian National Library, literally across the street from Sofia University Library, the two largest libraries in the country. A sculpture garden behind the National Library once displayed works of art around some kind of pool, now drained and surrounded by a rusty, misshapen fence. Some of the works of art remain and some are damaged. Sitting near the end of the garden next to the library is a ramshackle ancient trailer on a crooked foundation of stacked junk surrounded by other piles of junk. The trailer is covered with graffiti, most prominently, "Ska is the limit."

On the side of the National Library opposite the university is a tall, double-door entrance into the basement. The latch doesn't work and the doors swing open with the slightest of cold winds. The entrance is dark and leads to an even darker hallway and eventually into the other neighborhood "Internet Café." This one is an adjunct to the lively nightclub that occupies a major portion of floor space under the library. The pretty, soft-spoken waitress serves coffee and herb tea by day and Jack Daniels and other American liquor from the well-stocked bar by night. This Internet Café serves the same brands of music and smoke as the competition near the other library. There is no heat. Students sit quietly at the bar in their coats waiting for computers, except of course, when there is no connection.

Some students think it best to wait for reconnection by crossing the other sidewalk parking lot and sitting at the street café within sight of the Internet Café's swinging doors and the Bulgarian Orthodox Cathedral. Bulgaria is in the baklava belt of

the world. People who neither drink coffee nor eat baklava in the USA enjoy both in Bulgaria, particularly at this spot, waiting for reconnection in the cold, clear sunlight.

For a foreigner to function in a new culture, one must be alert to everyday rhythms and rituals that never enter the consciousness of the local citizen. Foreigners manage to get in the way a lot before they learn the rhythms and rituals of walking or simply standing in public places. "Excuse me" is the language lesson most often needed on arrival. There is a rhythm and a ritual for entering or leaving Sofia University. One waits quietly and politely outside a row of doors with other people until there is a break in the single-file exit of a socially agreed upon number of people who have been waiting politely on the inside.

A conventional design in Sofia University construction has been to build a set of exterior doors and a set of interior doors parallel with a long weather-lock hallway between. To the Western eye and logic, this design would permit large numbers of people to enter and exit simultaneously, passing through multiple doorways. In practice, without fail, a single door is open on the extreme end of the exterior set of doors, and a single door is open on the opposite extreme end of the interior set of doors. The rest of the doors in both sets are chain-locked. People entering and leaving are channeled through an "S" route from one end of the hallway to the other end, in orderly single file fashion, by etiquette and by necessity.

For Westerners, pampered by an army of protectors paid to write safety regulations, build to code, inspect and warn people of procedures for making massive, hasty exits "in the unlikely event of a fire," this is the first of a series of unsettling observations upon entering the main building of Sofia University for the first time.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

East and West Educational Contexts

Higher education exists not in a vacuum, but rather, within a specific geographical, economical, political, and cultural environment. Educational decision-makers act and react in concert with the basic assumptions of their particular society (Halls, 1973). In the event of sudden or dramatic change within that society, individuals and institutions must re-examine these basic assumptions, make adjustments, or else, fail to thrive. From the perspective of an outside observer, efforts to understand an educational system in dramatic flux must take into account these recondite contexts in their entirety, past and present.

In the 1960s and 1970s, priorities and decision-making in higher education in both the United States of America (USA) and the countries under the influence of the United Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) were largely driven by the same political forces which drove the arms and space races. Beginning in the late 1980s, drastic changes in the balance of power and the movement toward globalization and the free marketplace have changed priorities and decision-making in higher education in both the East and the West.

After "The Changes," the term used almost universally in Bulgaria to describe the event and the aftermath of the dissolution of the Soviet Union, higher education in Eastern Europe faced major re-evaluation in view of the new political, economic and

cultural realities. In the decade to follow, contexts changed as well, nationally, regionally, and globally, giving rise to issues of comparative quality, standards of student and scholar exchange, articulation among educational entities, and the realities of alumni competition in the world job market.

In Western educational circles, there was formerly some degree of understanding about the structure and function of Soviet higher education as it stemmed from central control to its satellite states. What is missing at the turn of a new century, is an understanding of how national higher educational systems and individual institutions have been impacted by a half-century of communist rule and its subsequent disintegration. There is not an understanding of how institutions functioned or coped within the realities of the political, economic and cultural contexts of communism or how they are coping and functioning in a different set of contexts under democracy. It remains to be seen how educational institutions may be transformed in the future because of the combination of these realities, but the challenges, speculations, fears and hopes for the future have not been systematically heard in the Western world.

Statement of the Problem

As the 1980s came to a close, the Soviet Union was in the last stages of internal collapse leaving the political, economic, social as well as educational institutions of Eastern European countries in a state of confusion as they struggled to find their way from communism to democracy. In Central and Eastern Europe, there is no body of knowledge detailing the educational institutional problems and progress in the journey

from a communistic to a democratic form of government. There is no systematic examination of the challenges these dramatic changes present for the future.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to develop an organized body of information to further the understanding of the changes, problems and progress of one Bulgarian institution of higher education as it moved from the political and economic contexts of communism to those of democracy. It is also the purpose of this study to identify the future challenges emanating from the complex changes in those political, economic and social contexts.

The Case: Sofia University, St. Kliment Ohridski

The focus of this research was on one Bulgarian institution of higher learning, St. Kliment Ohridsky University or Sofia University. The nature of a centrally controlled system of education sometimes makes it impossible to separate what is exclusively Sofia University and what is the entire higher education system of the nation. Much of what will be discussed in the analysis and conclusions to follow will be in terms of the higher education system in general. Specific examples referring to Sofia University will be identified as such. Examples from other institutions will be identified by generic terms.

Quotes from interviews are attributed to categories of people and institutions to distinguish Sofia University administrators, faculty, student services personnel and

students from each other and from participants outside the institution. Departments are not identified to maintain the privacy of the participants.

Definition of Terms

Introduction

Some of the definitions below are terms that have different shades of meaning for Bulgarian speakers of English and native English speakers in the United States of America. Other words explain conventions adopted by the researcher for clarification.

The terms used in the conceptual framework of the research design are also included in this list. The Original Category terms defined below are: contexts, mission, access and student body, governance and organizational structure, function and resources. The Emergent Cross-Category terms listed are: accountability, public information, and public relations; change; collectivism and individualism; internationalization of higher education; quality and autonomy; suspicion of corruption; inefficiency and bureaucracy; and money.

Terms

Access and the student body (an Original Category).

Access addresses the process necessary to pursue admission to an institution of higher education and the barriers to equal opportunity in that pursuit. The resultant demographics of the student body say much about the access process and equal opportunity. .

Accountability, public information, and public relations (an Emergent Cross-Category).

These concepts have at the heart of their significance the public's right to know and transparency of processes.

Accreditation.

In Bulgaria, accreditation is a government function. A branch of the Ministry of Education and Science sets the criteria. Institutions or programs may be cut off from government funds and denied permission to admit students in the most extreme consequence of failure to receive accreditation.

Attestation.

Attestation is the government verification of advanced degrees for higher education.

Autonomy.

Autonomy is the degree of independence of an institution in governing itself.

Block.

The term "block" refers to architecture rather than an area of a city. The large, rectangular, featureless buildings built during the communist era are called blocks.

Brain Drain.

This is a term commonly used to define emigration of students or highly educated professionals from their home country because of better economic opportunities in another country.

Bureaucracy (See inefficiency and bureaucracy).

Chair.

The English usage of "chair" in Bulgarian may be dual and confusing to a native English speaker. A chair may be a chairperson for a program within a department of a faculty. The program itself or the group of people in the program may also be called the chair.

Change (The), The Changes.

As a phrase: "Since The Change" or "The Changes" are terms so often and consistently used by Bulgarians to represent the period from November 10, 1989 to the present, the researcher adopted a convention of capitalizing them. Though technically, the members of the former Bulgarian Communist Party remained in power until 1997, the 1989 date is considered to be the beginning of the democratic era.

Change (an Emergent Cross-Category).

As an Emergent Cross-Category, Change emerged as a significant issue with participants in terms of coping.

Collectivism and individualism (an Emergent Cross-Category).

Thinking about or motivated by a concern for the collective group or for the individual.

Contexts (an Original Category).

Contexts are the political, economic, cultural, social and historical environments within which an institution of higher education develops.

Cross-categories (See Emergent Cross-Categories) .

Cultural Informant

A cultural informant is a person who interprets the research culture to the researcher.

Degree/three degree system.

"Degree" is a term currently under construction in Bulgaria. Historically, the Master and Doctor were "levels" of education and the Doctor of Science was a "degree." The European system degrees, officially adopted in Bulgaria in 1995, has come to be known as the "three degree" system in Bulgaria, Bachelor's, Master's and Doctor (Ph. D). degrees.

Democrat

The term "democrat" is used to refer to a person with a political philosophy and affiliation opposing communism or socialism.

Doctor, Doctor of Science (See Ph.D./Doctor)

Emergent Cross-Category.

The original research design included Original Categories from which the researcher asked questions about Sofia University. The Emergent Cross-Categories were prominent themes which emerged from interviews and interacted with the Original Categories.

Extra mural.

Extra mural is an arrangement whereby a student may study by special arrangement without attending regular classes. It involves meeting preliminary lectures then conducting independent study until the examination period.

Faculty.

The term "faculty" roughly corresponds to college or school in the American system of higher education. For example, the philosophy faculty in the USA would most often mean the collection of people who teach courses in philosophy. In Bulgaria the Faculty of Philosophy at Sofia University includes the teaching staff, students and postgraduates who are involved with teaching and learning in an assortment of departments such as education, sociology, philosophy, etc. In Bulgaria, it is correct to say, "The students in my faculty elected fifteen representatives to the Student Council."

Faculty member.

Faculty member is the term most often used by the researcher to mean an employed lecturer of any description or degree level in higher education.

Function (an Original Category).

In this research, function represents the activities of teaching, research and service in higher education. In the American model of education these are considered to be the mission of higher education, but as this research shows, in an international setting, this is not necessarily the case. Mission is used in this research to refer to the larger purpose for the existence of a system of or an institution of higher learning.

Governance (an Original Category).

Governance is the system of authority and decision-making throughout higher education and the government.

Habilitated faculty.

Habilitated faculty is a term which may become obsolete or at least changed from its original form. It is a complex, legally defined term, controlled at the national level

that has elements of seniority, elements of an academic degree (although not literally a degree), research and publication requirements, with the possibility for honorary consideration added to the mix. Tenure is the closest thing in higher education in the USA. However, habilitated status is a much more demanding process, requires a much longer period of time to achieve, and carries a great deal more respect, power, rights and responsibilities. Since the status is conferred nationally, one does not lose it in the event of moving to a different institution. In rare cases, a person may be called professor without being habilitated, but normally one can assume the conditions are paired. To be properly respectful, one must be careful to distinguish between the titles of Dr. and Professor.

High school / higher school / higher education.

High school, higher school, and higher education are often used interchangeably by Bulgarian speakers of English to mean an institution of higher education. "Secondary school" has the same meaning to both Bulgarian and native English speakers. Some Bulgarians, however, use "high school" to mean "secondary school," therefore, context is necessary to understand the individual reference.

Individualism (See collectivism.)

Inefficiency and bureaucracy (an Emergent Cross-Category).

Participants described a management system laden with organizational structure and practices that interfere with getting things done in a timely efficient manner.

Internationalization of higher education (an Emergent Cross-Category).

The term "internationalization" is a Western term used to communicate the need to incorporate international content, experiences and skills throughout the curriculum and

co-curriculum of higher education. Bulgarians do not use this term as much as they aspire to it and work to achieve it.

Komsomol.

The major communist youth organization was the Komsomol.

Leaving certificate.

This is equivalent to a diploma for primary and secondary schools.

Lecturer.

Though there is a specific meaning for lecturer, Bulgarian speakers of English, often use it as a general term for the entire teaching staff.

Leva.

Lev is the singular form of the basic unit of Bulgarian currency. Leva is the plural form of lev.

Master's Degree or Master.

Traditionally, the first level in Bulgarian higher education is a 5-year Master Degree. In 1995, the law was changed creating a 4-year Bachelor's Degree and a 1-2 year Master's Degree, but this is being implemented incrementally. Therefore, currently a mixture of degree systems in operation at Sofia University and other institutions.

Mission (an Original Category).

In the American model of higher education, mission is considered to be composed of teaching, research and service. When they exist in this research, they are examined as the functions of higher education in support of a broader mission, the purpose for existence.

Mobility.

Mobility is a term often used in European Union (EU) programs, as in "Mobility of students and faculty across borders is a major goal of the European Union." With Bulgarian speakers of English, the term often replaces "student" or "faculty member" when describing someone going abroad in an educational capacity, as in "We have three mobilities going to France to study next year." It could not be determined if this is a case of mistaken usage becoming conventional usage, or if it is simply a matter of shortcut or educational jargon within Bulgarian and/or EU circles.

Money (an Emergent Cross-Category).

The lack of money is at the root of most of the problems brought on by The Changes in Bulgarian higher education.

NGO/Non-Government Organization.

NGO is an acronym meaning Non-Government Organization. It represents a private, non-profit organization, many of which operate for humanitarian reasons. It is a term often used with international connotations.

Nomenklatura.

The power stratum or the elite of the Communist Party.

Organizational structure (an Original Category).

The organizational structure describes the layers of power, authority, decision-making and management of an institution.

Original Category.

The Original Categories of this research were a part of the design of the study. They were the topics on which the researcher asked questions of participants. They refer

to the defining components of higher education consisted of contexts, mission, access and the student body, governance and organizational structure, function and resources.

Ph.D./Doctor.

The Ph.D. degree is a new concept in the changes to the new "three degree" program. There was always a doctorate level above the five-year Master level, and the person who completed the program was called Doctor, but there was a higher degree, the Doctor of Science. This degree did not involve taking courses but was conferred after years of research or writing. The body of work was defended before a government agency which conferred the degree. Bulgaria is currently converting to the "three degree" system to align with Western higher education, in which the Ph.D. follows the four-year Bachelor's and the one to two-year Master's Degrees.

Postgraduate.

A Bulgarian" postgraduate" is an American "graduate student." To refer to someone as a "postgraduate student " is to mix two levels of education and does not convey the proper amount of respect. One is either a postgraduate or a student (undergraduate). It remains to be seen if this designation continues once there is more interaction with institutions in the West.

Public information (See accountability).

Quality and autonomy (an Emergent Cross-Category).

Quality and autonomy emerged as one interrelated cross-category. An institution operating independent of strict government oversight of education functions is often viewed as a threat to quality education.

Read a course.

To read a course in Bulgaria is to teach a course. In the past, this was a literal meaning for the delivery of lectures.

Resources (an Original Category).

Two types of resources are addressed in this research, funding and non-funding resources. Funding resources in Bulgarian higher education are the national government, non-government organizations, international assistance, and tuition. The non-funding resources examined are institutional facilities and external institutional linkages.

Roma.

The ethnic group known in the West by the more objectionable term "Gypsy."

Science.

Bulgarians speaking English often use the words "science" and "research" in ways that are different from the way Americans use them. In some usage, science is investigation in a laboratory and research is investigation outside the laboratory, in a library, for example. This is not a dependable translation for all of the interviews, however, because these translation is not always consistent.

Speciality/specialty.

Bulgarians, almost without fail, use the term "speciality" rather than "specialty" to represent academic discipline, college major or a career category.

Suspicion of corruption (an Emergent Cross-Category).

Apart from actual corruption, the research examines the suspicion of corruption as a dysfunctional element in higher education.

Taxes/tuition.

To a Bulgarian speaker of English, the word "taxes" in an educational context, has the same meaning as "tuition" to an American native speaker of English.

Categories, original and emergent cross-categories.

Original Categories were a part of the design of the research. They were the topics on which the researcher asked questions. The Emergent Cross-Categories were the topics on which the participants offered information or emphasized. The Emergent Cross-Categories tended to interact with one or more Original Category leading to the weaving metaphor used to interpret the data.

Three degree system.

Bulgarians refer to the new degree system as the "three degrees." This represents a change to the four-year Bachelor degree, 1-2 year Master's Degree and the Ph.D. degree. The previous system was a five-year Master followed by a doctorate program.

Student/graduate student/post graduate student.

For English speakers in the USA, "student" is used as an all-purpose word to describe a person from the first day of kindergarten to the day before graduation as a Ph.D. For Bulgarians, the word "student" is used less generically when speaking English. Pupil is often used for grades 1-12. Student is sometimes used for those grades also, but most often, student is used as the equivalent of undergraduate in American English.

Undergraduate is a term not in common usage, though it is defined in the Higher Education Act of 1995 as a person "studying to acquire a Bachelor's, Master's or Specialist degree" (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999, p. 52).

This usage may become more widespread as the degree change is implemented.

According to the same article of the law, a person with a Master's degree pursuing a doctorate is called a "postgraduate," equivalent to the Western term "graduate student." Referring to a "post-graduate" simply as a "student" does not convey the correct educational level or the proper amount of respect according to Bulgarian custom.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

This study is guided by literature on several major themes and theories related to Bulgarian higher education in its various contexts, through change over time. No single encompassing body of theory informs this research. Literature guiding the design and particularly relating to methodology, such as case study inquiry, historical research methodology and comparative education literature, are addressed separately in the Methodology chapter of this report.

This chapter begins with literature on cross-cultural research, an essential foundation for a researcher's preparation to conduct research in a foreign culture. The next section introduces the literature on the Original Categories of research questions: contexts, mission, access, governance and organizational structure, function and resources. It begins by placing higher education within its historical, political and economic contexts prior to, during and after the communist era. Literature on the evolution of the broad mission of higher education in Bulgaria follows. Next comes a discussion of the literature on the process of accessing admission to education and the resulting composition of the student body over time. The literature that follows deals with the governance and organizational structure of the institution in the past and in the present. Though the research examined the teaching, research and service functions of mission, the literature focused largely on the teaching function in such sub-categories as

teaching method, curriculum and the degree systems. The resources literature concentrates largely on funding resources.

The rest of the chapter reviews the available literature on some but not all of the Emergent Cross-Categories of the research. These are categories of the data that emerged during the research that interacted in some way with one or more Original Categories. Change is reviewed as an emergent cross-category because response to and coping with change has evolved as a major issue during and after the communist era. Literature on collectivism and individualism are examined because these underlying ways of thinking influence how people and institutions function within the opposing communistic and democratic contexts. Quality and autonomy are reviewed together within one cross-category because they emerged as a mingled concept in the research. Internationalization is the last cross-category, documenting international involvement of Bulgarian higher education over time.

Cross-Cultural Research and Intercultural Communications Theory

Intercultural communications theory serves as the adhesive for unifying other themes and theories and also serves as a filter the researcher employs in examining the data in an attempt to circumnavigate ethnocentric assumptions, questions and interpretations.

Conducting research in a cross-cultural setting adds an additional dimension to the inquiry process. Matsumoto (1996) emphasizes that in cross-cultural research, if a researcher does not recognize and monitor his or her own cultural biases in addition to

personal biases, ethnocentric ways of forming hypotheses, asking questions and drawing conclusions are inevitable. For example, a cultural assumption on the part of an American researcher might be that Bulgarians would agree that everything was "bad" under communism and that under democracy everything was "good." By the same cultural logic, Bulgarian research participants might assume that an American was interested in hearing only the "bad" about education under communism and the "good" under democracy. Matsumoto calls this a cultural response set, meaning "a cultural tendency to respond a certain way" (Matsumoto, 1994, p. 33). Cross-cultural research requires a sensitivity to the likelihood that culture is a factor in every interaction between researcher and participant.

Intercultural communications theory maintains that "intercultural sensitivity is not natural," says Milton J. Bennett. "Education and training in intercultural communication theory is an approach to changing our 'natural' behavior," he says (Bennett, 1993, p. 21). Culture has been described as "the software of our minds" (Hofstede, 1991; Matsumoto, 1996, p. 31). It is the socialized behavior that insures protection within the "us" group and from the outside "them" groups. To force the computer analogy, the goal of intercultural communications training is to develop cultural sensitivity and skills, creating an interface between the software of "us" and the software of "them." This researcher has drawn on intercultural skills and sensitivities to process research assumptions, inquiry and conclusions through the filter of intercultural communications theory.

Original Categories in the Literature

Literature on Contexts

Historical Context

Though the history of Bulgaria during the period of 1985 - 2000 is emphasized in this report, historical events prior to this period cannot be ignored, particularly as they reveal strains of an ethnic culture that survived throughout. After 500 years of rule by the Ottoman Turks, Russia freed Bulgaria in 1878. Thereafter followed 6 decades of coup d'etat, war, invasion, partition and general upheaval only to be dominated by its liberator, the Soviet Union from September 1944 to November 1989.

> On September 9, 1944 the Bulgarian people overthrew the monarcho-fascist government and set up in its place a people's democratic rule of workers, peasants and people's intelligentsia. In the 17 years that have passed since then, Bulgaria has undergone a radical change -- from a poor and backward agricultural country it has turned into an industrial and agricultural country, with mechanized collective agriculture.
> (People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1961, p. 1)

The political events of November 10, 1989 divided the whole of modern Bulgarian history into the communistic and democratic eras. The change has been, at the same time, both dramatic and incremental (Miller, 1998).

Political Context

The change from communism to democracy was, in the early stages, less a change of characters than a change of costume in the national drama. It was a pattern repeated from earlier days when Bulgarian kings, faced with popular revolt, created faux political parties and continued to rule behind the scenes (Andreev, 1996).

Early democratic leaders were nothing more than communist leaders calling themselves socialists (Library of Congress, 1992). Opposition was fragmented and weak, not a unified force demanding total conversion.

In Bulgaria, democracy is a success yet to be declared. Reprivatization of property is not complete after more than a decade, and inflation has inflicted an injurious toll. Political parties and processes are still unstable. Higher education has not been spared the pain of passage from one system to another. Indeed, educational institutions, previously totally funded by the communist government and afforded great prestige, found themselves drastically reduced in financial support (Meininger & Radoeva, 1996). UNICEF reports a 75 percent drop in educational funding since 1989 (No Author, 1999). Given all that stands against it, Crampton asks, "Is the capacity to build and sustain a democracy part of Bulgaria's cultural identity?" He goes on to answer, "If a healthy respect for education is a qualification for democracy then Bulgaria is strongly placed" (Crampton, 1997).

Economic Context

Under communist rule, education was subjected to the needs of the economy. Even the nomenclature and the grouping of fields of study were based on employment rather than academic content. Enrollments were determined based on economic projections of employment needs and majors were created or closed depending on these projections (Topencharov, 1983).

In1987, in the Project of the Ministry of Popular Education, the Council for Higher Education proposed educational restructuring to meet the goals of the 13th

Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The Congress declared that, "The national economy shall continue to develop progressively and in a firm rates [sic], and by year 2000 the national income shall grow 2.5 - 3.0 times" (Ministry of Popular Education - Council for Higher Education, 1987, p. 1). In comparing Bulgaria to countries similar in "raw-material and resources potential (Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Japan, etc.)" it had been determined that there was a productivity lag based on a "shortage of higher-level qualification ... The reasons for that are both the quality of the acquired education and the degree of utilization of the educational resources" (Ministry of Popular Education - Council for Higher Education, 1987, p. 2). The proposal goes on to say that, "The knowledge fund, which the working population of the country has at disposal, is the natural environment for its economic development" (Ministry of Popular Education - Council for Higher Education, 1987, p. 1). There was a concern that higher education was not equal to its share of the task of increasing national productivity.

> These conclusions are the reasons for initiating a policy to increase of the number of post-secondary learners, to a drastic and fundamental reorganization of the educational system. The significance of education and qualification for our economic development is set first of all by the circumstance they are the only economic resource that can be developed in our country in a large enough scale, and by that they are the only kind of resource that can compensate the unfavorable influence of the remaining economic resources.
> (Ministry of Popular Education - Council for Higher Education, 1987, p. 2)

With the benefit of hindsight, it is clear that economic disaster was in sight, and that higher education was being groomed to be the scapegoat or the hero of the day, depending on the outcome.

It is small wonder that shortly after the publication of the proposal for restructuring that the lecturers at Sofia University Faculty of Philosophy composed a strongly worded position paper in answer to the proposal. They countered that it was

unfair for Bulgarian higher education to be compared with that of countries at the high end of productivity when Bulgarian educators were not provided with equal educational resources. They posed questions about how they were to improve quality without an assessment of where the problems lay or without any clear guidance of how they were to go about improving. "If the future of our nation is to be decided at school," they reasoned, "it will probably not be a good idea to approach it through the path of trial and error" (Ministry of Popular Education - Council for Higher Education, 1987, p. 3).

Higher Education Prior to Communism

Some historians trace the heritage of Bulgarian higher education to the school established in Preslav, an early Slavic capital, by King Simeon who lived from 893 to 927. In the following century, literacy spread rapidly with the introduction of the Cyrillic alphabet introduced by two brothers Cyril and Methodius. At least one author views the Preslav school as a forerunner of the Renaissance university in Europe. In the 13th and 14th centuries, the Turnovo School in the capital of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom, became the second generation of institutions of wide ranging influence. The Turnovo School fell victim to the Ottoman conquest disrupting the progression of Bulgarian education (Topencharov, 1983).

Modern higher education in Bulgaria developed late in terms of the rest of Europe. Sofia University, the first institution of higher learning, was established in 1887, 500 years after the earliest European universities and 100 years after the University of Berlin. The structural organization, traditions and values of the institution were those of other European institutions until the communist era. Some argue, for that reason, efforts

under democracy to align higher education with Western institutions is a return to traditional Bulgarian higher education rather than a break with tradition (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992a).

The Higher Pedagogical Course at the Sofia State Classical Secondary School was opened on October 1, 1988. The National Assembly declared it a Higher School [an institution of higher education] in 1889 (Topencharov, 1983). It was originally established to train 43 secondary teachers, and the first permanent lecturers were appointed in 1889. They immediately founded a library. By the academic year 1889-90, there were departments of physics, mathematics, history and languages. It was named "Bulgarian University, Brothers Evlogi and Hristo Georgievs of Karlovo" in 1904 after the two brothers who contributed land and gold to build the main complex. In 1905 the name was changed to "Sofia University, St. Kliment Ohridski" [of the city of Ohrid] after a student of Cyril and Methodius who spread the Cyril alphabet (Topencharov, 1983). The construction of the main building of the university was started in 1924 and completed in 1934; the University Library was built in 1933 (Geshev, 2000).

Higher Education under Communism

The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria was adopted in 1947 after the Communist Party came to power. The constitution provided for free, state controlled higher education and educational content based on modern science. The next year, the first public education law under communism set forth the aims and principles of education (Gavazov, 1985, p. 7).

During the period of 1947 through 1952, the Communist Party reorganized the entire academic structure. Research, for the most part, was carved out of the educational institutions and placed in separate research institutes. The faculties remaining were charged solely with teaching. Research institutes, however, oversaw some Ph.D. students who were working on research doctorates as differentiated from educational doctorates. Theological and economic [business] faculties were removed from the higher education curriculum (Geshev, 2000).

Under communism, all institutions of higher education were publicly funded and tuition was free to all who could both pass rigorous entrance exams and who could qualify for a designated number of enrollment places. Departmental and institutional enrollment was determined by government quotas based on various criteria over the years and on the employment needs of the economy. The goal was to insure a perfect match between the qualifications of graduates and the specific employment needs of the economy.

In 1986, problems and challenges were identified within the educational system of Bulgaria. The government set a goal to "saturate the secondary and higher education with various types of computing equipment" (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1986, p. 39). By 1987-88, one computer was to be available for every 10 students in higher education. [At the date of this writing, there was no visible evidence that this ratio of computers per student existed.]

The first comprehensive examination of higher education under democracy interpreted the value of the education-employment relationship as misguided at best. "Actually the planned development of education was not founded on serious scientific

surveys, but on unsound and willful postulates for socio-economic development combined with airy notions, visions and conceptions" (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992a, p. 1).

Higher Education under Democracy

The Constitution of Bulgaria was adopted by the Grand National Assembly on 13 July 1991, eight months after The Change from communism to democracy. Chapter Two addresses the "Fundamental Rights and Obligations of Citizens" to include the right to education in Article 53 (Republic of Bulgaria, 1991). Six educational topics are covered directly in the constitution:

> 1. Everyone shall have the right to education.
> 2. School attendance up to the age of 16 shall be compulsory.
> 3. Primary and secondary education in state and municipal schools shall be free. In circumstances established by law, the higher educational establishments shall provide education free of charge.
> 4. Higher educational establishments shall enjoy academic autonomy.
> 5. Citizens and organizations shall be free to found schools in accordance with conditions and procedures established by law. The education they provide shall fit the requirements of the state.
> 6. The state shall promote education by opening and financing schools, by supporting capable school and university students, and by providing opportunities for occupational training and retraining. It shall exercise control over all kinds and levels of schooling.
> (Republic of Bulgaria, 1991, p. 8)

Some portions of Article 53 have been subject to interpretation and some are slower than others to be implemented. For the greater part of the first decade of democracy, the Soviet style and philosophy of higher education persisted. The so-called "state quota" strictly limiting access to all institutions of higher education continued in various manifestations. Portions of the constitution guarantee "Academic autonomy" while other parts provide that "It [the state] shall exercise control over all kinds and levels of schooling" (Republic of Bulgaria, 1991, p. 8). These concepts are clearly perceived

differently when compared to the same concepts in the West. Confirmation of graduate degrees and promotion of faculty members continues to be controlled by the government. Free education continues through the mandatory 16th year for young Bulgarians, but education without cost to the higher education student is slipping into the growing flood of disappointments in the economic promise of democracy.

At the beginning of the 21st Century, the educational system in Bulgaria continues to be centrally governed by the Ministry of Education and Science headed by one of the Deputy Prime Ministers, the Minister of Education and Science. Since the 1878 liberation from the Ottoman Empire, Bulgarian education has been free and compulsory, currently between the ages of 7 and 16 (Europa World Yearbook, 1999) (Mitova, 1993).

Students enter specialized secondary schools studying either general academics, vocational/technical or the arts. Throughout compulsory grades, parents are fined for their children's truancy or failure to advance. Since democracy, English is the most common foreign language studied.

Higher education in Bulgaria is structured into four major categories: universities, specialized universities, specialized higher schools and independent colleges. The 1995 Higher Education Act as amended in 1999 provides that the category of an institution is based on the number of majors within four branches of science: humanities, natural science, social science and technical science (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999).

For an institution to be designated as a university, it must have "a wide range of subjects in at least three of the four major branches of science," and offer Master's and Doctor's degrees in those branches (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999, p. 30). A specialized

university must meet the same requirements in one or two branches and also offer graduate degrees. The name of the latter must reflect the specialization while the former may be designated as simply a university. Sofia University and Technical University of Sofia, specializing in various types of engineering and other technical fields, are examples of the nomenclature and categories of the first two types of institutions.

Specialized higher schools offer only undergraduate degrees in one or two major branches of science, which may include art, physical education and defense. The name of the institution must reflect the specialty. Independent colleges provide professional training offering Specialist degrees. Colleges may be self-contained or they may be a part of an institution in one of the other categories.

The university curriculum may include the faculties of physical or biological sciences, mathematics, and more recently, information science. Additionally, faculties in history, economics, law, pedagogy, education, philology, and philosophy are represented. Since democratic rule, theology has been returned to the curriculum of some institutions (World of learning 2000, 1999).

Specialized universities usually focus on such disciplines as economics (which includes business majors), medicine, agriculture, engineering, and mining. They must also include courses known in the United States as liberal education courses. Schools of arts and music offer programs in music, dance, theater, and film are in the category of specialized higher schools (World of learning 2000, 1999).

The World of Learning 2000 (1999) lists the administrative head of institutions of higher learning as Rector. Some institutions show Co-Rectors or Vice Rectors. Deans

[Deacons in Bulgarian] are listed as heads of major disciplinary divisions called faculties. Individuals with titles of Professor and Associate Professor fall under various faculties.

In the academic year 2000-2001, Sofia University had 15 faculties serving 25,020 full-time students and 8,256 part-time students in 72 majors (Geshev, 2000).

Literature on Mission

A mission does not have to be written down to be understood as a concept (Falsey, 1989). Peyrat quotes Campbell and Tawadey, "mission statements are useful only if [institutions] have also a sense of mission" (Peyrat, 1996, p. vii). A major goal of the investigation was to identify the perceived and implemented concept of mission and purpose as it is, was and might become in Sofia University.

The Statute of Public Education in 1948 laid down new requirements for higher education, formally converting it from traditional, European design to the Soviet system. The "new requirements" were to "prepare highly qualified specialists in all branches of economic and cultural life... with the powerful force of science.... And when these young specialists take their place at the head of the different sectors of material and cultural construction, this scientific world outlook will serve them as a true compass, showing them how most faithfully to serve their people, and to devote all their strength and knowledge to the building up of the new life" (People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1961, p. 22). Further, the fundamental aim was described: "to train students at a contemporary level of science and technique, and at the same time to educate the youth in a spirit of high principles and humanistic morals, in devotion to work, and to the working people" (People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1961, p. 22).

The 1959 Law for Closer Ties Between School and Life stated the tasks of higher education in terms of technical and political goals.

> To train highly qualified specialists in the communist spirit for all fields of life.... to carry out research work and to link closely the development of science with the building of socialism in the country; to do systematic work for raising the qualifications of practicing ... engineers and farm specialists; to spread scientific, technical and political knowledge among the working people, as well as to study, assess and spread the experience of innovators and outstanding workers in the field of industry and farming.
> (Georgeoff, 1968, p. 34)

Georgeoff characterized the mission of education in 1968 as intensively political at its core.

> The school, therefore, is an instrument of the society, serving as a means to communicate en masse its ideology and loyalties to the coming generation. In so doing, it hopes to achieve the objective that Bulgarian society has set for education: to train the youth to become competent, contributing members of the society, giving their unswerving devotion both to the state and to the Party.
> (Georgeoff, 1968, p. 162)

The tasks of higher education in 1980 were training and retraining of specialists to meet requirements for "social practice in Bulgaria and international standards of higher education," graduate training, research, and the "collection, processing, classification, storage and dissemination of information about the achievements of science, industry, culture and social life; study and systematization of experience in other countries" (Topencharov, 1983 pp. 20-21).

In 1993 the Ministry of Education and Science issued a statement of strategy for legislative changes in higher education. Under the heading of General Principles, the Ministry defined the aims of post-secondary education by institutional category.

> Higher Education aims at training post-secondary students - it is concerned with their vocational training by acquainting them with the national and world science and culture; with their training to apply academic knowledge; with the development of science and cultures.... A university is a post-secondary educational institution which trains students in the basic spheres of the Humanities, Social Sciences, Natural Sciences and Engineering.
> (Ministry of Education and Science, 1993 p. 1)

The Higher Education Act of 1995 states that the aim of higher education is to "train highly qualified experts above and beyond secondary education and to promote the progress of science and culture" (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999, p. 25).

Literature on Access and the Student Body

Access Prior to Communism

Access to higher education prior to 1939 was described in a 1961 publication.

> In former days, it was not possible for higher education and science to develop properly in Bulgaria, which was a backward country, both economically and culturally.
>
> Formally, all boys and girls equally had the right to study in the schools of higher learning. This right however, only existed on paper, because the hard conditions, in which the working people lived made higher education an unattainable dream for their children. That is why it was not necessary to create any special limitations for studies at a higher educational institution. The existing "natural" obstacles were more than sufficient to close the door of the University, and the remaining higher educational institutions to the sons and daughters of the people
> (People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1961, p. 17)

The publication went on to tell about access to higher education and the composition of the student population prior to 1939. "Hundreds of students used to enrol [sic] in the first year of each speciality [sic] in those days, and only scores of them ever reached the last year and completed their higher education" (People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1961, p. 18). Those students who were poor had to work in restaurants, tearooms and construction. "The major part of the students -- the sons and daughters of poor and middle peasants, of office workers in the low-salary bracket, of petty tradesmen and crafts-men, who dared to dream of a university education, were forced to leave the

University for lack of means, having paid for their dream by a year or two of hardship" (People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1961, p. 18).

Children of wealthy businessmen were known as Perpetual Students or Heidelberg Students. "They put off their examinations and took ten or more years to finish their courses, wore red caps, filled the dance halls, cafes and night clubs, and ended by leaving the university with the requisite number of terms to their credit and no degrees" (People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1961, p. 19). The "ruling top crust" on the other hand, sent their children to foreign schools considering it "a humiliation for their children to study cheek by jowl with the sons and daughters of the masses" (People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1961, p. 18).

Who, then, were the graduates prior to the communist era? "A considerable part of those who completed their university courses, held out to the end, and obtained their degrees only owing to their unbounded stubbornness, and readiness to suffer hardship in the course of years" (People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1961, p. 18). For their trouble, they "were never sure of being able to find work that was suitable to their qualifications. The country's economy developed chaotically in those days, without any plan, and no one knew what its requirements were with regard to trained specialists at university level, so that there was no element of planning in tackling this questions" (People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1961, p. 20).

By 1938 there were 5 institutions of higher learning with a total of 10,169 students or 18 per 10,000 population. The teaching staff numbered 453 rendering a student ration of 1:22.4 (Topencharov, 1983).

Access Under Communism

After the Communist Party began to take control of the government on September 9, 1944, the number of institutions increased to 7, and by 1945 student enrollment stood at 26,412 with an increase in teaching staff from 453 to 803 during the period of 1940 to 1945 (Topencharov, 1983).

Access to higher education in the early days of communism was opened to "young people who had been victims of fascist terror, war veterans, and children of workers and poor farmers" and the staff and students of institutions of higher education (Topencharov, 1983, p. 13). Among these favored groups, seats in the lecture halls were given to those who excelled at competitive entrance examinations and grades in the secondary courses related to their chosen higher education major. Correspondence courses were organized in 1950 (People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1961).

After the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1956, there was a push to increase the number of scientists and teaching staff to meet the challenge of increased emphasis on technology, no doubt generated by the escalation of the space race from that point in time. In 1956 the number of teaching staff was roughly 3,000; a decade later it was near 6,000. For the same period of time, staff to student ratios improved from 1:17.5 to 1:15 (Topencharov, 1983).

In the academic year 1952-1953, 30% of the students were reported to be the sons and daughters of workers and farmers; in 1960-1961 the number had increased to 61%. Including the correspondence students and those enrolled in Workers Faculties, the balance of 38% of the total enrollments were themselves workers.

In 1961, minority enrollments for students of Turkish descent in Bulgarian higher education were reported at 400, a number equal to those who had completed secondary school prior to the communist era. This represented roughly 1% of the student population, considerably lower than the portion of the general population at time. Nationwide, 45,928 Roma children between the ages of 7 and 14 attended school, estimated to be near 100% of that age group. Higher education enrollment of Roma students was a total of 78 nationwide, compared to none prior to the academic year 1939/40 (People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1961). There was no report on the ratio of male to female enrollment.

By 1961, 54,171 students were enrolled in higher education courses including 38,720 regular students, as well as correspondence students and evening students who were given release time from work to fulfill periodic educational requirements. Using the combined enrollment figure gave Bulgaria a total of 71 students to every 10,000 people in the population. The dropout rate was reported to be 4 - 5% (People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1961).

Under the continuation of the centralized system of higher education in 1980, equal access was assured for all nationalities and creeds and without discrimination by gender, but there was no mention of political or religious affiliation (Topencharov, 1983). In 1984 the number of institutions of higher education had risen to 31 including 3 universities. There were 86,275 students and 13,205 lecturers, a ratio of 1:6.5 (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1984). A 1985 publication indicated similar enrollment and counted 100 students for every 10,000 people in the country

(Gavazov, 1985). In 1988, the students per 10,000 citizens had risen to 168 (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992a).

A 1985 publication relates that higher education was funded entirely by the state and was free to all students. In the same paragraph, it goes on to say that scholarships are granted to students according to the income of the family and that 50% of the students receive scholarships (Gavazov, 1985). There was no resolution on how the 50% on scholarship differed from free education for all.

In 1986, entrance exams were available to all who finish secondary school regardless of the specialty of the school and without discrimination based on race, political or social standing.

> Still, are there any restructions? [sic] Yes, certainly. The upper age limit for candidates for full-time studies is 35, and for extramural and evening studies - 40. There are no restrictions as far as sex is concerned but still in some of the 'harder' faculties - of mining and geology, veterinary medicine, construction and some other subjects, the percentage of men admitted is higher, in view of the specific conditions of work in those professions, which may be unsuitable or harmful to women's health, and to their being able to perform their function as mothers in particular. On the other hand, in many faculties, as for instance medicine, pedagogics and economics, the girls exceed the boys in number (Teodorov, 1986, p. 25).

Priority in selection was given to candidates with a worker or peasant background, workers who attended a preparatory school upon the recommendation of the party representative in the workplace, winners of academic competitions, and students from regions of the country where there were shortages in the particular occupational field of the test. There was a new "contract-signing" arrangement that not only gave priority admission but also paid more than the usual government scholarship stipend.

> The enterprises and organizations engaged in the sphere of material production guarantee a priority admission to students who have signed work-contracts for a prescribed period.... From their first year at university, the students are going to know where they will be working in the near future, and they are going to have their training and practicals [sic] in those places."

(Teodorov, 1986, p. 26)

The writer reported the findings of a sociological survey conducted by the Institute on Youth Problems to identify student motivation for enrolling in higher education. Self-fulfillment and making a contribution to society ranked as the first two motives followed a desire for public recognition and higher incomes. The writer commented further.

> These surveys and some empyrical [sic] observations indicate that material interest is not the main factor in choosing a profession. It does not follow, however, that higher-education jobs are less paid. On the contrary, the obligatory minimal wage of higher-education graduates is higher and there are other forms of material incentive in all walks of life: production, education, science, culture. In the present-day conditions, however, material incentive alone is not sufficient to meet the versatile interests and abilities of the individual (Teodorov, 1986, 28).

According to the Ministry of Education and Science, under communism, "the public came to doubt the fairness of the admission process" in higher education (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992a, p. 10). Access to education continued to be strictly controlled by number and by sociological and political quotas and was highly competitive.

Despite the advantages and opportunities afforded graduates of higher education institutions, enrollments experienced lull for a period of time. In the proposal for reorganization of higher education in 1987, the Council on Higher Education lamented the low annual rate of increase in enrollment as compared with developed countries. The Council reported that for the period of 1971-1975 the increase in enrollments was one of the lowest of the developed countries, and for the period of 1976-1980, the rate of increase was negative. A large increase in enrollments in 1984 and 1985 pushed the rate of increase to 9.2% for the period of 1980-1985. The 1987 document proposed a goal of

200 to 300 post-secondary enrollments for every 10,000 citizens or 280,000 students by the year 2000. Two paragraphs later, the proposal elaborated on the feasibility of the goal.

> It is impossible to deprive the nation of such a significant part of the labor resource on the one hand, and to prepare the required additional teaching staff and necessary equipment, on the other hand. A more modest, but realistic and optimistic prognosis, is that the post-secondary learners by the end of the period (year 2000) shall number 228 thousands.
> (Ministry of Popular Education - Council for Higher Education, 1987, p. 3)

In 1987, there was a high demand for labor and the time between leaving secondary school and entry into the labor force for male graduates of higher education institutions was 7 years, given that each had to serve two years in the military and the first degree (Master) required five years to complete. Women were competing for places in higher education at a low rate, particularly for technical institutions of higher education.

Access Under Democracy

By the time of the 1992 publication, White Book of the Bulgarian Education and Science (known as the White Book), free access to education was defined as the lack of national, racial and political discrimination. Mass higher education, defined as having 2/3 of the traditional college aged population enrolled, was expressed as a goal in the same document. Despite the stated goal, the government continued to justify the State Quota based on the national economy and employment needs (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992a).

Literature on Governance and Organizational Structure

Introduction

> "Complex institutions such as universities do not appear full-blown at a particular point in time. They evolve through that complicated process by which men and cultures mingle over a history fraught with traditions and happenstance" (Duryea, 1991, p. 3).

The evolutionary paths of Western and Eastern universities have resulted in institutions and systems that differ in organizational structure and governance within contexts that differ economically, politically and culturally. Because of the difference in context and evolutionary paths, organizational concepts such as governance, bureaucracy, centralized/decentralized decision-making, lines of authority, funding, and linkages have different manifestations in the East and West.

Governance

Governance prior to communism.

National governance of education has a long history in Bulgaria. In 1909, the Act on Popular Education was enacted to regulate higher education at the national level. In 1948 the Statue of Public Education was enacted by the communist government, radically altering curricula, study plans, teaching methods, and even class schedules (People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1961).

Governance under communism.

In the year before Sputnik, 1956, The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party precipitated major changes in the intensity of attention given to "new phenomena, new technologies, and the most promising trends [of] the

progress of science and technology, at the cultivation of creative...critical thinking and at higher efficiency" (Topencharov, 1983, p. 15).

The Law for Closer Ties Between School and Life of 1959 required that technical university students spend one third of their first and last years of study working in a factory or on a farm. Humanities students worked in practicums related to their majors (Georgeoff, 1968).

In the 1960s the Higher Education Act detailed further the communist system of centrally controlled higher education. The Act on Academic Degrees and Titles of 1972 regulated in great detail the awarding of degrees, promoting professors and conducting research, all strictly controlled at the central level of government.

In 1984 the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Bulgaria expressed a necessity to "improve still further the organizational and management mechanism of education and to bring the structure and management of the educational system in accord with the needs of social practice (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1984, p. 8). One segment of the governance structure was described. The Higher Educational Council was composed of members elected by the Congress of People's Education. With assistance from scientists, institutions, ministries and political organizations this Council examined the content of education and the training of teachers.

The Council for Higher Education served under the Higher Educational Council and had decision-making responsibilities on training, curriculum and operation of higher education institutions. Under the Higher Education Council were the scientific-methodological councils charged with addressing the educational problems of students,

and also the councils of rectors charged with examining problems among similar institutions.

All councils were said to be "an expression of the fundamental democratic traditions underlying the management of education... bringing about the dialectical linkage and interaction between the different levels of management in the system of higher education, and also in its links with the other systems of the contemporary socialist society" (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1984). Those were the only clues given as to what these auxiliary organs actually did, though the writer assured the reader that a Central Commission was hard at work drafting urgently needed new laws to improve their function.

In 1986, the Ministry of Education acknowledged that one of the major problems in higher education was a shortage of teaching staff. The proposed solution, rather than increasing the number of lecturers, was to increase the "intensification of the processes of training. The higher educational institutions are increasing the relative share of active forms of training in them and are reducing the time spent in lecture rooms. The additional time thereby made available to the undergraduates is used for independent work by them under the supervision of lecturers - a development, which will alleviate to some extent the problem of providing more pedagogical personnel for the system. Their level of training is rising" (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1986, p. 41).

Constant and integral to the governance and structure of higher education was the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP).

> Each of the higher education institutions has its own party, trade union and youth organizations. These activities are directly geared to the administrative,

> educational, scientific and cultural life of these institutions. These organizations, headed by the organizations of the Bulgarian Communist Party, offer guidance to public opinion in the institutions of higher education in order to promote cohesion and team work among faculty members, other members of the work staff and students. (Topencharov, 1983, p. 37)

The Dimitrov Young Communist League, the Komsomol, was a major force in the life of the university student. The political activities of the students centered in this organization charged with assuring that the students maintained the proper communist convictions and morals. Members of the Komsomol participated in all levels of governance within the institution representing the interests of the students (Teodorov, 1986).

The Komsomol had considerable power over student life including input in scholarship decisions, "particularly in borderline cases" (Topencharov, 1983, p. 66). Their authority extended to the residence hall blocks as well "ensuring the observance of regulations relative to cleanliness, discipline, and other conditions of normal life" (Topencharov, 1983, p. 66).

The Komsomol organized labor brigades to help the national economy. Freshman and sophomores were placed in jobs during the summer and for one month in the fall to acquire "working skills and habits, cultivate a sense of social responsibility and such human virtues as comradeship, mutual assistance, and labour [sic] discipline" (Teodorov, 1986).

The writer asserts that "National youth brigades at large construction projects such as the Nuclear Plant in Kozlodoui, the Maritsa-Iztok open-pit mines, the Devnya chemical works, etc. enjoy great popularity..." as preferred work assignments among students (Teodorov, 1986, p. 44).

Governance under democracy.

In 1990 the first major post-communist educational legislation, the Academic Autonomy Act, was passed by Parliament proclaiming institutional autonomy while maintaining strict central government control. The 1992 Ministry of Education and Science publication, known as the White Book, called for new, comprehensive legislation regulating higher education and called for interim laws to facilitate meeting the urgent needs of the institutions (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992a). In the White Book, the Ministry reviewed existing legislation documenting a long list of laws badly in need of revision. There were still unrepealed laws forbidding religious educational institutions, laws favoring admission to higher education for students of workers and peasant background, and provisions for special decoration of diplomas for political activities. By law, technically, educators were still required to "bring up and form the students as owners of the socialistic property, a communist attitude towards labor and the profession chosen" (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992d, p. 13). Other entanglements of laws made it impossible to remedy increasingly deteriorating conditions of student housing.

In short, though higher education remained strictly subjected to national laws, the laws had little relevancy to the political and social reality of the times. On the other hand, laws were non-existent to regulate the establishment of previously unknown private institutions. Of the seven new institutions known, there was no category for their description in the law and therefore, no way to regulate them. The former process for academic promotions was administered by a complex system within the Communist Party that no longer existed, and there was nothing to replace it. In post communistic

rhetoric, the White Book denounced the "tendency for rapid establishment of all sorts of associations, etc. which organize different courses, including courses of higher education and for the so-called second high education. In this unregulated sphere at present flourishes charlatanry, low competence of the teaching personnel and irresponsible translations of world-famous scientists, having nothing to do with our pseudo-qualification education institutions" (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992d, p. 15). The Ministry demanded that "Parliament and the executive power, undertake the urgently needed measures for renewal of the legal system which guarantees order and normal working conditions in the sphere of the Bulgarian education and science" (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992d, p. 21).

Literature on Function

Though some teaching functions in Bulgaria have evolved slowly, other changes have been more sudden and dramatic as a direct result of political change. For example, Soviet central authority dictated yearly requirements of courses in Marxist philosophy, history and economic theory for all disciplines and all institutions. In 1948, the Statute of Public Education forbade "religious mysticism, chauvinism and class prejudices," and placing "everything... on sound scientific foundations" (People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1961, p. 22). Class schedules were legislated placing a student in either morning or afternoon classes only, providing a free half-day for independent study.

In 1959 legislative reorganization of the curriculum provided more work experience as a part of the educational program, placing students directly in factories and on farms for one third of their first and last academic years. The law also required that all

teachers of grades 5 through 8 be graduates of Sofia University and all teachers in those grades who were not graduates of Sofia University were required to enroll in extramural courses (Georgeoff, 1968).

Georgeoff outlined the three functions of the school curriculum in 1968.

> The curriculum in all elementary and secondary schools, as well as in all higher educational institutions, is divided into three parts in order to meet the three objectives... subject matter and course work designed to develop the student's general knowledge and basic skills, activities related to industrial or agricultural pursuits to educate the youth in labor, and the work of the Pioneer and Komsomol organizations, an important aspect of the student's education in school and out. Although the last part of the school curriculum stresses political and ideological education, such work is by no means limited to the Pioneer and Komsomol organizations. Rather, it penetrates the entire school program at all levels - nothing in Bulgarian society is apolitical, least of all the educational process. (Georgeoff, 1968, p. 158.)

Georgeoff reported also that in 1968, lecture was the exclusive teaching method within the classroom of higher education. Questions posed by the instructor were meant to have exact and precise answers and students were not permitted to challenge the assumptions of the material. He reported that laboratory methods were by demonstration and experimentation, much the same as in Western countries (Georgeoff, 1968).

By 1986, there were debates about the increasing use of "robot equipment" and computers in the teaching function. "Scepticism [sic] regarding the new teaching aids is being successfully overcome.... Though there are a lot of controversial points of a psychological nature it cannot be asserted at this juncture that communication between man and the machine may have serious negative effects" (Teodorov, 1986).

The education and labor was becoming more enmeshed by 1986.

> Labor in Bulgaria has become an inseparable composite part of the all-round educational process.... Links between education and productive labour in the People's Republic of Bulgaria are real and constant. They can be established at all stages and forms of education and are provided...by the introduction of productive labour in the educational process of all types and degrees of educational establishments.... The syllabuses have functions beyond those of

> establishing the volume of knowledge to be imparted about the labour process through the various disciplines. They also show the economic and social significance of the various types of labour, and offer opportunities for the development of skills and habits by the students and for the choice of the appropriate type of education and profession"
> (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1986, p. 48).

In the 1983-1984 academic year, a three-stage course of training was introduced into the levels of higher education.

> The first stage provides fundamental general theoretical training in a particular professional area, the second stage ensures training in a wide-profile speciality [sic], while the third stage provides high professional qualification in the respective speciality [sic] through specialization in production itself or in scientific research.
> (Gavazov, 1985, p. 18)

It appears that rather than granting degrees, the authorities confirmed that the students had progress through a stage of education.

The teaching function of higher education under communism was tied directly to the specialized fields required by the economy. Students entered narrowly specialized fields early. "Engineering and more precisely some of its disciplines were unreasonably encouraged, while due to the cult towards narrow specialization, humanities and more general disciplines were neglected (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992a, p. 2). Curriculum content was further narrowed by the widespread practice of employing lecturers from recent graduates of the same institution. There was a lack of provision for communicating among institutions within the country and restriction of communication with institutions outside the country, particularly with Western institutions, resulting in further narrowing and also isolation from the rest of the world.

The lecturers insisted that if they must take on increased enrollment they must have some relief from "the enormous bureaucratic problems that constantly come into the departments under the form of various letters, instructions, demands for information,

reports etc., and lead to a waste of very precious time" (Ministry of Popular Education - Council for Higher Education, 1987, p. 8). While they were at it, they demanded a year of release time from teaching every five years for the purpose of preparing textbooks and other works requisite to career advancement and acquiring the Doctor of Science Degree.

It is interesting to note that despite the promise of increased enrollments, the lecturers demanded release time for writing, insisted on smaller teacher/student ratios and also opposed opening or upgrading other institutions to relieve the student load at the undergraduate (then Master) level. Given that graduate programs producing teachers for higher education were laboriously slow in producing graduates, Sofia University lecturers also strongly opposed granting university status to other institutions that could provide graduate programs (Sofia University, 1987).

The academic degrees awarded under communism were Master, Doctor, and Doctor of Science. As early as 1992 in a publication of the Ministry of Education and Science, there was a call for a change to the Western form of academic degrees, Bachelor's, Master's and Doctor. "The experience of developed countries shows that this approach ... will meet the ever-changing demand for specialists with higher education, provides for more effective coordination between the individual interests, abilities and skills and the requirements of the training programs" (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992a, p. 14).

In 1993, the Ministry proposed as a part of the project for legislative strategy, the academic degree process to include the "Bachelor of...," "Master of...," and "Doctor of..." (Ministry of Education and Science, 1993). The project also validated the importance of research to an institution of higher learning.

> Research in post-secondary educational institutions helps to acquire of [sic] scientific knowledge and to prove the validity and also facilitates the improvement of training and instruction methods. The research topic may be of any scientific field, of the application of scientific knowledge to science and practice, as well as in the results of their application.
> (Ministry of Education and Science, 1993, p. 7)

During the Soviet era, the national higher education curriculum focused on narrow, theoretical specialties rather than a liberal education and practical application of the specialties. Russian language and Marxist theory was required throughout the curriculum.

After student demonstrations in 1990, Marxist courses were no longer compulsory. English has displace Russian as the favored foreign language. Faculty and administration have been successful in gaining increased academic freedoms and participation in decision-making (Mitova, 1993).

Literature on Resources

There were hints in the academic year 1985-1986 that all was not well with the funding of higher education. Trying to put the best face on it, one writer offered an explanation.

> State subsidies have been increased while the institutes themselves are looking for additional revenues by selling their own inventions and licences [sic], and new developments to be applied in industry, the communal services, trade and tourism, and organising [sic] a small-batch, though highly effective production of apparatuses, industrial and consumer goods. The motto "Science: an actual productive force" is being translated into reality not only in the national economy but also at the higher and research institutes.
> (Teodorov, 1986, p. 23)

Teodorov also reported that the educational funds were provided by "the ministries, associations, economic organizations, enterprises and plants where the young people will later be employed" (Teodorov, 1986, p. 43). He noted that the student bears

no costs unless, upon graduation, he or she "fails to fulfill his contractual obligations and refuses to go to the place he has been sent to start work" (Teodorov, 1986).

> The crisis in the Bulgarian Science and Education began in that period when the "favorite child" of the State Policy were the branches of the Material Industry. In the name of the fast industrialization, systemically were diverted resources [sic], which were for the development of the Bulgarian intellect. That permanent and exclusively harmful for our development tendency can be illustrated with only two figures: in the 70s and 80s in the most developed countries, the proportion between the investments in the Material Industry and the resources for the development of the Intellectual Branches was something like 1:1, when in our country in the same period that proportion was only 1:0.3, i.e. there was sudden and long-term misbalance in using the resources in favour [sic] of the Material Industry
> (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992c, p. 1).

The Ministry of Education and Science also reported that a 1985 UNESCO study indicated Bulgaria was 66th in the world in the portion of the education budget spent on higher education. In the last four years of communism, capital investments in education were reduced by 7.8% (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992c). Despite this, a 1986 report to the International Conference on outlined plans to "saturate" higher education with computers and erect more buildings. It also alluded to the rising costs of keeping up with the rapid changes in technology (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1986, p. 39). To meet the challenge of these rising costs, the report noted an increase in taping the resources of the country's "big economic associations and enterprises which are the principal users of the specialists trained with the educational system" (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1986, p. 40).

The downward spiral of resources continued in the early years of democracy. "The chronic financial lack, which had poisoned the development of Science and Education through the years, unfortunately remained unnoticed and unchanged after

1989.... In 1989-1990 the real invested [sic] in Science and Education budget funds were decreased on a minimal estimate 2.5 times (considering the official data for the inflation)" (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992c) .

In terms of human resources in academia, the Ministry reported a 3.3% decrease in educators and an 8.4% decrease in the number of scientists in the first two years of democracy. "Today Bulgaria feels the result of ... the philosophy of demonstrating exemplary attachment to the progress [of education] and in the same time, of leaving the real bearers of the progress in the situation of a suffocating economic and financial vacuum" (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992c, p. 7).

In the 1992 strategy project for legislature, the Ministry of Education and Science recommended that in addition to receiving government funding, higher education should draw on other resources such as tuition, research, consulting, creative activities, sports, grants, wills, and bank loans among others (Ministry of Education and Science, 1993).

Emergent Cross-Categories in the Literature

Introduction

Not all Emergent Cross-Categories identified in this research were addressed in the literature search, namely, accountability, suspicion, efficiency and bureaucracy.

Literature on Change

Post WWII Bulgaria has been used as evidence that socio-economic development supported by education yields a natural transition to democracy. The USSR undertook

massive efforts to industrialize, urbanize, and educate Bulgaria. There was a major population shift from rural to urban settings, education was free beginning with pre-primary through higher education, economic conditions improved, and people became interested in politics - all indicators of a society ripe for change to democratic rule, according to Modernization Theory (Vassilev, 1999).

"The democratic revolution of 1989-90 was therefore a natural outgrowth (as well as an unintended consequence) of the regime's success in fostering economic and social progress, which expanded the educated intermediate strata in society that are most strongly committed to freedom, pluralism, and democracy" (Vassilev, 1999, p. 1). Increases in the number of higher education graduates created an intellectual class with the knowledge and desire to precipitate the democratization process.

Accommodation, according to Piaget, is an internal mechanism involving changing one's understanding of the world in order to make a transition from one stage to another (Matsumoto, 2000). In terms of cultural, political and economic institutions, external change to democracy has been abrupt, at a pace too quick for the population to internalize the essential understanding of the change and too quick to acquire the skills for success in the new environment. In terms of adaptation to the global economic and technological environment, change has been punishingly slow, in large part because of the pace of internal accommodation.

Dramatic change was imposed upon on Bulgarian higher education to align it with the Soviet rather than the European system of education. Dramatic change is required to re-align it with Western European institutions. Imposed external change and democratic internal change are distinguished by a difference in pace. In 1992, the early stages of

democracy, a prediction and a warning about the changes that lay ahead came from the Ministry of Education and Science.

> [I]t should not be forgotten that they [academics] are a comparatively detached group which is [sic] inflexible and inert to changes. This means that even if quick and radical changes are made in the system of higher education, elements based on previous assumptions will still linger in its social image....
>
> The solving of the problems of the system of higher education is hindered by the obvious ambiguity of the existing situation. On the one hand, some of the issues are old and burning and require prompt actions, on the other hand, however, the possibility of making mistakes in this complex and constantly changing situation is real and any rash decision might have negative effects. (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992a, p. 10).

Literature on Collectivism versus Individualism

Geert Hofstede and others have examined the individualism/collectivism dimension of culture and how it illuminates attitudes about life and particularly about work (Hofstede, 1984). Though Hofstede did not include Bulgaria in his study, some of the variables he discusses hint at the quandary in which Bulgarians find themselves in the higher education sector of the economy. For half a century, Bulgarians functioned in a society which demanded that they rely on collectivist thinking and submit to a powerful, central authority to solve problems, make decisions and provide for necessities. Political changes over the last decade have hurled individuals, institutions and the government alike into coping in an economy that requires skills from the individualism dimension of culture rather than from collectivism. Lingering collectivist thinking and ways of doing things have proven to be dysfunctional in meeting democratic, individualistic goals, particularly in an environment of diminishing resources.

Literature on Quality and Autonomy

The proposal for reorganizing higher education in 1987 called for improvement in the quality of higher education (Ministry of Popular Education - Council for Higher Education, 1987). The lecturers at Sofia University posed the question: Improvement in relation to what? They demanded an accounting of the implied deficiency and wanted to know precisely how they were expected to improve (Sofia University, 1987). If an answer followed, it was not available to the researcher. Given that the change of government followed in less than two years, it is likely that the dialog was truncated at least for that particular set of parties to the debate. But the way was paved for the discussion of accreditation and assessment.

In the early days of democracy, the Ministry of Education and Science published a statement about the need for assessing the status of higher education in the country.

> There is no complex and scientifically based evaluation of the actual condition of the higher education system and especially of some of its elements... At the same time, there is a need for a thorough evaluation of the social processes, affecting the development of higher education.
> (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992a)

The idea of accreditation was formalized in the same publication as a measure of improving the quality of higher education. The proposed accrediting agency was to be a government organization, and at that time the public institutions were still totally funded by the government. The strategy included a type of formula or incentive funding based on accreditation results. There was no evidence available indicating that this idea was ever implemented.

The Higher Education Act of 1995 provided for the establishment of the National Evaluation and Accreditation Agency and its administrative Accreditation Council. The

aim of accreditation is to "promote the higher schools in developing their potential and in enhancing and maintaining the quality of their activity" (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999, p. 55). The agency is charged with approving the opening of new institutions and transforming institutions from one category to another. It also evaluates and rates institutions, departments, programs or majors, granting or withholding accreditation based on the results. Institutions, departments, programs receiving an unsatisfactory rating may not receive state funding, enroll students or grant diplomas.

The National Evaluation and Accreditation Agency was formed in 1996 and currently employs 19 people. Largely funded by PHARE, a European Union organization, the training program of the agency certifies experts [educators] to participate in the evaluation process. By the end of 1999, 21 institutions had been accredited leaving approximately 20 yet to be evaluated. More than 200 departments and programs had been approved as well. Accreditation was denied to 5 majors, 11 degrees, 4 for new schools and other assorted requests for review (National Evaluation and Accreditation Agency, 2000). Sofia University is in the process of being evaluated for the first time in 2001.

The issue of autonomy was raised in the proposal for the reorganization of higher education in 1987. "Self-government is rapidly making its way into the economy and the society. This implements the outlining of some landmarks on the self-government of the higher educational institutions and the higher education in general" (Ministry of Popular Education - Council for Higher Education, 1987, p. 5).

The White Book of 1992 anticipated the need to move toward autonomy of higher education and away from the minute control that was traditional at the central level of government under communism.

> All changes of the higher education system should not be subjected to the goal of planning the development and progress of higher education, but to the aim to create favorable conditions (legal, financial, organizational) for this development. In this respect, it is very important to create real (not just imaginary) possibilities for stimulating individual initiative and competition. There is an essential difference between the centralized state government by means of plans and the liberal government based on legislative principles. According to Fridrich von Hayek, in the second case people are guided by means of signs, while in the first case they are driven in a certain direction.
> (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992a)

Even so, the same publication defined autonomy as a condition to be granted to institutions in various measures based on the category of the institution as determined by the government. Universities were granted a greater portion of autonomy than other institutions.

The issue of autonomy was raised again in the strategy project of the Ministry of Education and Science in 1993. The project outlined the structure and functions for a national accreditation agency and affirmed the value of intellectual freedom as the highest value of the academic community (Ministry of Education and Science, 1993).

Literature on Internationalization of Higher Education

Movement of people across borders has traditionally been motivated by political, economical and educational factors. Wars have been major geographical movers of people throughout history. Evidence of distant trade pre-date written records. Scholars, in the days of Erasmus, were expected to study in far-flung centers of learning. The European Union (EU), to which Bulgaria aspires membership, has expressed a major objective of freedom of movement of goods, services, money and people across borders to include movement of students and scholars (European Commission, No date).

When Sofia University was established, it was an internationalized, European university in every way. Until 1944 almost all its professors were educated outside the country (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992a). The Soviet system isolated Bulgarian higher education and did not permit free exchange of professors or students with countries outside the Soviet sphere. Access to Western research, publications and information in general was strictly controlled. Isolation from information plus the separation of research from the academic community clearly placed educational institutions at a disadvantage in the international community once the country was re-opened to the world.

In 1961, foreign students numbering 852 studied in Bulgarian institutions. In the same year, 1,421 Bulgarians were studying in 12 "People's Democracies" and 11 Western countries. Of these, 527 were supported by government scholarships and 894 were studying at their own expense. "On their return to their own country they bring back some of the culture of the people who gave them hospitality. In this way, they contribute to a better understanding among the nations, and thereby to the strengthening of peace and friendship among them" (People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1961, p. 37). In 1959, 166 "scientific workers" from educational institutions were sent abroad for 3-24 months of special training. Twenty-three others traveled abroad for various educational purposes.

A 1986 publication stated, "Bulgaria's gates are flung wide open for exchanges of theoretical and practical knowledge and experience in the field of education" (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1986, p. 43). The vehicle for international educational cooperation was largely through UNESCO. Participation in various research projects was funded through other international NGOs. The motivation

was expressed as "to assist in the assertion of the spirit of understanding and peace, so as to effect concrete and indissoluble ties between education and the complex global problems facing mankind today" (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1986, p. 42).

By 1992, Bulgaria was receiving international funds from the World Bank, UNESCO, individual countries and companies, the Council of Europe, and various European Union programs such as TEMPUS and PHARE. These supporters designated funding to upgrade quality of teaching and research, increase Western language skills, and increase contact with the international academic community (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992b). "One of the basic goals of the reform in education is to catch up with the most distinguished international universities" (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992a, p. 7).

Higher education, today, finds itself functioning in an increasingly global context given the increased international activity in commerce and politics. Technological advances in transportation and communication have made global involvement in higher learning not only possible, but also imperative. Said a Western educator, "If our nation and its people are to prosper in the new environment of the 21st century, our colleges and universities must truly become institutions without boundaries" (Turlington, 1998, p. xi). As national borders worldwide become more permeable to trade, organizational theory, as applied to business, increasingly takes into account the global environment. American organizational theory for both business and education may bear re-examination when generalized to global proportions. Lester Thurow, dean of the Sloan School of Management: "To be trained as an *American* business leader is to be trained for a world

that is no longer there" (Adler, 1991, p. 12). To paraphrase: To be trained solely as an *American or Bulgarian educational leader* is to be trained for a world that is no longer there. Organizational structure, function, and leadership may take on new dimensions as the institution moves from isolation to internationalization. To offer viable, transportable educational opportunities to its citizens, higher education in Bulgaria's future must take into account it's place in regional, European Union and global contexts.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In Western literature, there is limited information on the changes in Bulgarian higher education during the years of transition from communism to democracy. This study is a step toward expanding the understanding of that transition. The chapter begins with a review of the literature on the historical, comparative education and case study models of research methodology employed in this study.

A discussion of the research design follows the literature review beginning with a discussion of initial decisions made, such as identifying the case, the units of analysis and the determining the conceptual framework. The next section is a discussion of the components of the research design to include the Fundamental Research Questions and the Guide to Question Categories. The Procedures section elaborates on the three types of interviews and the research tools used in the research. The products of the study, the Final Conceptual Framework, the physical and electronic databases are discussed next. A discussion of the analysis process follows. The last section in the chapter elaborates on some of the limitations of the study.

Literature Review: Methods for this Qualitative, Mixed Model Case Study

Introduction to Models

"Qualitative research methods are designed to help researchers understand people and the social and cultural contexts within which they live" (Myers, 1999, p. 1). This study employs a mixed model of qualitative research methodologies. Case study and historical research methods combine to generate general categories and a conceptual framework whereby an institution within one country may be analyzed over time during the political change from communism to democracy. Comparative education models were used in designing for the possibility of expanding the research to cross-institutional and cross-national studies.

Historical Research Model

"The history of a program, community, or organization is an important part of the context for research," according to Patton (Patton, 1990, p. 223). The time boundaries of this study are from 1985 to 2000 to include the mature communist educational system and to account for the transition between communism and democracy.

Because of the inductive nature of historical investigation, neither the literature review nor the specific plan for analysis were complete at the proposal stage (Schumacher & McMillan, 1993). Stephens cautions against formulating hypotheses too early in historical research (Stephens, 1974). If the objective is, he says, to determine what happened and why, hypotheses introduce the risk of bias, oversimplification and possibly failing to examine alternative explanations.

Historians repeatedly caution against cultural bias and encourage the acknowledgement of cultural and national frames of reference (Stephens, 1974) (Barzun & Graff, 1977). As Stephens goes on to say, however, perfect objectivity and impartiality would not necessarily net a worthwhile product. The researcher must make judgments about what is and is not important in the history of education and also about how that information is grouped.

In the continuing broad literature search, keywords such as Bulgaria and higher education with preference to publication dates 1985-2000 were accessed. Analysis of historical data involved a search for evidence of change from Communism to democracy in emergent higher education categories.

Comparative Education Model

Literature on comparative education methods guided the design of categories for analysis in the study with the aim of providing a means of comparison of higher education across countries in Eastern Europe in later studies. Most international comparative education writers insist that at least two countries must be compared (Connell, 1973). However, Kobayashi (Kobayashi, 1973) includes single, national case studies as one of several types of comparative education studies while Bereday (Bereday, 1964) points out that comparison with other countries necessarily begins with the study of one country.

In reviewing the early comparative educational literature, Niessen and Peschar concluded, "Only when we strive for a systematic selection of topics, units and methods of investigation, for a theoretical framework and for methodologically sound

comparisons, is it possible to come to a cumulation of knowledge and also to put the various country information into its appropriate context" (Niessen & Peschar, 1982, p. 36). Schumacher and McMillian discuss the external validity of qualitative research in terms of designing for comparability from one study to another. "Comparability is the degree to which the research design is adequately described so that researchers may use the study to extend the findings to other studies" (Schumacher & McMillan, 1993). It is expected that any study is to be documented for replication, but comparative research, often assumed to be cross-national research, has a special obligation to attend to matters of comparability and replication. To that end, clear and detailed documentation was a goal throughout the design and implementation.

Because the term comparative education has become associated strongly with cross-national research, methodology literature is weighted heavily with caution to perform ongoing bias checks. "Interpretivists of all types ... insist that researchers are no more 'detached' from their objects of study than are their informants. Researchers, they argue, have their own understandings, their own convictions, their own conceptual orientations; they, too, are members of a particular culture at a specific historical moment" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 8). Bereday suggests that some of the ways to guard against bias are language study and travel to the site, rather than isolating with desk research (Bereday, 1964). The researcher spent two months in Sofia, Bulgaria interviewing research participants.

Historical effects are assumed to cause unique experience for any group being studied (Schumacher & McMillan, 1993). However, no group is homogeneous

regardless of a common history. Guarding against history effects in this study involved stating both sides of any dimension being examined.

Because the study was conducted in a culture other than that of the researcher, the researcher was alert to and guarded against situations which might lead to culture-bound assumptions, for example, that everything under communism was "bad" and everything under democracy "good." During the course of the study, the interviewer learned to ask pointed questions about what was good under communism or how was higher education better off under communism than under democracy.

Case Study Model

Several characteristics of this study meet Yin's qualifiers for applying case study methodology. According to Yin (Yin, 1994), the case study model is appropriate for investigating a phenomenon when it is more important to incorporate its context than to isolate the case from it's context. Neither Western nor Eastern higher education systems can be understood outside the political, economic and cultural contexts over time. Bulgarian higher education, past, present and future, most certainly cannot be isolated from its political, economic, ideological and cultural context, past and present.

Yin also says that case study research is best applied when "how" or "why" questions are to be answered about "complex social phenomena [while] retain(ing) the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events" (Yin, 1994, p. 3). The complex social phenomena in this study are the interaction of higher education with the political and economical contexts of society. The object of this study is neither a dead, static past nor a present that is defined by mere structure and academic content.

Particularly in Central and Eastern Europe, higher education is composed of human beings more often than not found in dramatic, real-life and life-altering circumstances brought on by social phenomena that are truly complex.

A case study is also appropriate, Yin says, when the investigation draws on many sources of data. Despite dramatic changes, Bulgaria's future is linked firmly to the past and present. Investigating a phenomenon so complex requires multiple and varied data sources. This study of an institution of higher education in Bulgaria employs a single-case study design with embedded units of analysis, some pre-determined and others were generated as they emerged from the data (Yin, 1994).

Research Design

Preliminary Design Decisions

The Case

One rationale for selecting case study methodology is that it serves well in situations where context is essential to the understanding of complex phenomenon (Yin, 1994). For higher education and all other social institutions, the Eastern European transition from communism to democracy could well qualify as one of the most complex political transition phenomena in history. Given the magnitude and complexity of change in political, social and economic contexts during the transition, the conceptual framework of an in-depth case study supplemented with methods drawn from historical and comparative research appeared to be the best model for this investigation [See the section Qualitative, Mixed Model Study below].

Case study methodology is defined as "data analysis focus[ing] on the *one* phenomenon which the researcher selects to understand in depth" (Schumacher & McMillan, 1993, p. 375). The first decision was to choose one Bulgarian institution of higher learning and determine how to examine it in depth as it was under communism, as it is now under democracy, and as it might become in the future as viewed in the literature and by the participants in the study. Sofia University was selected partly because of logistical convenience and partly because it is the oldest, largest and most prestigious of all Bulgarian institutions of higher learning.

Units of Analysis

Yin's comparison of case study types illuminates the rationale for applying the specific research model employed here (Yin, 1994). Yin's Type Two model is the single-case design with embedded, multiple units of analysis. The multiple units of analysis ultimately chosen for this case were Time Periods as detailed in Table III-1, and the Original Categories and Emergent Cross-Categories, all shown in the Type Two model in Table III-2. The Original Categories as units of analysis, were derived from the Fundamental Research Questions and the Guide to Question Categories, all discussed in detail below.

Conceptual Framework

The original conceptual framework was designed for the possibility for cross-case and cross-national comparative studies in the future (Miles & Huberman, 1994). An approach of standardization and uniformity was adopted at the outset, however,

Table III-1. Time Periods of the Case Study

ERA	DATE
A. Communism:	1985 - 1989
	The last five years of communistic rule.
B. Democracy:	1990 - 2000
	The first decade of democratic development.
C. Future:	2001 - beyond
	Projections of changes or stabilization in the future.

Table III-2. Yin's Case Study Types

	Single-case Design	Multiple-case Design
Holistic (Single unit of analysis)	Type 1	Type 3
Embedded (Multiple units of analysis)	Type 2 Case: Sofia University x Time Periods x Original Categories x Emergent Cross-Categories	Type 4

Source: Yin, Robert K. (1994). Case study research: Design and methods. (2nd ed.) Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

according to Patton, "qualitative findings are ... variable in content; analysis is difficult because responses are neither systematic nor standardized" (Patton, 1990, p. 24).

In the analysis stage, the framework evolved in directions not anticipated in the original design. Such is the nature of case study methodology. Through the process of *asking* questions, the researcher creates categories about which the researcher wants to learn; through the process of *answering* questions, the participant provides categories about which the participant wants to tell. These emergent categories may create not only new topics, but also new dimensions for the model.

The original design was that of a simple matrix with time periods on one axis and Original Categories followed by Emergent Cross-Categories on the other in linear fashion (Table III-3). The Original Categories were derived from the Guide to Question Categories, a product of the Fundamental Research Questions (See page 68.). It was further anticipated that data from each item of study, such as participant interviews and written documents, would be collected, analyzed and reported within this matrix (Table III-4).

The design also allowed for the possibility of grouping interview participants according to their relationship to Sofia University. For instance, the model permitted examination of responses by all professors as compared with responses of all students and all other groupings of participants such as by department (Table III-5). This particular analysis of responses by groups was abandoned, however, because of the ease of identifying individual participants by department and because all questions in the Guide to Question Categories were not asked of all respondents. Participants tended to use the response time to focus on topics of personal significance or experience.

Table III-3. Original Conceptual Framework (Later Subsumed)

Time Period	Original Category of ResearchQuestions 1	Original Category of ResearchQuestions 2 ...	Emergent Category n
A. Communism			
B. Democracy			
C. Future			

Table III-4. Original Conceptual Framework Plus Item (Later Subsumed)

Item (Participant Interview or Written Document)	Time Period	Original Category of Research Questions 1	Original Category of Research Questions 2...	Emergent Category n
Item 1	A. Communism B. Democracy C. Future			
Item 2	A. Communism B. Democracy C. Future			
Item n	A. Communism B. Democracy C. Future			

Table III-5. Original Conceptual Framework Plus Items by Groupings (Abandoned)

Item Groups (Participant Interview or Written Document)	Time Period	Pre-set Question Category 1	Pre-set Question Category 2...	Emergent Category n
All interviews of professors.	A. Communism B. Democracy C. Future			
All interviews of students.	A. Communism B. Democracy C. Future			
All interviews of n groups.	A. Communism B. Democracy C. Future			

The modified conceptual framework used in the final analysis was based on a weaving metaphor. The Guide to Question Categories is called the Original Categories within the text of the study. The Emergent Cross-Categories developed not as a linear string of categories annexed to the end of the Original Categories, but they emerged collectively as a new dimension of the analysis. The most compelling emergent categories were not individual, discrete topics, but rather Emergent Cross-Categories that interacted with one or more of the Original Categories. Other adjustments were made within the Original Categories and the Guide to Question Categories and will be detailed below. In the final analysis, the conceptual framework used was the modified weaving model shown in Table III-6.

Table III-6. Final Conceptual Framework: A Weaving Model of The Transition of Sofia University from Communism to Democracy (Original Categories and Emergent Cross-Categories over Time)

EMERGENT CROSS-CATEGORIES	ORIGINAL CATEGORY 1 During Time Periods: A..COMMUNISM B. DEMOCRACY C. FUTURE	ORIGINAL CATEGORY 2 During Time Periods: A..COMMUNISM B. DEMOCRACY C. FUTURE	ORIGINAL CATEGORY n During Time Periods: A..COMMUNISM B. DEMOCRACY C. FUTURE
Emergent Cross-Category 1	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.
Emergent Cross-Category 2	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.
Emergent Cross-Category n	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.

Components of Research Design

Restatement of Fundamental Research Questions

The fundamental research questions for this case study were:

1. How is higher education described in one Bulgarian institution of higher learning during the last years of the communist past?

2. How is higher education described in one Bulgarian institution at the end of the first decade of democracy?

3. How has higher education in one Bulgarian institution changed in its transition from communism to democracy (1985 - 2000)?

4. Based upon the projections of the participants in the study, how might higher education appear in the near future in a single Bulgarian institution of higher learning given the political and economic changes during the period of 1985-2000?

Guide to Question Categories

The Guide to Question Categories below was originally designed to ask questions about pre-determined categories plus emergent categories over the Time Periods of the Case Study shown in Table III-1. In the questions, references to "the past" refer to the Soviet communist era, and to "the present" refer to current democratic rule. References to the "future" are particularly specific to the barriers and facilitators to regional cooperation toward the goal of economic development. The question categories were originally Mission, Student Body and Access, Contexts, Structure, Function, Resources and Outcomes. In the final analysis these were called Original Categories. Structure became Governance and Organizational Structure, and Access became Access and the Student Body. "Outcomes" was eliminated as an Original Category and the topics listed under it, lifestyles, degrees, value, quality, and transferability of credits were moved into various other Original Categories and Emergent Cross-Categories. The list below was the original set of categories and questions used as an interview guide. All participants spoke freely and at length after the introduction to the study was made, therefore all questions were neither asked nor answered of all participants.

Guide to Question Categories

1. Mission.

- What was (is; will be) the mission of the higher education institution under communism (under democracy; in the future)?
- Was there (is there; will there be) a formalized written mission statement?

2. Student body and access.

- What was (is; will be) the size and demographic composition of the institution's student body under communism (under democracy; in the future)?
- What was (is; will be) the process for determining institutional enrollment?
- When were (are; will be) the major decision points in the life of a student about enrolling in this particular institution?
- What economic, cultural, political, geographical input entered (enters; will enter) the process for determining enrollment in the institution?

3. Contexts: political, economic, etc.

- What was the historical framework of higher education in general and the institution in particular?
- What political, ideological and cultural assumptions contributed to the context of higher education and the institution prior to (during; after) the era of Communism?

4. Governance and structure.

- What broad categories of institutions of higher learning existed (exist; will exist) in Bulgaria in the past (present; future)? In which category did (does; will) this institution belong?
- How was (is; will be) the educational institution governed in the past (present; future)?
- What were (are; will be) the organizational or administrative units of the institution in the past (present; future)
- What were (are; will be) the role, rights and responsibilities of faculty in the past (present; future)?
- How did (do; will) the component parts of the institution relate to each other in the past (present; future)?
- What institutional support services structure was (is; will be) in place in the past (present; future)?

- How did (does; will) the larger organizational structure of the institution affect the individual student and faculty in the past (present; future)?

- What challenges did (does; will) the organizational structure of the institution present in the past (present; future)?

- What advantages did (does; will) the organizational structure of the institution present in the past (present; future)?

5. Function.

- What was (is; will be) the function of the institution in the past (present; future)?

- What was (is; will be) the curriculum of the institution in the past (present; future)?

- What degree disciplines, programs of study or degrees were available at the institution in the past (present; future)?

- What research efforts were (are; will be) emphasized in the institution under communism (under democracy; in the future)?

- What service functions were (are; will be) performed by the institution in the past (present; future)?
- How did (does; will) the larger institutional function affect the individual student and faculty member in the past (present; future)?

- What challenges did (does; will) the function of the institution present in the past (present; future)?

- What advantages did (does; will) the function of the institution present in the past (present; future)?

6. Resources.

- What funding resources were (are; will be) available to the institution in the past (present; future)?

- What was (is; will be) the decision and distribution process for national resources to the institution?

- What internal resources such as libraries, information and communication technologies were (are; will be) available in the past (present; future)?

- What commercial and industrial linkages were (are; will be) available as resources to the institution in the past (present; future)?

- What educational and professional linkages were (are; will be) available as resources to the institution in the past (present; future)?

- What social and cultural linkages were (are; will be) available as resources to the institution in the past (present; future)?

- What governmental or political resources were (are; were) available locally, provincially, nationally, regionally or internationally to the institution in the past (present; future)?

- How did (do; will) the resources of higher education affect the individual student and faculty at the institution in the past (present; future)?

- What challenges did (do; will) the available resources present to the institution in the past (present; future)?

- What advantages did (do; will) the available resources present to the institution in the past (present; future)?

7. Outcomes (contents reassigned or eliminated).

- What student outcomes were (are; will be) valued in the institution in the past (present; future)?

- What outcomes in student and faculty lifestyles were (are; will become) in evidence at the institution in the past (present; future)?

- What degrees or diplomas were (are; will be) awarded by the institution in the past (present; future)?
- What cultural, ideological and political outcomes of higher education were (are; will be) valued by the institution in the past (present; future)?

- What outcomes of higher education were (are; will be) perceived by the institution as beneficial to Bulgaria as a nation in the past (present; future)?

- How was (is; will be) higher educational quality perceived and measured by the institution in the past (present; future)?

- How transferable were (are; will be) the institution's student and scholar population and credentials to other institutions within the country and throughout the world in the past (present; future)?

Procedures of the Research

Introduction

The procedures for conducting this study began with the literature review drawing on the resources of The University of Tennessee Library and the Internet. Early in the preparation for the study, the researcher attended the University of Pittsburgh to study Bulgarian. In Pennsylvania and Tennessee she conducted informal interviews with Bulgarians who served as cultural informants. The researcher made preliminary decisions as to the methodology, the case, the Fundamental Research Questions, and the Guide to Question Categories, all of which are detailed above.

The main portion of the research was conducted in Sofia, Bulgaria, predominantly on the campus of Sofia University. Most interviews were conducted in English, but a professional interpreter was employed when that was not possible. During the course of these interviews, participants made available other documents and literature which were subsequently professionally translated into English.

Upon returning from Bulgaria, further research was conducted in Washington D.C. at the Library of Congress and in interviews with a professor at Georgetown University and with the education official at the consulate of the Republic of Bulgaria. Analysis of the data completed the research procedures.

Interviews

Interviews were of three types:

1. Informal cultural informant interviews in the USA

2. Research interviews in Bulgaria.

3. Follow-up interviews in Washington D.C.

The interviews in the second group compose the interview database plus one interview in the third group in Washington D.C.

Interviews in Bulgaria included government officials, higher education administrators, teaching staff at Sofia University and other institutions, student services personnel at Sofia University, students and alumni of Sofia University as well as graduates and personnel of other institutions of higher education. The follow-up interview also included in the database was conducted in Washington, D.C. with a Balkan expert at Georgetown University.

Preliminary, cultural informant interviews.

Preliminary interviews with Bulgarians in the USA were informal and conversational in nature (Schumacher & McMillan, 1993). Because of the lack of culture-specific, cross-cultural communications literature for Bulgaria, preliminary interview sessions were guided by considerations of general cross-cultural communications theory. These preliminary interviews were not transcribed, coded or entered into the database. Two were partially recorded and the tape was destroyed before the research interviews took place.

The first purpose of preliminary interviews was to establish cultural context and background information to assist the researcher in preparing protocols for formal interviews. The researcher made direct requests of cultural informants to establish cultural guidelines for formal interviews. The second purpose of these interviews was to help determine what is important to ask and how to ask questions about it.

Participants in these interviews also contributed valuable information about personal logistical concerns such as housing, transportation, and safety.

Structured, guided interviews.

Interviews in Sofia of the second type and one in Washington D. C. of the third type are considered the research formal interviews for this study. They are a part of the database. These interviews were structured by the Guide to Question Categories, but the participants often took their own course, elaborating on topics not included in the Guide.

Sampling and participants in structured, guided interviews.

A combination of Patton's (Patton, 1990) purposeful sampling strategies was used to provide a selection of information participants and documents for this study. Stratified sampling of interviews governed the selection of individuals representing logical groups of professors, administrators, students and so on. Participants were also selected by a combination of reputational, case, and network sampling (Schumacher & McMillan, 1993). Network sampling was done in chain or "snowball" fashion by asking for referrals from people the researcher interviewed or met in some other way. Typical case sampling strategy, according to Patton, will provide "key informants, such as

program staff or knowledgeable participants, who can help identify what is typical" (Patton, 1990, p. 173). Some interviews were completely opportunistic, that is, the researcher met some people in a random way during the course of daily activity and requested interviews.

In the USA, expatriate students and two naturalized US citizens constituted the preliminary interviews. These were all identified through network or "snowball" sampling. In Sofia, initial contacts for interviews were made at the annual conference for the Alliance of Universities for Democracy (AUDEM) meeting in Sofia, Bulgaria. Bulgarian conferees and speakers, including educators and non-governmental organization (NGO) administrators, were asked to participate in the research. They, in turn, were asked to assist in network sampling with referrals to other potential participants. For example, the Ambassador of the United States of America to the Republic of Bulgaria was an invited speaker at the conference. He introduced the researcher to Bulgarian government officials who became participants and/or made arrangements for the researcher to interview other government officials who, in turn, assisted in making appointments with Sofia University administrators.

Professors, administrators, student services personnel, and students of Sofia University were deliberately sought out. Attempts were made to interview department heads and chief administrators as elite or expert informants. In one instance, a student organization requested they be included in the interviews.

Bulgarians not affiliated with Sofia University or the Ministry of Education and Science were also interviewed. Some of these participants were affiliated with other institutions of education or research and others were not involved with academics in any

way. They were included for comparison and contrast with other institutions and to explore public opinion in general. Some of these interviews were a result of the 2000 AUDEM conference and some a result of chance meeting or social introduction.

Data collection in structured interviews.

Interviews were recorded on magnetic audio tape. In most cases, handwritten notes were taken as a backup in the event of technical problems with the recording device. The interviews were transcribed by the researcher using a transcription machine and typed into computer Microsoft Word 98 documents. Transcribed sentences in the Word document were separated or grouped according to the smallest codable topics known as "text units," and the entire document was loaded into the NUD*IST text analysis software. Within the software, the text units were coded according to predetermined as well as Emergent Cross-Categories. The software permits each text unit to be coded into to multiple categories. Word documents and NUD*IST coding data were saved on hard drive and on backup Zip disks.

Interview process.

The researcher conducted 42 separate interviews in Sofia, Bulgaria. Four people were interviewed twice. One student requested a second interview, one Sofia University administrator was 45 minutes late for the first interview and offered to meet with the researcher a second time. A third person had a single interview first and later participated with two other people in an interview. The researcher requested a second interview with the other participant near the end of her stay in Bulgaria to resolve and clarify issues that

had been raised over the period of research and to collect and discuss materials the participant had found to contribute to the data. In total, the population of interviewees was 55 participants.

At the beginning of the interview, participants were given an Informed Consent Statement (Appendix A) which included a brief description of the purpose of the study, its risks, and benefits. It also detailed the researcher's commitments to confidentiality, information on where to contact the researcher and the nature of voluntary participation. The participant was asked to sign the statement indicating that he or she understood the agreement and was willing to continue. The Informed Consent Statement was written in English, but a Bulgarian translation was available for participants who required an interpreter for the interview. The concept of informed consent was a new one to almost all participants; therefore the length of time necessary to read, explain and sign was longer than one might expect in the USA.

Preparing for interviews within a different culture yields concerns about question construction and other language and etiquette considerations different from those for interviews in one's own culture. If the interviewee did not know English, the questions were directed through a translator. Barzun and Graff offer detailed advice for research consumers of translations. In answer to the pronouncement "That's what it says!" they respond, "There is no 'it.' There is a foreign mind, and there is yours, charged with the duty of re-expressing what that mind thought" (Barzun & Graff, 1977, p. 274). Working through a translator interjects a yet third mind into the process.

Interview questions followed a protocol designed to be a hybrid of an interview guide and a standardized questionnaire. The Guide for Question Categories was used as

a point of departure, and participants rarely had trouble filling the interview time once they started talking. Questions were planned with the detail and care of a standardized questionnaire to reduce cultural and language misunderstandings, however, question sequencing was not rigid as in a standardized interview (Schumacher & McMillan, 1993, p. 426). Also, the language and content of questions changed over time as the researcher became more familiar with the culture and educational institutions. Questions sometimes needed to be rephrased depending on the communication capabilities among the interviewer and the participants. Interviews were recorded and transcribed by the researcher with Oral History: From Tape to Type serving as the protocol (Davis, Back, & MacLean, 1977).

Each interview is represented in both physical and electronic databases as a tape of the interview, a copy in Microsoft Word 98, a printed copy of the transcription, and an electronic version downloaded into NUD*IST software for coding and analysis. All electronic versions are also stored on Zip disks.

Research Tools

In their survey of qualitative researchers, Miles and Huberman report that three-quarters of respondents use computer software (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This research employed computer and audio equipment and software. The research tools taken to Bulgaria and utilized throughout the study are shown in Table III-7.

Table III-7 Research Tools Used in Bulgaria and the USA

Research Tools	Utilization
E-mail	Resource for connecting with interviewees and arranging in-country logistics in Bulgaria.
EndNote	Bibliographic software customized by the researcher to serve as a system for note taking and to generate the references for the final report.
Hewlett Packard Desk Jet 340	Portable printer used with the Macintosh PowerBook G3.
Internet	Resource for locating electronic and printed information.
Iomega Zip Plus	Zip drive used to create backup copies of data.
Macintosh PowerBook G3	Laptop computer used for all computer applications.
Microsoft Word 98	Word processor used to type and store text for transcriptions, researcher notes, print displays and final report.
QRS NUD*IST 4	Text analysis software used to code, sort, analyze, and store qualitative text data.
Panasonic Micro-cassette Transcriber	Transcribing machine used to transcribe interview audio recordings to Microsoft Word 98 documents.
Sony M-100MC Mic'n Micro	Two identical micro-tape cassette recording devices were used to make audio tape recordings of the interviews. These are not recommended for future research. Both had to be repaired and both gave poor quality recordings except under the most ideal circumstances.

Text analysis software.

This researcher employed the database software, QRS Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorizing 4 (QRS NUD*IST 4), for data entry and analysis. The researcher used the database to code and sort qualitative data. It provides for searching text for patterns and assists in theorizing about data (Qualitative Solutions and Research Pty Ltd, 1997). Any unit of text can be assigned multiple coding as needed. Text may be coded according to pre-determined and/or emergent categories.

The criteria for selecting this database was the capability for analyzing texts of interviews and documents, coding, sorting, visualizing and analyzing data in the question categories. The seven question categories were the Original Categories. Other categories were added as they emerged in the research and became the Emergent Cross-Categories. QRS NUD*IST 4 data is maintained in the Macintosh PowerBook G3 with Zip disk backups.

Other computer tools.

The researcher uses Microsoft Word 98 in a Macintosh PowerBook G3 computer for writing and designing graphic displays of data. All interviews were transcribed into Microsoft Word 98 documents and loaded into the QRS NUD*IST 4 text analysis software.

Products of the Study

Introduction

Products of this study are the final framework and the physical and electronic databases. Results and conclusions are reported here with findings elaborated and displayed. This report also serves as a part of the database.

Final conceptual framework.

The final Conceptual Framework includes the analysis units of Time Periods, Original Categories and Emergent Cross-Categories. The Time Periods remained include communism, democracy, and the future. The Original Categories analyzed are six of the original seven categories in the Guide to Question Categories: Contexts, Mission, Access and the Student Body, Governance and Organizational Structure, Function, and Resources. The Original Category, Structure, was expanded to include Governance in the title.

The eight Emergent Cross-Categories arise from the interviews and create a new dimension in the conceptual framework. They are Accountability; Public Information and Public Relations; Change; Collectivism versus Individualism; Internationalization of Higher Education; Quality and Autonomy; Suspicion and Corruption; Inefficiency and Bureaucracy; and Money. Emergent Cross-Categories interacted with at least one Original Category, but not necessarily all of them. Not all of the sub-questions in the Guide were asked and there were no responses available on many others. Table III-8 shows the relationship of the analysis units in the final conceptual framework.

TABLE III-8 Final Conceptual Framework: The Relationship of Original and Emergent Cross-Categories Over Time in the Transition of Sofia University from Communism to Democracy.

EMERGENT CROSS-THEMES	ORIGINAL THEME 1 CONTEXTS During A.. Communism B. Democracy C. Future	ORIGINAL THEME 2 MISSION During A.. Communism B. Democracy C. Future	ORIGINAL THEME 3 ACCESS & STUDENT BODY During A.. Communism B. Democracy C. Future	ORIGINAL THEME 4 GOVERNANCE & STRUCTURE During A.. Communism B. Democracy C. Future	ORIGINAL THEME 5 FUNCTION During A.. Communism B. Democracy C. Future	ORIGINAL THEME 6 RESOURCES During A.. Communism B. Democracy C. Future
1. ACCOUNTABILITY, PUBLIC INFORMATION & PUBLIC RELATIONS	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.
2. CHANGE	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.
3. COLLECTIVISM & INDIVIDUALISM	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.
4. INTERNATIONAL-IZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.
5. QUALITY AND AUTONOMY	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.
6. SUSPICION OF CORRUPTION	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.
7. INEFFICIENCY & BUREAUCRACY	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.
8. MONEY	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.	a. b. c.

Physical database.

The physical database includes printed material, and artifacts. Printed material includes documents, translations of documents, printed copies of interviews, notes of the researcher, and an annotated bibliography of the contents of both databases. The findings and conclusions in the form of this completed dissertation will be maintained in paper form as a part of the physical database. Artifacts include tapes and notes of interviews.

Documents such as the Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria, the Republic of Bulgaria Laws for Education including the Higher Education Act of 1995 as amended through 1999, government publications and Sofia University institutional documents served as data to analyze the higher education system and its contexts. Using the billing formula of a professional translator, approximately 300 pages of Bulgarian educational documents were translated into English for this research. The researcher also studied official translations of communist reports found in the Library of Congress in Washington D.C. Other references were books from the University of Tennessee Library and articles from the Internet generated in both the USA and Bulgaria.

Electronic database.

The electronic database includes transcribed interviews stored in the hard drive of the Macintosh PowerBook G3 computer and also on backup Zip disks. QRS NUD*IST 4 software and data analysis from all interviews and documents comprise the major portion of the electronic database. EndNote software maintains the reference material. The findings and conclusions as reported in the dissertation are stored electronically as well as in an annotated bibliography of both the physical and electronic databases. These too, are maintained on backup Zip disks.

Analysis Processes

Transcription Process

The interviews were transcribed into Microsoft Word 98 software by the researcher. Because of accents, background noise, tape quality, recorder problems, speech impediments, distance from the microphone or various combinations of the same, there were often gaps in the stream of recorded conversation. These gaps were marked in the Word document text by (?###) with ### representing the number on the counter of the transcription devise. In an attempt to maximize transcription content, gaps were checked multiple times at different speeds on the transcriber and also several times on the original recording devise in an effort to eliminate as many gaps as possible. Interview notes were used to help understand the meaning and eliminate gaps as well.

When quotes are introduced into this report, phrases or sentences with gaps were deleted and marked with three periods unless the meaning of the quote would be lost. In some cases, the researcher introduced a word or phrase into the gap if meaning was obvious given the context, written notes, memory or subsequent conversations. Interjected terms were enclosed with brackets.

Participants had a wide range of spoken English proficiency. Some quotes have a number of grammatical errors that cloud meaning. Others include terms that might be confusing to native English speakers not aware of conventional English usage among Bulgarian speakers. The researcher notes errors, add words or clarifies meanings in brackets or by using [sic] in the text. When transcriptions were complete, the Word document was readied for loading into the text analysis software.

Text Unit Definition Process

Before the Microsoft Word text of interviews could be loaded into the text analysis software, QRS NUD*IST 4, some preparation was required. The basic analysis unit in the NUD*IST software is called a Text Unit and is defined by the researcher with a hard return on the keyboard at the Microsoft Word processing stage. The Text Unit can be a single word, sentence, paragraph or whatever the researcher decides. This researcher defined a Text Unit as a portion of the interview text in which the major topic under discussion is complete. This was roughly equivalent to a paragraph in most cases. The example below demonstrates a Text Unit as determined by the researcher.

> At the moment, let's put it this way. We can talk about three or four ways of changes. Definitely the first change was an overwhelming one. It was an explosion of ideological disciplines from the Humanitarian Sciences. That was the first. I think it was unanimously supported by almost every ... even by those who secretly wanted those things to remain, but they actually never ... but they had to publicly they are against them. Here we are talking, you know what the ideological disciplines are, you know that? Theory of Marxism, History of Bulgarian Communist Party, History of International Labor Movement, History of (?043) Materialism, Historical Materialism, and all these things. These was, I think, (?043) disappeared.

In some cases, the text unit was a single sentence or even a word as in a series of short exchanges between the interviewer and participant(s). The following examples represent 5 Text Units to separate the interviewer speech from the participant speech.

> A: We have in our (?057) 2 million materials. We have ...
> Q: That's your total?
> A: The most important thing is new purchase of ...new acquisitions. It links with new plans for education. New plans for education with our university.
> Q: Links with other universities?
> A: New programs for education, created new faculties.

During the coding process, the third through the fifth text units could be coded as a group to a sub-category for new programs, for example. The edited quote in the final report of findings might appear as:

> The most important thing is [the]...purchase of ... new acquisitions. It links with new plans for education...with our university, ... new programs, ... new faculties.

Coding Process

Data (Text Unit) Coding Process

Transcripts were imported into NUD*IST 4 software directly from Microsoft Word interviews with Text Units marked and with demographic identifiers noted. The text analysis software allows the researcher to define categories in two ways, by an Index System or a Text Search. Coding into an Index System involves devising pre-set categories and sub-categories and assigning individual Text Units to one or more of them. As new ideas emerge, new categories and sub-categories may be added to the Index System.

A Text Search can be used to search the entire set of interviews for a specific word or words. Text Searches can serve as a double check on the Index System or they can stand alone to serve a variety of purposes. Both coding mechanisms were used to identify relevant data.

A coding system was established at the beginning of the analysis based on the Guide to Question Categories. The eight Original Categories were:

1. Contexts
2. Mission
3. Access & Student Body
4. Governance and Organizational Structure
5. Function

6. Resources

7. Outcomes (Sub-categories were later subsumed or eliminated.)

The coding of sub-categories were added based on keywords in the research questions of the original research question categories. New sub-categories were introduced as they emerged. Other sub-categories were duplicated in other Original Categories as shades of usage emerged. Still other groups of sub-categories were ultimately collapsed into one or some were eliminated altogether if they had nothing of value to add to the findings.

Each Text Unit of every interview was analyzed and assigned to one or more category and subcategory. At the completion of coding all interviews by Text Units, Text Searches of keywords were made for each of the categories and sub-categories, to help ensure that data was not overlooked or categorized incorrectly in the original coding process. As new ideas emerged in the analysis process, various searches of related keywords were conducted as well.

Demographic Coding Process

Participants within each interview were identified by general educational category and career type with the information retained with all quotes in Word, NUD*IST and in the final report. The demographic identifiers are as follows:

- Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science
- Administrator, Sofia University
- Faculty Member, Sofia University
- Student Services Personnel, Sofia University

- Undergraduate Student, Sofia University

  (This figure includes both Bachelor and Master students because of the transition of the degree system.)

- Undergraduate Member of the Student Council
- Graduate Student (called Post Graduate Students in Bulgaria)
- Faculty or Administrator, Specialized Institution
- Faculty or Administrator, Private Institution of Higher Education
- Administrator, Non-Government Organization
- Employee, Ministry of Culture
- Scientist, Research Institute
- Graduate of Sofia University not currently involved with higher education or research.
- Graduate of a specialized institution not working in higher education.
- If a person in any of the above categories was known to the researcher to be a graduate of Sofia University, that was indicated in addition to the career title.

Final Analysis Process

Within the QSR NUD*IST 4 text analysis software, Text Unit quotes from interviews were assigned codes according to Original Categories, Emergent Cross-Categories and sub-categories. The Text Units within each NUD*IST category were arranged according to past, present and future time periods. Ultimately, all quotes were sorted by Original Category, Emergent Cross-Category, and time period then displayed for the researcher to analyze. For example, all quotes coded to Mission and its sub-

categories were all sorted by time period and were displayed in NUD*IST along with their demographic identifiers.

Quotes thus identified were ordered further to support a logical narrative for each Original Category, Emergent Cross-Category and sub-category. Some quotes were eliminated because of duplication, language problems, or lack of substantial information. The researcher edited the selected quotes to eliminate extraneous information, to clarify meaning or add interpretive comments. Edited quotes were "cut and pasted" from QSR NUD*IST 4 into the main Word document to fit by era and logic into the narrative of the final report.

Limitations

Cultural Assumptions

A major effort for the researcher in this study was to be deliberately alert to cultural assumptions on the part of the researcher, participants, and writers and allow for the full range of responses and conclusions. For example, in this study of Bulgarian education in transition from communism to democracy, it was necessary that the researcher train herself to acknowledge, avoid and constantly monitor American ethnocentric assumptions that post-communism changes were all "good" or that they have been uniformly embraced in Bulgarian academia.

On the other hand, it was also necessary to be aware of the issue of cultural response set which Matsumoto defines as "a cultural tendency to respond a certain way" (Matsumoto, 1994, p. 33). The researcher had to be alert to the possibility that

Bulgarians would assume an American would want to hear only the "bad" about the communist era. In an attempt to balance the assumptions of both researcher and participant, the researcher would often ask about how education fared better under communism and worse under democracy.

Language and Shared Meaning

In conducting cross-cultural research, a major consideration is language. Ideally, the researcher would be fluent in both the language of the research participants and in the language in which the findings are to be reported. Lacking that, the researcher must either rely on the participant answering questions in a second language or must depend on an interpreter whose first language is often that of the participant being interviewed. In either case, the definition of terms takes on a dimension of complexity often avoided in same-culture interviews.

Interviews in cross-cultural research can be described as one interviewer, one or more participants, and possibly an interpreter all committed to transmitting and receiving information through a common vocabulary sometimes lacking in shared meaning. The intended meaning of a phrase at one end of the conversation and the understanding of it at the other end, therefore, are influenced by the level of language knowledge of all parties, the level of alertness of the interviewer to sound, accent, conventions of English usage within the participant's culture, the context of the interview, the frequency of requests for clarification and confirmation of meaning, and the constant rechecking of the current interviews with previous ones to confirm patterns of usage. The researcher is sometimes required to "unlearn" past conclusions and "re-listen" to tapes of interviews with new

assumptions of meaning. Only a detailed example will illustrate the complexity of the problem.

After several informal conversations and official interviews, the researcher realized that when the term "high school" was used in conversation she assumed one meaning and the participant often assumed another. The researcher assumed the meaning to be a secondary school consisting of groups of students who were in their 9th through 12th year of public schooling. American readers of the final report would have assumed the same definition. At some point in the research process, the researcher realized that when she *thought* she was hearing "high school," she was more likely failing to hear a crucial suffix, "high*er* school." In Bulgarian, the term "higher school" is often more equivalent to "higher education" than to high school, as in secondary school. Possibly this results from a transliteration that has become accepted among English speakers within that culture.

On other occasions, Bulgarians will actually use the term "high school" without the suffix "er" to mean "higher school" because, the researcher presumes, they heard the phrase used by native English speakers without realizing the difference in meaning. This particular example is complicated further by the fact that, depending on the amount of contact with native English speakers, still other Bulgarians have resolved the shades of meanings and may be using "high school" with the same assumption of meaning as the American researcher. In cross-cultural research, the researcher must be open to constant revision of definitions, reviewing earlier conversations with the current operative cross-cultural "dictionary" of shared meaning.

Lack of Communist Viewpoint

Possibly the most serious limitation in the study was the lack of participation from acknowledged communist participants. No participant admitted to having been committed to the communist cause. Though participants referred to the continued presence of communists and though the researcher asked to be introduced to communists, non were ever identified or introduced. Pointing out a communist to a foreigner is likely an uncomfortable prospect for all involved. Possibly a longer-term of investigation on a more intimate scale would produce participants from a wider political spectrum.

CHAPTER IV

DATA PRESENTATION ON ORIGINAL AND EMERGENT CATEGORIES

Introduction

Weaving the Categories of Sofia University

"Oh, I see you bought a rug woven in Ciprovci." It was a joy to the foreign researcher/shopper in Sofia when the Bulgarian friend continued, "Did they tell you? It's the traditional flower garden pattern, very well known from that part of the country. It's just northwest of Sofia near the Serbian border. Yes, it's a very nice rug, actually!" His words were sweet assurance that the foreigner spent hard-earned money on the genuine article, a product of real people in a real place different from all others on earth. It was confirmation that another rug like it would not be found in the shopping mall back home, for it is a pattern unique to a specific culture, place and time.

With good reason, the art of weaving is often used as a metaphor for complex, ongoing life processes. It can serve as a model for thinking about higher education within various cultural contexts around the globe. Traveling over great distance or time, one might expect to find widespread uniform pattern designs and monotonous examples of the rug weaving process, for in principal at least, weaving is a simple operation. Moreover, in the abstract, a rug woven at one juncture of latitude and longitude has much the same function as one woven at another. In reality, however, the weaver's rug is more

likely to be a work of art with a purpose and beauty unique to precisely where and when it is made.

Consider three sample rugs, an antique rug braided in Appalachia, a new carpet produced by computer design in Dalton, Georgia, or the rug purchased by the foreign researcher, hand-woven in traditional geometric flower patterns, in a village near Ciprovci, Bulgaria. The novice observer would have little trouble identifying which is which, for each rug is unique in the weaving process, function, raw materials and most certainly, the pattern. All are strongly influenced if not strictly dictated by culture, place and time.

Educational institutions are distinctive in much the same fashion. A university in the USA has much in common with a "universitet" in Bulgaria, but they cannot be assumed to be of one cloth. The raw materials, both physical and human, the structure, the function, the process by which the separate institutions came into being over time are all strongly influenced by their evolving cultural, political, and economic environment.

The researcher's task in this undertaking was to observe and try to understand the pattern, the colors, fibers, the overall design, and the "hand" or the feel of the texture of the fabric of Sofia University and Bulgarian higher education in general. The product of this research is a representation of the pattern, texture and function unique to Sofia University. It is metaphorically woven from evidence recorded through the eyes and ears of a foreigner whose interpretations are influenced by processes and patterns from a different culture. Bias is a term common to both research and the fiber arts. The researcher, the reader and the weaver all do well to attend to its potential for distorting the authentic design of the design of the fabric.

The Warp and the Woof of the Weaving Pattern: Original Categories and Emergent Cross-Categories

Employing the weaving imagery further, the researcher prepares a loom on which to interpret the patterns of the institution. Main threads or Original Categories on which to base the interview questions were arranged sparsely on the loom: contexts, mission, access, structure, function, and resources. The researcher assumed these categories to be basic to higher education across cultures. The warp strands are secured at the beginning and the end of the fabric on a loom. They are continuous and linear in character representing the Original Categories over time. Once on the Sofia University campus, threads of varying fiber and color were added to fill in the gaps in the warp, as sub-categories of the Original Categories became apparent.

Emergent Cross-Categories were not originally apparent to the researcher from a geographical and cultural distance, but upon investigation they revealed themselves as they intertwined with some or all of the Original Categories. The Emergent Cross-Categories clustered around several topics: accountability, public information and public relations; change; collectivism versus individualism; internationalization of higher education; quality and autonomy; suspicion of corruption; inefficiency and bureaucracy; and money. The interaction of the warp threads (Original Categories) with the weaving of woof threads (Emergent Cross-Categories) brought the unique pattern of Sofia University into focus in a dramatic way. Table III-8 on page 83 serves as a guide to the interaction of the two types of categories in this chapter.

The overview of the Original Categories and Emergent Cross-Categories will be introduced here, and developed individually throughout the chapter. The Original

Categories represent what the researcher wanted to know. The Emergent Cross-Categories represent, for the most part, what the participants thought was important for the researcher to know.

Original categories.

In the final analysis, the Original Categories used to report the data are distilled from the Guide to Question Categories (see page 69).

- Contexts
- Mission
- Access and the Student Body
- Governance and Organizational Structure
- Function
- Resources

These are categories which could be used to examine any institution of higher education, and they represent what the researcher specifically asked participants about Sofia University. The first Original Category is context, which includes the various cultural, political, economic and social milieux within which an institution exists. Mission is examined in the broadest sense of the term as the effective reason for existence of the institution. The process of accessing higher education and the resultant demographic composition of the student body are another category of data.

Governance and organizational structure is a broad category examining the internal governance of the institution and its relationship with the national government. This category also looks into the lifestyle of the university population of professors and

students. Teaching, research and service are examined as functions of the institution. The resources category encompasses a broad look at funding sources and non-funding resources such as linkages and internal resources of the institution.

Emergent cross-categories.

Aside from the Original Categories addressed in the researcher's questions, dominant themes emerged from the interviews representing what was important to the participants.

- Accountability, Public Information and Public Relations
- Change
- Collectivism versus Individualism
- Internationalization of Higher Education
- Quality and Autonomy
- Suspicion of Corruption
- Inefficiency and Bureaucracy
- Money

These Emergent Cross-Categories interacted with one or more of the Original Themes giving rise to the weaving metaphor. In the original research design, it was assumed that some of the subtopics of the Original Categories could be treated as discrete topics and contained within its single category. This proved difficult as the research project developed.

Subtopics of the Original Categories such as quality, autonomy, and internationalization took on larger dimensions in reality than originally perceived by the

researcher, and were inextricably intertwined with one or more other categories. They emerged as independent Emergent Cross-Categories in the final analysis. Moreover, there had not been an expectation that the subtopics of quality and autonomy would have been consistently perceived jointly by participants; therefore they are discussed as one Emergent Cross-Category.

Though the intent of the research was to examine change in higher education in the grand sense, the issue of change itself had not been anticipated as a category of such importance to participants. Thus the topic of change required its own place among Emergent Cross-Categories. The topics of money, suspicion, and concerns about bureaucracy and inefficiency occurred often in the interviews in connection with other topics and justified Emergent Cross-Category status. Given that individualism and collectivism is a major feature of cultures addressed in intercultural communications theory, it should have come as no surprise that it emerged as a cross-category in the context of change from communism to a free market democracy.

A presentation of the research data follows in which selected quotes of participants compose a collective narrative connected by the researcher's interpretative comments.

Presentation of the Data

Introduction

The data presented below consists mainly of quotes from participants and occasionally from the literature. Sentences in each interview were analyzed and assigned

to Original and Emergent Cross-Categories using the QSR NUD*IST 4 text analysis software. For each Original Category, quotes are ordered by time and logical narrative. Following the data for each Original Category, related quotes coded to Emergent Cross-Categories are presented.

Data Presentation on Context and Emergent Cross-Categories

Introduction

A university does not exist apart from its contexts. It is a product of place and time and a function of the history, the political environment, the economic conditions surrounding it and the society and culture nurturing it and providing the values and justification for its existence. The analysis of data on Sofia University begins with its context over time.

Data on the Original Category of Context

Bulgarians attribute their reverence and enthusiasm for education to traditions of many centuries. Sofia University traces its intellectual heritage from the 9th century to the 21st.

> [A] school which was founded ... in Macedonia as a spiritual and cultural focus in the center of the, then, Bulgarian kingdom.... And it was a part of the launching of the [Cyrillic] alphabet. So, ... there is a linkage of what the people in Bulgaria and this university are doing with the know how and the creativity of the people, the Bulgarians who have been living eleven centuries ago. So, [now] it's computers, it's a lot more English, but the creativity and the education ... at its roots [was] built in the Bulgarian history.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

The Bulgarians proudly claim that an early school in Macedonia was a Bulgarian institution and that it was a predecessor to the higher educational institutions in Western Europe. The modern European university in the form of Sofia University appeared

almost immediately following the exit of the Ottoman rulers in the late 1800s. Sofia University, its individual faculties and departments are all proud of their history in educating Bulgarian youth and helping to form a new nation.

> [W]e are glad and we are proud that we are keeping more than 100 years tradition in this law school as well as university. We have been the second oldest department of the university. And ... that 100 years tradition for Bulgaria means a lot. ... [because] our sovereign period in modern times is only 122 years. Most of this period is in the development and evolution of Bulgaria [and] is linked to the existence and the evolution of this university and the Law Department.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

They also take pride in preserving the culture of its citizens.

> And this library is 120 years old, opened in the years of the liberation of Bulgaria; maybe you have read something about it. You know that the new Bulgarian state [began in] 1878, and in 1879 the library was opened. It is one of the oldest cultural institutions in the country. That's why in the beginning, everything which was found in this territory, as a manuscript, as an old thing, was coming here. That's why we have so big a collection of old materials.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

There is a great pride in Bulgaria in the development of the educational system as a whole, as it is distinctly Bulgarian but also as it has benefited from international influences.

> We had in the past a good tradition in secondary education and in higher education. This good tradition at the beginning of this century were [sic] established by Germany. You see, ... [because] our [King] Ferdinand who was from Austria, a German man from Austria, ... we had very good gymnasium [schools]. Our teachers in this gymnasium were ... very interesting and very rich in the culture.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University and Graduate of Sofia University]

> I think the most important thing is that Bulgaria generally has wonderful higher education. Very high quality education. Not only higher education, but also secondary school. It was a very settled system.... As I know, I think, it was started by Germany, but with very old traditions far in the history of Bulgaria. It was really good.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Until the time of the communist rule, Western influence was considered to be a great plus in the development of higher education in general and Sofia University in particular.

At that time [early 1940s] the medical faculty was a part of the Sofia University, St. Kliment Ohridski.... [T]he professors we had in the medicine .... had studied in England, France or Germany or in Austria, and so they belonged to the Paris or to the French medical school and French medical philosophy, also in the German.... [T]his gave some specificity and was a contribution to the pluralism in the education because we have to make a choice between the professor from Vienna or Berlin or in Paris. It was also a competition between the professors.... And we had also some professors who were studied in the United States, for example, ... one of the professors was educated in the Mayo Clinic.... At that time, science and education were together because the Academy of Sciences was at that time only a society of scientists, but there were no special laboratories and institutes for research. So the science was developed in the university. In the *university*.
[Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science, Graduate of Sofia University]

One of the most long-standing of institutional traditions at Sofia University is the celebration of its founding in 1888.

A: On the 8th of December, we celebrate in Bulgaria the Day of Bulgarian Students ... and maybe Bulgarian professors. (Laughs) We celebrate it, but it is certainly a day to be celebrated at .... Kliment Ohridsky University in Sofia. This was the first Bulgarian university, open[ed] in 1888, more than 100 years ago .... so that is why we celebrate this date.... Many of them [students] go out of Sofia, for example [to] motels in the mountains or [to] the mountains just to spend the day there, enjoy the life and dancing. And, by the way, the professors do the same. (Laughter).

Q: Was this true when you were a student [in the 1970s]?....

A: Of course, we did the same thing.

Q: So, it's been a custom for over a hundred years?

A: Yes, yes, it is.... Some things don't change. (Laughs) ....

For example, the celebration of the Students' Day, if you know the Bulgarian poet, [Name], he is translator of Shakespeare into Bulgarian, he is just a bright poet and translator. He wrote a very nice poem about the Student's Day and about the celebration 60 years ago .... It is just as he were writing it yesterday.... The celebration 60 years ago IS the same.
[Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

The value of education, as a cultural assumption, continues to the present day.

[A] great Bulgarian scholar ... said that really the Bulgarians are reverent, the parents give EVERYTHING they have for the education for their children...
[Faculty Member, Sofia University]

The researcher heard many times, in interviews and informal conversation, that parents make great sacrifices to educate their children.

A: Bulgarians are very curious about education, and it's very strange. Bulgarians, right now, are not rich people, but they are ready to spend, really, ALL their money for education. It's very interesting.

Q: You mean as individuals or as a country?

A: Personally. Not as a government, not as a country, but personally. Families NEED an education. Well, it's a kind of family product to need an education. You could be, well, very poor people, but well, [it's a] very strange phenomenon. Psychologically, every Bulgarian thinks he or she should go to the university or to some kind of school to learn foreign languages, to have some kind of speciality, some kind.

Q: It's a very high value?

A: It's a VERY high value in Bulgarian society.

[Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Bulgarians take great pride in their education system from the earliest years through higher education. Despite the financial hardships faced by the nation, Bulgarians view their educational system as a whole as second to none in the world, in terms of depth, complexity and quality of education. The philosophy of education from secondary to higher education has continued in the German and Soviet tradition of providing a strong background to all elementary and secondary students in what Americans would call a liberal education. Students begin specializing in high school in preparation for careers or higher education.

A: I think the main difference from the American system is in the secondary schools, because we have a good system of specialized secondary schools. We had a good system of technical schools from one side and from the other side, we had a good system of language schools, foreign language schools. And now, what's new [is] many schools, secondary schools appeared with for business skills, business management skills.... And that's why I think our children have generally much wider education at secondary schools, and that's why our university level is more concentrate. We don't have, for example, like in Europe, the first years (of higher education] many general disciplines. They [students] are usually starting right away with [their] major. That is the main difference, because our secondary school is very strong school. Children are very well prepared for higher education.

Q: Higher level than, for example, American education?

A: Exactly. Every Bulgarian is convinced about it. You know even Bulgarians that are living for years abroad, they are bringing their children here to have secondary education, because it is very good.

[Faculty Member, specialized institution]

The curriculum continues to be quite rigorous according to some who have experience comparing Bulgarian and Western public education.

> Our programs are very difficult for children in comparison with the Americans. When my granddaughter was a schoolgirl here in Sofia, she needed all the time my help to prepare [for the teacher's] lecture. It is common for all children. Normal children have a lot of difficulties to be well prepared. Our [elementary and secondary] programs are very difficult. And when she went to the States, it was very easy for her.
> [Scientist, research institute]

There are, however, growing concerns about the lack of discipline in the lower grades and that this situation is affecting the quality of education.

> You know, I think that work is not good now in the primary and secondary school. It is the lack of discipline. Though I am a liberal person, but I think that the children should have some respect for their teacher. And they should speak to him or to her in such a way, and now they do not do so.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University and Graduate of Sofia University]

There has been some disillusionment at the level of higher education as well. One graduate of Sofia University recalls his first impressions of the institution.

> I remember I had to go to a very, very decrepit building which is like more than 100 years old, but which had not been repaired for approximately 50 years.... and people that were in the same room studying, they did not seem intelligent to me, which was later to be confirmed by further contacts.
> [Administrator NGO, Graduate of Sofia University]

Data on the Emergent Cross-Categories Interacting with Contexts

In the data to follow, quotes coded to change and collectivist ways of thinking are presented as they relate to contexts.

Change itself quickly emerged as a dominant theme in the research.

> We waited for The Changes for a very long time. Very, very long time. Long before '85. We even talked about Hungary and Czechoslovakia, how people were doing something about themselves and we are not and all that.
> [Administrator, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

"The Changes" in political orientation in 1989 set in motion the state of flux in higher education reflecting the condition of constant change in society at large.

> People believed that with democracy, things would change quickly and Bulgaria would be a different State.... How did that turn out? (Laughs). It turned out that ten years after, people are really not as rich as they would like to be. Also, it turned out that there isn't a magic stick which can better the situation quickly. People are having problems, and probably more problems in the democratic state than in the totalitarian state.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution, Graduate of Sofia University]

The recent decade of change is a continuation of a history of externally imposed change that has not always benefited Bulgaria.

> But now we have special changes. We try to change our education program, the government try, but I don't think we have a clear view for the changing, because they try to take different parts from Europe, from different universities from Europe, they try to take something from United States. But we don't have our own program which is passed from area, from our region, from our geography, from our climate here in Bulgaria. I think that for the future, we have to have program which will be good for our way of living here in Bulgaria.
> [Graduate of a specialized institution]

The people often view this generation of decision-makers as unskilled in making necessary changes.

> Yes, I hope, and I believe that we can change things. Because in the moment, the man who is rule us [sic], who is the man who is [a] democrat, but they live in old system. They live in old tradition, and I think that only young people can help to the country.
> [Student Services Personnel, Sofia University, Currently a student in a specialized institution]

Collectivist ideals and ways of thinking persist as a solution to many contextual problems.

> And maybe one day, we will be a part of the European Union, a big family of European Union. But it is the reason that all the Bulgarian people work for this reason.
> [Student Services Personnel, Sofia University, Currently a student in a specialized institution]

Data Presentation on Mission and Emergent Cross-Categories

Introduction

Research participants were sometimes hard pressed to articulate a formal mission for Sofia University or higher education in general, past or present. In fact, the concept of a mission statement was a bit alien to them as it would be to Westerners without benefit of a decade or so of waves of workshops on formulating mission and vision statements. For that matter, it is not likely that many Western educators or students have their institution's mission statement on the tips of their tongues. Nevertheless, most people had their own ideas of what the purpose of higher education was in the past but were less certain about the present and the future.

Data on the Original Category of Mission

Some participants could not easily verbalize the idea of a formal mission for Sofia University during the communist era.

> I don't see any particular mission at the university in the old time. Nobody talk[ed] about that or thought about it.
> [Administrator, Sofia University and Sofia University Graduate]

The mission of higher education during that time was generally perceived by research participants to be directly related to guaranteed employment for all citizens.

> Before the changes, we almost didn't know anything about unemployment. Every student at the high school [meaning institution of higher education] used to receive an appointment to somewhere. We had very low salaries... equal to everybody, but we had jobs.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

"Narrow specialization" was a term that recurred throughout the literature and in the interviews. It emphasized further the mission of targeting education to specific needs of the economy.

> The former model was the model of so many narrow specializations and qualifications. We call this model the Soviet Model, because it was introduced in Bulgaria just after the war...And the idea was to prepare specialists in narrow fields in order to recover the industry... the economy of these countries.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science, Graduate of Sofia University]

There was no mention of the concept of liberal education or education for life from any of the participants as a mission of higher education. Surprisingly, though they spoke about it in other contexts, none of the participants offered comments on ideological indoctrination when asked directly about the mission of higher education in the past.

The data on the perception of mission in the present included comments from a student who expressed frustration that the university was not capable of fulfilling a mission of preparing him for secure employment. He found it incredible that university graduates could be unemployed or working in a field other than in their educational major. "You can't DEPEND on anything. You can't make PLANS!" he exclaimed several times in discussing the dilemmas of young people in making decisions from elementary school onward.

Bulgarians continue to see training for employment as the major mission of higher education, but the geographical scope is far greater now than it ever was during the communist past.

> Probably the main difference is that now higher education is trying to prepare specialists more comparable with other countries, to move our Bulgaria education closer to European and American education, to start a credit system, in order to give the specialists the ability to find work elsewhere.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Despite the lack of awareness of a formal mission, one participant assumed that quality teaching was the obvious and implied mission.

> It is a little bit complicated for me to answer what is the mission of the higher education institution. The mission [is] to teach young people. [Laughs] To teach them well.
> [Administrator, private institution of higher education.]

The challenge for higher education in the future is seen by some as the complete re-creation of both teaching and research as a part of mission.

> We have very big mission in our educational policy. In our educational system we started to make new laws, new rules for science [research] steps [and] educational steps.
> [Administrator, Sofia University]

There is a continued feeling that the educational mission must have something to do with turning around the unemployment situation in the future. What that means and how it can be done remains a mystery.

> A. For me probably now the higher education in Bulgaria have [sic] to prepare more professional [sic] and more correct education for the young person. Most important is to go in a right way, especially to prepare a professional studies, professional programs, especially for educational program.
> Q: What do you mean, "in the right way?"
> A: I mean to have a more clear program. To have a more clear and right direction as a discipline which we have to learn. Especially clear education program. The way that we have to go is a professionalist [sic] ... it's difficult to translate.
> [Graduate of a specialized institution]

Data on the Emergent Cross-Categories Interacting with Mission

Collectivism and internationalization are the emergent cross-categories related to mission as demonstrated in the data to follow. A twist on the collectivism versus individualism theme is interesting to observe in terms of both mission and access in higher education. Collectivist thinking endorsed the existence of an elite educated class for the good of the planned economy. Individualist thinking demands equal opportunity

for educating the masses. According to one government official, despite poor opportunity for employment, Bulgarians are enrolling in higher educational institutions in record numbers.

> But the mass character [of higher education] is a new feature... Fifty years ago in Europe, 10-15% of those who left high school enrolled at the university. Nowadays, this percentage has risen to 30-35%. In Bulgaria this percentage is almost 50%.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science, Graduate of Sofia University]

Higher education for the masses paired with reduced government funding means a change in student population from totally subsidized, traditional age scholars to a somewhat older population of student-workers who are paying, voting customers. The student as a consumer in a free market economy will inevitably influence thinking about the mission of higher education.

> We need the kind of education where, for example, people like me who study and work at the same time would be able to take their exams at different times and who can choose which subjects they want to select.
> [Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

It could be said that that collectivist thinking also influences the substitution of one mission for another. Rather than imparting communistic ideals to students, some see training for democracy as an important mission of today's higher education.

> In addition to education of the public, even MORE important than education, this is creating citizens. That's very important for this period, educating citizens.
> [Administrator, Sofia University]

One participant saw one of the missions of Sofia University as creating a sense of community and modeling citizenship for students.

> And we very often talk with students about the feeling of belonging to the university, breeding this feeling of belonging to the university, personal responsibility, citizenship, and things like that. This is very important for us.
> [Administrator, Sofia University]

In contrast, one undergraduate was not as positive that democratization was a real or realistic goal of education.

> What is declared on the surface is democratization and application of European and American standards of education and training, open-mindedness and demonstration of prospective [sic] of students, but I am sure that some of the faculty members mean it. But I think that the application needs a lot of amendments, a little adjustments. We have a lot of things to reach the desired level.
> [Undergraduate, Sofia University]

For some there is a sense of urgency about converting an educational mission into some kind of economic reality for the sake of the country in general and the youth in particular.

> And all [our] young people are leaving the country. We think there is no future for this country. If it goes in this way, in ten years there will be just retired people here. It's awful. We just need our children to stay in the country.... I think that the only hope now is to keep them here in the country.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Though internationalization is not stated as a formal mission, the relationship of Sofia University with the rest of the world is a major topic of general conversation. After a half century of restricted movement under communism followed by a decade of economic decline under democracy, preparing students for the international job market is perceived by some as a painful necessity.

> Now, it's absolutely different. Salaries are very different [in] the State organization and the private organizations, and we have a high percent of unemployment, about 18%.... There is no reason for graduates to stay here, no jobs, no salary.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Many Bulgarian leaders and educators have a personal mission to reorganize education as a pragmatic move to align the Bulgarian system of higher education with that of the Western world.

> Well, let me say that we are going to change our educational model and one of the reasons is the transition from communism to democracy. But it is not the

> main reason for this change. [It is] because there is a change in the educational model in the rest of Europe.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science, Graduate of Sofia University]

The importance of the relationship between education and international issues is evidenced by the merging of titles and responsibilities at the administrative level of Sofia University. Academic affairs and international relations are now the responsibility of one vice rector.

> Where things are now, they cannot be separated in relation with the new mission of universities, to open it to European and abroad education [sic]. Foreign relations and academic affairs should go together.
> [Administrator, Sofia University]

Ambitions to change in order to integrate Bulgarian education with European education are of monumental scale and global scope, and the resources are meager to non-existent.

> I think that the universities are trying now to make the education closer to the world, but I am not sure without money, how we could keep going further.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Data Presentation on Access and the Student Body and Emergent Cross-Categories

Introduction

Access to higher education, though controlled by both communist and democratic governments, has been regulated by each to meet different objectives, socially, politically and economically.

Data on the Original Category of Access and the Student Body

The age of the undergraduate student in Bulgaria during communism was similar to traditional age groups of undergraduates in Western countries, late teens to mid

twenties. Male students during communist times were typically two years older than female students of the same academic level. Male students who were accepted for admission upon completion of secondary school were required to finish a two-year military obligation prior to actual enrollment. A specific place was reserved for them throughout the time in service and they were admitted without further application.

In the early communist years, access priorities were given to people at the bottom of the former capitalist socioeconomic level. Quotas were set for enrolling the children of rural dwellers, farmers and factory workers. The intent was to literally turn the socio-economic structure upside down, educating from the bottom up.

> [Policy] changed depending on the period as well. If you are talking about the very late '40s, the early 1950s, there really was an effort to kick out people who were considered to be of a certain class and move in peasants and workers up through [society].
> [Faculty Member, Balkan specialist at a private university in the USA]

A Sofia University administrator elaborated further:

> Well, before the changes there were special quotas for labor leaders, for ... people discharged from the Army, special categories of people, I don't know what. There are special quotas for these, and they were admitted irrespective of their success on their exit examinations [from secondary school].
> [Administrator, Sofia University]

In the early days, participants reported that students were denied educational access because of religious and political connections. Some told of being denied access to admission or academic promotion because of the religious affiliations of, most often the father, particularly if he were a priest.

> If somebody have parents that are some kind against the government, some kind resistant to our KGB, their children couldn't study. And I'm not talking about a small amount of people, because many, many couldn't study only because, for example, somebody's father was priest or something like that.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

One student told about his father, a promising secondary student in the late 1940's who was denied access not only to the university but even the local secondary school because of his political activism.

> Q: But that still prevented him from going to the university?
> A: Absolutely. He already had a file at the secret police. He was an activist. Whenever he tried to apply, all doors were closed. And he was regarded as an unwanted person even in his own town. If he went to a meeting or to a gathering, they just refused to let him in. You can imagine that he was obliged to leave his family. And that posed many difficulties....because all of those opposition activists were regarded as enemies of the state. Of course, he was lucky to be a teenager. That's why they didn't send him to the camps, prisons, because a lot of opposition activists, members of Parliament and different officials, went to prison or were executed. It was a very dangerous situation. He was kind of lucky because of his age. If he was 18 or more, he would be seriously in danger.
> [Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

Participants told of young students denied access to higher education because their families had been wealthy before communistic rule. During some periods and at some levels, it was speculated that merit was second to quotas and unspoken criteria as an entrance requirement for higher education.

> Also, only part of the younger people had some advantages. For example, the children of [the Communist] Party, ... the children of workers, had some advantages. This was not good, because some of the best children didn't get possibilities to enter in the universities. [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Even in the days of strict enforcement of sanctions against dissenters, official and unofficial rules were not uniformly enforced. Despite many stories of discrimination, some educated participants descended from parents and grandparents who had served time in prisons and work camps for their crime of wealth or religion. It is likely that even in the strictest times, local affiliations, both benevolent and malign, sometimes shaded official policy.

As time passed, according to some participants, quotas were used less to persecute dissidents than to reward the children of the Communist Party faithful, possibly with the same result.

> As the system got older and became more and more corrupted, ... what was meant to be a system that raised up the lowest and cut off the highest became just a way of rewarding the children of the Nomenklatura.
> [Faculty Member, Balkan specialist at a private university in the USA]

Discussions of access and minority populations are most often about Bulgarians of Turkish descent. Present day Bulgaria was ruled by the Ottoman Empire for five centuries providing longstanding opportunity for temporary and permanent immigration of officials, soldiers and families. Borders between Turkey and Bulgaria have been subject to changes, and the two cultures clustering around the shifting borders have moved and blended over time. The Turkish religious heritage is Moslem while Christianity has been the traditional religion of most Bulgarians.

The Bulgarian Turkish population is the largest minority group in Bulgaria, roughly ten percent of the population. Most Bulgarians of Turkish descent were born in Bulgaria and many in both the communist and democratic eras have never been to Turkey. During the last decade of communism, the government moved to institutionalize the prejudices of the majority population, resulting in fear and mass emigration from the country. Before it ended, the campaign reached into every facet of life in the Turkish communities, including higher education. A student of Turkish descent remembered that time.

> I think the problem which is known as very important is the issues from 1985-89, during the last years of the Communist regime, when the names of the Turkish population in Bulgaria were changed with Bulgarian names. There were many problems with the authorities in many fields, in cultural identification, in use of language, in getting some rights about education, about positions in institutions of higher education, but this is in fact, not only an institutional

> problem. And I think that in the way of thinking people, Bulgarian, Turkish and all people in this region, this problem has existed for many, many years. This case from the last years of the Communists regime is only one of the ways this problem appears in public places. [Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

Access is a major topic of discussion in Bulgarian higher education today. For the academic year 2000-2001, Sofia University had an enrollment of 25,020 full-time students and 8,256 part-time students. The enrollment figures for 2001-2002 were expected to be less because of a government cut in admissions for new students. Access to higher education continues to be strictly controlled by the national government. In the Higher Education Act of 1995 provides for the Council of Ministers to determine both the eligibility and number of the student population.

> The Council of Ministers shall: Establish annually the number of students to be enrolled in higher schools, the number of students for each speciality [sic] in state higher schools, the total number of students in private higher schools, as well as the number of post-graduates in higher school...
> (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999, p. 27).

The law also provides for the Council of Ministers to "establish the state requirements for student admissions" (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999, p. 28).

> So each higher education institution is assigned a sort of state order for a certain number of enrolled students which is defined by the Council of Ministers... For example, Sofia University, on June 2, 2000, by decision of the Council of Ministers has obtained four Master in Law, 150 regular students, and for extra mural 50. For each specialty, it is that way. And in the private higher educational institutions, for example, the American University in Bulgaria, it gets a total number without any breakdown by specialties, 200...
>
> At this moment of transition in higher education, the role of the state is regulatory. The trend for the future to come, the situation should be like in the West, the enrollment should be free. But at present in Bulgaria, there are about some 250,000 students from 8 or 9 million population. Each year, the newly enrolled students are amount to 50,000.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

Though there is a trend toward an increase in "extramural" education, a program involving considerable independent study, the age of the student population remains largely traditional in composition. The age of the traditional male student may be

decreasing slightly as the requirement for prior military service is no longer uniform. The total required military time in service is being reduced and in some cases, and the time served can now be postponed until after graduation.

> No. In democracy, that is not like in the past. In the past, if you are student, when graduated high school, the first thing is to go in army, to serve your country in [the] army. After this you may become a student. Now, everyone who graduates high school, may become student first, and after this go in army for one year.
> [Student Services Personnel, Sofia University]

Even well into the 1990s, demographic quotas continued to control access to institutions and departments within institutions. Access was controlled for both gender and military service. One participant reported his experience.

> [T]here was only one place in this department for a man who had served his military service, and that was me. There were two places for women, and one place for a man who had just finished his high school.
> [Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

By the mid-nineties, quotas had been eliminated from the admission process.

> Now it is open to everybody, independent of age, of race, of nationality. Everybody has to pass the admission examination and then that's it... No quotas anymore.
> [Administrator, Sofia University]

The Higher Education Act of 1995 reads in part:

> No privileges or discriminations shall be allowed in higher education on account of age, race, nationality, ethnic identity, sex, social background, political views and denomination with such exceptions as the Regulations of the Higher Schools Activities shall exclusively make in accordance with the specific features of the training and the future profession
> (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999, p. 25).

Minority access to higher education is, by law, open and equal, but geographical, economical, and traditional social and cultural barriers limit access.

> They [a minority group] have the chance all right to participate in all these processes. Of course it is a little bit harder for them, because maybe some of them have difficulties with the language and also with all the prejudices from both sides. There are prejudices of the majority.
> [Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

The issue of Turkish minority access to higher education was difficult to isolate. At Sofia University, the researcher talked with a student of Turkish descent.

> But, the problem, the spiritual problem, is different, I think. Maybe that is why you have not had the opportunity to talk with any Turkish minority, because this minority has left [a] kind of closed community. Not many people from the Turkish minority are getting higher education, and especially in this kind of good university, at such universities... Maybe this fact would be interesting, that there ARE Turkish students in some universities in Bulgaria, but these universities are in towns where the Turkish community is big, but they are thought to be not prestigious universities.
> [Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

Citizens of Turkish descent live clustered in rural areas away from the most prestigious universities. Therefore, students who attend these universities have the additional expense of living in the Student Village. Given the realities of today's access determinants, Turkish students who attend Sofia University are likely to have come from comparatively wealthy parents who live in a rural setting, and from a family willing to expose their children to a social, cultural and religious setting far different from their own. Turkish students aspiring to an education at Sofia University must overcome a complex set of barriers, not only external but also internal. Of all the languages heard in this metropolitan city, only once in two months did the researcher hear Turkish spoken, though the one student reported knowing possibly ten other Turkish students.

Barriers for Turkish minority students are possibly even more extreme for students from the Roma population, the other minority group of significant size in Bulgaria. No student was ever identified by the researcher as a member of the Roma, known as Roma, ethnic group. In terms of ethnic mix, the informal observation of the population of the streets in Sofia was interesting by comparison to the population of Sofia University. Roma people were visible in the streets of Sofia, though not in the university.

Data on the Emergent Cross-Categories Interacting with Access and the Student Body

The public's right to know and suspicion were Emergent Cross-Categories that appeared in relation to access to higher education. It was not easy for an insider and certainly not an outsider to determine what the guidelines were or why one student was accepted and another rejected. There was no right to information for the public.

> Yes. It was very difficult to know who was allowed to study and who was not allowed, but after applying for the university for ten or more years, you finally understand that it is not possible to get there.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Without public accountability or access to records, the public was left to speculate on favoritism and political influence as part of the admission process.

> Before changes, higher education was free. But it doesn't mean, it doesn't mean it was very easy to get in the university. Because there are a number of privileges, a very big number of privileges, and all the people never get in this list that are allowed to study.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Whether for reasons of tradition, lack of funds for publishing, or other reasons, there is still not a fully developed sense of the public's right to know in the Republic of Bulgaria. Lack of information continues to contribute to a sense of suspicion on the part of some people, particularly about admissions procedures. Under communism, the focus of speculation was politics and privilege.

> By the time when I were about my thirties, all the children were grown up already, so they (Communists who converted political power to money after The Changes) gave the privileges to their grandchildren. So it became like a family privilege. It didn't see the end of that. (Long sigh) And now it is open for everybody, but the money are [sic] making the new rules in education, because it is not as expensive as in Western Europe or the United States, but it's expensive for Bulgaria.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Since the shift from a communal to a free market economy, naturally, the focus of speculation has shifted from politics to money.

> It's very difficult to prove, but we think it's true. That the former Communists kept the money, the political power, and the national power. It's very difficult to prove.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

The suspicion persists that old communist privilege continues in the form of wealth confiscated at the time of The Changes, or that anyone with money is corrupt.

> Yes, it is now open, but it continues, because I have very nice professionals as my friends, have perfect profession in his job, and they don't have possibilities to study because they usually go to the exams ... and try to get into the university, but somebody which can give the money, which have connections with the deans, with the chiefs of the university, the chiefs of the department, they usually push this person which have conditions and possibilities to learn. They push down the [other student] and they go inside to study and to learn.
> [Graduate of a specialized institution]

Conspicuous consumption arouses suspicion of corruption among many Bulgarians. One student was incensed that a university official could and would drive his expensive new car to campus in times of extreme institutional and personal financial hardships. He interpreted this to be evidence of corruption.

Data Presentation on Governance and Organizational Structure and Emergent Cross-Categories

Introduction

This section begins with a general examination of primary and secondary schools to lay the foundation for examining higher education in general and specifically Sofia University. Governance will be examined externally on a national level. On an internal level, data on governance will be presented for the institution, teaching faculty members, student services, the Student Council, and students. The lifestyles of the faculty members and students will be examined as a part of the organizational structure.

Primary and Secondary School as Background for Governance and Organizational Structure

Data on primary and secondary schools as background for governance and organizational structure

Bulgaria's primary and secondary school system was not a focus of this research, however, so many participants commented on the subject that it is treated here as a background for understanding how higher education fits into the picture of the entire educational system.

According to most interviews in Bulgaria, primary and secondary schools provided excellent education under communism within a complex system of schools requiring twelve years to complete.

> And also the new thing is that all students will complete their education as soon as they complete 12th grade. Two years ago, they would graduate after 11th grade, before the adoption of this curricula law.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

The Public Education Act of 1991as amended through 1998 provides for public education for all children in kindergartens, schools and serving units (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999). Children must enter Form I at age 7 and are required to continue up to age 16. Primary Schools are made up of 8 Forms. Basic education is offered in Form I through Form IV known as Junior Primary Schools. A document called a leaving certificate is awarded upon completion of Form IV. Pre-secondary education is offered in Form V through Form VIII known as Middle Primary Schools. The final certificate permits the student to continue in academic secondary education or to enter vocational training. From this point, the system as described in the law continues to have much in common with the complex system of secondary academic and vocational schools under communism.

The elementary grades are uniform in academic content, but by 7th and 8th grades, students begin to specialize, continuing to follow the German/Soviet model.

> I think the main difference from the American system is in the secondary schools, because we have a good system of specialized secondary schools. We had a good system of technical schools from one side, and from the other side, we had a good system of language schools, foreign language schools. And now what's new many schools, secondary schools appeared with for business skills, business management skills. [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Forms IX - XII comprise secondary education. The student is awarded a school-leaving certificate upon completion of all forms and passing the state matriculation exams. With these qualifications, the student may compete for positions in academic education or enter vocational training. The law also provides for Specialized Secondary schools including Form VIII - XII and Comprehensive Schools including Forms I - XIII. Vocational Training Schools and/or Technical Schools may begin at Forms VIII or IX and continue through Form XII. There are also three-year vocational schools beginning in Form VI or VII and other combinations of training to include sports, arts and other kinds of special schools.

Students may compete to attend a foreign language high school, which adds an extra year of intensive language training in the 8th year. The extra time is perceived to ultimately provide a career advantage for the student. The remaining four years of secondary school is spent in the regular academic curricula, but most of the courses are taught in the foreign language. Most large cities have at least one public foreign language high school.

Since the communist era when Russian was the preferred second language in Bulgarian schools, English high schools are particularly competitive for attracting good students. Whole families sometimes resort to extreme measures to provide their children

the opportunity of studying in these schools. Since 8th grade, one young acquaintance of the researcher, has been living in an apartment in a city far away from her extended family in order to attend an English language high school. Her grandmothers take turns moving in and out of the apartment to stay with her so that both parents can work to provide the child with the opportunity for an education in English.

> A: Bulgarians are very curious about education, and it's very strange. Bulgarians, right now, are not rich people, but they are ready to spend, really, ALL their money for education. It's very interesting.
>
> Q: You mean as individuals or as a country?
>
> A: Personally. Not as a government, not as a country, but personally. Families NEED an education. Well, it's a kind of family product to need an education. You could be, well, very poor people, but well, very strange phenomenon. Psychologically, every Bulgarian thinks he or she should go to the university or to some kind of school to learn foreign languages, to have some kind of speciality [sic], some kind.
>
> Q: It's a very high value?
>
> A: It's a VERY high value in Bulgarian society.
>
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Upon completion of secondary education, students must take exams to enter a specific department of a specific institution of higher education. These exams are offered on-site at the institution and many of the departmental exams are offered only one time and on the same day. It is likely that the exams are offered at other institutions on the same day as well. Students are severely limited in the number of centrally determined entrance places for which they can compete in any academic year. Traditionally they have only one chance at one entrance exam for one department in one institution each year. There is some evidence of change in this system, but change is resisted by many on grounds of preserving quality in higher education.

Primary and secondary teachers in Bulgaria prepare for their career by studying Pedagogy in higher education. One faculty member explained some of the changes in specialization in the academic preparation over time.

> I finish in 1979. I finish Pedagogy, this is my basic specialty. The Pedagogy [faculty] was in the Department of Philosophy. But now, we have two Faculties of Pedagogy, one is for the general pedagogy, another one is for the primary [elementary] schools.... The general pedagogy prepares people for secondary schools, to be advisors in the schools, to be director of the school, to teach in the school.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, and Graduate of Sofia University]

Elementary and secondary schools have been governed centrally from the communist era onward, although legislation as early as 1991 attempted to decentralize the system.

> The Public Education Act refers to secondary education and was adopted in 1991. The actual changes that were stipulated in that law did not started implemented [sic], in fact, until 1996. This law provides for the de-centralization of the secondary system. This forms part of the governmental Bulgaria 2001 program. With the following normative acts, we have tried to implement this program which is provided in the law and in the governmental program. A number of additional laws were adopted in this respect. The first one was called the Curriculum or the Academic Plan laws.... meaning that the new curricula for the secondary schools were adopted....
> Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

For the past two years, large numbers of people have been involved in redesigning the entire secondary curriculum including Ministry of Education personnel, career specialists, the Pedagogy Chair at Sofia University, and secondary teachers throughout the country. They will soon enter the next phase of planning.

> And now, on the basis of these [curriculum] documents, we are elaborating the requirements for the writing of text books... From now on, there is plenty of work to do. (Laughter).
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

All students must complete the first eight forms or eight classes as they are often called. High school begins at Form IX, but students who attend a language school attend a year of intensive language training.

> [A]ccording to our legislation, students complete their primary education when they complete the 8th grade. High school, secondary school takes four years, from 9th to 12th. For students who apply for the profile school after the 8th grade, they don't pass this one-year of mandatory language study. That's why they are profile study commence after the 8th grade. ... Most of our schools have started profiles of education. There are three profiles, humanitarian

> [humanities], natural sciences including math and foreign language profiles. The so-called technological profiles, we haven't been able to elaborate the entire documentation yet. It is about to be elaborated. The students who have to select a particular profile will have to pass a mandatory base training in all the academic subjects regardless of the profile they have selected. And the process of profile study commences two years after the beginning of the basic preparation....
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

The national public school system is divided administratively into regions by the Ministry of Education and Science.

> Maybe you don't know, in Bulgaria, there are 28 regional educational inspectorates, which are branches... of this Ministry.... In fact, all the inspectorates implement the policy of the Ministry on the local and regional level. They provide the methodological help for the schools and control.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

One ministry governs all educational institutions in Bulgaria. All levels of the new private institutions must comply with the same regulations as the public institutions.

> It is called the Minister of Education and Science. And there are two or three deputy ministers, one is for higher education, one is for research and one for secondary schools.
> [Administrator, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Data on the Emergent Cross-Categories Interacting with Primary and Secondary Schools as Background for Governance and Organizational Structure

Information on the transformation of secondary curriculum was one of the most difficult concepts to decipher for the researcher. Possibly the fact that it was still a work in progress in which the administrators, interpreter and interviewer alike were dealing with new concepts and terms made it difficult to explain and comprehend both questions and answers among all parties of the interview. Until the day of departure, the researcher repeatedly made requests for copies of the guidelines for curricula revision or documents to explain the results thus far, but none were forthcoming.

Pride in the quality of the educational system as a whole is often voiced, though concerns for the future follow just as frequently.

> This is good in Bulgaria that we have good education system. In the university in the primary school in the secondary school, but this system is needing from money source, for the younger people like work with computer, they like to have more books. This is problem.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

One university student with an elementary school age sibling expressed concerns about the resources available to the elementary and secondary students and the implications for quality education in the future. Families have purchased textbooks, at least in recent past, and have been able to resell or pass them along to other family members. Increasing costs of books, decreasing salaries, unemployment and a departure from using the same textbooks year after year are creating very real problems for schools and families.

> [S]tudents just don't buy all the books. They don't buy them. They buy just the math books because they use those a lot. They buy a few of the humanitarian [humanities] discipline books. Nobody buys literature books, for example, because they are not so important. It's not that they are not important, but everybody decides for oneself what to buy. It is not a quality education if you don't have the books. You've got to [share with other families]... especially in the higher grades where books are very expensive. They are just very expensive there.... They can't sell them because they change them every year, yes.
>
> Because this tradition of selling books was something very great. You know, it's something we even were proud of because you can sell your books, you can get some money, take care of them, you save these books, you take care of them really good. It's something that was passed from generation to generation. Even my father has sold his books, and now there is [sic] not such things as this anymore. So each year you got to pay.
> [Undergraduate Student at Sofia University]

Low salaries in elementary and secondary schools cause concern that good teachers are leaving the profession.

> Now people, teachers who speak English... they prefer to work for a private company or somewhere else, because the salaries of teachers in Bulgaria are very low. One hundred leva [per month]; it's $50. This is the main reason that some of the good teachers... My teacher in English now has a private school and private kindergarten and provides lessons in English to [prepare students for] their SAT and TOEFL exams.... This is the way they get a lot of money. While

they were teachers, they cannot survive. (Laughs). It is one of the most important reasons for this quality degeneration.
[Administrator, Private institution of higher education]

There is concern that the teachers who remain in the field are not motivated because of poor salaries and feel powerless to change their situation. There is growing concern for the quality of education in the future.

Well, I think that university education is much better than the primary education now. I can sincerely say that when I was a pupil in the primary and secondary education, the education was much better than now. I don't think that now it is good because the professors are quite de-motivated because their salaries are extremely low, first of all.

Second of all, they don't receive them regularly. Sometimes the professors at the primary and secondary schools do not receive their salaries for three or four months. So, can you believe it? .... In Sofia, the situation is OK, because the professors are more, they organize themselves so they can strike, but, in the country.... they are alone because in a small town they do not have many professors, many teachers. They are not able to be a strong pressure group. They are living, really, just by wonder....

Yes, and young people do not go to [work in] the primary and the secondary [schools]. And you know, if the young people do not go, the situation is quite bad, so there is no innovation, no creativity and so on and so on.
[Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Though the procedure may be changing soon, principals of elementary and secondary schools are appointed by the central government. Theoretically, all principals could be fired following each election. Suspicion, whether of political or regional origin, are fed by a political appointment system.

A: You know, there is a crazy thing happening in education, for example, we have no procedure of change of directors [principals], and when the Communist Party returned to the office, the directors of the schools are changed, not on the basis of their personal virtues, but on the basis of their party affiliations. And, when the Democratic Party comes, they do the same.

Q: [I]n this election coming up, what will happen if a new party takes over?

A: [I]t will all depend on the personality of the Minister.... The Minister of Education. Because he will give the word there of the regulations... and for me it is QUITE stupid to change the directors or the principals on the basis of their party affiliation.... They are, all over the country. So you don't have any maintaining of the tradition.

For example, at the school of my [child] came a lady. She's member of the Union of Democratic Forces, but she came to be the director. But she is from a village, from... one of the little developed parts of the country. Maybe she was able to manage the school in her village, but in Sofia she's not able to do

> so.... It was a political appointment. This is what is happening, political appointments. And I think it is QUITE stupid, because, you know the political affiliation is your own conscience, it's your own problem. I know many people who are, well, they belong to the Communist Party, but they are talented teachers and they are good directors. They are and that's OK.... They are good. So there is no direct relation between party affiliation and quality of teachers.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

National: Original Category of Governance and Organizational Structure

The data below concerns the governance of higher education in general as well as Sofia University as regulated by the central government. Because of the nature of a centrally controlled education system, it is sometimes difficult to separate Sofia University from all other institutions in terms of national governance.

Data on national governance and organizational structure.

During the communist era, the central government differentiated institutions of research from institutions of higher education. The function of teaching was further divided between technical institutions and universities, which concentrated on the curricula, contained in Western liberal arts institutions including mathematics and the theoretical physical and biological sciences. Technical institutes were designated to train professionals in the more specialized disciplines such as medicine, mining, engineering, and agriculture. Research institutes were designated for research only, though they did participate in graduate research-based graduate programs.

All institutions of higher learning were state owned and centrally controlled. Private institutions were not permitted. Some count with pride and some with shame the number of higher education institutions before The Changes in 1989.

> Before 1989, we used to have only two universities and several polytechnics. [Faculty member, Sofia University]

In the early 1990s, the government set out to redesign the entire national higher education system. According to the Higher Education Act of 1995 as amended through 1997, "Higher schools shall be universities, specialised [sic] higher schools and independent colleges" (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999). The law goes on to outline the requirements for each of the three types of institutions. In order for an institution to achieve unqualified university status, the institution must offer subjects in at least three of the major divisions of science, humanities, natural sciences, social sciences, and technical sciences. If an institution provides training in only two of the divisions, the name of the university must reflect the specialization, such as in agricultural university. All institutions bearing the name university must conduct research and offer Master's and Doctor's degrees. 'Habilitated' faculty members who have a doctorate degree plus a combination of other legislated requirements must conduct a percentage of all lectures and seminars. Research libraries must be available as well as publishing facilities. By law, a university of any description must have international contacts.

Specialized schools offer degrees in only one of the major sciences, which may include art, physical education, or defense. They are not required to offer graduate programs, but they must meet the rest of the requirements for a university, including international contacts. Independent colleges provide professional qualifications and award Specialist Degrees only. These institutions are not required to conduct research or offer graduate programs. Neither are they held to the same requirements for faculty members, libraries, publishing or foreign contact.

Beyond the new institutional designations, the legislature passed laws and made provisions for institutions to move from the status of a specialized institution to a university. Technical and university were no longer mutually exclusive concepts. Some participants accepted the changes and went on to explain matter-of-factly how the institution functions as a technical institution and a university.

> A: These are all separate universities here and they are just different higher educational institutions.
> Q: What about [your institution], is it very specialized or do you have a broad range of other kinds of what we call Liberal Arts courses?
> A: It probably focuses on technical skills. In our university, after the changes, they had those new departments established....
> Q: So they still do not do a lot of literature...?
> A: They study philosophy, sociology... These are subjects they study.
> Q: Do they tie those subjects into [this institution's specialty]?
> A: I don't think so. They just study Philosophy.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Other participants expressed amazement that a technical institution could be confused with a university.

> [W]e have Sofia University, like university, because university is universal, very wide range.... and what's new now, every separate higher education institute calls itself a university. [It] is ridiculous some time.... For example the Technical Institute was institute. It's not a university because it's technical.... [W]hat could you say for the mining university? It couldn't be a university, but they call themselves a university.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Former Communist Party complexes in major cities throughout the country are ideally suited for higher education campuses. Free University of Bourgas and the American University of Bulgaria in Blagoevgrad are examples of private educational institutions that have made good use of the spacious, well-maintained buildings in beautiful settings. Some participants appeared to think these are superfluous to the educational needs of the country.

> Just to give you an example, we have a small city, they have a university simply because they there are many, many rich people in Bulgaria at the moment. I don't know what you see and what you read, but there are many rich people,

> very, very rich. So they want to have a university in their native city. They have a building, which is probably the ex-Party house, something like that just because you can't use it for anything else. That's the nice thing about Bulgaria, but you have those structures everywhere... [Y]ou don't have the Communist Party anymore, all these buildings are facilities, and just what do you do? And schools or universities and all of this ... that is just free of charge.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

There is a feeling among some that as far as new institutions are concerned, there are too many, too soon and that quality suffers as a result.

> This explosion of the network of universities is regarded as a very negative factor by my colleagues and by myself, too. Because the level [of quality] has dropped. There was no academic atmosphere; the libraries are poor at these universities.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Others are concerned that the quality bar has also been lowered to admit new institutions into the company of existing universities.

> Q: Are they [the accrediting board] in support of these changes [creating new universities] or are they barriers to these changes?
> A: They are in support of the changes, and I'm afraid they might not be severe enough in judging the new universities.
> Q: So you think there is a different standard?
> A: I'm afraid.
> [Administrator, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Despite the doubters, the government is pressed to approve requests for permission to establish new institutions of higher learning.

> For the last nine months we have managed to develop and evaluate 9 or 10 projects for the establishment of new higher educational institutions. These were mainly projects in view of the urgency of the requirements of the law. The transformation of the private colleges that used to be state owned higher educational institutions.... Of course some got the positive and some not [sic], evaluation. Besides, within those nine or 10 projects, there is establishment of some new private colleges.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

There is also a push to process requests for university status from existing institutions as well. These are primarily from public institutions that are already established as specialized higher schools.

> And the higher Agrarian Institute in Plovdiv has received a positive evaluation for transformation into Agrarian University.... At present, it's the only agrarian [agricultural] university in the country. Of course, our evaluation is on the basis of the evaluation project. Some of them are in the process of implementation and some of them are about to be approved by the Minister of Education, which is a requirement pursuant to the articles of the law.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

The Higher Education Act of 1995 as amended through 1997 provides that it is the State's responsibility to develop and implement national policy for all institutions of higher learning. This responsibility extends to matters of autonomy, quality, funding, loans and social benefits, property, accreditation and recognition of diplomas. The body ultimately responsible for national educational policy is the National Assembly, the legislative body of The Republic of Bulgaria (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999). The National Assembly, or Parliament, has the ultimate authority over higher education institutions. It makes the decision to open higher schools based on "socially acceptable aims," and close or transform them from one category to another" (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999, p. 29). It also sets the requirements for admissions and determines the number of graduate and undergraduate students to be admitted each year in each institution and in each speciality [sic].

The Public Education Act of 1991 as amended through 1998 states, "State policy in the education sector is implemented by the Council of Ministers. The Ministry of Education and Science is a specialized body of the Council of Ministers responsible for the management of the education system" (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999, p. 16). The Minister of Education and Sciences is the head of the ministry and is a member of the Council of Ministers. The Deputy Minister of Higher Education, one of three deputy ministers, is responsible to the Minister of Education and Science and has responsibility

for all institutions of higher education to include universities, specialized higher schools and independent colleges.

Among other educational functions, the National Assembly has the sole authority to open, close or change the classification of higher education institutions, private or public, and to allocate funds to public institutions. The Council of Ministers establishes the guidelines of national policy, makes motions to the National Assembly on funds and whether or not to open, close or change the designation of an institution. They also set student admission requirements, determine degree types and degree requirements, and recognize foreign degrees and credentials. They determine all tuition and fees and set the terms of scholarships, housing and benefits to students. The Council of Ministers also has the responsibility for enrollment decisions:

> Establish annually the number of students to be enrolled in higher schools, the number of students for each speciality [sic] in state higher schools, the total number of students in private higher schools, as well as the number of post-graduates in higher schools, the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, the Agricultural Academy and other academic and research organisations [sic] (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999, p. 27).

The Higher Schools Rector's Council, composed of the rectors [presidents] of each institution represents the collective interests of all higher educational institutions. As a group they may make recommendations, and express opinions to authorities of the state on matters of education and science [research] budget. They may also express an opinion on the registration of degrees and qualifications for specific disciplines. They may also "[e]xpress an opinion on the criteria for the conferring of academic degrees and titles" (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999, p. 33).

Data on the emergent cross-categories interacting with national governance and organizational structure.

The Emergent Cross-Categories which interacted with national governance are discussed in this section of the chapter.

Autonomy emerged as the cross-category related to national governance in this research.

> The State shall provide conditions for the free development of higher education by... safeguarding the academic autonomy of higher schools.... It [autonomy] shall give expression to the intellectual freedom of the academic community and the creative nature of research and education while recognising [sic] them as supreme human values... Academic freedom shall find expression in the freedom of teaching, freedom of research, freedom of creativity and freedom of training
> (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999).

The Bulgarian laws on higher education guarantee autonomy for institutions in hiring faculty, admitting students, in the choice of specialties (majors), curricula and research projects and in the right to associate with other institutions of higher education, organizations, and international partners. It also provides the ability to raise and keep funds and spend them as the institution sees fit.

It is clear that there are many provisions for the exercise of autonomy under the Higher Education Act of 1995. Participants generally accepted that autonomy and freedom of education had been accomplished in the relationship between government and educational institutions, but not easily.

> A: Well, when we started here after the elections, I had an interview with one of the newspapers. They asked me, "How do you see the development of Sofia University and what is to be done in order to have a real European kind of higher education?" and I remarked several things, and then the reaction of the Ministry was immediate. They said, "This is not possible. We can't do that. You want too much." But now, gradually, they have accepted more and more ideas, which is good.
>
> Q: What kinds of things did you say [to the reporter]?
>
> A: We [had] something very absurd, so called State Requirements for each degree which state how many courses the students have each year, how many teaching hours, the percentage of compulsory and elective courses, and

> things like that. These courses are named, they go by name, and you have to follow exactly what is stated in these requirements. This is obligatory for all universities that have this degree. This is absurd. You cannot give one and the same requirements for all universities, because, in this way, universities don't have their individuality. You can't go on the market and offer something more interesting. You can't specialize. We should abolish that requirement. Leave the universities to develop their own curricula. And now they are abolishing the same requirements, it is a victory, I think, it is a victory.
> [Administrator, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Many participants were either not aware of the provisions, or either there was a discrepancy between formal and informal understanding of autonomy.

Institution: Original Category of Governance and Organizational Structure

Data on institutional governance and organizational structure.

> [T]he top members at the university, most professors... were somehow related to the Bulgarian Communist Party. I mean, they were in some way related. They were members. It was obligatory for them to become members.... And my husband couldn't be a professor before 10 years ago.... Yes, because he was not member of the Communist Party. Yes. And after changes, he become a professor, Associate.
> [Business woman, Graduate of a specialized institution of higher education]

During the communist era, the organizational structure of higher education had much in common with the organizational structure of today, except for the fact that the Communist Party no longer has oversight of the processes of that structure. Layers of authority served to assure academia and the Communist Party that only people with both academic and political credentials rose to positions of power within the system.

> [P]olicy-making and governance in the universities were coordinated and supervised by central political/state bodies. It was achieved through such mechanisms of control as inclusion of top academic and administrative positions within a nomenklatura system and the need of adherence to a top-down party discipline principle of 'democratic centralism'...The representatives of the Party were ex-officio members of the academic senate and other decision-making bodies in the academic institutions.
> (Sadlak, 1991)

Though there have been some changes, the solid uniformity of the educational system and of Sofia University has been resistant to change through the first decade of democratization. Before The Changes, the administrative hierarchy of Sofia University began with the Rector, or president. Deputy Rectors served under the Rector. During that time, there was a Deputy for academics and one for international relations. Those are combined today.

Organizational structure continues to be defined by law for Sofia University and all other institutions of higher education in Bulgaria. The governing units of the institution are the General Assembly of the institution, the Academic Council and the Rector (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999).

> It is something like the division of authority, of power. The Rector is something like executive power. The General Assembly and the Senate [Academic Council] is [sic] the legislative power.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

The Academic Council determines institutional policy and manages training, teaching and research. It determines the total number of members from each unit to be represented in the General Assembly of the institution.

The General Assembly of the institution is composed of representatives from the full-time teaching staff, administrative staff, and students from each main and "auxiliary" organizational unit of the institution.

> This structure didn't change. No, no. Of course theoretically, the highest point is the General Assembly of the University.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education, Graduate of Sofia University]

The main organizational units of Sofia University are the faculties. "Auxiliary units" are libraries, laboratories, and publishers, for example. The number of teaching staff and student representatives from each faculty is based on the size of the faculty as

compared with the rest of the university. Habilitated staff must hold at least 70% of the membership and students at least 15%.

The membership of the Academic Council is determined in part by the positions held in the university and in part by election for terms of four years. These are coveted positions of power and prestige. The General Assembly elects the Rector of the institution for a period of four years.

> A: [A]ll deans are members of the senate [Academic Council]. All deputy rectors, directors, director of the library also is [sic] member of the senate. But this is only half of the members of the senate. The other half is elected ... senior fellows, research fellows, professors are elected because they represent something and they can contribute to the university. They are elected as persons. The others are elected because they perform some function.
>
> Q: And do people announce that they want to be on the senate and campaign for office?
>
> A: Yes, yes, yes. The list of those who are campaigning for the senate is much longer than those who get elected.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

The meaning of the term "faculty" has some similarities and some different shades of meaning in Bulgaria and the USA. Faculty can be the rough equivalent of the word for "college" when used as the largest academic structural unit within a university. (Bulgarians sometimes use college to mean "high school" and sometimes to mean a division of higher education.) A faculty has at its head a dean and is composed of departments, which may be subdivided further into chairs, headed by a chairperson, also translated as chair. Each faculty is governed by the General Assembly of the faculty and the Faculty Board.

> The General Assembly of the faculty shall be comprised of the full-time members of the academic staff, representatives of the administrative staff, of the undergraduates and postgraduates of the faculty. The academic staff members shall be a least 70% and the students - at lease 15% of the total membership of the General Assembly
> (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999, p. 34).

The General Assembly of the faculty elects the dean who in turn proposes deputy deans. The Faculty Board votes by secret ballot to confirm the dean's recommendations.

> A: [The] Council of the faculty, this is similar function as the senate in the university. It is helping the dean, but sometimes, it is higher authority than the dean.
>
> Q: Do they elect the dean?
>
> A: Yes, they elect the dean.... Ah, there is [sic] deputy deans, of course. Usually two, three, depends on how big is the faculty [sic]. Education and research, usually.... Then, the regular members of the staff and the students.
>
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

The membership of the Faculty Board is defined by law, as are the memberships of other governing bodies in the entire educational system.

> The Faculty Board shall consist of 25 to 35 members and shall include representatives of the full-time academic staff, undergraduates and postgraduates. No less than three fourths of the membership of the Faculty Board shall be habilitated lecturers
> (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999, p. 35).

The Faculty Board may submit to the Academic Council recommendations on curricula and degrees, hiring and promoting non-habilitated teaching staff, management of the teaching load, and authorization of publications.

Departments are governed by Department Boards and Heads of the departments.

> Q: What about department... Are there department chairs?
>
> A: Of course, of course. We have department chairs. Bulgarian chairs are rather small, not like in America or in Russia. Usually five people, ten people. Seldom are they bigger than 15 people.... They elect who will be the chair and the chair appoints who will be the secretary.
>
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Students serve as participants in the governance of the institution through the Student Council. Students are elected to the Student Council from each faculty according to enrollment percentages. From this group, representatives serve to fill the 15% of the General Assembly of the faculty and the General Assembly of the institution. Students participate in the election of the Rector and deans of the institution. Students on the

current Sofia University Student Council reported that they vote as individuals and had never participated in a movement to organize a student block of votes in meetings of either the General Assembly of the faculty or the institution.

All elected offices and board memberships of the university governance structure are for terms of four years. The General Assembly must meet at least one time each year and may have called sessions according to procedures outlined in the Higher Education Act. For proposals, recommendations or opinions to reach decision makers at the National Assembly level, the initial movement begins with the Department Board, then the General Assembly of the faculty and the Faculty Board, onto the General Assembly of the university and the Faculty Council, the Ministry of Education and Science and the National Assembly.

The relationship between some members of the administration of Sofia University and the Ministry of Education and Science has not always been a cooperative one. In discussing the responsibilities of office, one university administrator included the following.

> Q: What else are you responsible for?
> A: Fighting with the Ministry of Education all the time. (Laughs).
> [Administrator, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Among the layers of governance, there have been disagreements over major issues, often concerning the degree and pace of change. In informal conversations, young students delight in reporting that the debate has sometimes deteriorated to public name calling in the media. Young professors complain about the entrenchment of older faculty members in positions of power. The requirement that habilitated teaching staff must make up 70% of the membership of the faculty and institutional General Assembly

ensures that old ways of thinking will continue to dominate these bodies at least for some time in the future.

> So when we talk about a decision making process, we have an autonomous body and they are the university professors, it's called the General Assembly, and so on and so on. Now, the big problem is that, it is, of course, dominated by old professors. By old, I mean, that we have a very strict hierarchical system of habilitation and all those things. Then, most of them are definitely a part of the old regime. We can say directly because they have some direct connection between them and the [Communist] Party. It's not that they were sympathizers or members of the Party, they were counselors, very closely associated. But in general, they make decisions.
>
> Younger professors are excluded from this General Assembly or they have a small percentage of representation.... It's something that, some of the groups in the university use, as a mechanism to block the reform. So, I mean, people are in a very difficult position, because we know a kind of political interference will be far more efficient, but unacceptable. On the other hand, if we are left to ourselves to make the reform, the General Assembly and the decision making bodies in the university have demonstrated several times that they don't want to make reform. So, when we are left to introduce things that WE can do... [there is] the interference of the State and the Ministry [and] we fail to do that, because there is not enough will within the self-governing bodies of the universities.
>
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

One of the major divisive issues within Sofia University and among all layers of governance, institutional and national, has been the matter of changing the system of academic degrees to conform more closely with those in Western Europe and the USA. Whether to change, how, when and at what pace to change has been a topic of tedious and sometimes painful debate.

> [W]e [administrators at Sofia University] introduce[d] the three tier system of Bachelor, Master, and Doctorate four years ago. Before that, all our students graduated in the Master's Degree... [A]fter the introduction, there were some strange things, because we just adopted the name, but didn't introduce the exact system or taking [sic] one of the systems of Europe and implementing it [sic]. It was a mixture of everything.
>
> A team from Sofia University was everyday explaining to the Ministry, this is not the right way to do it, we have to change things, and change things, and now they have decided again to change the certificate. As it is now, you can not take a Master's Degree in a different professional field from what you have a Bachelor, which is absurd.... They promised us they will have that abolished by the beginning of next year.
>
> [Administrator, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Even with a will to change, many people feel they do not have the skills or experience to organize or to serve as administrators to set or accomplish new goals.

> And actually, we are not administrators. We do not understand administrative matters. So, I'm not sure we could be a great help.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

The future may bring true autonomy, which will ultimately mean differentiation of individuals, faculties and departments. This potential lack of uniformity is an unsettling prospect for many.

> But in the future, no one would actually be able to talk about such university. You [will] have to talk about, not the university as a whole, but you [will] have the department of this, the department of that, the Chair of this, the Chair of that. There is huge difference even now, and I think that it will go deeper and deeper. We don't know how this structural problem will be solved. Simply, when you have people who are in the same department but with absolutely different treatment, salary, payment, connections, it's a kind of, something that has never been experienced before.... So there is differentiation, from now on, I think in the future, you will always have to be careful what part of the university you are talking about.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

The realities of real autonomy and its implication for structure and governance are just beginning to show in higher education in Bulgaria. Habits of thinking and skills for coping with competition in the market economy are difficult enough to acquire in the general population, but they are totally alien to higher education.

> Actually, I still think, that there are [sic] no another university in Bulgaria, now in the moment, which could compete with Sofia University. But in some more years, there will be, because you have New Bulgarian University which is very flexible, you have the University of National and World Economics and so on, and they are quite flexible as well. They are flexible, and they will attract more students, and our administration is not flexible and we will lose and lose and lose students.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

The new private universities are more open to flexibility and entrepreneurial initiatives and will likely continue attract good students away from Sofia University.

Data on emergent cross-categories interacting with institutional governance and organizational structure.

Several cross-categories emerged in the data on institutional governance and organizational structure. The tension between a desire for change and a desire for stability emerged in the data on governance. There was also evidence of stress generated by the transition from collectivism to individualism thinking in governance. Data on internationalization, on autonomy as it relates to finances, corruption and inefficiency are other Emergent Cross-Categories in the data on governance and organizational structure.

There is ambivalence about change in higher education in Bulgaria. Change adds stress to an already difficult situation.

> Ten years ago you can talk about Sofia University as a whole, and it will be the correct approach. Now you have to be careful [to know] exactly what you are talking about.... these differences are creating great tensions.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Change is desirable to many, but there is disagreement on what, how and how quickly things should be changed. With a decade of changes and attempts at changes resulting in more problems than solutions, it is no wonder that there is a longing for a truce with change.

> Yes, yes, and I think that the administration is one of the things, one of the groups, that change very, very, very slowly. Just because, I don't know, maybe the administration, they are not in constant contact with the students. And they are not in contact with the changes. And maybe that's good. Something in the world should be stable.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

The luxury of stability in higher education is not likely until there is a closer alignment with Western institutions.

> I think generally, nothing has changed, like the system of higher education. The system needs some changes. These changes are not so easy to make. Because

> there should be changes which are related with the education in Bulgaria to be, just like a structure, just like education in other countries. There is a NEED for a change. I think this part of higher education needs a change, because we need to have specialists with the same background knowledge as the specialists in some other part of the world.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

The old habits of thinking about collectivism and individualism continue to confuse governance as people struggle to learn democratic skills and the concept of autonomy in higher education. A power hierarchy determined by seniority along with the acceptance that the masses will follow whatever decision is made at the top is a dysfunctional habit of thinking from the top down.

> But at the moment we are enjoying the freedoms, facing the problems that were unexpected and structural problems within the university, the conflicts between old and new professors. All this is coming to the surface. We have to cope with it. We never had this problem. The system was not built to have problems with the freedom of professors. The system was not built in order to have reasonable decision-making. It was not built to have decision-making processes for solving problems between young and old, because there was no possibility for conflict at all. Now, all these things are coming to the surface, and we all have no experience, young or old, how to cope with these problems.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

On the subject of internationalization, there has been a strong realization in powerful circles that contact with the West was essential to the continuing development of higher education in general and to the admission of Bulgaria into the European Union in particular. Administrative structure was changed to reflect international relations as a priority.

> [Before The Changes] there were two separate vice rectors, one for academic affairs, and a separate one for international relations, and now the two are joined together. Where things are now, they cannot be separated in relation with the new mission of universities to open it to European and abroad education [sic]. Foreign relations and academic affairs should go together.
> [Administrator, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

The degree of autonomy perceived varies according to the starting point of the observer. From the starting point of central control under communism, autonomy is an accomplished fact. The glass is half full.

> Now, it's very important when you talk about autonomy to understand the problem, because there have always been debate about the importance of autonomy and the value of autonomy is that the university really, really, I think, governs itself. We have self-government if you understand by autonomy that the university is making the decisions, then we have it, apart from the things that we mentioned.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

From the viewpoint of the Western observer, the glass might appear half-empty.

It is no wonder that the meaning of autonomy is somewhat muddled in Bulgaria given the traditional communist word play on the topic. Sadlak quotes a 1966 article:

> When the orientation of the state [before communism] constituted an obstacle to the general evolution of society or to the interests of the people, the exercise of university autonomy, from a progressive standpoint, has a particularly important practical value. But when the state itself is the promoter of progressive social development, state direction does not clash with the advanced spirit of autonomy. (Sadlak, 1991, pp. 402-403)

Understanding what autonomy means in the structure and governance of higher education in Bulgaria is an on-going, evolutionary process.

> A: [F]rom the beginning of the transition process, let's start at 1989-1990, ... the autonomy that most people understood [was] that there would be no ideological disciplines [concerning] Marxism, which were obligatory for any student, even students [in] biology and technology, and especially in the humanities. You get rid of all these ideological disciplines to free some space for normal disciplines. That's, I think, the feeling and the first understanding of autonomy. Later on, most of the people started to reflect on the concept of autonomy... It's also part of the academic culture that we are not interested in the financing of the university... Now I think that most of the people understand autonomy as autonomy from the state. But, in a way that we should not be dependent on the Ministry of Education, that is, I think, the general feeling.
>
> Q: Dependent financially or dependent ...?
>
> A: Well, that's the paradox. We know that we cannot be financially independent... [S]ome of the departments can self-subsist, if you can say that, but I mean, we understand that a university cannot be self-dependent [sic], independent, simply because there are some departments that they cannot obtain profit.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Attempts at autonomous decision-making within a system designed to eliminate precisely that continue to create a stressful environment for all and ultimately contribute to inefficiency and suspicion.

> The system was not built in order to have reasonable decision-making.... we all have no experience, young or old, how to cope with these problems. [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

The topic of autonomy is most often discussed in relation to finances. It appears to be difficult to separate the idea of academic freedom and decision-making from the idea of who pays. Some say that there is complete autonomy in decisions about the budget and others say there is none.

> Deans are independent within the universities; faculties are autonomous as well. They have their own budgets. When we get the annual budgets for the university, then it is distributed among the faculties and each faculty has its own budget, and the deans are responsible for the budget and they do not report to the Rector how they spend their budget.... And they are free also to seek additional funding [from] different sources. [Administrator, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

According to some, there is no absolute change in budget decisions and control, only changes in the titles of the authorities in charge.

> Now why are we still in the presence of this discrepancy, bearing in mind that the mechanism for the change, or tried to change? If we look into the way that state universities are financed right now, and the way they were financed before, well, this has not changed. There is still this procedure of determining the budget of a university that I was telling you about under Communism. The universities are still financed with planning of their financial needs for items, receiving funds from the state budget, and spending these items.... Still centrally determined from the central budget. And this state finance control agency I was telling you about [does not] function properly either. I could even say that it functions worse than it used to do under Communism. They introduced other authorities in terms of financial control. [Administrator, NGO, Graduate of Sofia University]

Corruption is assumed by many, whether or not the suspicion is ever confirmed. The tradition of lack of public accountability adds to the suspicion. With all the checks

and balances and layers of bureaucracy in place, there is still no tradition or machinery for the public's right to know.

> So for a fixed amount of money a university or its Rector could make, either with the consent of the Minister of Education or without it depending what the regulations were in different years, a transfer of funds from one item to another item, [though it] rarely occurred....
>
> What happened in fact was something else. A university received the money...and he was supposed to supervise the way these funds were spent.... [T]here was a large financial machinery within the university itself which is the accountancy department or financial department with the chief accountant as the head of this department... a huge machinery that ultimately was not flexible. What happen[ed] to actually the funds of the university? ... You know, however harsh it might seem, white collar crime, mostly. There were funds that were for the refurbishment or preservation to happen in a university. Of course, certain refurbishments were made, but a financial receipt for each and every type of activity, would reflect a higher cost that the one that was actually paid. And you know the funds didn't go where they were supposed to be [going].
> [Administrator, NGO, Graduate of Sofia University]

The communist legacy of ways of thinking and doing everyday business continues to be a barrier to efficiency. The sheer magnitude of management responsibilities for a centrally controlled higher education system can overwhelm its own purpose and function.

> And also bearing in mind that the whole machinery of the state was such a bureaucratic one and very heavy as well. The state financial control, there was such a centralized agency with the Ministry of Finance that was supposed to supervise, control and sanction the violations... disposing the financial sums...[It] did not function well this agency.... [It was] very heavy and [had] so many things to supervise. So that is why such old buildings were in decrepit shape. That is why there were no facilities.
> [Administrator, NGO, Graduate of Sofia University]

Faculty: Original Category of Governance and Organizational Structure

Data on faculty in governance and organizational structure.

Faculty has a dual meaning in this report. In Bulgarian use of English, faculty means something larger than the faculty members as teaching staff. Faculty is an organizational division, a rough equivalent of college within a university. It includes

teaching staff, undergraduates and graduate students. The researcher uses "faculty members" interchangeably with "teaching staff" of all levels and uses "faculty to represent a division in the organizational structure of the university.

The following quote was heard in barely audible tones, almost whispers, with long pauses and sighs interspersed throughout.

> Q: If you could work somewhere else, would you go?
>
> A: Ohhhh. I'm working since 1964 abroad [in communist countries]. All the time I had opportunities to leave Bulgaria forever, but I never could do that. It was very difficult life here because I was not Soviet expert [meaning educated in the Soviet Union.]
>
> Q: You were not a Party member?
>
> A: No, no, I wasn't. Coming back in Bulgaria, people who were working in the Soviet Union were dominating here in my country. For political reasons they were members of the Scientific Council. And my career was stopped for a long time. Yes, I was professor in [another communist country] and [later a Western country], but I was not professor here. I became professor two years ago. It was more difficult for me [laughs] to become professor in my own country.... I was as a foreigner in my own country. But maybe it was so difficult for me... it is so difficult to leave. I have too much of myself [here] to leave.
>
> I would like things to change here, not drastically. All these drastic changes (sighs) are destroying people, making them to escape, to emigrate. It's very difficult to make even [fair] laws to support political independence of scientists in Bulgaria.
>
> During all political regimes, scientists in Bulgaria were very poor and too much dependent on politics. It made the atmosphere very difficult to survive, to be independent scientists. I was thinking that the new government will make laws which can defend science from all these political ...(sighs) ...
>
> Q: Is it too difficult for you to talk about this...?
>
> A: Yes, because it's too difficult.
>
> [Scientist, research institute]

The professional life of academics under communism could be very rewarding, but many suffered great personal pain. The interview above was cut short, the personal stories having been emotionally exhausting for both participant and researcher.

Other faculty member participants told about parents and family losing money and position when the Communist Party came to power. They perceived that their own educational and professional advancement suffered because of family politics or wealth and later because of personal political positions.

Q: What about when you were not able to be promoted because of your political beliefs?

A: No, no, [my] father was a rich man before the Second World War. Only this, this was only the reason. He was not political. He was a merchant. He was a rich, rich man in the little town. This was the reason, the only reason [I] couldn't be promoted.

Q: So you could not have joined the Party? Would they not have allowed [you] to join the Communist Party or didn't [you] want to because of [your] background?

A: No. If [I] wanted [I] will be [sic] the member, yes.

Q: So it was a matter of principal with [you]?

A: But [I didn't] want.

Q: It sounds like...

A: Any body who wants to be a member, he would.

Q: [To the daughter] He could have bettered himself by joining, but he didn't?

A [Daughter] Yes.... [and] many [other] people for the same reason.

[Faculty Member, specialized institution as assisted in translation by another member of the group, hence, several pronoun shifts.]

Despite the problems under communism, an academic was a highly prized status in society. There was never a shortage of people competing to enter teaching careers at all levels of education.

> Before The Changes, there were [sic] more financial support for education, and that's why...there were more people who wanted to work in education.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

In the past, the combination of generous funding and the traditional value of education in Bulgaria ensured that teaching was a respected and rewarding profession. The Changes brought a different reality to the teaching profession.

> In the past, during Communism, because of teaching and being a profession with privilege, they got big salaries, compared to fellow workers and compared to the common people. When the regime changed, it all changed as well. So they got low salaries, low self-esteem, also have bad attitude toward the students. They don't respect them.
> [Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

In society at large, over time, The Changes resulted in many ousters from positions of power as communist/socialists gave way to democrats. In higher education, however, the teaching staff did not suffer wholesale removal from faculties.

Q: So you don't recall that there was any change in the faculty [after The Changes], your teachers all stayed in place?

A: Yes, in our department they stayed as they were.

[Faculty Member, specialized institution, Graduate of Sofia University]

Once the political dramas of the 1990s all played to the finish, the students returned to class with the same teachers teaching the same courses minus the political rhetoric. Teaching staff continued to function as teachers, but teaching staff functioned less well as participants in governance.

> The system was not built to have problems with the freedom of professors. The system was not built in order to have reasonable decision-making. It was not built to have decision-making processes for solving problems between young and old, because there was no possibility for conflict at all. Now, all these things are coming to the surface, and we all have no experience, young or old, how to cope with these problems.
> [Faculty Member of Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

There were contradicting opinions about the extent of autonomy that exists for institutions and about full participation in governance. Some see the larger governing bodies of the institution as a barrier to departmental participation.

> A: [Decision-making] never gets down as far as the department, simply because...you have so many different conflicts between faculties [within the General Assembly].... The whole point is that when we want to make reform, to have these policies, we are blocked at the General Assembly level.
>
> Q: To initiate courses and things like that?
>
> A: On many levels. Whatever we try to do. Even if we want to hire someone. We have to pass through all of these bodies. That's the problem. If we're left to have our own initiative, we have enough money to hire two or three new people, and to give them a regular position, but because are included in this huge [system] ...then we have to go to all these levels, then we're always refused.
>
> And this was especially done to control the university. I mean, it's very obvious that the totalitarian structure, it's very transparent why it is made in this clumsy way.... Whatever initiative you have at the lower level, it will have at least three or four checks ... So this is a typical part of the totalitarian system. It has always working in this way. You have many different hierarchies. You have different people staying there, and if you have some initiative, you have to pass through them, and therefore, they control and even stop it. You can trace this kind of structures in many, many other areas of Bulgarian political, social life.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Other faculty members perceived a suppression of participation in governance closer to the academic home.

A: So, there is a mechanism of communication for making suggestions, but there is no mechanism of controlling.

Q: Or implementing?

A: Yes, of implementing. I think that this is a great problem of the university.... Actually, I do not have any idea how to solve this problem. But some mechanism should exist.

Q: Have you made an attempt to communicate that kind of idea through...?

A: Yes, we did. Yes, yes, and I did.

Q: What happened?

A: Nothing.

Q: Did it just evaporate somewhere, or...?

A: Nothing. For example, my suggestion was, one of my suggestions, to improve the libraries in our faculty [meaning college here], because, for example, the library of the [faculty] is already quite good, because in the last year, we got a lot of donations from the United States or from EU countries, or from our neighbor countries. Now we have a very good library, for the scale of Bulgaria, for the scale of the university.

But at the same time, the catalog is quite primitive. We do not have software, ... electronic catalog.... So when the students go, it takes a lot of time to find the book and to make a photocopy, because there are not photocopy machines there. They are not able to use articles that are on CDs because there is no computer in the library. So my suggestion was, OK, we will buy 30 computers for the faculty [meaning college].... We will let 3 computers go to the library. Well, the 30 computers have been bought. BUT, nobody is able to say why 3 computers didn't go to the library.

[Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Another point on which at least some faculty members and administrators disagreed was the matter of distribution of departmental funds received from outside the institution.

> The whole point is that we have a budget that is prepared in the department. [W]e have many other sources of income outside the budget, but the whole point is that if I make a project that will go through the university, there are many, many... an extremely high percentage will remain for the university. Please note, if the money were going to my [faculty] or to my department, I wouldn't mind, but it is distributed equally to all departments. Which means that if I get a very well funded contract, I will get percentage for the team I am working with and for the department, but the huge money will go to the university, and it will be distributed in Biology, Astronomy, or whatever they have.
>
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

In one faculty, the Faculty Council made a dramatic change in requirements for student attendance. For many years, students had been required to maintain a logbook of their attendance in class. It was up to the student to have each teacher sign to verify attendance. This required a tremendous amount of time on the part of all concerned.

This change was initiated as an efficiency measure to free teachers and students from a time consuming ritual, which was in and of itself not directly related to learning.

> A: Yes...last year.... It's a good move. A good decision.... There was a conflict between the staff and students about signing their student books. Faculty just before examination times didn't have to go and get those books done... [T]he students ... instead of reading for examinations, they have to do that, which is stupid. We decided that this is not the way to make students go to lectures. There are some other mechanisms to keep students in the classrooms.
>
> Q: How has that affected attendance?
>
> A: Nothing has changed... Most are there who would be there anyway.
>
> [Administrator, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

The standard of living for professors has declined considerably since communist times. Professors have turned to consulting work outside the university in an attempt to maintain the standard of living they had before The Changes.

> Q: What does your money [from the university] pay for, I'm not asking you quantity, but what of your living expenses does that cover?
>
> A: It covers 30% of my living expenses, and I'm not [extravagant]. Let's put it that way, you have to have three salaries like this one in order to get a normal life at the moment in Sofia.
>
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Even though many professors do outside consulting, it has become yet another cause for suspicion among faculty members.

> A: [S]ome of our colleagues have their private agencies using the university facilities. This is officially is not allowed, but this is laissez- faire.
>
> Q: Is this consulting work?
>
> A: Yes. Receiving pupils who want to become students, and they pay them using the facilities of the university for work, which is not connected with our official duties.
>
> Q: Tell me more about this. I am not following this. The students that want to come to the university, do they come to be tutored or what?
>
> A: Yes. Private advice. At night they advise, for instance, in history or law. Very often the university has become only the façade of this other activity.
>
> Q: Their real work has become their private [consulting] work?
>
> A: Yes. Yes. In some cases. I am not saying that is prevailing, but it is really very ... messy.
>
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Other professors add to their increasing teaching load even more lectures by teaching at private institutions. This causes concern for quality education.

> [W]hat happens is that university professors from the former state universities started doing tours around the country. They traveled from one university to [another] university to [another] university to [another] university and deliver one and the same type of lecture without even having the time to review the material or to see what changes have occurred in the area, you know, like teaching, it's not good. That was my point of telling what the problems today are in the lack of quality.
> [Administrator, NGO, Sofia University Graduate]

There is a great deal of stress on the families of these itinerant professors as well.

> And now professors, because of their low salary are traveling from city to city to teach. And this is not good for education.... Traveling every week! Two days lectures in Sofia, two days in [there], two days somewhere else, and it is very difficult. Just for example, my husband is professor for twenty something years at Sofia University, but he is teaching also at [another local institution] and he used to teach in [an institution in another city], because he just needs more money than the salary gives him. And this is the case with all of them. They are traveling all the time!
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Lower salaries, higher costs, deteriorating teaching conditions, and the perception that an increase in student population means less prepared students all serve to deter young people from entering the teaching professions.

> I think the worst of all is that teachers and professors in higher education are very badly paid now, very low salaries, very bad[ly] paid. And that is why the best of them are leaving high[er] school and looking for other jobs. There is a BIG crisis now in the universities for assistant professors. Nobody wants to work there for very small money. There is a lack of people, not enough people to teach the students.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

It is difficult to attract young people to academic jobs, which cannot ensure even minimum living standards or financial independence from parents.

> Faculty Members don't receive good money, it's about $60-80.... For example, if you like to rent an apartment, one room, this cost about $80 or $100. Yes. After that you pay for electricity and traditional expense.... Yes, when younger people like to live alone... if he like to take two rooms, this costs about $220.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

On the other end of the career time line, professors who are nearing retirement face uncertainty about their financial future. Neither staying, leaving nor retiring are pleasant options.

> Well, I am nearly at the end of my career. I am 63, so in Bulgaria the retirement is taken at 65, between 65 and 70 for the professors. Well, my status is the same. It is more difficult to live with the money that I get now than 10 years ago.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

In fact, in the year 2000, 40% of the professors were age 60-65. Almost 30% were between ages 65 and 69. The average age is over 50. Low pensions deter professors from retiring; low salaries deter young people from entering the profession (Dimitrov & Radev, 2000).

Economic and educational conditions contribute to the exodus of young teaching staff to other careers both inside and outside the country. This contributes to a growing concern that educational quality will suffer in higher education as it has already begun to suffer in lower educational levels.

> Frankly, I will be sincere with you. The system, the way it is today, not with all the faculty, but with some of them, it creates nothing but losers. I will explain why. When you enter the university, they just say, "OK you are a student, not a big deal. When you go out [of the country], you will get employed." But because of the brain drainage and because of the emigration problem, the most qualified of the Bulgarian intellectual [faculty] members have emigrated or are abroad. They teach abroad or they study abroad. And those who stay here, they just do two things: think of how to go abroad or how to preserve their precious places at the university. They regard their students, especially their brilliant students as competitors. A huge problem, because they are not paid well. It gives them more dignity [to leave].
> [Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

Some disciplines are more vulnerable than others are to international brain drain and depletion of the teaching staff for better salaries in business. These tend to be high investment disciplines.

> A: The major difficulty is in the Faculty of Computer Science. Because we are investing lots of money in it, for equipment, ... very expensive, and then we produce very good students, and they are immediately attracted abroad, and we are thinking about this. We don't know what to do about it... Even the teaching staff, they are leaving the university REGULARLY, even after a year, because they have well paid jobs in private companies.
> [Administrator, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

While salaries and faculty decrease, the teaching load increases. As various departments and faculties implement the new policy of offering degrees at the Bachelor and Master level, there is a net increase in the number of courses offered prior to the Ph.D. level. The central government created the policy and requires implementation within strict guidelines for utilizing full-time teaching staff with no provisions for increasing their number.

> We have some restrictions say from the governmental level. For instance, to make such a curriculum for Master's Degree, we can use 70% the possibilities of our staff. We can use 30% from the lecturers outside. Outside means, you can imagine, from our other faculties, from other institutes, from the very big Bulgarian Academy of Institutes in Sofia. We have very, very big high level Bulgarian Academy of Science.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

One professor told about his being one of the first departments to implement the new Master's Degree. This resulted in an overall increase in course offerings with no full-time addition to the staff and no increase in salary for the existing staff who took on the increase in their individual teaching loads.

Regional international student enrollments have always been a part of Sofia University, but they are encouraged now for the sake of tuition payments. Some courses particularly appealing to international students are taught in English, adding to the academic competencies required of the teacher. Adjuncts are sometimes used to serve increases in international student enrollment.

> A: How to pay to this person who should teach, not in his native language but in a different language, in English? We have such a professor who is now retired. We catch them [sic], ask them to come here and teach in English.... We have such a professor, very nice, very well known in Bulgaria. And finally, teaching in English they accept three leva, which means $1.5 DOLLARS per one-HOUR lecture! One dollar per hour. This we can pay up to now. Right? One dollar per hour!
>
> Q: Full professors?
>
> A: Yes. Professors. Forty-five minutes talking, concentrated and so on, illustrations, you know, many ... years of training. And this is the salary now.

> Three leva per hour. Three leva is 1.5 dollars. Forty-five minutes. So, if one professor teach say 50 hours during one semester, 60 hours. It meets... four hours every week, it's a two day... obligation to be here, to be ready, in good form and so on, to prepare their lecture. You can imagine what means [sic] 60 hours per one semester, and multiply by 3. She would obtain 180 leva, which means $90 dollars. Right? NINE ZERO dollars per one semester!
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

The professor in the quote above spoke in agitated tones with increased volume and intensity as he made his point. He was pained to offer a salary he considered insulting to a respected colleague with international competencies. He had no other choice.

Increasing uncertainties about the faculty member's place in the structure and governance of the institution as well as the work load and reward system cause great concern about the future of higher education in Bulgaria. There is concern not only for the quality of education but the quality of academic life under these conditions.

Data on emergent cross-categories interacting with faculty in governance and organizational structure.

Accountability, change and suspicion of corruption emerged as professional and personal cross-categories for faculty members. In the perception of the faculty member above who made a recommendation to buy computers for the library, there does not appear to be a provision for accountability in the governance system. The professor made the suggestion through proper channels, it was approved, money was spent, computers were purchased, but no one answers questions about the outcome of the original request.

> Well, the 30 computers have been bought. BUT, nobody is able to say why 3 computers didn't go to the library.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

The researcher heard this story about the private sector as well. One retirement-aged participant invested her pension or savings to buy a condominium in a large complex that was completed on the outskirts of town several years ago. Prospective residents advanced the money to construction companies for the building costs and to the local government for all the collective utilities to be brought in from the nearest connections. Even in the Bulgarian economy, the combined outlay of money would have equaled millions in US dollars. The buildings have been complete for years, but there is no water, no electricity, and no gas.

A delegation of homeowners went to government authorities to demand service, their money back, or at the very least, an explanation. The petitioners were told to go away, the money was gone; there would be no service, no discussion, and no explanation. The would-be residents cannot move in or sell their property. They have lost everything. There is no tradition of public information and no history of accountability to the public.

Still another participant lives in yet another unfinished but habitable condominium that was paid in full in advance (the only way to do business, apparently.) The manager of the project says the money is gone, the building will not be finished, and there is no recourse. Because of a quirk in the law, the manager retains the title to the entire property *because* it is not finished, and the condominium owners cannot sell out individually because they cannot get clear title unless the entire building is finished. Neither can residents complete the building themselves because they don't' have title to the property.

The reprivatization process is even more entangled. Over a decade after the government promised to return the land confiscated by the communists, participants still regularly spend days going through bureaucratic drills with no end and no property in sight. They must pay exorbitant fees to reclaim their own land, but someone else can buy their right to the land at a much smaller fee and they, in turn, can bypass the red tape.

Given the struggles of managing everyday personal life, it is no wonder that faculty members put little effort into changing the governance of the institution. Despite all the problems, there is a perception that overall, the advantages of change outweigh the disadvantages in academia.

> Q: Do you feel like, despite the stress and despite the changes, do you feel like this is a good thing for your library?
>
> A: Definitely!... It is interesting, it is something new. We can learn many things for the world, for everything with traditional manner of working in the library.
>
> Q: Is it an exciting time for you?
>
> A: Yes, yes.
>
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Change as an emergent cross-category penetrates the professional and personal lifestyle of faculty members. Some academics prefer to view changes forcing them to double employment situation as an opportunity to expand and learn something new. The researcher requested an interview with a shopkeeper to get an outsider's perspective on higher education. As it turned out, the shopkeeper was a full-time faculty member in an institution of higher education as well.

> Q: So you are working two jobs?
>
> A: I work two jobs.
>
> Q: If I can ask you, is that a necessity or you just helping your mother [the shop owner]?
>
> A: Yes, it is a necessity, because first, my salary at the university is not high enough for me not to look for another job. And this business is not successful [enough] not to have the other job at the university.

Q: So neither job would be enough.
A: Yes, for me, yes. Yes, and also from a professional point of view, I would like to keep my job at the university and have this business which is, again, something interesting and challenging. I like
both things.
[Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Paradoxically, the very problem of teacher shortage that cause some teaching staff to entrench within traditional customs and ideas is the same problem that allows others to individually break out of the mold and try innovative things in teaching and research despite regulations and customs.

> The other paradox is, that if you do something that is unacceptable to the university, the salaries are still so low, that if you press to do this with university, everyone knows that you will leave the university, of course.... So being put in this position... the university is extremely tolerant. That's why we really enjoy this double status.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Others try to be philosophical about their situation.

> I'm skeptical, I'm not a Euro-skeptic, I'm not [a] skeptic about reforms.... Many people lost their status, their prestige. They are forced to work; they haven't [sic] used to do that. They have to change their life rhythm even, the way of life. They really have to change their way of life. This is extremely difficult, so you see. There is a lot of reluctance in supporting the reform, because you can't support something that is for the future. You have to be a very noble man to do that.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Suspicion was a cross-category in many interviews with faculty members. The drastic reduction of faculty members' financial circumstances over the last decade has led many to work extra jobs. There was an assumption among participants, students and faculty members alike, that many professors, university and government administrators were taking bribes for illegal admissions and passing grades and otherwise using their positions for corrupt purposes. According to an English compilation of Bulgarian news, only one professor in the country had been convicted of taking bribes from students by spring of 2000 (No author, 2000).

Student Services: Original Category of Governance and Organizational Structure

Date on student services in governance and organizational structure.

There was evidence of only the beginnings of professional student services, predominantly in career placement and international services at Sofia University

> In the past education programs were in this way, that after the education the government gives you, they try to find for you a good job to realize your person. To find a good work for you. Usually in the past, there is [sic] free places which [were] prepared for you. In the old program, it was one of the best things in the program. For example, there are 20 persons which [sic] finished the educational program, and they prepare for those 20 persons 20 places to work in different parts of Bulgaria. Now you have to look for your own reason to look for realization.
> [Graduate of specialized institution]

There was assurance and certainty about the past in the speaker's words above, "for those 20 persons, 20 places to work". There was positive value along with that certainty, "a good job to realize your person ... a good work for you... prepared for you, ... it was one of the best things in the program."

Security was held in high value under communism. In the totalitarian state of communism, there was security for students in knowing that upon graduation, they would have employment waiting for them. The position would be in the field of study for which they had aspired since childhood. But there was another side to assured employment.

> I mean in a totalitarian state, you are secure, but you have no choice of what to do. I mean, you study that; you become that; it's all certain what you will do. But also, you have no, no freedom. So, with that, your problems are limited to the problem of freedom. In a democratic state you are not so secure but also you have many opportunities and you can do whatever you want. That's how it is.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution, Graduate of Sofia University]

The assured job was also a job with no right of refusal and with no choice of what part of the country the employee would reside.

In communist Bulgaria, career decision-making was complete in the early years of schooling and choices became more and more narrowly channeled as the student

progressed through the educational system and passed more and more competitive entrance exams. Employment decisions were made at a central level and jobs were assigned. There was little opportunity to change direction as a student proceeded through the higher education system. There was a job waiting, identified early in the student's academic career.

Student services as a profession is in the earliest stages of development at Sofia University. There is no academic program for a career in student services. The institution provides little in the way of programming, co-curricular activities, or services that would fall in the category of professional advising or counseling. Although individual faculty members mentor and advise students, there is not a broad institutional concept of the student as a customer or client deserving of professional or efficient services. Historically, student organizations lead the way in organizing contact between students and companies recruiting employees.

> Another way are student organizations ... they organize career days. And those career days, international companies in Bulgaria such as Shell or Mobil, they would participate in those career days. Students can go there, give them their CVs and also be interviewed.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Individual faculty members and departments have become another resource for students seeking employment.

> Q: Are the faculty members helping to place the students?
> A: Well, we are usually approached by people in these departments. They are interested . The level of education is quite good and the language knowledge is also very good.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

The Ambassador from the United Kingdom took a personal interest in establishing a career center at Sofia University. He channeled funds to the university for

remodeling space, furnishing and training staff to provide employment information to students and employers. Most of the staff is made up of students.

> A: Yes, they [the British career counselors] trained the people.... In our agency work about 20-25 people. Here in the Career Center, work four people ... with specialty. The most important thing [is] that everyone who is work[ing] in the agency for students... we are students... It's a great experience for our future.
>
> Q: Is this particular Career Center a part of a larger organization?
>
> A: Yes. That's right. That is the Bulgarian agency of student work. That is the agency who [sic] finds a job for students in the time they will study.
> [Student Services/Government Employee, Undergraduate student of a specialized institution.]

The center now operates as a part of the national employment agency. It is located on the second floor of the main building.

> We start help of the students [sic]. We try to help students make career choices. We want to provide up to date career information, and we try to be [a] link between the university and the students.
> [Student Services Personnel, Sofia University]

The Center serves not only Sofia University students, but students from all over the country.

> For all students, yes. Not only from Sofia, from all Bulgaria, from all country. Everyone who is a student in Bulgarian university can come here and ask for some job and for help, and we will help him with information and maybe with a contact with a Western firm who come here looking for a specialty. But unfortunately, our center and our agency is [sic] only in Sofia. We have offices only in Sofia. Not in the other cities. Many of the students from country comes [sic] to us looking for a job because most of the Bulgarian universities are here in Sofia.
> [Student Services Personnel, Sofia University]

The center occupies a well lighted, pleasing space with large windows to the hallway to show the career resources neatly arranged on tables in shelves. There are computers and video sets with tapes demonstrating job search procedures. The Center serves as a resource for information and also as a meeting place.

> A: In this Center we try to make appointments between the students and different [employers.]....
>
> Q: Do they come here to interview or do they go to the business to interview?....
>
> A: Both.

[Student Services Personnel, Sofia University]

The staff provides workshops to inform and train students in various aspects of the employment process as well as the study abroad process.

> We help also the students with his CV for his documents....[W]e do our workshops for this, maybe 3 or 4 time on a years. We have workshops with the students to show what they must to do if they have an interest to go in other country to study.
> [Student Services Personnel, Sofia University]

As yet, there is no academic program in career counseling but career specialists from the UK have an ongoing training program for the staff.

> On the first of September, the Chief of British Centers of Career will come to visit us, and we will do our workshop and a little bit of training.
> [Student Services Personnel, Undergraduate student of a specialized institution]

There is little contact with students after graduation. There is no concept of an alumni association for the purpose of placing students, mentoring, or for contributing to the university financially.

> In the university, that is probably a weak side of the education here in Bulgaria. That somehow it prepares good specialists, but it is not involved at all with their professional careers after they graduate. Also, there is no such unit in the university such as counseling or people who can advise, there aren't any who can talk with students and discuss with them their career prospects. So students have to find their own way getting a job after they graduate. Maybe most of the students just work, finding jobs not related to what they studied, which is not very, of course, good. But other students might get good jobs and one of the things they find out jobs, for example in Sofia, there are recruiting agencies where you can go. Especially for students who are qualified, I mean and whose majors are related to jobs which are in demand at the moment. For economics [business], because good accountants are needed in many companies.....
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

<u>Data on emergent cross-categories interacting with student services in governance and organizational structure.</u>

The cross-categories emerging in the data on student services were those of public information and internationalization. The researcher saw a sign in the lobby to advertise

the Student Careers Advisory Centre one day only. The sign did not give clear directions, and several people were asked before someone knew the location. Many people both inside and outside the university are unaware that a career center had been created. They still assume that there is no kind of assistance for students in finding employment after graduation.

> There is no link between education and professional institutions. I mean this, that our universities do not care about people who graduate. (Laughs). Like in the American university, you have a career center and people go there and say, "Oh, I want to look for something for a company to work there. Do you have any information..." You know, there are no career fairs. For two or three years at the University of National and World Economy they tried to organize such career fairs. But it started as I told you two or three years.
> [Administrator, Private institution of higher education]

The center, in fact, started in the early 1990s. There is little awareness of it and there were no statistics available to demonstrate its effectiveness.

> Actually, the agency for our students' work was created on 1991. But it's almost 10 years, but in the beginning there were many problems for this, because that was the first year from democracy in Bulgaria, and many things were different.
> [Student Services Personnel, Sofia University]

The Student Careers Advisory Centre at Sofia University also provides information on study abroad opportunities for the students.

> Q: For study, not for work?
> A: Yes, for study. The most things that we do is for studying, I say, for people who want to go and study... To every student who want [sic] may come here and look around and see what the universities do and what kind of universities are they ... everything.
> Q: I don't see any American universities represented.
> A: Unfortunately, I say, unfortunately, we don't have many connections with American universities. I hope that in the future, maybe in soon future, we will have many contacts with them. And it will be very interesting for our students to go and study in the United States, because they have, you have, a wonderful universities [sic], high level academics, and it would be nice for us.
> [Student Services Personnel, Sofia University]

A separate office to support European Union SOCRATES and ERASMUS programs is the other student services function recently implemented at Sofia University.

SOCRATES is a project-oriented program and the services provided are to department heads and deans of faculties. There will be more on these programs later. ERASMUS programs are for study abroad opportunities for students. Though departments and faculties generally initiate participation of students in the program, the ERASMUS office does all the administrative work.

> Q: How are the students made aware of these [ERASMUS study abroad] opportunities?
>
> A: Yes, the dean of the faculty, they [are] responsible how to give information and how to inform their students. They have to announce a competition among students for this grant. We in the central level give them a right to choose their students, to make a criteria [sic] on how to choose these students. We give them the main criteria.... Brussels give some requirements, who may [be] call[cd] ERASMUS students, but this is main criteria. We give them permission or maybe the right for all the faculty how to choose.
>
> Q: Is there a requirement that efforts be made to inform all the students? Does ERASMUS make an attempt to give equal opportunity?
>
> A: I think that information is compulsory. The other criteria is [sic] their own.
>
> [Student Services Personnel, Sofia University]

The person who administers SOCRATES and ERASMUS programs has a university degree, but has had no academic training in college student personnel. She was an employee of the Ministry of Education and Science when the decision was made for Bulgaria to participate in the European Union educational initiatives.

> I have working [sic] in the Ministry of Education as a member of the Commission of Legalization of Documents. The Minister announced the competition to staff to sit for SOCRATES Agency, and they announced the competition, and we won. It was 1998 I think, in the beginning of 1998.
>
> In Bulgaria, it was a period of voluntary measure of SOCRATES because [it] is European program of education and.... we haven't been a full member of this program. So the Ministry of Education give a decision... They completed staff of five members, and so we start working about SOCRATES and organized their work about how to make and how to work on SOCRATES, how to involve Bulgaria and Bulgaria education institutions.
>
> [Student Services Personnel, Sofia University]

ERASMUS is supposed to be an exchange program seeking to equalize the number of Bulgarian students going out with those coming in from other countries. Western

European students indicating an interest in studying in Bulgaria have been very few though Sofia University has a long tradition of being a favored university for students from former Soviet countries and other countries in the region.

Student Council: Original Category of Governance and Organizational Structure

Data on the Student Council in governance and organizational structure.

The Student Council of Sofia University is made up of 55 student representatives. The number of representatives is set by law to be 15% of the total General Assembly of the institution. Student government representatives are elected for four-year terms. Each faculty [roughly translated to mean college in the USA] is allowed a number of representatives based on the total number of students in each faculty. Students elect the representatives from their faculty. A representative described the election process.

> Q: How did you get elected?
> A: There were elections and I was elected from my colleagues from [a specific faculty].
> Q: So how did you learn about the elections?
> A: There was [sic] posters and among the classmates there was information about it. Not many, but I understood....
> Q: Did they have a ballot with everybody's name on it, or how did you get elected?
> A: It was balloting which had our names and the students just check the names.... It was like, we were talking with colleagues that it was good to vote for us.
> Q: Oh, you campaigned?
> A: Yes....
> [Undergraduate Member of the Student Council, Sofia University]

The Student Council as a whole meets in session with the General Assembly of Sofia University and votes on such issues as the election of the Rector and other major decisions. The Student Council meets separately for matters more directly related to student issues.

> Q: How often does the Student Council, all 55 people meet?

A: Usually all 55 people meet 5 or 6 times per year, but it varies for some special program. We can meet when we need.
[Undergraduate Member of the Student Council, Sofia University]

From the Student Council are elected 15 members who serve as the Executive Council to administer and manage various programs and activities. The budget for the academic year 2000-2001 was about 25,000 leva which is about $12,500 USD. These funds provide office space, equipment and money to support various functions and efforts of the Council.

The Student Council serves as a voice for students on such issues as the quality of life in the Student Village.

A: The houses, the blocks where the students are living here in Sofia are very big problem for the Student Council, because the apartments are not very good. I must say, they are awful. You cannot believe how people can live there. Every time when we try to solve this problem, it is said, "There is no money. We cannot do anything." But we know that there is money and we want to change the thing, to let our colleagues to live better, because it happens sometimes not to have water, hot water. Sometimes there are cockroaches. Not very good.
[Undergraduate Member of the Student Council, Sofia University]

The Student Council supports various artistic and Bulgarian cultural projects.

Q: What other kinds of things have you accomplished?
A: We have a theater. History is the theme. There was not a theater for maybe 20 years, and this year when it was our initiation to start it.
Q: The Council initiated it?
A: Yes.... We are trying to solve not only the material problems of our students, but also [help them] create.
[Undergraduate Member of the Student Council, Sofia University]

Consistent with the history theme, the Student Council has also supported archeological excavations and preservation of ancient Bulgarian music.

There was a band, a group of musicians, student musicians. We gave them money to record their first album. They are a very good band. they are playing some kind of ... ancient Bulgarian music, something very good.
[Undergraduate Member of the Student Council, Sofia University]

Data on emergent cross-categories interacting with the Student Council in governance and organizational culture.

Data on public information and suspicion of corruption emerged as cross-categories with the Student Council sub-category. The Student Council has projects to keep students informed on subjects of academic interest such as publicizing information on the transition to the three-degree system. They bring speakers to the campus on various subjects of interest to students. Members of the Student Council also keep watch on political and legislative matters affecting students.

> Students go to Parliament to work with the representatives there and from each group, each party... we were observing ... how are they working in fact, what do they do... We were just observing.... The main goal is to get information and to get this information to the students, every kind of information.
> [Undergraduate Member of the Student Council, Sofia University]

One student asked not to be recorded on tape but told about the Student Council newspaper printing an investigative report on misallocation of funds for student housing maintenance. According to this student, university officials confiscated copies of the paper before they could be distributed. This statement was in direct contradiction to another student who reported that the Student Council made the final decision on what could be published.

> A: Yes, anyone [can write for the newspaper], and we decide whether it is good for the newspaper to take this material.
> Q: Does faculty have any decision making about what you publish? Are they able to say, "No, you can't publish that?"
> A: The decision is taken only by us.
> Q: By the students?
> A: Students. Only the general editor is not a student, but we decide [with the] general editor. He is a very nice person who helps us learn how to write.
> Q: Do you ever reject anything?
> A: Yes.
> Q: On what basis do you reject?
> A: There are articles that are not fit for the newspaper. Sometimes they are ... grammar.
> Q: They are not up to your standard? It's not a topic that you reject?
> A: No.

[Undergraduate Member of the Student Council, Sofia University]

Students: Original Category of Governance and Organizational Structure

Data on students in governance and organizational structure.

Data on students clustered around various lifestyle issues: students as learners, as workers, as educational consumers. Other topics were student life, living conditions and organizations.

In the Communist past, student access to knowledge was restricted. Students might discover a reference to particular work, but were not permitted to read the original source. On any particular subject, there was a finite amount of information available. It was possible to know everything about a subject within the confines of the available information, but no more without specific permission.

> Q: You started in 1985 as a student, can you tell me about your life as a student then?...
>
> A: It was a good time, I think, because I have plenty of time. My timetable was just to go to the different lectures and to go to the library and, you know, the students' life. (Laugh) So I think it was a happy time because I have plenty of free time and various possibilities to make not very much research, but just to become more familiar with books...
>
> Q: Were you excited...?
>
> A: I was very excited... the only thing which I didn't like was that I have no access to some of the more recent publication[s] in the field. Especially for the publication[s] which are in English or in German, especially. Because we have a lot of publications which are in Russian and some other Slavic language, but some of the publications which are in English or in German, I know some of the by title or by author, but I don't know them by ...
>
> Q: They weren't in your library?
>
> A: Yes. So that was the only thing I didn't like.
>
> Q: Was that due to the political situation or just because ...?
>
> A: Well, it WAS a part of the political situation, and I can't understand what is ... (Laughs)...
>
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Some faculties at least for some periods of time, gave permission and even encouraged and guided students to read forbidden material. One professor who had

started to the university in the late 1970s told about the permission process and about the thrill of reading authors who were banned for the majority of students.

A: As a matter of fact, one of the strange things is that we, as students of [the faculty] had the right to use the special fund [area] of the library . So the special fund was the fund where the books that were prohibited to be read. And, we as students of [my faculty], got the right to read them, the permission to read them. It was very exciting. Now, I tell my students that they just do not know how exciting it is to read Freud when it is taboo, for example. (Laughter)...

Q: So, did you have to get permission from your professors?

A: Yes.

Q: Would you look for specific things, or could you just go in and look?

A: No, you had to get permission from the Dean, and after that you had to go to the Rector of the University, and after that you go to the library and to get a special, special, you know, special permission, and you go and read the prohibited books.

Q: Once you were inside, were you able to look at all the books or did you have to request a specific book?

A: You had to request a specific book. You are able to request any book.

Q: But it had to be written down?

A: Yes, yes.

Q: Did your professors guide you on what books to look for or to request, or ...

A: Of course, when we came, many of us were from small towns, for example, I came from a small town, and I didn't know the names of many of the interesting authors. But our professors were telling us which of the books should be read, even if it's prohibited, and we went. And the most part of us knew languages, English or Spanish, and when we got to the Library, to the prohibited catalog, we find another thing [to read].

Q: So you did have free access to the catalog?

A: We didn't have, but after the permission ...

Q: Oh, once you got permission to go it, you could look through the catalog to explore?

A: Yes, yes, yes. This does not mean that we have access to the books.

Q: I understand.... What was the most exciting thing for you to subversively read when you were a student? (Laughter). What was the most exciting thing that you were thrilled that you had access to?

A: Well, maybe it was a book of [name of an author] about the Euro Communism. Maybe you know that [in the 1970s] a trend of Communist Parties of Western Europe appeared . This trend has been called Euro Communism. It was quite different from the dogmas and paradigms of the classical model of communism. And the Communist Party of Spain, of Italy, and well, many [places] they declared them as Euro Communist Party. [The author's]... book appeared in Bulgaria in the prohibited fund.... I was able to take it and read it and even to take notes.

Q: So, what revelation was this to you? What was so exciting about reading that?

A: First of all, the revision of the communist dogma. Second, the approximation of the ideas of [the author] to the principles of a liberal democracy. Some kind of accommodation, maybe. Some kind of revision, I don't know. It was quite interesting for me ... from MY... point of view. It was

interesting for me to understand that it is possible to be a communist and at the same time not to be a classical communist. (Laughs) In the strict sense of the word.

Q: So that was your first taste of some kind of democratic...?

A: Yes, yes, yes, in some intellectual way, yes.

[Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Attendance was required for all classes at Sofia University during Communist times. Students had books for professors' signatures to verify attendance, which permitted them to take exams at the end of the year. These final exams were the one and only grade for the courses. Signatures verifying attendance were essential for completing courses.

A: We were more disciplined as children, because we were obliged to go to lectures and seminars in order to go to the exams. Now, I hear that at Sofia University there isn't [sic] such requirements. Probably you have been told that during our time we had to receive the signature from our professor in our student book, meaning that we had visited regularly in the lectures.

Q: Was that one time a term?

A: One time a term. One time a term. And without this signature, you couldn't go to any exam. So it was very important... and we went to lectures.

Q: So there was only one exam for the whole term, there was no interim exams or ...?

A: No, usually not.

Q: No assignments?

A: No. No.

Q: Nothing was graded except that one exam?

A: Yes. In most of the cases, yes.

[Administrator, NGO]

Despite all regulations against it, some students managed to miss lectures and pass exams. There was no explanation about how they were able to accomplish this other than universal student ingenuity. One professor told about his attendance behavior as a student.

A: I didn't attend all the classes. I couldn't have. Nobody did. I attended the classes which were especially related [to my field], but for me it was easier, because from the second year I liked some things or disliked other things. So, to me, it was easier to make a choice, what is for me is especially important and what is not. These topics which were not important for me, which I think were not important for me, I just didn't [attend].

Q: Did that make it harder for you to pass exams?

A: A little bit, but we have these materials and lectures or some kind of books which are like anthology. In principal it was not hard to prepare yourself

for those. It was, well, much more time consuming, of course, but if you have some background knowledge you could solve this problem.

Q: So you knew exactly what these exams would cover? You knew exactly which books...?

A: Yes, I questioned my colleagues, and I know information, basic information.

[Faculty Member, Sofia University]

During Communist times as in democratic times, living at home as a student of higher education solved many problems of expenses and lifestyle. The Student Village or youth hostel for students, was a concept that evolved over time. By 1961, over 3,500 students lived in the Village for a small fee covering rent, heat, electricity and other services (People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1961). In the earlier days there were few places for students to live who were from outside the institution's city. Students whose parents lived in the city of their university were not allowed to take rooms in the Student Village. In an interview with a professional couple, they discussed living arrangements when they were students.

Q: Did you live in a dormitory when you were in college, or did you live at home?

A: Yes, I live with my parents, in Sofia, yes.

Q: What about you?

A: He was not from Sofia, [he was from] a big town in the north part of Bulgaria near Varna. He rented a room as a student.

Q: Was there a Student Village then?

A: ...Little people [a few] of students can live in the Students' Village then... There were very bad living conditions in those student hostels.... Even now they are very, very bad. In that time also.

Q: So you and your brother lived at home then?

A: Yes, all students which are from the same town where the university is situated, they don't live [in the Student Village].... They are not allowed to. They don't have a right.

[Business woman and a professor at a specialized institution of higher education. Both are graduates of a technical institution of higher education.]

Only government approved, nation-wide student organizations were allowed to exist on campus under communism. In 1961, scientific societies within the academic majors provided research opportunities for students and opportunities to make

presentations locally and at nation-wide student conferences. Monetary incentives were provided as prizes for superior activities (People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1961).

The Komsomol, communist youth organization, complemented the curriculum. Participation was required of all students as a means to develop professional skills and to advance ideological commitments. Study circles were an important part of the routine activities. They provided field trips or excursions "to expand the conceptual and factual knowledge of children and youth with respect to academic subject matter, vocational and professional areas, and ideology" (Georgeoff, 1968, p. 159). They also involved student in science projects, technology and the arts as well as parades, rituals and celebrating ideological principles.

The only intercampus organizations were strictly controlled.

> Q: Did you have organizations like this when you were a student [in the 1970s]?
>
> A: Unfortunately, we didn't. I think this is one of the differences between our epoch and their epoch. At that time, the only organization of the university was the Komsomol. The Komsomol is the Union of Communist Young People. It was, naturally, a state organization and controlled by the Communist Party. But, I don't think that the influence of this organization in my faculty, especially on the students of [the professor's faculty] would be very strong. No way.
>
> Q: They were not active? Your department?
>
> A: No, no.
>
> Q: Were other departments very active?
>
> A: They were. For example, the Department of Law. (Laughs) They were very active, always, and very strange.
>
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

After The Changes, the life of the student has changed in dramatic ways. Today's students have a much broader base of knowledge available to them than students had in the days of Communism when access to knowledge was strictly limited.

> What is better now for sure is the freedom of students. The freedom to find literature, publications without control or censorship.
>
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Given the freedom of access to knowledge, the student is faced with having to learn skills in selection, self-limitation, and determining what is most important to learn. One professor compared the pros and cons of students faced with restricted and unlimited information sources.

> A: I think that today, it is much more complicated, because we have an access to old and new books and old and new papers, and we have access to the Internet, of course...
>
> Q: So you had less access then, but that was helpful, in that, you had less to ...? Then you knew exactly what to study?
>
> A: You know EXACTLY.
>
> Q: And now...?
>
> A: And now... well, maybe 70 percent of everything is in English. So you must know that information. That is the way the picture of education changes....
>
> Q: So... students are, or were, responsible for everything that is out there, but now, there is more out there. Is that what you are saying?
>
> A: Yes. Now you have choice. This choice is not very easy to make.... You have to make some kind of limitation.... You must be familiar, not with everything, but with some general trends in your topics. So it is not very easy.
>
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Dropping class attendance as a requirement is a change that generates opposing opinions. Some professors have very strong opposition to the optional attendance policy. One professor expressed his objections on the grounds of quality of education and the teacher-student relationship.

> A: The academic body here, the Senate, had decided that [at] the university that neither the lecturing nor the seminars are compulsory. So, legally, the students without being with you during the lecturing and seminars, they can come and pretend to have an exam. And for some sciences, this is detrimental. How can they become a chemist without doing some experiments?...
>
> Q: What was the logic of the Senate...?
>
> A: Well, this was populist, populism. Because those who make it, know that the students will like it. This is a big misunderstanding that I hope to be changed, but it is very, very bad. Unfortunately, yes.
>
> Q: Do the students come at all to lectures?
>
> A: If they decide to come. They are absolutely free to come or not to come.
>
> Q: When you give a lecture, how many students are there?
>
> A: Theoretically, I have a lecture of 120 students. Usually they can... hardly to [sic] 20. Yes. But at the same time, it is convenient for the lecturer also.... This is tragic. It is tragic.... I am angry with this situation. I think they should be there.... What is education? It is a face to face experience. It is

interactive. Otherwise it is a correspondence course or distance learning.... It's terrible. This is a terrible degradation of education.

Q: You really enjoy that contact?

A: Of course. This is important. Now, I don't know the names of the students.

[Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Other faculty members and administrators believe the new attendance policy to be an improvement, eliminating verification procedures that contributed nothing to education.

A: It's a good move. A good decision.

Q: What was the rationale behind that?

A: There was a conflict between the staff and students about signing their student books.... We decided that this is not the way to make students go to lectures. There are some other mechanisms to keep students in the classrooms.

Q: How has that affected attendance?

A: Nothing has changed...

Q: So you have just as many as you always did in class?

A: Most are there who would be there anyway. (Laughs)

[Administrator, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Some participants saw the attendance debate as part of a larger issue.

This lack of liberty [under Communism] was accompanied by a very strong discipline. We were obliged to do things which were good [in order] to learn, to have the sign[ature] of your professor, for example, that you have been present to all his lectures enough to have the exam. So this was a bit like [secondary] school, the university. Now this discipline is lacking...the liberty of going to the university is of course something good, but not [for] the persons who don't understand it. They are not using not enough well [sic] their time for learning. This is maybe a bad part. But it's not so bad that -- evolution is for good.

[Ministry of Culture Employee, Graduate of Sofia University]

One version of this liberalized class attendance policy is the extra-mural option.

[I]n the past we had only a regular enrollment of students. It means that they go their lectures, they go to their exercises every day. This is regular enrollment. Now we have something called extra-mural. It means that they go to those lectures only for a week, and then they prepare themselves alone at home. Then they go to exams. This is the system of extra-mural situation..... [It started] Immediately after the transition, '90, early '90.

[Administrator, Private institution of higher education]

The individual student's decision to attend or not attend lectures is based on a variety of factors. One student found none of the lectures interesting.

The time spent in class at the university is a personal choice. It is not obligatory now. This year the Dean of our faculty decided that it is not obligatory to

participate in the whole educational process. There will be the exams at the end of the year, but I think that the biggest problem is that the whole educational system doesn't make you feel interested in the educational process. That's why I visit my lectures very rarely.... But the program is not very interesting to me. [Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

Another student found all the lectures very stimulating and attended regularly. She had great concern for colleagues who have to work and are not able to attend regularly.

A: I try to visit my lectures because it is [sic] very interesting. For example, today I had Photography, and to me it is very interesting and it is very useful. Some of my fellow students are working now and they don't visit lectures. I think that it is very bad for them.
Q: Do you think you have an advantage in going to the lectures? Do you think that helps you ?
A: Yes.
Q: How many times do you go to lectures during a week?
A: Everyday....
Q: How long are each of those lectures?
A: Two hours. Some are four hours.
Q: I hope that is an exciting teacher! Is it interesting?
A: Very interesting! He is clever and very dramatic [waves her arms to demonstrate the teacher]. He has a lot of details.
Q: And that's exciting?
A: Yes.
Q: So you like going to class, for most of your lectures?
A: (Laughs) Yes, I like, because I know, I accept their information. [Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

The working student is a new but increasingly necessary status. There were no statistics on how many students work, and there were conflicting opinions on the number. One professor's perception was that most students work.

It's harder now for students, yes, because, nearly every student works somewhere. It is not possible to live on the [stipend] money anymore. It is a great change.
[Faculty Member, Sofia University]

A student perceived just the opposite, however.

A: The main difference between our system and yours is that here most of the students don't work [in Bulgaria] and in the States they work... Here it is just all ... Well, there are people that work, but that are not majority....
Q: Why is that, do you think?

A: Economic situation. There are no jobs.... And the pay rates are very low, so you are not motivated enough to work.... It's not worth it. It is worth studying. The time you spend studying is more worth than you spend working.
[Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

Some people interpret the increase in the number of student workers as a lifestyle choice even though they understand the financial problems of families.

Now, I think, students prefer not to be regular students, but to work during the day and to study only this week or two and then go to exams. They have much more time to work in this way and to earn money, because their parents have no financial resources to pay for them to be students.
[Administrator, Private institution of higher education]

Living conditions were often a topic of discussion in the interviews. Finding enough time and a quiet place to study is a problem for students, particularly those living in the Student Village.

Q: How much time do you spend studying, at home or wherever you study?
A: That's another problem. I live in a place in the town where most of the students live [the Student Village]. It is very difficult to study there, because all young people desire to have fun. Nobody is interested in your specific circumstance, so if you can't study, it's quite hard. Very often someone wants to listen to music, you know, but it's... a problem.... In some way, it's a financial problem. If you can't afford to rent a house and to be isolated to concentrate on your studies, you have no other choice.
[Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

One student who was able to share an apartment with two other students agreed that being able to afford to live outside the Student Village was a definite advantage.

Q: What about you? Do you have more space than your cousin has [who lives in the Student Village]?
A: Yes. In our apartment there is [sic] three bedrooms, a kitchen, bathroom, toilet. There is more spaces [sic].
Q: More privacy?
A: Yes, yes. They are very big and I feel alone and calm and I can study.
[Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

In discussing housing with a group of students, they comment on the access, costs and living conditions in the Student Village blocks. A block is a building in the old Soviet terminology.

Q: So do you have to be a good student to be in the Student Village?
A: Yes.
Q: What happens if you don't get in? (Laughter)
A: You look for a landlord in Sofia.
A: You rent an apartment or a room.
Q: A lot more expensive?
A: Much more.
Q: So you have to compete for a room at the Student Village?
A: Yes... It's not that bad (Laughter), but my block [meaning building] is one of the good ones. But there are really some miserable ones.
Q: So there is a range of quality?
A: Yes. In some of them it is very hard to live. But, it's kind of interesting living in the Student Village. Nobody really sleeps there.
[Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

One student described the living space she shared with three other students in the Student Village.

A: Oh, it's very nasty. It's like a mess, a small box. It's very depressing. You get claustrophobic here. And it looks like a ghetto, because it's quite old. The blocks [buildings] are the oldest in the Student Village. The place is quite dirty, and you can imagine the whole atmosphere, because it depresses you. You can't study in such an area.
Q: Are the three of you in one room?
A: Yes.
Q: What size room?
A: Well, it's a little bigger than this one [the interview was in a room approximately 9' x 11']. It has three beds and one table. We use the table to eat and to study and for all other purposes. And that's all. We have a heater and a cassette recorder and that's all.
Q: You don't have a closet?
A: No we have a closet. It's in the corridor, the closet and the toilet. We have a toilet. Thank God we have a toilet, it is not one toilet for the whole floor.
Q: Are you warm?
A: Well, to some extent. I prefer to mention that I am warm, because it is more comfortable to think that it's warm in the room.
[Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

A member of the Student Council commented on the conditions of parts of the Student Village.

The houses, the blocks where the students are living here in Sofia, are very big problem for the Student Council, because the apartments are not very good. I must say, they are awful. You cannot believe how people can live there.... [W]e want to change the thing, to let our colleagues to live better, because it happens sometimes not to have water, hot water. Sometimes there are cockroaches. Not very good.
[Undergraduate Member of the Student Council, Sofia University]

Most students from other cities who attend Sofia University do not have enough money to live anywhere other than the Student Village.

A: The life is, it is expensive to live in Sofia, for example. It is about over 70% of the revenue goes to food.
Q: So 70% of the money you make, you buy groceries?
A: Yes, yes.
Q: Do you live in an apartment, or do you live in the student village?
A: I live in the Student Village.
Q: What do rents run there?
A: That is less than rent in the other part of the city.
Q: Do you have a room there or an apartment?
A: I have one room with a bathroom and a little terrace. It's not the usual, but it is the fashion of the building.
[Post Graduate Student and Lecturer (equal to Graduate Student in the USA), Sofia University]

Bulgarian students complain about their living quarters and hard times, but some, at least, assume that the rest of the students in the world have similar complaints.

I think that everywhere in the world the students' life is not so different. You have lectures, you have parties, you have the chance to learn a little bit more about your country, and the achievement with other countries.
[Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

Some mentioned other assumptions about similarities among students.

A: Everyone is 4th year. So you are experts, now. [Laughter]
Q: Tell me what it means to be an expert in being a student...
A: ... Expert students means you know the student life, you know the problems, the parties, what you can drink most.
[Undergraduate Student in a group of Sofia University students]

One student told about the lack of incentive to study or sleep at in the Student Village at night.

Q: What do you do instead of study when you go home at night?
A: You don't have much choice. You have to party.
Q: Somebody holds a gun to your head? (Laughter)
A: You have to try to sleep, and isolate yourself from the noise and the music.
Q: What time does it get quiet?
A: Well, never, but about 3:00 [a.m.].
Q: So you don't bother to go to bed until 3:00?
A: Never. I usually go to bed at about 3:30. That's why I don't usually visit my classes in the morning. Impossible to wake up.
[Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

She expressed worry that she would not pass her exams. The other student in the same interview lives in an apartment and generally keeps hours different from her cousin in the Student Village.

> Q: What about you, are you worried about your exams?
> A: No, because I have all the time to study about the exams. I know that I will get it...
> Q: What time do you go to bed?
> A: Very different hours. Ten or maybe two or three like her.
> Q: Are you studying when you stay up that late or are you partying?
> A: I am reading, or studying or I party.
> [Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

Students as consumers were unheard of until recently. Tuition has become essential to the survival of higher education. It adds a new financial burden on families already in difficult circumstances.

> I think that's for all universities. Because when I studied from 1992 until 1996 or 97, I finished, I have scholarships, because I have not excellent marks, but close to excellent marks. I received a scholarship, and my education two years ago was free. The government paid my education. The education is from the government. Now, everybody have to pay taxes [tuition] for the education, like most of the ... I think, like the United States. If you like to study, you have to pay taxes. Taxes [tuition] are not so big, but... for Bulgaria standards, which is not rich, a lot of money.
> [Graduate of a specialized institution]

Students appear to be interested in organizational related to their professions or various causes. A professor commented on the proliferation of student-initiated organizations since the Communist era.

> And thinking about hyperactivity for our students, if you go to the students of the first year, they have different several organizations. One of the organizations is Organization of Students of Political Science. Another one is Youth Organization, Bulgarian Branch, the next one is the Club of Political Science Students, and that you have Euro-Partners Junior or something like that. There are various, something, yes, several organizations, and they are organizing themselves and working in some ways and making activities and well, doing things. This is important. And I think this is the difference between our students and other students. They are just trying to do things, to organize by themselves conferences, presentations, something like this. I think it's OK.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

A group of students organized to examine and act on cooperative educational efforts in the Balkans invited the researcher to interview their group at a regular meeting. One of the officers explained why they decided to form the organization .

> The main thing that maybe you should know is that we are non-governmental, non-political, independent youth organization of students who have now studying or who have recently finished International Relations or International Jurisdiction or things like that. So they are having interest in the field of international relations and by analyzing and researching actual problems of international relations and Bulgarian political, social and economic life, we are trying to build our future here in Bulgaria.
>
> Also, one of the main things we are trying to promote here is mutual understanding, security, and cooperation in the Balkan region which is very important situation now after the war in Bosnia and Kosovo and so on. We are trying to make more and more contacts with similar organizations here in the Balkan region so we can know each other in the future and avoid all this hatred and wars to know better each other.
>
> One of our aims, let's say, is to make projects in the field of education, to work with the young people and to help them know more about education in Bulgaria, to help them with their research and studies and so on. To help them to know much more about things they would like to know. So maybe, it will be interesting to you to know that our members are students from different universities in Sofia and in Bulgaria.
> [Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

The students in this organization had been pleased with the reception and cooperation they received from government officials and the business community, but when they approached the administration of Sofia University with some of their ideas they felt they were not taken seriously.

> I would like to mention that we have problems, not with students, but I mean on the level of student community. We have more positive results than we expected ever. But, we have problems on the level of bureaucracy, for example. I remember when we tried to speak with people who are representatives of the Ministry of Education, for example, but not about that project of Balkan education, but about the problem of, temporary problems of our scholarships, yes. I remember that they just looked at us as people who are not as professional as they are, who are not as experience they have. It was really disappointing.
> [Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

On the bus after the meeting, one student explained that they had attempted to present a case to the administration to maintain the old degree system as a matter of

preservation of Bulgarian identity and tradition. The administration would not discuss it with them.

Some departments at Sofia University have allowed students to initiate other kinds of educational activities within the institution. One student started a magazine for students in her faculty to publish articles related to their field.

> There are many problems. I decided to get my colleagues to pay attention about that and to be more -- to take care about it. Now I'm trying to publish another issue for my ... magazine.... For literature. But student literature.... Only for my faculty.
> [Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

Data on emergent cross-categories interacting with students in governance and organizational structure.

Positive change as a cross-category often emerged when discussing today's students. In Bulgaria, it is not an idle cliché to talk about the students as the hope of the future. One hears repeatedly that the education system and the country will require two generations of young leaders to recover from the old ways of doing things.

> A: You must see the changes in the system of education in this perspective, because everything which is changing is very easy to change on paper. We, of course, we can't begin to make changes otherwise than to make new laws. And these new laws are made on the model of the laws in Western Europe, the United States and different countries which we are having as a model. But this model, after finishing making the law, you must act accordingly with this law, and so in this action are the difficulties. Because many people can't be changed with a sheet of paper.
>
> People who are most easily changed are the young people, which are the object of education. The educators themselves can't be changed so easily. So this is one of the big problems in the changes in education. You can't change professors. And the people who are worked in different conditions, they have their own lectures, they know what they know from other times, and now they must make enormous effort if they learn to change not only their minds but everything they have read and everything they have to explain to these young persons.
>
> Q: And all their experience?
>
> A: And all their experience is in the old age [of communism]. And you know that university is not only the lectures. This is the atmosphere of the university. These years, the four or five years, when the student is there, they are the formative years of his life which is before him. So in these formative

years, you are not only learning, you also receiving some manners, some way of life and thinking, and all this is transmitted by the professors, by the people in the university. These people are not always in the ... they don't know what to do with this young person which are very different now. They [the students] don't know the past. When The Changes, came they have been almost 8 or 9 years old. So they don't know nothing [sic]. And the psychological difference between the difference of ages in the university may be one of the biggest problems. It's my opinion from outside. I have a son in the university. And I see the gap which is now staying between the educators and the educatees.... [sic].

For example, many people in the older generation don't know languages. They know languages, but they know Russian and some English, but not at the level that is [functional] ... It's obvious to many young persons that they have a better level of language than their professors. This is very important for a country like Bulgaria, which is a little country with a not worldwide spoken language. So in Bulgaria, if you want to be educated person, you must know at least two languages. Not just Bulgarian, Bulgarian language is very important here. We are trying to save the good Bulgarian language which is difficult with all these changes, but if you want to understand many things and to use Internet and to read something which is different, especially in time of change, you need to have a fluent foreign language. So this is as example of inconsistency between the two generations.
[Ministry of Culture Employee, Graduate of Sofia University]

Data Presentation on Function and Emergent Cross-Categories

Introduction

This research was designed by an American schooled in the Land Grant College tradition of defining the trinity of educational function as teaching, research and service. These are the three major subcategories of the Original Category of Function. Data on Teaching Methods, Curriculum, Teaching Conditions, the Degree System and Accreditation will be reported as subcategories of the Teaching Function. Data on the Research Function is limited due to the legacy of the communist policy of eliminating research that once was a part of higher education. Data on the Service Function is limited because there has not been a verbalized tradition of internal or external service in higher education.

Teaching: Original Category of Function

Data on teaching methods in the teaching function.

Methods of teaching and learning under communist designed higher education were standardized as were the curricula. Though the stated purpose of higher education in the communist past was to prepare students for employment, there were many complaints about the lack of practical experience and a lack of updated content in the curriculum. Theoretical lectures were often the sole method of teaching. Memorization of material was required in many courses. Classes were based on nationally standardized curricula that were slow to change; therefore, many professors did not change lectures from year to year.

> [Y]ou have a lecturer and you have his assistant. Now the lecturers have their courses and they stick to them for decades. When you change the curriculum, there have been a huge number of persons who don't know anything but these things.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

While professors were supposed to uphold the Communist Party doctrine in class, not every department and professor did so uniformly, depending on the era and change in political climate.

> At the same time in official meetings, we have been able to share opinions which were different from official opinions. I would say that even in our classes there were no orthodox Marxists.... But in 1986 we were already in the epoch of Peristroika. At that time, we were [experiencing] much more liberty... and much less fear to express your opinion. But even in 70s, in my faculty, it was different than in other faculties.
>
> But I know from students, from people who had these students in the 60s, then in that epoch, the stagnation, the intellectual stagnation, was very, you know, very great. There were people from my faculty arrested, who were victims of repression and so on. But it was in the 60s. In fact, in the 70s, no, the atmosphere was another thing. And speaking about the terrible things of the faculty, I think that aspect, especially of my faculty, not the university as a whole, the tradition of liberty, the tradition of liberty to express different opinions, it existed. In the 70s and 80s too, existing.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

There is general consensus that the advent of democracy has had little effect on

classroom activities at Sofia University.

> [O]therwise internal ways, methods of teaching or methods of examining, I think I would say there was no difference.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Some see this as a sign of stability and excellence unaffected by political contexts.

> Higher education is a conservative system, and it tends to change slowly. In the form of teaching there is no fundamental difference. We have excellent professors which are before the changes and after the changes. Some of them are well known experts in Europe.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

The tradition in teaching in Bulgaria has been to teach by lecture only and to concentrate on theory rather than providing opportunities for practice in the various academic disciplines. In the past, theoretical focus was a matter of philosophy despite the stated intent of teaching for employment. For those who would prefer to include more practical experience today, the cost of equipping labs and providing other practical opportunities often makes it impossible to abandon the exclusively theoretical lecture approach.

> By the way, we haven't got a good material basis, like operators and so on. That's why we teach traditionally (in lectures) and very intensively.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Memorization was another important part of teaching methodology in the past, and the lingering tradition is another barrier to adopting methods of practical application.

> Yes, and the other thing in education, higher education, is that our students study by heart [memorization].... Nowadays, it's almost the same. Maybe it is a start [that] they are using case studies and all those things to link with practice with experience, but in the past, it was mainly theory.
>
> Of course, female students learn it by heart and then go and say it in a perfect way and they get 60's, the highest marks.... Then when they go somewhere to an organization to work, they don't know what to do, in fact. For example, accounting, they study what is the left side of the bill, the right side, how it is called, and so on, but they cannot make those calculations. When they go to an enterprise, they cannot, they don't know what it means. There was no link between practice and theory. There was no practical experience.
> [Administrator, Private institution of higher education]

One professor expressed admiration for the methods of a team of European educators who came to Sofia University to train faculty members for participation in some of the EU educational initiatives.

> The main idea is learning by doing. They come here, they teach us how to expand our knowledge. First we have to acquire some new knowledge, some new approaches. Also there was an attempt at research, but not so big. Mostly for education purposes, and I think this is the right policy, yes, from the point of view of the European institutions.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Many of the teachers think that involving students with research is an essential part of higher education, even at the undergraduate level. They see this as an opportunity for more personal interaction with the students as well.

> The way to change it is to give them [the students] a part of our duties which are related to preliminary part of the research project. To involve them in the [research] project on the basis of their interests. I think this part SHOULD change, [make it] more flexible, because now the difference is very rigid. It is not very well. ... Because I think I will achieve much more if I have a personal contact, it's OK. But not everybody thinks so.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Among those interviewed, faculty members reported intense personal concern for and interaction with their students.

> I think that is [sic] tradition [in my faculty] of communication between students and professors, I mean unofficial communications.... I know personally I spend a lot of time with my students, a lot of time with my students, working in groups out of the classes. And as far as I remember, my professors did the same. And it was quite different because I think that in other faculties this tradition didn't exist at that time. But in my faculty it existed.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Some professors foresee change in the teaching function as inevitable and/or good. In either case, they recognize that it will be difficult for them after a career built on the old ways of teaching.

> After 25 years, men became very conservative, and we accepted new change very difficult [sic]. So, maybe this system in the future will be good one. I cannot say now, because I was educated in another condition and I left it in the other condition, and I lectured in another condition. I am accustomed to this. Maybe, maybe only the time will say what is right.

[Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Data on the emergent cross-categories interacting with teaching methods in the teaching function.

Data emerged for the cross-category of autonomy within the teaching methods subcategory. Autonomy is understood, expressed and implemented differently in various faculties, departments and units of departments. Much has to do with the traditions of the people involved. Within one of the departments, where there has been a longstanding tradition of bending the rules, the sense of academic freedom is more fully developed.

> So that's the question about autonomy. We are free at the moment, I can say that. Bearing in mind that I have been in the UK and the United States, even from the point of view of political correctness... you can do whatever you want. In a way, I have never been in a university that has more freedom [than Sofia University], because I can teach a course in anti-Semitism and there is no one to stop me. I can read ["read" means teach in this context] any course, and there is no procedure to stop me. There is [only] the decision of the Chair, the small department [unit or program], not the department but the small unit... so I would say, now the problems begins actually, when you see the freedom and you see that ... this is not the change that you expected. And, please know that it's different in different departments. To such an extent, [this faculty] has more freedom than other departments.
> [Faculty member, Sofia University]

Data on curriculum in the teaching function.

The curriculum in the past was set to prepare students for employment and to be good citizens of the communist state. Standardized curricula were written in minute detail and tightly controlled by central authority during the communist era. Higher education was designed to produce uniform specialists for the Soviet Bloc economy. Curricula were written with the assumption that the university student's general education, or in Western terminology, liberal education was completed in secondary

school. There were few courses offered outside the student's major discipline once enrolled in an institution of higher education.

> The former model was the model of so many narrow specializations and qualifications. We call this model the Soviet Model, because it was introduced in Bulgaria just after the war [WWII].... And the idea was to prepare specialists in narrow fields in order to recover the industry and .... the economy of these countries.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

All students were required to pass exams in communist ideology each year.

> At the moment, let's put it this way. We can talk about three or four ways of changes. Definitely the first change was an overwhelming one. It was an explosion [meaning elimination rather than increase] of ideological disciplines from the Humanitarian Sciences [humanities]. That was the first. I think it was unanimously supported by almost every ... even by those who secretly wanted those things to remain, ... but they had to [say] publicly they are against them. Here we are talking [about], you know what the ideological disciplines are...Theory of Marxism, History of Bulgarian Communist Party, History of International Labor Movement, ... Historical Materialism, and all these things. These was [sic], I think, ... disappeared.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Communism was considered the basis for all and the justification for all learning and research.

> You may know that every student in the past was obliged to learn the Marxist philosophy. This was one of the obligatory matter[s] in the university, in every specialty. It was considered the methodology [justification] of all science. It was considered that you must know first the [communist] methodology, and after that you must use that methodology in every research. So, of course, in pure science, it was something which is not possible to make. In the Humanitarian specialty [humanities], it was obligatory, and the result was very odd thinking, which is difficult to change now.
> [Employee, Ministry of Culture]

Projects, research, and advancement to higher degrees and such were approved only after the student demonstrated how the personal objective was related to the advancement of the goals of the Communist Party. In order to advance, the student also had to make a personal statement of commitment to those goals.

> There is a lot of difference between that time in the Socialist time and now in democracy. In Socialist time, the students were under the Party. Everyone [sic] student who want [ed] to be some kind of expert in engineer[ing] or something

> else, [the] first thing that he must do is to tell in front of Party leaders that he love the Communist Party, he love the country, he love learning and other things. That was a time very hard for them. My mom is graduating in this time, in Communist time.... It was not good time for Bulgarian students.
> [Undergraduate, specialized institution]

Once a student was accepted into a major, there was no provision for transferring to another program.

> For us there ... were no opportunities for initiative at that time.... It was not possible to change your mind, change your major. ... Now it is possible because you will pay to another university and you will study another thing.
> [Business Woman and Faculty Member of a specialized institution]

After The Changes, some curriculum changes were sudden and dramatic, particularly with regard to the requirements for courses in communist ideology.

> It's kind of, from the beginning of the transition process, let's start at 1989-1990 ... that most people understood that there would be no ideological disciplines. So called ideological disciplines ... of Marxism which were obligatory for any student, even students [in] Biology and technology, and especially in the Humanities. You get rid of all these ideological disciplines to free some space for normal disciplines. That's, I think, the feeling and the first understanding of autonomy.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Students who were scheduled for exams in those courses immediately following The Changes simply never took them.

> It was, I think, all together three courses for the five years of study. It was the course that was studied in the first year, the history of Bulgarian Communist Party, and I took this exam because it was in June 1989...[T]he Changes came in November. But then I had to take an exam in Political Economy in June 1990... Naturally, I didn't have an exam.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Substantive internal changes to the curriculum required much more time than merely eliminating political courses.

> I think that it all changed afterward, because when I graduated, this was in 1990, so this was the first year of the changes. We almost didn't feel any changes at that time, because, you know, we were graduating in June of that year. Only one of the exams, Theory of Communism, was taken out of our curriculum.... It was too early, in the very beginning. So I think all the changes started from that moment on.
> [Administrator, NGO]

Other changes came more slowly. There was little expectation in the early days that course content or curriculum requirements were in need of change.

> Now I think it's the same. I think that very little things are changing in the universities, because almost all people who teach there, they are from the old time. They are Communists.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

The curriculum for individual majors has continued to be very specialized, though that is changing somewhat. Compared to Western institutions of higher education, they have maintained the tradition of offering general or liberal education at the elementary and secondary levels, and offering a more specialized curriculum at the higher education levels than Western counterparts.

> I think our children have generally much wider education at secondary schools, and that's why our university level is more concentrate. We don't have, for example, like in Europe, the first years many general disciplines. They are usually starting right away with major. That is the main difference, because our secondary school is very strong school. Children are very well prepared for higher education.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

The decision at central control to change to the Western "three degree" [Bachelor's, Master's, Ph.D.] system has set the stage for the undergraduate degree to become more general and the graduate degree more specialized.

> The educational model should be changed.... The skeleton of this system are [that] the students that will graduate in four years ...Afterward, the specialty will be able to specialize in the fields they have selected [which] can be done by means of Master's programs with a duration of a year or two or by the educational and scientific degree of Doctor.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

There is now some allowance for broadening individual curriculums to include more general education and interdisciplinary options.

> Q: So you said that by comparison, the good thing about today is that there are more alternatives, as far as programs...?
> A: That's right, and different subjects and the way they are taught. They are interdisciplinary. Yes.
> [Administrator, NGO]

Though it is not facilitated, the system does not prevent students from completing double majors in some faculties. The usual concern about lowering quality accompanies this discussion of change as it does most others.

> They [International Relations majors] don't have a right to practice law unless some of them volunteer to have a second graduation as legal students. Many of them have this opportunity, and this is the good news for the students in the Law School... [T]hose who volunteer and those who have the appropriate marks, high marks, and have proved that they can cope with difficult subjects, have the opportunity to study, either in parallel or in consecutive fashion, education with the two departments.... I know only people who are doing that in parallel, and they are killed by studying. It's really very, very hard, very tough for them, but they [sic] are already some who are completing, completed others [sic], so it's [an] opportunity. It might be loosing, it might be diluted, prolongated [sic] to make it easier, but they have this opportunity.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Though there are provisions for some electives now, some of the students think this innovation has not gone far enough. Now that private universities are offering more opportunities for choice of courses, students from public universities are becoming more aware of electives as an option.

> I have a friend at the American University in Bulgaria, and what I like about her studies is that she has a chance to choose what particular subjects to study. For example, she is interested in history of the Middle East and the conflicts there, so she chooses [courses in that]. As for me, I'm obliged to [study] what the university considers important for me to know. And that's why I think it's the biggest problem with our educational system, is it lacks freedom. That's what I want to say to people outside which are not familiar with peculiarities of the educational system in Eastern Europe.
> [Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

Some attempts at expanding the curriculum to include new majors were permitted for a time, but they were brought back under central control.

> Because there is a trend of these specialties, they preserve [themselves] regardless of the small number of students. This process of extensive development of the system has been spontaneous. It cannot be stopped by itself. In Bulgaria after 1990 the so-called paid education was introduced. This is the fact that accelerated the process of the educational system.
>
> Because there exists the natural will to enroll more students in more specialties and the money that can be raised in this manner are not used for the institutional development of the higher educational institutions. But they are allocated among the teachers, the professors in the form of retainers or honoraria. These led to the increased number of specialties, more than 500 of

them. Then they were reduced to 200. Most of those specialties, in fact, have the character of narrow specialization.
[Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

Some of the new majors prevailed, however, and have proven to be in much demand.

Almost every university [is] now trying to offer business degree. It's because many students waiting to study that.
[Faculty Member, specialized institution]

This is perceived by many to be a positive move.

Now, I think that there are more new disciplines, like public administration, business administration and many other that did not exist in the past. Also much more interesting, much more lively, the way students are taught at the university. So I think it has improved, greatly.
[Administrator, NGO]

By necessity as well as popular demand, a major change in curriculum for most institutions is the addition of business courses. Students in other majors are taking business or management courses as a part of their requirements or they are adding these courses as electives.

They [other disciplines] were added to the [specialized] university, and also they had a department of Management and Economic[s] was also added. Now, students who study forestry also study economics [often meaning business or management]. [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

There is such a demand for business and management courses that the number of students paying tuition has increased.

Yes there was a huge increase in people who wanted to study economics [business]. Also, many students were allowed to go and study in a university without an exam, just paying for their education.
[Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Data on emergent cross-categories interacting with curriculum in the teaching function.

Autonomy and suspicion emerged in the data as cross-categories related to the curriculum. Ambivalence about any change from central control to autonomy is demonstrated in matters of curriculum. There is a reluctance for the government to release micro-manage and standardize curriculum design.

> We have something very absurd, so called State Requirements for each degree which state how many courses the students have each year, how many teaching hours, the percentage of compulsory and elective courses, and things like that. These courses are named, they go by name, and you have to follow exactly what is stated in these requirements. This is obligatory for all universities that have this degree. This is absurd. You cannot give one in the same requirements for all universities, because, in this way, universities don't have their individuality. You can't go on the market and offer something more interesting. You can't specialize. We should abolish that requirement. Leave the universities to develop their own curricula. And now they are abolishing the same requirements, it is a victory, I think, it is a victory. (Laughs).
> [Administrator, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Though the suspicion associated with curriculum had little to do with corruption, it undermines efforts to change and maintains tensions between the old and the new as there was very little change in the composition in faculty members. The classroom is generally perceived as a safe place for a range of views, but students are sometimes uncomfortable being exposed to the old ideologies and ways of thinking.

> A: So we have a mixture of two trends there. New professors who go abroad in the State[s] or in Western Europe, and they teach or trained in Washington, and there are some relics from the past, from the past.
>
> Q: So how does that affect you as a student?
>
> A: There is a certain level of resentment among my colleagues because in some of the [faculty members] they see full training and nice attitude and approach, and in some of them they see narrow mindedness and biased people. There is no consistency in our training.
>
> Q: So, do you feel like both extreme professors feel free to say what they believe politically? Do they both try to teach from a viewpoint?
>
> A: To a certain extent, yes. We had professors who were affiliated with the Socialist Party [formerly the Communist Party], and who possibly tried, when we were freshmen, to influence my colleagues. Of course, I was more mature and I could distinguish right from wrong. Well, normally they are well aware that someone may eventually say that they use propaganda in class, so they don't do it ... they kind of keep low profile. Sometimes they try, yes. This

is kind of an interesting situation.... It is kind of well known, because they have served as political advisors to respective political parties, so it is no secret.

Q: So as soon as you get there, some student lets you know who is who.

A: Yes, absolutely. And also, they are constantly trying to influence our opinion, yes. For example, pointing the flaws of the government. Expressing disagreement with its politics. But they are biased. It was not constructive criticism; it was just negative criticism. Just whatever they [government officials] do is wrong. This approach. Because they didn't propose the correct solution, they just pointed to specific decisions of the government, "They're wrong. Don't believe it." But they didn't say what is right. This is negativism, in my opinion.
[Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

Data on teaching conditions in the teaching function.

Many of the issues affecting the teaching conditions at Sofia University are discussed in other sections of this report. To summarize the conditions in one place, the main concerns are increased enrollment along with lack of facilities, equipment, and skills.

Then the number of students rose every year. There is not the equipment and the facilities in the universities is [sic] not enough. For example, the quantity of computers in a university, so how those people can study computer sciences when they have not enough computers and no upgraded computers.... but a very old version and it was not good kind of training.
[Administrator, Private institution of higher education]

Movement into the European mainstream also requires languages and technology skills that were not emphasized in the past.

Yes, many of the people, I still can't believe that for 10 years they still haven't learned English or some other language or they still don't want to use computers. I don't know how they are going to survive. The only way they can survive is to be in a state university, actually. If they are left in the private sector they will just, after a couple of contracts, they will never be asked again to do anything.
[Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Skills are lacking in writing grant proposals and seeking outside support for departments and research.

[S]he is an expert on writing projects. I mean, she has written 20 projects. The first 10 failed, and from the last 10, she won 8 of them. You just have to do that.

> I still don't know how to write projects in order to get subsidy from the Brussels of the European Commission.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

There is no organized, institution-wide professional development effort in place to help faculty members build these skills. Neither is there professional development for teaching skills.

> Q: [I]s there any kind of training on how to teach?....
> A: No, no..... There should be such kind of ... I think there are not such courses because every professor at the university thinks that she or he is the best in teaching. They don't need it. (Laughs).
> [Faculty member, Sofia University]

Data on emergent cross-categories interacting with teaching conditions in the teaching function.

Of the emergent cross-categories in teaching conditions, change and money are the most prominent, the former precipitated by the latter. Data presented in the Governance and Organizational Structure section beginning on page 119 are further examples of teaching conditions and emergent cross-categories of teaching conditions.

Data on the degree system in the teaching function.

Bulgaria is in the process of changing the entire degree system in higher education. Though the law reads as if the revision is completed, it is, in fact, in incremental transition. The change is from the communist system where the five-year Master degree was followed by a Doctor and Doctor of Science degrees to the "three-degree" system of the West, where the 4-year Bachelor's Degree, is followed by a 1-2 year Master's Degree, and the Ph. D. degree. It is neither a uniformly understood nor a welcomed change.

The path to the pinnacle of academic achievement under communism, the title of Doctor of Science and Professor, and the related condition of habilitated teaching staff, was a long, exclusive and much honored one. The Master and the Doctor levels of education preceded the Doctor of Science during the communist era. The Master was a five-year program and the Doctor was not called Ph.D. at the time, but in retrospect, people refer to it in that way. For that matter, the first two levels were not called degrees, only the Doctor of Science.

> To be a Doctor of Science is quite difficult. You have to work longer, much longer time, to have good publications, monographs. Your results to be published in international journals and to be cited in results. To be cited in government papers and so on. The criteria to get this higher degree are quite stringent. Usually the ratio between people with only the Ph.D. and people with both degrees is maybe 5 or 6 or 10 to one. Not everybody defending Ph.D. can [become a Doctor of Science].
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

The greatest change is in the 1995 law is the in the Doctor of Science degree.

> Next stage is, according to the new Bulgarian educational law, the Doctor of Science doesn't exist anymore.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

"The three-degree system" is the phrase that has come to represent the new degree system with the Bachelor's, Master's and Ph.D. degrees. A major implication of the change is that the new system substantially reduces the total number of years for completion of the entire series.

The lag between adoption and implementation of the so-called "three-degree" system, however, is quite pronounced and not at all uniform. Article 42 of Chapter Five of the Higher Education Act of 1995 sets forth a Bachelor's Degree requiring 4 years for completion, a Master's Degree of at least one year after the Bachelor's Degree and a

Doctor's Degree, the research for which must be in the same field as the person's Bachelor's degree (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999). Individual faculties and departments at Sofia University are in various stages of compliance with the law.

> [W]e introduce [sic] the three-tier system of Bachelor, Master, and Doctorate four years ago.... [A]fter the introduction, there were some strange things, because we just adopted the name, but didn't introduce the exact system or taking [sic] one of the systems of Europe and implementing it. It was a mixture of everything. A team from Sofia University was everyday explaining to the Ministry, this is not the right way to do it, we have to change things, and change things.
> [Administrator, Sofia University]

Converting an entire curriculum from one degree system to another, including the revision to a credit transfer system requires an incredible amount of effort, time and money. The motivation to undertake this major project was aligning with Western European educational systems, helping to position Bulgaria for European Union membership. The European Union, through its educational arms, TEMPUS and SOCRATES, has been instrumental in funding the pilot projects in conversion.

> At the very beginning, a special program of Europe has been created for Eastern countries. Within them was Bulgaria, and this program was called TEMPUS program. It was developed to support changes of high[er] education systems in Bulgaria and other European Eastern countries. This program funded [a] different type of project devoted to first, slight rearrangements, introductory changes, and after let's say two years, creation of "three-degree" programs of education: It is Bachelor, Master and Doctor Degrees.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

While some departments have not yet begun the conversion, others went to work immediately and aggressively and already have students progressing through the system.

> We were insist [meaning required] to accept the so-called "three degrees" system of education, you know, Bachelor, Master, Ph.D..... I can say that the first one, two three courses, our students are working, learning with this Bachelor's Degree program. We are almost ready to say that the Bachelor program, all programs, all subjects [are complete]. The teachers details [sic] how many hours, how many practical exercise training, you know, practice and so on, all this we are working very intensively for the last two, three years in the field of education. Only, the Bachelor's Degree, according to me, is almost ready.

> Now we are preparing intensively ... to finish ... all subjects in the field Master's Degree. Of course, it was a very long process. Of course, we will not be finished completely until the end of next year, I am sure of that, but we must prepare same [sic]. We must prepare, maybe, 20 different, quite different curricula in the field of Master network. Right? .... Of course... now we are starting with one or two, just at the moment. But next year, we start maybe 5 or 6... and they will be ready, because, because what ambitions we have.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Data on emergent cross-categories interacting with the degree system in the teaching function.

The cross category data that interacted with the degree system data were public information, change, and quality and autonomy. There is not uniform realization among government officials, faculty members, students and others that the law changing the degree system was passed over six years ago. Two administrators in the Ministry of Education had opposite information about whether or not the law was already in place. One administrator knew the change was already taking place.

> So for the third consecutive year, we've worked under, let's say, the Anglo-Saxon system of Bachelor, Master and Doctor, whereas in the past, we had only the unified Master Degree and then Doctoral degree, which is changing in the direction of getting our education system more European.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

The other administrator in the same ministry was under the impression that it was still a work in progress, legislatively speaking.

> But we have until now a second, a higher degree. This is the lower degree of scientific degree, the doctorant [traditional term], Ph.D. We have also the so-called Doctor of Sciences. It is ...You have not this thing. Now this is a big discussion in Bulgaria, whether to preserve... [the Doctor of Science]. It is now in progress and will be probably be accepted in the Parliament the fact that the two degrees... [will become] only one degree, Ph.D.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

This lack of information about the degree system change was not unusual throughout the educational system. Several educators and students expressed concern that

the 1995 "three-degree" legislation would be passed at some time in the future. A group of students interviewed had lobbied Sofia University administrators to prevent the passage of the law already enacted, and those whom they were petitioning did not inform them that it was an accomplished fact. The students' interpretation of events was that they were dismissed because they were thought to be too young and insignificant to be heard. These same students were heard to applaud efforts to increase mobility among Bulgarian and Western universities, a concept clearly at odds with the old degree system. There did not seem to be widespread information about how changing to the new three-degree system and to the companion system of credit transfer [discussed below] would facilitate mobility of students and professors among institutions of different nations.

One administrator voiced the opinion that the adoption of a three-degree system was yet another change being externally imposed on a Bulgarian tradition.

> My position is very strong. I am not agreeing with many changes in our education.... I will explain it. I want to say that we have [sic] very good education in Bulgaria many years ago. We [had] not Bachelor. We [had] only Master of Science. Our students, after receiving this Master of Science, every time they have very good positions in the industry of Bulgaria in the Science Institute.... They have very good, how to say, professional habits.... But now we start with some changes to establish equality between American system of education and... before these changes we have Russian system.
> [Administrator, Sofia University]

From the opposite side, others favor implementing the "three-degree system" also referring to tradition as a justification.

> These changes in the educational model not only provided compliance with these modern European trends, but brings us back to the roots of the Bulgarian education. During the first 50 years of the 20th Century, higher education in Bulgaria took four years to graduate.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

The magnitude of change such as the three-degree system is great, and even the slowest of conversions are abrupt compared to the evolutionary nature of other Western institutions.

> The most decentralized, liberal system [of higher education] is the American. Every university have its own rules, I think...although common principles. But in America, this developed in a natural way, not... now we have to make a big, big change in our [system]... and this is very difficult.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

Some express ambivalence about how quality will be affected with implementation of the three-degree system.

> So if you make a kind of more liberal regime, then you will have many, many universities which are below, not the average level, but below the level of a university. And that's why I am a little bit skeptical. I definitely want more liberal regime, but I want it to have something that will force the teachers in this university to make some effort in order [for the students] to get this degree. So I don't know what will be the final outcome. I am not a great enthusiast about this degrees [sic], although I know that the old system was absurd. I think that kind of a moderate solution should be made in this respect.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Others have strong opinions about the negative impact of such a dramatic change in the entire higher education system.

> But, now, we go back in [quality] in education, unfortunately. I don't think that the system, the American system of Bachelor, Master and so on is convenient [often used to mean appropriate or good] for Bulgaria. But this is my opinion, the world not agree [sic] with me (Laughs].
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Much of the concern is about the perceived truncation of higher education for the student who does not go on to the Master's or Doctor's degree.

> Many things in our education have to be changed. But I think, this is my personal opinion, that 4 years education in natural science in physics, mathematics, chemistry, and biology is not convenient [good or appropriate]for the science education and for our country.... I don't think that the consequences of education are positive when we pass from 5 to 4 years education. But this is science politics, so we passed to the Bachelor's systems in our universities.... We cannot change it.... [For] your... country...I am sure the system [is] very convenient... but not for small [countries]. But, maybe it's not so. Maybe the view from the top is another one.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

One student perceived a person finishing at the four-year level as a failure or a dropout.

> So you study four years, and you drop out of the university, and you cannot get Masters Degree, so who you are with Bachelor Degree? Nothing. So even if you are good, you don't have the chance [for employment].
> [Undergraduate, Sofia University]

There are also those who think the three-degree system is a good thing and have no reservation about it.

> Personally, I think it is good for us, good for us, because, really, many of the students would prefer to stop at the level fourth year, at the level Bachelor, why not? They prefer it, many of them. This is one test to assess the situation, how many they prefer to stop at this level, how many they prefer to go further. It's good, it's very good. I didn't feel any resistance of my colleagues, personally. It's good.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Data on the credit system in the teaching function.

The basic unit of higher education in the West is a single course represented by a specific number of credits. If a student decides to change majors or institutions, the credits are portable among accredited institutions depending on requirements of the receiving institution. In Bulgarian education under communism, the basic unit was an entire year composed of various courses offered roughly in cohort fashion. Traditionally, this has meant little opportunity for non-traditional sequencing or for transfer to other majors or other institutions. Adoption of the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) may help to change that.

Under communism, and for the most part even under democracy, students in Bulgaria applied to one department in one university, were admitted to one department in one university, and either graduated from that university or dropped out. Within the

country it was rare to impossible to transfer from one university to another within the country or from outside the country. For that matter, it was rare to leave one major and begin another within the same university. To do so, one had to reapply, retest for competitive admission and start at the beginning.

The European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) is a European Union program to standardize a system of academic credit to facilitate mobility of students across borders in exchange programs or study abroad experiences.

> [T]he requirements of the [credit) system have been introduced in each university...
> [T]he credit system that is under our elaboration right now at Sofia University....
> includes program specialty structure.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

An integral part of the plan to convert to the "three-degree system," the European Credit Transfer System is still a long way from general implementation in Bulgaria. Though there has traditionally been strict standardization of curriculum throughout higher education in Bulgaria, the concept of "transferring" courses from one institution to another continues to be an alien concept, even among institutions within the country. On the subject of credit transfer among countries, there is a great deal of education of the general public and academics yet to be done.

Sofia University has implemented a pilot program of the credit system in selected departments.

> Several of the faculties now have introduced experimentally the credit system, and we are watching to see what happens, what are the difficulties, what are the problems. Probably beginning about next year, we will have a second session with experts that will monitor these pilot degree courses that we have with the credit system.
> [Administrator, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

As in many other reforms in higher education, the new private universities are leading the way in innovations.

> You know, the problem is that, there, in the New Bulgarian University [a new private institution], for example, they are very flexible. For example, their forms of education are very flexible. If you are not a student, you can go to the university, you can attend some courses and get some credits. And after that, you make your tests, and if you are enrolled, these courses are recognized. You should not do them once again. In this university (Sofia University), we do not have this system. As you can see it [the credit system] is much more comfortable for the students. Isn't it?
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

In general, Sofia University and other public institutions continue to make it difficult for students to change majors or institutions or have study abroad acknowledged. When fully implemented, the credit system will offer the potential for flexibility in moving among institutions and majors both domestically and internationally. Students who have suffered graduation delays because of international study support the complete change to ECTS in the future.

> The future is adjusting our system to your system [in the USA], credits. We have already adjusted to the Bachelor, Masters levels. We need also credits.
> [Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

Data on emergent cross-categories interacting with the credit system in the teaching function.

The emergent cross-themes to be discussed here are public information, change, internationalization, and suspicion. Lack of information about the European Credit Transfer System fuels resistance to the change. There was evidence that some confuse the transfer of credit with the transfer of employment credentials.

> Probably the main difference is that now higher education is trying to prepare specialists more comparable with other countries. To move our Bulgaria education closer to European and American education, to start a credit system in order to give the specialists the ability to find work elsewhere.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Ultimately, European standardization of degrees and credits will facilitate evaluation of employment credentials across borders, but this as a sole interpretation of

the concept is further evidence that the public is not fully informed of the function of the system.

According to one student, the media has made attempts to understand and report to the public the nature of the credit system, but has not been successful.

> I don't know if I told you last time, but the Minister of Education is not very ... He does not know what the credit system is..... He said, "Well it's something about money, the credit system." The credit system! What is something about money? .... And the Minister of Education, when [he] was asked by the journalists, "When shall the credit system start?" he said, "Well it's something about money." It's such a mistake.
> [Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

The Student Council supports the implementation of a credit system and attempts to inform the student body of the advantages.

> A: Now we are trying to introduce our colleagues with the credit system, one of our priorities.
> Q: So you are in support of this?
> A: Yes.
> [Student Council Representative, Sofia University]

To some in Bulgaria, adopting a credit system is yet another change for no good purpose. Others are of the opinion that if it is for some good purpose, there is little faith that the good purpose will follow as a consequence for yet another change. Proof of benefits is yet to be believed or seen by many who are weary of fixing things they don't agree were broken.

> A: I told you that I don't understand, I don't see anything bad in the [old] system. I believe the system was good when it was working, and it was working for 40 years. They say it is obsolete, maybe it's obsolete, but it was working....
> [Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

The new private universities have more liberal transfer policies than the public institutions, particularly in regard to study abroad. One student reported to the researcher that he will be transferring to a private university because Sofia University will not give credit for courses his department recommended he take outside the country. A graduate

of a specialized institution of higher education reported that he would have to enroll in a Bulgarian Master's program though he had completed the same program already in Switzerland. He wanted to do Ph. D. work in Bulgaria, but the Bulgarian government would not acknowledge the Swiss degree. Another participant did two years of undergraduate work abroad on a government program through Sofia University, but when the student returned, there was no provision for applying the work to his degree in progress.

The researcher heard no expression of fear about a threat to quality in implementing the Credit Transfer System per se, though it is linked with the broader "three-degree system" which does cause some concern about quality.

Data on accreditation in the teaching function.

There was no accreditation of institutions in the past in the Western sense of the word. There was standardization of expectations, but there was no information available on how that was monitored. Attestation, that is, the system of granting degrees through the government rather than the institution, was in place as quality assurance for completion of graduate programs. The attestation function was to monitor process, content and the communist relevancy of the applicant's education.

The final oral examination was presided over by a panel of attestation experts in the applicant's field of study. Communist Party officials were always participants and the examination was open to the public as well. Anyone in attendance could question the applicant on content of the discipline, on the applicant's research or challenge his or her communist loyalties. One professor who had served as a panel expert told about people

who would regularly attend these open examinations solely to harass applicants. They were "crazy people," he said, but the panel was legally bound to perform complicated investigation procedures to resolve charges brought by anyone. This often added months of time before the applicant's degree could be awarded. Attestation served as a mechanism for quality assurance for individuals within the discipline, but also as assurance that only Party loyalists ascended to positions of power within the education system.

Under the new system, institutional quality assurance has become a topic of discussion.

> [E]ach university is obliged to do... an internal system for quality assurance.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

Other than the criteria for national accreditation, however, if there is a formal system for quality assurance in place at Sofia University, the researcher was not able to identify it, though there was considerable concern about quality in higher education. The university administration is involved with the European Union quality assurance efforts at some level.

> I was in Germany, returned last night, in a meeting of the European Union on quality enhancement. And Sofia University participated in a large publication on quality enhancement, so we are working separately on that.
> [Administrator, Sofia University]

At the national level, there is a new National Evaluation and Accreditation Agency (NEAA) charged with the evaluation of overall quality of each institution.

> So the accreditation we have proposed here [at NEAA] aims at raising of the quality of higher education...Of course our agency's role is the implementation of the national quality assurance policy dealing with education....
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

The Accreditation Council serves as the management unit of the NEAA, having authority over standing committees in professional areas, which in turn are responsible for sending expert panels to the campus site for the formal evaluation (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999).

> At the present, the new Accreditation Council consists of 8 members and the ninth one, meaning the chairperson. The members are representatives of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, professors of different Bulgarian universities, members of the academic circles in the country....
>
> Our tasks are the accreditation and evaluation of the higher education institutions and fields and institutional and evaluation of program, and evaluation of projects for the establishing of new higher educational institutions, and transformation of higher educational institution.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

The NEAA examines facilities as well as academic programs.

> In Bulgaria, a university, according to the new higher education act, are to be accredited by an accreditation agency which looks, as part of a criteria for the accreditation of the university, into their facilities. What kind of buildings they have, what kind of rooms they have, what kind of desks, you know, blackboards, things like that. A university has to meet a minimal level of these criteria in order to be accredited.
> [Administrator, NGO]

The agency is also charged with approving new institutions, new programs within institutions and with changing the status of an institution from one designation to another. For example, "transforming" is the term used to describe the agency's approval of changing an existing institution's name to "university."

> [The responsibilities include] the transformation and the establishment of new basic units which are colleges and departments, faculties within the educational institution, and of course, projects for the creation of new specialties [majors].
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

The current accreditation system evolved from an earlier one in the first decade of democracy.

> The old Accreditation Council was appointed and worked from 1996 through 1999. It has been operational until the introduction of the new law on accreditation.... The newly created council was established along with new members of this council, and new articles of its activity. The new accreditation acts counted from December 1999.

[Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

The new accreditation agency is in its first cycle of evaluation of all Bulgarian institutions. The first evaluation of Sofia University was in progress at the time of the research.

> For three years, within which existed the previous accreditation council, managed to perform more than 260 accreditation decisions.
>
> About 50% of the higher educational institutions have acquired this institutional accreditation which means 21 from 41 in total. About 240 programs in the higher educational system has [sic] this program accreditation. The new accreditation council has developed a new documentation needed for accreditation along with regulations for it...
>
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

Approval for new institutions and programs are in the early stages of production as well. The agency verifies the eligibility of the institution or program to exist or to change status, but the final decision belongs to the Parliament.

> For the last nine months we have managed to develop and evaluate 9 or 10 projects for the establishment of new higher educational institutions. These were mainly projects in view of the urgency of the requirements of the law. The transformation of the private colleges that used to be state owned higher educational institutions.... They left the structure of the public education institution and they became private.... Of course some got the positive and some not, evaluation.
>
> Besides, within those nine or 10 projects there is establishment of some new private colleges. And the higher Agrarian Institute in Plovdiv has received a positive evaluation for transformation into Agrarian University.... At present, it's the only agrarian university in the country. Of course, our evaluation is on the basis of the evaluation project. Some of them are in the process of implementation and some of them are about to be approved by the Minister of Education which is a requirement pursuant to the articles of the law....
>
> The Parliament has approved only two of those structures that gained a positive evaluation. And the resolution for the remaining ones is about to be taken...
>
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

The process for achieving favorable recommendation by the accreditation agency begins with an application and a self-study followed by a visit of experts.

> These experts groups are sent on the location and they have talks with professors, with students, they check all these documentations, background material... of the institution. They check all the units, starting from the rector's [president's] office, faculty members, laboratories, libraries, publications, etc. And they compare the actual data with the data contained in the report [the self-

> study] with the request for evaluation and initiating the project for accreditation. The head of the expert group is supposed to present a report at the end of the research there. Which is presented before the permanent which refers to the specific field of the institution....
>
> [W]e have seven permanent commissions ["standing committees" is the term used in the law] in charge of different specific kinds of fields. Usually they consist of five members and with the exception that one of them consists of seven. Let me enumerate the fields: humanities, social sciences; natural science; technical sciences, agrarian sciences; medicine, health care and sports; economics and management.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

The criteria for evaluation of institutions and an annual report of the activities of the agency are specified in a bulletin published by the NEAA (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999).

> First there is the structure and organization of the activity of the higher educational institution.... Second criteria is the academic members of the faculty, academic staff. Third one is the scientific and research activity or for the artists, the artistic and creative activities. The fourth basic criteria is facilities, in fact. There are supplementary ones... educational goals and mission of the higher education institution, the quality of training and teaching and of the academic staff, academic freedoms and autonomy. These are the three supplementary criteria).
>
> Apart from the criteria, indicators have been elaborated pertaining to those criteria. So the indicators happen to be quantitative requirements, for example, number of lectures or exercises, etc. contributions in the final report. Actually, as a measure the quantitative requirements in all the higher education institutions have them, and they prepare their reports in compliance with them.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

The outcome of the evaluation is a level of approval and a corresponding length of time before the next evaluation.

> I would like to add something about the evaluations. If a university happens to gain a very good or a good evaluation, for the institution accreditation shall be valid for five years.... If the evaluation is satisfactory, three as a grade... the accreditation is from one to three years. The term is specified....
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

The department chair [head] makes applications for accreditation of individual programs once the institution has been accredited.

> [After the institutional accreditation, requests for evaluation are] prepared by the respective department chair. For example, Sofia University has about 70 specialties, so after the institutional accreditation, each of the program accreditations can be requested.... Hopefully with the gathering of this information from now on, in a

> couple of years it will be possible to elaborate a rating system for all the specialties in different universities....
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

Neither the function of attestation nor the Supreme Attestation Commission are addressed in the Higher Education Act of 1995, possibly because of the traditional separation of education and science [research] or possibly because its days are numbered (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999). For that matter, neither does the degree of Doctor of Science exist in the act, but at least for now, the degree, attestation and the commission continue much as it has in the past. One of the participants was awarded the Doctor of Science during the period of this research. It could not be determined if there is a plan to complete all the current applicants and then close, or if they plan to continue with attestation as usual.

According to one ministry administrator, attestation is somewhat akin to accreditation in the same way that science [research] and education are related. In the USA, there is not a function of higher education corresponding to that of attestation in Bulgaria. It consists of a multi-layered agency which validates the research and the bureaucratic process leading to the traditional Doctor and Doctor of Science degrees.

> But we have also the people who educate or people who make research... Our job is to evaluate their qualities and their procedures, and also the persons working in science or in education in the universities. We make their attestation. This the difference... between Attestation Commission and accreditation.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

Data on emergent cross-categories interacting with accreditation in the teaching function.

The cross-categories of internationalization along with quality and autonomy were found to interact with accreditation as a teaching function. Bulgaria implemented

the accreditation function in higher education to comply with European Union goals for standardization and mobility across borders.

> So this is a European requirement for the last couple years that the state should have a right to fix its seal on the diplomas of the higher educational institutions. That has required both institutional and program accreditation. As you can see it's not an easy job to do. It's a huge volume of work. This is the objective, the goal is the mutual acknowledgement of diplomas and the mobility of our students, the young students according to this system.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

The justification for attestation function is that the degrees will be valid in other countries precisely because the government approves them. As far as the researcher could determine, attestation was not an EU requirement, but a holdover from the communist era.

> We are a small country, and this is very important that the diplomas getting from the university, a Ph.D., are supported, their statement of the government that these people have fulfilled the criteria, the state criteria. In this way I can say that the diplomas are recognized in the United States, in England and so on.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

Among a complex list of other requirements to become a Doctor of Science, the applicant must be recognized by international peers as an international scholar.

> You should be recognized from the society both in Bulgaria and also abroad as a scientist. And you got to [sic]... prove this by your papers ... for example, membership in international organizations, member of the board of some international journal ... to be invited to some international congress in Europe.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

Among many professors and administrators, the assurance of quality education at Sofia University is not in question.

> In Sofia University, quality, we didn't have any problem of quality, before and now [sic]. But, some of the newly founded universities in Bulgaria, there are problems.
> [Administrator, Sofia University]

There is considerable concern that the accreditation agency is conferring the status of university on too many institutions and that the new institutions are not being held to the same high standard as older universities.

> A: Yes, this the National Accreditation Board and we are just prepared our papers [sic] for accreditation to present to the board.... I'm afraid they might not be severe enough in judging the new universities.
>
> Q: So you think there is a different standard?
>
> A: I'm afraid.
>
> [Administrator, Sofia University]

There is also great concern that mass education and quality education are mutually exclusive concepts.

> But the mass character is a new feature. That was not the reality in the past, 50 years ago for example. Fifty years ago in Europe, 10-15% of those who left high school enrolled at the university. Nowadays, this percentage has risen to 30-35%. In Bulgaria this percentage is almost 50%. This demonstrates how important it is to build those quality maintenance systems.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

In anticipation of a future with too many higher education institutions and too many students, some call for an official ranking in quality to insure legitimacy rights beyond meeting accreditation requirements.

> We have the rating of British universities, from 1,000 points is Cambridge, Imperial College, Oxford ...Maybe it is highly probable with the gathering of such trustworthy information we will be able to create such a rating system.
>
> The number of universities in Great Britain at present is about 100. In Bulgaria, we have about 40. But they are 60 million and we are between 8 and 9 million. The difference is 6 or 7 times. Six or seven times the difference in population and 2.5 times the number of universities.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

On the other hand, there is some opinion that government regulation has little to do with quality in education. They ascribe the current accreditation practices to a continuation of communist-type micro management of higher education by government.

> The state thinks that there should be tough regulations... I think it concerns the issue of quality of education. They think that if they say THESE subjects must be studied in these departments, the education will be better, will have a better quality. I don't think that things work like that. But this is in fact something which has left from the old system, from the old Communist system of

> Bulgarian education. And the reform of that field is developing very hardly [sic].
> [Undergraduate, Sofia University]

Research: Original Category of Function

Data on the research function.

Research was not a broad function of higher education during the communist era. The current and future state of research in educational institutions is a matter of recovery from lost time, skill, experience, facilities and opportunities during that time.

Before the advent of communism in Bulgaria, higher education performed both functions of teaching and research in the European tradition.

> At that time science [research] and education were together because the Academy of Sciences was at that time only a society of scientists, but there were no special laboratories and institutes for research. So the science was developed in the university, in the university. [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

In the mid 1940s, when the Soviets came into Bulgaria, they imposed their own higher education system on Bulgarian institutions, dividing and streamlining the teaching and research functions to bring them in line with the narrow specialization imposed on other careers. Most of the research function went to science institutes while the teaching function remained in the higher education institutions.

> According to the Soviet model, will existed that the education be separated from the scientific research. This is a lethal trend.... According to the Soviet model, universities are supposed to prepare narrow specialists. They should be prepared well to work in different fields. Scientific research work was concentrated in specialized institutions.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

The separation of education and research was not received well in the education community for many reasons.

> So this separation of education and science [research] had negative influence on the education, because I think that a real good education without doing research

> is not sufficient enough for higher educated people. Especially, to make the Ph.D. It happened so that maybe the best lecturers were from the Academy of Science and also the best students from the university, made their Ph.D. study in the Academy of Science....
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

Though research is currently being reintroduced into higher education on a limited basis, the difference between government supported research in science institutes and higher education institutions remains dramatic. Institute research continues to be favored over educational research.

> You could make your Ph.D. either in the university or in the Academy of Science..... Research doctorate. That is because more money were [sic] given to the Academy research as in the universities. This is still also after the change. Before this ten years, there was competition between the Academy and the universities. I am not sure what in the future will be, because the Academy of Science has the best basis, material basis for research, especially in the field of natural sciences.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

As early as 1992, the Ministry of Education and Science called for re-establishing a balance between teaching and research in the institutions of higher education in Bulgaria (Ministry of Education and Science, 1992). However, the philosophical arguments in favor or reuniting the research and teaching functions are difficult to make in the face of previous capital investments and on-going efficiency.

> Also, they [scientists] are not so much teaching duties [sic]. The people there have more time for research. On the other hand, I am sure that teaching has a positive impact on the research work, because sometimes the students put very good questions to the teacher and the answer is not so easy to be given. (Laughs)
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Data on emergent cross-categories interacting with the research function.

As emergent cross-categories, change, internationalization and money have been addressed in other sections as they relate to research. Though the need to return research to higher education was verbalized by everyone addressing the subject in the interviews,

change is difficult to set in motion, because it has not been funded well. In examples of internationalization efforts, the natural sciences have gone after EU funding most aggressively and have been successful in building up both research and teaching capabilities by updating their laboratories.

Service: Original Category of Function

Data on the service function.

Using the American Land Grant College model, the mission of a public institution of higher education includes teaching, research and service. Moving to an international context, mission takes on a broader meaning: the reason for existing within a particular society. Teaching, research, and service, therefore, are examined at Sofia University as functions of the institution in support of a broader mission as discussed above. The context of Sofia University, historical, cultural, political and economic, is far different from those of the Land Grant institutions, but they share a common investment of national funds and public trust to provide a store of knowledge and access to quality education for the population at large.

The combination of teaching and preparing students for employment has remained a function of Sofia University through all its changing contexts. Research was a function of Sofia University initially and is now being reinstated within the limitations of current funding. Service, however, has not been a part of the verbal or written rhetoric of either mission or function, and has had little evidence as a function of Sofia University in the past or present.

The service function could be examined as both internal and external, student services to the client within the university and service to the public at large. In the consumer or client model of service, the assumption is that the student or public client, by virtue of payment if nothing else, deserves quality service.

All funding of higher education in the past came from the collective public economy, and students did not pay out-of-pocket tuition. Long lines and inconveniences for monopoly or "free" services were a given. Institutional service to the public was seen solely in combination with teaching the young for the well-being of the nation.

Today, though the students are paying tuition in increasing amounts, a function of internal service in the client model has not been developed.

> What I have learned in this university is that if you don't do it yourself, they won't teach you. You have to find your best way yourself, almost no one will be willing and ready to direct you.
> [Undergraduate, Sofia University]

Routine functions such as assigning housing, issuing IDs, distributing student stipends are all done by clerical workers and require a tremendous amount of time on the part of students, standing in long queues for each step of each process.

> Q: The halls are completely full [of lines of students]... I stop to ask what is happening every now and then, to see what they are waiting for...
> A: Yes, they are waiting to get a very special blank [form] with which to make preference card for traveling.... Even though, YES. So you have to make four blanks and wait for times in this queue, and you are DEAD. My whole life, I think sometimes, is going to pass on this queue. [laughter] There is laughing here [He laughs] because you are making friends in this queue! It's true... [y]ou meet everybody....
> It's even funnier when you get to the boarding house [dormitories or Student Village]. So you queue in Room 1 ... to give this blank, and you are appointed a room, and you queue in Room 2 to get [a] stamp, so you queue about four hours for one and four hours for the second to get the apartment.
> [Undergraduate, Sofia University]

Managing the day-to-day life of the traditional age student is labor intensive; the growing number of non-traditional students finds the process even more time consuming.

> But if you want to do this [be employed while taking classes] at the university, you have to work for seven kilos of documents, and after that (Laughter) you can study at the university.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

One faculty member identified the lack of services to the students to be the most significant problem to be solved in the future.

> Q: What do you hope... When will he [your son] go [to the university], five years from now? If you could wave a magic wand, how would you change Sofia University for your son?
>
> A: Improving the administrative services of the university, first of all. Improving the management of the university, because it is tragic at the moment. I mean, the administrative services... The students have to make long queues to be able to enroll them each year and to be able to get them some, I don't know what to call it, some document about their marks. For example, if they want to apply for some ... internship in new country...
>
> Q: Procedures are long?
>
> A: Procedures are terrible.
>
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Data on emergent cross-categories interacting with the service function.

Suspicion and inefficiency emerged as a cross-category of service. Long lines due to inefficient service adds temptation for corruption in the system on both sides of service distribution. Administrative clerks are paid even less than academic staff. One student indicated that some students pay to avoid standing in long lines.

> A: Again, the problem of the university student is that there is a lot [of] bureaucracy, which again, leads to corruption. Bureaucracy meaning that you've got to fill this blank, you've got to get stamp on this blank, and it's like Hell, because you can see all these queues ... so you queue about four hours for one and four hours for the second to get the apartment. This gives great deal of corruption. Because a guy wants to pass [through the line quickly], he just wants to get in as [soon as] possibly OK, and so on and so on.
> [Undergraduate, Sofia University]

This student told about how the lack of concern for efficiency in providing services to students takes a tremendous toll on students' personal time, but also provides a primer for corruption in the higher education system.

Data Presentation on Resources and Emergent Cross-Categories

Introduction

Data on resources are examined as both funding and non-funding resources in this section. Funding resources include government, non-government organizations (NGOs), tuition, and the European Union. Non-funding resources identified here are institutional facilities and institutional linkages.

Higher education, once blessed with privilege and funds for research, salaries, innovation and maintenance, now struggle to keep costs low and standards and spirits high in the face of increasing enrollments and decreasing funding. Marjorie Peace Lenn of the Center for Quality Assurance in International Education says simply, "The state institutions obviously are incapable of meeting the demand" (Bollag, 1999a).

Government and institutional administrators have found it necessary to look beyond the national borders for alternative funding sources. Various educational programs of the European Union have provided major support such as SOCRATES, TEMPUS, ERASMUS, Phare and others.

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) from all over the world are major contributors as well. International financier George Soros is an individual donor to educational institutions throughout Eastern Europe, but within Bulgaria, there is neither a tradition of individual alumni giving nor sufficient wealth among graduates to make an impact. The government has experimented with tuition plans and continues increasing the students' share of the cost of higher education.

Reduction in funding resources have had tremendous impact on non-funding resources such as libraries, laboratories and other facilities. As internal resources have

declined, external linkages with other institutions have increased as an important resource.

Funding: Original Category of Resources

Data on the government in funding resources.

For the second half of the Twentieth Century, fiscally speaking, the Communist Party and the Bulgarian government were blended into one. Sources of input and output were indistinguishable, at least to the general population. There was industry, there was business, there was profit, but the income went into and expenditures came out of the party/national government coffers.

> Party and state were one and the same thing. The Constitution of 1974 read that the Bulgarian Communist Party would rule the state along with, let's say, state [council] or something like that. So the Communist Party was very much officialized [sic]. The party structure and the state structure could not distinguished, like one and the same thing, one and the same budget, one and the same money.... Let's say that the director of a big state enterprise, and enterprise that was quite successful, that was doing well in business. That was getting something for the budget.
> [Administrator, NGO]

In terms of resources, there is little doubt that higher education, like much else in Bulgarian society, fared better under communism than under democracy in its first decade.

> Q: What do you think is the best of the old system and what is the best of the new system in the libraries?
> A: In the libraries? In the libraries that was good that library had more money [sic].
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

The process for acquiring money was simple and all but guaranteed.

> It was one big difference between the situation before and now. We are [in] such a habit to wait for the money from the government, from our Ministry, and so on. For one time alone, I am here for 26 years, maybe 27 years in this faculty, and any year we planned what we intend to do in the field of science, how many students

> we have, Ph.D. students etc. We plan how much money we need, and of course, they restricted a little bit of our wishes, but generally they gave us. [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the separation of Eastern European countries from the communist one party system, The Chronicle of Higher Education examined educational changes in funding in the region.

> [I]n most of the region's countries, state funds for universities have been falling for a decade. Only occasionally have universities found money to invest in badly needed improvements. Academics say the scarcity of funds remains the biggest obstacle to educational reform and improvement. The universities, they say, never have money to purchase modern equipment, repair their crumbling buildings, or pay decent salaries." (Bollag, 1999b)

Bulgaria was not found to be an exception. Though various authorities disagree on the exact nature of the higher education financial situation, they all agree it is severe. Dimitrov and Radev reported a steady decline of economic stability in the 1990s after The Changes resulted in a decrease of higher education funding from 42% of the GDP per capita in 1991 to 22% in 1998. In the year 2000, the funds available were barely enough to cover salaries and day to day expenses (Dimitrov & Radev, 2000).

In 1999, UNICEF reported a decade drop of 75 percent in educational funding (Unsigned, 1999). The World Bank reported a 36 percent decline by 1994. Declines in absolute currency in no way indicate a lessening interest in education. As a percentage of the GDP, expenditures on education actually increased in the first six years after the change in government. As a share of public expenditures, Bulgaria showed the largest increase in the region, from 9% in 1989 to 11% in 1994. The Republic of Bulgaria spent 6% of the GDP for all levels of education in 1994, a larger portion than did Japan, the UK, Austria, France, Poland, Brazil, and the Netherlands for the same year (Laporte & Ringold, 1997).

Despite decreasing real financial resources and deteriorating physical resources, enrollments have increased. Some reports indicate that enrollments across the region as 30 percent of the college-age population, roughly equal to Western populations. (Bollag, 1999b) An Associated Press piece reported in 1999 that 60 percent of Bulgarian high school graduates enroll in higher education institutions (Zhelev, 1999). A research participant estimated that 50 percent of secondary school graduates enroll in an institute of higher education. Whatever the percentage, increases in enrollment accompanied by decreases in real funding resulted in Bulgaria placing at the lowest per student rate of spending relative to GDP per capita in 1994 (Laporte & Ringold, 1997).

Sofia University, like almost every educational institution in Bulgaria, is a public, nationally owned institution of higher learning. Out of necessity, the communist tradition of total subsidy carried into the first democratic decade; there was no other means of support in place.

> You know that our university is government university, and we have absolutely full support, financial support... For teaching classes, for buildings, for research and development, for students. All our money is from [the] government. [Administrator, Sofia University]

To make up the difference, there was no tradition of alumni giving or pursuit of grant funding. Worse, there was no expertise in tapping these resources.

> A: No, no, no. There is no fund raising at all. As I mentioned to you, Sofia University tried to do something last year. The Rector of the university went to the States to ask Bulgarians who lived... a long [time in the] States, but I don't know what the result is.
>
> Q: They tried to get endowments or something?
>
> A: Yes. There are no offices...They only say, "We want money from the States. The money they have given us is not enough."
>
> [Administrator, Private institution of higher education]

With the Soviet Union dissolved, gone was the market for Bulgarian goods and services, the major source of funds for the Bulgarian government, and consequently, gone was the generous support of higher education.

> What is really a pity, that during the period of changing, the last ten years, education is in very bad finances. We could watch now the results. It couldn't' be as well as it used to be without money for ten years. It's going down and down. [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

One professor had a recollection of some recent figures on educational funding.

> The state is giving very little money. Actually, the state is giving only for the salaries for the universities and lecturers, and to maintain the facilities. I don't remember how big is the share of the education in the national budget, but it's below, I think it's less than 1/4 of one percent of the national budget. [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

The budget allocation process is largely a carry-over from communist times. By examining statistics from the previous year, the government sets the number of students to be admitted for the following year and determines the educational budget based on those figures.

> Because we are a public university, we are financed by the state, and each year the government gives us a budget according to a fixed number of students. [Administrator, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Despite the reduction of funding, the student population has increased.

With the elimination of the Soviet market in the 1990s, government income was reduced drastically. When inflation in 1996-1997 reduced government funds further, the government was forced to look for other means of funding higher education. Foundations, corporate and individual funding, international grants and are all new avenues of funding being explored by the central government and education officials. The government resorted to imposing tuition and fees on students. Tuition, often referred to as taxes in Bulgaria, is a totally new concept to Bulgarians.

I can tell you about resources. Yesterday I looked at this question. What funding resources [were] in the past? Only state funding or the state budget in the past. Now they paid the tuition fee, paid... fees for different services, for instance, in order to issue an ID card, they should pay.... Two years ago, the Minister of Education decided that everyone should pay for his studies. The tuition fee now is very low. It's 200 leva or it's about $80 per year...
[Administrator, Private institution of higher education]

The Bulgarian government and educational institutions are learning how to secure outside funding, but it is a slow process and some of it requires money to initiate. Even with tuition and increased external funding, the government still bears the greatest portion of higher education costs.

Q: If you added up all the funds that come in to support the university through whatever, all the government, TEMPUS, SOCRATES, NGOs, and added all that together, what percent does the Bulgarian government contribute to the whole.
A: About 80% I think.
Q: So these others are just in support of it, but your government still carries the biggest load?
A: Yes, yes, yes.
[Administrator, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Data on non-government organizations (NGOs) in funding resources.

As the research on resources in higher education progressed, a major source of support and influence emerged, the non-governmental organizations (NGOs). These are non-profit, philanthropic organizations funded by parties, most often from outside Bulgaria, interested in the success of a democratic, free market Bulgaria. NGOs perform many functions for educators in Bulgaria. They serve as a bridge from a time of generous communist funding to a time of an economic recovery that will, once again, provide full support to the traditional activities of teaching, research and international cooperation.

In communist Bulgaria, there was no non-government funding for education.

Today, the NGOs generally supplement the extras that Bulgarian higher education cannot afford. They provide funding for international exchange, research, scholarships, optional educational programming and many other opportunities.

> Q: How do you see all these organizations as supporting higher education in Bulgaria today? Is it possible to have higher education without them?
>
> A: Of course, it is possible, but I think the quality of higher education gets higher and improves with the support of these organizations, because they bring experience from outside, which is needed, and exchanges, all types of both professors coming here and Bulgarians going to study abroad, and they also bring some funds for projects which are important for the development of the university, because you know the universities lack funds. These organizations are important in these ways.
>
> [Administrator, NGO, Graduate of Sofia University]

The NGOs provide a tremendous service to educators in taking on the unfamiliar and burdensome task of grant application. Tradition and skills in the grant application processes are not in sufficient supply in Bulgaria. Information about where to apply for grants is not readily available. Departmental and faculty access to grant information is limited by a poor Internet infrastructure and old computers, if computers are available at all. Along with direct funding, NGOs provide people power and know-how, streamlining the grant application process for projects and research without the bureaucratic layers of the higher education system.

> I can't do all this, you know, letters exchanging letters with foundations.... I go there [to the NGO], they want me to do this and this, we go, we sit, they say, "What do you think is a reasonable salary?" "What do you think of this?" I say. They say, "Well why don't you do this?"... They are professionals doing 30-40 projects per month.... They are doing it every day, and they don't have the... If they have one project to do it would be fine, so that's how it is. It's an extremely spontaneous division of labor in these areas.
>
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

Some of the internationally funded NGOs are the Westminster Foundation, Open Society Fund, Soros Foundation, Foundation of Democracy, Center for Social Practices. Other NGOs are formed by individual professors in order to accomplish their research

goals outside the university to avoid institutional overhead payments. NGOs also provide employment to Bulgarians.

> [A] small note about the NGOs is that most of the people who worked there are very competent people. They were part of many state institutes, some of them heavily ideologically burdened, but they were closed simply.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

George Soros, an American citizen of Eastern European background, has been a major supporter of democratic efforts throughout Eastern Europe. Among the many objectives of one of his NGOs, The Open Society Fund supports efforts to improve quality and encourage equal access to education (Open Society Foundation Sofia, 2000). Grants support efforts to bring the public and education institutions together to work toward European integration. Grants also support research and study abroad for individual applicants.

Another NGO, the Civic Education Project brings Western professors to teach in Bulgaria for one academic year or more. It also helps Bulgarians to resettle and teach in their native country.

There is networking among the NGOs. Some people have worked for one or more organizations, so the personnel know each other. There is cooperation among some individuals and organizations, at least on an informal level.

> [Y]es, because we know each other, we are colleagues, so I communicate with. We are also part of, more or less, part of one and the same thing. So, we distribute their information and advertisements concerning higher education to our fellow... and they distribute our information... and advertisements... and so on. Yes, we do cooperate with them.
> [Administrator, NGO, Graduate of Sofia University]

Data on emergent categories interacting with NGOs in funding resources.

Emergent categories on NGO funding included suspicion of corruption, inefficiency and bureaucracy as well as money. NGOs are not spared the recurring suspicion of corruption that plagues most things that move in democratic Bulgaria. There are accusations that NGO boards are populated with education administrators who funnel money into their own institutions.

> While working for the [NGO], what I witnessed was in the Bulgarian universities, presidents of the board of the universities were the presidents of the board of the [NGO].... Should I give you more hints of what happened next? [Administrator, NGO, Graduate of Sofia University]

There has been some government concern that NGOs have not always acted in Bulgaria's best interest, but these comments were directed at NGOs in general and not necessarily those working in the education sector.

There is an underlying assumption that the NGOs are important in higher education, not only because of the lack of institutional resources and experience, but also because of a lack of institutional efficiency.

> This center is an NGO; it is not part of the university. Because if it is, it won't be efficient at all. This is the new form that ... especially in the Humanitarian sciences, this is the new form that scientific research has taken. [Faculty Member, Sofia University, Graduate of Sofia University]

The NGO system serves higher education in the essential capacities of funding and linking with the international academic community.

Data on tuition in funding resources.

Tuition is one of the many adjustments to the realities of the market economy since the transition of government from communism to democracy. As government money has decreased and enrollment increased in the last decade, tuition has become a necessity in higher education.

In the days of communism, access to higher education was deliberately limited in number by the government based on employment projections, and entrance requirements were rigorous. However, once students passed through years of selective testing and grading, the reward was, in effect, a free ride through the first academic degree of higher education. Theoretically speaking, having four children in a university was no more a financial hardship for a factory worker or farm laborer than for the highest Communist Party official.

There was no tuition in the communist era of higher education. Students lived at home if they attended an institution in the city of their parents' residence, and rooms were provided by the institution for students whose family did not reside in the city. It was an honor to be enrolled, for the students worked hard for many years to be admitted. In many ways, it was a golden age for education.

> Those were very good years, you know, because all the students come from families with almost one and the same income when I was a student. We were equal in what we were eating, what we were buying, and we were very proud that we were studying at the university. We can get this degree, and it was very good years [sic].
> [Administrator, Private Institution of Higher Education]

Bulgarian speakers of English usually refer to the term "tuition" as "taxes." Tuition was one among many financial shocks brought on by the change from communism to democracy and the free market system. As the financial situation

worsened throughout the first decade of democracy, Bulgarian society began to layer itself economically. The ability to pay became a factor in access to higher education for the first time in over half a century. Early in the decade, a large portion of the student population was given the usual full scholarships, while a smaller portion was designated as "pay students" paying a portion of the funds required to maintain them as students. More recently, tuition for all students in Bulgaria has been calculated according to a formula set at 30% of the total budgeted amount from the government to all institutions divided by the total number of students permitted to enroll.

> For the last three years the state subsidy has amounted to 172 million leva. There is [sic] 250,000 students in Bulgaria, which means that the average amount for each student is about 700 leva, 700 DM. Which means that the student fee on an average basis cannot be bigger than 210 leva, which is 30% of those 700 leva pursuant to the law.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science, Graduate of Sofia University]

The tuition paid by students varies according to the discipline of the degree.

> Indeed, for the last year, the student fees for Bachelor from different professional areas have ranged from 160 leva to 240 leva.... Depending on the area.... It is cheaper for education and it is very expensive for [students in laboratory and technical disciplines]. Those figures on the average value is [are] 200 leva [about $80 USD].
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science, Graduate of Sofia University]

In the most recent enrollment figures, at Sofia University 5,000 students were permitted enrollment for the 1999-2000 academic year, all paying approximately 200 leva. Beyond that, others who can afford to pay the full 700 leva are allowed to enter as well. The limit on that number of students was not available.

> Because we are a public university, we are financed by the state, and each year the government gives us a budget according to a fixed number of students. We have to admit for this academic year, let us say, 5,000 students in the first year, because they give us a budget for 5,000 new students. But in fact we have so many applicants... we have students paying their own tuition fees in addition to this 5,000. So we got the budget for these 5,000 and then admit extra students who will pay their own tuition fees. There are many students willing to do that, especially in continuing education. There are middle-aged people that have the money; they want to study.
> [Administrator, Sofia University]

In Bulgaria, as in most Western countries, full tuition-paying international students are welcomed as much for a tuition and local economy boost as for the diversification of the student body. Many students from Eastern Europe study at Sofia University because of the generally accepted reputation of higher education in the region. Though few Western exchange students enroll using private or ERASMUS funds, this may change once the country enters full membership in the European Union.

Data on the European Union in funding resources.

It goes without saying that the European Union (EU) had little impact on higher education in communist Bulgaria prior to the 1990s. Becoming a part of the European community was neither an ambition nor an option to the Eastern European country, which was, according to some, the most closely allied nation to the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, member nations of the EU were formulating a complex array of programs designed to integrate education at all levels, within all disciplines, and across all educational systems on the continent.

Mobility is a major concept in overall European Union goals. The union's ultimate goal of free mobility of currency, goods, services, and people among member nations is served by its educational objectives to develop multi-language capabilities and mobility of credits, degrees, employment credentials, students and teaching staff across borders.

Before Bulgaria had aspirations to join the European Union, the funding of educational building blocks for membership were in place. TEMPUS, SOCRATES, and ERASMUS, and The European Credit Transfer System (ECTS), and Phare are the EU

programs that most affect higher education throughout Europe. In 1991, incremental introduction of these programs started in Bulgaria. The discussion below outlines some of the EU educational programs proving a funding resources for Sofia University.

In the European Union, the Euro is to commerce what the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) is to higher education. ECTS as standardized educational currency facilitates the movement of students and teachers across borders and educational units among institutions in much the same way the Euro facilitates the movement of goods and services.

> [ECTS] provides a way of measuring and comparing learning achievements and transferring them from one institution to another. This is achieved through the use of common ECTS credit unit and a common ECTS grading scale. ECTS also improves access to information on foreign curricula.
> (European Credit Transfer System (ECTS), Unknown date of creation)

In Bulgaria, the traditional way of thinking about the higher education process is to think of it as a linear process marked only by its smallest unit, the academic year. Students in a particular discipline progress through the system as a cohort, passing exams for required courses in a strict sequence with limited opportunity for electives. Students who deviate do so risking failure to complete at worst or serious delay of graduation at best.

One student participant reported to the researcher that as an undergraduate at Sofia University in the early 1990s, he won a government sponsored scholarship to do specialized study at a prestigious university in another country for two years. Upon his return, he learned that though he followed the required course of study and received superior marks, none the less, he was required to resume the Bulgarian curriculum where he had left off two years before. The system acknowledged the need to include the

external training as a part of his higher education process, but there was no mechanism for validating it and incorporating it into the rigid degree process.

Another participant reported that he completed one of Bulgaria's early Bachelor's degrees and went on to complete a Master's degree from a European university. He learned that he must complete still another Master's degree in Bulgaria, however, before qualifying to study for a doctorate. The mechanism is not yet in place to acknowledge the foreign credentials in his field and he cannot afford to leave the country for further graduate work.

Because the system of higher education is controlled at a central level, individual institutions or academic disciplines are not free to make independent decisions related to the concept of transfer of credit. The stories of the two young men also illustrate how lack of communication and agreement among the Ministry of Education, academic disciplines and students have contributed to the situation that discourages two-way movement of study abroad opportunities, .

The European Union, through various SOCRATES funding programs, work with the Ministry of Education, institutions and disciplines to implement credit and degree systems to "harmonize" with those of the rest of Western Europe. EU funding assists institutions in segmenting the curriculum of an academic year into 60 ECTS credits. Combined with systems for evaluation and accreditation, ECTS will provide a vehicle for transferring educational units among European institutions. Once the ECTS program is fully implemented and funding is available, Bulgarian students will have the freedom to study abroad and make realistic plans without penalty.

TEMPUS is the EU program providing funds for restructuring the system of higher education as a whole, "harmonizing" degree programs with Western Europe, improving management and establishing quality assurance programs. As with any EU program, the goals are related to eventual entry into the European education and economic markets (Europa, 1997).

TEMPUS grants to Sofia University provided the early incremental steps to bring Bulgarian and Western European higher education into alignment in order to facilitate two-way movement of credits, students and faculty members. All EU funding requires and provides for cooperation with people and institutions outside the country, either as trainers or as equal partners. Bulgaria's first interaction with Tempus was in 1991 (Europa, 1997).

> At the very beginning, a special program of Europe has been created for Eastern countries. Within them was Bulgaria, and this program was called TEMPUS program. It was developed to support changes of high[er] education systems in Bulgaria and other European Eastern countries. This program funded different type[s] of project devoted to first, slight rearrangements, introductory changes, and after let's say two years, creation of three degree programs of education, it is Bachelor, Master and Doctor Degrees.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

By the mid 1990s, TEMPUS was providing Sofia University with support for language curriculum development in concert with Western institutions.

> We had for four years a number of [language] projects, TEMPUS projects, mainly for curriculum development. The curricula is (sic) already... changed. We have entered this new curricula [sic] which are comparable with major European universities.
> [Administrator, Sofia University]

In addition to curriculum development, TEMPUS funds have provided for acquisition of information resources and training in some departments.

> For instance, I was leader of two TEMPUS projects.... Upgrading the curriculum of the disciplines.... Computers, new, some Western books in English and

> French, this is how we can have access to these, thanks to the international programs, mostly sponsored by the EU and British Consulate.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

In still another department, a professor told about establishing a TEMPUS project with European partners designed to expand the curriculum from theoretical to applied experiences for students.

> This three-year project brings to Bulgaria 200,000 Euros for three years. We were allowed to buy equipment and to teach students on creative program on this subject with the cooperation activity between our team of three participating countries, Bulgaria, Germany, and France. During these three years, we have different type[s] of lecturing, different professors from Germany, France and Bulgaria, too, and also, very serious exchange of specialists and students.
>
> First... we have a very specific and necessary equipment [sic] which we use to train our students in a new creative setting. It was wonderful because, in fact, we introduced our students not only to theoretical knowledge, but also the opportunity to practice, which we haven't had in the past.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Benefits extended beyond the students directly involved in the pilot program. Upgraded laboratories and the new curriculum are now in place for future students.

The TEMPUS approach went well beyond curriculum preparation and purchase of materials, creating not only academic links, but also practical experience and a sense of goodwill.

> The main idea is learning by doing. They [TEMPUS partners] come here, they teach us how to expand our knowledge. First we have to acquire some new knowledge, some new approaches.... and I think this is the right policy, yes, from the point of view of the European institutions.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

The Sofia University Library has also benefited from TEMPUS projects in expanding international contacts.

> The great possibility of our libraries after changes in 1990, is the possibility to make a contact with partners of the world.... This is very important for our work today, to work together with foundations, with different programs, TEMPUS, PHARE, and the universities of different countries.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Tempus has served to lay foundations in administration, infrastructure, and curriculum to ready Sofia University for ongoing European Union programs.

SOCRATES is the European Union umbrella program to harmonize all levels and types of education throughout Europe. SOCRATES II is now in place covering the period of 2000-2006. The participating countries are the 15 members of the European Union plus Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway. Ten associated Eastern European Countries, including Bulgaria, are active participants in anticipation of EU membership in the future. Malta, Cyprus and Turkey are currently in the process of applying for SOCRATES participation (Europa, 2000b).

The Ministry of Education and Science in Bulgaria initiated a partnership with SOCRATES early in 1998. A SOCRATES office was established within the Ministry and a staff of five people was appointed to learn about the organization of the program and investigate how Bulgarian institutions might participate. SOCRATES officials in Brussels trained the staff members. The early stages of participation were funded by direct grants from the EU. Since April 1999, Bulgaria advanced into fuller participation in SOCRATES with decreasing contributions from the EU and increasing contributions from the national budget. Bulgarian institutions must now contribute money to be considered for awards and compete as equals with Western countries without handicapped status.

> We participate if possible to receive much money, but every time we are in collaboration with European Community. And here we have many difficulties, because we organize ... we propose subjects of this project... we prepare this project, we work very hard...but we receive only small part of this money, because, first of all this is for coordinators, who receive about 40%. [Administrator, Sofia University]

As in other EU programs, the ultimate goal of SOCRATES is free movement across European borders. In education, this is accomplished by participants working together to establish a common educational currency among diverse educational traditions.

> But if we are a member of SOCRATES, we give opportunities for student and teacher mobility. This is very important for us. They [are] giving opportunities to evaluate our general education and to open to the European system of education. You know that European system of education have [sic] three traditions. They [SOCRATES] think how to make these three traditions French, German and Anglo Saxon tradition, how to evaluate this tradition in European level. So this is very [big] problem, and they think about it through SOCRATES. I think that for Bulgaria and other ex-Soviet countries, this is big opportunity for them to be involved in this European process, to evaluate the education and to start mobilities [sic] between universities.
> [Student Services Personnel, Sofia University]

SOCRATES funds may be awarded to an institution or directly to a faculty (equivalent to US college or department), depending on the nature of the project. Institutional responsibility for SOCRATES projects resides at the level of Deputy Rector for Academics and International Affairs. Each faculty has a designated SOCRATES coordinator, usually at the Deputy Dean level. Project grants are awarded to non-member states as a part of a team of institutions or faculties from member states to increase cooperation, understanding and mobility among the nations of the European Union of the future.

Despite the advantages of participating in SOCRATES projects, a limited number of faculties and departments have applied for grants. At the research level, only about 100 people have participated in approximately twenty contracts over a five-year period. Possibly the number is low because of the lack of widespread information and lack of experience and tradition in the grant application process. Sofia University is in the process of embarking on an institution-wide campaign to inform all levels of

administration, faculty, staff and students of the potential for active participation in SOCRATES.

Sofia University's success stories are the best advertisement for recruiting SOCRATES participants. With the help of past SOCRATES funding and partners, the biological sciences have seized the opportunity to reunite the theoretical and practical branches of the science in teaching and research. Despite the limitations of the past, they have already progressed through the SOCRATES system to the point of not only cooperating with but also competing with the leading institutions in Europe in their field.

> But now, the competition is very strong. Because we compete with all European countries, but no benefits [special advantages] anymore for Bulgaria. And if you win, you are very happy, because you compete with very high level of institution with nice infrastructure, with nice developed methodology of education, with very nice facilities. Anyway, this is the situation, we have to cope. And last year with all these people which we know before, I am happy to say that we have very nice things, all these people from all these countries support us. And we prepare new program in SOCRATES, and we win again!
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

With this victory, an academic department in an institution of a non-member nation had won the opportunity to be the EU leader rather than a junior partner in the project of designing the unified curriculum for the Master's Degree program for all of Europe. Possibly, the real proof of success, however, is in the students. A professor in the Faculty of Philosophy [equivalent to Liberal Arts and Sciences in the USA], when asked if SOCRATES brought desirable change, replied with the enthusiasm characteristic of those who have participated.

> Without any doubt. For me, yes. For me, yes.... There are a lot of discussions in Bulgarian society if we should or should not accept and integrate to the EU. But, I think that for the students and for the professors, there is no doubt. All of us want to integrate to EU just because many programs are open for us. Opportunities are more [available] for our students now, for the professors as well. You know, it is very tangible. This change is very tangible at the university. You just SEE the change here. They students, they are thinking in a different way. They speak

> languages. They don't have this sense of fears, this sense of borders. This is just Europe, and that's OK.
>
> They do not have our [this generation of professors'] narrow mentality, you know, because when we were students, we didn't have the opportunity to go anywhere, because our [government] didn't allow us to leave Bulgaria. For one month, for two months, no way! Now they have a lot of opportunities, and that's OK, and they are changing. They are getting better and better, and more intelligent and more intelligent with more open mentality, open mindedness, and it is VERY good!
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

ERASMUS is the higher education branch of EU education. Named for a wandering Dutch scholar of the 15th Century, it is the branch of SOCRATES most commonly associated with mobility of students, teaching staff and administrators. Since 1987, ERASMUS has provided over 500,000 students with opportunities to study abroad (Europa, 2000a). Now entering its second phase, the emphasis has expanded to facilitate institutions adding a "European Dimension" to the curriculum for those students who do not have the opportunity for study experiences abroad. The amended motto is, "Bringing students to Europe, bringing Europe to all students" (Europa, 2000b).

The ERASMUS program was one of the first SOCRATES programs to be explored by the Bulgarian Ministry of Education. The objective of participation is to move students across international borders in Europe, both into and out of Bulgaria, but the traffic has been largely one-way.

> The ideal is to make a good balance between outgoing and incoming teachers and students. This is the principal of ERASMUS. But in many cases, the flows of outgoing students from Bulgaria to other countries is [are] much bigger than the incoming. It is reasonable, I think, because many of the European students prefer to learn or study in American universities.... We don't keep all these rules to ... reciprocity all the time.
> [Student Services Personnel, Sofia University]

The Dean of each faculty is informed of ERASMUS opportunities and may opt to publicize and set criteria for selection in any way he or she chooses. The administration does not influence the access process except to insure that general ERASMUS guidelines

are followed. The university will initiate a general public relations campaign to inform all students and faculty members of the opportunities in SOCRATES and ERASMUS programs. Student Council representatives will be included in the planning stages.

Data on emergent categories interacting with the European Union in funding resources.

Cross-categories emerging under European Union funding were collectivism versus individualism and the quality and autonomy issues. Traditional habits of collectivist thinking could explain some of the lack of participation in SOCRATES and other forms of funding that require assertive application and a competitive spirit.

> All money, all tasks for the science were supported only from the government. It was one big difference between the situation before and now. We are [in] such a habit to wait for the money from the government, from our Ministry, and so on.... So, and now, [during] the past ten years, the situation abruptly, sharply changed. I honestly say many of colleagues of mine, not me, ... but we must change our mentality... We must fight for the money. If you want to have a Ph.D. student, if you want to develop science and study some project, some program in the science, you must fight for the money.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

The EU Phare Project, Tempus Program and ECTS have all contributed money or other support to the establishment of the quality assurance program (Dimitrov & Radev, 2000). However, despite the Bulgarians' discussion of the need for international funding and interaction in higher education, there is substantial reluctance among some people to adopt the European Credit Transfer System or convert to the three-degree system. There is a strong feeling that the Bulgarian tradition of education was a good one, therefore, why change it. Even for those who say that students must be free to study abroad, many are concerned that the credit system will threaten a proven method of learning. Though they see a need for a standard for having their own degrees recognized abroad, some

Bulgarians fear that a move toward the Western the "three degree system" will diminish quality.

Non-Funding: Original Category of Resources

Data on institutional facilities in non-funding resources.

The existing educational facilities are examined here as non-funding resources. In a report to The World Bank in August of 2000, the Bulgarian Minister of Education and Science and the Minister of Finance described the state of buildings, technology, laboratories and libraries in higher education.

> As a result, the equipment necessary for the training process has become outdated... Only 15% of the equipment is deemed adequate for teaching purposes (60% is evaluated as partly adequate but in need of some renewal and 25% needs thorough renewal). Among the higher schools, 70% of the buildings need overhaul. 95% of the scientific equipment for training purposes needs renewal, and only the computers supplied mainly under international EU Programmes [sic] are in a relatively good condition. The reduced funding for higher education also has had a very negative impact on libraries. The flow of new literature has decreased considerably, as has the number of periodic magazines for which the libraries subscribe - only 27% of the Higher Schools have what might be considered sufficient access to scientific literature. Libraries need total restructuring. Access to Internet is assessed as sufficient at only 55% of the Higher Schools (and there are a number of Higher Schools without any access to Internet)
> (Dimitrov & Radev, 2000, pp. 92-93).

The large rambling main campus complex was built over a hundred years ago. During the communist era, several Sofia University buildings were built in various parts of Sofia. These were built in the typical block style and have deteriorated at a faster rate and more drastically than the older buildings on the main campus.

According to those interviewed, libraries were well funded under communism, or at least were better funded than they are today.

> In the libraries that was good that library had more money.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

The funds were used to purchase international publications, but not for general use. Students and professors would find references to forbidden publications in other books and periodicals, but they could not access them.

> In my student years, there were not so much English or German periodicals because ... maybe political situation or maybe just priorities.... If you have information just about the titles or the authors, it's useless. (Laughs).
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

One professor told about the system for accessing the forbidden publications.

> A: The director of the library, the chiefs of the departments decided who reads these books. These books were from England, France, but they contradict the ideology.
>
> Q: This was a political decision?
>
> A: Yes, yes...
>
> Q: But you had them [the books]?
>
> A: Yes, this was until 1989, before the change.
>
> Q: So, you had books that were politically restricted to most of the people?
>
> A: Yes.
>
> Q: But who was allowed to read them?
>
> A: Only people that received permission of the director of the library. For example, a professor can receive permission, but you must take a letter from the university to give to the director of the department. This person got permission.
>
> Q: So you had to demonstrate a need? You had to convince somebody that you needed to know that or something? ...
>
> A: Yes, he take a letter from the institution in which he works, and give to the director of the library, and in this letter he write this Professor Ivonov, for example, is needing to read these books because he is doing research.
>
> Q: Was it difficult?
>
> A: Yes, it was difficult. WAS. (Laughs)
>
> Q: So people ..
>
> A: Police looks for who reads these books, this way. Now we get not only in Bulgaria, in Russia...these areas, Czech Republic etc.
>
> Q: So people, if their politics were questionable, they would be refused, is that correct?
>
> A: We had not freedom of information like in other countries.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

In communist times, library books and textbooks were often written in Russian or were Russian translations from English, particularly in technical fields.

> I have read many books; many of them were Russian but were translated from American. Because in Bulgaria, yes, many, many. In Bulgaria there was not technical translations from American from English in the technical. Only fiction was translated in English, but not technical. But in the Soviet Union there were

> many, many books translated from American, and we read and we studied.... In later '80s we began to translate some American authors, technical about computers.
> [Business woman, Graduate of specialized instution]

In the first decade of democracy, institutional facilities have been in constant decline. One graduate of Sofia University told of his shock upon his first arrival on the campus. The university is held in great esteem throughout the country, and he was disappointed with the appearance of the building.

> I remember I had to go to a very, very decrepit building which is like more than 100 years old, but which had not been repaired for approximately 50 years.... So here, I am like sitting on two main problems of higher education, one of which is the lack of ... financial assets or funds to maintain their facilities. So one of the main problems is lack of facilities.
> [Administrator, NGO]

The new accreditation system will take into account the condition of the facilities as stated in the fourth of four basic criteria.

> Maybe it would be interesting about the institutional accreditation, which are the four basic units.... The fourth basic criteria is [sic] facilities, in fact.... Also the evaluation of the structure of the educational institution..... all the elements of ... the institution, hostels, dormitories.
> [Administrator, Ministry of Education and Science]

Sofia University Library has benefited from major European Union efforts to build a strong information technology network throughout the academic community of the continent. With the help of the EU, the library started work on an electronic cataloging system in 1992 and has progressed from there in automating its own library services which will ultimately unify electronically all Bulgarian libraries.

> We are participating in different projects with European partners. First, in 1994, in Paris, this is the project of digital, with technical equipment. It was very important to our library. We have new computers, new server and ... equipment. This project was for Central and Eastern Europe.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

The Sofia University Library is the first in Bulgaria to have its catalog on the Internet.

A: The Sofia University Library is a leading library of automation for cities in Bulgaria, and the Sofia University Library is the first and only one yet library which electronic catalog is successful on Internet... We have on-line interlibrary loan and... we provide services with on-line databases, 700 databases we have....

Since 1999, the Sofia University Library start [sic] to work in very important project for Bulgarian Information Services. This is the project with the National Electronic Union Catalog of the libraries of the high[er] school and scientific organizations.

Q: So, you will eventually all be on one big catalog?

A: Big catalog, electronic catalog. Union Electronic Catalog. In that moment, our participants only four library [sic], but in the near future we hope that everybody [can participate].... This is for the Phare program in Bulgaria [funded by the EU].

[Faculty Member, Sofia University]

The main library of Sofia University is located on the main campus and serves as the central control for all other university libraries.

Sofia University is one of the most important libraries in Bulgaria. It is one of the biggest Bulgarian libraries. The university library have about 1 million and 800,000 volumes. Sofia University Library is one of the richest libraries in Bulgaria with scientific literature. Now, in the university library there is good automatic system, it is Israeli software.... In Sofia University, there is one big library, central library, central university library, and 25 department libraries.

[Faculty Member, Sofia University]

The Sofia University Library holds a favored place among other university libraries.

Many of the people, which manage the university, don't pay attention to the libraries. Yes, in the university. Also, many universities have not enough money to support all these libraries.... to buy new books, to buy new journals. These are big problems of libraries. Only Sofia University Library had budget for journals for books.

[Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Early in the transition, textbooks and library books continued to be a problem in higher education in Bulgaria. In the 1990s, many of the textbooks were old Russian textbooks. Even some of the foreign language textbooks had the translations in Russian.

So during the first year, I started feeling a kind of resentment because I saw that the system was wrong. Because... we used the Russian textbooks because we didn't have Bulgarian, and in Arabic, I mean, and I was thinking that was kind of wrong.

[Undergraduate, Sofia University]

As the decade of the 1990s progressed, there were more textbooks available, particularly translations from Western textbooks. But the translation quality is not always good.

> Now the students have a lot of text books to study from, but they are translated into Bulgarian and when I read the translated books, it's terrible. If I read the translated books from English into Bulgarian, reading in Bulgarian I see it doesn't sound Bulgarian. It sounds English or it sounds German. The students who study they can't understand a lot of things.
> [Administrator, Private institution of higher education]

There are also complaints about incorporating English words into the Bulgarian textbooks.

> And we use the foreign words in order to sound more professional or more international. It's not so good you know. Even some words that... mean nothing in Bulgarian, but they cannot translate it. They cannot explain it into Bulgarian, so they use the foreign word from that. It's very strange.
> [Administrator, Private institution of higher education]

Some of the student participants complained that some of the textbooks were outdated, a few still contain the old ideologies.

> A: [A]nd there's another problem that we don't have good enough books. ... Everything is old and there is too much ideology in it, so we have to kind of think which is important, which is modern, and which is outdated.
> Q: What are the dates of these textbooks?
> A: They differ. There are old ones, for example, in the 80 years [1980s]. There are newer ones, of course. Fortunately, all [a particular major] students speak at least two foreign languages, so we can use foreign literature, but there is some lack for these, too. There hasn't been imported [sic] much foreign literature on our topic.
> [Composite of undergraduates in a group, Sofia University]

Sofia University has added Computer Science to its curriculum and has found that its investment has been successful to a fault.

> The major difficulty is in the Faculty of Computer Science. Because we are investing lots of money in it, for equipment, ... very expensive, and then we produce very good students, and they are immediately attracted abroad, and we are thinking about this. We don't know what to do about it... Even the teaching staff, they are leaving the university REGULARLY, even after a year, because they have well paid jobs in private companies.
> [Administrator, Sofia University]

There is great demand for computers in all faculties, but the numbers available to students particularly are very few, and those are usually far from the latest models.

> There is not the equipment and the facilities in the universities is [sic] not enough. For example, the quantity of computers in a university, so how those people can study computer sciences when they have not enough computers and no upgraded computers?
> [Administrator, Private institution of higher education]

Technology is at the top of many educators' lists of items that would increase the effectiveness of teaching and also increase the skills of students.

> Q: If you had all the power in higher education, what would you... change?
> A: Well, I would like to change first the informational base, so every student must have access to computers, to read, to write all the papers, and all the bachelor's works or Ph.D. with a computer, to have access to internet, to have an opportunity to publish it electronically.....
> What else I think we could change? We need some technology, not just computers, but other types of communication with the students, because not just to show them, to make it more powerful... To make the presentation more easier [sic] for them and should have their all societies, research societies, I think, which could help assistant professors in developing some kind of plans and some kinds of research plans, and some kind of projects, of course.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Laboratories at Sofia University have fallen behind those in Western Europe, particularly during the last decade.

> [T]here is not enough funding for technical supplies, computers and laboratory work... It [technical education] is an expensive education; it needs money.
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Disciplines normally thought of in the West as laboratory sciences had been largely devoted to theory in Bulgarian education under communism. Updating old laboratories and creating new ones on the scale necessary for modernizing entire disciplines could only be accomplished with help from outside the country.

> First we have created a so-called TEMPUS (European Union project) in which we have...very specific and necessary equipment which we use to train our students in a new creative setting. It was wonderful because, in fact, we introduced our students not only to theoretical knowledge, but also the opportunity to practice, which we haven't had in the past... because ... [laboratory science] costs a lot of money to practice it.... [W]e enlarge our

> Tempus lab with more opportunity for everybody. But in fact, this program is finished. This year is the end of the program.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Data on emergent categories interacting with institutional facilities in non-funding resources.

Change, internationalization, quality and autonomy, and money are the cross-categories that interacted with institutional facilities as a resource of Sofia University. The library at Sofia University has undergone radical changes in the last decade. There was almost immediate contact with the European Union and its efforts to align academic libraries in Eastern Europe with those in the rest of the Western world.

> Since I was a student, the university library was a traditional library. Traditional services. After The Changes in 1990, the library changed more and more every year. Every year informational and bibliographic services... more and more different kinds of services. The library begin [sic] automatic library. The modern automatic library.... Yes, we have electronic catalog since 1992.... In this electronic catalog included materials which library had [since] 1992. After this period, we have retro-conversion. It's a long process. Very long and very difficult.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

The quality and quantity of change has created a great deal of personal stress for librarians to catch up in the technological revolution of information sciences, but they feel it has been well worth the ordeal.

> A: What change in our everyday work of librarian? First we know [learned] what is this computer, what is this internet, what is this electronic materials and how we promote for our leaders, how we manage these resources, our marketing program. Very different things. Especially for us Philologists, this material is very different and difficult for us.
> Q: Has it been stressful?
> A: Yes, but we like our work, and this development is very interesting for us. For many of our colleagues, it was a very difficult change.
> Q: [D]espite the stress and despite the changes, do you feel like this is a good thing for your library?
> A: Definitely!
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Involvement with the international community was essential to bringing academic libraries into compatibility with Western libraries. At some level, technology had been available to some of the academic disciplines, but not to libraries.

> Q: What about engineering people in general, did they have access to computers in the past?
>
> A: Yes they had, but not the libraries. But although we are working mostly with the nations now, on the international project, there are much more now than there was.
>
> [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Increasing fluency in Western languages is both an internationalization component of higher education and also an internationalization resource in higher education in Bulgaria. Lack of Western languages among older faculty members has been a barrier to some internationalization and technology modernization initiatives. The capability for working with European Union partners is dependent on a common language.

> For example, many people in the older generation don't know languages. They know languages, but they know Russian and some English, but not at the level that is [useful]... It's obvious to many young persons that they have a better level of language than their professors do. This is very important for a country like Bulgaria, which is a little country with a not worldwide spoken language. So in Bulgaria if you want to be educated person, you must know at least two languages. Not just Bulgarian. Bulgarian language is very important here. We are trying to save the good Bulgarian language, which is difficult with all these changes, but if you want to understand many things and to use Internet and to read something, which is different, especially in time of change, you need to have a fluent foreign language. So this is as example of inconsistency between the two generations.
>
> [Employee, Ministry of Culture]

On the subject of upgrading facilities, individual departments now have the option of seeking individual funding. For those who have the skills to apply and can serve a function for NGOs or other funding sources, the result can be dramatic.

> These are really the things that I wanted to say about NGOs, the differentiation, the creating of huge differences between the departments. When you enter one of the buildings of the department, you see an old, typical, Stalinist, ugly building. When you enter another one, it's the same building, but everything is

new, the computers are extremely powerful, you have different atmosphere. Why? It is because this particular department has worked to demonstrate some qualities of teamwork and they got some money and they just changed even the interior.
[Faculty Member, Sofia University]

The unavoidable topic in libraries as in other facilities of the university is the topic of money.

Now the good thing is that they can buy many and different source [s] of information, ... this is a good thing. But the problem is with money. But people after the [changes] they are free [to buy].
[Faculty Member, Sofia University]

The NGOs have concentrated large amounts of money and effort on the library systems in Bulgaria and other countries throughout Eastern Europe.

A lot of money came through this kind of project in Bulgaria, a lot of technical support for traveling and everything, and also Open Society Fund in Sofia gave an enormous amount of money for higher education libraries. Especially for the libraries I could say that these were the only organizations. I think that the last ten years, the Open Society Fund has been the only organization that funded libraries and higher education generously. I couldn't say the exact amount of money that they gave. But I have worked for 6 years or 7 years, I believe, at the library program of the Open Society, and almost every Bulgarian library has something received from the Open Society.
[Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Aside from European Union and NGO support, many countries contribute directly to upgrading academic technology.

A: There are large donations from different governments, like for example, Germany, France, British Know-how Fund, Japan, China, South Korea is the largest donation and Spain.... They are targeted funds for computer..., multimedia centers, things like that, libraries, distance education centers ...
Q: When did these kinds of things start?
A: Every year, they have them every year.
Q: Nothing from the US?
A: No.
[Administrator, Sofia University]

Routine maintenance and basic utilities suffer from the lack of money. These daily operation costs are less likely to be funded outside the country, so the institutions,

in many cases, do without fundamental resources for comfort and health. This following conversation is about another higher education institution in Sofia.

> A: [I]f we don't have enough resources we cannot have very good conditions... You are invited to go to the [other university] to see how dirty it is there.... We have only money for the salaries. [We] don't [have] money for materials, cleaning, electricity, central heat.
>
> Q: Do they not heat?
>
> (Laughter)
>
> A: Our room is 16 degrees Celsius. [60.8 degrees Fahrenheit]
>
> Q: And that's at the beginning of winter.
>
> A: We make economy for January when it's going to be colder.
>
> Q: So they are saving heat now...
>
> A: Yes, they [are] saving money, they don't pay bills on heat now so that they can pay their bills [later]...
>
> A: One day [of heat costs] 18,000 leva.
>
> Q: Wait, one day of heat for the whole university?
>
> A: For our university in the coldest day cost 18,000 leva.
>
> Q: Which is $9,000?
>
> A: The salary for 60 professors for one month.
>
> [Two Faculty Members, specialized institution]

Lack of institutional money severely limits student access to computers on campus. It is rare to find a student or a professor who owns his or her own computer. There are usually waiting lines at the Internet cafes though the small fees are considerable for students.

> [I]t's a problem because you have to go to the Internet Club, generally. Most of the students don't have their own computers; it is something very expensive for us. The Internet connection is also something very expensive. We hardly pay our telephone bills. So Internet is difficult, still. Financially difficult. Otherwise, you know, Bulgarian hackers are very good. (All laugh).
> [Undergraduate, Sofia University]

Data on institutional linkages in non-funding resources.

Linkages with other educational, commercial, industrial and governmental institutions are still in a stage of exploration in Sofia University. Traditions, attitudes, skills and necessity may influence the rate and direction of that development.

Communist ideology verbalized the value of interaction among different cultures and nations. There was, in fact, institutional linkage and professional travel across borders.

> We built many labs, organized good conferences between different countries... [but] we were separated in Russian Pact. We were between our countries, and we have conferences with the, how to say, native countries [members of the pact].
> [Administrator, Sofia University]

The linkages were limited to the countries within the Soviet sphere of control, rarely to Western countries.

> Yes, we used to work together with other Socialist countries, but I think it is not satisfying to feel isolated in one part of the world...I was not allowed to go outside [the Soviet countries]. However inside, I used to be an expert to...a council of the directors of the national libraries in the Socialist countries... So I traveled with this council from country to country every year for many years. It was open for me, but inside the Socialist countries. [Faculty Member, specialized institution]

For that matter, despite all the central control of education there was little interaction between Bulgarian institutions or between disciplines from one institution to another.

Within the country, some disciplines are still isolated from each other though they are technically free to interact. People in one discipline at Sofia University could not give the researcher names of people in the same discipline at another institution in Sofia. In other fields, however, there is more developed linkage among institutions. Libraries are leading the way in domestic, collaborative projects.

> A: Since 1999, the Sofia University Library start [sic] to work in [a] very important project for Bulgarian Information Services, this is the project with the National Electronic Union Catalog of the libraries of the high[er] school[s] and scientific organizations.....
> Q: So, you will eventually all be one big catalog?
> A: Big catalog, electronic catalog, Union Electronic Catalog. In that moment [now], our participants [are] only four library [sic], but in the near future we hope that everybody [can participate].
> [Composite of Librarians, Sofia University]

Though many EU projects link Sofia University and other institutions in Western Europe, there does not seem to be uniform, widespread participation.

Data on emergent categories interacting with institutional linkages in non-funding resources.

The cross-categories emerging within the resource of institutional linkages were public information, collectivism, internationalization and suspicion. One department at Sofia University was initiating a summer program for international students to begin six months thereafter. The researcher offered to bring materials to the USA to help publicize the program. There were no publicity materials available, they did not have anyone enrolled, and they needed participants. They offered the researcher a position in the program, but they were reluctant to have the researcher tell other people about it. The explanation given was that there were a limited number of spaces in the program.

Everyone talks about the need for institutional linkages and professional contacts abroad, but there is little widespread publicity about how to initiate international programs.

> A: I hope so. My generation is very, very strong generation. We are see things that the people from my age in Western Europe and other countries don't see. And that is the reason that we are strong people. I am only 21, and I learn like a big man, like an old man. We don't see a lot of good things in these 10 years. Especially for a young generation like me and the other students from [sic] my age.
>
> Q: Do you think students your age will change things?
>
> A: Yes, I hope, and I believe that we can change things. Because in the moment, the man who is rule us [sic], who is the man who is democrat, but they live in old system. They live in old tradition, and I think that only young people can help to the country. And maybe one day, we will be a part of the European Union, a big family of European Union. But it is the reason that all the Bulgarian people work for this reason.
>
> Q: When people your age come into power...
>
> A: Yes I hope so, but I also think that there are many people from my age that don't want to work for our country. They don't care about the country.

They don't care about the people. They don't care about all this. And I hope that we are the part of the young people will show them that they must be a patriot.

Q: What does being a patriot mean here?

A: A patriot mean[s] to love Bulgaria. To help to country, to people. To be patient, because...and to believe that someday it will be a nice place to live, a nice place to grow, nice place for your children, for your family. [Undergraduate, Sofia University]

There is a risk of displaying cynicism in noting the passion of the student's mingling of patriotism with loyalty to "a big family of European Union." There are echoes here from the communist rhetoric used to placate people as they made personal sacrifices of freedom for the collective good under communism. That was probably the last thing on that student's mind when he so eloquently expressed his hopes for this country, but it demonstrates that the habits of collectivist thinking penetrate into the new generations, even as they try passionately to separate themselves from it.

Contact outside the Soviet sphere was strictly limited under communism. A major theme in the researcher's interviews and informal conversation was the sense of isolation and deprivation of information about the Western world. Political restrictions of the past on professional travel to the West have been replaced by financial restrictions today.

Most international linkages at Sofia University are through EU collaborative projects with Western European institutions. These projects include domestic linkages as well.

A: There were these three universities from Bulgaria... and they had together with university from another European countries, because in order to participate in a Phare [an EU] program, you need to have a partner from other European countries. So they had together all the partners prepared the project for restructuring of education in [one discipline] and they participated and they worked together on that. But that's logical. You can't just get information about what's going on in the other countries unless you have something established. You just may think they do that, but how can you know what people are doing?

Q: Do you see an increase in ... information exchange, people exchange?

A: Yes, yes.

[Faculty Member, specialized institution]

Some of the EU relationships are now long-term, indicating successful collaboration.

> We have projects [with institutions] like the Sorbonne, Kings College, London, Lisbon University and some others, three in Germany.
> [Administrator, Sofia University]

Of course, graduates leave Sofia University and go to other Western institutions for graduate work or employment. These students often maintain relationships with faculty members, forming independent collaborative projects.

> For instance, my Ph.D. student, last year, went to Cambridge University, very nice girl. She defends her dissertation in this field... After her defense, right away, she applied... [for a] position, and she won, and now she is in Cambridge for two or three years. So, I hope after three years she will come back to make collaboration, and so and so.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

Political and governmental linkages with Western Europe benefit Sofia University directly. The Career Center is the showpiece example.

> She [the Career Center] was built with help from British Embassy. Mr. Stark, who is Ambassador of the UK in our country, he help[ed] us very much for this center, and for many projects.
> [Student Services Personnel, Sofia University]

There are increasing opportunities for linkages with institutions and disciplines in North America as well.

> Once I have been in the USA in Cornell University.... I have been there two months only, simply to exchange some ideas, to show something.... It was very useful for me. We make one paper, even, together.... We have very opportunities to open our mind to the European projects.
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

During the period of this research, there was an emphasis in establishing linkages with Canada by several educational institutions in Sofia.

Some of the NGOs focus on bringing Western professors to Bulgaria for short and extended teaching contracts. They also have programs for repatriating Bulgarians to teach

after they have settled abroad. The NGO works with both Bulgarian and Western institutions. Sofia University has benefited from several of these placements.

> A: We [the NGO] have people who work especially on these countries, and there is one office in Europe with one person who is dealing with countries.... Our [NGO] president is involved in fundraising. There are several people in the New Haven Office.
>
> Q: Are they affiliated with Yale University?
>
> A: Yes, yes... [T]hey use their resources when they recruit and interview candidates. Yes, they use their resources as far as teaching and curriculum is concerned.
>
> [Administrator, NGO]

International conferences are another opportunity for expanding contacts and linkages. A growing number of international conferences are meeting in Bulgaria, including the annual conference of the Alliance of Universities for Democracy (AUDEM) that met there in the fall of 2000.

> Another difference for the better is that now we have a lot more conferences and meetings with colleagues from all over the world, including the United States. Some of the exchange of opinion, setting the watches in the right direction [sic].
>
> [Faculty Member, Sofia University]

The young generation of students is taking advantage of the opportunities to provide cultural linkages between countries when studying abroad.

> And I executed the first representative exhibition of Bulgarian graphic art in [a foreign country], and...I organized a team of photographers and cameramen from the Bulgarian television who shot a documentary movie in [the foreign country]. I did it with the help of our embassy there, but the initiative was all mine. I was the field coordinator and started the channel of communication and I did more than was expected from me. I didn't act as a student only, but I was kind of a cultural ambassador, cultural messenger for my country and also by shooting the documentary there, we managed to show the beauty of [that foreign country] in Bulgaria which was also very good.
>
> [Undergraduate Student, Sofia University]

Regardless of the topic of discussion, one of the major Emergent Cross-Categories in the research interviews and information conversation was suspicion of corruption. The need for international contact was another major Emergent Cross-Category, but the two categories rarely converged. On the subject of international

linkages, there was rarely a mention of suspicion of any kind. The only reference to suspicion was in response to inquiries about publicity on study abroad opportunities for students. Information on EU student opportunities is disseminated through departments and programs, and some students felt it was not publicized widely in order to provide the information to favored students.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION OF DATA ON ORIGINAL AND EMERGENT CATEGORIES

Discussion of the Data

Discussion of Data on Context and Emergent Cross-Categories

Discussion of the Original Category of Context

Contexts of politics and economics are strong influences on educational institutions, but the context of culture is a powerful medium in its own right. From the many cultures traversing and occupying the landmass that is now the Republic of Bulgaria, there has been a long tradition of placing institutional, religious and familial value on education. Charles King of Georgetown University cautions against ascribing a teleological interpretation to traditions of any kind in the name of nationalism in the Balkans.

> [F]rom the 19th Century onward, and especially in the 20th Century, the way the history of the Balkans, Caucasus, Ukraine, Turkey has been written, is through a completely national [language].... The longer history of this part of the world is all about connections, overlapping identities, uncertain and multiple identities, and so on. It's not about being "A" Bulgarian, "A" Romanian.
> [American Faculty Member, A Balkan expert in an American institution of higher education.]

The many shared values across the Balkans have failed to unify the various groups in the region. The Balkan peoples place high value on religion and the Slavic language, but this has not served as a unifying force. They value independence from external domination, but they have failed for centuries to form regional resistance to

conquerors. In fact, the very term, balkanization, has come to mean the disintegration of a region into parts despite their commonalties.

Internally, Bulgaria has tempted disintegration, seldom speaking with one national or political voice over the centuries, yet it is safe to say that there has been a progressive evolution and amalgamation of separate traditions with respect to the value of education. Sofia University traces a network of roots rather than a linear, single taproot to account for its heritage into the 21st Century. This cultural value of education is one of the few consistent and unifying themes over time in the territory of present day Bulgaria. Communists and democrats alike have placed education high in national priorities, even in periods of extreme economic hardship. Perhaps that is why Bulgarians feel strongly about protecting the tradition of Bulgarian education in the time of radical change.

Precisely what defines traditional Bulgarian higher education is a subject of debate, however. Individuals are confronted with whether to preserve one's personal interpretation of traditional education or whether to change it in order to reflect the priorities of still another context, a democracy in a global economy in the 21st Century.

The Soviet model of higher education, in the mind of many, has become the rightful Bulgarian model, imbued with tradition, legitimacy, and quality. However, there is some justification to the claim by others that the true Bulgarian higher education tradition, embodied in the founding of Sofia University, originated on the Western European model. This line of reasoning goes further, characterizing efforts to align educational practices with Western institutions as a reinstatement of the legitimate Bulgarian higher education tradition.

Discussion of the Emergent Cross-Categories Interacting with Contexts

Change is an unavoidable Emergent Cross-Category in this research. Over a century of periodic major changes in forms of government have forced Bulgarians to master a series of complicated and contradictory roles: subjects of an foreign empire, subjects of a Bulgarian monarchy, comrades under communism, and citizens of democracy. Though it is uncomfortable for stable Western educators to contemplate, educational institutions and educators were obligated to change according to the political contexts, to play different roles, to accomplish different goals and to proclaim new allegiances.

Though extreme change in contexts dictate immediate change on many levels of personal and institutional life, total change is not complete. Just as some Bulgarians continue to mourn the loss of monarchy to this day, many continue in old communist habits of thinking and collectivist ideals into the second decade of democracy.

Discussion of Data on Mission and Emergent Cross-Categories

Discussion of the Original Category of Mission

During the last half of the 20th Century, Sofia University and higher education in Bulgaria were organs of the communist society, not independent bodies of education. An organ controls neither its intake nor its output, merely processes whatever passes through. An organ does not determine its own mission.

By way of comparison between East and West, it can be stated what Sofia University's mission was *not* under communism. Providing a broad liberal education was

not a mission of Sofia University during the communist era. Possibly this was true because there was an assumption that given the superiority of Bulgarian primary and secondary schools, students arrived at Sofia University complete with a broad liberal education. The communist mission for higher education was twofold. The mission stated most often in the literature and by participants was to train employees for specific jobs in narrowly specialized fields. The other mission mentioned often in the literature was that of perpetuating the communist ideology.

In the communist era, secondary school, higher education, specialized job training and job placement were all one continuous pipeline feeding all sectors of the economy. Simplistically speaking, on the output end, employment needs were projected by a central government authority years in advance. On the intake end of the pipeline, an education slot was created to match the projected employment slot. There was an expectation that it was actually possible to make accurate predictions of narrowly specialized employment needs years in advance. Even if accurate predictions were possible in a static world, intervening factors over time made the government's mission of matching enrollment, graduation and employment needs impossible. Further, as the research in the Function section of this report shows, it is questionable whether the theoretical nature of the curriculum did in fact prepare graduates for real work in narrow specialties.

When the output of higher education increasingly failed to match the needs of the economy, the blame was laid on the quality of education or on a lag behind improvements in the triumph of the rapid changes in the economy and technology. Despite the intended mission, the effective mission of higher education under communism was to train for specific, static employment needs, not to educate for the

sake of education or for the ability to adapt in a dynamically changing employment market.

It could be said that by controlling access to admissions, an unspoken mission was to perpetuate the class of elite, educated, powerful Party loyalists. A major spoken mission was to perpetuate communist ideology. If the accomplishment of mission is measured by the degree of its verbalization and permeation of an institution, then that mission was fulfilled. On the other had, if the measure is to be made by the lasting effects over time, then that mission was a failure. It is likely that never in a Western university has a mission been so publicly verbalized and pervasively implemented as was that of Bulgarian institutions during the communist era. Pondering the mental accommodations made by those who were not true believers of the mission or the ultimate disillusionment of those who were is beyond the comprehension of the Western mind. The legacy of the ideological mission remains only in counterproductive procedural habits and unrealistic expectations.

Sofia University, the Ministry of Education and Science and the government of the Republic of Bulgaria are redefining the mission of education in general. The 2000-2001 Sofia University Catalog does not state a clear institutional purpose or mission. The 1995 Higher Education Act continues to refer to a purpose of training experts. Though the central government continues to exercise control over access to higher education, it is helpless to assign or create jobs for the newly trained experts at the end of the education process.

Participants offered various possibilities for the new mission, but there appears to be a reluctance to part with the old one. Both individuals and institutions appear to find it

hard to give up on the mission of training for specific, guaranteed employment. Not only did the participants see the assurance of national full employment as an intended outcome of the mission of higher education in the past, they saw it as a guarantee that they, as individuals, could be specifically trained for specific employment.

The mission of matching educational qualifications with employment needs of the economy with the intent of minimizing unemployment and underemployment ultimately represented security and stability for the individual. Resentment of having lives planned under communism has been replaced by feelings of disappointment, insecurity and anger at the *loss* of having lives planned under democracy.

Relatively speaking, the process of the formalizing a mission statement or identifying an internally determined shared vision is a recent development in Western higher education. That is not to say that the concept of mission, purpose or an understanding of setting and achieving goals has not been done elsewhere, past and present. However, in Bulgaria and other countries under communist rule in the 20th Century, participation in the process of determining a unique institutional mission was not an option available to the administrators, faculty, staff or students of institutions of higher learning. As government and education administrators look to Western structural and functional models for higher education, broad recognition of the need for a statement of mission may be on the horizon. For the time being, putting ideology , training for employment and writing mission statements aside, the operative and urgent mission of Sofia University appears to be to simply hang on until forces beyond its control bring better economic times.

Discussion of the Emergent Cross-Categories Interacting with Mission

Because of the history of isolation and current unemployment, a topic of mission import is an international perspective within higher education. The category of mission also interacts with quality issues.

The international job market was a topic initiated by almost all research participants at some time during the interviews. Some suspect that 30% is a more accurate figure for unemployment in Bulgaria than the often-quoted 18%. Young people often feel they have no choice but to look for work beyond the borders. Participants expressed grave concerns for the country if the trend of youthful emigration continues. Whether graduates go abroad or remain in Bulgaria, hope for meaningful employment for young people in the future is viewed as highly dependent on the acquisition of knowledge and skills to compete in the international economy. There appears to be a vague sense that Sofia University should have some influence on the Brain Drain problem, but no one is certain if the institution's role is to prepare students to leave or to stay, to cut enrollments rather than contribute to the drain, or somehow otherwise make the unemployment situation better.

A quasi mission of Sofia University is viewed by some to be the facilitation of Bulgaria's bid to become a member of the European Union. Since The Changes from communism to democracy, dramatic revisions have been legislated into the national system of higher education. Though European Union (EU) membership has been the driving force for the change in laws, justification of the goal at the grassroots level is often lost in the wash of constant disruptions of the status quo, both planned and unforeseen.

Bulgarians look forward to a time when they will be members of equal standing in the European Union. The country's integration into the European community depends on the free movement of money, goods, services and workers across borders. Whether formally or informally stated, the mission of higher education at all institutions is being determined with an eye on the educational institutions and the economy of the European Union.

On the subject of quality in higher education, Sofia University has always had a unique role that possibly rises to the level mission in one form or another. It is expected by all to be the best. Since its establishment, Sofia University has been the place for the best and brightest of Bulgarian students. Furthermore, it has come to be expected by many that the institution deserves and has a right to be maintained at the level of best in the country, and that it has the right to be provided the resources to remain at the top of accomplishment and respect. There is strong resistance within the university to anything which threatens that position, whether it be sharing resources, increasing the number and educational qualifications of the national teaching staff, opening access to higher education to the masses, or conferring the expectation of excellence on other institutions. In the strong opinion of the researcher, Sofia University is struggling internally to determine if its mission is to *be* the best or if its mission is to preserve its *right* to be the best.

The new National Evaluation and Accreditation Agency has identified a statement of educational goals and mission as a part of the evaluation criteria for accreditation. Legally, educational institutions cannot receive government funding, admit students, or otherwise exist without accreditation by the NEAA. Consequently, the concept of

formulating mission statements is working its way through all Bulgarian institutions of higher learning.

At the center of this dilemma is the ambivalence about autonomy. *Who* determines the mission is as much a question as *what* is the mission of the institution. As a matter of autonomy, whether or not individual mission statements will be determined by the central government or subject to government approval remains to be seen. That decision could be a major indicator of the evolution of autonomy.

Discussion of Data on Access and the Student Body and Emergent Cross-Categories

Discussion of the Original Category of Access and the Student Body

In informal conversation and as research participants, Bulgarians were careful to point out that policy under communism was neither constant nor uniform from the beginning to the end of that era. Access to higher education is one of many examples. One can compare the same Post WWII period in the USA to understand that the demographical composition of the student body in neither country was constant for the entire second half of that century. Early in the communist era, much of Bulgarian higher education settled into an access process that would become the acknowledged tradition, but formal and informal access policy continues to evolve.

Free education for deserving students is still a value held strongly by the academic community and the public at large. In the present and in the past, the problem centers on determining who is deserving, who decides and by what criteria. Old attitudes, habits of thinking and financial realities confound attempts to make access to higher education a process of equal opportunity.

Regardless of admissions criteria and the selection process, there are serious logistical problems with equal access to higher education. Admissions tests are given for one program in one department at one university on one day. This test day is likely to coincide with tests for parallel programs in other institutions. Hypothetically speaking, if 10 places each were available at three Bulgarian institutions in a particular major, and the best 30 students in the country applied to the same university, 20 of the top thirty students in the country would be rejected. It would not be possible for them to apply again for a year while other students of less ability would be enrolled at the other two institutions. Further, it is not likely the students could apply for other majors, for most of the tests are on the same day. Though some progress has been made in test scheduling, it is still the cause of major inequalities in access.

For the academic year 2000-2001, Sofia University had an enrollment of 25,020 full-time students and 8,256 part-time students. The enrollment figures for 2001-2002 were expected to be less because the government is expected to cut admissions of new students. Complete statistics on the demographic composition of the student body were not available. The researcher found no figures on the ratio of men to women, or of minority enrollments including Turkish descendents or Roma. A student from the largest ethnic group, Bulgarians of Turkish descent, was of the opinion that the number enrolled was not in proportion to the general population. There is a small but growing trend toward non-traditional age students.

Discussion of Emergent Cross-Categories Interacting with Access and the Student Body

The juncture of the Access category and the Suspicion cross-category was one of the most populated positions the researcher observed. Participants often answered direct questions about access in terms of these suspicions. Regardless of stated official access policy, many people assume that there was in the past and continues to be an informal and corrupt access policy that takes precedent.

During communist times, the government and/or the Communist Party determined the number of places and the entrance criteria for admissions, but the quotas for various groups superceding all other criteria. Under democracy, the government continues to determine the number of places in each department in each institution. There are educational and test criteria for selection of students and no official quotas, but the lack of transparency and accountability for the process of accessing higher education fuels widespread suspicion of corruption.

Discussion of Data on Governance and Organizational Structure and Emergent Cross-Categories

Primary and Secondary Schools as Background

Discussion of primary and secondary schools as background for governance and organizational structure

It is difficult, if not impossible, to say at any given moment in 2001 just what is the exact structure and precise function at any level of education in Bulgaria. The entire system, from primary school to the highest graduate program is undergoing constant review, revision and legislative action with subsequent information distribution and implementation progressing at different paces. Whatever the current law *states is* does

not necessarily represent a current image of *what, in fact, is* throughout the system. In many instances, the law more likely represents a plan for the future. For all of Bulgarian education, central authority to make decisions is still in effect; central power to inform and enforce has deteriorated; and autonomy of the educational institution is searching for a definition among the leftovers.

In the course of this research, requests for information on structure and function were often answered by referring to legislation being prepared for submission or currently under consideration by lawmakers. Students and even professors were not always aware of the latest revisions of law, sometimes hoping to avert changes, not realizing they had already been approved.

If Bulgaria is to make a decision in favor of universal access to higher education, the design of the secondary school system will be a necessary concern. There are many pros and cons in having a complex system of academic and vocational schools through the level of secondary education. There is much to be said for young people leaving school with usable employment skills. There is also much to be said for young people having the opportunity to choose higher education at various ages beyond primary school. At some point in the future, Bulgaria must examine universal access to higher education, the process for career decision making, and testing processes of the school system as one piece in order to make deliberate and logical decisions about what works best for Bulgaria.

Discussion of the emergent cross-categories interacting with primary and secondary schools as background for governance and organizational structure

The cross-categories of accountability, change, collectivist thinking, quality and suspicion interacted with the discussion on schools. One of the most interesting things in conducting research in Bulgaria is the lack of accessible public information on current developments. Very helpful people appeared to be perplexed that someone would ask for documentation of statistics, programs, or structural information. It was difficult for the researcher to determine whether the documents were available at all or whether there was a concern about the appropriateness of providing the researcher with copies. It may well be that people were deciding for the researcher that information was inaccessible because of language, but there was always an assurance by the researcher that translations were not a problem. During the period of research, there were several promises of documents at a later time, but they were never available, particularly in regard to the primary and secondary schools.

The researcher observed considerable evidence in Bulgarian society of the lingering habits of communist thinking on matters of public information and accountability. Even without any apparent totalitarian attitudes or motives, there appeared to be no assumption that the government would explain actions or be accountable to the people. There is no tradition of the "people's right to know." A change from communism to democracy is a process rather than an event. Revolutions and elections may change the body of government overnight, but it takes much longer for democratic assumptions, procedures, skills and ways of thinking to penetrate every facet of life.

Like much else in Bulgaria, there is a paradox in the discussion about change, particularly on the subject of textbooks and curricula in primary and secondary schools. In a depressed economy where parents have little money, there is much to be said for continuity in textbooks from one year to another. Yet, the pride that Bulgarians express in the education system is a pride in learning knowledge that is largely outdated. For example, according to some, textbooks from communist times are still in use in some cases, complete with ideology and communist interpretations of world events. On the other hand, in a depressed economy, changing books too often can create hardships on families, resulting in children having inadequate resources for learning. In either case, education suffers.

There is growing concern about the quality of primary and secondary education. Money is at the heart of almost any item of concern in Bulgaria today. Books are not provided by the state, and the purchase of new books every year are a real sacrifice for young families. Teachers' salaries are deplorable. For those who were teaching at the time of The Change, housing costs do not figure as drastically into their expenses. Many people continued to live in their homes and the ownership was transferred to them. Because of housing costs, however, attracting young teachers will become more and more difficult. The salaries are not enough, even combined with a spouse's income, to make possible an independent life apart from living with parents.

With a perceived decrease in quality of the public schools, private schools, forbidden under communism, are becoming more visible in larger cities. The cost is prohibitive for most Bulgarians, however.

According to some, the national political appointments of head masters [principals] are a thing of the past. However, the Public Education Act of 1991 as amended through 1998 provides that the labor contract of the head masters of state schools is concluded and abrogated by the Minister of Education and Science. For municipal schools, the contract is with the local education inspectorate, who is, in turn appointed by the Minister of Education (Republic of Bulgaria, 1999). Public support creates a potential for political favors, therefore suspicion will continue unless the suspicion generates a healthy demand for accountability and public information.

Central decision-making for an entire national educational system is by definition slow, particularly deliberate, thoroughly planned decision-making done for all the right reasons. Meanwhile teachers teach just as they have always taught. Some teach well and others do not, some have resources, some do not, none are paid well enough to support themselves and certainly not a family, regardless of the decisions made at the top. Issues of efficiency and bureaucracy in Sofia must seem irrelevant to the classroom teacher in the distant village.

National: Original Category of Governance and Organizational Structure

Discussion of national governance and organizational structure.

In Bulgaria, there are many paradoxes in thinking about education in transition from communism to democracy and from centrally controlled existence to freedom of choice. There has always been a great value placed on open and equal access to education, but on the other hand, there continues to be a feeling that admission should be

limited to a known quantity of intellectual elite lest broad access spoil the quality of outcomes.

Before The Changes, society was represented to the population and to the world outside as a seamless, uniform piece without rank, privilege or hierarchy. It was and is difficult for Bulgarian people to acknowledge that there was indeed an elite consisting not only of those people in political power, but also professionals, scientists, and academics, all of whom were one and the same as the privileged educated class of Bulgarians.

The educated class was provided with ample means to do meaningful, productive, rewarding work, a high privilege under any form of government and a more certain station in life than had ever existed under democratic rule in the West. Though they did not live in splendor, educated people and academics lived comfortably, with no financial burdens. Even academics without a commitment to the political party in power were in a superior position to the rest of the population.

Great value was placed on the contributions of people in higher education despite the rhetoric of the importance of the industrial line worker. The political system reinforced a strong traditional value on education, as value in its own right as well as a means to an end for one's self and one's children. The educational system was a reward system, a personal incentive system, a path to set one apart from mass uniformity, the Good Life. It was a communist guarantee of a market system goal.

The structure of the educational system served to perpetuate the concept of ranking of people and institutions. Competition and the layering of society began at a very early age. Marks determined access and limits to success, an educational process

not unlike that in democratic countries. Children were channeled, however, into structured career paths early, a more efficient use of educational resources to meet economic goals, but without sufficient provisions for identifying and re-planting late bloomers.

Restricting the number of institutions and enrollments served to produce not only Just-In-Time graduates, but also just enough graduates for specific jobs in the planned market requirements. A perceived ranking of institutions by type and prestige fueled the competition for access. By strictly limiting access through competition, the system ensured that only those with the best skills *in academics* would rise to the top of society. Those best in academics, in turn, competed for the best of institutions. Sofia University, seen as the best students in the country in the best institution near the seat of political power, is by design and self-fulfilling reputation, the ultimate and irresistible educational goal of Bulgarians. The image of Sofia University as holding its rightful place at the top of academic achievement has penetrated the culture as a value in its own right. It is no wonder that there is resistance to expanding enrollments, opening new institutions, and conferring the mantel of "university" on institutions of less traditional honor.

In a country plagued by deficits and shortfalls, there are many who believe the country could suffer from the government permitting too many students and too many institutions. The reasoning for this concern is still muddled by the transition from communistic to democratic habits of thinking. They could build a sound case for the continuation of restricting enrollments and limiting the creations of new institutions of higher education with economic arguments. Increases are expensive and too many professionals adding to the ranks of the unemployed and underemployed could certainly

add weight to that argument. The fact that institutions are educating young people for employment outside the country was not escalated to a reason to cut back on enrollments. In fact, it appeared to be a justifiable reason to continue at the traditional pace for the sake of the survival of the next generation even if that meant contributing to the brain drain.

The main argument against the government allowing growth in enrollment and the number of institutions was voiced as a concern about the dilution of quality of education. It was not unusual for the researcher to hear from the same mouth a call for unrestricted access for one's own children followed by a concern that increasing overall enrollments and the number of institutions would ruin the reputation of Bulgaria as a producer of high quality education. Though the present multi-layers of control from the central government in and the former parallel political controls of the Communist Party over education have represented a possibility for corruption of the access process to many, it also provides a degree of comfort that quality will remain high. Along with a call for greater autonomy of institutions, there is a concern that when left without central control, the possibility for local corruption of the access process will increase.

Discussion of emergent cross-categories interacting with national governance and organizational structure.

Activity on suspicion, internationalization, quality and the debate of what to change, how much and how quickly to change has been ongoing since The Changes were initiated in 1989. A holdover from communist thinking habits is the trust in the continued strong central governance of all institutions with an underlying suspicion that

anything less would lead to corruption and deterioration of quality. The assumption that people at the "bottom" of the higher education system must be watched and weighted down with layers of bureaucracy lest they fail to produce quality is in direct contradiction to the character and commitment to excellence the researcher observed in professors at Sofia University. Even though the old known system is distrusted, there is an even greater distrust of the unknown local control. The habit of trusting the top for quality while hating the top for control is a habit turned addiction in much of the thinking in higher education.

It is interesting to note that an institution, by law, cannot be considered a university without international interaction. The validity of this concept was heard again and again by the researcher in both research settings and informal discussion. It is one point on which there seems to be agreement between central authority, institutional administration, teaching staff and students. The imposed isolation of higher education in the past by the communist government has created a hunger for contact with the outside world.

The use of the term "university" as an institution with a broad, non-technical curriculum is somehow mingled in the minds of many Bulgarians with the issue of quality as it relates to the legitimacy of a perceived quality ranking system. Though ranking does not appear to have been formalized in the past, Sofia University has been assumed by many to be by design, by accomplishment and by rights to be the best and finest. This assumed ranking of institutions and right of first place appears to be threatened by provisions for "raising" other institutions to the level of university.

The fact that the provisions for changing an institution to university status requires the institution to have a certain number of faculty with advanced degrees, therefore raising the limits of the total number per capita is also seen as a threat to quality. In the minds of some participants there appeared to be an assumption that institutional quality and the absolute number and degree of educated people per capita have some kind of natural limit. While freedom of access to education is viewed as a positive change, raising the level, quality and number of institutions as well as raising enrollment are paradoxically suspect. While participants were very proud of the uniformity of quality in their elementary and secondary system and proud of the accomplishments abroad of graduates of secondary schools and Sofia University, they are reluctant to acknowledge the potential for that same uniformity of accomplishment and quality at the higher educational level at other Bulgarian institutions.

Possibly, the perceptions of the participants are influenced by the fact that most were, in fact, a part of Sofia University which affords a great deal of status and respect. There may also be a urban/rural bias as well as the traditional and physical proximity to national power that influences the perception of participants. Clearly, the national perception of rank combined with the centrally controlled limits to enrollment and advanced degrees along with the highly competitive, one-shot opportunity for admission serves to legitimize, perpetuate and institutionalize the fact that Sofia University is capable of producing graduates who, given the opportunity, can compete in any international academic arena.

Institutional: Original Category of Governance and Organizational Structure

Discussion of institutional governance and organizational structure.

The governance and organizational structure of Sofia University in the past and in the present was designed by the central government and defined by national law. The Ministry of Education and Science as well as Parliament has oversight of most actions taken by the university's multi-layered organizational structure. The General Assembly is the largest institutional governing body. The law requires that 70% of its members be "habilitated", the most senior of teaching staff. The Academic Council is much more powerful, and 75% of its composition must be habilitated staff. Faculty Boards, more powerful than the full Faculty Assembly for each faculty (college in the USA), are also required to have at least 75% of the members from habilitated staff. Students compose 15% of the total General Assembly of the university and each faculty. Pensions were depleted during the severe inflation of 1996-1997, and senior staff members are not retiring. Therefore, for several more years, major power positions will continue to reside with professors habilitated under communism.

The administrative structure for Sofia University begins with the rector who is elected by the General Assembly of the university. The rector is assisted by vice rectors who have individual responsibilities for research, academic and international affairs, and facility operations. Each faculty has a dean, elected by the General Assembly of the Faculty, who is assisted by deputy deans. Faculty Board are followed by Department Boards with department heads for each.

Discussion of emergent cross-categories interacting with institutional governance and organizational structure.

Change as a cross-category of institutional governance does not interact in an easy fashion. Changing the layers of bureaucracy and a complex system of checks and balances in the governance of higher education is particularly slow because a change in any layer or system is a threat to someone's position of power. In defense, the threatened position can always lay claim to being the guardian of quality in higher education. Resistance to change can spring from many sources in the lingering, multi-layered seniority power structure. Who can say whether resistance to change is motivated by an effort to maintain educational tradition and assure quality, or whether by an effort to protect the remnants of power and a defeated political ideology.

Practically speaking, the many layers of Sofia University's governance and organizational structure are designed for resistance to change. The institution does not have the power to change its own governance processes or organizational structure, conditions which are not compatible with institutional autonomy as understood in the USA. After decades of following orders, there is a need for training in leadership, organizational, and entrepreneurial skills on all levels if autonomy is allowed to mature in the future.

Proposed change has created major tensions between members of Sofia University administration and members of the Ministry of Education and Science. The perception of the researcher was that the push to make gross changes for the purpose of European Union membership come from the highest levels of government. However, bottom-up ideas for implementation have great difficulty filtering to the top of the

approval chain. Possibly ideas and information coming from both directions are stalled at the level of the Academic Council, the elite, aging body between the institution and the government.

Faculty: Original Category of Governance and Organizational Structure

Discussion of faculty in governance and organizational structure.

On occasion, parts of interviews with faculty members were a study of pauses and sighs or nervous laughter. There is still pain evident in some of the stories of the past causing the researcher to waiver between interviewer, polite guest and rude foreigner. Some of the pauses were filled in later during informal, social occasions. There were stories of family members losing money, land, educational opportunities, professional positions, community standing, and even prison, mysterious disappearances and murder in the worst of times. There were stories of personal careers being blocked, rerouted or ruined. There were stories of personal failure to live up to professional potential because of political alignments. There were stories of guilt for living up to professional potential because of pretended political alignments. There was guilt for allowing the country to be broken. There was guilt and anger for being powerless to fix it. There was the laughter people emit when they try to make sense of the past while trying to explain it to a sheltered foreigner. There was a weariness and wariness at constant change that does not seem to improve education or society or anything else. People long for stability, perhaps even more than they long for getting it right this time.

Increased enrollment, aging faculty, little incentive for young people to enter the teaching profession, international and domestic brain drain of young faculty members all

combine to predict dire shortage of teaching staff in the near future. Governance, for better or worse, will remain in the control of the same senior teaching staff for some time to come.

Discussion of emergent cross-categories interacting with faculty in governance and organizational structure.

The ever present cross-categories of change, accountability, suspicion and money interact with the category of faculty in governance. Bulgarian society and the educational system appear to be working out the details of how to operate between the extremes of totalitarianism and rebellion. Though academia has historically been active in major political uprisings in Bulgaria, communism left a legacy of powerlessness to change academia from within. The mix of seniority laws plus the series of institutional and governmental bodies with veto power ensures that change will, in fact, rarely occur from within the organization.

The public's right to information, accountability to customers, public trust and the consequences of poor public relations are concepts that are not well developed in Bulgaria as a society or in the system of education. This serves to reinforce suspicion and feelings of powerlessness and adds another layer of discouragement to entrepreneurial efforts in education and elsewhere.

Academia was and is no shelter from suspicion of corruption. Communists were suspicious of non-communists and kept them from positions of power and influence. Non-communists were suspicious that every career barrier and setback had a political motive at its center. Non-communist's successes could not be celebrated lest they

generate suspicion from other non-communists that they were politically engineered. Financial success is highly suspect as the reward for corruption or political connections or both.

Under communism, faculty members were fearful of being exposed as pretenders to communism by colleagues who were true believers. Now they fear being financially bested by unscrupulous colleagues. Suspicion is a part of life regardless of the degree of actual corruption, and it is damaging to collegiality at the very least. Worse, it continues to stifle initiative and entrepreneurship just as communism did, since success is conspicuous and might be construed to be a result of favors. The students voice the same concerns as their elders; the legacy of suspicion continues despite a shift in political context.

The cause for concern about money for faculty members cannot be overstated. It is not uncommon to hear of professors working more than one job to maintain the lifestyle of 1989. In personal lives, the free market system can be a brutal place. Stories of people losing everything to unscrupulous people in business and government are not rare. Despite this, the researcher did not hear a single teacher who did not love teaching Sofia University students. Many professors could leave the country, but many worked second jobs so they could continue teaching.

Most of the aging faculty members own an apartment and have strong family and professional ties to the country. Their salaries are a fraction of their former income, and upon retirement, their pensions will be a fraction of that. Emigration to retire in Western countries would be impossible because the value of the pension would be reduced further against the foreign currency. Given their economic dilemma, the aging, experienced

professors will probably stay at their posts until they are physically incapable of teaching. The question will be, then who will teach?

With a decreasing population but an increasing demand for education for traditional and non-traditional ages alike, the eventual retirement of the aging faculty will create a great need for teaching professionals. Young people aspiring to a profession in academics are not able to establish an independent home and start a family with the current salaries. Many who have exceptional skills for competing globally will leave Bulgaria for a better life abroad.

Student Services: Original Category of Governance and Organizational Structure

Discussion of student services in governance and organizational structure.

There is not a history or an understanding of internal student services as a profession or of the concept of the student as a customer or client deserving of service. The Student Careers Advisory Centre is the most developed of service-oriented offices, but it is not staffed with professionally trained student services personnel. Staff training has been done largely by international benefactors.

The center is, in fact, a specialized extension of the national employment agency. It also offers information on study opportunities abroad. These existing student service functions were initiated largely by international funding, but their existence are not widely known or used. There is little concept of marketing or public relations skills in providing services.

Routine administrative services for students are not efficient, requiring hours of administrative employee's and students' time standing in line for such things as student

discount cards for public transportation, dormitory room assignments, and picking up monthly stipends. Without the concept of the student as a client or customer, there is little justification for efforts to provide efficient service.

Discussion of emergent cross-categories interacting with student services in governance and organizational structure.

It is interesting to note that the only student services detected by the researcher were in career services and study abroad. Employment and international contact were topics often assigned great higher education priority by participants in the study.

Student Council: Original Category of Governance and Organizational Structure

Discussion of the Student Council in governance and organizational structure.

There was little information on student government in the past. At some point it was disbanded and the activities have been resumed incrementally. Currently, the Student Council appears to be active and interested in supporting worthwhile student projects and making life better for the students. They are allocated funds by the government to operate the office and to support student projects. Recently, they have funded a student recording of traditional Bulgarian music, archeological digs, a newspaper, student theater, and other cultural projects. They also sponsored an open meeting for students with the Prime Minister on the subject of higher education.

Members of the Council are elected by popular vote in their faculty [students within their department or program] for four-year terms. They compose 15% of the General Assembly of the university, voting to elect the rector and other important

matters. There is apparently a good relationship between the Student Council and the administration.

Discussion of emergent cross-categories interacting with the Student Council in governance and organizational structure.

Conversations with the Student Council did not precipitate the usual concentration of problems identified by the Emergent Cross-Categories. Their main complaints were about deteriorating living conditions at the Student Village complicated by inefficient maintenance bureaucracy along with suspicion of corruption of the maintenance system.

They identified a major problem for students as the lack of computers and the lack of money to acquire them. They were busy at work in an effort to secure funds through normal channels. The researcher gave them confirmed information about a warehouse in Chicago full of computers free for the asking for education institutions in Eastern Europe. At the time of the researcher's departure from the country, the students had not contacted the warehouse. Perhaps waiting for the money from the government is a communicable habit being passed down to a new generation.

Students: Original Category of Governance and Organizational Structure

Discussion of students in governance and organizational structure.

After The Changes, it might be said that of all the people at Sofia University, the students gained more than anyone else did. Where there was once strict control of library information available to them, there are now no restrictions. Mandatory class attendance was replaced by optional attendance. Students are permitted to work now but were

forbidden in the past. They have been relieved of required ideological courses and they are freer to enroll at non-traditional ages. They also have the opportunity to participate in a greater variety of university organizations.

Students, of course, would point to a number of conditions that are not as favorable as in the past. They pay tuition now, and student stipends are token amounts, a fact made more poignant by the long lines the students endure to collect them. The freedom to work is countered by the necessity to work. The Student Village has deteriorated with no money for maintenance. The graduate in the past was assured a job; today's graduate may face unemployment or almost certainly, underemployment.

Despite the negatives, more young people than ever compete for admission. Students appear to be interested and motivated. The relationships between students and teachers appeared to be mutually warm, respectful, and highly professional. Neither in informal conversation nor in research interviews did the researcher ever hear a professor speak negatively about students. Very often, they enthusiastically praised students as a whole and particularly enjoyed telling about individual students who went on to succeed, often in a Western country.

Discussion of emergent cross-categories interacting with students in governance and organizational structure..

Many students hope to go abroad to work or to continue in graduate studies. Most express a sense of obligation to return eventually to help their nation. Professors speak with great pride about their former students who study at prestigious Western

universities and go on to be successfully outside Bulgaria. They often maintain ongoing professional relationships with their former students who live abroad.

Discussion of Data on Function and Emergent Cross-Categories

Teaching: Original Category of Function

Discussion of teaching methods in the teaching function.

When describing the function "teach a course," Bulgarian speakers of English often use the term "read a course." When Bulgarian professors say they "read a course" they often mean it literally. The model of a teacher lecturing or reading with students listening and taking notes continues to be the norm. Some methodologies are changing slowly, particularly in curricula designed through SOCRATES grants. There is some interest at a private university in Bulgaria in offering methodology training for higher education teaching staff. Since most of today's teachers were trained under the old system, there is little opportunity for modeling new methods without some kind of direct intervention with teaching skills and techniques.

Discussion of the emergent cross-categories interacting with teaching methods in the teaching function.

Internationalization and money interact with teaching methods as emergent cross-categories of the teaching function. The movement into the mainstream of Western higher education requires of faculty members a skill base as well as a theoretical base in their disciplines, a combination that was not a tradition in during the communist era. In 21st Century academe, Western language skills are an essential companion to skills in

technology and application in the disciplines. Learning Western languages and reading Western publications were not encouraged during the communist era and there was a strong separation of theory and practice among intelligentsia. Even if new equipment were plentiful and training in technology and language courses were free, motivation would likely be a barrier to professors in the later stages of a career. Ten years is not enough time to see a complete turnover in teaching staff. Where there has not been an update in language and technology, students will continue to be trained in the old way, perpetuating lack of international compatibility.

There is no tradition of professional development in Bulgarian higher education. Even with access to existing computers or training, the aging faculty is not inclined to learn new skills. Without computer and entrepreneurial skills or Western languages, Sofia University cannot hope to maintain the quality of teaching and learning necessary to compete with Western universities in the future.

Discussion of curriculum in the teaching function.

Sofia University's curriculum in the past was designed by the central government to meet the employment needs of the nation. Names of departments had reference to employment rather than academic fields. By definition, in those days, the term "university" meant a large institution with many fields of study, excluding any kind of technology.

Today, program curricula at Sofia University number in the 70s. Economics [business] and computer technology have been added to the curriculum while all the required communist ideological courses have been eliminated. Though the institution has

been declared autonomous to make changes in the standardized curricula, little has been done except in programs working with EU partner institutions. Money will determine how much practical and laboratory experience can be added to the curriculum in the future.

Discussion of the emergent cross-categories interacting with curriculum in the teaching function.

Curriculum expansion is limited by money, particularly in computer and laboratory sciences. Business curricula are limited by a nation of business professional still learning in the learning curve themselves. The very disciplines in greatest demand in the career market are those most expensive to provide and the least capable of responding to demand.

Discussion of the degree system in the teaching function.

In the past and in the present, Bulgaria's academic degree system has served to supply teaching staff, scientists and professionals to the nation. The old system of conferring Master, Doctor and Doctor of Science was a known system and represented an assurance of quality among academia and the general public. The highest degree was one awarded a Ph.D. equivalent after years of research and writing. The new "three degree system" of Bachelor's, Master's and Ph.D. Degrees represents a process with the assurance of quality yet to be proven. Many from the old system, with little prior contact with the West, lack faith that quality education and the new system are compatible.

The academic public appears to be ill-informed of the status of the change and of the reason for it, namely to facilitate the mobility of students and teaching staff among Bulgarian and Western universities. This lack of information can contribute to poor decision-making about academic and professional careers. There could be several reasons for this lack of public information, among them, a residue of an old habit of thinking that the public does not need to know.

Discussion of the emergent cross-categories interacting with the degree system of the teaching function.

The issues of public information as well as autonomy and quality interact with the degree system category in this section. Given that so many people in the education system are still unaware that the change to the three-degree system is an accomplished law if not an accomplished fact sheds light on the lack of public information about even the most fundamental changes in the university. The fact that students can both strongly favor mobility and oppose the three-degree system and its implications for credit transfer indicates that there is room for considerable public education on the rationale for the change. To the public, the change, good or bad appears to be still another arbitrary decision made at the top without accountability or explanation to the public.

The irony of the autonomy/quality issue is that along with a decree from the central government that institutions are now autonomous, there are simultaneous pronouncements from the central government that institutions must comply uniformly with radical changes in basic curriculum requirements and degree structure.

These fundamental changes are being centrally imposed in order to comply with realities far beyond the walls of the newly declared autonomous institution or, for that matter, beyond the borders of the newly self-governing country. Despite whatever sense this makes in terms of facilitating the mobility across European Union and American borders, it is not difficult to understand how the individual Bulgarian educator could view the whole issue as yet another externally imposed educational system, threatening the loss of control over the quality of education.

Discussion of the credit system in the teaching function.

The old educational system without any kind of credit mechanism, in effect, ruled out for students the possibility of changing majors, transferring to other domestic institutions, transferring courses in from study abroad, or studying on a non-traditional schedule. The old system represented an institutionalized attitude about whom should make life decisions for students. Particularly since curricula were strictly standardized and controlled by the government, the barriers to transferring among institutions indicates a disregard for individual choice.

The current "three-degree system" innovation in Bulgaria provides a mechanism for evaluating credits within the curriculum. The lack of concern about threats to quality in adopting the credit system may indicate a logical disconnect between the credit system and the three degree innovations. From one group of students, the researcher heard complaints about the "three-degree system" on the grounds of quality and culture. The same students endorsed the idea of transferring credits among Western institutions, however. There did not seem to be a clear understanding about how the two were related.

The educational market will ultimately prevail in forcing the implementation of both the "three-degree system," the European Credit Transfer System, and the capability of transferring among Bulgarian and Western institutions and majors. The alternative is to prolong academic isolation.

Discussion of the emergent cross-categories interacting with the credit system in the teaching function.

The cross-categories emerging on the subject of the credit system were accountability and public information, collectivism, internationalization, and autonomy. The Bulgarian public is in great need of information about how the Western institutions function and why it is to Bulgaria's advantage to become compatible with them. This lack of information dilutes the demand for change and retards implementation of the new degree and credit systems.

The perpetuation of lock-step cohort groups progressing through the higher education system without provisions for alternative choices reveals old habits of thinking about collectivism versus individualism. The lack of demand for change indicates a lesson well learned, that individual needs are justifiably and quietly subjected to institutional needs.

Full implementation of the European Credit Transfer System as an element of the teaching function of Sofia University, will reverse the tradition of favoring the institutional or collective needs over that of the individual. The advantage of implementation will facilitate individual choice of major and institution as well as encourage a balance of exchange of students across borders. Resistance to

implementation is largely due to the lack of information about the benefits and old habits of thinking collectively rather than individually.

Though students from Southeastern Europe have traditionally studied in Bulgaria, there has been little interest in the West for participation in ERASMUS exchange programs with Bulgaria. Bulgarian students, on the other hand, are leaving in increasing numbers to take degrees abroad. There are many reasons for this imbalance, but fully implementing a credit system and a "three-degree system" will prepare the way for a greater infusion of Western students in Bulgarian institutions.

The issue of quality has had little impact on the discussion of the European Credit Transfer System, except as a part of the greater degree system changes, which are perceived by some as a threat to quality.

Discussion of accreditation in the teaching function.

The researcher found it difficult to examine quality assurance and accreditation in Bulgaria without the filter of American assumptions about the relationship of government and higher education. In the USA, the accreditation process is conducted by peer review boards and is paid for by the participating institutions, not the government. The boards answer to no government oversight. It is an academic function and not a government licensing function. In Bulgaria, the state agency determines the criteria for accreditation, appoints the examiners who are composed of educators employed by the state. Funds for the evaluation process are channeled back to the state by the institutions which were funded by the state in the first place. The state agency implements the accreditation process and administers the recommendations of the state-paid evaluators. It is very

difficult for an American educator to follow the circular flow of money, authority and logic in government controlled accreditation, but Bulgarians accept it, not just as a matter of course, but also as an assurance that the government will enforce quality.

The issue of trust is central to the discussion, and it leaves the researcher with more questions than answers. Can the Bulgarian government and the public trust educators to evaluate their peers? Can Bulgarian educators and the public trust the government to evaluate educators? Regardless of who is evaluating whom, how many layers of bureaucracy are required to insure trust? On the other hand, how many layers are necessary to guarantee freedom from corruption or a breech of ethics? Does the Bulgarian government dare allow an independent agency to find fault with the educational branch of the government? For that matter, how can independent peer review be possible at all when the peer reviewers are employed by the same entity they are evaluating? Can evaluators from private universities make a difference? But private universities are also beholden to the government for their existence.

To the mind of the American researcher, government accreditation of higher education institutions is an oxymoron at worst and an exercise in circular thinking at best in a system that is centrally controlled by the government. On the other hand, the government continues to authorize and accredit new universities and new programs that the peers in the older universities might not have done.

There was little predicted about the future of accreditation by participants, possibly because it is a new procedure and since there has been little experience with it in the past or present. There still seems to be confusion about what accreditation means. It seemed logical to those interviewed that if accreditation is to be done, the government is

the entity to continue doing it, even if the results in the present are not entirely accepted by the general public. There still seems to be an assumption that legitimacy and quality assurance can only be provided by the government.

Attestation appears to be on the way out because of the revision of the degree structure. However, the researcher did not hear anyone express an opinion that institutions should make final decisions on who received degrees. There appears to be a fear that quality in graduate education would suffer if the attestation function were not controlled from the top. Sofia University teaching staff generally expressed that fear in terms of other institutions, particularly the new ones, but never in terms of Sofia University.

Discussion of emergent cross-categories interacting with accreditation in the teaching function.

The cross-categories to be discussed below are suspicion of corruption and inefficiency. Where suspicion of corruption was rampant in many other discussion topics government, there was little heard about it in terms of accreditation. There were concerns about the approval of new programs, new institutions, and the transformation of older institutions into universities, but the complaints did not have the usual overtones of an accusation of corruption. The concern, at least the voiced concern, was about quality assurance and the assumption that quality could not be broadened beyond the exact number of existing institutions designated as universities. There appeared to be an assumption that if accreditation and quality assurance was to be done by anyone, the government should do it.

The sound of suspicion occurred in discussions about institutions rather than the government conferring graduate degrees. Again, the trust appeared to be firmly placed in the government to validate candidates for advanced degrees, at least for institutions other than Sofia University. The researcher perceived a certainty among people at Sofia University that other institutions would grant degrees too frequently and to less qualified candidates if left to themselves.

Accreditation and particularly attestation appeared to the researcher to be some of the most bureaucratically layered functions within the relationship between government and higher education. Some indicated that the entire attestation function was a holdover from the communist times and that it had originally been more about power, control and politics and less about quality. The assumption was that the whole system was devised to insure that only proper communist candidates rose to the positions of power that accompanied the highest academic degrees. Despite these suspicions about the origin, the assumption of government as a guarantor of quality assurance appears to be firmly in place.

Research: Original Category of Function

Discussin of the research function.

It is tempting to lapse into religious analogies when pondering the extent of control over education exercised by political forces under communism. The most sacred precepts of education were violated, that of asking and answering questions, acquiring and passing on knowledge to the young. Knowledge was locked away and rationed out by some bureaucratic priest's verdict on the "need to know." University professors with

great stores of knowledge and theory were not "ordained" to enter the library or the laboratory to question and test. Students were taught to limit their curiosity.

It is no surprise that educators rejoice at the opportunity to reunite the research and teaching functions. It is tragic that the freedom to conduct research is restored without the resources to proceed.

Discussion of emergent cross-categories interacting with research function.

The discussion of the cross-category of money is basic to any discussion of research in Bulgaria. The government research institutes hold a favored position in terms of facilities and funding for research, according to educators, and are not likely to call for total reunification of research and teaching in the future. Even though the academic community continues to oppose the separation of the two functions, simple inertia and the lack of funding maintains the divided system to this day to a large degree. If research is to be restored to higher education in the, there must be new sources of funding other than government money.

Service: Original Category of Function

Duscussion of the service function.

Individual professors are very dedicated to providing help to students. Many spend time advising students and helping them in tireless fashion. As much as possible, they use their personal contacts to help place students in employment and graduate programs in Bulgaria and abroad. They also serve as expert commentators on issues to the news media.

Students provide a forum on public issues and overworked clerical employees provide the best service possible without the help of modern technology or training in efficiency measures. Service does indeed occur at Sofia University, but it is not perceived as an institutional function, internal or external.

Given eventual economic recovery paired with the acknowledgement of students and the public as clients, a sense of commitment to professional service, internal and external, may become a part of Sofia University's future. As autonomy matures and institutions are freer to define unique roles for themselves in an open educational market, internal and external services may play a role in the competition for tuition leva in the future.

Discussion of emergent cross-categories interacting with the service function.

Internationalization and money are the cross-categories interacting with service. The British government established and trained personnel for The Student Careers Advisory Centre as an outreach of Bulgaria's national employment agency. It represents the only student services function identified by the researcher. The center is in a renovated, well-lighted room, is beautifully appointed, has state-of-the art technology for job searches, but is not well known or widely used. It is staffed by students and one administrator.

There is not sufficient money for the traditional function of teaching in the current economy. Money for professional services will continue to be an extravagance even when the institution rises to the level of financial survival.

Discussion of Data on Resources and Emergent Cross-Categories

Funding: Original Category of Resources

Discussion of government funding in funding resources.

Despite increased costs and decreased funding, the government has allowed the student population to increase, though it is expected that enrollments will be cut in the next academic year. Since the cost of education is still borne largely by the financially strained government, one might ask why continue pouring students through the higher education system at increased cost with no hope of placing them in jobs upon graduation. Possibly the answer lies precisely in the fact that there are no jobs. With unemployment soaring, there is little opportunity for the young people to find work. With housing costs completely out of line with wages, there are no places for the young to begin a life on their own even if they could find work. Allowing more students to enter the higher education system, keeping as many as possible living at home with parents, delaying their entrance into the job market all serve to buy time for the government to order its financial house and generate more possibilities for employment.

Discussion of emergent cross-categories interacting with government funding in funding resources.

Access to information is a recurring theme in most categories, especially those involving funding. Given the shortage of government funding, intensive training in grant writing and mechanisms for locating alternate sources of funding are needed at all levels of the institution. The free flow of information is essential to securing alternate funding, but information about EU, NGO and international funding did not appear to be

widespread. There does not appear to be a systematic attempt to inform all staff in all departments about potential linkages and contractual possibilities. It was not clear if this is due to a lack of a communication vehicle or system, or if is due to an attitude about the right for all to have equal access to information. In either case, the future must bring better communication among the academic community for fair competition for resources.

Discussion of tuition funding in funding resources.

Barring remarkable and instantaneous economic recovery, free higher education is a thing of the past in Bulgaria. Tuition will continue to rise to meet increasing costs. On the positive side, increasing tuition support may eventually force the recognition of a market model in higher education. Students as consumers or clients will be able to demand quality and services or take their business elsewhere. On the negative side, increasing tuition will drastically reduce equal access to higher education across all economic strata.

Discussion of emergent cross-categories interacting with tuition in funding resources.

There was little said in the way of cross-categories on the subject of tuition. Most people continue to think that free education is a right, but they are all too aware of the national economic crisis and accept tuition charges philosophically. There were no outcries for accountability or accusations of corruption in any of the interviews on the subject of tuition.

Discussion of the European Union in funding resources.

Given the large amounts of money being poured into Bulgaria by the European Union, it is difficult to understand that they are not the major supporter of higher education. It is even more difficult to understand that so few EU grants are being pursued at Sofia University. Much of the EU funding has gone into information sciences, "harmonizing" curricula throughout Europe, and efforts to foster international exchanges of students and scholars.

Discussion of emergent cross-categories interacting with European Union funding in funding resources.

The emergent cross-categories in the data on the European Union were public information, money and internationalization, quality and autonomy, suspicion of corruption, and inefficiency. Lack of information and misinformation may be a part of the reason for resistance to the degree change. A student organization expressed great frustration trying to lobby the administration and the government to abandon plans to change the credit and degree system while simultaneously endorsing attempts to expand international contacts. Administrators and government officials with whom they met did not explain to them that there was a direct relationship between the two and that they were already committed to a path to make the changes. Political ideology aside, traditional ways of thinking dictates that decisions are made at the top and information comes at the implementation stage rather than enlisting public support through information at the decision stage.

Though a public information campaign is planned for the future, knowledge about applying for grants did not appear to be widespread. There does not appear to be a system of programs to train the rank and file professors in the application process. Administrative skills in conceiving and implementing strategies for marketing and public information need to be developed.

It is difficult not to notice that two recurring themes were dominant regardless of which research questions were posed. They are the Emergent Cross-Categories of money and international interaction, both viewed as essential to the quality of and the survival of higher education in Bulgaria.

It occurred to only a few participants to comment on the lack of repairs, the dirt, the poor lighting or even the lack of proper heat in the educational buildings of Sofia University. These conditions did not appear to detract from the confidence that Bulgarian academics and students had equal if not superior intellectual background and capabilities as compared with Western counterparts. There was equal certainty that that the real threat to education was a succession of generations of scholars, isolated from the outside world first by political then economic barriers. The concern for money appeared to be less about greed than about keeping pace with modern technology and the ability to attract the next generation of academics and keep them in the country. Variations on the money and international themes appeared often and in great quantity in most of the interviews. The European Union, through TEMPUS, SOCRATES AND ERASMUS appear to be addressing these concerns, but the question is how much damage will be done before full economic recovery.

Autonomy as an Emergent Cross-Category was not so much mentioned as observed. Though there is resistance to some of the goals of SOCRATES, there does not yet appear to be a perceived threat to autonomy by commitment to the EU programs. In fact, funding of projects facilitates department autonomy. Institutions of Eastern Europe have followed a path toward autonomy starting from a different time and place than in the West. There is evidence that the term has a different understanding in Bulgaria than in the West, or at least in the USA. Autonomy is claimed as an accomplished fact by government, administrators, faculty members and students in a system where curriculum is written and degree candidates are examined by the government. "Harmonizing" with the other countries seems to carry some comfort when discussing standardizing credits, degrees and quality.

Suspicion of corruption was a subject never raised by the researcher in formal interviews or informal conversation. Though the subject was raised on many occasions by Bulgarians, there was very little suspicion raised in terms of acquisition of SOCRATES funding. Possibly people trust the European, outside control of the process or possibly, as some indicated, the suspicion has less to do with mismanagement of funds and more to do with control of information to insure that favored colleagues or departments received grants.

Widespread lack of information in the academic community could also explain a lack of complaints. A more positive slant on the lack of accusations could certainly be that SOCRATES is setting a new standard for methods of doing the business of education in Bulgaria. Building public trust is not a stated goal of SOCRATES, but it would be a most welcomed incidental outcome.

Another Emergent Cross-Category often mentioned in interviews was the sense of bureaucratic burden suffocating individual initiative. Successful participants in SOCRATES programs had little complaint about bureaucracy interfering with the application processes. One explanation could be the perception of participating in a fresh bureaucracy not weighted down by old familiar alliances and barriers. By the time the Eastern European countries were free to participate in SOCRATES programs, the European Union had established a history of laboriously working out details of compromise among nations on many complex issues, including education. Complete, incremental systems had been tested and were in place to train potential members in the ways of the integrated European educational system. If the application process continues to function without bureaucratic and political entanglements, it may contribute to increased participation.

Even for people desperate for resources to further their passionate for their science, learning to compete for money may be a difficult change. It may represent much more than merely learning skills in writing grant proposals. It may require re-training attitudes and retooling the mind. It may even require a new generation.

Non-Funding Resources: Original Category of Resources

Discussion of institutional facilities in non-funding resources.

As far as institutional facilities are concerned, the fact is that Sofia University is far behind many Western universities in current information technology of all kinds, libraries included. Massive, ongoing funding does not appear to be in sight for the near future, therefore, innovative and drastic alternatives must be explored.

The two largest libraries in the country are literally across the street from each other. The Ministry of Culture operates one and the other is operated by Sofia University, both of which are funded entirely by the central government. Duplication of materials and technology and parallel services are inevitable, and double the cost to a government skirting bankruptcy. Whatever the historical, bureaucratic, and power justifications for maintaining this arrangement, they pale in the face of providing half the information and services at twice the cost.

Sofia University sits in the midst of the nation's largest city, a commercial center and the nation's capital. Mutually beneficial linkages with business and government to provide practical experience and technological access for students could be explored. If Sofia University is to rise to state-of-the-art technological competencies, creative, entrepreneurial, assertive thinking must quickly replace the communist habit of waiting for the resources to appear from the government.

If an aggressive program to train all students, teaching staff and student services personnel to independently seek out grants and apply for funding, this could also help to fill some of the technology vacuum. Replacing old habits of waiting for the money with basic market economy skills could open many opportunities for increasing resources. The researcher knew of a warehouse in the USA full of computers designated for Eastern European educational institutions for the asking. The donor required only a one-paragraph to one-page explanation of how the recipient proposed to use each computer requested. The researcher told people desperate for computers how to contact the donor. At the end of the research period, none had inquired about the offer.

Discussion of institutional linkages in resources.

At the heart of implementing mutually beneficial linkages are thinking patterns very different from those that function well in an educational system controlled by a strong central government. Taking initiative in collaboration outside one's own sphere is not a functional trait in a centrally controlled institution. At Sofia University, there is a lack of know-how in publicity and public relations and a lack of training in researching opportunities, writing grants, organizing and implementing mutually beneficial projects. There is little experience with or modeling of creative, entrepreneurial skills in solving educational resource problems.

Another barrier to cooperation with other Bulgarian educational institutions appears to be an assumption that Sofia University is in a different league of quality than other local institutions. This thinking limits possibilities for examining consortium solutions to the lack of state-of-the-art technologies, laboratories, libraries, internship initiatives, and international projects. There are not well-developed systems or means of publicizing opportunities for international collaboration. There also appears to be a residue of old habits in offering opportunities to some and withholding information from others rather than making opportunities generally known.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

Concerns about Bias in Drawing Cross-Cultural Conclusions

In cross-cultural research, the risk of missing essential points and drawing illogical or wrong conclusions is increased. Once more, the weaving metaphor serves to illustrate the point. The researcher has formed a design to represent Sofia University, but it is certain that many threads are missing leaving gaps in the authentic pattern. No doubt, some threads were woven incorrectly across other threads misrepresenting interactions and relationships of people and components. Perhaps shades of meaning were totally misunderstood creating dissonance in the true color scheme. Particularly in cross-cultural research, there is a risk that cultural bias will warp the fabric of the story. The researcher has drawn on her cross-cultural communications and research training, attempting to either avoid or identify for the reader where cultural biases lie.

In order to balance her own cultural assumptions, the researcher tried to draw out from the participants their conceptions on both the negative and the positive effects of communism, democracy and The Changes that will continue to distance them. She was open to subtleties in shades of meaning between conventional Bulgarian English and American English.

Though the conclusions and recommendations to follow are based on those interviews and monitored for cultural bias, the researcher is fully aware that they remain cross-cultural conclusions. They are offered with great respect and admiration for Sofia University and with a clear understanding that a cultural outsider can never fully comprehend its complexity and its value and importance to the Bulgarian people.

Restating the Research Design

This qualitative case study of the transition of Sofia University from communism to democracy drew on a weaving metaphor in the previous section to illustrate the interaction of the Original Categories of inquiry with the Emergent Cross-Categories arising from interviews with people at Sofia University and the city of Sofia, Bulgaria.

The conclusions to follow are organized under the following Original Categories: the various contexts of Bulgarian education over time, the changing mission within these varying contexts, the impact of these on access and the student body, the implications for governance, structure and function of the institution, and the influence of resources over time. Following these are conclusions on the Emergent Cross-Categories of accountability, change, collectivism, internationalization, quality and autonomy, suspicion, inefficiency and bureaucracy, and money . The categories were metaphorically woven together in the previous section, but they will be treated separately here.

Conclusions on the Original Categories

Conclusions on Contexts

Higher education in Bulgaria shares with the nation a historical context of change and external influence and domination. Since its founding in the 1880s, Sofia University has provided education within a broad range of political and economic contexts. Within the memory of many faculty members, the university has operated within the political context of rule by monarchy, communism, and democracy, changing to reflect the priorities of each one.

Though historically the form of education in Bulgaria has changed with changing political and economic contexts, conflicting assumptions remain about what is the legitimate, traditional institution and what is the appropriate form of higher education for present and the future. To many, change in higher education to align it with education in Western Europe represents positioning the institution to function favorably within its new contexts of a domestic democracy within a global, free-market economy. They see the changes as a way to ensure quality and state-of-the-art technology in the future. To others, change toward the current EU model of education represents yet another external force on higher education, threatening destruction of Bulgarian tradition and quality education in the future.

As a consequence of the various political contexts, the economic contexts of higher education have changed drastically over time. Overall, the communist government provided superior funding resources for higher education than has the democratic government. In the last few years of communism, resources started to

diminish, and during the democratic decade, they continued to decline until a drastic drop in financial support in 1996-1997. Sofia University struggles to maintain a tradition of quality in higher education with a fraction of its former operating expenses and salaries.

These and other conflicting assumptions reflect a troubled transition from the context of a communist to a democratic society. The challenge for Sofia University in transition from one context to another is to reconcile what was good in the past with what is good for the present and the future.

Conclusions on Mission

Though there is as yet no published mission statement for Sofia University in the Western sense of the word, there is some degree of continuity of mission from communism to the present. There were many comments in communist literature about the mission of training workers for specific, narrow specialties as well as the mission of training loyal communists. Education for employment continues to be an assumed mission and a strong educational goal for Sofia University, Bulgarians and the Bulgarian government. A mission of education for life apart from work never appeared in the literature or interviews.

The target of the training for employment mission has seen drastic change in the declining economy. Under communism, the target of the employment mission was a centrally controlled career market in Bulgaria. Today, the market is beyond the control of the institution or the government. Unemployment and underemployment for university graduates soars. For many students, the target for employment after graduation is the hope of opportunities in the Western world rather than in Bulgaria. The

increasing Brain Drain toward educational institutions and employment abroad is generally viewed as a major crisis with dismal consequences for the future of the country.

Some see social and political responsibilities in the mission of the institution. Some see a responsibility to train democrats replacing the mission to train communists. Others believe the institution should somehow help to reverse the economic decline and the exodus of young people from the country. Most expressed the institution's need to break free of the international isolation imposed by economics after many decades of isolation imposed by politics.

The new national accreditation system requires that all Bulgarian institutions of higher education must have formal mission statements by the end of the first cycle of evaluations. Whatever the stated mission of Sofia University becomes, the operative mission and the challenge for the present and the foreseeable future is to survive the economic crisis and the dramatic changes brought on by the transition from communism to democracy.

Conclusions on Access and the Student Body

Access to higher education under communism was determined by competition and quotas, which changed over time. There was no cost to the student once admitted to the institution, a practice that continued into the 1990s until tuition charges were initiated.

The quota system under communism was originally intended to assure equal access, but it became corrupt over time. Ultimately, quotas were used to reward political activity and to perpetuate education and power among politically connected families and

within the academic community. Though the quotas have been eliminated, there continues to be cause for concern and suspicion about equal access to higher education.

Quotas have been replaced by many other access barriers to capable students: the method for scheduling admission tests, government controlled limits on enrollment, suspicion of corruption, increasing demand for enrollment, inequities in rural and urban opportunities, and increasing tuition costs are the most restrictive of these barriers. Geographical residence will become an increasing selector of Sofia University students as increasing tuition and housing costs combine to restrict students to higher education in their home city. Access will increasingly favor students with money as tuition will likely cover greater and greater portions of the cost of higher education.

The challenge for equal access to Sofia University is to create transparent admissions policies, abide by them to the letter, be accountable to public scrutiny and publish criteria and awards for the limited scholarship to demonstrate efforts at achieving equal access.

Conclusions on Governance and Organizational Structure

National Governance and Organizational Structure

Sofia University was governed in the past by the central government and multi-layers of governing groups within the institution. Communist Party officials shadowed every layer of governance, overseeing and assuring compliance with Party goals. The basic multi-layered governing system continues to operate in much the same way under democracy and will likely continue for some time in the future.

The number of institutions of higher education has increased during the last decade and there is a trend for existing institutions to be "transformed" into universities. This is seen by many at Sofia University as a threat to quality and possibly as a threat to their standing as an elite institution.

Because of increasing numbers of institutions and students, the need for teaching staff is increasing, a perfect market for Sofia University post graduates. The challenge for Sofia University and the nation is to work toward a spirit of collegiality and collaboration with all Bulgarian institutions as they are deemed legitimate by the national accreditation agency.

Institutional Governance and Organizational Structure

It is common to hear that penetrating change in Bulgarian society, both in mind and action, will require at least two generations to transpire. The composition of the institutional governing bodies of higher education is a good example of why. These bodies are charged with implementing detailed changes as directed by a democratic government, but by a central government nonetheless.

The highest levels of institutional governance are, by law, composed of the most senior and elite teaching staff, most of whom acquired their positions during the communist era. Until the recent past, each person who completed an advanced degree, regardless of his or her innermost, private political opinions, was permitted to do so because his or her personal educational objective was approved in order to further a political agenda. Each person who advanced to a position of seniority and power was

approved by people who owed their own positions of seniority and power to furthering a political agenda.

In academia today, the people who had seniority and power under communism are, by and large, the people who qualify to fill the 70% requirement of "habilitated" teaching staff of the elite governing bodies at each organizational level. The people who *were* in power are *still* in power in academia. Such is the blessing of a bloodless revolution. Thus the assumption by impatient Bulgarians that committed, deep change will require at least two generations of young people infusing the existing organizational structure.

The challenge of institutional governance at Sofia University is to achieve true autonomy within the framework of its status as a publicly funded institution. Internally, the challenge is to advocate changes in the law to allow for a governing body within the institution more representative of the teaching staff at large to facilitate the development of new skills, innovations, and new habits of thinking. If for no other reason, the issue must be addressed because the current generation of aging faculty will ultimately leave out of necessity, in one form or another, leaving a an understaffed, inexperienced institutional governing body.

Faculty Governance and Organizational Structure

The rights of faculty members under communism included a comfortable life of respect and academic fulfillment. Their responsibilities were to teach their discipline in the context of Party loyalty and values and to have little or no activity in research. Participation in governance by teaching staff was spread across layers of bureaucracy

with oversight by the Communist Party and the central government. The degree of participation was strictly limited by rules of seniority and Party loyalty.

Under communism, the lifestyle of the faculty member was often a surrealistic existence. Though intelligentsia as a group tended to oppose communism, they stood to benefit from it as well. On the one hand they were respected, had their material needs met, and had a satisfying career in an institution that was well funded. On the other hand, there were tremendous psychological consequences in espousing ideologies contrary to one's belief and living the good life while friends and family suffered loss of property, freedom, and sometimes lives because of political oppression. Many of the faculty members, of course, encountered professional barriers for their lack of the requisite level of enthusiasm for Communist Party participation.

Under democracy, the role of the Sofia University faculty member continues to be that of teacher, with an increased opportunity for involvement as a researcher. Political responsibilities of all kinds have been eliminated. Participation in institutional governance continues to be limited by layers of bureaucracy limited by seniority status. The future will continue in the same manner without a change in national law.

Academic salaries were drastically reduced in the 1996-1997 financial crash, which also wiped out most government pension funds. Teaching staff cannot afford to live on existing salaries and they can less afford to retire. In real terms, salaries are reduced further by increased enrollment added to an increasing teaching load due to curriculum revisions for the conversion to the European Union system. It is no surprise that young people are no longer attracted to academics as a profession and that young

faculty members are leaving for jobs in business in Bulgaria or in academe in Western institutions.

Whatever the challenge for the teaching staff at Sofia University, one can be certain it is enormous in magnitude. They are in full command of the theoretical content of their disciplines that served them well in former times. The challenge is to learn new entrepreneurial skills to meet disciplinary needs for the new global contexts.

Student Services Governance and Organizational Structure

It might be said that student services as a profession is a function of a market economy model. At Sofia University, there is not yet a concept of the student as a paying customer deserving of services who can take his or her business elsewhere. The academic public is not well informed of the student services that do exist. The topic of finding employment came up many times in interviews, and no one interviewed knew about the Center. The need is there; the Center is there; the marketing and public relations skills and mechanisms are not in place.

The challenge for student services at Sofia University is to adopt a market model, identifying the student as a customer or client. There is little possibility for expanding student services as a profession in the future until there is major financial recovery nationally and/or until increasing tuition generates a consumer demand for service.

Student Council Governance and Organizational Structure

Many of the members of the Student Council are extremely active with Council projects. One member even reported that she rarely attends class because her Council

duties require so much of her time. The students use their allocated funds to support many cultural, educational and civic projects. As a whole, they participate in the General Assembly of the University and as individual faculty representatives they participate in the General Assembly of the Faculty.

The challenge for the Student Council is to maintain the momentum of providing an environment for students to participate in government and a commitment to support for worthwhile student projects.

Students within the Organizational Structure

Students of today have more options for majors and class scheduling than in the past. They have more choices available to them for library and electronic information. They have more time for academic subjects because of the elimination of ideological course requirements. What they don't have is a fully funded education with a job waiting for them upon graduation. The money worries for today plus an uncertain future for tomorrow does not appear to dampen the Sofia University student's determination to get an education. Many shared their internal debate on the pros and cons of leaving Bulgaria to do graduate studies or find work when they finish. In most cases, they appear to be highly motivated, determined to do well and rarely cynical.

The immediate challenge for students at Sofia University is to determine an academic path that will give provide them a realistic career path given the options they face between domestic and international employment.

Conclusions on Function

Teaching

In the political context, The Changes had little impact upon the classroom except to eliminate communist ideology. Theoretical lectures were the standard for teaching during the communist era, and the tradition continues. The term for teaching a course is often translated as "reading a course" which indeed is the practice of many lecturers, according to students. Of course, many teachers are dynamic and interesting and invite guest lectures and other innovations. However, there is no systematic provision for professional development in teaching methodology for higher education teachers.

The verbalized goal of the teaching function is almost always stated in terms of career training. Though training and teaching functions are traditionally blended as goals, there were consistent complaints about methodology strongly favoring theoretical lectures rather than a blend of theory and practical experience. The theoretical content of courses has been slow to change except under specific EU grants, and nationalized standardized curricula did not encourage innovative teaching methods. Given an aging faculty with few young people entering academics as a career, there is likely to be little change in teaching methods in the near future.

Because of a shortage of laboratory and technology equipment, for the time being and well into the future, it is likely that career training will remain a major goal to be met only with theoretical teaching. Adding practical experience to the teaching and learning experience is expensive and must rely on foreign funding for the time being.

Teaching conditions under communism were superior to those under democracy. Technology was more current for the times and basic comfort needs within the

institution's buildings were met. Computers are not an everyday part of teaching or learning at Sofia University. Even with access to existing computers, much of the aging faculty is not inclined to learn new skills even if professional development were available. Without computer and entrepreneurial skills or Western languages, Sofia University cannot hope to maintain the quality of teaching and learning necessary to compete with Western universities in the future.

Though the classrooms lack sufficient heat in winter, and there are not enough funds for proper cleaning or repair of buildings, the real teaching challenge, however, is coping with the lack of up-to-date technology and skills and working to master entrepreneurial skills and Western languages to acquire them.

Curriculum.

Though the curriculum under communism was intended for employment training, it was strong on theory and narrow fields of study but weak on practical application. Communist ideology was required as independent courses and was also infused throughout the content of all courses. The government standardized curricula by discipline across institutions, but transfer from one institution to another was rare if not impossible.

The most dramatic modification of the curriculum after the change to democracy was the immediate elimination of the ideological course requirements. The second most dramatic curriculum change, the addition of business and management courses and theology, came somewhat slower.

The change from centrally controlled curriculum to faculty and departmental curriculum control has been incremental and not yet complete. Within the 70 plus programs, there are now more possibilities for interdisciplinary approaches, liberal education courses, and electives within some programs. The future is likely to bring a slow but continuous change from central control to faculty and departmental control of curriculum. This will allow departments and institutions to specialize, creating their own areas of expertise and become competitive for tuition leva.

As a part of the teaching function, the challenge of the curriculum of the past was to meet the demand for employment requirements set by the central government. The challenge of today's curriculum is to try to keep up with the demand for technological applications to the broad range of disciplines while coping with little technology.

Degree system.

In the past and in the present, Bulgaria's academic degree system has served to supply teaching staff, scientists and professionals to the nation. The old system of conferring Master, Doctor and Doctor of Science is a known system and represented an assurance of quality among academia and the general public. According to the law, the new "three-degree system" of Bachelor's, Master's and Ph.D. Degrees is now in force, however it is being implemented incrementally. It represents to the academic community a process in which the assurance of quality is yet to be proven. Many from the old system, with little prior contact with the West, lack faith that quality education and the new system are compatible. It also represents a change imposed from outside Bulgaria.

The academic public appears to be ill informed of the status of the change and of the reason for it, namely to facilitate the mobility of students and teaching staff among Bulgarian and Western universities. This lack of information can contribute to poor decision-making about academic and professional careers on the part of students and teaching staff.

There could be several reasons for the lack of public information about degree changes, among them, a residue of an old habit of thinking that the public does not need to know. Also, there is not a tradition or a mechanism for regular communication

The challenge of the degree system in the past was to validate work credentials and to have their degrees acknowledged among Soviet countries. The challenge of the degree system today and in the future is to provide a means of international mobility of credits, credentials, students and professors across Western borders.

Credit system.

The European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) is a European Union program to provide a common denomination of credit units for academic courses that can be transferred from one accredited European institution to another. This encourages participation in ERASMUS, a major EU study abroad investment in support of the union's overall goal of opening borders for the free movement of goods, services, money and people.

In the future, full implementation of ECTS may also serve to reverse the tradition of favoring the institutional or collective needs over that of the individual. In the future,

it may also serve as a vehicle to facilitate individual choice to change majors and institutions.

The challenge for Sofia University in regard to the credit system is to fully inform the academic public about the potential of two-way mobility which may serve to bring more Westerners into the country for study and exposure to the Bulgarian culture and eventually to opportunities for economic development.

Accreditation, attestation and quality assurance.

Though there was strong standardization of curriculum requirements in the past, it was not clear how the implementation of standardization and quality assurance was verified. The new accreditation system in Bulgaria appears to be a result of European Union requirements, implemented in the only way that makes historical and organizational sense to Bulgarians, through government control.

The relatively new multi-layered National Evaluation and Accreditation Agency (NEAA) is the arm of the Ministry of Education and Science charged with the function of assuring quality among all institutions of higher learning in the country. They are charged with establishing criteria, conducting evaluations, scoring the evaluations, and overseeing compliance with prescriptions for overcoming deficiencies or closing them. They also approve the establishment of new institutions and the transformation of existing institutions from one institutional type to another.

The NEAA provides a quality assurance standard on which the EU can rely in support of the mobility of individual students, teaching staff, credits and degrees across borders. It also provides a different level of guarantee among institutions within the

country, which, in the future, may eventually serve to facilitate transfer of credits from one Bulgarian institution to another.

Because of the economic realities of the nation, the higher education will increasingly look to sources of funding other than the government. Ultimately, this may influence re-thinking the question of who should evaluate, accredit, and attest to the qualifications of teaching staff, programs and institutions. But the central government has a long tradition of favoring higher education. In the face of distrust of government on many other issues, perhaps this tradition explains the continued trust in government in governing higher education. On matters of quality assurance, the trust is still firmly placed in the hands of the government, and this habit of thinking may prove to be tenacious long into the future.

The challenge is to overcome old prejudices about a presumed need for a quality hierarchy of institutions within the country and to overcome the lack of trust in peer review independent of government scrutiny.

Research

The Soviet decision to separate teaching and research into two separate institutions may have drawn on both economic and political reasoning. Economically and academically speaking, faculty members charged with both teaching and research might be perceived to be less efficient and less productive. The researcher heard someone speculate about another reason, to metaphorically separate the head from the hands of academia. A united intelligentsia was understood to be a powerful force against totalitarianism; a segmented, pacified one was less likely to cause trouble. Though the

reunification of teaching and research functions is desirable to the academic community, practical and economical inertia continues to maintain the division.

The challenge of reinstating research as a function of Sofia University is to generate funds and create new facilities. Fundamental to that challenge is the necessity for universities to master marketing and grant writing skills and form linkages with business, NGOs, the EU and other international funding sources to restore research as a mature function of higher education. Some of the biological sciences have successfully taken the lead in entrepreneurial efforts to fund research. The teaching staff could be tapped as an internal resource to provide professional development for other disciplines to secure grants in the future.

Services

For Sofia University, there is not a history or understanding of a professional internal service function to the student. Neither is there a history or concept of regarding the public as an employer or client deserving of service from a public institution. Without a verbalized or written institutional commitment to public service, the teaching staff there does, however, view its teaching role as making a contribution to the well-being of the nation. Some professors make contributions to public information such as offering expert opinions in the news media and there is some evidence of the university serving as a public forum.

Because the government assigned jobs during the communist times, there was not a history of institutional skills or resources for securing employment after graduation.

Employment placement service represents the initial development of a formal student service function at Sofia University.

With unemployment high and public funding at an unprecedented low, the public suffers from the lack of many public services in general. Initiating a meaningful service function as a part of the education process could provide mutual benefits to both students and the public at large. It could not be determined if there is any anticipation of service as an integral part of Sofia University's future.

Given the realities of the national economic situation, the most obvious conclusions about student services in the future is that there will be no increases until there is money available. Without international money, none would exist even now.

The challenge for the future for the employment center is to expand professionalism and awareness of the services through marketing skills. The challenge for Sofia University is to reexamine its position as the institution of privilege in the past. It has been the institution so desired by students that there was no expectation of service beyond the honor of being admitted. But developing an attitude of service costs nothing now, and doing so could help Sofia University make the transition to professional services in the future and position itself to compete in the inevitable escalation of competition for good students.

Conclusions on Resources

Funding Resources

Simply stated, educational funding resources were adequate to plentiful for most of the communist period; for most of the democratic decade, resources have decreased drastically when they were not decreasing steadily. In the face of drastic decline, Bulgarians have, on occasion, succeeded in increasing the percentage of national resources for higher education illustrating the value Bulgarians place on education.

Currently, funds for basic maintenance, repair and even heating and lighting are rationed. There is money only for minimum daily expenses and salaries, already reduced to a fraction of former incomes. Government purchase of updated equipment and technology is impossible. Funding of large purchases or innovations in programs and services are possible only through international sources. Continued declines in absolute currency cannot sustain higher education for the long term, certainly not in the face of increasing demand for enrollment plus little potential for recruiting new teachers once the current generation leaves the profession.

Non-funding resources examined in this report are the institutional facilities such as libraries and laboratories. Other non-funding resources are external linkages with other institutions and agencies.

The challenge is to expand entrepreneurial and grant writing skills to expand mutually beneficial links with outside funding sources and other institutions.

Government funding.

At the beginning of the 21st Century, the major reality in Bulgarian higher education is the dramatic change in government funding from the communist to the democratic era. The impact on the individual student, faculty member, administrator, program, department, and institution cannot be overstated. Metaphorically speaking, higher education, as well as the rest of Bulgarian society, was plunged into the deep end of the market economy pool, with no training and no support mechanisms. The challenge of the entire system is to learn to swim or drown. The advantage of Sofia University is that there is a strong tradition of excellence that may sustain the institution until democratic and market economy skills are in place and financial recovery is achieved.

Non-government organization (NGO) funding.

Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) were not a part of Bulgarian society in the communist past. Today, many NGOs serve as a model of efficiency, entrepreneurial thinking, and philanthropy in Bulgaria and other Eastern European countries, cutting through layers of red tape to accomplish educational goals and demonstrating market economy skills to educators. George Soros, an American of Eastern European background, underwrites an array of NGOs to ensure the success of democracy and stability in the entire region. There is a suspicion among government officials that some NGOs operating in the society at large are corrupt, but this was not a concern voiced by the educators in this research.

The challenge for both educational institutions and the NGOs is to shift the focus from giving to training educators to do for themselves what NGOs are currently doing for

them. NGOs could be instrumental in helping the institutions to break the habit, as one educator said, of waiting for someone to give them the money they need to accomplish their goals.

Tuition funding.

For Sofia University students, the last half of the 20th Century was the golden age. There was no tuition, everything was provided, and it was an honor of the highest academic magnitude to be enrolled in the institution. One of the most dramatic changes in Bulgarian higher education is the transition from total government funding to an increasing need for tuition and external funding. The impact on the student population is the creation of the student-as-worker segment, unheard of under communism. Access consequences are most severe in the lower socio-economic and ethnic sectors of society; families are struggling financially and there are few jobs for students. Despite these complications, there is an increasing demand for enrollment at Sofia University.

The challenge is to keep access open while drawing on the students' ability to pay. International student tuition has become a valuable resource as well. Sofia University has an advantage in that the Bulgarian public places a high value on higher education in general and Sofia University in particular. It guarantees a continuing well-qualified, eager student market.

European Union (EU) funding.

Participating in European Union programs was not an option or a goal under communism, obviously. Integration with Europe quickly became a goal of the newly

democratic Bulgarian government, however. EU assistance to Eastern European countries extends to almost every sector of society, including higher education. Given the prolonged national financial crisis, EU programs such as TEMPUS, SOCRATES, ERASMUS, and Phare have all provided resources and opportunities to Sofia University that would not have been possible otherwise. Administrators and student services personnel have received training, professors are being exchanged, students have started study abroad programs, laboratories and other facilities have been modernized, language programs have been implemented, and updated curricula have been designed, all in partnership with Western European institutions and funded by the EU.

One at a time, students, faculty members, administrators, student services personnel are building experience, skills and new habits of thinking in a democratic, market economy at the expense of the EU. The challenge is to generalize those skills and ways of thinking to the broader institution and perpetuate them for the future.

Non-funding Resources

Institutional facilities.

According to librarians, the Sofia University Library was well funded under communism, as were other institutional resources. Today, facilities are in very short supply and are often out-dated. Computers were not generally available for students, and it's a rare student who has access to a personal computer. The library's computer room for students housed only a few computers to serve the entire student body. Many of the reading materials are not current and many textbooks are still in Russian or are poorly translated into English. Except where EU programs have intervened, basic laboratory

facilities are lacking and supplies are non-existent. The library has taken advantage of many opportunities provided by the EU to modernize, creating an electronic catalog, and forming partnerships with Western libraries. Reinstatement of sufficient funding from the government is not likely in the near future. The alternatives are to "wait for the money" or meet the challenge to learn innovative, creative, market economy ways of rethinking the resource issue.

Educational linkages.

There is not a tradition of cooperation among higher education institutions or disciplines within Bulgaria as far as the researcher could determine. There is no tradition of mutually beneficial linkages with commerce or government, though some internship programs have been started within the government. Though there are growing opportunities for collaborative projects through the EU, there is not widespread participation. Old communist assumptions and habits of isolating individuals, institutions and whole countries, continue to create problems with the potential for creative, collaborative thinking and acting.

The drastic reduction of government support of higher education left a vacuum of up-to-date resources for teaching and learning. International and domestic relationships and collaborations with educational, commercial and governmental institutions could be tapped to fill the vacuum. Implementation would involve rethinking old assumptions about isolation, public relations, and personal and institutional privilege in a new democratic context. It could then open the possibilities for training in creative, entrepreneurial thinking, organization and implementation skills.

Sofia University's resource challenge of today is to keep the institution in operation while keeping educational quality high and maintaining the public's confidence in the educational system. The institutional challenge of the future is to learn ways of increasing resources through linkages with educational, commercial, industrial and government institutions both domestically and internationally.

Bulgaria's national challenge of the future is to determine how best to maximize scarce limited funding resources, possibly through consolidating technical and informational resources among educational institutions. Meeting resource challenges in this way would require retraining in attitudes, assumptions and skills more functional in a democratic context than in a communist one.

The advantage that Sofia University has had until now is that it carries great respect and prestige among the general public and the academic community. As long as it is perceived to offer a superior education, students will continue to compete to spend their tuition leva there rather than elsewhere in Bulgaria. If that perception changes, the growing number of alternative institutions will vie for students' tuition.

Sofia University also has the advantage of being the favored institution in close proximity with powerful decision-makers in the country's capitol and largest business center. Opportunities for linkages with businesses and government agencies for cooperative practical training in technology are abundant, but require initiative and creativity to initiate.

Conclusions on the Emergent Cross-Categories

Conclusions on Accountability, Public Information and Public Relations

Sofia University was born and matured under strong central governments of different kinds. The tradition of the totalitarian government of the last 50 years was not one of keeping the public informed or monitoring popular approval polls. The voter, the consumer, the professor, and the student have not yet claimed their full power in demanding from decision-makers a right to know and a right to inform them of their needs and approval.

The barrier is part cultural and part mechanics. The tradition of multi-layered system of bureaucracy serves to retard information going up or down the system. There do not appear to be in place mechanisms for informing the general or academic publics. In the democratic era, communist assumptions about accountability, public relations and the public's right to know linger in organizational structures of institutions, regardless of the politics of the people involved; it is a habit of thinking. The consequence of these attitudes and lack of mechanisms for accountability foster the sense of suspicion of corruption in every facet of society at large and even in higher education. Historically, it also perpetuates a sense of license for those in power.

There was some evidence that information about opportunities for departmental grants, resources and study abroad were withheld deliberately at all levels of the organizational structure in order to favor one possible applicant over another. Sofia University is in a position to accept the challenge to make itself a model of accountability. One of the ways would be to devise vehicles for broad dissemination of

information about grant and study abroad opportunities, for example. It could also set an example by providing information about the fiscal and personnel stewardship of the institution and full disclosure and transparent information about student access processes.

Conclusions on Change

The story of change in Bulgaria, even desired change, has not often ended with "happily ever after." Bulgarians often feel the only constant in their society is change. In one lifetime, a large segment of the population has lived under a monarchy, a communist government and a democracy. The value of the lev was in a state of free-fall most of the last decade totally altering lifestyles.

Higher education has been completely redesigned, at least on paper. What is real change and what is change in name only is sometimes difficult to perceive in Bulgarian higher education. A change in law is not necessarily reflected by a sweep of uniform changes. A legal declaration that institutions are autonomous does not necessarily mean that they are autonomous in the same way that Western universities perceive autonomy. Deliberate measures to remove Communist Party influence from decision-making does not mean that democratic educators' minds unlearned old habits of thinking or that all people in positions of respect and influence were transformed overnight into fully developed democrats with well-honed entrepreneurial skills.

Accommodation, according to Piaget, is an internal mechanism involving changing one's understand of the world in order to make a transition from one stage to another (Matsumoto, 2000). In terms of cultural, political and economic institutions, external change has been abrupt, at a pace too quick for the population to internalize the

essential understanding and skills for success. In terms of adaptation to the global economic and technological environment, change has been punishingly slow, in large part because of the pace of internal accommodation.

The paradox of change as an Emergent Cross-Category throughout higher education, is that while people crave stability and relief from constant and drastic changes they can't control, they haven't enough power, information, skill or money to make the changes they desperately need. The challenge is to learn the information and skills they need to take control.

Conclusions on Collectivism versus Individualism

The legacy of a half-century of communism, among other things, is a collectivists way of thinking and doing things. The society was layered with organizational structure that created the illusion of participation, when in fact, it controlled, filtered out and suffocated the flow of input from the bottom up. Now, people don't trust each other to streamline governance, management, and academic functions. Individual initiative was not encouraged under communism, and now essential entrepreneurial skills are simply not there. The rhetoric for the masses was one of striving for the well-being of the group and not for the individual, and now personal success is eyed with suspicion.

The sense of having to choose between collectivism and individualism is a dilemma for the new generation. Many young people leave the country and many others try to go abroad for education or work, but young and old alike fear the exodus will ultimately destroy the country. Patriotic young people agonize over a perceived choice between trading the survival of the country for the opportunity of personal success. The

challenge of the society as a whole is to encourage creative thinking about how individual success, in Bulgaria and abroad, can be channeled to help the nation as well.

Conclusions on Internationalization of Higher Education

While communist rhetoric paid lip service to the necessity for intercultural experiences in the name of world peace, they isolated their own people from each other and from the world at large. They rationed knowledge from the outside world to educators and students. Contrary to their goals, they generated an insatiable need for contact with other nations and educational institutions. From national laws to casual conversation, when the subject is higher education, inevitably, one of the topics is the need for international contact.

Isolation continues in Bulgaria because of the lack of money to travel and a lack of interest in Bulgaria from people outside. At a cost of $800, a round-trip plane ticket from Sofia to Atlanta, Georgia USA is the equivalent of 10 months salary for a librarian. People at Sofia University and other educational institutions are eager for foreign visitors, lectures, students and researchers to incorporate into their educational experience. The EU and many NGOs have programs to bring educators and students into the country and also to form long-distance partnerships for various projects. International students continue to come from the Balkans to Sofia University, but ERASMUS has little success in getting Western European students to study there.

Bulgarians must rely on personal contacts to form institutional linkages in North America. As the researcher witnessed from taking a group of American students to the country, Bulgarians will go to extremes of hospitality for the opportunity of forming

long-term educational relationships. Western languages, international contacts, projects and linkages are a high priority at Sofia University. They can offer enthusiastic partnerships with anyone from the outside, but can contribute nothing to the funding except hospitality at their personal expense. The challenge is to learn to market the university and the country as an excellent place for Western educators and students to fulfil teaching, learning, research and service needs.

Conclusions on Quality and Autonomy

Discussions about quality and autonomy were often intermingled. There is also a co-mingling of the issue of suspicion in the mix as well. Much of the layering of management in the communist era was to ensure that communist goals were being met and that people with proper political credentials were promoted through the system. That process came to take on the meaning of quality assurance as well. Once the political element was removed from the layers of checks and balances, the residue was suspicion and a lack of professional trust in quality assurance among levels.

There is great concern in Bulgaria that too many people will be educated, that there will be too many new institutions approved, that there will be too many Ph.D.s awarded, and that too many institutions will be "transformed" into university status. It is incomprehensible to many that quality can exist beyond some artificially determined numerical limit. At Sofia University, the traditional provider of graduate degrees, there is resistance to admitting more graduate students because more graduates will ultimately make it possible for other institutions to gain university status based on a numerical requirement of habilitated staff.

There is a companion fear that quality can only be assured by the government. That funding, governance, quality assurance and accreditation of educational institutions were all government functions was not questioned by any of the participants in the research.

There is an assumed hierarchy of Bulgarian higher educational institutions based on quality. Sofia University is assumed to be and is accustomed to being the best. Grady Bogue poses a series of questions about institutional quality:

> Is quality in limited supply? By definition, can only a few institutions hope to achieve excellence? Are we to have pyramids of prestige based on size and selectivity...?
> (Bogue & Saunders, 1992)

The researcher was of the strong impression that many in the administration and faculty of Sofia University, as well as in the government would answer simply, "Of course." . The people there sometimes appear to confuse *being* the best with having the *right* to be the best. Sofia University is the oldest and most respected institution of higher learning in the country. There is concern that educational reforms may upset the traditional educational hierarchy which has substituted for quality assurance in the past.

The future will likely bring a continuous re-negotiation of issues on central control, autonomy, and quality education. The challenge for Sofia University is to demand excellence of itself and all other institutions to maintain confidence in the educational system regardless of who is in control.

Conclusions on Suspicion of Corruption

It is beyond the scope of this research design and the capabilities of this researcher to examine corruption itself. Suspicion of corruption, however, emerged as a

very real part of the personal experience of participants. It is hard to say whether corruption or the suspicion of corruption is more damaging to higher education at Sofia University. The increasing demand for higher education plus the stark financial circumstances certainly create an environment ripe with temptation to accept bribes for grades. Private tutoring of students for entrance exams is suspected by some to imply something more sinister. Working as a private consultant on university property was another activity generating suspicion. Any degree of conspicuous consumption is assumed to be a product of something corrupt.

During the last half of the twentieth century, suspicion became a highly developed survival skill, a habit particularly hard to break in a period of change when former communists emerged as successful capitalists and no one could publicly recall having participated in or benefited from the Communist Party. Suspicion when linked with governance of higher education continues to limit the effectiveness of the institution and of faculty members, whatever their discipline or politics.

Possibly one of the most difficult challenges for the society at large will be to break the habit of suspicion or at the very least to determine where it is justified.

Conclusions on Inefficiency and Bureaucracy

Bureaucracy, in the purist form, is not a value-laden term; it is simply an organizational scheme for systematic management and decision-making. But in Bulgaria particularly, bureaucracy has taken on a meaning of layers of laborious, time consuming often redundant processes attached to otherwise simple operations necessary for everyday life. The term is used in discussing everything from getting a student bus pass

to passing the oral examinations for advanced degrees. The apparent justification for many of the operations is to serve as checks and balances against corruption, but in fact, offers many more layers of opportunity for corruption.

Inefficiency and bureaucracy can also be explained as a legacy of a communistic habit of thinking about people as beneficiaries of free service from the collective state, who therefore as individuals, have no right to demand efficiency. The challenge is to change attitudes about the rights of students and the general public as clients, an essential prerequisite to the adoption of efficient practices in administrative and professional services.

Conclusions on Money

It is tempting to assign all the problems of higher education in Bulgaria to the lack of money. It comes up in almost every conversation and, indeed, weaves through every strand of institutional and personal lives. The drastic reduction in funding is undoubtedly the greatest single change in higher education in Bulgaria since 1989. But many professors work hard every day to teach students in the same dedicated way they would if they were paid their former salaries or if there was proper heat in the classroom. As one teacher said, under communism the custom was to sit and wait for the money, but for many of the necessities of a 21st Century education, the money simply does not come.

The challenge, in the face of the political and economic realities, is for Bulgarian educators to replace skills and practices that worked under communism with skills and practices that work in a free market democracy. Money is a fact of educational life;

educators in other democracies have had to develop skills in drawing on resources outside the institution, and Bulgarian educators will have to do the same. The stark reality is, they can no longer simply wait for the money.

Recommendations

Recommendations for Research Projects

How this Project Could Have Been Better

As in any project, this research could have benefited from an increased frequency or intensity of many things: more language skills, more time in country, more in-depth interviews with more people, and of course, more time and more money. It might have benefited in other ways with less. A further narrowing of focus could have been beneficial. For example, a study of only one faculty, possibly the oldest and largest, the Faculty of Philosophy [equivalent to liberal arts] could have provided more in-depth information. The study could have been narrowed to fewer categories or even a single category as well, perhaps mission or autonomy or the process of governance and organizational structure from the government throughout the institution.

The inclusion of a personal communist viewpoint would have added balance to the research. Many participants volunteered the information that they had not been communists, and none answered in the positive when the researcher asked directly about past affiliations with the Communist Party. As mentioned earlier in the report, the researcher asked to be introduced to communists on several occasions. Though promises were made to comply with my request, the introductions were never forthcoming. The

researcher did not press the issue operating on the assumption that it was an uncomfortable situation for all involved to identify or be identified as a communist. A longer time in country or interviews with teachers in an entire faculty or department could have yielded participants who had been Party members.

Recommendations on Cross-Cultural Research

In cross-cultural research, the importance of language cannot be over-emphasized. It is not likely that in a short amount of time one can learn a foreign language well enough to conduct academic research, but the effort should be made as if that were the case. An assumption that everyone will speak English is both wrong and a limiting ethnocentric attitude. Even when using an interpreter, knowledge of the language can help to recognize possible misunderstandings of questions or answers and can help to resolve problems in interpreting definitions particular to the academic discipline of participants. It goes without saying that logistics and simple civilities are enhanced by language skills.

On a technical note, any researcher in a foreign country relying on audio tape recordings for interviews should take care to choose and pre-test equipment, deliberately introducing background noise and making recordings at various distances and volumes *before* purchasing. This is especially important when conducting research where quiet, private offices are not necessarily the norm and where accents can be particularly difficult to decipher upon replay. Backup equipment is essential in countries where the electronic market is different in quantity and kind than in the researcher's home country. Both recorders, purchased new for this research, failed by the second week. In a country

without Yellow Pages, finding someone to do repairs can require days of door-to-door searching.

For all electronic equipment, one should carry extension cords, power strips, transformers, and converters, paying close attention to two and three pin plug configurations in "daisy chaining" equipment. It is a must to link up all equipment to all new connectors prior to departure in the event some connection is not compatible. In foreign countries, one cannot assume double plugs on a wall or more than one plug per room.

Recommendations for Future Studies

There are many questions that future research could answer on the transition of Bulgarian higher education from communism to democracy. There is some sense of urgency for answering these questions before the generation that experienced teaching or served as administrators in both the communist and democratic eras have left the profession.

- In transition from communism to democracy, are the experiences of technical universities different from those of Sofia University?

Using this research as a starting point, several comparative research projects might follow. The technical specialized institutions have had an even stronger, more narrowly specialized career emphasis than Sofia University in the past, which may have contributed to different experiences and perceptions. To test this, a similar study could be done at a technical university.

- How have research institutes been affected in the transition from the period prior to communism to democracy?

A comparative, in-depth study of research institutes as they passed through the phases of being combined with and then separated from teaching institutions. It might be useful in American experimentation with separating institutions by teaching and research functions.

- How do other Bulgarian institutions compare with Sofia University on specific educational issues?

Another research project might compare and contrast the perceptions of students, faculty members and administrators at Sofia University on a specific set of issues or contrast opinions of university administrators with government administrators. Comparing student, faculty, or administrator perceptions across universities in Bulgaria would also be an interesting pursuit.

There was strong opposition at Sofia University to increasing the number of doctoral graduates across the nation. This ties in with the strong opposition to accrediting new institutions in general and transforming existing institutions to universities in particular. It would be interesting to determine whether the opposition has more to do with maintaining Sofia University's position as a flag ship institution or whether it is indeed a quality issue across all institutions.

- How does the experience of a similar institution in another Eastern European university compare with that of Sofia University during the transition?

Still another direction further research might take is in comparing the transition of higher education in Bulgaria with that of other post-communist countries. The rate and degree of acclamation to democracy and the free market system has not been uniform across the nations of the former Soviet Union. It can be assumed that the transition

experiences of educational institutions differ as well. Understanding the various coping methods might serve the transition process well throughout post-communist countries.

Recommendations to the American Reader

Learning Opportunities

Learning about the value of internationalization.

Americans would do well to look to Bulgaria in understanding the essential nature of an international component in quality higher education. Though they see the lack of money as a major problem in the process of education today, Bulgarians also see their past and present international isolation as a major deficiency in educational content, a lesson many American educators have yet to learn. Faculty and student travel or educational exchange is not an option for all Bulgarians or all Americans. Bulgarians, however, understand that internationalization of education is not just a matter of a few privileged people traveling; it is a matter of using all the available international resources at ones disposal. For example, guest researchers from other countries are invited to lecture, make presentations, participate in meetings, serve as cultural and educational resources, and help to form links with other institutions or departments. Given sufficient information on how to proceed, they actively seek international partners through EU funding and invite professors from abroad through NGO funding. They pursue every chance opportunity to develop personal and departmental links with international guests.

Most importantly, Bulgarian educators and students understand that internationalization is an attitude of valuing international content in higher education. Bulgarian educators acknowledge that textbooks and career training cannot be limited to

the national experience only, another lesson many American educators are slow in learning.

The inclusion of internationalization in mission statements has become somewhat of a fad in American education, often with little implementation beyond traditional programs for international students, study abroad, and area studies. The Bulgarian government, however, has traditionally required that a scholar achieve international validation before receiving the highest degree of education. By law, an educational institution cannot be classified a university without international linkages.

Bulgarians know first hand about the destructive nature of imposed isolation on higher education. Bulgarians can teach Americans that self-imposed isolation is just as limiting and just as destructive to the education process.

Teaching, learning and research.

In an East-West educational encounter, Westerners too often assume that learning is one directional, which is a form of self-imposed isolation and limitation. In Bulgaria, there is a wealth of opportunities for Westerners to learn about history, culture, architecture, Greek and Roman ruins, art, soil science, environmental information, marine exploration, linguistics, theology and many other fields that are totally untapped by Western academics. Traditional viticulture art and science produces some of the world's best wines that are almost unknown abroad.

As an added attraction to educational projects in Bulgaria, tourist experiences, little known outside Eastern Europe, include spectacular Balkan mountain skiing and Black Sea coast vacation spots at a fraction of the cost in Western Europe. Ancient

monasteries scattered throughout the country are historical, religious, and hiking pilgrimages for Bulgarians. Often in isolated sites, the monasteries preserved regional education, culture, language, art and religion during centuries of upheaval.

Research Opportunities

Environmental research opportunities abound in the aftermath of the damage caused by communist industry. The Black Sea is a unique body of water lately drawing the attention of researchers across many disciplines. The entire region is fertile for conducting research on institutional responses to change.

Service Opportunities

When Americans consider an international component of the education mission, they tend to think in terms of the teaching and research missions; rarely do they consider expanding the service mission to an international level. American institutions would do well to participate in Bulgaria's efforts to internationalize. They can participate by providing Bulgarians with opportunities to learn democratic and free market skills: finding and securing grant money, administrative efficiency, customer and client service practices, public information, professional student services, practices in autonomy, and quality assurance mechanisms. American educators can exchange with Bulgarians their philosophies on autonomy, accreditation, governance, professionalism, internal quality assurance, and accreditation.

The researcher strongly recommends that when American educators conduct workshops or consulting in Bulgaria, that they provide the opportunity for both American

and Bulgarian students to participate and receive course or internship credit. (This recommendation holds true for funding any international travel.) Otherwise, the educational funds spent benefit the international experience of only one person. If a workshop team returns and formally and informally shares experiences with other educators and students who were not able to participate, an even broader group of people benefits from the international investment.

Expanding the service mission to institutions in Bulgaria must not be done with an attitude of helping a backward, developing country. As one professor said, "We are not an under-developed country; we are an ill-developed country." Bulgarians are a highly educated, highly skilled, and highly motivated people. They need training and professional support in re-aiming and reapplying their education and competencies in the direction of building a stable democracy.

Recommendations to the Bulgarian Reader

Introduction

These recommendations are based on assumptions about academic professionalism, autonomy, governance, and access within the context of democracy and a market economy.

Trust Academic Professionalism

The recommendations to Bulgarian educators would be to trust your own tradition of excellent quality in higher education, trust your own professionalism, and trust your colleagues. This research did not address directly the issue of corruption within the

educational system or Sofia University. It did, however, identify the suspicion of corruption as a force almost as damaging as corruption itself.

Regardless of the degree of corruption, one of the most damaging legacies of the communist era is that of suspicion which manifests itself in the continued reliance on suffocating layers of bureaucratic oversight as a weak substitute for professional trust and genuine participation in governance. There is a tacit assumption that enough layers will ensure quality and lack of corruption in education, when in fact, it simply creates a more intense lack of access to information, more layers for distrust, and therefore, more corruption. It blocks information from the top down and ideas from the bottom up.

Accountability in terms of transparent processes and complete public access to information could help to dispense with much of the suspicion as well as the inefficiency of a multi-layered organizational structure. Further, it could lead to an acknowledgement that academics at all levels are professionals rather than production line employees who need to be watched. This acknowledgement cannot grow without true autonomy throughout the higher education system as a whole.

Demand True Autonomy

The recommendation of this research would be to put into practice the autonomy that institutions have been granted on paper, and demand the right for an institution, faculty or department to determine the structure and process of internal governance. The legislated requirement that real power be limited to habilitated staff rules out full participation and possible innovations by younger staff. Habilitation is about publication, longevity, maintaining the status quo and not necessarily about skills in teaching,

governing or innovation. As a determinant of real governing power, it should be reconsidered, especially in view of the trend for aging professors to remain within the institution rather than retiring.

Demand Quality of Yourselves

An internationally focused quality assurance program could ultimately result in an independent national or regional accreditation system. The first steps to ensure excellence would be the adoption of institutional quality assurance programs independent of the government accreditation process in place. Sofia University could lead the way in implementing internal evaluation procedures, professional development programs and mechanisms for continuous improvement drawing on the research and best practices in the West. The program should include evaluators from outside the country who are not committed to the traditional hierarchy that places Sofia University at the top and then works down from there. Involving EU and North American partners experienced in quality assurance could also raise the possibility of grant support. Evaluation participants from other Balkan countries would serve a regional function and increase the interest of the EU as well.

Collaboration among institutions in Sofia or nationally to provide training in excellence in teaching, grant-writing, public relations, marketing, linking with international partners, efficiency in services would serve the professional development and quality enhancement of all institutions. Information on participation should be made widely public and not limited by invitations from the top.

Internationally validated educational quality could serve many functions. It could serve as an independent assurance that Sofia University or Bulgarian institutions in general can legitimately serve as a regional provider of education, which could ultimately enhance international enrollments and tuition. It could also be used to attest to the national community that Bulgaria has in place a well-educated citizenry and a highly competent workforce ripe for economic development.

Consolidate Resources

There is a long tradition of consolidating student housing within a city. In these times of extreme financial hardships, the central control of higher education could be utilized to orchestrate consolidation of other resources until the country recovers. Reduced funds spread across several institutions for laboratory equipment, library resources, computers and other technology ensures that no one gets enough of anything. Centralizing facilities for 24-hour availability for students would be inconvenient but would also provide the maximum benefit of expenditures. The rationale for maintaining the duplicate costs of the two largest libraries in the country bordering the same street on the same block is beyond comprehension.

Market Education Regionally

Bulgaria has a tradition as a quality educator in the Balkans. Most of the other commercial markets have failed the nation since the transition from a planned economy to a free market economy. Balkan students as a group cannot afford to be educated in the West. They could better afford quality education in another Balkan country such as

Bulgaria. Perhaps the reputation for quality education combined with new democratic assumptions could create a profitable regional educational marketplace in Bulgaria. This can only be done with new assumptions acknowledging that quality is not limited to one institution or a fixed number of students or doctoral degrees. Quality higher education, as validated by international participation and independent of the government, could serve to enhance the reputation of Bulgaria as a regional educator. Bringing in foreign students and educators into Bulgaria can serve both to further internationalize Bulgaria's own educational system as well as to increase tuition funding.

Reject the Notion: There are Too Many Good Institutions

It is also recommended that Sofia University use true autonomy to facilitate and demand quality from itself and other institutions. The question often asked is, "Are there too many universities?" Possibly the question should be, "How can we participate in making sure these are all good institutions?" No doubt, all of Eastern Europe suffered from educational scams in the wake of the Soviet withdrawal, but the accreditation system will eventually call those into account. Other new institutions offer great potential for providing programs of good quality as an alternative to traditional Bulgarian education and should not be dismissed simply because they are new.

For all its rhetoric about equality, the communist era left an elitist, hierarchical system of institutions and attitudes about whom should be educated by whom in what quantities in which institutions. This has entangled itself with a notion that there are limits to quality. There is something akin to a suburban myth that has worked itself into a fevered pitch throughout the academic community: that quality education cannot survive

if there are too many institutions of higher education, even if they are good institutions. Bulgarians must demand excellence from all institutions, new, old or transformed.

When the researcher made a seminar presentation on the comparison of the Bulgarian and American educational system, the first question asked was the question the researcher had heard repeatedly. Could she please confirm that there were, indeed, too many educational institutions in Bulgaria? The researcher commented that the American philosophy of education is that democracy depends on the best education possible for as many citizens as possible. Bulgaria has been proud of its tradition of quality education in the past, and there is no reason to expect less and demand less than quality from all who educate and all who learn. The researcher told the group that quality education for as many Bulgarians as possible was the country's best insurance for the continued success of democracy in the future.

Reject the Notion: There are Too Many Educated Young People

Another major recommendation of the research is to address the access issue from a different perspective. There has been great concern about young people graduating directly into unemployment or emigration. Though the demand for enrollment increases, many people are concerned that there are too many institutions of higher education, too many undergraduate students, and too many doctoral candidates. This yields a dilemma about whether to meet increasing demands for enrollment or whether to restrict admissions further.

The decision has apparently been made to cut enrollments nation-wide in 2001-2002, giving rise to philosophical, economic and patriotic questions. Is it better to have

uneducated unemployed youth or educated unemployed youth? Is it better to have young people educationally occupied for four to six years while the economy attempts to recover, or to have them unemployed earlier and longer?

There is a certain amount of overhead committed to higher education regardless of the number of students enrolled. The practice of restricting the number of students entering at one end and graduating fewer people with doctorates at the other end ensures that there will be fewer professionals and fewer professors in place when the aging generation eventually retires and the economy has had time to settle and possibly recover.

There does not seem to be a logical connection between increasing enrollments and total increased funds resulting from more students paying tuition. According to some professors, increases in student enrollment one major does not necessarily increase departmental funding, rather it all goes into the general funds of the university. Particularly in departments where there is high demand, tuition could be channeled into hiring more teachers for that major rather than adding the tuition solely to the general fund. Though this is a concept rejected among some American educators, the situation in Bulgaria demands a rapid increase in some fields, such as business and technology, not previously offered in the communist education system.

There is another important consideration in the issue of limiting the number of educated young people. An educated, informed electorate facilitates the development of a healthy, thriving democracy. The more people who become educated in comparative political philosophies and develop skills in democratic and free market processes, the less likely that power and money will be concentrated in an elite segment of society.

Make Admissions Test Scheduling Work for Equal Access

The present admission procedure needs to be addressed. The present admission test system allows, with some modification, one student to test for one department of one institution on one day, often the same day as all other institutions. The highest scores across the country are distributed across institutions, creating a game of chance in which some of the highest scores loose while some of the mediocre scores win places in institutions, depending on where the test is taken.

Perhaps standardizing a general admissions test to all institutions, which would be given at all institutions on the same day but would be applicable to any institution for admission. Then, if departments wanted to give supplementary entrance exams, they could all be offered on different days, allowing students to apply to one or more institutions or majors within the same year. This would ensure that the students with the highest scores would not be eliminated from educational opportunity.

Let the Young People Go.

Conventional wisdom has it that Bulgarians are spending too much money on too many institutions and educating too many students simply to have them abandon the country to financial ruin. Meanwhile, young Bulgarians are indeed going abroad to study and work in record numbers. Though this is widely lamented as a sign of certain doom, it could ultimately serve the country well.

Poland is the classic success story of expatriates going abroad, doing well financially and sending money back home for investments, civic projects or for family support. Bulgarians are no less patriotic and certainly no less capable of succeeding

abroad. The fact of the matter is that Bulgarian youth are leaving in record numbers with or without an education. Better for the nation and the students that they leave well equipped to succeed abroad than to be unemployed at home.

A well educated young Bulgarian with an opportunity to go abroad can learn new ways of thinking and doing things, learn how to function in a mature democracy, how to operate in a free market system, learn to invest, learn how to do business efficiently, how to build educational and economic linkages abroad, and learn to use up-to-date-technology. These are attitudes and skills desperately needed in Bulgaria but not readily learned there. These are attitudes and skills young Bulgarians can use to help their country from abroad and bring home with them when the time is right.

Educated young people, at home and abroad, will be the key to economic recovery and the success of democracy in Bulgaria. In the USA or in Bulgaria, the researcher did not engage in a single conversation of any length with a Bulgarian young person who did not voice a concern over the dilemma of whether to stay in Bulgaria or whether to live abroad. Bulgarian young people are very patriotic and want to help their country survive The Changes. They suffer great feelings of guilt for wanting to leave and have some degree of self-fulfillment. They should be encouraged to do both: leave *and* help Bulgaria. If they choose to leave, they should be exhorted to go with a sense of mission to succeed. As many Bulgarian young people as possible should be provided the best education possible to stay or leave, and return or not, for their own good and for the good of their country.

Afterword

November of 1989 was the formal beginning of The Changes in Bulgaria which are in no way complete. Describing Sofia University in November and December of the year 2000, one decade into democracy, has been like trying to hit a moving target. Things are changing at a blinding and a grinding pace at the same time. A description of one part of Sofia University is very different from other parts of the institution depending on the level of conformity to the new Higher Education Act of 1995. On the other hand, much of the everyday ways of doing things have not changed at all across the entire institution.

I have woven for you the Emergent Cross-Categories that the Bulgarians thought were important across the Original Categories that I considered basic to a description of an institution of higher learning. Together, these form a unique pattern that is Sofia University. Yet, it is not the complete pattern.

What I didn't tell you in this dissertation was possibly more interesting to me than what I did tell you. I didn't tell you in detail about the student who accomplishes academic goals with a vengeance in the name of his father, who was a young political dissident who was kept from accomplishing his. I didn't tell you about the Sofia University administrator who told me what he had never admitted in public forum, that the beginnings of the 1997 uprising that ousted the last of the communists from the government had begun in his office. Needless to say, I made no more reference to my question guide for the rest of that interview.

In private conversations and formal interviews, I lost track of all the stories about family members who were murdered or just disappeared, the loss of property, imprisonment, academic careers thwarted, fear of being accused of non-communist sympathies, fear of being overheard, families held hostage when an educator went outside the Eastern bloc, experimental surgery on a dissident husband, and a whole decade of red tape to reclaim the confiscated family home, and perhaps even worse, the disillusionment and loss of faith in a system that so many intended for such good that turned out so wrong.

In the universal sense of the word, Sofia University has much in common with every other university in the East or West. Yet it is an institution of higher learning, one-of-a-kind in pattern because of its place and time in history within its cultural, political and economic contexts. It is most uncommon, however, in the stories lived out by its administrators, its teachers, student services personnel and its students. They are the genuine and unique Sofia University.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Informed Consent Statement

INFORMED CONSENT STATEMENT

A CASE STUDY OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN BULGARIA: THE TRANSITION FROM COMMUNISM TO DEMOCRACY

PURPOSE

You are invited to participate in a research study. The purpose of this study is to develop an organized body of information to further the understanding of higher education in Bulgaria as it is today. It is also a purpose of this study to understand how political and economic events of the period between 1985 and 2000 have impacted on higher education in the past and how they impact on projections of the future of higher education in Bulgaria.

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked open-ended questions about higher education in the past, present and your projections for the future. The interview will be conducted in a place designated by the institution or in a place of your choice for a period of time of your choice, preferably for at least one hour.

A tape recorder will be used to insure that your words will be transcribed into a word processor correctly. You will be provided a printed copy of the transcription for your final approval of the accuracy. There will be no deception in the wording of the questions or in the use of your answers for any purpose other than the research purpose stated above.

RISKS

I anticipate no risks to you as a result of your participation.

BENEFITS

My hope is that you will benefit from the knowledge that you have made a contribution to the understanding of higher education in Bulgaria to educators outside the country. Educators outside the country will benefit from a better understanding of the Bulgarian educational system and of the impact of various forms of political, economic and social contexts on that system.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The information in the study records will be kept confidential. Data will be stored securely in a locked file and will be made available only to my advisor and myself unless you specifically give permission in writing to do otherwise. Your name will never be used in a published form and extreme care will be taken to avoid your identification in context. This Informed Consent Statement will be maintained on file at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee USA for three years after the completion of the study.

CONTACT

If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures, you may contact the researcher, Glenda J. Ross, Educational Administration and Cultural Studies, Leadership Studies in Higher Education, 865/974-2216. If you have questions about your rights as a participant, contact the Research Compliance Services Section of the Office of Research at Phone 865/974-3466 or FAX 865/974-2805. These offices are on the campus of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee, USA.

PARTICIPATION

Your participation in this study is voluntary; you may decline to participate without penalty. If you decide to participate, you may withdraw from the study at anytime without penalty and without loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is completed, your data will be returned to you or destroyed.

CONSENT

I have read the above information and agree to participate in this study. I have received a copy of this form.

Participant's name (print) _____

Participant's signature _____

Date _____

Appendix B

Translator's Pledge of Confidentiality

TRANSLATOR'S PLEDGE OF CONFIDENTIALITY

As a translator in this research project, I understand that I will be hearing and translating confidential interviews. I understand that it is important that I translate each speaker's words and intended meanings to the best of my ability. The information is being revealed by research participants who are involved in this project with the understanding that their interviews will remain strictly confidential. I understand that I have a responsibility to honor this agreement of confidentiality. I therefore agree not to share any information which is discussed on these tapes with anyone except the primary research of this project (Glenda J. Ross) on her doctoral committee chair (Dr. Gerald Ubben). Any breach of this agreement will constitute a serious violation of ethical standards, and I make a commitment to keep this information confidential.

_____ _____

Translator's Name (Printed) Date

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Translator's' Signature

VITA

Glenda J. Ross was born in Etowah, Tennessee on July 21, 1946. She attended Englewood High School in McMinn County Tennessee. After employment in a number of Tennessee institutions of higher education, she graduated from The University of Tennessee in 1972 with a Bachelor of Science and in 1974 with a Master of Science degree. Ms. Ross' commitment to international education as an academic and professional pursuit began in the late 1960s as an outgrowth of working with the international community at the University of Tennessee Computing Center. She focused both graduate programs on the internationalization of higher education with related emphases on intercultural communications, international business and careers.

Ms. Ross taught English as a Second Language in Istanbul, Turkey where she later became the director of the US Army Education Center serving military personnel throughout the country. Upon returning to the USA, she became a part of a military family, moving about the country while raising three children, and maintaining her international interests as a volunteer working with refugees. She returned to graduate school in order to re-enter international education as a career and also worked as a private intercultural communications consultant for business and education in Minnesota and Tennessee. She later worked with International Student and Scholar Services at the University of Minnesota and as a Research Associate for International Studies for the Department of Education Administration and Cultural Studies at the University of Tennessee.