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Privatisation, Domestic Marketisation and International Commercialisation of Higher Education: vulnerabilities and opportunities for Chile and Romania within the framework of WTO/GATS [1]

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ABSTRACT *This chapter explores the processes of privatisation of higher education in Chile (after 1981) and Romania (after 1989), focusing on the emergence of private institutions, the expansion in enrolments in these institutions, and the relative increase in private sources of funding for the post-secondary sub-sector. Attention is also given to related trends in higher education in these two countries: domestic marketisation (a strengthening of an orientation toward selling programmes/commodities to students/consumers within the country) and international commercialisation (an expansion of initiatives by domestic and foreign institutions to provide distance education, and study abroad/exchange, and foreign site-based degree programmes). Of importance to an understanding of globalisation, these two societies, which at the time exhibited similar economic systems but had different political systems and were situated in different regional contexts, experienced remarkably similar processes of and outcomes from privatisation, marketisation, and commercialisation. In both cases these processes were promoted by 'internal' political actors but also shaped by 'external' forces, notably the World Bank's higher education policy recommendations and the conditionalities included in the stabilisation and structural adjustment programmes 'negotiated', respectively, with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in order to obtain loans. As a result of these processes—occurring prior to and during the emergence of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) as a component of the World Trade Organization (WTO)—higher education institutions in both Chile and Romania are much more vulnerable to foreign influence/domination, although they also have somewhat greater opportunities to broaden their role in the global 'business' of higher education.*

Introduction

The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), created in 1947, form the institutional

‘pillars . . . of the . . . liberal international economic order’ (Lal, 1998, pp. 113–114). In 1995 these ‘Bretton Woods’ institutions were joined by the World Trade Organization (WTO), which was created to monitor and enforce the GATT as well as the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). [2] The WTO’s mission is to ‘promot[e] trade and development through progressive liberalisation’ (WTO, 2002a, p. 1) and to ‘help producers of goods and services, exporters, and importers conduct their business’ (WTO, 2001, p. 4).

The WTO identifies four modes of trade, which under GATT and GATS apply to goods and services, respectively: cross-border supply, consumption abroad, commercial presence, presence of natural persons (WTO, 1998; EI & PSI, 2002). [3] The GATS potentially pertains to trade in all service sectors, including water distribution, health, and education, and under the GATS there is a push towards the entrance of private, non-domestic companies into social service sectors from which they had previously been excluded (EI & PSI, 2002). For instance, in relation to the ‘national treatment’ rule, member governments are obliged to treat in the same way domestic and foreign organisations that provide various kinds services, including education (WTO, 1994b, p. 296). Furthermore, with respect to the ‘[no] most-favoured nation’ rule, all commercially provided services must be treated equally; that is, a member government cannot engage in ‘trade distortive effects’, opening up opportunities only to some nations or companies to operate service delivery businesses (WTO, 1994b, p. 285).

The 144 government members, however, are not automatically and immediately obligated to give ‘market access’ to foreign, private companies to do business in service sectors such as education (WTO, 2002b, p. 1). For a country to be exempted fully—and indefinitely—from GATS rules, a service needs to be completely ‘supplied in the exercise of governmental authority’ (WTO, 1994b, p. 285), [4] meaning that the service is ‘not supplied on a commercial basis nor in competition with other [private] service suppliers’ (Sauvé, 2002, p. 3). Alternatively, at least for the near term, a country can limit its commitments to be governed by WTO rules on a sector-by-sector and mode-by-mode basis. [5]

It should be noted that today very few countries qualify for full and indefinite exemptions regarding trade in education services. For many years, education, health, water, and other social services had been considered as primarily contributing to the public good and, thus, as something to be financed and organised by local, provincial, or national governments; however, more recently these services have become viewed as commodities to be more ‘appropriately’ (read ‘efficiently’ or ‘profitably’) produced by private organisations, traded in international ‘markets’—increasingly for private profit, [6] and consumed by individuals for their private benefit (see Robertson *et al.*, 2002). For example, the WTO (1998, p. 3) reports that education has historically tended to be regarded as a ‘public consumption item’, but in recent years has come to be considered to be a ‘“private consumption item” with a price determined by the providing institutions’ (WTO, 1998, p. 3; see also WTO, 2002a). However, unlike critics/opponents of the WTO and of the broader neoliberal globalisation agenda, [7] supporters of the WTO appear to evaluate this trend positively, viewing moves toward privatisation as a means of liberalising trade (EI & PSI, 2002). [8]

Within the education sector, the post-secondary level is the main focus of the trade activity and discussions due to the higher representation of private sector institutions compared to other levels of education in many countries (EI & PSI, 2002). There is also a focus on making higher education an international business because, according to Schwartz (2000, p. 38) and others who share the WTO/GATS' neo-liberal philosophy, 'public universities[,] . . . being inefficient institutions[,] . . . need the discipline of the market to get them in shape'. While this viewpoint that is not shared by proponents of 'democratically' organised, public higher education (e.g. Cohen, 1999), the impact of GATS on higher education is likely to be strong, particularly for 'developing countries [whose] restrictions . . . are the main target of . . . [GATS] policy in the education area' (Education International, 2001, p. 3).

In the next two major sections of this chapter we analyse the process of privatisation—as well as the related processes of domestic marketisation and international commercialisation—of higher education in Chile and Romania. In the last two decades of the 20th century these two societies' higher education systems were transformed from virtual public monopolies into highly privatised (but also marketised and commercialised) 'business enterprises'. These trends, which were shaped by 'internal' as well as 'external' actors (notably the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund), are significant given the fact that a social service, such as education, can only be exempted fully and indefinitely from GATS rules if it is organised as a public monopoly. Moreover, the similarity of the processes and outcomes of privatisation, marketisation, and commercialisation of higher education in these two societies—which exhibit similar economic arrangements, but have different political systems and are situated in different regional contexts—provide us with important insights into the phenomenon of globalisation.

The Chilean Case

Chile has been a member of the WTO since it began in January 1995, having signed on to the GATT in 1947 as one of the 23 founding countries (OECD, 1992; Srinivasan, 1998). However, while Chile has made a range of GATS commitments to liberalising trade with respect to business, communications, financial, transport, and tourism services (Berlinski & Romero, 2001), to date it has made only one bilateral agreement (and only recently, in 2002, with the European Union) with respect to education in the context of the GATS. [9]

In the Chilean case the processes of privatisation, domestic marketisation, and international commercialisation were initiated in 1981 in the context of a major economic, fiscal, and debt crisis and during the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973–1990), who had come to power eight years earlier via a *coup d'état*. This military coup, which was supported by US-based multinational corporations and the US Central Intelligence Agency (US Senate, 1975; Garretón & Moulián, 1983; Zubenko, 1984), overthrew the democratically elected government of Salvador Allende (1970–1973). In stark contrast to Allende's 'socialist'-oriented approach to development, the Pinochet government pursued a 'neo-liberal' strategy within a

TABLE I. Number of higher education institutions in Chile, 1980–1998

Type of institution	Year		
	1980	1990	1998
Public universities	2	14	16
Private universities with direct public support	6	6	9
New private universities without direct public support	0	40	42
Professional institutes	0	81	68
Technical training centres	0	161	117
Total	8	302	252

Source: Ministerio de Educacion de Chile (1997, 1998).

dependent capitalist framework, and the reforms initiated in 1981 affected all the social sectors (education, health and social security). The processes of privatisation, marketisation, and commercialisation—and the more general neo-liberal agenda—continued under the governments of Patricio Aylwin (1990–1994) and Eduardo Frei (1994–2000), whose ‘free’ elections returned Chile to the ‘democratic’ framework that had been a feature of Chilean society for 150 years prior to the 1973–1990 Pinochet dictatorship.

Privatisation

Prior to 1981 Chile’s higher education system consisted of eight publicly funded [10] universities; two of these were publicly controlled and enrolled 65% of the students, while six were privately controlled [11] and enrolled 35% of the students (Brunner, 1986; Gonzalez & Espinoza, 1994a). With the implementation of the 1981 reform, Chilean higher education underwent changes, which dramatically increased the level of privatisation within the system. Besides expanding the system by allowing the creation of privately controlled *and* privately funded university and non-university institutions and, thus, expanding significantly the number of students enrolled in private higher education, the changes involved transferring part of the cost of state-funded institutions from tax revenue to the resources of individual students and their families as well as encouraging strongly these institutions to diversify their funding resources.

Once implemented, the 1981 reform led to a diversification of the post-secondary education system into three components (universities, professional institutes, and technical training centres) and enabled the creation of numerous private entities within each component (see Table I). [12] The most significant growth involved the new private universities (not receiving any direct public support) and, especially, the new non-university institutions (professional institutes and technical training centres), all of which are privately controlled and funded). [13] Thus, between 1980

TABLE 2. Number of undergraduate students enrolled in Chilean universities by sector, 1980–1998

Type of institution	1980	1990	1998
Public and private universities with direct public funding	118,978	108,119	188,522
New privately funded and controlled universities	0	19,509	86,061
Subtotal: universities	118,978	127,628	274,583
<i>Professional institutes</i>	0	40,006	64,593
<i>Technical training centres</i>	0	77,774	54,290
Subtotal: non-universities	0	117,780	118,883
Total	118,978	245,408	393,466

Sources: Ministerio de Educacion (1999); Cox & Jara (1989).

and 1998 the Chilean higher education system was transformed from one consisting of eight publicly funded universities—two publicly and six privately controlled—to one containing less than 10% publicly funded universities and more than 70% private, non-university institutions.

The educational reform of 1981 also allowed for significant enrolment growth in higher education, most notably in privately controlled and funded institutions. [14] For universities, undergraduate student enrolment rose from 118,978 to 127,628 in 1990 and to 274,583 in 1998, with the percentage of university students attending private institutions without direct public funding increasing from zero in 1980 to 15.4% in 1990 and to 31.3% in 1998. For non-university institutions, all of which are privately controlled and funded, enrolment increased from zero in 1980 to 117,780 in 1990 and to 118,883 in 1998. [15] Thus, by 1998, 52.1% of all higher education enrolments were in privately controlled and funded institutions, up from 0% in 1980 (see Table II). [16]

During Pinochet's government (1973–90) the higher education budget as a percentage of the GNP declined from 1.92 to 0.49%, and while the figure moved up slightly to 0.53% during the years of the Aylwin government (1990–94), the decline continued during the Frei government (1994–2000), so that by 1997 figure was 0.45% (see Espinoza, 2002, p. 278–279, who draws on Arriagada, 1989; Lehmann, 1993; Cox, 1996; ECLAC, 2000). Similarly, overall public expenditure in higher education decreased significantly between 1982 and 1990, dropping from \$175,057 million to \$92,395 million (constant) pesos. After 1990, there was a gradual increase in resource allocation, but the level of expenditure for the higher education system in 1998 (\$163,972 million in 1998 pesos) represents approximately a 3% reduction from that spent prior to the reform in 1981 (\$168,226 million in 1998 pesos), despite the above-discussed, tremendous growth in higher education institutions and student enrolments during this period (see Espinoza, 2002, p. 222–223, who draws on Desormeaux and Koljatic, 1990; Ministerio de Educacion, Division de Educacion Superior, 1999).

TABLE 3. Sources of revenues for publicly funded universities, 1981–1992 [18] (constant million pesos of 1991)

Year	Direct and indirect public support	Tuition*	Sale of services	Borrowed funds [19]	Other income sources**	Total
1981	63.2%	13.1%	6.5%	0.0%	17.2%	100.0%
1985	44.3%	22.7%	9.7%	2.3%	21.0%	100.0%
1987	40.0%	23.8%	12.3%	3.5%	20.4%	100.0%
1990	31.3%	26.4%	16.6%	9.2%	16.5%	100.0%
1992	28.4%	24.6%	16.2%	9.8%	21.0%	100.0%

*Tuition payments only include that received from undergraduate students.

** Other income sources includes: sales of assets (physical and financial), investment profits, enrollment fees, tuition for graduate studies, special laws, and donations from private institutions (philanthropic organisations).

Source: Espinoza (2002, p. 231), drawing on Arriagada (1993, p. 17, Table 1).

In this context higher education institutions (both publicly and privately funded and/or controlled) sought out or otherwise attracted funds from other (generally private) sources. These included tuition payments by students, income from services (e.g. technology transfer) provided to private enterprises, loans from private banks, and other sources (including donations). As can be seen in Table III, which reports the percentage of revenue from different sources for the period 1981–92 for publicly funded universities, while the funds received from the government via Direct and Indirect Public Support declined from 63.2 to 28.4%, revenue obtained from tuition payments increased from 13.1 to 24.6%; income earned from the sale of services increased from 6.5 to 16.2%; funds obtained from private bank loans increased from 0 to 9.8%; [17] and revenue from ‘other income sources’ increased from 17.2 to 21.0%.

Domestic Marketisation

The above-noted trends toward privatisation of higher education in Chile have stimulated—or at least have been paralleled by—moves toward ‘marketisation’ in Chilean institutions’ relationships with Chilean students (i.e. selling the programmes/commodities of higher education to students/consumers). One aspect of the increased domestic marketisation, the growing reliance of (publicly and privately financed and/or controlled) higher education institutions on tuition payments, was noted above (see Table III). The trend toward domestic marketisation of higher education is also apparent when we compare shifts in the relative levels of institutional funding (direct support, indirect support, etc.) and financial support for students (loans and scholarships). As Table IV portrays, institutional funding decreased substantially in the period 1981–1990 (from \$156,795 to \$68,661 million pesos) and then increased somewhat between 1990 and 1998 (to \$122,860 million

TABLE 4. Public expenditure in higher education, 1981–1998* (constant million pesos of 1998)

Item	1981	1984	1987	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998
(A) Institutional	156,795	107,809	81,430	68,661	91,147	96,312	110,852	122,860
1. Direct Public Support	156,795	92,912	69,937	51,891	67,152	70,078	76,929	82,499
2. Indirect Public Support		14,897	11,493	16,770	17,319	16,909	16,740	16,332
3. Institutional Development Fund				0	6,676	5,771	10,882	16,139
4. Other**						3,554	6,301	7,890
(B) Student loans and scholarships	11,431	35,970	25,983	23,734	24,119	25,971	30,337	41,112
1. Loans	11,431	35,970	25,983	23,734	14,117	14,495	19,057	27,624
2. Scholarships					9,999	11,475	11,277	13,485
2.1 MINEDUC Scholarship Programme					4,854	9,701	9,605	10,957
2.2. Law 19,083 and Repair Programme					5,144	1,773	1,672	1,218
2.3. Teacher Education Scholarship Programme								310
2.4. Juan Gomez Millas Scholarship Programme								1,000
Total	168,226	143,779	107,413	92,395	115,266	122,283	141,189	163,972

*This category does not include resources allocated via CONICYT and Donations.

**This category includes Law 19,200 (1993–1996) oriented to support retirement and pension schemes of universities staff; Universidad de Chile agreements (1995–1998) and the Teacher Training Programme (1997–1998).

Source: Espinoza (2002, p. 224), based on data from Ministerio de Educacion, Division de Educacion Superior (1999); Desormeaux & Koljatic (1990).

pesos), representing approximately 22% less than the amount allocated before the reform in 1981, despite the above-documented, substantial expansion in institutions and enrolments. In contrast to the trend for institutional funding, financial aid to students increased by almost 360.0% from \$11,431 to \$41,112 million (constant) pesos during the 1981–98 period, though the latter trend is by no means linear (see Table IV). [20] Because of the contrasting trends for institutional funding and for student financial aid funding, the percentage of government expenditure for higher education devoted to loans and/or scholarship for students increased from 6.8% in 1981 to 25.1% in 1998 (see Table IV). This shift in funding emphasis meant that higher education institutions, even the publicly funded universities, which until 1981 had relied primarily on government allocations (*viz.*, direct public support), had to

devote more time and resources to 'market' their programmes to students, who as 'consumers' of higher education might have access to government scholarships and loans (in addition to family resources) to pay for their tuition.

The trend toward domestic marketisation is even stronger than suggested in the above paragraph for two reasons. First, not all higher education institutions were eligible to receive institutional funding and, thus, non-eligible institutions had to rely to an even greater extent on tuition payments by students. [21] Similarly, not all higher education institutions were eligible to recruit students who could use government loans to pay tuition. [22] Second, even within the category of institutional funding, there was an declining emphasis on Direct Support [23] (versus Indirect Public Support) between 1981 and 1998 (see Table IV), with the 'indirect' category representing a form of government allocation designed to stimulate competition for 'best' students and thus likely to encourage marketing efforts by institutions to attract such students. [24] According to Table IV, Direct Public Support declined dramatically between 1981 and 1990 from \$156,795 to \$51,891 million (constant) pesos, and although in subsequent years it increased slowly, reaching \$82,499 million (constant) pesos in 1998, this figure represents just 53.0% of the resources allocated to this item in 1981, despite the above-noted increase in the numbers of publicly funded universities and of students attending post-secondary institutions in general. In contrast, Indirect Public Support, which as a category of government funding was first implemented in 1982 and has remained at a relatively similar (inflation-adjusted) level throughout the period (see Table IV). As a consequence of these different trends, the ratio of Indirect Public Support to Direct Public Support increased from 0 in 1981 to 0.13 in 1982 and then to 0.20 in 1998.

International Commercialisation of Higher Education

Along with trends toward privatisation and domestic marketisation, there have been a variety of initiatives to commercialise Chilean higher education on an international level. Three modes of commercialisation of (or trade in) higher education—all of which are potentially subject to regulation by WTO/GATS—will be considered: *cross-border supply* is examined with regard to distance education programmes offered by Chilean universities; *consumption abroad* is analysed in relation to the number and the level of funding of foreign students attending Chilean universities and of Chilean students studying overseas; and *commercial presence* is discussed in terms of Chilean university degree programmes offered in foreign countries, foreign organisations (consortia) investing in Chilean universities, and joint degree programmes launched in Chile by Chilean and foreign universities.

Cross-Border Supply

In the late-1990s two privately controlled but publicly funded universities (Universidad de Concepcion and Universidad Catolica del Norte), three 'new' publicly funded and controlled universities (Universidad de Antofagasta, Universidad de la

Frontera and Universidad de los Lagos), and one 'new' privately controlled and funded university (Universidad del Mar) began developing distance education programmes, primarily for Latin American 'markets' (Gonzalez & Espinoza, 1998). For example, the Universidad de la Frontera offered a certificate programme via Internet for Colombian students, the Universidad de los Lagos implemented distance programmes for students in Peru and Ecuador, and the Universidad del Mar had a distance education programme for students from Panama. In addition, at that point in time, two 'traditional' publicly funded and controlled universities (Universidad de Chile and Universidad Tecnica Federico Santa Maria) already had developed bylaws required to initiate new distance education programmes based in Chile and two 'new' privately controlled and funded universities (Universidad Bolivariana and Universidad de Artes and Ciencias de la Comunicacion) were planning to launch distance education programmes soon (Gonzalez & Espinoza, 1998).

Consumption Abroad

Like the case for many countries, Chile has many foreign students attending its universities and there are many Chilean students studying abroad. Among the 'traditional' publicly funded universities, while the Universidad de Chile and the Pontificia Universidad Catolica de Chile receive on average 400 foreign students every year from everywhere, but especially from Latin America, North America and Europe, around 100 students from these universities pursue coursework during one or two semesters in foreign universities. Among other 'traditional' publicly funded universities, the Universidad de Concepcion, the Universidad de la Frontera, the Universidad Metropolitana de Ciencias de la Educacion, the Universidad de Santiago, the Universidad de Tarapaca and the Universidad Catolica del Maule have implemented small-scale student exchange programmes, while the Universidad Catolica de Valparaiso has developed a more extensive programme (Gonzalez & Espinoza, 1998). Like the 'traditional' publicly funded universities, the new (post-1981) private universities (e.g. Universidad de las Americas, Universidad de los Andes, Universidad Nacional Andres Bello, Universidad Central, Universidad Diego Portales, Universidad Gabriela Mistral, Universidad Internacional S.E.K., Universidad del Pacifico, Universidad San Sebastian y la Universidad de Vina del Mar) also have been promoting various student exchange programmes with Latin American, European and North American universities, especially since the mid-and late-1990s. Nevertheless, in this case the number of Chilean and foreign students participating in these exchange programmes is less than in 'traditional' publicly funded universities (Gonzalez & Espinoza, 1998).

Although we cannot document the complete extent of such forms of consumption abroad, we can highlight the role that the Chilean government has played in promoting such activity. For example, the Horizontal Cooperation Programme, which is managed by Chile's *Agencia de Cooperacion Internacional* (AGCI) and started operating in 1993, [25] provides scholarships for foreign students from other Latin American and Caribbean countries wishing to pursue higher education studies in

Chile (AGCI, 1999, 2002a). Between 1993 and 1999 the Chilean government spent over US \$6 million to fund AGCI scholarships for a total of 277 students from Latin America, the Caribbean, and other regions to obtain training in Chilean universities (AGCI, 2002b). Most of these students (81.6%) came from Central America, followed by students from Mexico and South America (11.2%), students from Anglophone Caribbean and Haiti (5.4%) and other regions (1.8%) (AGCI, 2002a).

During the last decade of the 20th century Chilean students were encouraged to pursue higher education studies abroad via the Chilean government-funded MIDEPLAN Scholarship Programme (1991–98) and through bilateral and multi-lateral cooperation programmes signed by the Chilean government with other Latin American governments (between 1990 and 1998). According to CONICYT (2002), the number of Chilean students granted government MIDEPLAN scholarships increased from 42 to 76 between 1981 and 1989, and then after being reduced to 29 in 1990, the number of MIDEPLAN scholarships increased fairly steadily to 149 in 1998. Besides, the Ministry of Planning and Cooperation awards scholarships to Chilean graduate students to pursue graduate programmes abroad in certain fields (previously defined by the government as priorities for national development) and countries.

Since 1990, however, the main governmental source of funding for study abroad came from multilateral and bilateral cooperation programmes, with 229 scholarships awarded each year in 1990–93 and—after being scaled back in 1994–97—321 awarded in 1998 (CONICYT, 2002). In addition to these scholarships granted by other countries having bilateral and multilateral agreements with the Chilean government, other institutions, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Spain, the British Council, the Fulbright Commission and the Andes Foundation, have enabled numerous Chilean students to study abroad in the last two decades.

Commercial Presence

Currently, two Chilean universities, one ‘traditional’ privately controlled but publicly funded (Universidad Tecnica Federico Santa Maria, UTFSM) and one ‘new’ privately funded and controlled (Universidad de las Americas, UDLA), have campuses abroad, both in Ecuador. In its Guayaquil Campus, for instance, UTFSM offers various undergraduate programmes, including Engineering in Computer Sciences and Commercial Engineering, as well as a masters degree in Finances and International Banking (with the participation of professors from the University of Pittsburgh) (Gonzalez & Espinoza, 1998). However, UDLA has more diversified career offerings, which include: Commercial Engineering, International Commerce, Gastronomy, Business Administration, Hotel Management and Tourism, Journalism, Design, Psychology, Law and Architecture (Universidad de las Americas, 2002).

Other international commercial higher education ventures involving Chilean institutions include: (a) *Universidad de Chile*, which created in 1998 the International Corporation of University Exchange in Washington, DC to promote academic cooperation (including student and professor exchange, design of research projects,

etc.) with American universities as well as with other scholarly organisations in the area (NGOs, foundations, etc.); and (b) UTFSM, which originated an international agency of cooperation in Washington, DC to foster collaboration with American universities (Gonzalez & Espinoza, 1998). And among the 'new' privately controlled and funded universities, the Universidad de las Americas-Chile represents the unique case in which Chilean investors in association with Ecuadorian entrepreneurs decided to create in 1994 the Universidad de las Americas-Ecuador in the city of Quito.

In the last decade at least two foreign consortia or entrepreneurial groups have invested capital in higher education institutions in Chile. The first consortium, known as Institución Internacional S.E.K., founded the Universidad Internacional S.E.K.-Chile in 1990. [26] Financed by Spanish capital, this institution has focused on programmes of Law, Economics, Business Administration, Psychology and Education. At the same time, the Universidad Internacional S.E.K.-Chile has been trying to strengthen collaboration and academic exchange with its partners in Ecuador and Spain (Universidad Internacional S.E.K., 2002). The second consortium known as Sylvan International Universities was created in 1999 by worldwide education services leader Sylvan Learning Systems, Inc., headquartered in Baltimore, Maryland (USA). In the late-1990s this consortium created a multi-campus organisation offering a variety of degree programmes covering a range of professional fields (e.g. Business Administration, Hotel Management, Health Sciences, and Information Technology) and located on three continents, [27] including the Universidad de las Americas, Santiago, Chile (Sylvan International Universities, 2002). [28]

In the late-1990s at least two Chilean universities (one publicly and one privately funded and controlled) have implemented MBA joint degree programmes with American universities: the Universidad de Chile with Tulane University (Louisiana, USA) and the Universidad Alberto Hurtado with Loyola College of Maryland (USA). Similarly, faculty and student exchange and/or student intern programmes in business administration have been established by the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile with the University of California at Los Angeles (USA) and Carnegie Mellon University (Pennsylvania, USA); the Universidad de Concepción with the University of Washington (USA); and the Universidad Técnica Federico Santa María with the University of Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania, USA) and the Universidad Politécnica de Valencia (Spain).

The Romanian Case

Romania acceded to the GATT in 1971, being a signatory to almost all major Tokyo Round Agreements. Romania also participated actively in the final stage of multilateral trade negotiations of the Uruguay Round (1990–1993), and made a large number of commitments on liberalising trade in goods and services. At the end of 1994, the Parliament of Romania ratified by Law 133/1994 the Marrakech Agreement, establishing the World Trade Organization (WTO) and, thus, Romania joined 83 other countries on 1 January 1995 in becoming a founding member of the

WTO. [29] However, Romania has made no GATS commitments for the education sector. Moreover, on 28 September 2001, Romanian officials, along with presidents of the European Education Association, [30] Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, American Council on Education, and Council for Higher Education Accreditation (USA), signed a joint declaration opposing the inclusion of higher education services in the GATS process (European Education Association *et al.*, 2001). [31]

Beginning in 1989 Romania underwent a political and economic transformation. It moved from an authoritarian state formation, headed by Nicolae Ceausescu (1965–1989), towards a ‘democratic’ polity (with ‘free’ and ‘open’ elections), presided over by Ion Iliescu (1990–1996), Emil Constantinescu (1996–2000), and again Ion Iliescu (2000–2004). Simultaneously, Romania shifted from a ‘socialist’, command economy towards a ‘capitalist’, ‘free-market’ economic system. [32] Romania’s transformation occurred in the context of economic, fiscal, and debt crises as well as in concert with similar political economic changes taking place in other Central/Eastern European societies and the former republics of the Soviet Union (Andor & Summers, 1998; Jeffries, 2002; Kolodko, 2002).

In 1989 Romania’s higher education system was totally government-funded and controlled and, compared to the pre-1948 period, relatively isolated from countries outside the ‘socialist bloc’. However, in the years since then, Romania has witnessed dramatic changes in higher education, involving processes of privatisation, domestic marketisation, and international commercialisation.

Privatisation

With respect to the privatisation of higher education in Romania, we will examine the establishment and growth in the number of privately funded and controlled institutions, the expansion of the number of students enrolled in such institutions, and the increase in private sources of revenue.

Since 1990, the number of universities has been growing in both the public and private sectors. It is forbidden by law for government universities to be privatised. However, after legislation passed in 1990 allowed non-governmental organisations to provide all levels of education services, a great number of private universities have been set up. [33] The Ecological University in Bucharest was the first private higher education institution opened in Romania in 1990. It was followed immediately by an upsurge of requests to establish new institutions, so that in the period of June 1993 to June 1995 Romania set a European record, operating 73 private higher education institutions (Mihailescu, 1998). After a period of winnowing out ‘weaker’ institutions, [34] in the 2001 academic year there were 67 institutions (including 27 universities, with 258 faculties) (National Institute for Statistics, 2001). In comparison, the number of public higher education institutions grew from 44 (with 101 faculties and colleges) in 1988–1989 to 59 (with 438 faculties and colleges) in 2000–2001 (see Table V).

During the post-1989 period university enrolments in general grew from 192,810 in 1990–1991 to 472,273 in 2000–2001 (see Table VI). [35] However, private higher

TABLE 5. Number of public higher education institutions

	1980-1	1988-9	1990-1	1991-2	1992-3	1993-4	1994-5	1995-6	1996-7	1997-8	1998-9	2000-1
HE public institutions	44	44	48	56	62	63	63	59	58	57	57	59
Number of public faculties and colleges	134	101	186	257	261	262	262	318	324	324	361	438

Sources: National Institute for Statistics (2001), Ministry of Education, National Agency Socrates & Institute for Education Sciences (1999).

TABLE 6. Public and private higher education enrollments, 1980–2001

	1980–1	1986–7	1990–1	1992–3	1993–4	1995–6	1997–8	1999/2000	2000–1
Public HE	192,769	157,174	192,810	235,669	250,087	250,836	249,857	310,285	322,129
Private HE				85,000	110,880	85,305	110,715	130,492	150,674
Total	192,769	157,174	192,810	320,669	360,967	364,141	359,571	440,777	472,723

Source: Romanian National Commission for Statistics (2001).

education enrolments grew more rapidly than public ones, such that the percentage of higher education in private institutions increased from 0.0% in 1989–1990 to 24.8% in 1995–1996 to 31.9% in 2000–2001 (see Table 6). [36]

Overall, expenditures for higher education increased during the 1990s in Romania. [37] Public expenditures for higher education in Romania increased in the initial period after the transition, for example, rising as a percentage of total public spending on education from 7.0% (1989) to 12.5% (1992) to 14.2% (1995) and to 19.0% (1998), before declining to 10.8% in 2000 (UNDP, 1997 and 2001). However, because tuition and other expenses began to be paid by some students attending public institutions [38] and most students attending private institutions (University of Buffalo, 2001), the proportion of the cost to attend higher education derived from private sources increased from the 0.0% figure that existed in 1989.

Domestic Marketisation

The Ministry of Education decides the amount of state funding for each public higher education institution, which in accord with Ministerial Order No. 3132 of 19 January 1998, includes *core* and *complementary* funding. Core funding, which accounts for 80% of the total government expenditure for higher education, is based on net unit cost per equivalent student (World Bank, 2000b, p. 239) [39] and is allocated to pay for personnel and material costs. [40] Complementary funding, awarded on a competitive basis is used for establishing and modernising buildings, laboratories and teaching equipment, as well as for social expenditure for students.

Since the vast majority of government funding allocated to universities (viz., core funding) depends on the number of students enrolled in specific programmes, public institutions need to devote time and other resources to marketing their programmes to students. This marketisation orientation was extended further in 1993, when public universities were allowed to collect fees (ranging from \$70 to \$360 per term in Romanian currency) from students enrolled beyond the enrolment quotas. [41] Moreover, public universities can charge fees for courses taken by foreign students, and, in the case of Romanian students, for admission examination and re-examinations, repeated courses, registration and matriculation, board and accommodation, etc.

Accredited, private institutions of higher education are eligible to receive government financial support via two channels: (a) their students can receive loans and scholarships, which are used to pay tuition and fees; and (b) their faculty can be awarded research and development grants. Having not yet been the recipients of such government grants (World Bank, 2002a, p. 8), private higher education institutions depend almost exclusively on tuition and fees charged to their students, some of whom receive government financial aid. [42] Philanthropic support (such as donations) and sponsorships (such as firms paying for the education of their employees) are not significant sources of revenue for either public or private institutions of higher education in Romania. External sources of funds for higher education have been provided by the Tempus Programme, the Soros Foundation, the World Bank, etc., but these programmes have not been targeted to the private higher education sector. Thus, private higher education institutions, even more than their public counterparts, must devote time and resources to marketing their programmes to students.

International Commercialisation

As is the case globally (Altbach, 1999), Romania's involvement in the internationalisation of higher education has generally taken a commercial form. As in the Chilean case, three modes of commercialisation of (or trade in) higher education—all of which are potentially subject to regulation by WTO/GATS—will be considered: *cross-border supply* is examined with regard to distance education programmes offered by Romanian universities; *consumption abroad* is analysed in relation to the number and the level of funding of foreign students attending Romanian universities and of Romanian students studying overseas; and *commercial presence* is discussed in terms of Romanian university degree programmes offered in foreign countries, foreign organisations (consortia) investing in Romanian universities, and joint degree programmes launched in Romanian by Romanian and foreign universities.

Cross-border Supply

Romania was the first Eastern European country to create, between 1994 and 2002, the legislative framework for distance education. [43] Within this framework, a number of Romanian public universities have opened their own Open Distance Education programmes. Some, such as the Economic Sciences Academy in Bucharest, have opened branches in other cities/towns. The Open Distance Learning programme of the University of Bucharest has developed as part of its Center for Resources, Documentation, Information and Services for Open Distance Learning, through the participation of the University of Bucharest in the Poland-Hungary Aid for Restructuring the Economy (PHARE) Programme for Distance Education. During 1997–1999, with financial help from the World Bank, the Continuous Education Center for Professional Reconversion through Open Distance Learning was established for persons with high qualifications. A TEMPUS project (1999–2001) helped found the Regional Distance Education Center (REDEC), with partners such as University of Barcelona (Spain), University of Surrey (England),

and the European Association of Distance Teaching Universities. Starting with 1999, REDEC has gained the status of an Open Distance Learning department and has extended its educational offerings in Journalism and Letters to the general framework of Life Long Learning through modular courses of Computer Assisted Technologies, Radio Communications and Foreign Languages. In cooperation with the multinational corporation, CISCO, a Regional Academy is also functioning within the Department, with the role of training qualified network administration personnel through the CISCO Networking Academy Programme.

Since 1990, distance and open education involving one or more foreign institutions has expanded rapidly in Romania. Perhaps the most successful education programmes of this kind are those offered by the Centre for Open Distance Education for the Civil Society (CODECS). [44] Founded in 1993 as joint stock company, CODECS was developed in cooperation between Britain's Open University and Romania's University of Bucharest, was funded by the UK Government's 'Know How Fund' scheme, and has offered certificate, diploma, and masters degree programmes. Another prominent distance education programme is offered by the Romanian-American Postgraduate School of Business Foundation, which has been awarding Executive Masters Degrees in Business Administration since 1993, in partnership with the University of Washington, Seattle (USA).

Other examples of distance education programmes include: (a) Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj working in cooperation with Michigan State University (USA) and Tulane University (USA); (b) the University Geographical Information Systems' Distance Education Franchising Unit, which offers (through a network of core universities cooperating in the design and delivery of distance learning) postgraduate certificate, diploma, and masters degree courses; [45] (c) the Informatics Groups, which has a total of 279 centres (focusing on Information Technology, Business, and Child Development) in 30 countries, including Romania; and (d) Brentwick University, which offers 'undergraduate degrees, masters courses and research programmemes' (Brentwick, 2002). [46]

Consumption Abroad

As mentioned above, foreign students studying in public and private higher education institutions are charged fees, varying from 365 to 910 Euro per month (in 2001), depending upon the type and level of the course to be undertaken. Not surprisingly, therefore, Romanian institutions have devoted time and resources to recruiting foreign students. In 2001, students from approximately 70 foreign countries were attending Romanian universities, mostly to study art and medicine (Learning in Romania, 2000). The total number of foreign students enrolled in public and private universities and colleges increased from 6,669 in 1989/90 to 11,896 in 1993/94 and to 13,172 in 1998/99, which meant that foreign students constituted 3.25% of the total higher education enrolment (Learning in Romania, 2000; World Bank, 2001). However, one should note that the number of foreign students had not yet returned to the level (15,888) witnessed in 1980/81 during the 'socialist' period prior to the economic crisis.

Foreign institutions of higher education have either actively recruited or willingly accepted students from Romania. In line with global trends, the greatest number of Romanian students studying abroad are either in the US or in European Union (EU) countries. Romania is one of the leading Eastern European countries in terms of enrollment figures in the US. For instance, in 1999–2000 there were 2,716 Romanian students studying in the US, compared to 1,951 in 1997–1998, and their number is growing quickly (Open Doors, 1999). Beginning in 1997, Romania has participated in all EU programmes in the fields of education, training and youth (e.g. PHARE, TEMPUS and SOCRATES). [47] For instance, through ERASMUS (the European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students) [48] 2,949 Romanian students studied abroad in the 1998–2000 period; their preferred destinations being France and Germany (European Commission, 2002).

Commercial Presence

The Romanian Ministerial Order no. 3396 (12 March 1998) allows the practice of university extension, through the franchising mechanism for Romanian universities. The document stipulates that Romanian universities may set up university extensions abroad. So far, mostly public universities (e.g. Al. I. Cuza, Iasi; Gheorghe Asachi, Iasi; Dunărea de Jos; and Galați) have operated such extensions. For instance, Dunărea de Jos University opened a Faculty of Engineering and a Faculty of Sciences in Cahul, Republic of Moldova. As for private Romanian universities operating abroad, the Ecological University in Bucharest founded a subsidiary of its Stomatology Faculty in Spain, through an agreement with a Spanish university. [49]

Although current data regarding borderless or transnational education [50] in Romania are not collected, stored and updated nationally, a scan of the landscape reveals that foreign institutions/programmes are present in Romania in many ways. For instance, the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, with funding from the Hungarian government, established in 2001 the Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, a private, Hungarian-language university, based in Cluj but with branches in Oradea, Tîrgu Mureș, Brașov, Sf. Gheorghe, Timișoara, and other Transylvanian towns.

Antecedents of Privatisation, Marketisation, and Commercialisation

The above-noted dynamics involving the higher education systems of Chile and Romania did not occur in a vacuum. Here we will briefly examine some of the internal and external institutional actors who played a role in initiating and/or continuing efforts toward privatisation, marketisation, and commercialisation of higher education.

Endogenous and Exogenous Antecedents in Chile

The policies and practices pursued by the Chilean government during the 1980s and 1990s reflect a neo-liberal agenda promoted (endogenously) by the ‘Chicago Boys’,

who came to dominate the Pinochet administration in the early-1980s, and reinforced (exogenously) by the policy recommendations and structural adjustment/stabilisation programme conditionalities of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Espinoza, 2002).

An ‘internal’ catalyst [51] for pursuing neo-liberal economic policies in Chile (and other Latin American countries) is a group of economists trained at the University of Chicago in the late-1960s and early-1970s. By the early-1980s Pinochet came to agree with this group, identified as the ‘Chicago Boys’, thus ending a period of ideological struggle over the direction of government policy (Gonzalez & Espinoza, 1994b). [52] The neo-liberal economic reforms promoted initially in the early-1980s by the ‘Chicago Boys’ were based on the assumed benefits of the liberalisation of trade, privatisation of economic activities, and reduction of public expenditure for social services. [53] Based upon a neo-liberal perspective, the ‘Chicago Boys’ argued for reducing public expenditure for higher education by encouraging the creation of private institutions, transferring costs of attending post-secondary education to students or their families, and emphasising loans rather than scholarships for those students who could not afford to pay the increased tuition charges. And, as discussed above, this policy framework continued to shape the initiatives of the Aylwin (1990–1994) and Frei (1994–2000) governments.

Perhaps not coincidentally, [54] the ideas celebrated by the ‘Chicago Boys’ were similar to those of the World Bank, which grounded its recommendations in neo-liberalism and built its case on the foundation of human capital theory and rate of return analyses. [55] The Bank viewed education as an investment in the future productivity of labour; in the case of higher education such investment was seen to have a greater return for the individual than for society. Based on this view the World Bank (1980 and 1986) recommended privatising the costs of attending post-secondary education—i.e. increasing tuition charges and making available loans (rather than granting scholarships) to individuals/families who could not otherwise afford the tuition charges. And given a belief that private organisations were naturally more efficient, providing services to consumers on a supply-and-demand basis and being subject to the discipline of the ‘market’, the World Bank (1980 and 1999) also encouraged the creation of private institutions of higher education.

Two other strong, neo-liberal-oriented sources of influence [56] on Chile’s higher education policies, particularly during the 1980s, were two IMF’s stabilisation programmes and a World Bank structural adjustment programme, both of which were ‘negotiated’ [57] with Chilean government officials as part of agreements for loans obtained in the context of fiscal and external debt crises (Corbo & Rojas, 1991; Edwards, 1994). The IMF stabilisation programmes (implemented in 1983–84 and 1985–87) [58] and the World Bank structural adjustment programme (implemented in 1986–88) [59] strongly encouraged the Chilean government to: (a) reduce public expenditure in higher education; (b) diversify institutional revenue sources by introducing competitive funding mechanisms (e.g. Indirect Public Support and Institutional Development Fund) and expanding the sale of services; and (c) increase the proportion of the individual/family costs of attending higher education (via tuition charges and student loans) (see Espinoza, 2002). [60]

Endogenous and Exogenous Antecedents in Romania

Similar to the case of Chile, in Romania the changes that took place in the higher education system resulted from a confluence of ideas/actions of internal and external actors. While privatisation, marketisation, and commercialisation of higher education did not occur ‘officially’ until after the transition from ‘socialism’ to ‘capitalism’ in 1989, moves toward ‘voluntary, informal’ privatisation of the costs of education and other social services actually began earlier. During the late-1970s and 1980s Romania experienced severe economic, fiscal, and debt crises, and by the end of the decade its economy was on the verge of collapse. In this context, the Ceausescu government secured loans first from the World Bank and later from the IMF, [61] and ‘negotiated’ a policy of ‘self-reliance’, which involved the rapid repayment of Romania’s foreign debt, totaling US\$11 billion or 20–30% of its Gross Domestic Product, to these organisations as well as private bank lenders (World Bank, 2002; IMF, 2003). During the 1980s, this policy (and one that emphasised large infrastructure projects and heavy industry) led not only to a ‘significant reduction in resources allocated for social services (education, health)’ (UNDP, 1997, p. 90) but also to the privatisation of some of the costs of these social services. As reported by the UNDP (1997, p. 91): ‘To counter the rapid deterioration in [government] provision of these services, the population agreed to participate directly in covering some of the costs—maintaining the schools, private lessons for children, paying for medicine, supplementary [fees] for medical services. As a result, education and health were no longer completely free’.

After the transition in 1989, with a continuing economic, fiscal, and debt crisis and with increasing technical advice from the US and other ‘western’ countries and international agencies, the Romania government, headed by Ion Iliescu and then by Emil Constantinescu continued efforts to reduce public expenditures, ‘[a]lthough . . . the amounts allocated to basic social services (education and health) grew, while direct financial transfers to the population (pensions and especially those for families with children) fell’ (UNDP, 1997, p. 90). In 1990, the Iliescu government began to increase public funding for higher education (at least as a proportion of public expenditures) but also decided to legalise the creation of private institutions of higher education. The latter decision was in line with the new government’s ideology that private organisations could be more efficient and could be developed without much government intervention.

The Romanian government’s initiatives to privatise, marketise, and commercialise the system of higher education were undertaken in the context of—perhaps in anticipation of and certainly reinforced by—the policy recommendations of the World Bank and the structural adjustment and stabilisation programme conditionalities of the World Bank and IMF, respectively. The World Bank has been active as a lender in Romania since 1991, although it began implementing projects in the 1970s (World Bank, 2002); of the World Bank’s 30 projects in Romania, totaling commitments of over US\$3 billion, around 21 projects, totaling US\$1 billion, were in operation in 2002. For example, in 2002 the Romanian government ‘negotiated’

with the World Bank a US\$300 million loan, the Second Private Sector Adjustment Loan, [62] which involved agreements that Romania would reform and privatise of the financial sector, privatise state-owned enterprises, enhance the business environment, and reduce social sector spending.

Similarly, the loans that Romania obtained from the IMF, beginning in 1991, stipulated as preliminary conditions the speeding up of structural reforms and the privatisation process (Havrylyshyn & Wolf, 1999; Bilotkach, 2000). Recently (in 2002, the IMF approved the release of the second and third tranches, amounting to a total of US\$86.6 million, of a stand-by loan agreement that had been postponed until Romania fulfilled the commitments stipulated in the agreement, including refraining from raising minimum wages for government workers (IMF, 2002, p. 4).

Moreover, Romania secured funding from the World Bank for the Reform of Higher Education and Research Project (1996–2002), which was designed to achieve, among others, the following objectives: (a) increase per student expenditure in public and private higher education; (b) increase the private share of total higher education enrolment (to 25% by 1999/2000); (c) increase private sources of funding for recurrent expenditures in public higher education (to at least 30% by 1998/99); and (d) increase in cost recovery from students as a proportion of private financing in public higher education (World Bank, 1996).

Consequences: Vulnerabilities and Opportunities within WTO/GATS Framework

The cases of Chile and Romania are by no means identical, in terms of either their historical and contemporary contexts or the strategies that exogenous and endogenous actors pursued. Moreover, because of their geographical location and cultural traditions, they have pursued international higher education ‘business’ relationships with different, though overlapping sets of foreign countries and organisations. Nevertheless, both cases presented above do provide strong support for Sauvé’s (2002, p. 4) observation that ‘the “market” for trade in [higher] education services is big, diverse, innovative and growing fast. . . . [Such] changes . . . have been occurring almost independently of developments in the WTO’. However, we disagree with Sauvé’s (2002, p. 4) conclusion that the GATS/WTO ‘is not likely to be a driving force or even a major consideration behind such changes’.

Indeed, the moves toward privatisation, domestic marketisation, and international commercialisation of higher education in Chile and Romania, which have been stimulated by endogenous actors as well as exogenous actors (the World Bank and the IMF, which are sister institutions of the WTO), have positioned very effectively these systems to be governed by the rules of the GATS/WTO. For us, the future direct impact of the GATS/WTO on higher education will be determined by the extent to which these endogenous and other exogenous actors continue to accomplish what WTO actions might otherwise be called on to achieve. If (new or existing) national governing officials seek to abandon the neo-liberal agenda and/or if global movements against the World Bank and the IMF reduce or eliminate their capacity to ‘impose’ neo-liberal approaches for organising higher education (etc.), then the

mechanisms available through the GATS/WTO may be utilised to pursue corporate education service providers' goal of 'opening up . . . the national educational markets with a view to building a vast international market, unified and based on competition' (EI & PSI, 2002, p. 16). [63]

While it may continue to be possible for a country to 'opt out of [or be excluded from] the multilateral trading system altogether' (Sauvé, 2002, p. 11), it is unlikely that many nations will pursue this course. Moreover, while nations currently have the opportunity to restrict what service sectors will be subject to GATS rules, it should be remembered that '[t]he GATS . . . contains an overarching commitment to successive future negotiations to increase coverage and expand the agreement . . . aimed at achieving a progressively higher level of liberalisation' (Sinclair, 2002, pp. 3–4). [64]

Exactly what the future trends for the role of the GATS/WTO in shaping higher education in Chile, Romania, and other countries will be decided by the actions of individuals and organisations inside and outside these societies. Even though the provision of higher education available to worker-consumer-citizens of these nations may be strongly shaped by external forces (making national systems vulnerable to 'foreign' influences), at least for semi-periphery countries, such as Chile and Romania, there may be some opportunities for some domestic higher education institutions to expand their business beyond their respective borders. Whether these dynamics are viewed as a positive or negative developments will likely vary among owners/managers and employees of 'successful' and 'unsuccessful' institutions and among students/consumers who do and those who do not gain access to quality higher education.

NOTES

- [1] Revised version of paper presented at the annual meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society, New Orleans, 12–16 March 2003.
- [2] GATS was created as 'one of the landmark achievements' of the Uruguay Round (1986–1994) of the GATT and came into force in January 1995 at the same point in which the WTO started operations (WTO 2002a, p. 1). The GATS was created with the same objectives and designed to supplement the coverage of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which limits its focus to merchandise trade. As the first multilateral agreement spelling out 'legally enforceable rights to trade in all services' (Cohen, 2000, p. 125, citing the WTO website), the GATS is significant because, currently, services account for over 60% of global production and employment and 20% of total trade; moreover, both percentages continue to increase (WTO 2002a, p. 1).
- [3] *Cross-border supply* refers to 'services flows from the territory of one Member into the territory of another Member (e.g. banking or architectural services transmitted via telecommunications or mail)'; *consumption abroad* refers to 'situations where a service consumer (e.g. tourist or patient) moves into another Member's territory to obtain a service'; *commercial presence* refers to situations in which 'a service supplier of one Member establishes a territorial presence, including through ownership or lease of premises, in another Member's territory to provide a service (e.g. domestic subsidiaries of foreign insurance companies or hotel chains)'; *presence of natural persons* 'consists of persons of one Member entering the territory of another Member to supply a service (e.g. accountants, doctors or teachers)' (WTO, 2002a, pp. 2–3). Because of space constraints, we do not examine the fourth mode, *presence of natural persons*, in the Chilean and Romanian case studies presented below.

- [4] Sinclair (2002, p. 1) observes that the rules of GATS ‘applies to measures of all governments, whether federal, First Nation, provincial, state, regional or municipal’.
- [5] As Sauvé (2000, p. 10) observes, ‘[t]he GATS does not impose any ‘market access’ or ‘national treatment’ rules on WTO members unless the Member voluntarily chooses to list that service in its schedule of commitments; in contrast, the most favoured nation treatment is a ‘core general obligation’.
- [6] Critics of the WTO/GATS, such as international groups of organised public sector service workers—notably, Education International (EI) and Public Services International (PSI)—argue that as public services are privatised and exposed to foreign competition, governments will lose the capacity to protect the domestic providers of such services and they will not be able to guarantee universal access to such services, which is at least theoretically possible under a public monopoly arrangement (Hartridge, 2000).
- [7] Among the many concerns about corporation-dominated globalisation are the threats to democracy, in both its procedural and substantive dimensions (Copp *et al.*, 1993; Highland, 1995; Ginsburg, 2001). This form of globalisation is seen, respectively: (a) to reduce citizens’ capacity to determine educational and other social policies (because local, provincial, and national governments have reduced authority vis-à-vis multinational corporations and ‘undemocratic’ international financial and trade organisations); and (b) to all but insure that quality education and other social services will not be available to all people (because free-market and profit principles—rather than human needs—will govern their distribution) (Brown & Lauder, 1996; Brecher *et al.*, 2000; Capella, 2000; Danaher & Burbach, 2000; Hartridge, 2000; Tabb, 2001; Daun, 2002; Munck & Gills, 2002).
- [8] For example, United States Trade Ambassador Charlene Barshefsky announced before the meeting of the WTO in Seattle in November 1999 that the US wanted to include the health and education service in free trade. She mentioned the trade advantage in these areas because of new technologies (Cohen, 2000, p.123), but may also have been motivated by the fact that the US is the leading exporter of education services, estimated at US\$7 billion in 1996 (WTO, 1998, p. 6).
- [9] The Chile-EU agreement focuses on pre-schooling, basic, intermediate and higher education, vocational training and life-long learning, with ‘special attention [to] be paid to access to education for vulnerable social groups such as disabled, ethnic minorities and the extremely poor’ as well as to ‘decentralised programmes, which forge permanent links between specialised bodies of both Parties and encourage the pooling and exchange of experience and technical resources as well as the mobility of students’ (European Commission, 2002, p. 6).
- [10] Prior to 1981, the Chilean government covered approximately 80.0% of institutional expenditures. The other institutional funds were generated through sale of services and tuition payments.
- [11] Among the six privately controlled but publicly funded universities, two were run by the Catholic Church and the other four were run by non-profit and philanthropic organisations.
- [12] Although the increasing number of new private universities without public funding helped meet the swelling demand for higher education, providing access to more students at a limited cost to the government, they have been criticised for having low academic quality (Gonzalez & Espinoza, 1994a; Ministerio de Educacion, 1994; Johnstone *et al.*, 1998) and concentrating their programmes in a few areas, such as Business and Economics (Fried & Abuhadba, 1991), which require minimum institutional investment in material resources.
- [13] Between 1990 and 1998 a total of fifty-seven non-university institutions closed (apparently not being able to compete for students and/or offer programmes ‘required’ by the new market economy), contributing to a 17% decline in the number of higher education institutions (see Table I).
- [14] This enrollment growth, particularly that caused by the creation of new private institutions, did not promote equitable access to the system. Because of the high cost of tuition in private institutions, access was extended disproportionately to the high school leavers coming from middle- and upper-income families (MIDEPLAN, 1996).

- [15] The decline in enrolments for technical training centres between 1990 and 1998 may be attributed to the lower status of this form of higher education coupled with limited institutional and no government financial support to assist students in paying the tuition.
- [16] In 1990 enrolments in privately controlled and funded institutions of higher education represented 55.9%; the slight percentage decrease between 1990 and 1998 has to do with the closure of many technical training centres (see note above).
- [17] In the 1995–1999 period the proportion of revenues that publicly funded universities obtained via loans from private banks increased by 9.4% (Tapia, 2000); thus, in the late-1990s the proportion of institutional revenues derived from loans approached 20%.
- [18] No data are available after 1992. ‘Other’ income sources cannot be disaggregated.
- [19] This figure represents the amount of revenue received in the form of loans from private banks.
- [20] In fact, a more detailed examination of the data presented partially in Table IV evidences four phases in resource allocations for student aid programmes during the 1981–1998 period: (1) a phase of growth from \$11,431 million pesos in 1981 to \$35,970 million pesos in 1984; (2) a phase of decline until the end of 1989 when it reached \$19,613 million pesos; (3) an unstable third phase between 1990 and 1994; and a fourth phase of growth between 1995 and 1998 during which resource allocation increased from \$27,665 to \$41,112 million (constant) pesos.
- [21] According to the 1981 reform privately funded and controlled universities, private professional institutes and private technical training centres were not eligible to receive direct public support from the Chilean government. The 1981 law, however, did allow privately funded and controlled universities, private professional institutes and private technical training centres to receive indirect public support from the government when recruiting students who were among those with the 20,000 highest scores in the PAA (see subsequent discussion).
- [22] For example, the 1981 law stipulates that only students attending publicly funded universities are eligible to receive government loans for paying tuition.
- [23] Direct Public Support represented the central component of the Chilean higher education financing policy until 1981 and has continued to be a major source of revenue for publicly funded universities. This is a grant allocation provided by the State reserved exclusively for the twenty-five ‘traditional’ universities (currently including sixteen public and nine privately controlled but publicly funded institutions), which can spend these funds as they wish. Of the funds allocated, 95% is based on ‘historical’ criteria (defined in 1982) and the remaining 5% is based on annual efficiency indicators.
- [24] All the institutions forming part of the post-secondary system (e.g. in 1998 this included 67 universities, 68 professional institutes and 117 technical training centres) are eligible for this source of funding. Access to this source is based on competition, the allocation criteria being the number of first-year students with the 27,500 highest scores in the national test of ‘achievement’ (PAA). This funding programme was created in 1981 in order to either encourage institutions to compete and attract the ‘best’ students, as measured by their admission scores, or reward those institutions already recruiting such students and likely to be able to do so in the future.
- [25] *AGCI* was created on 19 July 1990 through the Law # 18,989 as part of the Ministry of Planning and Cooperation of Chile. *AGCI* is a decentralised public agency whose mission is to support and fund plans, programmes, projects and development activities prompted by the Chilean government associated with international and horizontal cooperation (*AGCI*, 2002b). ‘Horizontal’ or south-south cooperation involves the mobilisation of human and technical resources to promote the exchange of knowledge and experiences among developing countries (see O’Farril *et al.*, 1999; *AGCI*, 2002a).
- [26] This economic group also owns the Universidad S.E.K.-Ecuador in Quito and the Universidad S.E.K.-Spain in Segovia.
- [27] The other four institutions included in Sylvan International University’s consortium are: (a) Universidad del Valle de Mexico, Mexico City, Mexico; (b) Les Roches Hotel Management School, Bluche, Switzerland; (c) Universidad Europea—CEES, Madrid, Spain; and (d) Ecole Superieure du Commerce Extérieur, Paris, France.

- [28] It is important to note here that Universidad de las Americas was founded in 1988 and obtained its full autonomy in year 1997. It became a member of Sylvan International Universities Network in year 2000.
- [29] Romania had become a signatory of the GATT in 1971. For Romania, as with other Central and Eastern European countries, GATT membership was sought as a means of integration in the international (capitalist) economy (Haus, 1992). Similarly, but on a regional level, Romania signed an association agreement with the European Union in 1993, the first step in Romania's long-term plans for European integration, and has signed agreements with the European Free Trade Association and the Central European Free Trade Association.
- [30] The European Union has included higher education in their schedule with limitations on all modes of trade except 'consumption abroad'. The EU is a member of the WTO, as indeed is each of its member states. The EU has submitted only one list of commitments for its member States as a whole (19), but these commitments may differ from one country to another. Interestingly enough, almost all other Eastern European countries (except for Romania), which are seeking acceptance into the EU, have made commitments in education.
- [31] The document stipulates that where such commitments have already been made in 1995, no further ones should be forthcoming. However, the signatory organisations are committed to intensifying and overcoming obstacles to international exchanges and co-operation in higher education by developing and using agreements and conventions outside of a trade policy regime.
- [32] Associated with the economic changes, Romania has experienced a reduction in government's share of GDP use, high rates of inflation, and falling employment. At the same time the total resident population decreased by one million persons in only 10 years from 1985 to 1995, while the school population fell from 5.6 million in 1985 to 4.7 million in 1995 (OECD, 2000, p. 62).
- [33] By law, private universities are tax-exempt. However, a 2002 Order of the Government stipulates that private universities must pay the state 10% of student tuition payments received.
- [34] Some of the institutions, such as *The Higher School of Journalism* or *The Academy for the Study of Religions*, closed because of very low enrolments. Others, like *The Romanian-British University*, *The Romanian Management Academy*, *The Pro-Humanitas University*, did not fulfil all the requirements to receive government accreditation.
- [35] The growth in higher education enrolments is also evidenced by the proportion of 1st year university students as part of total number of high school graduates increasing from 14.6% in 1989/1990 to 36.5% in 1995–1996 (Ministerul Educatiei, 1996) and by the number of students enrolled in higher education, as % of the whole population over 12 years, increasing from 2.1% in 1966 to 5.6%, in 1996 (Direcția Centrală de Statistică, 1966, 1980; National Commission for Statistics, 1996).
- [36] The percentage of students enrolled in private higher education institutions did not increase as dramatically during the latter half of the 1990s because public sector enrolment, after being relatively stable until 1997–1998, began to grow again, reaching 322,129 students by 2000–2001 (see Table II).
- [37] Merit-based and needs-based scholarships awarded to Romanian students attending public higher education institutions in Romania represent a sizeable proportion—25.0% in 2002 (Ministerul Educatiei, 2001)—of public expenditure for higher education. The number of such scholarships increased substantially between 1989–1990 and 1994–1995, rising from 29,128 to 86,764, though this only represents a modest increase compared to 80,036 scholarships provided by the 'socialist' state in 1980/81, prior to the economic crisis (World Bank, 2001).
- [38] For example, in the 2000–2001 academic year, public universities collected from the 117,762 fee-paying students more than 800 billion lei (with \$1 = 33,000 lei) (Marga, 2000).
- [39] 'The net unit cost is based on the anticipated cost of a student given the requirements of the training (class size, required equipment and materials, etc.)' (OECD, 2000, p. 135).
- [40] Thus, from the perspective of the student, public universities are still free and, in addition, these institutions offer to its students a comprehensive system of financial aid. The financial support

- granted by the state consists of: (a) study grants differentiated by categories ('merit scholarships', achievement-based 'study scholarships', and family socio-economic status-based 'grants-in-aid'; (b) subsidies for social services (i.e. student residence halls, canteens, athletic fields); (c) free medical assistance in the student health care network and other health care units; and (d) price and tariff reductions.
- [41] The setting of admission quotas by the Ministry of Education was suspended as of the 1994–1995 academic year (World Bank, 1996, p. 6). Since then, each university has set up its own admission quotas. In the fall of 1998 15,000 first-year students were admitted outside the university enrollment plans (i.e. scoring just under the examination cut-off score for admission) and paid for their studies at public universities.
- [42] Higher education 'institutions avoid borrowing from banks due to the very high level of real interest rates' (World Bank, 2000a, p. 9), although there are no regulations regarding the financing of private education through the banking system.
- [43] The Order of the Government no. 595/1999 allows Romanian institutions to set up distance education programmes and the Order of the Government no. 1214/2000 established a Commission for Authorization and Accreditation of Distance Education Programmes (functioning as part of the larger National Council for Academic Evaluation and Accreditation).
- [44] One element of its huge success is the fact that CODECS offers degrees from a foreign institution (i.e. Britain's Open University).
- [45] Three British universities (Huddersfield, Manchester Metropolitan, and Salford) were the founders of this network together with the University of Salzburg (Austria) and the Free University of Amsterdam (the Netherlands). The course is currently offered in thirteen countries in addition to Romania, including Austria, Canada, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, South Africa, and Sweden.
- [46] Brentwood University may be an example of the dubious (though financially successful) institutions, referred to by DistanceLearn (2002) as operating in the context of an exploding virtual marketplace of unaccredited internet 'universities' and counterfeit degrees of real universities at a global level. It is also known as Harrington University, University of San Moritz, University of Palmers Green, University of Devonshire, Shelbourne University, Glencullen University; its name seems to change as soon as a bad review of it is published in the press. It has used a London mailing address for a building, which, in fact, houses a dry-cleaning shop; its telemarketing operation is based in Romania, its diplomas are printed in Israel; and its banking is done in Cyprus.
- [47] In 1989, the EU created PHARE, reflecting the EU's initial focus on those two countries, in an effort to provide financial assistance and advice to 'post-communist' nations in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). Within the context of PHARE, the Trans European Mobility Programme for University Staff (TEMPUS) was developed to promote cooperation as well as exchanges of ideas and cultures between citizens of EU and CEE nations; however, the flow of students and faculty for the most part has been from CEE to EU nations. SOCRATES is Europe's education programme and involves around 30 European countries. 'Its main objective is . . . to build . . . knowledge . . . [to] provide a better response to the major challenges of this new century. . . . In more specific terms, SOCRATES seeks to promote language learning, and to encourage mobility and innovation'. (European Commission: Socrates Programme, 2002). SOCRATES comprises eight separate initiatives: (1) COMENIUS: school education; (2) ERASMUS: higher education; (3) Grundtvig: adult education and other education pathways; (4) Lingua: learning European languages; (5) MINERVA: information and communication technologies in education; (6) Observation and innovation of education systems and policies; (7) Joint actions with other European programmes; (8) Supplementary measures.
- [48] Romania participates in the SOCRATES programme and its ERASMUS scheme, along with other 29 European countries. ERASMUS seeks to promote students' and faculty's mobility, integrating it, at the same time, into a wider framework that could be useful in developing a 'European Dimension' within the university's academic programmes (European Commission: Erasmus Programme, 2000).

- [49] However, because the Stomatology Faculty was not accredited by the Romanian government, the Ecological University in Bucharest had no authority to found a subsidiary in another country.
- [50] 'Transnational and borderless education are terms that are being used to describe real or virtual movement of students, teachers, knowledge and academic programmes from one country to another. While there may be some conceptual differences between these terms, they are often used interchangeably' (Knight, 2002).
- [51] Of course, it is problematic whether the a group of Latin American economists trained at the University of Chicago can really be considered 'endogenous' or 'internal' actors with respect to Chile.
- [52] The 'Chicago Boys' claimed that they were politically neutral, thus coinciding with the ideology held by Pinochet and other military leaders, who headed the Chilean government from 1973 to 1990; they argued that they could to develop and implement policies that did not privilege any vested interests (Montecinos, 1988; Valdes, 1989; Fontaine, 1993).
- [53] From the neo-liberal point of view the state is essentially inefficient and must withdraw from—or minimise its involvement in—economic activities; the solution to economic crises is to privatise state-owned companies, which has the additional advantage of generating revenue for the government (Gwynne & Kay, 1999, p. 14; see also Glade, 1991 and 1996). Moreover, the neo-liberal discourse argues that the market solves everything in the best possible way and, therefore, everything—including the provision of social services, such as education, must be left to its infallible 'judgment' (Martinez, 1999).
- [54] Indeed, it seems plausible that that Chile's economic and fiscal crisis in the early 1980s encouraged Pinochet to select as key advisors the 'Chicago Boys' over other economists, because their neo-liberal ideas were more in line with those of the IMF and the World Bank, from which the Chilean government would seek loans.
- [55] For a summary of criticisms of human capital theory and rate of return analyses, see Espinoza (2002, pp. 140–48).
- [56] Saying that they were influential, however, does not mean that World Bank and IMF programmes had a positive impact on Chile (or other Latin American societies). Indeed, critics of IMF stabilisation and World Bank adjustment programmes believe that these contributed to increased inequity and poverty (Latin American Bureau, 1983; Lichtensztejn & Baer, 1987; Ffrench-Davis & Meller, 1990; Ruccio, 1992; Danaher, 1994; Samoff, 1994; Carnoy, 1995).
- [57] Also, saying that the programmes were 'negotiated' as part of loan agreements between these international financial agencies and the Chilean government is not to suggest that other Chileans could likely have argued successfully for radically different programmes. It is only to observe that Chilean government officials participated in discussions about the programmes, discussions that were facilitated by these officials sharing many of the basic neo-liberal assumptions held by representatives of the IMF and World Bank.
- [58] Between 1983 and 1987 the Pinochet government was the 'beneficiary' of two IMF loans and stabilisation programmes, a Stand-by programme (1983–84) and an Extend Fund Facility programme (1985–87). The first involved a credit for US\$500 million and the second a credit for US\$825 (International Monetary Fund, 1989). The IMF Stand-by programme required Chile from the beginning to make full and timely payments in service of external debt. Furthermore, both programmes set up restrictive fiscal and monetary policies that encouraged reductions in government spending for and privatisation of social services (health, housing, social security and education), and subsequent loans from the World Bank included similar conditionalities.
- [59] Between 1986 and 1988 the Pinochet government implemented a three-year structural adjustment programme, which it had 'negotiated' with the World Bank to obtain three consecutive annual loans of US\$250 million each (World Bank, 1990). Two initiatives were 'required' by the World Bank's structural adjustment programme: (a) reduce public expenditures, especially in relation to social programmes (e.g. education and, especially, higher education); and (b) increase public revenues through tax system reforms.

- [60] As is generally the case, Chile's World Bank structural adjustment programme was implemented in the context of an existing IMF stabilisation programme. The IMF and the World Bank require that their respective stabilisation and structural adjustment programmes be consistent, leading to what has been referred to as an IMF-WB double conditionality or cross-conditionality. This means that failure to comply with the programme 'negotiated' with one lender might lead to the curtailment of funding from the other (Williamson, 1983; Robichek, 1984; Lichtensztein & Baer, 1987).
- [61] Romania was the first state-socialist country to join the IMF (in 1972), and Romania and Hungary were the only Eastern European countries which borrowed funds from the IMF prior to 'transition' process which began formally in 1989.
- [62] The First PSAL was approved in 1999 and was successfully completed in 2000.
- [63] 'Such an opening-up of the education sector [privatisation and international trade] would give a free hand to a small number of transnational corporations specialising in education, wh[ich] could establish subsidiaries wherever they pleased by using, for example, computerised, ready-made and standardised teaching modules' (EI & PSI, 2002, p. 15; see also Kelsey, 1997).
- [64] As Education International and Public Service International (2002, p. 13) note, 'in accordance with the so-called rollback rule, it is expected that, as time goes by, member countries will open up their markets further, gradually lifting more and more restrictions on trade'.

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