

October 6 University—The First Egyptian Private University

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Background and Research Contextualization

The October 6 University (O6U), located in the homonymous city in the desert outskirts, west of the capital Cairo, is the first Egyptian private university,¹ the biggest in size and student enrollment compared with other similar institutions, and the most relevant for a number of reasons, which I will discuss below. The university was established in 1996 with a Presidential Decree 245/1996 in accordance with Law 101/1992, which allowed the first Egyptian private universities to be created in a country that has regarded with suspicion, to say the least, any private initiative, especially in the field of education.² O6U is a good case study to illustrate the conditions of private universities in Egypt and the changes they are currently undergoing. As will be discussed further in this paper, O6U is no exception to the current trend of rising privatization and increasingly corporate character of universities, including public ones, with many consequences on academic freedom and research. In this context, O6U can be seen as a central institution in the shift toward a corporate model for universities, much more than academics in the Egyptian public universities are willing to acknowledge. Moreover, this shift is not limited to Egypt, but is to be understood, rather, in the context of globalization; therefore, it is all the more urgent to have a deeper understanding of how this system works in practice in order to enable further studies and comparisons (see Cantini, forthcoming).

I argue that considering O6U as an entirely private institution would be misleading. It started as a private enterprise, carried out by an individual entrepreneur, Sayed Tuns

Mahmood, but afterward it become a far more complex reality, governed by a Board of Trustees, which in its majority is composed of representatives of companies and banks. Some of these companies and banks are public or semi-public, which is one of the reasons why the private character of O6U is to be put into context.

According to O6U's Academic Yearbook *Dalil al-Jami'a* (5),³ the university is built on forty *feddan* (approximately sixteen hectares) in the 6th of October City, on a desert land (see Figure 1).

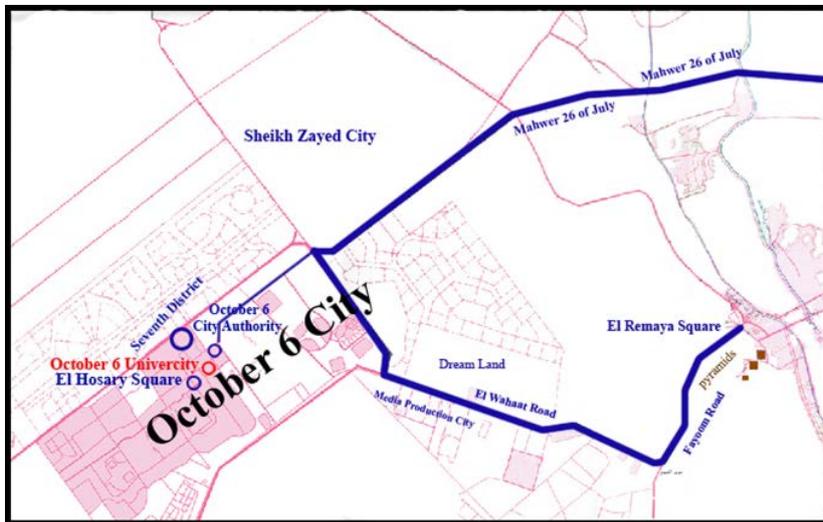


Figure 1. A map of O6U's location in 6th of October City. Source: www.o6u.edu.eg

The campus consists of three main buildings each constructed on a squared model with an inner courtyard. These buildings house classrooms, offices, and the majority of the university's fourteen faculties as well as the university hospital (located on campus, with an external access for patients), the university hotel (which serves as a residence for girls and as a training facility for students in the Faculty of Tourism). All O6U buildings are named after martyrs of the wars against Israel or after army heroes, and the very date, October 6, is highly patriotic. The campus also includes a fourth building that is currently under construction;

three squares, two of which serve as parking lots, while a third and central one is a garden; a vast playground, and another garden, which is not yet completed, but hosts nevertheless an obelisk, a series of sphinxes, and other contemporary imitations of pharaonic heritage pieces (see Figure 2). As I will elaborate below, the university was clearly set as part of the development project of the whole 6th of October area, similarly to other private universities that have been established in the last ten years.



Figure 2. O6U campus map. Source: www.o6u.edu.eg

O6U is foremost among Egyptian private universities not only because of its relatively early foundation, but more importantly, because of its numbers. Even now, after a few years of slow decline—this is one of the major findings of this research—it continues to attract the largest proportion of students: from the total of 56,802 students enrolled in private universities in Egypt in the 2008/2009 academic year, around 14,000 were enrolled at O6U (CAPMAS 2009, *Statistical Yearbook*).⁴ Around 40 percent of these students are female and they come from different countries, mainly from the Arab world (especially from Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries), while South Asia is markedly less represented.⁵ The international dimension of O6U is further demonstrated—as almost all administrators I spoke

with were eager to emphasize—by its agreements with foreign institutions, for example, some universities in the United States and in Europe, but mostly in the Arab world, and by the existence of exchange programs, mostly for visiting professors and to a lesser extent, for students.

O6U is also considered among the most important private universities in Egypt because of its range of faculties, which are more numerous than in any other private university in the country. There are fourteen faculties at O6U, four of which are in the medical field: medicine, applied medical sciences (members of the administration claimed that this faculty is completely new in the country, both in private and public universities), dentistry, pharmacy, and physical therapy. Among the scientific programs are pharmacy, engineering, information systems, and computer sciences. The others are part of the humanities and social sciences: applied arts, media and mass communication, economics and management, languages and translation, education, social sciences, and hotel management and tourism. The only fields of study not covered are agriculture (which is supposedly already well-covered in public universities) and law (which presents indeed an interesting case to be studied further for its irrelevance in the context of private universities). The medical faculties are housed in a building attached to the university hospital, while the Faculty of Hotel Management and Tourism has responsibility of the university hotel—both of these institutions, along with the university library, are cited by top administrators as some of O6U's main positive aspects.

The more common scientific and market-oriented disciplines such as pharmacy, computer science, information technology, engineering, and media studies experience greater competition for students also due in part to the amazing rate with which new universities—all of which offer similar courses—are opening in the country. On the other hand, O6U also has faculties that are rare, and in some cases unique, for private universities in Egypt, such as

economics, social science, education, medicine, and languages. These disciplines are underrepresented in private universities because of the prevailing negative view of social science and humanities graduates as presumably less employable. Finding more easily a job after graduation is cited as one of the main advantages of private university education by those who either teach or study there; other advantages are the freedom to choose the program one prefers, less bureaucracy, good relations between professors and students due to small class sizes, the (presumably) more flexible character of courses, better interfaculty communication, and better conditions for classes, exams, and the like. Given that employability is an important criteria for private universities, they tend to focus on programs such as computer science, information technology, and engineering, which are considered to provide students with the skills better suited for today's labor market. The presence of humanities faculties at O6U constitutes a major strength and this is usually considered—by administrators and professors alike—as one of the main proofs that O6U is an all-round university and not simply one of the many private institutions of higher education mushrooming all over the country.

The Faculty of Medicine presents a particular case that is worth noting here. Until now postgraduate studies were not allowed in private universities—a crucial fact for medical students who require postgraduate education in order to become medical doctors, be it an entire specialization course or a simple “practice year,” as it is called in Egypt. O6U managed to establish this faculty not only as part of its services to the broader community of the 6th of October City, especially for its hospital, but also because of its privileged relationship with Cairo University and its teaching hospital, Qasr el-Aini, located in central Cairo where O6U graduates can pursue their postgraduate studies. This was also highlighted by some students during the interviews that I conducted for this research who mentioned that an O6U degree is equivalent to the one obtainable through a public university, while this is not the case in other

private universities.⁶

Lastly, the case of O6U merits to be studied for the university's special relations with the local governorate and the community of the new city of 6th of October, and while this might be considered a problem more typical of public universities (as in the case of the University of Minya, for instance), it is telling of O6U's controversial nature as a private institution. The university is at the same time a private, profit-oriented organization in the field of higher education and an instrument of state planning in the new areas to be built around the overcrowded capital city. These new areas are to be filled with new meanings following the paradigm of "gated communities" where everything—knowledge included—is meant to be salable and for profit, and the way we understand learning and the university as an institution is informed by this view. This was often highlighted by the administrators with whom I spoke and who recommended that I look at O6U from the point of view of the local community where it is one of the main sources of revenue, helping the local economy in many ways.⁷ I was even told to consider the university as a form of cultural tourism where "tourists" (i.e. students) do not limit their stay to two weeks or one month, but stay for five years—consuming, eating, sleeping, etc. In this regard, it is useful to add that in addition to O6U, the city of 6th of October is the location for a number of other recent Egyptian private universities: the Egyptian University for Science and Technology, the Ahram Canadian University, the Egyptian International University, and the Academy of Akbar al-yawm.

As a first conclusion, then, one can observe that the private character of this organization is to be understood in the context of the locality where it is situated as well as in the context of the Egyptian state, which is eager to control its citizenry. In this sense, the private character of O6U is to be found much less as a consequence of a private agency and much more as an instrument of state power in order to implement the neoliberal views typically shared by ruling elites around the world; thus, we should seriously question the

university's "private" nature, as I will make more explicit in what follows.

Methodology

This summary report is based on a fieldwork that I conducted during the spring and summer semesters of 2010, from March to July, and from a follow-up research carried out in May 2012. During the first phase of the study, I visited frequently the O6U campus as a complete outsider, not having gained access as a student, colleague, or friend. I will not enter here into the theoretical discussion about how we, as ethnographic researchers, obtain the information that we seek, and about the ways in which our positioning in the field affects how our interlocutors meet us. Nor will I describe in detail the consequences that my positioning determined, especially the condition of a researcher studying the very context in which he or she lives and works—interesting from a reflexive point of view—or the fact that the researcher is seen as such by those involved in the study, with implications for his or her authority, adequacy, and the many ways in which the information gathered is modified by the interlocutors according to their understanding of the researcher's goals. But it is necessary to briefly discuss the concrete ways in which I had access to the university in order to better account for what I state here—that the university is moving toward a corporate model and that this change is, and will be, affecting the ways in which research is done.

Contrary to what I had expected, access to O6U was quite difficult partly due to my being a foreigner (although this condition had some advantages as well), but also, and more relevantly, due to the corporate character of O6U that limits the usual permeability of academic settings, namely by restricting the ways in which university employees perceive themselves to be linked to a wider academic community. Moreover, the structure of the university campus greatly affected the ways in which encounters were possible. The campus is gated, access to it is checked, its alleys and buildings are patrolled by guards (who are

unarmed and carry radios) and other workers, and every time I would enter the campus I was asked to show the authorization letter that I had obtained from the O6U president, prof. Ahmad Attia, and which allowed me to do “some interviews with heads of departments and deans, for a duration of one week.”⁸ I was then usually escorted to the building where the president’s office was located. Due to this limitation, I was able to carry out formal interviews with five administrators only—the president, the vice-president of student affairs, the vice-president of research and postgraduate studies, the academic consultant, and the director of the dormitory for male students—and with ten professors, almost all of them either deans or heads of departments. I was formally forbidden to interview students or junior professors on campus; I had to rely on personal contacts and meet the people I wanted to interview outside of campus, since inside almost all my movements were controlled in one way or another.

I argue that the treatment that I received is not to be ascribed only to my being a foreigner or to the fact that I was perceived as too much of an insider to carry out such a detailed research on the structure and functioning of the university. Rather, it has to do with the nature of the university itself, which is changing toward a more corporate model in which less space is devoted to research as such and much more attention is paid to keeping certain aspects of its internal functioning concealed. Moreover, as I will elaborate in more details below, a certain degree of competition exists among private universities, and I was explicitly told by senior administrators that they were scared that certain (confidential) information, especially one likely to put O6U in a negative light, might be disclosed to competitors and the general public, with direct negative economic effects on the functioning of the university.

The second research phase was considerably shorter, due to time constraints, and easier, for I had already met and interviewed most of my respondents and I knew how to proceed in the field. I interviewed three top administrators and five professors. One professor and one

administrator no longer worked at O6U and both were more eager to speak to me than the people I interviewed during the first phase (both of these interviews were conducted by telephone and lasted fifteen and thirty minutes, respectively). The same could be said about the former junior professor whom I had met by chance and who ended up participating in the study. One student refused to be interviewed and so did one professor on the grounds that he would not be able to provide me with exact figures. He also insisted that I contact only people from the administration; it was the same person, the head of the political science department, who during the first phase had welcomed me into his office in the *majlis al-sha'ab* (the Lower House of the National Parliament). Of the other five interviews with three deans (from the faculties of medicine, engineering, and languages) and with two senior administrators (vice-president of student affairs and vice-president of graduate studies), only three were recorded because two of the interviewees declined to be recorded (one professor who also refused the recording during the first phase of research and one administrator who did not have a problem being recorded during the first phase, but declined during the second without explanation). These five interviews—the ones that I carried out on campus and especially those that were recorded—were significantly shorter than the interviews from the previous phase (which lasted between twenty and forty minutes); of the two unrecorded interviews, one was one-hour long, and quite enthusiastic, while the other lasted about half an hour during which the respondent towed, rather, the official line.

Overall, during the first phase I conducted eighteen interviews, most of them audio-recorded, varying from twenty minutes to almost two hours in length, and most of them in Egyptian Arabic and some in English. During the second phase I conducted eight interviews: two by telephone and one during an informal meeting with a junior professor who had left O6U in 2005; the other five took place as usual on the university campus. As my interviews were mostly with senior officials, none of them requested to remain anonymous (while some

of the students I interviewed did), although, as noted above, some preferred that our conversations were unrecorded.

Summary of Findings

Campus Life: The Social Map of O6U

It is the O6U itself—and this seems to be the norm in other private universities—that employs its workers and faculty and so its premises are treated like those of a private firm, with an opening hour and a closing one, fixed at 4 pm.⁹ At least half an hour before that time, the employees begin packing their things and walking toward their private cars or the buses provided by the university to bring them back to Cairo where the vast majority of them live.¹⁰ Students, faculty, staff, and even heads of departments and deans are not allowed to stay on the O6U premises after 4 pm unless they have an official permission from the president himself or on special occasions. The general atmosphere is that most people at O6U consider themselves as employees and behave as such. The closing time is particularly striking, especially when compared with other, mainly public, universities in Egypt, which are usually crowded until late in the evening, since the students generally see the campus as a gathering place, its green areas offering them space to wander at their leisure.

Following the same model designed to restrict free spaces for students, the spaces for socializing inside the O6U campus are limited to a “food court” where, according to the *Dalil al-jami’a*, there are “a variety of restaurants offering Egyptian, Arab and world food, in addition to a center for services to students” (7). The place is not comfortable or well-kept and unlike the majority of other buildings on campus it is not provided with air conditioning. The “variety of restaurants” is in fact represented by two fairly similar local fast-food places and a few cafeterias offering snacks, and “services” mean a couple of photocopy shops. This place is apparently designed for the less affluent students and it stands in contrast with the

couple of relatively big malls located just outside the campus. There, all the usual restaurants and cafeterias that have become representative of the Cairene cosmopolitan elite (and of other segments of the population, especially young people who seek international lifestyle) are to be found.¹¹ They are much more expensive and boast the usual facilities that are increasingly a sign of status—freezing temperatures maintained by powerful air conditioners, comfortable armchairs and sofas, and customers socializing predominantly in mixed couples, unlike the campus “food court” where more conservative social standards prevail, possibly due to the presence of university guards. The students who spend their time on campus or those who commute by bus to the university are different from those who will never eat anything at the “food court” and would rather spend their free time in the much more luxurious places outside the campus or in the flats that some of them rent in the buildings that overlook the university. But differences among students are not only defined by class.

One of the strongest differentiations is between Egyptians and foreigners, mostly from other Arab countries. Foreign students have different gathering places, mostly outside the campus, while Egyptian students are more likely to live in the city and, once on the campus grounds, to move in family and friends circles. Foreign students usually live in O6U residences—the girls’ dormitory (counting up to 260 rooms) is located on campus and the boys’ (with 230 rooms) in the immediate surroundings of the university—and they enjoy more freedom since they are away from their families. Some male students are allowed to live alone in their flats and this bolsters the local economy through an increase in real estate prices, construction of food outlets, and services offered, etc. For this group of students, Cairo is a distant reality, seldom explored, and they seem to be better integrated into the model of the “new city” as it has been conceived in the last ten years, as something separated from the city, more organized and efficient, exclusive and far away from the overpopulation problem, and as something essentially market-oriented and private in nature.

However, students living in residence have to observe rigid rules regarding, for example, food, drinks, and opening hours. While the curfew for girls almost coincides with the university's closing time, boys are allowed slightly more freedom—the gates of their dorm close at 11 pm during the academic year, at midnight during the summer, and at 1 am on weekends (Thursdays and Fridays). These rules are enforced by “responsibles” (there is one responsible for every fifty students) and who deal with smaller infractions. For major rules violations the normal chain of control applies—the director of the dorm reports the incident to the dean of the faculty in which the student is enrolled and in case of serious infractions, the dean then reports directly to the university president. Furthermore, staying in residence is inexpensive—according to its director, a full-board year in a shared room costs around EGP 10,000 (approx. US \$1,400). These two factors—rules and low cost of accommodations—account for the fact that students from poorer families or those Egyptians who come from outside the Greater Cairo area also live there. At the time of this research, the dorm for female students was almost full, while the one for boys was at 80 percent capacity.

The relations between Egyptian and foreign students, especially some nationalities such as Tunisians and Saudis, merits further study. I do not have precise data in this regard, but I was told several times that confrontations between students are common and if they are not settled quickly they tend to escalate. This might happen due to external problems or to personal disputes that become a matter of honor.¹² For example, a fight between an Egyptian and a Saudi student in the faculty of medicine was followed by confrontations between groups of Egyptians and Saudis that had little or nothing to do with the people involved in the initial fight.

Campus space is organized rigidly, and the buildings in which academic life usually takes place are distinct from each other even internally, with most faculties, especially social science, occupying one floor of the four-story buildings, which encourages separation

between students of different faculties. Air conditioning, available almost everywhere in the buildings, is a necessity as the weather can be hot for most of the year.¹³ This is one of the first things that students and professors are likely to point out when speaking about the advantages of studying at O6U, especially when they discuss the distinctions between private and public universities—the latter are often depicted as almost unbearably overcrowded. One female student in the faculty of languages first studied law at Cairo University, but she had to change institutions since she could not put up with the fact that students in her classes numbered around three thousand; she then enrolled at O6U where she could pursue her preferred field of study, German, and where her classes never reached ten students at a time.

Student activities at O6U are structured and little if any space is left for free activities outside those planned in the different courses. These are well-organized and for most students they are one of the main advantages of studying at O6U, again especially if compared to experiences in public universities. From admission procedures to the presence of faculty advisors, from trips to assistance after graduation, especially in finding a job—everything seems to be designed to make life easier for the students enrolled in this university.

Admission is quite easy and the fact that students pay for their education allows them freedom of choice of their area of study, which is normally not the case in the public sector due to strict admission quotas for the most desirable faculties and programs. In addition, the small class sizes allow for a closer supervision of students by faculty members and I personally witnessed that students feel free to ask questions even if they are not directly related to the subjects taught.

The main problem for O6U students is that they do not have permission to organize in unions or the like and therefore lack any organized representation within the different councils that govern the university. Any form of political or similar kind of activity is formally banned. This is particularly striking if we take into consideration the relevance, on a

national level, of students' movements throughout Egyptian history. More recently, even professors in public universities established a movement that is active in debating reforms and issues of academic freedom. The avoidance of any political activity at O6U is explained differently by different people. Some administrators pointed out that students themselves are not interested in politics and that since they pay tuition fees, they should organize activities related to their fields of study. Others mentioned the fact that the presence of many nationalities (more than forty at the time of my research, most of them from the Arab world) is likely to foster hatred among different communities and that it is, therefore, even more important to keep students away from political activity. This would also ensure the respectability of O6U in the eyes of foreign families who are likely to enroll their children there. Beyond these partial explanations, it seems that the absence of politics also pertains to the very essence of the neoliberal model, that of gaining a "neutral," "scientific," and "objective" knowledge with little if any concern for different points of view.

Apart from these general political implications, the absence of student representation is also felt on departmental and faculty level. Any grievance that students may have or any proposed changes of matters like exam dates or the content of a seminar have to be directed to the dean through the students' adviser who is appointed by the dean and present in every faculty. From the administration's point of view, this is not an issue because for them the channel of communication is ensured, but some students complained that if there was a problem with the adviser and they wanted to file a grievance or complaint, they were on their own. At the same time, however, some students referred to the very fact of having an adviser to contact for any complaint or question as something innovative and decidedly better than the system in public universities where, according to them, it is more difficult to have their voices heard. The most cited example in this regard was the possibility to request the replacement of a professor—since students' grievances in this respect are taken seriously and

since most teaching contracts are renewed every year, the possibility exists that some professors, especially those on the lower echelons of the academic hierarchy, be replaced.

More important for the purposes of this study, however, is the fact that most students tend simply to ignore the relevance of any political activity during their university years. This was brought up in many conversations both with professors and students, and the general impression was that O6U students are more or less satisfied with their courses and activities, and they do not complain about the absence of other possibilities. This might be explained by the usual degree of self-censorship that is always at play, especially when talking to a stranger, but also by the different attitude of a student paying tuition in a private university, for, as one respondent put it, “a student pays for the quality of the training he gets, not to get involved into politics.”¹⁴

Multiple reasons inform a student’s decision to enroll at a private university instead of a public one, but most have to do with the student’s personal background. One of the main explanations—and in this regard O6U is no exception—is that the students’ *thanaweya amma* (final exam at the end of secondary school) grades are not good enough to get them accepted in the faculties of their choice. Not surprisingly, this is not the first reason that students mention when asked about their choice of university, but this factor comes up at a certain point during the many conversations I have had with students. The choice of O6U over other private universities also has to do with a variety of factors, but among the more stated reason is the relatively inexpensive tuition, which in some cases is as low as EGP 4,000 per year (approx. US \$800) and is seldom more than EGP 20,000 for the faculties most in demand. In comparison, the fees of the American University of Cairo (AUC), by far the most expensive private university in Egypt, are almost five times more; other universities that are even remotely international in scope are more expensive as well.

Strong competition exists among Egyptian private universities—a number of which are

located on the same road that leads from Cairo to the 6th of October City, thus widening the field of competition. It seems that O6U is losing students to other universities even though it retains its primacy in terms of numbers of enrollment, as already mentioned; this results in fees being considerably lower at O6U. Competition raises another issue—the necessity of having a strong *al-gawda* (“quality” of an institution), which is usually understood in quantitative terms and in terms of structures such as the credit hours system. Despite the need for a distinguishing quality, it seems that there is in fact a great deal of unclear data and absence of comparative statistics about private universities in the country. Potential students are thus not presented with clear information and consequently, their choice of university is not entirely free and conscious, but is rather determined by their family’s social capital. In this sense, one can observe that there are people who will never study at O6U or any other private university because they come from low-income families and cannot afford the tuition fees or, at the opposite end of the social spectrum, because they prefer to be educated at foreign private universities, either in Egypt or abroad. The 6th of October City seems to be designed for people of middle class rather than middle-to-upper classes and O6U could be understood as part of this characterization of the surrounding area.

Policies and Decision-Making Processes

O6U is governed by a Board of Trustees composed essentially of the investors in the university (“the owners,” as they are usually referred to); in the words of one senior administrator: “They are almost all [representatives of] banks and companies, not so much individuals, from Egypt and abroad.” The governor of 6th of October City also sits on the Board as a representative of the local government in university affairs. The Board meets regularly every few months in a conference room near the president’s office, on the second floor of the Faculty of Engineering building. At the time of writing, the members of the

Board were: the university President, prof. Ahmed Attia, who is appointed by the Board; Vice-President of Student and Educational Affairs, prof. Ahmed Hijazi; Vice-President of Graduate Studies and Scientific Research, prof. Talaat Rihan; the academic consultant, prof. Ali Talaat; the deans of different faculties and departments; and some administrative personnel such as the director of student residences.¹⁵ The Board of Trustees deals with matters of university financial affairs and government relations.

Another governing body for matters that concern university life is the University Council, which is summoned once a month in the same office to discuss academic affairs. The Council is headed by the university president and includes as members the fourteen deans of faculties and the vice-presidents; student representatives are not admitted, nor are representatives of university staff or junior faculty members. I was told that students are represented in the Council for Student Affairs through appointees from within each faculty, but this information had to be reviewed in the second phase of research (see below). The Council for Student Affairs, which reports to the University Council, is headed by a vice-president of student affairs. The person responsible for teachers and staff affairs is prof. Rihan, Vice-President of Graduate Studies and Scientific Research, who also acts as informal legal consultant in matters regarding faculty.¹⁶

As the president of the university explicitly told me, the only sources of funding are student fees and profits generated from external activities such as the embellishment of the 6th of October City created by students in the faculty of applied arts. The central government does not finance the university and is actually raising taxes from the different economic activities that O6U is generating. Despite its presence on the Board of Trustees, the local government is similarly not a donor, but is rather, at least in the words of prof. Attia, “someone who takes the money and the benefits.”¹⁷ The other members of the Board are also only interested in making profits, not in investing in the university—that is, at least, the

complaint of the highest echelons of the administrative body. Some senior administrators who have worked in the United States for most of their careers pointed out that there is a complete lack of donors, contrary to US private universities where donations represent a substantial share of their funding. There is an absolute lack of transparency on statistics, on information about student and faculty members, and on the university budget—these are disclosed only to the appropriate ministry and even those who work at O6U might not be aware of the university's actual financial and material state of affairs. This lack of transparency is justified by citing the aggressive competition between private universities and the fear of losing further shares of the market, a point to which I will return below. It is enough to mention here the fact that I was forbidden by the president in person to have access to O6U's *layha* (internal regulations) and that the promise to provide me with statistics on students and staff was never fulfilled.

Thus, one can observe that O6U governance is hierarchical, not only from the point of view of student affairs or financial matters, but also from the perspective of the people who work there, faculty members in particular. It is important to recall here that almost not a single important decision is made at the faculty level. Changes in the curriculum, for instance, have to be approved by the Egyptian Ministry of Higher Education, which every three years checks the balance of the courses offered and even small changes made during such three-year periods are not official until a ministerial approval is received.¹⁸ The job of the academic consultant, prof. Ali Talaat, is to ensure the coherence of proposed new courses or other changes in the curriculum—as the internal supervisor, he checks the feasibility of the proposed changes. When I asked him how he decided if a change should be submitted to the ministry for approval, he affirmed that his main guideline is the new credit hours system, which in his words is more flexible and better for students who enjoy smaller groups of study and a greater choice of courses and exams, of how many hours to attend per week and on

how to distribute the workload over the academic year divided in two semesters. Similarly, proposals about hiring new junior professors have to be submitted to the University Council and the president usually has the final say after verifying the financial sustainability of the decision; even the “quality commission” of each faculty is supervised by a “responsible” appointed by the president.

The university began offering courses in the 1999/2000 academic year, and in its early years of existence it witnessed an impressive rise in numbers—both of students enrolled in the different faculties and of professors hired. This trend, especially the enrollment rate, reached its peak in 2002/03 with almost 16,500 students enrolled (compared to 568 in the first year); after that it has continuously declined at a very slow pace, while there has been a tremendous rise in numbers of private universities in Egypt and elsewhere in the Arab world. Some of these universities have benefited from the decrease in student numbers at O6U—this is the case, for instance, of the October Modern Sciences and Arts University located not far from O6U. The number of students in 2009/10 academic year was only about 12,000,¹⁹ while the administrators calculated that O6U facilities could accommodate up to 20–21,000 students. For this, the government is blamed as it limits the number of student admissions in some faculties, usually those that are most in demand such as medicine where 300 students are admitted, while the faculty could accommodate up to 500, and this is just one example.²⁰ In other faculties, such as social sciences, the increased competition between private universities in the country is to blame; while in the peak year 2002/03 almost 300 first-year students were enrolled, in the year 2009/10 this figure dropped to forty, according to the dean of the department of political science.

As a consequence, there has been and still is an increased pressure on the administration to keep the university profitable without severely cutting services in order not to lose too many students—this is one of the main challenges for the coming years at O6U

and at private Egyptian universities in general. This is not the case for all disciplines; each year the number of students applying to study medicine and engineering exceeds the maximum capacity per faculty, which is fixed by the ministry. According to the head of the Faculty of Medicine, O6U is more than willing to accept more students, but the ministry is concerned about saturation of graduates from these disciplines. This problem was exacerbated in the academic year 2010/11 because of a huge drop in number of students taking the *thanaweya amma* due to a reform in the primary school system. The reform decreased the number of years in primary school from five to six and as a consequence, six years later, there are almost no students completing secondary school.²¹ It was estimated that only 40,000 students would apply to all universities in Egypt and while public universities rather welcomed this situation because it eased their chronically overburdened structures and facilities, private universities such as O6U were likely to suffer greatly from this “gap year,” for students’ fees are their almost sole source of funding.

It is interesting to consider the segment of the market that O6U and similar universities in Egypt and in the Arab world (understood as a region with good internal mobility of people, including university students) are targeting. For students from affluent families studying abroad, or at least at the AUC, would be their best bet. With its comparatively inexpensive tuition fees, O6U is seeking to enlarge the platform of potential customers—since it is a for-profit organization—in order to pull ahead of the increasing number of competitors. The aggregate numbers suggest, however, that this attempt seems to be failing, since the total number of students whose families can afford private education is not growing. Moreover, the competition is increasing also on a regional level. During my interviews, top administrators expressed their worries about the growing number of universities in Saudi Arabia, the home country of many of the international students studying in Egypt.

The composition of the student body is therefore telling. Since almost 40 percent of the

total student population come from Arab countries²² —and as a group they are more profitable for the university because they pay higher fees in addition to accommodation and living expenses—the competition is heavy on a regional level. Some faculties had to decrease their tuition fees, by more than half in some cases²³ (e.g. the department of computer science of which there are now around twenty-five across Egypt alone, while at the beginning of 2000s there were only two, or the faculty of education where tuition fees were around EGP 10,000 [approx. US \$1,450] but, according to the dean, would be reduced in half). Along with this decrease, O6U is expanding its collaborations with universities in the developing world, especially with Eastern Asian countries such as Thailand, and also with few universities in Europe and the United States, in order to become more attractive by offering “international experience,” which seems to be increasingly in demand by those willing to pay for education. In this perspective, there is an attempt at creating possibilities for student exchanges, but these are still at an embryonic stage; more importantly, there is no allocation of funds for less affluent students to travel as well. Generally speaking, however, the effects of competition have been dealt with at O6U by increasing fees in the most desirable faculties by 5 to 10 percent, according to prof. Rihan.

The university and the local city government cooperate in limited ways. From a cultural perspective, the collaboration is mainly through the university library, which is located outside the campus and is open to the general public. The library building has three levels and features a place for children on the ground floor and different sections on the next two floors, equipped with a few computers, offering large spaces for reading as well as the necessary air conditioning. From a material perspective, the university is the biggest company (in the words of its director²⁴) in the city, the one that employs most people (more than 1,000 employees, according to prof. Attia). The economic benefits for the new city of 6th of October are not limited to these facts, but are extended to real estate, since when the

university was founded it was in the middle of nowhere while now it is surrounded by residential and commercial palaces, mainly rented for students' needs. O6U is definitely part of a developing project, designed at reshaping Cairo and its surroundings over the next decades. The road that leads to 6th of October passes along new, mostly luxurious, residential areas (such as the one that promises a "lake view" in the midst of the desert), which are becoming a sign of distinction for the Cairene neoliberal elite. Malls and private universities are also built along that road. Thus, it is difficult to understand the degree to which these "private" enterprises are the outcome of individuals' private initiatives or if they are rather part of a coherent attempt to reshape the city, the citizenry, and the educational system that contributes to shaping the citizens of tomorrow.

Another important link between the university and the city is the hospital, which is regarded as one of the main advantages of O6U since its foundation. The hospital "has over 400 beds and includes all the medical specializations," as prof. Attia mentioned to me,²⁵ and it is used to train medical students and to treat patients mostly from the neighborhood.

Apart from the abovementioned economic and social ties with the local government, the university is well-connected to the national government by way of the very structures of governance that I mentioned previously. Some of the banks and the investing agencies, whose representatives sit on the Board of Trustees, are publicly owned and as such have priority in the decision-making process within the university and university life, particularly regarding allocation of funds, investments, expenses, and hiring (and firing) of employees. Thus, the idea of a private university completely separate from state power is far from the reality of O6U. In the near future, O6U will host the Supreme Council for Private Universities as a partial response to the public and older Cairo University, which hosts the Supreme Council for Universities, and as an attempt both to legitimate O6U as one of the most relevant private universities in the country and to have a more direct impact on

legislation that can interfere with, or enhance, the activities of private universities. For example, during my fieldwork there was a huge controversy over the possibility of allowing graduate studies in private universities, especially in faculties like medicine where graduate studies are absolutely necessary.²⁶

The internal structure of the university is hierarchical and centralized, with almost all major decisions made at the administrative level while minor ones have to be reported by the heads of departments to the competent superiors. From an academic point of view, participation of the lower echelons of the hierarchy (junior members of staff) is not encouraged, apart from few individual cases, and participation in crucial decisions is not extended to senior professors. The same complaints could be heard at the superior level; it is claimed that the state imposes in almost all daily decisions in university life, including the academic curriculum, as I noted above.

The composition of the staff, especially faculty members, enhances this controlling process. There are few full professors, usually on leave from public universities (a law in Egypt allows a professor to be on unpaid leave for up to ten years), and they are given the biggest organizational burden within each department, which they actually shape in many cases.²⁷ The category of associated professors is limited and the biggest share of teaching is done by junior professors who are usually selected among young PhD graduates from public universities. Some of them are selected among former O6U students who are hired while still completing their MA or PhD degrees in public universities. If their performance is satisfactory, their contracts are normally renewed every year, which arguably affects their autonomy and the freedom they enjoy within the university. The implemented teachers' evaluation process is seen by administrators and senior staff members as one of the major achievements in determining the quality and effectiveness of teaching and examining procedures. The evaluations are carried out by both senior staff and students, in the latter case

through questionnaires. Junior professors, however, see evaluations as threatening. This results in peculiar relations—for example, students feel as though they are in a position of authority vis-à-vis professors, especially junior ones, and they behave accordingly.

Student participation in academic life is a complex matter. From the abovementioned perspective, it seems that they are in a good position to negotiate their way within the institution, and that they enjoy a few dedicated activities, such as a job fair, theater performances, trips, etc. No official representation within the institution is authorized, however, political or religious meetings on campus are not allowed either, and students who have complaints about senior professors or about the organization of activities have very limited possibilities to express them. Student life on campus is limited to hanging out with peers in the gardens or sitting in the small and uncomfortable cafeteria since access to the buildings is checked by the guards.

Autonomy and Academic Freedom

Issues of censorship at O6U are recurrent, to the point that they have become unnoticeable, and almost everyone who works there practices, consciously or not, a high degree of self-censorship in order to avoid problems with students, colleagues, the administration, or other. Needless to say, this also reflects on class activities and, from what I could see, to a much higher degree than in public universities. During my research, I spoke with senior professors in the humanities departments who are well positioned within the national political system. One of them told me that, as a member of NDP (the former ruling party), he was working on a reform of the educational system as part of larger reforms that were supposed to be presented by Gamal Mubarak, the son of the former president of Egypt. This was part of a plan to favor his succession to his father, a plan that has of course become obsolete after February 11, 2011 when Hosny Mubarak resigned. Another professor, possibly to impress

me, arranged for our interview to take place at the *al-majlis al-shab* (the Lower House of the National Parliament) where he was working as a member of a commission on human rights. These are examples, but it should be clear, again, that the concept of “private” university, at least for sensible topics, is much less private than one might be led to believe.

Similarly, censorship on textbooks is to be expected because, as far as I could determine, most textbooks are written by O6U professors who tend to adhere to the curriculum as much as possible. Moreover, textbooks’ authors are not mentioned by name, instead some textbooks’ title pages read: “The staff of the 3rd year of the Faculty of ...,” and the like. Books available in the library are mostly of general interest and have been subjected to a close scrutiny.

Controlling the activities of students is normal as is the possibility for a student to be suspended for some time (from a week to a semester) or even expelled, although I did not witness anything of this sort. The patrolling presence of guards, even inside the buildings, is an obvious sign of control as is the structure of the campus itself—there are very few places where students can gather and chat comfortably, free from indiscreet gazes—and students have learned to behave accordingly. I argue that the hierarchy of faculty staff—a few senior professors and a majority of lecturers, assistant lecturers, and demonstrators—encourages practices of control. This is due to the fact that lecturers’ contracts are renewed annually, which is a source of a great deal of pressure for them. This constitutes one of the paradoxical effects of the recent interest in evaluating the “quality” of the teaching process, which in this context becomes yet another tool that deans and administrators can use to keep the younger cohorts under close scrutiny. The need to preserve the quality of teaching is used as a pretext to avoid signing long-term contracts for junior staff—a marked trend also in other parts of the world.

All of the senior professors whom I interviewed shared some common characteristics,

which are telling of the complex character of “private” universities in Egypt. I interviewed ten professors in total from different faculties, most of them deans of their departments, and they were almost all on leave or recently retired from public universities, usually Cairo University or Ain Shams. They have served as deans or have also held other administrative positions in the public sector and have been either individually asked to work at O6U by the administration or by a colleague already working at the university or have been selected from a restricted pool of candidates. They were asked to develop, and in some cases design *ex novo*, new courses and/or departments using their knowledge from the public sector, but with a consideration of O6U’s resources. Some speak enthusiastically about their new life, others are more nostalgic about the “good old days,” but all—despite some who expressed certain unease about working for a for-profit organization—generally agreed that they were building an alternative needed in the context of overloaded public universities where working conditions have become almost unbearable. When I mentioned O6U in particular, very few of my respondents demonstrated a personal attachment to it, apart from those who had been there from its inception and had played a role in the shaping of this institution. Most felt that their work was relevant on a national scale, but their feeling was directed mostly at the private university as a broad category, regardless of the actual institution they worked for. Almost all of them, however, made a very clear distinction between AUC and the German University in Cairo (GUC), on the one hand and Egyptian private universities such as O6U, on the other, usually with a sense that they were not employed in the privileged foreign private institutions, but in the much poorer, and more necessary, Egyptian ones.

The workload of O6U faculty members is considerably greater than in public universities because there are fewer members of staff at O6U and the courses are proportionally more (the model of the teaching university is spreading), but this is compensated with less working hours and higher salaries. For example, junior teaching staff

normally has twenty-four teaching hours per week while professors have eighteen since they also fulfill some administrative duties; deans and other senior professors, whose main tasks are administrative, have eight teaching hours per week.²⁸ Since research is not among the obligations of senior faculty members and since undergraduate courses are normally basic, it is up to each individual to decide whether to continue doing research or not. In this sense, my interviews showed certain ambivalence, also because almost all of the respondents were approaching the end of their careers. For the few associate professors that I was able to interview the situation was rather different—they have to do research in order to get promotion. This research is usually carried out in the facilities offered by public universities with which most of them continue to be affiliated—it is common that professors' business cards list more than one institution, usually a public and a private one.

Junior faculty members are often recruited among the best O6U graduates; from a contractual point of view, people in this category occupy the lowest possible rank equivalent to that of practitioners. While teaching at O6U, these students would earn an MA in another university, after which they would be appointed at O6U as assistant lecturers. In order to be appointed lecturers, they have to enroll in a PhD program (again, at a public institution since postgraduate studies are not available at O6U) and once they complete it, they would follow the procedure for promotions in Egyptian academia. Described in this manner, this process seems too schematic since most junior staff have still not been appointed lecturers because O6U was established recently and because there are many exceptions to this path—most notably, hiring people from outside the university.

Moreover, even though the university administration is compelled to formally acknowledge the change of status (as well as of salary and duties) of an assistant lecturer who has obtained his/her PhD, most contracts—in some cases also for senior staff—are renewed every year and therefore the administration retains its position of privilege toward its

employees. However, control is not practiced only once a year through the contract renewal process, but for junior staff it is a constant source of worry especially because of evaluation procedures. Some of these procedures are internal to O6U, but others are designed to respond to the assignments of the reforms regarding “quality” and this has brought about the creation of quality commissions in each of the fourteen faculties and headed by a senior professor. The main criteria for good evaluations are: being cooperative, achieving success in teaching, and being able to increase student participation both in and outside of the classroom. Senior faculty members are responsible for junior ones; the former observe the latter’s performances, report their impressions to the dean who reports to the vice-president of postgraduate affairs, who in turn informs the president in order to decide which contracts will be renewed. Working conditions for junior staff are made more difficult by the private character of the university and by most students’ attitude toward professors, which I referred to above and which is different from the one they would have in public universities. Thus, junior academic staff find themselves in a rather difficult position, squeezed between control from the upper echelons of the hierarchy and a widespread disrespect from the students.

I will now briefly turn to an analysis of three faculties at O6U with the aim to show their specificities in more detail. I will focus on the Faculty of Medicine for its importance at O6U, and for a general discussion on the relation between the state and the private academic sector; the Faculty of Engineering for its importance on a national level and for its enrollment rates; and the Faculty of Economics and Political Science because it represents, in the words of its administrators, one of O6U’s principal strengths.

Faculty of Medicine

This faculty and its attached hospital are considered of great use for the citizens of the 6th of October City,²⁹ and represent, as mentioned above, one of the main features that distinguish

O6U as a “true” university (as opposed to presumably less serious private universities, as they are commonly regarded in Egypt with few exceptions), as its administrators are likely to point out. As I extensively showed above, this judgment has to be put in the context of an increased competition among private universities in Egypt, and in the Middle East more generally. At the same time, however, this faculty and its hospital are a concrete sign of the presence of the state in the private sector for there is an absolute need of accreditation from public institutions in order for the private to work, and this is particularly evident in the medical field. The absence of postgraduate studies at O6U weights heavy on this faculty in particular—in Egypt (as elsewhere) for a person to become a medical doctor only a medical degree is not enough, the years of studying have to be integrated with a year of *sana’ al-’imtia*z (clinical practice) and this is why O6U cooperates with Cairo University’s Qasr el-Aini hospital. I could not obtain details about the specificities of this cooperation, but O6U is paying Cairo University for this service, which nonetheless is not a given for all graduates—the competition to be accepted for the practice year is strong. This cooperation is critical for many of the discourses that I have outlined in this paper because it also shows how the public sector—in this case, Cairo University—is changed through contact with the private sector. It should not come as a surprise then that before arriving at O6U in 2008, the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, prof. Mohammed Kadry, has held the same position at Cairo University.

This faculty also maintains international cooperations. Different countries have different regulations concerning medical studies. For example, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, which are among the most represented countries of origin for international students at O6U, do not have agreements with the Faculty of Medicine. On the other hand, countries such as Nigeria, Malaysia, and Indonesia have official agreements with this faculty and not so much with the others. Moreover, the problem of the start-up is evident here as many specialization

fields do not yet have a broad curriculum, and this affects both the quality of teaching and the concrete opportunities for learning and practicing medical care. Another issue felt acutely in the faculty is language of instruction, which is supposed to be English, but many students find this difficult, especially students from certain Arab states, in the opinion of one senior professor. As a result, they often cheat on exams, which is becoming another issue of concern.

In terms of teachers' paths and careers, the story of the dean of the faculty is informative. He explained that his current position came about after he had spent more than thirty years at Qasr el-Aini, at which point he reached a retirement age and accepted a position at O6U. Thus, his employment is not to be considered as a choice in favor of the private sector. In addition, he practices in his own private clinic in central Cairo—which is not unusual for people in his position—but since commuting between Cairo and 6th of October is uncomfortable, he was planning to open another clinic closer to campus. The comparison between the two worlds—on the one hand, that of Cairo University where the Faculty of Medicine counts close to 3,700 professors and other teaching staff, whose importance is acknowledged regionally, and where peer relations are strong and, on the other, that of O6U where the teaching staff does not exceed one hundred, where structures and facilities are incomparable to the ones in Qasr el-Aini and where peer culture is less cultivated—allows the dean to express, once again, his personal attachment to the world where he had studied, obtained his training, and developed a career until his retirement.

Faculty of Engineering

The Faculty of Engineering is among the most important centers of university life. The offices of the president and all top administrators are located on the second floor of this faculty's building while that of the dean is on the fourth, and last, floor. It is not an easy task

to describe the importance of engineering for Egyptian public discourse since at least half a century, and its relevance has not diminished with time. On the contrary, it is believed that engineers—especially civil engineers, those employed in the construction sector, which has boomed in the last decade—would find jobs more easily and would contribute to the well-being of the nation. The engineering faculty at O6U comprises five departments: construction, civil, mechanical, electronic, and computer engineering. Civil engineering is among the specialties most in demand; others are rather neglected to the point where enrollment is as little as ten students per year. A similar admission problem as the one I described earlier for medicine exists here as well—the university would be happy to have more students in the civil engineering department, but the ministry has fixed the number of admissions per year and this becomes a basis for discontent. The total number of students in all departments and in all years does not exceed 1,600—a figure not comparable to the one in engineering faculties in public universities. This is the case despite the fact that fees at O6U are low—around EGP 20-25,000 (US \$2,900-3,600) per year—much less than what other private universities charge and only two or three times more than the fees at the popular institutes for technology, which only grant licenses and bachelor degrees.

This faculty also has an international dimension. According to one senior professor, almost 60 percent of all students are foreigners, the majority of whom come from Saudi Arabia and Palestine. The official language of instruction is English, but as in the case of medicine, many courses and textbooks use Arabic in this faculty as well, given the fact that English is not the mother tongue of neither professors nor students.³⁰ In comparison to the Faculty of Medicine, engineering has a more rundown appearance (its central building notwithstanding): classes are not well-equipped and I saw one lab in bad condition.³¹ Here the problem of postgraduate studies does not apply because most students seek jobs after graduation and engineering is, as mentioned, a specialty mainly chosen for the supposedly

easier access to the labor market.

The story of the Vice-Dean for Student Affairs, prof. Mohammed Mahmood, is telling. After his BA, he earned an MA, became a lecturer and then a professor at the Helwan public university with an interruption of a few years in the 1980s to earn a PhD in the United Kingdom. During his time in Manchester, he also worked as a consultant for a local engineering company. When he graduated, he returned to Egypt and worked in academia; in 2006 he was hired at O6U. During our interview, he did not specify whether he actually decided to move from the public to the private education sector—even though he mentioned the fact that his current salary is considerably higher than the one he received while at Helwan University—or if he made the transition after his retirement from the public sector, but he nonetheless emphasized that his academic endeavors and research are still at Helwan where he maintains contact with his old colleagues.³²

Faculty of Economics and Political Science

This is a dynamic faculty as demonstrated by the teaching staff I met with and by the nature of teaching, which involves extra-curricular initiatives, even though one professor pointed out that most activities are social or sports-related. Located near the main campus gate, not far from the faculty of tourism and its adjacent hotel, the faculty has two floors in a building of four that also hosts departments in the humanities. It comprises four sub-specialization fields—statistics, business administration, economics, and political science—with an enrollment of almost 1,500 students in all specializations and years. The enrollment rate has decreased in the last year, but unlike other faculties, the administration in this one decided to address the raising costs by raising tuition fees, which in the last year increased from EGP 9,000 to almost 12,000 (US \$1,300–1,700). Like other faculties at O6U, this one is also undergoing a change in the system—from one where students did not have much choice and

their career paths were planned in rigid terms, to the new credit hours system, which is designed to give students more freedom and flexibility and to engage them more actively in faculty life.

One of the specificities of this faculty is that students can choose between two different programs within the same specialization field—one taught in Arabic and the other in English. This is a new trend that has been gaining momentum since the widespread introduction of education in foreign languages and is now to be found also in the best faculties and departments in public universities. Education in English appeals to students from Egypt and from other Arabic countries.

In terms of diversity of the student body, this faculty makes no exception to the general trend where domestic and foreign students are at almost 50 percent, but according to the dean of the faculty, prof. Kamal Ali Omran, Egyptians are slightly more represented. Other nationalities include students from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, the majority of whom study in Egypt on scholarship programs offered in their countries. According to some professors, most of these students are not academically inclined and cheating on exams, for example, is a problem. From what I could determine, specific to this faculty is the graduation program designed to teach scientific research to fourth- (and final) year students. The students do not actually engage in research activities, but they spend a semester being trained on what is scientific research, what are its main tools and methodologies, et cetera.

Prof. Omran graduated in 1974 with a degree in business administration from Cairo University. After that he spent a few years in the United States pursuing his MA and PhD, and returned to Egypt to teach in the Faculty of Commerce at Cairo University where he stayed until he transferred to O6U in 2009. He did not mention if he was retiring from the public sector or if he had specifically chosen the private one, but he emphasized that he started collaborating with this faculty's former dean while he was still at Cairo University. He

had come to O6U to carry out the conversion to the credit hours system and to carry out a general renewal of teaching procedures. Indeed his was one of the offices I visited during my research where people were busy working—while there, I saw junior faculty members marking exams and several visibly more relaxed senior professors.³³

O6U after the Revolution—Main Findings from the Second Phase of Research

As an institution, O6U did not participate in the Revolution. There are several explanations for this. First, and I will elaborate on this below, as a private university O6U staff and students have a different “character,” as one administrator put it. Second, 6th of October City is distinct from Cairo in terms of population, sense of belonging, and association. It could be argued that most city inhabitants could, in one way or another, make a living under the previous regime and thus they view less favorably the goals of the Revolution, although we should be wary of generalizations, especially given the unclear political developments in the country.³⁴ Third, a significant proportion of the O6U student body are foreign students from other Arab countries and are obviously less involved in the revolutionary events.

The official answer, the one that senior administrators and professors were immediately ready to give, was that the university supported the Revolution and that everyone was happy about what had happened, even though no real changes were visible at least in the small world of the O6U campus. People participated in the revolutionary events on an individual basis, especially Egyptian students and junior members of staff. Since I was not permitted to do any interviews with representatives of these two groups, I lack materials that would allow me to give an informed assessment of the actual degree of participation of O6U personnel in the Revolution. My guess is that support must have been widespread during the eighteen days of the upheaval, but it has been decreasing after at a constant rate and during the second phase of my research in May 2012 it seemed irrelevant; the only concrete effect of the

Revolution was that the beginning of the semester was postponed by two weeks. There were absolutely no signs of the Revolution on campus—neither graffiti or posters, or signs with slogans were visible.³⁵

Interestingly, most of the people I spoke with associated the word “revolution” with problems that impacted their lives, namely *baltajiia* (bandits) and the need to protect themselves and their families. On the positive side, my respondents often mentioned how amazing it was that the Egyptian people had managed not to lose one school or academic year and that the Revolution had only minimally affected the university (the gap year³⁶ was often mentioned as a more serious threat to O6U than the actual effects of the Revolution). As far as I could understand, a few minor protests were organized on campus after the Revolution by students demanding greater representation and by employees and junior professors demanding better wages and, on one occasion, vacation time, as one administrator said with evident sarcasm. As I will discuss below, these demands were met and in the case of the employees and junior faculty, their salaries were raised “even before they asked for it,” in the words of one administrator.³⁷

Changes in University Governance

With regards to university governance, it is business as usual except a few replacements of personnel. For example, a few deans left the university including one person whom I later interviewed over the phone and who explained that he had left because his contract had ended after six years; he is now an academic consultant at Misr University for Science and Technology and the head of the municipality of 6th of October City subjected to Giza municipality. But the Board of Trustees and the University Council function as before.

There have been developments in responding to student demands. One of the first things I was told with pride by administrators, soon after the “we all support the Revolution”

claim, was that they had “created a student union with free elections in each faculty.”³⁸ It turned out, however, that the former system of having some form of student representation within the faculty had not been changed, but it had been “put in practice,” as one dean explained, which implies that what I was told during my first visit had been simply a description of the system on paper and this partly justifies the restriction on speaking with students, which was reiterated during my second phase of research. The system allows for faculty elections—I was even shown a ballot box—but when I asked if the students had organized in political parties, the answer was invariably that there was no need for this and that students knew each other and were selected on the grounds of their capabilities. The claim that students at private universities are different from those in public ones and that they are not interested in politics was repeated. However, universities such as AUC, GUC, and others provide examples proving the opposite, but I do not have enough material to sustain a different thesis for O6U.

Elected students cannot take part in university governance, not even at faculty level (not to mention at the University Council). When I inquired about their actual role, I was told that they collect students’ grievances and proposals for cultural and social activities, which are then submitted to the dean who in turn asks for funding from the university and then informs the students whether the proposed activity is feasible or not. At the same time, the vice-president for students affairs underlined during our interview that the university is increasingly willing to listen to students. Toward this goal, a box for complaints and suggestions had been provided near the vice-president’s office and he guaranteed that such boxes had also been installed in each faculty (see Figure 3). He stressed that the complaints posted there are anonymous, which allows junior staff to also express their opinions, and that he personally collects them once a week (“Only I have the keys,” he said pointing to a large cabinet near his desk) and submits them for discussion at the Council’s weekly meetings.

When I pointed out that this system made the role of student representatives useless, I was told that representatives were allowed to submit petitions or voice their grievances publicly.



Figure 3. A box for complaints and suggestions at O6U. Photo by the author.

No changes have been introduced concerning faculty members either; they are still hired on a personal and mostly yearly basis and have no say in any matter. A former assistant professor whom I met by chance outside of campus, told me during our informal talk that the degree of participation of junior staff varies depending on the dean. In some cases, when personal sympathy or respect for the professor's work is felt, it could translate into some form of cooperation in designing courses and preparing classes, but when this is not the case the weaker part is left without a voice. I was also told by an administrator that this is part of the "nature" of private universities. Employees are still not allowed to organize in an official manner, although unofficially they were able to raise their voices and obtain the "already decided for" salary increase. The minimum salary at the university is EGP 800 (approx. US \$120), which is higher than the average public sector salary.

Relations between the University and the Larger Egyptian Society

The links between O6U and society at large have not changed either. The most relevant examples of such relations are the appointment of local politicians to the university's Board of Trustees and, more importantly, the social relations established through the hospital and the university library. In addition, some professors mentioned that students are noticeably more interested in social affairs, which is reflected in class discussions (especially in the humanities disciplines) and in projects that have to do with interactions with the population at large, but I was not given any further details about these. Autonomy is still rare and even if in the last two and a half years five different ministers of higher education succeeded each other, educational programs and projects are very much the same and this points to a substantial continuity so far. The main ongoing project is the accreditation system, which is checked by an independent authority that responds directly to the prime minister. As was the case in the past, the ministry of higher education regulates almost every aspect of O6U's (as well as in other private universities) internal organization, such as the number of students admitted in each faculty, the content of the curriculum, and the availability of postgraduate studies.

One noticeable change, however, is that ministry staff seem to be kinder—by way of explanation, I was told that given the precariousness of their jobs, they try to be “nicer” and more attentive to the demands of private universities. Another sign of change is an increase in social/political discussions, especially regarding public conferences where well-known speakers are invited to present and discuss pressing topics—a kind of activity that is not unusual in universities worldwide, but that is apparently new to O6U.

Overall, during the second phase of research, it seemed that the general atmosphere in the university was more relaxed, especially during class discussions and student activities, although this is likely to change following the political circumstances. And this more relaxed atmosphere did not prevent an administrator to deny my access to the documents outlining

the internal regulations of the university on the grounds that it is sensitive information; I was also not allowed to move freely about campus and to speak to whom I wanted.

Reforms

It seems that political uncertainty limits the scale of political intervention in the university, despite programs such as the quality commissions or the accreditation process, which are the same for private and public universities and are carried out on departmental level. So far no program at O6U has applied, although I was told that the department of pharmacy has almost completed their application and was ready to receive the quality commission.

As it became clear during the first phase of my research, one of the major issues facing private universities, and O6U in particular, is the availability of postgraduate studies. The building reserved for postgraduate studies at O6U is now completed and is by far the most luxurious building on campus; it will also accommodate the offices of senior administrators as well as science laboratories for undergraduate students (see Figures 4 and 5). However, the building is still unfurnished and empty and I could not access it.



Figures 4 and 5. On the left, the new building to house postgraduate studies and on the right, another, still unfinished, building—a sign that O6U wishes to grow. Photos by the author.

Furthermore, the agreement between O6U and Qasr el-Aini hospital for a training year for medical students is still in place in addition to a signed agreement with Cairo University to develop joint postgraduate programs where O6U students would benefit from the expertise of Cairo University faculty; these joint programs would be possible at O6U, at least in the words of its administrators, but the law that allows postgraduate studies at private universities has not yet been discussed.³⁹

Conclusion

One of the most interesting issues that emerged from this research is the question of the value given to the word “revolution”—what is meant by it and what practices it helps enact. It seems that O6U has been successful in limiting the demands of the weaker segments of staff and students, thereby limiting the potentially subversive effects of the political and social changes. My respondents talked about this in a positive way by saying, for example, that “we managed to avoid the excesses that are seen in public universities, where there is no respect anymore and where students shout the whole day,”⁴⁰ or by ensuring that O6U functions as usual—while awaiting a much-anticipated stability that would be reinstated “soon.” Yet, it is undeniable that some changes (such as some improvement in salary conditions and a greater opening to the world, for example through a series of invited guest speakers) have indeed occurred after the Revolution, even if they have not been too subversive and threatening to the inner corporate logic of this university.

O6U could be viewed as a good example of the so-called “counter-Revolution,” but I would argue that it is rather representative of a strata of Egyptian society that feels uneasy by the political instability in the country and that is willing to regain certainty in the form of a strong government. This should be elaborated further with a discussion on the implications of this kind of new Egyptian private universities, recalling the conditions that enabled their

founding and the political and ideological contexts that are their cornerstones. For example, the view that students are essentially positioned in the role of customers and are unprepared to assume larger responsibilities, is an idea that fits well in other political and social contexts too, and is one of the most enduring legacies of the last thirty years (as I mentioned above, these are preliminary reflections, which should be expanded in further studies).

Looking at the essential continuity with the previous system, the relationship between the university, the ministry, and the accreditation commission has barely changed. It remains to be seen if this is temporary, if a new minister would enact different policies, or if this is a sign that it would take time before the impact of the Revolution reaches these social strata and the higher education sector.

From an academic perspective, there seems to be less attention paid to the changes after the Revolution because O6U is essentially a business enterprise and its focus is on gaining ground in the competition with other private universities. For instance, my respondents often pointed out that some faculties have been successful in increasing the number of their students from the 2010 enrollment rates—the sharp decrease in Arab student presence notwithstanding—while others are losing attractiveness.

All in all, O6U is still the biggest university of its kind, and portrays itself as a growing institution, albeit not without difficulties. I am interested in exploring further the ways in which this and similar institutions represent themselves and how they define “private” as applied to universities, students, or knowledge. It would be interesting to observe if this kind of institution continues to exist in the coming years, and how it will develop given the increased competition and the growing political uncertainty in the country that will most probably urge many families to seek some form of “foreign” education for their children.

Notes

1. Exceptions are the American University in Cairo founded in 1919 and the notorious—although in many ways problematic—case of Al-Azhar, which I cannot discuss in details here, but which is among the oldest institutions of learning in the world and which was private until the reforms in the 1960s. Thus the universities created in the 1990s were the first Egyptian private universities. The labeling of “first” is explained in Note 2.

2. Four private universities were created: Misr International University, Modern Sciences and Arts University, Misr University for Sciences and Technology, and October 6 University. With its first buildings completed in 1999/2000, O6U was the first to open its gates to students, and I maintain that it is the first because of its size and the number of its faculties, as explained in the text.

3. *Dalil al-Jami'a* is a 28-page leaflet given to me by the O6U president when I asked for figures regarding students and professors studying and working in the university. It is written in Arabic and is essentially an advertisement for O6U, providing basic information for potential students. It is accompanied by a CD with a video of about four minutes that shows the campus and some of its facilities.

4. See Appendix B.

5. As I will elaborate in the last section of this paper, the number of foreign students significantly decreased following the events of the Revolution.

6. The case of Nile University is an exception to this general rule of unavailability of postgraduate studies in private universities. It presents a good example of what can be defined as a *jami'at ahliyya* (public-private combination): established more recently than O6U, Nile University is located in one of the more affluent new gated suburbs of Cairo, the Bright Village, which hosts many national and international companies; the university is designed as a hub for postgraduate studies and does not offer undergraduate courses.

7. This was acknowledged in a recent analysis of the urban fabrics of 6 October. Until the recent inflow of refugees from Iraq and particularly from Syria, the main inhabitants of this new settlement were students in private universities (see Nagi 2014).

8. See Appendix A.

9. Depending on whom one speaks to, the explanations given for this rigid closing time vary from the long distance from Cairo to issues of security. The attempt to populate the “new towns” is still in progress—the number of residents in the City of 6th of October was 157,135 in 2006, up from 35,354 in 1996, but still far from the envisaged population of 500,000 (Denis 2011, 107). To be added to this is the number of people who commute daily from Cairo, a number that I could not obtain, but that should be higher than the total population of the City of 6th of October.

10. The nightmare of commuting to and from 6 October is analyzed by Dalia Wahdan (2012).

11. Many studies discuss this; for an introduction, see de Koning (2006).

12. Such as the football match between Tunisia and Egypt that took place in November 2009 when several clashes erupted both in Cairo and Tunis (the final match was held on neutral ground in Khartoum). In the following days, tensions and confrontations continued on the O6U campus as well as in Cairo and Tunis.

13. People who oppose privatization in education usually refer to private schools as *ta'alim bi-l-fluss* (institutions offering education for money); I have heard a similar joke about this kind of universities as *ta'alim bi-l-ta'kif* (offering education with air conditioning).

14. This respondent wished her interview not to be recorded. The first phase of research was completed well before the events that took place in Egypt after January 25, 2011. The second phase of research was planned precisely to assess if any changes have occurred in this regard after the Revolution. The information gathered, however, seems to indicate that O6U students are not seriously interested in politics—a phenomenon that points to one of the main consequences of the depoliticization of “scientific” learning.

¹⁵. As of July 30, 2013, the O6U website shows a slightly different list of names, but with the same functions: <http://o6u.edu.eg/dpagesuni.aspx?id=297&FactId=0>.

16. Interestingly, the administrator who mentioned this latter aspect to me used the following words: “This is the system here in Egypt,” indicating the relative lack of freedom of faculty members. It would be crucial to observe if things change after the protest that explicitly demanded a change in the system itself, but at the time of this writing it is still too early to indicate the direction of the events in Egypt.

17. Interview with prof. Ahmed Attia, president of O6U, June 27, 2010, recorded in his office.

18. In this regard, Egyptian private universities are far more controlled than public ones.

19. This part of the article was finalized in February 2011, at which time I could not obtain an exact figure, but this number was given to me by a senior official and was reported on the university website.

20. Senior professors and administrators strongly favor an increase of this figure and their claim is twofold: on the one hand, they want to ensure that faculties accept more students, and on the other, they insist that international students should not be counted because most probably they would not become medical doctors in Egypt, but would return to their home countries and seek employment there. However, O6U staff does not have a say on this matter since it is the ministry that settles the quota annually by decree.

²¹. In 2005/2006 the sixth year is “returned” (it was abolished in 1988/1989), which means that six years later there will be a year with no students entering higher education except those who will repeat the final year of general secondary (see El-Sebai 2006, 89).

22. I could not obtain an exact figure. It seems, however, that after the Revolution the number of Arab students decreased sharply, and most radical estimates put this figure as low as 10 percent.

²³. The decision to lower or increase student fees is made by the Board of Trustees.

24. This assertion is contested, as some of my friends pointed out that a number of other and bigger companies are also located in the 6th of October City. Denis notes that in 2008 the City of 6th October comprised "330,000 workers, 70,000 more than the older industrial area of Helwan" (2011, 94). It seems thus safe to assume that there are biggest companies than O6U in the City of 6th of October.

25. Interview with prof. Attia, June 27, 2010.

26. Until now, graduates of the Faculty of Medicine at O6U were pursuing their training within structures devoted to public universities, such as the Qasr al-‘Aini university hospital. It is a private temporary agreement between a public and a private university in order to surrogate the absence of state regulation. Again, it seems that the distinction between public and private is blurred here also due to the fact that many professors are positioned professionally between the two systems. For an example of this controversy, see the article *al-Jami’at al-khasa: hall l-azma al-kulliyat al-tabi’a* (2010). On a more general note, there seems to be a general understanding that it is the duty of the state to certify postgraduate competences, especially in the fields of medicine and engineering. This is the main issue of controversy: if private universities, with their unfavorable reputation, should be allowed to pour into the market cohorts of poorly-trained professionals or if it is still upon the state to guarantee a minimum standard of quality.

27. This data, collected during my fieldwork, is supported by two documents from the CAPMAS service: the first one comprises statistics of professors in all Egyptian private universities, while the second is specific to O6U and presents data divided by faculties (see Appendix B).

28. These figures refer to the Faculty of Medicine, but deans of other faculties gave similar data and the general conclusion is that the teaching load is rather high.

29. When I visited the hospital, I could not assess the importance and quality of treatments provided there—it was similar to middle-class hospitals in Cairo apart from the call to prayer diffused in almost all rooms and corridors by countless microphones placed near the lights.

30. Ironically, posted in front of the office of the dean, a fairly large advertisement explains the “mission” and the “vission” [sic] of the faculty.

31. I heard from different people that the Faculty of Engineering at O6U has an especially bad reputation. This should be taken for what it is, a rumor, which is nonetheless interesting for at least two reasons. First, engineering is considered the cornerstone of university education and if that faculty is of lesser quality, this reflects unfavorably on the university as a whole; second, such an assessment reflects on the evaluation of differences among universities.

32. Interview with prof. Mohammed Mahmood, June 29, 2010, recorded in his office.

33. Interview with prof. Kamal Ali Omran, June 26, 2010, recorded in his office.

34. Yet there is a spatial dimension to class distinctions in Cairo, as many studies have demonstrated and the satellite cities are part of a project of citizenship that has benefited from open-door policies and privatization.

35. I have not visited O6U since then, but at the time of revising this paper (in the summer of 2013), given the tumultuous political developments in the country, my guess is that O6U has receded even more from the events in Cairo, and that the emphasis on the different “nature” of private universities must have been reinforced by these events.

36. See Note 21 and the discussion in the section on policy and decision-making processes in this paper. The interviews were more focused on the effects and changes after the Revolution rather than with the questions asked during the first phase of research, and as a result I have no clear data on the actual impact of the “gap year.”

37. Interview with prof. Talaat Rihan, May 28, 2012, in his office (not recorded).

38. Interview with prof. Ahmed Hijazi, May 30, 2012, recorded in his office.

39. When I last visited O6U website on July 30, 2013, a bold announcement was posted on its main page about the opening of a new section of postgraduate studies, which is now presented as O6U's fifteenth faculty. A short text explained: "An academic cooperation agreement was signed between many governmental universities and October 6 University (O6U) and endorsed by the Supreme Council of national and private universities on June 4, 2011 by which O6U is allowed to offer postgraduate programs in collaboration with these [sic.] universities and the degree will be granted by them." It is safe to conclude that little has changed and that students still have to pursue postgraduate studies at public universities, although there are trends in higher education that seek to partially privatize them.

40. Interview with prof. Rihan, May 28, 2012.

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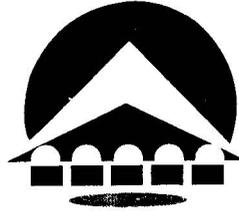
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October 6 University

Office of The President



جامعة أكتوبر

مكتب رئيس الجامعة

تصريح

يصرح للدكتور / Danele Cantini و يعمل مدرسا بجامعة University of Modena

and ReGGIO Emilia بدخول الجامعة ومقابلة السادة العمداء والوكلاء . لمدة أسبوعين من ١٠/١٠/٢٠١٤

رئيس الجامعة

أ.د/ احمد عطية سعده

٢٤ / ١٠ / ٢٠١٤

Continue Table no. (74)
Development of teaching staff & assistants no. in Egyptian Private Universities
during period (2001/2002-2004/2008)

University	Item	Teaching Staff & Assistants	2002/2003	2003/2004	2004/2005	2005/2006	2006/2007	2007/2008
October for Modern Sciences & Arts	Professor	38	23	43	65	22	85	
	Assistant Professor	34	35	52	58	17	58	
	Lecturer	45	43	54	71	37	147	
	Assistant Lecturer	44	39	56	69	66	101	
	Teacher Assistant	61	53	105	153	273	378	
	Total	222	193	310	416	415	769	
	%	14.84	10.20	17.02	17.67	14.88	20.60	
Misr Internationals	Professor	13	11	38	17	78	78	
	Assistant Professor	13	19	53	17	54	50	
	Lecturer	20	18	73	36	115	133	
	Assistant Lecturer	21	22	27	28	33	43	
	Teacher Assistant	50	86	83	76	63	111	
	Total	117	156	274	174	343	415	
	%	7.82	8.25	15.05	7.39	12.30	11.12	
Misr for Science & Technology	Professor	144	13	68	180	143	175	
	Assistant Professor	55	17	37	76	47	75	
	Lecturer	135	69	91	183	118	174	
	Assistant Lecturer	59	86	119	136	132	140	
	Teacher Assistant	124	177	154	209	254	284	
	Total	517	362	469	784	694	848	
	%	34.56	19.13	25.76	33.31	24.88	22.72	

October 6 University	Professor	41	223	56	64	55	70
	Assistant Professor	33	128	47	34	30	27
	Lecturer	74	267	93	83	98	125
	Assistant Lecturer	49	60	52	67	97	101
	Teacher Assistant	117	177	160	193	204	199
	Total	314	855	408	441	484	522
	%	20.99	45.19	22.41	18.73	17.35	13.98
American University in Cairo	Professor	87	87	96	101	89	88
	Assistant Professor	125	132	161	147	148	151
	Lecturer	114	107	103	125	110	134
	Assistant Lecturer	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Teacher Assistant	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	326	326	360	373	347	373
	%	21.79	17.23	19.77	15.85	12.44	9.99
Ahran Canadian Iniversity in Egypt	Professor	0	0	0	5	5	13
	Assistant Professor	0	0	0	2	3	4
	Lecturer	0	0	0	4	7	6
	Assistant Lecturer	0	0	0	2	1	5
	Teacher Assistant	0	0	0	11	19	31
	Total	0	0	0	24	35	59
	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.02	1.25	1.58
British in Egypt	Professor	0	0	0	9	7	10
	Assistant Professor	0	0	0	5	5	11
	Lecturer	0	0	0	18	19	20
	Assistant Lecturer	0	0	0	14	13	25
	Teacher Assistant	0	0	0	3	7	28
	Total	0	0	0	49	51	94
	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.08	1.83	2.52

Fransh in Egypt	Professor	0	0	0	19	17	23
	Assistant Professor	0	0	0	16	10	9
	Lecturer	0	0	0	25	24	26
	Assistant Lecturer	0	0	0	12	17	13
	Teacher Assistant	0	0	0	21	18	15
	Total	0	0	0	93	86	86
	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.95	3.08	2.30
Egyptian Russian	Professor	0	0	0	0	8	1
	Assistant Professor	0	0	0	0	2	2
	Lecturer	0	0	0	0	6	2
	Assistant Lecturer	0	0	0	0	3	0
	Teacher Assistant	0	0	0	0	11	18
	Total	0	0	0	0	30	23
	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.08	0.62
Pharos University	Professor	0	0	0	0	30	49
	Assistant Professor	0	0	0	0	8	20
	Lecturer	0	0	0	0	43	62
	Assistant Lecturer	0	0	0	0	21	25
	Teacher Assistant	0	0	0	0	31	61
	Total	0	0	0	0	133	217
	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.77	5.81

Modern University for Technology & Information	Professor	0	0	0	0	23	20
	Assistant Professor	0	0	0	0	5	2
	Lecturer	0	0	0	0	16	13
	Assistant Lecturer	0	0	0	0	25	25
	Teacher Assistant	0	0	0	0	29	50
	Total	0	0	0	0	98	110
	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.51	2.95
Sinai	Professor	0	0	0	0	18	21
	Assistant Professor	0	0	0	0	5	8
	Lecturer	0	0	0	0	15	31
	Assistant Lecturer	0	0	0	0	4	4
	Teacher Assistant	0	0	0	0	31	57
	Total	0	0	0	0	73	121
	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.62	3.24
Future	Professor	0	0	0	0	0	12
	Assistant Professor	0	0	0	0	0	6
	Lecturer	0	0	0	0	0	10
	Assistant Lecturer	0	0	0	0	0	5
	Teacher Assistant	0	0	0	0	0	63
	Total	0	0	0	0	0	96
	%	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.57
Grand Total	Professor	323	357	301	460	495	645
	Assistant Professor	260	331	350	355	334	423
	Lecturer	388	504	414	545	608	883
	Assistant Lecturer	173	207	254	328	412	487
	Teacher Assistant	352	493	502	666	940	1295
	Total	1496	1892	1821	2354	2789	3733
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100

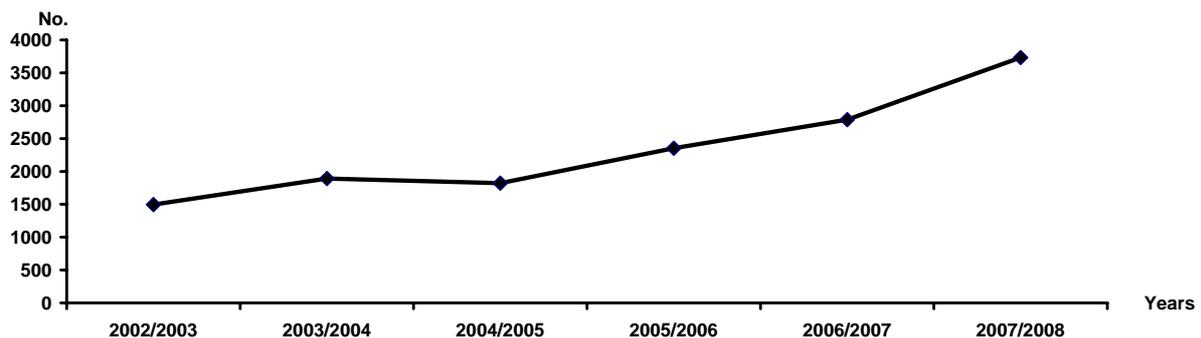


Table no. (108)

Teaching staff & assistants no. in October 6 University Faculties

In 2007/2008

Faculty \ Item	Teaching Staff				Assistants			Total	
	Professor	Assistant Professor	Lecturer	Total	Assistant Lecturer	Teacher Assistants	Total	no.	%
Human Medicine	17	1	28	46	41	11	52	98	18.77
%	17.35	1.02	28.57	46.94	41.84	11.22	53.06	100	
Dentistry	5	3	14	22	12	26	38	60	11.49
%	8.33	5.00	23.33	36.67	20.00	43.33	63.33	100	
Pharmacy	12	4	18	34	5	39	44	78	14.94
%	15.38	5.13	23.08	43.59	6.41	50.00	56.41	100	
Physiotherapy	4	0	7	11	9	14	23	34	6.51
%	11.76	0.00	20.59	32.35	26.47	41.18	67.65	100	
Medical Applied Sciences	4	1	7	12	2	16	18	30	5.75
%	13.33	3.33	23.33	40.00	6.67	53.33	60.00	100	
Engineering	5	3	14	22	9	27	36	58	11.11
%	8.62	5.17	24.14	37.93	15.52	46.55	62.07	100	
Applied Arts	6	3	0	9	5	9	14	23	4.41
%	26.09	13.04	0.00	39.13	21.74	39.13	60.87	100	
Economy & Administration	6	0	6	12	7	10	17	29	5.56
%	20.69	0.00	20.69	41.38	24.14	34.48	58.62	100	
Computer	2	0	2	4	1	9	10	14	2.68
%	14.29	0.00	14.29	28.57	7.14	64.29	71.43	100	
Languages & Translation	2	2	6	10	2	6	8	18	3.45
%	11.11	11.11	33.33	55.56	11.11	33.33	44.44	100	
Information	1	3	4	8	1	9	10	18	3.45
%	5.56	16.67	22.22	44.44	5.56	50.00	55.56	100	
Social Sciences	3	2	3	8	2	6	8	16	3.07
%	18.75	12.50	18.75	50.00	12.50	37.50	50.00	100	
Tourism & Hotels	1	2	7	10	3	5	8	18	3.45
%	5.56	11.11	38.89	55.56	16.67	27.78	44.44	100	
Education	2	3	9	14	2	12	14	28	5.36
%	7.14	10.71	32.14	50.00	7.14	42.86	50.00	100	
Grand Total	70	27	125	222	101	199	300	522	100
%	13.41	5.17	23.95	42.53	19.35	38.12	57.47	100	

